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The Official English debate in the United States Congress: A critical analysis

Carl D. Grove

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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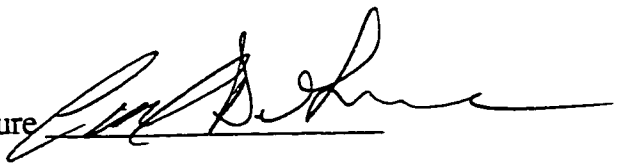
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Abstract

The Official English debate in the United States Congress:
A critical analysis

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In this dissertation I critically examine the movement in the United States Congress to make English the official language of the United States. The analysis is performed using group pluralist and elite competition models (see Brass 1985 and Sonntag, 1995) and Schmidt's (1998) language policy conflict typology as frameworks through which to view a critical analysis of the language of the Official English proposals, and speeches in support of those proposals, made between April 27, 1981 and August 1, 1996, in the United States Congress. The analysis of the language is performed following the basic principles of critical discourse analysis.

In this dissertation I ask three research questions: what do Congressional Official English (OE) proponents intend OE legislation to accomplish? How do Congressional OE proponents argue for, or rationalize, an OE policy? Can we determine what motivates Congressional OE proponents to pursue this legislation? I argue that there are large discrepancies between what an OE policy would likely accomplish and what OE proponents explicitly claim they are trying to accomplish. In addition, I argue that the primary strategy used by OE proponents centers around constructing Latinos in the United States as causing major social problems. These problems, OE proponents claim, would be resolved by an OE policy. Finally, I conclude that while it is difficult to

ascribe motivations to a group of people, the historical context of the Congressional OE movement and the analysis of the Congressional OE discourse strongly suggests that the OE issue was primarily used by conservatives in the United States Congress for political gain.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
List of Tables		v
Chapter One:		
	Introduction	1
	Purpose	2
	Language Policy Conflict	2
	Language Policy Rationalization	6
	The Group Pluralist Model	6
	Elite Competition	8
	Literature Review	12
	Theoretical Background	15
	Overview	15
	Some Key Concepts	19
	Ideology	19
	Power	22
	Hegemony	23
	Racism	24
	Methodology	26
	Capitalization Conventions	28
	Organization of the Dissertation	28
Chapter Two:		
	Introduction	30
	Critical Discourse Analysis	30
	Definition	30
	Process	31
	Describing the Language Texts	32
	Interpreting Interdiscursive Processes	32
	Explaining Relationships: Discourse and Society	33
	Power	34
	The Position of the Analyst	35
	Application of CDA	37
	Context	37
	Congress and the Congressional Record.	37
	Proposed legislation.	38
	Themes and Ideologies of the Texts	38
	Linguistic Dimensions of the Texts	39
	Nominalization and passives.	40
	Modality.	42
	The construction of Others.	42
	Implication.	43
	Interdiscursive Relations	44
Chapter Three:		
	Introduction	46
	The Congress and Power	46
	Rules in Congress	46

The Senate 47
The House of Representatives 48
Reproducing Power 49
Access 49
What may (not) be said 52
Dissemination of Congressional Discourse 57
The Congressional Record 62
What is the Congressional Record? 62
A Record of the Congress 62
Accuracy of the Congressional Record 63
Durability and Accessibility 63
How is the Congresional Record Used? 64
Enhancing Personal Status 65
Avoiding Censorship 67
Proposed Legislation 69
Overview 69
Complexity and Construction 75
Overview 75
Proposed Constitutional Amendments 76
Proposed Amendments to Title 4 of the United States Code 80
Overview. 80
Construction. 81
Strategy. 83
Language 87
Proposed OE Constitutional Amendments 88
Proposed OE Title 4 Amendments 89
Implications 93
Equality vs. Nationalism 93
Group Pluralism 94
Assimilation 95
Conclusions 95

Chapter Four:

Introduction 97
Data Analysis 98
Category 1: Statements about National Unity 100
National Unity via Language 100
Language Conflict and Division 101
Examples of Nations aside from the United States that Suffer from Language Conflict 102
Language Conflict in the United States 102
Summary 102
Category 2: Statements about Immigration to and Assimilation in the United States 103
Immigration 103
Assimilation 103
The importance of assimilation. 103
The melting pot. 105
Barriers to assimilation. 105
Immigrants past and present. 106
English and assimilation. 106

Summary 107
Category 3: Statements about the Relationship between English Proficiency, Opportunities and Success in the United States 107
Category 4: Statements about Multilingual Programs, Policies and Multiculturalism/Multilingualism 108
Category 5: Statements about Latino populations and the Spanish Language in the United States 109
Category 6: Statements about Proponents and Opponents of OE Legislation. 110
Category 7: Statements about Minority Languages and Linguistic Minorities in the United States 111
Category 8: Statements about a Common Language in the United States, the Status and Role of English in the United States and Protecting the English Language in the United States 111
Category 9: Statements Explicitly Addressing Issues of Racism, Discrimination or Intolerance Related to the OE Debate in the United States 112
Summary 112
Construction of the Other 114
Latinos in the United States 114
The Unified View 115
The Latino Threat 116
Economic Achievement 118
Educational Achievement 121
Dropping out. 121
Mainstreaming. 125
Resisting Assimilation, Refusing English 127
The Campaign for Spanish 129
The Campaign for English 134
Conclusions 135

Chapter Five:

Introduction 138
Nominalization 139
Introduction 139
Examples 139
The Melting Pot 139
Symbol or model. 140
A social process. 141
A controlled process. 142
A part of Our national identity. 142
Products of the melting pot. 143
A contrast. 144
Summary. 145
Assimilation 146
The role of English. 147
Agency and the assimilation process. 148
The quality of assimilation. 149
The product of the assimilation process. 150
Resistance to assimilation. 151

	Summary	152
	Passives	153
	Modality	156
	'We' and Others	157
	Unity and Diversity	163
	Implication	166
	Conclusions	168
Chapter Six:		
	Summary	172
	Chapter Three	173
	Chapter Four	174
	Chapter Five	175
	Explaining the Congressional OE Movement	176
	Approaches to Language Policy Conflict	177
	Research Questions	179
	What Do Congressional OE proponents Intend OE Legislation to Accomplish?	179
	How Do Congressional OE Proponents Argue For, or Rationalize An Official English Policy?	180
	Can We Determine What Motivates Congressional OE Proponents to Pursue This Legislation?	183
	Limitations	185
	Future Research	186
Bibliography		189
Appendix One:	Senator Steve Symms on martin Luther King Jr. Day	219
Appendix Two:	Official English Proposals to Amend the Constitution	223
Appendix Three:	Official English Proposals to Amend Title 4 of the United States Code	226
Appendix Four:	Speeches cited, listed in alphabetical order by author.	265
vita		524

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
Table One	Authors of Official English Legislation	71
Table Two	Overview of Proposed Official English Legislation	73

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Dedication

To Lois and Clinton Grove

CHAPTER ONE: THE OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

> Conservatives currently are trying to create a view of the country that espouses a return to some mythical America when life was simpler, people more patriotic, the family a more cohesive unit, and everyone believed in the same thing.
>
> Elliot Judd, (1987, p. 128)

> To be unified does not mean we all have to be exactly alike. It does not mean we all have to have brown eyes or listen to Bach or like french fries. It means we share common dreams and goals and a dedication to common ideals.
>
> Representative William Emerson, (1990b)

Introduction

The Official English (OE) movement is viewed by those who support it as merely reinforcing what is common sense, i.e., that Americans speak English and therefore the official language of the United States should be English. Many opponents of the Official English movement view it as part of a project of the political Right, begun during the Reagan administration, to restore American society to a perceived greatness by supposedly re-introducing dimensions of morality and patriotism. In the words of Judd (1987) cited above, the Official English movement can be seen as a return to the political Right's view of the United States of the 1950's when life was supposedly simple and society had few of the many complex social problems the United States faces today.

Barrett, (1991) summarizing Hall's analysis of "Thatcherism" during a similar era in Britain's history, states that "Thatcherism was 'hegemonic' in its intention to restructure the whole texture of social life, to alter the entire formation of subjectivity and political identity, rather than simply to push through some

economic policies" (p. 60). I believe that this statement is also applicable to the Reagan/Bush era in American politics, an era that, in the Clinton administration, still lives on in many ways in the Legislative branch of the United States government, and to a certain extent in the Executive branch, as well as in many non-governmental organizations which push a conservative, moralistic agenda. The current English-only movement began in this era and, I will argue, the ideologies, linguistic strategies and methods of persuasion in the speeches of the Congressional movement work to support the agenda of the political Right in the United States. Thus, the English-only movement can be seen as one part of a 'project' to "restructure the whole texture of social life, to alter the entire formation of subjectivity and political identity" in the United States (Barrett, p. 60).

Purpose

This dissertation will explore the OE movement in Congress by examining its context, the language and construction of the numerous OE proposals, and the discourse of OE proponents. Specifically the dissertation will answer the following questions: is it clear what proponents of an Official English policy intend such a policy to achieve? At times OE proponents make explicit statements about their goals and motivations. Are all of their goals overt? Can we determine whether or not there are less explicit motivations behind this movement in Congress? What strategies do proponents use to argue for, or rationalize, such a policy? First, however, it is necessary to provide a framework within which to perform this analysis.

Language Policy Conflict

The attempt to make English the official language of the United States may be seen as a language policy conflict. Schmidt (1998) refers to language

policy conflicts as "political conflicts over language policy" (p. 37). In the United States the Official English Movement is a language policy conflict because there is a conflict over this issue (i.e., several groups want to make English the official language and other groups oppose that goal), the conflict takes place in the political arena, and the conflict is about a language policy. Proponents of OE legislation work to make English the official language. Opponents of OE legislation work to maintain policies that are more supportive of linguistic diversity.

Schmidt (1998) suggests that four generalizations about language policy conflict are helpful in trying to analyze a particular conflict. First, around the world today, virtually all states experience language diversity, i.e., intra-state linguistic diversity is the norm and not the exception. Only a few, very small states in the world today are linguistically homogenous.

Second, language policy conflict is becoming more common around the world. According to Schmidt, such conflicts generally occur under two conditions:

> (a) when heightened competition between ethnic groups within a polity generates political mobilization and conflict along ethnic lines, and (b) when language is perceived as centrally important to the survival, enhancement, or both of the identity and power position of one or more of the ethnic groups in the polity. (pp. 38, 39)

Under these conditions, language policy conflict is not necessarily about language; it is more accurate to say that the origins of language policy conflicts under these conditions exist in conflicts between ethnic groups. Language policy conflict, Schmidt argues, is symbolic of larger conflicts between ethnic groups over political position and power.

Third, two conflicting public values tend to dominate the modern world: equality and nationalism. The discourse of language policy conflict tends to revolve around the states' role in "resolving disputed interpretations of the impact of language 'competition' on (a) the relative degree of 'equality' between ethnolinguistic groups and (b) 'national unity'" (p. 39). I will show in Chapter Four that the discourse of the Congressional OE proponents contains few examples of rhetoric advocating equality between ethnolinguistic groups and many examples of rhetoric advocating national unity. Fourth, Schmidt lists four types of language policies that are used by states to resolve language policy conflicts:

> 1. *Domination/exclusion*, in which a dominant ethnolinguistic group controls the state and aims to maintain its dominance in the political economy through excluding subordinate language groups from learning the "language of power," publicly using it, or both.
> 2. *Assimilation*, in which the state seeks to eliminate language conflict by inducing members of subordinate language groups to acculturate linguistically by adopting the "national language" as their own.
> 3. *Pluralism*, in which the state aims to create a climate of acceptance and toleration for multiple languages, through support for the maintenance of several languages existing in the society and encouragement of multilingualism on the part of members of the polity.
> 4. *Linguistic confederation*, where the several language groups occupy separate subnational territories and in which the state legitimates their linguistic dominance within their respective regions. (p. 39)

Each of these approaches describes some aspect of the conflict in the United States over an Official English policy. The assimilation approach describes how Official English proponents explicitly respond to perceived ethnolinguistic conflict in the United States. This dissertation will examine numerous speeches explicitly arguing that the first responsibility of immigrants is

to learn English as part of the assimilation process. Proponents of OE legislation also argue that such legislation will help immigrants assimilate *more quickly*.

Proponents of OE legislation argue that Latino activists are trying to construct a separate region for Latinos and that if an Official English policy is not implemented the United States will "deteriorate" into numerous linguistic confederations. In this instance, linguistic confederation is not used as an approach to resolve language policy conflict. Rather one group is constructed as trying to create such confederations. Fear of confederation is a major argument for making English the official language.

Proponents of maintenance bilingual education, and others, argue that eliminating bilingual programs is a form of domination exercised by the linguistic majority. They argue that children who speak a native language other than English need to develop their native language in order to fully develop second language skills. Without fully developed language skills a child's opportunity to advance through an academic institution is extremely limited and it is in these institutions where they learn to manipulate the language of power. Consequently, a move to abolish bilingual education, which is a major goal of OE proponents can be seen as a move by the linguistic majority to dominate linguistic minorities by keeping them from fully learning English. OE proponents also argue that if bilingual ballots and bilingual government services are eliminated, immigrants will be forced to learn English. OE opponents argue that these services, by easing the difficulty of immigrants' adjustment to life in the United States, make it more likely that immigrants will learn English. Thus, eliminating these programs can be seen as a move by the ethnolinguistic majority to dominate linguistic minorities and exclude them from learning the language of power.

Opponents of Official English policies in the United States argue that the government should encourage linguistic and cultural pluralism as a means of preserving cultures and enriching the linguistic resources of the United States. Within Schmidt's framework, they adopt a pluralist approach to language policy conflict in the United States.

This dissertation will show that Official English proponents in the United States explicitly adopt an assimilationist approach to language policy in their attempt to resolve perceived political/ethnolinguistic conflicts. I argue that their rhetoric suggests that their explicit goal for this legislation is to be certain that immigrants assimilate and learn English as quickly as possible. I also argue that OE legislation has another, covert aim: domination/exclusion.

Language Policy Rationalization

A key focus of this dissertation is how OE proponents argue for or rationalize such a policy for the United States. Two social science models will help us answer this question: the group pluralist model and the elite competition model. Both of these models have been proposed to explain how political power is contested, how and why conflict arises and is responded to, and importantly for my project, how ethnolinguistic diversity and language policy conflict interact in the modern industrial state. (Alternative models, such as the neo-Marxist model, the core-periphery model and the internal colonial model [see Brass, 1985] hold less relevance to the Congressional OE movement in the United States.)

The Group Pluralist Model

The group pluralist model, which primarily originates from observations of American politics (Brass, 1985) makes a number of assumptions about contemporary societies around the world. The first key assumption is that the

state is merely a neutral arena in which conflicts between ethnic groups are contested. In other words, the state is not seen as taking sides with any ethnic group, but rather as responding to the conflicts that occur. Second, it is assumed that ethnic diversity in modern societies inevitably produces a destabilizing effect. Thus, ethnic conflict in the presence of ethnic diversity is a primary assumption of this model. A key concern is with ethnic elites who are believed to "exaggerate ethnic differences" in order to "mobilize their followers in ways that cause unrest and ultimately division and power sharing in the polity" (Donahue, 1995, p. 114).

Brass (1985) argues that, since in this model the state responds to ethnic conflict by formulating policies and distributing resources, it is likely that other ethnic groups will demand accommodation, thus perpetuating the cycle of conflict. Brass points out that, in the original formulations of this model, the managers of the state apparatus (i.e. male, English speaking Anglos) are not considered an ethnic group, and thus the model is inherently ethnocentric. In order to understand how I will apply this model in my dissertation, it is important to note that I consider English speaking Anglos as much an ethnic group as any of the Others. Since the group pluralist model assumes that ethnic conflict is inevitable and perpetual, and that ethnic elites have an interest in nurturing such conflict, this model holds out little hope for the integration of ethnic minorities into the mainstream of society. In spite of this pessimistic view of integration in the group pluralist model, we will see, in the discourse of the OE movement, that proponents of OE legislation insist that immigrants and refugees to the United States should assimilate as quickly as possible.

The question, then, is, how this model might explain the rationalization or arguments for the movement in Congress to declare English the official language

of the United States. We will see, in the discourse of the Congressional OE movement, deep concern for ethnic conflict. We will see that proponents of OE legislation argue that these perceived conflicts will expand and divide the United States. We will also see that these proponents of OE legislation accuse one particular ethnic group (Latinos) of not assimilating. These arguments and accusations closely resemble the major assumptions of the group pluralist model. We will see that these assumptions are major ideologies of the OE movement. I will present numerous examples that illustrate how OE proponents argue that Latinos are dividing the United States. We will see OE proponents argue that ethnic elites (in this case, Latino activists) are trying to stir up their constituents to push for greater political power. I will show many instances in which Congressional OE proponents argue that linguistic and cultural pluralism are divisive and must not be allowed to continue to exist in the United States. We will see that, to a great extent, the group pluralist model describes the OE movement in Congress. I argue that, in this sense, the assumptions of the group pluralist model become major ideologies of the Congressional OE movement in the United States.

Elite Competition

I will argue that the assumptions of the group pluralist model are the major *explicit* ideologies and arguments of the Congressional OE movement, but, there are also *implicit* reasons for conservatives in Congress to argue for English as an official language. Sonntag (1995) argues that the Congressional OE movement serves the interest of one particular group of emerging political elites in the United States, i.e., the "Reaganite Republicans." Sonntag does not see the managers of the state apparatus (in this case members of Congress) as being neutral toward ethnic groups and responding to conflict, but as manipulative,

creating conflict as an instrument to serve their own purposes, either to gain power or maintain their position of power.

Central to the elite competition model is the notion that elites are not a homogenous group, but rather are split into competing factions. One faction can be seen as those elites who are established, who hold the reigns of political power at a national or subnational level. The emerging elites are those who can mount a credible challenge to the established elites. In most cases to which Sonntag applies the elite competition model, the competition is between ethnic group elites and the dominant group in the society. In the case of the OE movement in the United States Congress, the competition is between liberals who, at the beginning of the OE movement, were established in the center of political power, and conservatives who were trying to gain that position (i.e., Democrats and Republicans respectively).

Sonntag argues that four conditions are necessary for an official language movement to be used by a group of emerging elites to challenge the place of an established group of elites. First, in order for an official language movement to establish a new agenda, the power of the established elites must be based on a non-linguistic cleavage or alignment. The control of the Democrats in the United States Congress at the beginning of the Reagan administration was based on socio-economic alignments: in Sonntag's terms "The New Deal/Great Society agenda" (p. 99).

Second, the established elites must be vulnerable to a challenge by emerging elites. In the United States, the Vietnam War, the Watergate scandal, the holding of American hostages in Iran and the oil crisis of the late 1970s left the country in a great mood of doubt. Americans seemed uncertain of their place in the world, of their ability to be the dominant force they once were, even

uncertain that they would be able to maintain their standard of living. At the time the Reagan administration came into power the established elites (Democrats) were clearly vulnerable to a challenge from emerging elites.

Third, Sonntag argues that the emerging elites must represent a real challenge; if the emerging elites are not strong, the language movement will not become a real political challenge to the established elites, but instead will be marginalized. Clearly the Republicans were strong enough that the Democrats could not simply brush them aside. While the Reagan and Bush administrations were in office, Republicans gained control of the Senate and were able to strengthen their position in the House by capturing more seats. Although the Republicans did not maintain a majority in the Senate during the Reagan and Bush administrations, during the Clinton administration, the Republicans were able to regain the majority position in the Senate and capture the majority in the House.

Finally, Sonntag argues that there must be "ethnolinguistic discrimination, real or imagined, against some portion of the population," (p. 95) in order for the emerging elites to appeal to the linguistic sensibilities of the population. We will see later that in the Congressional OE movement there is indeed the accusation of ethnolinguistic discrimination. Most interestingly, Congressional OE proponents assert that *native English speakers* are the victims of discrimination.

Within Sonntag's elite competition model, emerging elites may use language conflict to their advantage in the struggle to displace established elites in the center of political power. The greatest advantage of being the established elite is the ability to set the political agenda and define the terms of the political discourse. Consequently the most advantageous political maneuver by emerging

elites is to make your opponent's agenda irrelevant, replacing it with their own. An implicit aim of OE proponents was to promote English as the official language of the United States as part of a strategy to change the political agenda of the nation and gain control of the Congress.

Political scientists vigorously debate whether or not the Reagan administration ushered in a change from Democratic control of the government to Republican control of the government (e.g., see Abramson [1991] and Pomper [1989]). Whichever side one takes in this debate, it is clear that at the time Hayakawa introduced Senate Joint Resolution 72 in 1981, the Democrats, as guardians of the New Deal and Great Society agenda, were still the established political elites but the Republicans were in the position of the emerging elites, beginning to make a serious challenge with the agenda of the Reagan Republicans. The Official English movement was and is part of that agenda.

In the Reagan administration and early in the Bush administration, the Republicans were not successful in setting the agenda or defining the terms of the discourse. They had yet to leverage an issue that would generate widespread public support for their agenda. Hayakawa's remarkable success in organizing and building US English into a major advocacy group demonstrated that Official English was the type of issue that could generate support, both financial and political, from the voters.

As we move through an analysis of the discourse of the Congressional OE movement, we will see the strategies that members of Congress used to convince their colleagues and constituents that linguistic and cultural diversity were key elements in the "balkanization" and political destabilization of the United States. My analysis will explore the role of elite competition in Congress in relation to the official language issue. I will also explore the ideologies, aims

and arguments of the OE movement in Congress. Before beginning this analysis, however, it is necessary to briefly summarize previous work on Official English in the language policy and planning literature.

Literature Review

The debate about an official language in the United States began with the American revolution in the late 1700's. Although issues of language have never really been the most pressing political or social issues in the history of the United States., there have been periods when language issues occupied a position more or less in the forefront of the national consciousness (e.g., the World War I era when German was banned from schools and many German speaking churches converted to English). The United States is currently in one of those periods. The beginning of the current emphasis on language as a national issue is generally marked by S.I. Hayakawa's introduction of Senate Joint Resolution 72 in 1981. A significant body of literature regarding the English only movement has been constructed since Hayakawa began pushing for an official language in the United States. This literature is a subset of the scholarship on the history of language and diversity in the United States. There are other subsets of this scholarship which contribute valuable background information to the literature of the English only movement such as literature regarding the educational needs of immigrants (e.g., Feinberg, 1990; Gillespie, 1991; August, 1988, 1995; Bradby, 1988; Howard, 1983; Garcia, 1988; Fleischman, 1993) and issues resulting from the Lau v. Nichols ruling (e.g., R. V. Padilla, 1979a, 1979b; Kirschten, 1989; A. M. Padilla, 1990; Arias & Casanova 1993; Knox & Benecke, 1983; Ramirez, 1991; Cazden, 1992; Tucker, 1984) and the King case in Ann Arbor (Bailey, 1983; Wolfram, 1980; Woods, 1983). These issues figure prominently in the history of the English only debate. Other important

topics in the history of language and diversity in the U.S. which significantly impact or inform the English only debate are issues of language retention and language change among peoples indigenous to the North American continent (McCarty 1993; Bauman, 1980; Zepeda & Hill, 1991; St. Clair & Leap, 1982) and among immigrant groups who arrived after the nation was formed (Macias, 1979; Lopez, 1982; Lambert & Freed, 1982; Chiswick, 1992; McKay & Wong, 1988b; Pozzetta, 1991); the potential benefits of multilingualism in the U.S. (Christian, 1994; Macedo, 1991; Hornberger, 1991; Dicker, 1996; A. M. Padilla 1991a; Garcia & Otheguy, 1994; Jernudd & Jo, 1985; Fishman, 1985; Shuy, 1978); and other general issues in the field of language planning and policy in the United States (Macias, 1987; Wrigley & Ewen, 1995; Cartagena, 1983; Ruiz, 1984, 1994; Smitherman, 1987; Grant, 1978; Hornberger 1990; Donahue, 1995; Cloonan & Strine, 1991; Drake, 1984; Garcia, 1983; Macias, 1981; Fishman, 1981).

In addition to the scholarship noted above, much has been written specifically about the English only movement itself. The origins, history and spread of the movement have been explored in some detail (Gallegos, 1994; Crawford, 1989b, 1992b; Adams, 1990; Tarver, 1989; Aleman, 1996; Bruno 1996; Nichols 1989; Denton 1988; Tatalovich 1995a, 1995b; Zentella, 1988; Donahue 1985; Amorose 1989; Gurwitt, 1988; Zall 1990; Judd 1987). The merits of the notion of an official language for the U.S. have generated significant debate in the literature. Scholars have questioned and explained the need and rationale for such legislation (Macias 1989; Daniels 1990; Marshall 1986a; Fishman 1986; Baron, 1990; Lang 1995; Mujica, 1996; Short 1988; Donegan, 1996; De la Pena 1991; Hayakawa, 1985, 1987), and criticized and praised the projected effects of such legislation (Califa, 1989; Edwards 1986;

Guerra, 1988; Yzaguirre 1987; Lucas 1989; A. M. Padilla 1991b; Curiel 1987; Crawford 1989c; Cacas, 1995; Comas, 1992; Peterson 1988; Fidel 1990; Moran, 1990; NALEO, 1989; Hutson, 1996). Authors have explored links between the English only movement and the rights of linguistic minorities (Arington, 1991; Piatt, 1993; Fund for Free Expression (U.S.), 1992; Neier, 1996; Magnet, 1990; Marshall, 1986b) and the potential conflicts between language diversity and an official language in the United States (Crawford, 1992b; Leibowitz 1971; Piatt, 1990; Eggington, 1997; Baron, 1991; Fink et al. 1996; Villanueva 1989; Ovando 1988; Lewelling, 1992; Brandt, 1990). Still other works explore such varied aspects of the English only movement as the "real" issues driving the movement (Trasvina, 1988; People Against Racist Terror, 1992; Chen, 1986; Madrid, 1990; Imhoff, 1987; Vigil-McAllister, 1994), the reactions of scholars in specific disciplines to the English only movement (Dicker et al. 1995; McKay & Wong, 1988; Nunberg, 1989), the impact of the constitution of the United States and federal laws on the English only movement at both the state and national level ("Official English," 1987; Wiley, 1995; Stewart 1996), public attitudes regarding an official language for the United States (Gallup Organization, 1991), and the distinction between English as the official language of the United States and "English only" (Stalker 1988). In addition, one scholar has provided a view of the English only movement in the United States from a French perspective (Wexler 1995) and at least one scholar has produced a bibliography of works that deal with the English only movement (Guerena, 1987).

A search of the literature, however, reveals no critical analyses of the discourse of U.S. members of Congress' regarding legislation to make English the official language of the U.S. Woolard (1989 and 1990) examines the rhetoric of the English only campaign in San Francisco and Baldwin (1989) and Amorose

(1993) examine how language is used to (re)produce ideology in the English Only movement in the general public. None of these authors, however, critically analyze the speeches of members of Congress. Using a critical analysis of these speeches I propose to answer three questions: first, what do OE proponents intend for OE legislation to achieve? Second, how do OE proponents argue for, or rationalize, OE legislation? Finally, can we determine what motivates OE proponents to pursue this legislation?

Theoretical Background

Overview

This dissertation will explore the ideas, both explicit and implicit, in speeches made by members of the United States. Congress in support of Official English (OE) legislation and the ways in which members of Congress attempt to build support for Official English legislation. I will do this by analyzing speeches given by members of Congress regarding Official English legislation (i.e., legislation such as HR 123 which passed the United States House of Representatives on August 1, 1996 that would make English the official language of the United States). In this analysis I will utilize principles and methods of critical discourse analysis.

The ideas that are present in the discourse of the Congressional supporters of Official English legislation can be illuminated by critically examining the context in which these speeches are made, the ideas that are present in the speeches and various linguistic dimensions of the speeches. I will show that there is a core set of ideas in these speeches, and in the various forms of the OE legislation that have been proposed, that center around a particular view of people who speak a native language other than English (Latinos in particular). I will show that the legislation changes in significant ways from the first

proposed constitutional amendment by Hayakawa (1981) to the version of House Resolution 123 that passed the House of Representatives, and that these changes reflect both how Congressional OE supporters view language minorities and what these members of Congress must do to secure consent for Official English legislation.

In a critical analysis such as this, the context is especially important to the analysis. One dimension of the context that will be of major importance in the analysis of power is the political structure of the United States Congress. I intend the term political structure to refer to the structure of the United States government as it is specified in the constitution, the rules of the House and the Senate, and unofficial social rules that operate in the Congress. The political structure of Congress determines, for instance, that only certain people are able to make speeches in the House or Senate (i.e., members of Congress or their invitees). It is also true that not just anyone can testify at Congressional hearings (e.g., on Official English legislation). Witnesses are invited to testify at such hearings by members of Congress; normally witnesses do not invite themselves, unless they have extraordinary political resources or capital (e.g., Ross Perot, who has successfully invited himself to hearings in order to lecture the presiding legislators on how to 'fix' the economy). Thus, hearings can be held in which only proponents of Official English legislation testify (and in fact such a hearing took place during the most recent Congress). This ability to control who is allowed to speak in Congress is one important dimension of the political structure.

The political structure also greatly influences who has input access to the record (i.e., who can contribute content to the record). The record is all those places where the actions of the Congress and the words of members of Congress

are recorded. Some parts of the record are more restricted than others. For instance, one's words will only be recorded in the Congressional Record (CR) if they are spoken on the floor of the Congress, or if a member of Congress requests that they be put into the CR. Government reports, the activities of committees and the contents of hearings are normally recorded elsewhere.

Reports in the public media (newspapers, magazines, etc.) of congressional actions are also a part of the record. This dimension of the record is less restricted (but not unrestricted) in terms of who has input access and in terms of the rules under which it operates: for instance the accuracy with which a person's words are recorded in the media is not necessarily the same as in the CR. Many people who do not have input access to the CR have the opportunity to contribute to the discourse through the media, but the media can exclude part of the discourse. It is also true that many more people read the media record than the CR. We will see numerous examples in which a member of Congress requests that media reports (newspaper articles, editorials, etc.) are read into the CR. These media reports often contain quotes or statements from the member of Congress and thus the public media and the CR become enmeshed in ways that can benefit the member of Congress. Consequently, a member's ability to use the record greatly influences how power can be asserted. So we see that the political structure limits who has input access to the record, and at the same time, a member's skill in using the record is part of the political structure. All of this is to say that the description and analysis of the context that I will perform is as important as the analysis of the texts. I do not intend to provide an exhaustive analysis of all aspects of the political structure. I intend, rather, to show how the aspects of the political structure that I have discussed here contribute to the (re)production of ideology and hegemony.

Another important part of the context is the project of the Right (or the agenda of the conservative political alliance in the United States). This is not to imply that there is a sociopolitical alliance in the United States comprised of a completely homogenous group of conservative politicians, civic and business leaders and citizens. There are, however, political issues which surface repeatedly in the rhetoric and actions of many who place themselves in the conservative political spectrum that, when viewed together, one might refer to as the agenda, or the project of the Right. I intend to briefly describe some of the issues that are important in the conservative agenda in order to show how Official English legislation fits in.

The speeches I will work with will be taken from the CR, and thus, will be speech events which occurred on the floor of the United States House of Representatives or Senate. Since they are taken from the CR, they are facsimiles of the original speeches rather than verbatim records. Unless specifically noted in the CR, however, the words that the speaker used are accurately recorded. The time period in which these speeches occurred begins with S. I. Hayakawa's introduction of the first English language amendment (Senate Joint Resolution 72) on April 27, 1981 (see Hornberger, 1990, p. 15) and ends with the passage of HR123 in the United States House of Representatives on August 1, 1996. I will situate the analysis of the texts of these speeches within the dimensions of context discussed above (i.e., the political structure of Congress, the record, OE legislation and the conservative agenda in the United States) as well as the broader context of the public debate over this issue, including government hearings related to Official English legislation. While closely examining the context in which Congressional OE proponents are operating, the themes and

linguistic dimensions of their speeches, I will show how the group pluralist and elite competition models help answer the research questions I have posed.

Some Key Concepts

The terms *ideology*, *power* and *hegemony* play a central role in this dissertation. These are concepts that can be understood in different ways by different people. In order to avoid confusion, I will explain these terms as they will be used throughout this dissertation.

Ideology

Barrett (1991) explores the notion of ideology in detail, focusing on the work of Marx and a Foucauldian critique of the Marxist model of ideology. In the end she chooses a definition of ideology that is both sufficiently sophisticated and practical. Barrett states

> there is, in my view, a useful set of meanings that the term ideology can capture well; they cluster around processes of mystification. The retrievable core of meaning of the term ideology is precisely this: discursive and significatory mechanisms that may occlude, legitimate, naturalize or universalize in a variety of different ways but can all be said to mystify.... On this definition, ideology is not tied to any one presumed cause, or logic, of misrepresentation; it refers to a process of mystification, or misrepresentation, whatever its dynamic. (p. 166-167)

There are two important points to take from Barrett's definition: First, ideology, in many different ways, mystifies or misrepresents, in some way, whatever it signifies. For instance, I will provide several examples of how members of Congress focus attention on the rate at which Latinos drop out of school. A survey of the literature on this subject reveals that, in fact, there are several rates which scholars use to talk about how many students in the United States do not finish high school, in addition to several ideas about what it means to "not finish high school." The literature on this subject also reveals that there are several

ways to define Latinos. We will see, however, that members of Congress do not acknowledge that there are alternative interpretations of what they say about dropout rates, thus misrepresenting or mystifying social reality (because, in fact, there are numerous versions of this particular social reality). Second, ideology does not have to be "tied to any one cause, or logic, of misrepresentation...." Another way to think of this is that both OE opponents and proponents utilize ideologies in their efforts to further their cause. There is a large body of literature on the subject of ideology and some other scholars' thoughts on the matter will help us develop a more complete understanding of what ideology is and how it is used.

van Dijk (1998) provides a broader definition of ideology, but one that is very useful for my purposes in this dissertation. van Dijk is trying to establish a "new notion of ideology that serves as the interface between social structure and social cognition" (p. 8). He argues that

> In that framework, ideologies may be very succinctly defined as the *basis of the social representations shared by members of a group.* This means that ideologies allow people, as group members, to organize the multitude of social beliefs about what is the case, good or bad, right or wrong, *for them*, and to act accordingly. (p. 8, emphasis his)

In other words, ideologies are the ideas upon which groups build the conceptions of society that they share. Ideologies allow them to form and organize their social beliefs about what is real, good, bad, true and false.

This dissertation will provide many examples of how van Dijk's argument operates in everyday life. Congressional supporters of OE legislation share certain common characteristics (e.g., similar voting records) that make it plausible to describe them as a group (i.e., politically conservative). In reading their speeches one soon realizes that they fervently believe that what they are

proposing is in the best interest of the United States and in the best interest of *everyone* who lives in the United States, including language minorities. These politicians possess a set of beliefs that allow them to make sense out of what they are doing and to justify their actions. While I disagree with supporters of OE legislation my main point is not to argue with them, but rather to make explicit the ideas and beliefs that underlie their ability to claim that OE legislation is the right thing for the United States. They tend to share these ideas as a group, and consequently exemplify van Dijk's theory.

In his historical discussion of the term ideology, Eagleton (1991) discusses the tendency for scholars to connect ideology to power, most commonly to "claim that ideology has to do with *legitimating* the power of a dominant social group or class" (emphasis his) (p. 5). Eagleton discusses Thompson's assertion that "to study ideology...is to study the ways in which meaning (or signification) serves to sustain relations of domination" (p. 5). Eagleton notes that

> this is probably the single most widely accepted definition of ideology; and the process of legitimation would seem to involve at least six different strategies. A dominant power may legitimate itself by *promoting* beliefs and values congenial to it; *naturalizing* and *universalizing* such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; *denigrating* ideas which might challenge it; *excluding* rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and *obscuring* social reality in ways convenient to itself. Such 'mystification', as it is commonly known, frequently takes the form of masking or suppressing social conflicts, from which arises the conception of ideology as an imaginary resolution of real contradictions. In any actual ideological formation, all six of these strategies are likely to interact in complex ways. (emphasis his) (p. 5-6)

Eagleton goes on to discuss ways in which it is problematic to claim that all ideologies are somehow connected to a *dominant* group. This definition is compatible with Barrett's in many respects, particularly the emphasis on

processes of naturalization, occlusion, universalization, obfuscation, legitimation, or in other words, mystification.

When I refer to ideology in this dissertation, I will be taking these three definitions as a base of meaning, agreeing with Barrett that ideology need not be tied to any one logic or cause, such as the dominant group. The dominant group's use of ideology is important, however, and ideologies of the dominant group often become "dominant ideologies" which, reminiscent of Tollefson's (1991) brief discussion of ideology, are assumptions which become part of the body of common sense of the dominant group in the culture being investigated.

Although Eagleton rejects the notion of connecting ideology with a dominant group, it is still clear that ideology can be and is used to legitimate or assert power. This use of ideology to legitimate or assert power may be in the effort to sustain the hegemony of a dominant group, or in the effort of a non-dominant group to construct a discourse which successfully counters the dominant discourse.

Power

Tollefson argues that

> power refers to the ability to achieve one's goals and to control events through intentional action. Power is not a characteristic of individuals in isolation. Rather, individuals exercise power as a result of their social relationships within institutional structures that provide meaning to their actions and also constrain them. (1991, p. 9)

The key elements of this definition for my purposes are the ability to achieve goals and control events, the relational nature of power (i.e., power is not possessed, it is asserted or used or constrained, not gained or lost), and the role of institutional or political structure in the use of power.

Fairclough (1989) extends this definition and talks about ideological power, which he defines as "the power to project one's practices as universal and 'common sense'" (p. 33). Fairclough's term "practices" includes ideas, assumptions, beliefs, etc., not only physical actions. It becomes apparent at this point that language can play a key role in the assertion of power, as it is a primary means by which ideas, assumptions, and beliefs can be "projected".

Phillipson (1992) further extends this discussion of power when he examines different ways that power can be exerted. Phillipson relies on Galtung's (1980) framework for analyzing power which "identifies three types of power, innate power, resource power and structural power. The means used to assert power are respectively persuasion, bargaining, or force." Phillipson argues that "power requires senders and receivers, as power is a relation, not a property or attribute of somebody or something. For persuasion to work presupposes some kind of submissiveness, bargaining some kind of dependency, and force an element of fear" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 272). Phillipson asserts that for the most part, democracies have abandoned force and bargaining as means to assert power, and now rely almost exclusively on the power of persuasion. This places language in the center of power struggles by opposing groups.

Hegemony

Power and ideologies are both asserted in the effort by dominant groups in the United States to maintain or produce hegemony. I will argue that making English the official language of the United States is part of the project of the Right in the United States to establish a conservative hegemony. I am interested in the workings of power and ideologies which support hegemony because they are so easily manipulated by dominant, powerful groups, e.g., conservatives and

liberals in Congress. Gramsci has articulated the way in which the 'ruling bloc' performs such manipulation quite well (see Hoare and Smith, 1971), and Barrett, and several other authors I draw from, rely heavily on his notion of hegemony.

Barrett argues that "hegemony is best understood as *the organization of consent* - the processes through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion" (emphasis hers) (1991, p. 54). Barrett goes on to explain that Gramsci is not thinking here only of the ruling bloc working in the political sphere, but, similar to Hall's analysis of Thatcherism, throughout the whole fabric of society. Barrett argues that Gramsci "emphasized the 'lower' - less systematic - levels of consciousness and apprehension of the world, and in particular he was interested in the ways in which 'popular' knowledge and culture developed in such a way as to secure the participation of the masses in the project of the ruling bloc" (p. 54). This is a sophisticated articulation of the way in which ideology and power help to maintain hegemony through persuasion, whether those persuaded are conscious of it or not.

Racism

The concept of racism also plays a significant role in this study. In speaking of the debate about bilingual education in the United States, Imhoff (1990) notes that both sides have a tendency to accuse the other of racist motives (p. xiii). Many bilingual education opponents are also OE advocates and many bilingual advocates are also OE opponents. We will see that the term "racist" also surfaces in the Congressional OE discourse.

van Dijk (1993) provides a detailed analysis of the role of elite discourse in (re)producing racism. Since he focuses on precisely the sort of situation I am examining, his ideas about racism are worth examining here. van Dijk states that

"[s]ince we interpret racism essentially as a social system of group dominance, it should be stressed that we are only interested in the discourses and cognitions of individual persons as members of groups or institutions" (p. 13). Three points here are crucial to my work: racism is a social system, it involves group dominance and it is a behavior not simply of individuals, but of individuals as members of groups or institutions. Like van Dijk, I do not take racism to be only a topic for academic analysis, but also "a major social problem of Western societies" (p. 47). Within this framework, racism is defined by van Dijk as

> a property of ethnic group dominance and is identified as the historically rooted dominance of whites (Europeans) over Others. It involves both shared social cognitions (prejudice), as well as social practices (discrimination), at both the macro level of societal structures and the micro level of specific interactions or communicative events....*racism* is also intended to include *ethnicism*, that is, group dominance based on perceived or constructed cultural differences. (pp. 47, 48)

In this definition of racism we can see several key ideas. First, racism is a form of domination. Specifically, racism is the dominance of whites over Others. van Dijk argues that the members of a social group tend to share certain ideas. When these ideas are generalizations made by whites about Others, they are referred to as *prejudice.* When those ideas give rise to actions ("social practices") they are referred to as *discrimination.* Finally, racism in van Dijk's definition is not just about color. It also includes group dominance based on ethnic classifications, or as van Dijk puts it, "perceived or constructed cultural differences." We will see numerous examples of racism throughout the remainder of this dissertation.

The concepts of ideology, power, hegemony and racism figure prominently in applying Schmidt's typology of language policies, the group pluralism model and the elite competition model to the Congressional OE movement. In performing a critical analysis to answer the research question

posed on page 13, I will show that some of the major ideologies of the Congressional OE movement are also major assumptions of the group pluralism model. We will see that the issues of power and hegemony are key concepts in the elite competition model in that power is inevitably used by the parties in competition in their attempt to sustain or produce hegemony. We will also see that prejudice and discrimination are an integral part of the Congressional OE movement. I will show that OE proponents assert ideologies and use power in their attempts to organize consent for OE legislation. I will show how OE proponents use prejudiced views of Latinos to play on the fears of their, and their colleagues', constituents to help them gain consent. Finally, I will show how these ideologies place OE proponents explicitly within the group pluralist model, and how their use of power strongly suggests that their actions can be explained by the elite competition model.

Methodology

My main methodology for achieving the goals I listed above will be critical discourse analysis (CDA), or to use van Dijk's term "sociopolitical discourse analysis" (1993, p. 249). CDA is still a relatively new method of analyzing discourse. Consequently, in Chapter Two, I will present a description of what it is and how it works. For my purposes here, I will provide a brief description of CDA and discuss how I will apply it.

Most scholars who undertake critical discourse analysis are quick to point out that this method focuses on power relations and inequities as they are evidenced and (re)produced in language. van Dijk explains that

> although there are many directions in the study and critique of social inequality, the way we [critical discourse analysts] approach these questions and dimensions is by focusing on *the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance....* This reproduction process may involve such

> different 'modes' of discourse-power relations as the more or less direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance, among others. More specifically, critical discourse analysts want to know what structures, strategies or other properties of text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events play a role in these modes of reproduction. (1993, pp. 249, 250) (emphasis his)

In this article, van Dijk focuses on several specific dimensions of discourse in a speech made in the British House of Commons to demonstrate the discourse strategies used by the speaker to reproduce racist discourse in this context. Among the dimensions analyzed are: access to the discourse, setting, genre, communicative acts and social meanings, participant positions and roles, speech acts, level of specificity and degree of completeness, perspective, implicitness, rhetoric and several others. van Dijk's analysis of the operation of these dimensions in this speech illustrates the racist nature of the discourse.

My analysis of members of Congress' speeches in support of Official English legislation will be focused on demonstrating how dominance (hegemony), racism and other inequities are (re)produced in this discourse. The dimensions of this discourse that I will analyze in pursuit of this goal include the context, themes that arise out of the speeches, the construction of Others, and linguistic features of the discourse.

One of the key challenges of CDA is to keep in mind the difference between demonstrating how different dimensions of a speaker's discourse effect the (re)production of ideology, power and hegemony and merely arguing that what the speaker is saying is wrong. Finally, there is one grammatical convention that I should explain before moving on to a discussion of the organization of this dissertation.

Capitalization Conventions

It is becoming commonplace in critical discourse analysis to capitalize words such as "other" and certain plural pronouns in the middle of sentences where it is not expected. This capitalization indicates a special use of those words. In many of the speeches I examine, the speaker is talking about a minority group. S/he will often use the word "they" or "them" to refer to that group, and words like "us" or "we" to refer to the group of which s/he is a member (e.g., a member of Congress, a member of the group of people made up of "citizens of the United States," or a member of that group of people constituting "society" in the United States). These groups are defined arbitrarily and dynamically, that is, the speaker defines the group, and draws the group boundaries where it is convenient. I will use the word "Other," then, to refer to the group of which the speaker DOES NOT consider him/herself to be a member. The term "Them" will refer to the members of this "Other" group. "We," "Us," and "Our" will refer to the group of which the speaker is a member. I will use this convention throughout the dissertation, most prominently in Chapters Four and Five.

Organization of the dissertation

The rest of this dissertation will proceed as follows. Because CDA is rarely used in the field of language policy and planning, in Chapter Two I will offer a detailed discussion of CDA and how I will apply it to my study. In Chapter Three I will move into a description of the context in which this discourse is set. This chapter will include not only a description of how Congress is structured and operates, how power is asserted in Congress and why it is easier to maintain dominance than it is to achieve it, but also a discussion of the OE proposals that occurred in Congress. Chapter Four will begin the actual

examination of the speeches themselves. In this chapter, I will first discuss the major explicit ideas that are expressed in the speeches, organizing them into nine categories. Then I will examine how these ideas work together in a less explicit way to construct a picture of one particular linguistic minority in the United States. In Chapter Five, I will continue the analysis of the speeches, moving from the organization of ideas to an analysis that examines linguistic structures and practices. In Chapter Six, I will provide an integrative summary of my analysis, briefly discuss how the Congressional OE discourse relates to other discourses in the United States, discuss several limitations of this study and propose further areas of research related to the OE question.

CHAPTER TWO: METHOD

Introduction

In Chapter One I stated that I will use critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a tool to illuminate ideologies and relations of power that are at work in the official English (OE) discourse in the United States Congress. In this chapter I will provide a definition of CDA and explain why I think it is an appropriate analytical approach in this instance. The bulk of this chapter will discuss how the analysis will take shape in the following chapters.

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is a relatively new analytic approach to language, communication and discourse. van Dijk (1993a) declares (somewhat tongue in cheek) that CDA's "lines of development are traced back, if not -- as usual -- to Aristotle, then at least to the philosophers of the Enlightenment or, of course, to Marx" (p. 251); but he traces the more recent development of CDA to the Frankfurt school, Habermas, Gramsci, Althusser, Foucault and Pêcheux (p. 251). A great deal of the most recent work in the development of CDA has been by Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979), Hodge and Kress (1998, 1993), Kress (1993), and Fairclough (1989, 1993, 1995); and van Dijk has made his own significant contributions to the field (1985, 1993a) including, most importantly to me, work on the role of "elite discourse" in reproducing structures of racism in Western societies (1993b).

Definition

Definitions of CDA vary slightly from scholar to scholar and rather than taking my definition from one particular individual, I will use the central ideas from several in order to construct a working model of CDA that will help me

achieve the goals of my study. Fairclough (1995) argues that in analyzing discourse "the adoption of critical goals means, first and foremost, investigating verbal interactions with an eye to their determination by, and their effects on, social structures" (p. 36). That is, CDA is not concerned purely with discourse, but also with the interaction between discourse and its context. We will see later that context is a very broad notion. This attention to social structures is due particularly to Fairclough's concern with a process he refers to as "denaturalizing", which is a central task of CDA..

The term "denaturalizing" implies that the discourse under study has the effect of naturalizing (or projecting as common sense) the "ideologies and ideological practices...from the particular social base, and the particular interests, which generated them" (p. 35). Another way of thinking of naturalizing is as a process of appropriating an idea and, through discursive practices, (re)presenting that idea so that it appears as a matter of common sense (an idea that is 'simply natural') that fits neatly within your own ideological framework. Riggins (1997) argues that discourse analysis "acquires a critical dimension when the focus is on the relations of language to power and privilege. The goal of the analysis is to provide a detailed description, explanation, and critique of the textual strategies writers use to 'naturalize' discourses, that is, to make discourses appear to be commonsense, apolitical statements" (p. 2). CDA allows the investigator to "denaturalize" such ideas by showing the processes through which the discourse has been (re)shaped and how it affects and is affected by social structures.

Process

To "denaturalize" discourse Fairclough (1995) proposes a three dimensional methodology of critical discourse analysis that "includes linguistic *description* of the language text, *interpretation* of the relationship between the

(productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and *explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (p. 97, emphasis his). In order to have a working understanding of this methodology it is necessary to understand what Fairclough means by *'describing'*, *'interpreting'* and *'explaining'*.

Describing the Language Texts

Caldas-Coulthard (1993) argues that in *describing* a text the analyst should consider analyzing some or all of the following: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, text structure (micro or macro structures), illocutionary force, coherence and intertextual properties (p. 58). These dimensions of the text form the basic framework for the description. In this project I will analyze aspects of vocabulary (e.g., nominalizations and overlexicalization), grammar (e.g., grammatical processes of exclusion), illocutionary force (e.g., modalization) and intertextual properties (e.g., how do the spoken texts that are recorded in the CR interact with texts that members of Congress have read into the CR). I will focus on these particular dimensions because, in terms of textual description, they show most clearly the ways in which the speakers (as speakers) are able to (re)produce ideologies and assert power.

Interpreting Interdiscursive Processes

The *interpretive* function of this methodology is focused on the interaction between the discourse in question and other discourses and discourse practices in the society[1]. What do the dimensions of the text as they are analyzed above "mean" when viewed against the background of other contemporary discourses

[1] The distinction between "discourses" and "discourse practices" is based on Fairclough's (1995) argument that "[d]iscourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is seen as simultaneously (i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice". (p. 97)

and discursive practices? What do we learn about the relationship between this discourse and other discourses when we view them together? What relationships or dependencies between discourses can I illuminate by such an analysis? What social or cultural processes of change can I see in these relationships?

Riggins argues that the interpretive nature of CDA is inherently "inconsistent with the extreme relativism of Foucault and postmodern writers. Implicit in critical discourse analysis is a claim to truth, although it may be modest" (p. 3). Fairclough (1995) argues further that "[j]udgements of truth and well-groundedness are not just a prerogative arrogantly claimed by intellectuals, they are a constant and necessary part of social life for everyone..." He continues by stating that "[r]etreating into a helpless relativism when faced with issues such as war crimes in ex-Yugoslavia, which require judgments of truth and falsity, is in my view serious ethical failure, whatever theoretical voices may be used to rationalize it" (pp. 18, 19). Such statements certainly put Riggins and Fairclough at odds with many postmodernists, but in this dissertation I will accept their argument that truth (or reality) exists. The issues contained in the texts I will analyze are real life issues, affecting the lives of real people. The Congressional discourse on OE is not a hypothetical discussion, but rather it is an attempt to make a legally binding decision. I will also keep in mind the distinction between an instance of someone knowingly and intentionally presenting *false* information and someone knowingly or unknowingly constructing a view of reality that *excludes* information that could work against their attempt to assert their point of view.

Explaining Relationships: Discourse and Society

Finally, this methodology is aimed at *explaining* the relationships between sociocultural context and discourse. Fairclough (1989) argues that sociocultural

context can be seen as a three level construct. The most immediate level comprises the unique practices that are in place in the situation at hand. These situational practices help define individual textual (spoken or written) situations. A second level comprises the practices that occur in a textual event that are expected either by the mainstream culture or the culture of the speaker/writer (i.e., social rules or customs). The third level is seen as the institutional practices that may be unique to the event if it is taking place in a specific institution (e.g., the United States Congress). Questions for analysis in relation to explaining these relationships include: what relationships or dependencies exist between situational practices, social practices, institutional practices and the discourse in question? How do the sociocultural context and the discourse shape each other?

I presented the dimensions of this analysis (description, interpretation, explanation) in the specific order that Fairclough lists them. It is not necessary to engage the analysis in that specific sequence, and I will not follow the same order that Fairclough presents.

Power

So far, then, we see that CDA aims to describe texts, interpret intertextual processes (or intra- and interdiscursive dependencies [see Barrett, 1991, p. 129]) and explain the relationship between discursive processes and social processes (extradiscursive dependencies [ibid.]). Most CD analysts do not, however, claim to be objective, disinterested observers of phenomena. As implied above, there are always specific reasons for performing a critical analysis of discourse. Fairclough (1993) argues that a primary function of CDA is to reveal how social practices and structures affect and are affected by discourse. CDA tends to focus on power: how is it asserted and resisted. How are power and hegemony (re)produced by the interaction between social practices and discourse. The

foregrounding of the investigation of power as a primary interest of CDA is by no means limited to Fairclough's view. van Dijk is even more explicit in talking about the "relations between discourse, power, dominance [and] social inequality" (1993a, p. 249). He argues that the way to approach such issues "is by focusing on *the role of discourse in the (re)production and challenge of dominance*." (emphasis his (ibid.)). It is in this sense that many CD analysts claim that CDA is an applied ethics: they are concerned with real social problems, including ways of resisting the (ab)use of power and dominance.

The Position of the Analyst

This explicit interest in the notions of power, reproduction, dominance and inequality are central to CDA. For van Dijk, "our critical approach prefers to focus on the elites and their discursive strategies for the maintenance of inequality" (p. 250). This focus on the discourse of elites and the role of discourse in the (re)production of dominance implies a "motivated" or "interested" approach to discourse; thus we must consider the "position" of the analyst in CDA.

The position of the CD analyst is quite different from analysts in most other forms of discourse analysis. The first difference one might notice is that the CD analyst declares an explicit (socio)political stance. Because CDA involves not only description, but also interpretation and explanation, the position of the analyst has an explicit effect on the analysis, particularly in terms of choosing what to analyze. As I pointed out earlier, most CD analysts focus on issues of power, dominance and elites and these analysts are usually explicit about the fact that they would like to change the way power is asserted, who is dominated (or the reality that someone is dominated) and what elites are able to do in most Western societies. There seems to be a consensus among CD analysts that

change is possible through a critical awareness of discourse, an affinity with those who are dominated and a critique of those who assert power and dominate. This places CDA in a position of being evaluative, and as I mentioned earlier, implies an applied ethics. Some CDA scholars may state this position more strongly than others, but there is widespread agreement that there is no such thing as a disinterested, objective analyst in the process of CDA. So, to Fairclough's notion of CDA as a three dimensional analysis (description, explanation, interpretation), we can add van Dijk's overtly political and social concern for the dominated, a focus on inequalities in society, and the entirely interested and motivated analyst setting the elite establishment directly in her/his sights.

This synthesis of Fairclough's, Riggins' and van Dijk's ideas constitutes a working definition of CDA that highlights those characteristics of CDA that I find most useful, i.e., an analysis of discourse that focuses on the relations of power, the (re)production of ideology, and the (re)production of inequality and hegemony in the formulation of language policy in the Congress of the United States. CDA allows the analyst to question in each of these areas and thus it is an appropriate tool in this case.

Hornberger (1990) presents a thought provoking argument for applying language planning theory to the bilingual education and OE debates in the United States. Part of the framework she proposes involves the evaluation of the implementation of language policies (such as Federal support for bilingual education or making English the official language of the United States) with respect to the aims or goals of the policy, but also evaluation of the aims or goals themselves. It is difficult to evaluate goals since stated and unstated (conscious/unconscious) for any given policy may exist. I intend for the reader to understand that CDA is not just an illuminating way to examine discourse, but

is specifically helpful in the study of language policy since it can illuminate or suggest goals that may not be stated and thus allow for their evaluation. The rest of this chapter will be devoted to outlining how this methodology will be applied to the discourse of the Congressional OE movement.

Application of CDA

Context

Congress and the Congressional Record.

The analysis will begin in Chapter Three with the context in which this discourse is set, i.e., Congress and the Congressional Record. I have chosen to place the analysis of this portion of the context before the analysis of the speeches themselves so the reader will have a problematized understanding of how the context affects the meanings of the discourse, that is, how the sociocultural context shapes the discourse. In the analysis of the context I will address questions such as: Who has active access (as opposed to passive access[2]) to the Congressional OE discourse? How do the rules governing speech in the United States Congress affect what may be said? How do these rules affect the amount of information that can be presented or the length of speeches presented (these do not always correlate directly because of the practice of having material read into the record; thus a member of Congress may fill several pages of the CR with information when s/he only has one minute to speak)? How do the rules govern *what* can be said? Given that my data is entirely extracted from the CR, what sort of record is it (e.g., verbatim vs. an approximate transcription, edited vs. un-

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[2]van Dijk distinguishes between active access (when people are able to speak or write in specific situations) and passive access (when people are only able to take in what is being said or written [1993, p. 256]).

edited, etc.)? The answers to questions such as these will set out crucial aspects of the context of the Congressional OE discourse.

Proposed legislation.

In Chapter Three I will also provide a brief overview of the OE legislation that has been proposed, beginning with the amendment Hayakawa proposed on April 27, 1981, and continuing on to HR 123, which was passed on August 1st, 1996. It is important to understand, at least in general terms, how these highly specialized linguistic artefacts are constructed, and why they are constructed in this manner, particularly since a primary goal of each speech I will examine is to persuade people to support this legislation. In addition I will outline the major changes in this legislation over the fifteen year period with which I am concerned. This section of Chapter Three will also include a brief discussion of the expected effects of the legislation, who benefits from such legislation and how such legislation (and discourse) will shape the power relationships between the linguistic majority and linguistic minorities in the United States. Examining these three characteristics of the context (Congress, the Congressional Record, and proposed OE legislation) provides a basis from which to begin exploring the speeches themselves.

Themes and Ideologies of the Texts

Chapter Four begins to examine *what* the supporters of OE legislation are saying. I will examine the main ideas of the speeches and the ideologies that are at work in them. What do Congressional supporters of OE legislation say when they try to persuade their colleagues or constituents that this legislation is necessary? I will show that there is a consistent set of ideas that run throughout the speeches. Who or what are the objects of these speeches (i.e., who or what are the speeches talking about)? What are some of the ideologies, related to these

objects, at work in the speeches? I argue that the linguistic majority in the United States is in a position of dominance relative to the linguistic minority. Do these ideas work to (re)produce this dominance, and if so, how?

The purpose of analyzing the themes and ideologies of these speeches is to understand their role in the (re)production of ideologies and to understand the nature of the processes of mystification that are in operation. How do these speeches "mystify" the concepts represented in these themes? Each of these speeches contain numerous truth claims. I will examine how these are constructed via assertions of expertise, use of quantitative evidence and the invoking of the names of various organizations as instruments of credibility. Many of these speeches include written material that the member of Congress requested be read into the CR. I will show how this practice allows members of Congress to more efficiently perform their ideological work. This aspect of my analysis will demonstrate how concealment, omission and dissimulation work as processes of mystification in these speeches. I will show, in this chapter, that supporters of OE legislation sometimes misrepresent reality and sometimes present points of view that exclude the possibility of alternative perspectives. I will also show how these processes work to naturalize the discourse under study to maintain the asymmetrical relations of power that exist between native English speakers and native speakers of languages other than English in the United States.

Linguistic Dimensions of the Texts

In Chapter Five I will move towards a more "micro"-view of these texts, as I describe some of their linguistic dimensions in order to show the linguistic processes by which the speakers are able to assert their ideas and ideologies in the process of persuading their colleagues and constituents. This involves

describing such aspects of the text as nominalization, passivization and modality (see Fowler, 1985) and the construction of the Other (see van Dijk, 1993, Riggins, 1997). I will explain below the issues these dimensions of analysis are intended to reveal.

Nominalization and passives.

Nominalization is the practice of using a noun to express the contents of a verb. Fowler (1985) argues that "authoritarian discourse" (i.e., "official publications, academic writing, legal language") tends to have large numbers of nominalizations. Newspaper headlines also contain many examples. During the decade of the 1990's the stock market in the United States experienced a lengthy bull market (i.e., a significant rising trend in the price of stocks). Several times during this bull market there were news headlines along the lines of "MARKET RALLY DUE TO REPORTS OF INCREASED UNEMPLOYMENT." Ignoring for the moment the questions many people had about why 'the stock market' would be so happy about increased unemployment, we see that there is no agency or modality in this text. A full rendering of this text might be "Investors bought more stocks, causing stock prices to rise, when they heard reports stating that the rate of unemployment in the United States went up." We see here that the nominalization completely deletes the agency and the modality of the proposition. Fowler argues that nominalizations

> have two ideologically practical consequences. First, they are a source of new nouns, codings of experience that can be transmitted to the appropriate social groups by propaganda or education. Second, they permit deletion of both agency and modality...thus making mysterious the participants, obligations and responsibilities spoken of in the discourse. (1985, p. 71)

The process of discovering information that is structurally excluded through nominalization (such as that contained in agency and modality) can play a major

role in denaturalizing the ideologies the text contains. Passives are similar to nominalizations in that they allow for the deletion of agency, but they are different in that they do not allow the deletion of modals. For example, in the late 1970s, when I was completing my high school education in a very small rural town located in the Columbia River Gorge, I frequently saw signs that read "No trespassing. Violators will be prosecuted" Someone thought such a warning was not convincing, so s/he altered the text to read "No trespassing. Trespassers will be violated." A possible full rendering of the first text is: do not trespass on this property. If you do the owner will ask local law enforcement officials to prosecute you. The second text is quite different in terms of agency, and could be rendered as follows: do not trespass on this property. If you do the owner will violate you (a suitably ambiguous term if one is trying to obtain compliance through intimidation). Thus we see the change in agency when the full rendering is displayed. We also see that in concealing the agency the certainty of the proposition changes. The use of the modal "will" in the first case indicates that there is no doubt that the following action will take place, similar to "the sun will set at 8:49pm this evening". Anyone familiar with trespass laws and law enforcement in rural areas, however, knows that being prosecuted for trespass is indeed a very unlikely event. In the second text, the threat of being violated (whatever that may mean) tends to negate the certainty of the modal "will", but even the *uncertainty* of the threatened "violation" carried more illocutionary force than the seeming certainty of "will" in the first proposition. Analyzing nominalizations and passives focuses on information that the speakers omitted, or is otherwise absent from the text.

Modality.

The analysis of modality focuses on a specific kind of information that is present in the text. Fowler argues that modals "indicate speakers' attitudes to the propositions they utter, and to some degree to their addressees" (p. 72). Fowler goes on to state that a speaker's use of modality may represent one of five different "attitudes":

> validity--the speaker expresses greater of less confidence in the truth of his propositions; predictability--the future events referred to are more or less likely to happen; desirability--practical, moral, or aesthetic judgments; obligation--speaker's judgment that another person is obligated to perform some action; permission--speaker allows addressee to perform some action

Fowler argues that the first three attitudes (validity, predictability and desirability) can work to project a great sense of confidence in ones propositions and "claims to authority" (p. 73). He also argues that the last two (obligation and permission) are directly connected with the assertion of power. I will examine how these attitudes are displayed in the speeches I am working with and I will explore their possible effects in (re)producing power relations and ideology .

The construction of Others.

The dimensions of analysis that I have outlined so far explore issues such as speakers' attitudes, ways of veiling action and ways of veiling agency through nominalization and passivization. While these dimensions give us information about how the speakers feel about the issues they are dealing with, we can also learn how they feel about specific groups of people from the language they use when they talk about various Others.

The last quarter of the 20th century has seen an increase in diversity and tolerance, acceptance, even respect for diversity in the United States. There are

still those who feel that diversity is a disease, but they are no longer the overwhelming majority. This tolerance of diversity has also become encoded in our laws at all levels of government. Consequently, most people who aspire to political office have realized that no matter how they feel about minorities (of any kind) they must be careful how they talk about them. As a result it is unusual to hear racist epithets of any kind or even racist ideas expressed explicitly. This does not mean that racist ideas no longer exist. Politicians (and many others) in the United States continually find more sensitive, sophisticated ways to express racist ideas. As Riggins, (1997) suggests "the lexical terms that are likely to be preferred in public today are those that *mitigate and disguise* a speaker's or writer's tendency to discriminate" (p. 7, emphasis his). A careful analysis of the language used in Congressional speeches supporting OE legislation will reveal the attitudes of the speakers toward the minorities about which they are speaking.

To explore this issue in the analysis below, I will ask questions such as: How do the speakers construct the Others in question? When they refer to Others, is it in an inclusive or exclusive way? How do the speakers use specific generalizations to describe Others? How do the speakers simultaneously describe dimensions of the Others in positive terms to further a political agenda and use syntax that indicates they are excluding the Others in question from the mainstream society (see Carbo, 1997)? The answers to these questions all point to the speakers' perceptions of the Other and their attitudes toward them.

Implication.

The dimensions of analysis that I listed earlier have for the most part been linked directly to words, phrases and other linguistic structures and how they are used to construct meanings that are readily observable in the texts. Another aspect of CDA, however, is the willingness to analyze not just what is explicitly

in the text, but also to examine the significance of what is not explicitly in the text. As van Dijk (1993b) argues "it is sometimes more important to specify what is *not* said by the text than what is actually expressed" (p. 256). This leads us to focus on implication. van Dijk provides the following example from "the British tabloid, the *Daily Mail*:":

> That is why we have to be more brisk in saying no, and showing the door to those who are not British citizens and would abuse our hospitality and tolerance. To do that is not to give way to prejudice, but to lessen the provocation on which it feeds. (Ibid)

This example implies that the British are hospitable and tolerant; that they are not prejudiced, or if they are it is the immigrants' fault, through their abuse of British hospitality. It also implies that the British, at the time this example was written, were not quick to throw non-citizens out of the country (or "show them the door" as it is expressed here). This is in contrast to the construction of "those who are not British citizens": abusers of hospitality and provokers of prejudice.

I will demonstrate in Chapter Five that Congressional supporters of OE legislation implicitly assert many propositions that they would not want to state explicitly. In this way they are able introduce presuppositions into the debate as "natural," "common sense" ideas without ever establishing their validity, i.e., to construct "ideological icebergs" (to borrow a phrase from van Dijk) which show only the tip of their ideological systems.

Interdiscursive Relations

Chapter Six will conclude the dissertation by integrating the various aspects of this analysis in a summary. I will also discuss briefly how the OE discourse relates to other discourses taking place at the same time in the United States, for example talk about education reform, welfare reform, tax reform, immigration reform, and various ideologies emerging in the arena of national

politics at the time. As I argued in Chapter One, this interdependency of discourses can be seen as a movement to "return to some mythical America when life was simpler, people more patriotic, the family a more cohesive unit, and everyone believed in the same thing" (Judd, 1987, p. 128), a movement that Spring (1997) might characterize as the 'project of the right'. Finally, I will discuss the implications of this study for the field of language policy/planning, the limitations of this work and possible directions for future research in this area.

CHAPTER THREE: CONGRESS, THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD AND OFFICIAL ENGLISH LEGISLATION

Introduction

Congress is one of the primary sites of confrontation over OE legislation in the United States and to fully understand what is being said in the OE debate it is necessary to understand how the Congressional context affects this discourse. I will address first the context of Congress itself, then consider the role of the Congressional Record, and finally examine the various forms of OE legislation that have been proposed over the past fifteen years.

The Congress and Power

The United States Congress is an important center of political power in the United States and has great influence on politics around the world. I will provide examples of how members of Congress are able to assert power and affect the lives of every resident of the United States. These examples include Congressional rules, how they function and how they are established; the ability of Congress to restrict active access to Congressional discourse; the ability of members of Congress to restrict what is said on the floor of the Congress; the dissemination of Congressional discourse and the political 'machinery' that allows members of Congress to distribute ideas to their constituents. These examples will show some of the ways in which these political elites (members of Congress) compete with each other and some of the ways in which they are able to use their resources to influence the general public.

Rules in Congress

As most people in the United States probably know, the United States Congress is made up of two branches, the Senate and the House of

Representatives. The framers of the Constitution established two branches deliberately, to offset what they saw as an inherent inability of the population to govern themselves. So while the House of Representatives is closely tied to the population of the states, the Senate was established as a conservative counterpart that is more removed, a somewhat more elite ruling body. The size of the House of Representatives is fixed by the Congress, but the Constitution stipulates that the number of Representatives must be divided among the states according to the population of the states. Thus, states like New York and California have more Representatives than Nevada, Wyoming or Alaska. The Senate is made up of two Senators from each state. This configuration prevents the more populous states from using their population for their own political gain because laws must be passed by both the House and the Senate in order to become enacted. It may be easy for New York or California to pass something in the House because of their relatively large number of Representatives, but much more difficult to pass it in the Senate where they have the same number of Senators as every other state. The Senate and House each operate under their own rules.

The Senate

The 100 members of the Senate serve 6 year terms, and the terms are set so that no more than one third of the members come up for re-election at one time. Thus, the Senate is a legislative body with considerable continuity among its membership. The Senate has a set of established rules by which it abides. These rules may be amended, but there is no wholesale review of the rules at the beginning of each session of Congress. Even though the rules of the Senate are fairly stable, the majority can at any time amend old rules or propose new rules. Given the propensity of legislators to vote along party lines, the majority party is usually successful in changing the rules when they wish.

The rules of the Senate are complex enough that there is a Senate parliamentarian on whom the members of the Senate rely for advice when they are unsure of the rules. An extensive knowledge of the rules in the Senate can give a Senator a distinct advantage when engaged in a debate on the floor, which is important because, unlike the House, actual debate still occurs on the floor of the Senate. Of course, the rules of the Senate cover more than just debate. They govern virtually all aspects of operation of the Senate. Since the rules of the Senate are too extensive to relate here, I will describe below several that are significant in terms of (re)producing power relations after I provide a brief overview of the House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives

There are many similarities between the Senate and the House, but there are also significant differences in the way the two bodies operate. While the Senate has 100 members (two from each state), the House of Representatives has 435 members, apportioned according to the populations of the states. Representatives serve a term of only two years; consequently Representatives tend to think more carefully than Senators might about how their actions will be viewed by their constituents, since they have very little time to recover from mistakes.

Incumbency tends to be an advantage and thus it is easier to stay in the House of Representatives (and the Senate as well) than it is to get elected initially. While this tends to lend some continuity to the House, because of the short term of office, the House still does not have the stability of the Senate. For instance, in the 1994 elections, a large number of incumbents were unseated. In addition, the majority party changed from Democrat to Republican. This event introduced widespread changes in the operation of the House. With a large number of new

members in the House there is a learning period during which the operation of the House is somewhat unpredictable.

It is also the case that the Democrats had been in control of the House for over forty years before the election of 1994. During this time the Republicans developed a long list of complaints about how the Democrats ran the House. In the House, unlike the Senate, at the beginning of a Congress the rules may be completely rewritten according to the wishes of the majority party. They are then voted on by the whole House, but the majority virtually always carries the vote. Thus, at the beginning of the 104th Congress (January, 1995) the rules were changed significantly. We will see one of the effects of this change a little later. As with the Senate, the rules of the House are extremely complex and require a parliamentarian for interpretation. We will see below how the rules can affect the (re)production of power in the House, as well as the Senate.

Reproducing power

Access

One of the most efficient ways for established elites to reproduce existing power relations is to keep their opponents from asserting power or resisting power. One effective means for doing so is to restrict their ability to speak. The founders of the United States were uncertain of the ability of the people to govern themselves, and thus established the Senate as a conservative elite counterpart to what they expected to be a liberal, populist House of Representatives. In establishing the rules for the Congress they made it clear that not just anyone would have active access to this body. As we see the rules of the House and the Senate implemented today, relatively few people outside the Congress are allowed to speak on the floor or in front of committees. At various times heads of state or other political figures are invited to address the Senate, the House, or a

joint session of Congress. Experts are called to testify before committees (on an assigned topic). However, one must have extraordinary political power to get oneself invited to speak to the House or the Senate, or a committee thereof. One recent example of this sort of assertion of power took place when Ross Perot (billionaire and presidential candidate) essentially invited himself to lecture a Congressional committee about how to fix America. If one has money, but not political clout, it is still possible to obtain relatively direct access to the Congress (or individual members of Congress) by making campaign contributions and/or hiring a lobbyist. For people who exist on both the political and economic fringes of United States, gaining active access to the Congress is extremely difficult. By restricting access to the House and the Senate, Congress is able to exert a great deal of control over the discourse that exists in both of its houses. This is an effective way to limit the ability of opposition groups to assert power by influencing the discourse in the Congress.

It is also the case that the Senate and House have internal mechanisms that work to limit the active access of their own members. The political party that controls the majority in the respective houses also has control of the leadership of each committee. The chairperson of each committee is determined by party and usually by seniority (although there have been exceptions to the seniority factor). On any given committee, the Senator or Representative belonging to the majority party, with the most seniority, normally has the option of becoming the chairperson of the committee. If that person does not want to chair the committee, the next most senior majority party member has the option, and so on. The chairperson of each committee sets the calendar for the committee and committee hearings, decides the agenda of meetings and runs the meetings and hearings. Thus, if a piece of legislation comes to the committee that the majority

does not want to pass, one simple tactic is to keep it from being acted on in the committee. The chairperson of the committee has the ability to stall legislation in this way almost indefinitely or attempt to push it through quickly. The chairperson can also schedule or delay committee hearings and control the list of experts allowed to testify. For example, the version of House Resolution 123 that passed the House of Representatives on August 1st, 1996 was introduced and referred to the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities on January 4th, 1995. The Committee sent it to the sub-committee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families on January 24th, 1995, along with three other bills relating to the matter of an official language for the United States. The sub-committee held hearings on October 18th, 1995 and November 1st, 1995. There was no other action taken on this matter until July 24th, 1996, when HR 123 was brought back to the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, and in one day, was considered along with several amendments and ordered to be favorably reported with amendments on a partisan vote of 19 to 17. Democrats on the committee complained bitterly that the bill had not been "marked up" in the sub-committee, that they had not had adequate opportunity to examine the bill in its final form or hold hearings on its final form before voting on the question of sending it to the floor for a final vote. One week later it was brought to the house for a final vote and passed.

In addition to controlling the calendars and agendas, the chairperson of the committee also hires and fires the staff members who will work with the committee, as well as staff members for the various subcommittees working under the committee's control. In these ways, the chairperson of a committee can limit the access that members of a committee have to Congressional discourse and the resources they have, via staff members, to assert their perspective.

It would be inaccurate to say, however, that the majority party and committee chairpersons have unlimited power. The system of checks and balances in the United States government extends even to the internal workings of both houses. For instance, Senate committees must have permission from the full body to schedule meetings and hearings. This permission is routinely granted via a parliamentary procedure called unanimous consent (i.e., a committee chairperson may submit a request to schedule meetings and, without taking an actual vote, the members give consent by not objecting to the request at hand). If a member wants to prevent the committee from working on an issue s/he can object to the request to schedule meetings and thus delay (for a time) the work of the committee. Members of the Senate minority also have the filibuster as a tool to oppose the will of the majority. In the House of Representatives filibusters are not allowed. In fact the Senate is seen as much more friendly to the minority than the House is. As is usually the case with majority/minority relations, however, these strategies of opposition are no match for a concerted effort on the part of the majority to get something accomplished (or to restrict the input minority members have into the discourse).

What may (not) be said

While it is true that the majority party has the opportunity to restrict who may contribute to the Congressional discourse, it is also true that the majority can, in some respects, restrict what may be said. On one level this can be done by refusing to consider certain pieces of legislation in committees or limiting the testimony of experts who may oppose the majority point of view in hearings. On another level, restricting what can be said may be accomplished by directly censoring the speech of members.

One particularly illuminating example of this censorship occurred on January 18th, 1995, when Representative Carrie Meek rose to deliver some remarks during a pro forma session set aside for one minute speeches in which Representatives are allowed to address (almost) any topic they wish. Representative Meek of Florida chose to speak about a pending business transaction between Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich and a publishing company. There was no indication that Meek intended to test the rules of the House, or that anything out of the ordinary was about to take place, but I'm sure the reaction to Meek's comments reminded many observers of the days when fist fights used to break out on the floor of the House.

In short, the background information necessary to understand the event is this: Gingrich had been offered a 4.5 million dollar advance by a publishing company to write two books. It appeared to many observers at the time that the publishing company was in a position to benefit from an association with Gingrich. In addition, Gingrich had been instrumental in ousting a previous Speaker of the House, Jim Wright of Texas, because of a twelve thousand dollar book deal he had secured. Representative Clifford Stearns was serving as Speaker Pro Tempore when this event occurred. When Meek began to speak there were very few members of the House on the floor. Because of the unusual nature of this event, which was broadcast live on C-SPAN, it is worth relating in its entirety (transcription conventions follow those proposed by Jefferson [Atkinson and Heritage, 1984], party affiliation is designated):

(R) Speaker (Sp):	For what reason does the gentlewoman from Florida rise?
(D) Carrie Meek (CM):	To address the house for one minute.
Sp:	Without objection.
CM (walks to podium)	Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
	The Speaker's unbelievably good book deal,

	after all these secret meetings and behind the scenes deal making,
	with which each day brings to light more new and more startling revelations,
	I'm still not satisfied with the answers I'm getting about this very large and lucrative deal our speaker has negotiated for himself.
	Now, more than ever before, the perception of impropriety,
	not to mention the potential conflict of interest still exists and cannot be ignored.
	News accounts tell us that while the speaker may have given up the 4.5 million dollar advance,
	he stands to gain that amount and much more in royalties.
	That's a whole lot of dust where I come from.
	If anything now,
	how much the speaker earns has grown much more dependent upon how hard his publishing house hawks this book//
(R) Robert Walker (RW):	//I demand the gentle lady's words be taken down.
CM	//Which leads me to the question of exactly...
Sp:	The speaker...suspend
Parliamentarian (Par):	The gentlewoman will suspend (said to the Speaker)
Sp:	The gentlewoman will suspend=
RW:	=I demand the words be taken down
Par:	The gentle woman must be seated. (to the Speaker)
Sp:	The gentlewoman must be seated. (Carrie Meek sits down.)
Sp:	Are you prepared to read the words?
Unknown Speakers:	unintelligible
Unknown Speaker:	What was the point of order?
Sp:	That no one would be on the uh speakers rostrum and be coming up here....he was anticipating.....that's the way I understand his words.
Unknown Speaker:	I didn't hear the chair.
Par:	The chair()members not to approach the chair during the time of ()= (to the Speaker)
Sp:	=Um, the chair has pointed out that we don't want members to approach the well or the speakers during the the clerks um looking at the record. Is the clerk, prepared to uh read the uh gentlewoman's words? (several minutes lapse)
Meg Goetz: House Reading Clerk	News accounts tell us that while the speaker may have gain....may have given up the 4.5 million dollar advance, he stands to gain that amount and

	more. That is a whole lot of dust where I come from. If any, if anything now how much the speaker earns has grown much more dependent on how hard his publishing house hawks this book.
Sp:	It is the speaker's opinion that innuendo
Par:	references= (to the speaker)
Sp:	=and personal references
Par:	to the speakers conduct (to the speaker)
Sp:	to the speaker's conduct
Par:	are not in order (to the speaker)
Sp:	are not in order.
Members present:	a clearly negative reaction from some members of the House is discernible
(D) Harold Volkmer (HV):	uh the, oh, Parliamentary procedure.
Sp:	State your //parliamentary procedure.
HV:	//Parliamentary procedure (.) is the speaker now saying that a ruling of this chair that any statement as to activity , whether it's illegal or not, by the speaker of the house, in his private actions, cannot be brought to the floor of this house.....is that your ruling? It appears that it is. That// you're saying the speaker of the house
unknown speaker (b):	//point of order
unknown speaker (c):	//order, order, point of order
HV:	no, no.....parliamentary inquiry. // I want to know what the ruling is. I appeal the ruling of the chair. I appeal the ruling of the chair.
c:	//point of order
RW:	I have a motion that uh, I have a motion.....I have a motion to table the appeal.
Sp:	In answer to the gentleman's question first . It's been the chair's ruling..... precedents of the house supports this. A special level of respect is due the speaker.
HV:	I ... ah (unintelligible) the chair=
Sp:	=Does the gentlemen appeal the chair's ruling?
HV:	The chair uh I the.....I appeal the ruling of the chair.
(R) John Linder (JL):	Mr. Speaker..., I have a motion at the desk.
Sp:	The gentleman from Georgia is recognized. For what..What is your point of order?
JL:	I have a motion at the desk.
Sp:	The clerk will report the motion.
Clerk:	Mr. Linder moves to lay the Volkmer motion on the table.

It is not possible to portray the emotion of this event in the transcription. The tone of Robert Walker's (the GOP "watchdog" in the House) voice when he demanded that Meek's words be taken down (stricken from the record) was alive with anger. The tone of the response by Harold Volkmer was equally angry and filled with disbelief at what was occurring. Shortly after Walker demanded the words be taken down members of the House (most of whom were involved in committee meetings) began pouring onto the floor of the House and the level of noise made it very difficult to hear speakers clearly. There were numerous motions made and voted on, and eventually the Republican majority succeeded in having Meek's remarks removed from the record. Discussion and debate on the floor of the House regarding these remarks lasted for several hours, completely disrupting the House's schedule of events for the day.

Although this event was unusual and does not frequently occur, it serves to establish a standard that members of the House must be aware of when speaking on the floor. Thus if a minority member thought a remark by a majority member was racist, or a piece of legislation racially discriminatory, they might be hesitant to say as much given the likelihood that such a remark would bring censure from the majority party. Calling someone racist (or labeling their actions as racist) on the floor in either house of Congress was at this point (and still is) a risky move. So far, then, we have seen that the majority party can effectively restrict who can speak, and to some extent what they can say. These are key elements in the majority's ability to assert power, and thus compete, more effectively than the minority. Another key dimension of Congressional discourse is the extent to which it is published outside Congress.

Dissemination of Congressional discourse

There are numerous ways in which the actions and discourse of Congress are disseminated across the United States and around the world. There are publications that index the legislation proposed in each session of Congress, publications that provide information about each member of Congress and publications that provide information on hot topics in each session of Congress. There are also three official means by which Congressional discourse is disseminated. The most established of these is the Congressional Record (CR), which I will discuss at length in the next section of this chapter. A more recent development in the dissemination of Congressional discourse is C-SPAN (Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network), the entity charged with televising the proceedings of Congress. The most recent development is actually a method of distributing the Congressional Record via the internet, i.e., the government's THOMAS website (http://THOMAS.loc.gov/).

The development of C-SPAN has greatly increased the extent to which Congressional discourse has become available to the public. C-SPAN I covers House proceedings and C-SPAN II covers Senate proceedings. Although it is not prime entertainment programming, in 1994 C-SPAN I was available in all fifty states, in 43 million households and C-SPAN II was available in forty-five states in some 17 million homes (Oleszek, 1994). The development of C-SPAN has caused few, but some embarrassing, problems for Congress. In the past it was common practice to deliver a speech on the floor of the House or Senate and have copies of it sent to constituents at home. The people back home had no way of knowing that most of these speeches were delivered to an empty chamber, exclusively for the record. The more politically naive constituents had no idea that such speeches had little relevance in the workings of Congress itself, but

served primarily as a public relations strategy. With the advent of C-SPAN, however, constituents could plainly see that the chambers were virtually empty when most of the speeches were being delivered. Prior to C-SPAN it was also common practice to significantly alter the text of one's remarks made on the floor before they were printed in the CR. After C-SPAN, however, the validity of the CR began to be challenged in the media because of this practice. Since then the rules regarding revision of remarks have been altered slightly and most scholars view the CR as a reliable record of what happened on the floor of the House or Senate, but not a verbatim record. Televising the proceedings of Congress, then, has had two important effects. It has increased the public availability of Congressional discourse and it has forced Congress to make the official written record (the CR) somewhat more reliable.

The THOMAS website has not had the same kind of impact on Congress that televising the proceedings has, but it has had a great impact on the availability of information about the government, including the CR. The main component of THOMAS is an internet version of the CR covering the five most recent Congresses. It is a relatively simple matter, with internet access, to search for information that is contained in the CR for the past eight years. While this tool has not necessarily given more people access to the CR, it has made access significantly easier for those who want to follow what is happening in Congress.

In addition to these official avenues of dissemination of Congressional discourse there is also a vast unofficial machinery which works to communicate what occurs in Congress, i.e., the international news media. While members of Congress can carefully control what they put into the official record, they have much less control over how their actions will be communicated by the media. If they are able to successfully court the media, they may be able to secure the

transmission of their message to virtually every household in the nation. If members of Congress are not looked upon favorably by the media, their message may suffer great distortion, but be just as widely disseminated. Of course it is also true that much Congressional discourse is simply ignored by the media. Because of the wide influence of the news media and its ability to project images and sound bites, members of Congress who become skilled at obtaining media cooperation have a resource for (re)producing power relations that is virtually unparalleled in Western culture.

In addition to the means of dissemination just mentioned, members of Congress have certain privileges that help them greatly in their efforts to communicate with their constituents or the nation at large. One of the oldest of these privileges is the frank. The frank is the automated version of the U.S. postal stamp. Members of Congress have the privilege of sending out large amount of mail without paying for it personally. Although restrictions have been placed on the amounts of mail in recent years, Senators still have the option of sending one piece of mail to each address in their state each year and Representatives are allowed to send three pieces of mail to each address in their legislative district each year. This is an effective way to keep the incumbent's name, face and issues before the public at the taxpayers' expense. This is another mechanism that makes it easier to *stay* in office than to *get into* office. This is also a mechanism that allows the members of Congress to assert their points of view at no personal cost. Opposition groups do not have such privileges.

As well as having the franking privilege, members of Congress also have staff members provided for them at taxpayer expense. These staffers (as they are commonly called) are normally divided into three groups: administrative

assistants, legislative assistants and press aides. They perform many different tasks, from negotiating with other Congressional members' staffs on major issues to monitoring critical issues and providing information to their Senator or Representative to creating the mass mailings that go out to constituents and press releases that go to hometown newspapers. In 1993 the average staff size for a Representative was seventeen staffers, with an annual salary budget of over 500,000 dollars. Senate staffs averaged about thirty-one staffers (see Davidson and Oleszek, 1994, p. 149). As elections approach, these staffers' energies can be directed to performing behind the scenes campaign functions. When crucial legislation comes up they provide support for the process. They are a potent force working to further the interests of their employer. When that member of Congress pushes an agenda that conflicts with the best interests of her constituents, the resources weigh heavily against the opposition. When seventy Senators agree on an issue, or when several hundred Representatives agree on an issue, it is nearly impossible to mount a meaningful opposition, in large measure because of these resources.

Finally, to complement the access that members of Congress have to the media, the government provides professional quality television and radio studios for the use of all members of Congress at a cost that is far below the market rate for such services. This resource allows members to produce video clips for use on local television news, audio tapes for radio broadcast etc. With the ability to provide such information services to the media, local news stations can produce news stories without ever having to go to Washington D.C. to get an interview or video footage. Of course, the real advantage exists in the fact that these 'news' stories are written by the member's own staff, thus providing the text that will work most effectively to their advantage.

The conclusion of this discussion is this: members of Congress have at their disposal tremendous, at times virtually unopposable resources. At times they use these resources to compete directly with their elite counterparts. They also use these resources to assert and disseminate their own views and ideologies, to persuade constituents that they are acting in their best interests, and to (re)produce the power relations that they desire. These uses of resources should not necessarily be seen as separate, mutually exclusive, activities. They can work together to achieve a common goal. In Chapter One I argued that the OE movement can be seen as one part of a project to implement a conservative agenda in the United States. To accomplish such a feat, Republicans would need to do at least two things: one is to take control of Congress away from the Democrats, the other is to convince their constituents that such an agenda is in the best interest of the United States. When members of Congress use their resources to compete directly with elite counterparts, they are directly attempting to achieve the former. When they work to achieve the latter, they are also indirectly working to achieve the former, because broad public support for a conservative agenda weakens the position of liberals in Congress. Thus, whether members of Congress are attempting to assert their points of view in the general public or directly attack the views of elite counterparts, they are engaging in elite competition, and they are working to "restructure the whole texture of social life, to alter the entire formation of subjectivity and political identity" in the United States (Barrett, 1991, p. 60).

Congress can be utilized as a structure from which to promote just policies and reconcile past wrongs; it can also be used as a structure from which to perpetuate past and present inequities. By critically examining Congressional discourse it is possible to gain an understanding of which of these two purposes

is being served by a particular agenda or piece of proposed legislation (e.g., the official English movement and OE legislation). In the next section of this chapter I will discuss the CR as the source of my data.

The Congressional Record

What is the Congressional Record

The CR is essentially the day to day record of what happens on the floors of the House of Representatives and the Senate. This seems pretty straightforward and non-controvertible, yet some people refer to the CR as "Congress's Daily Advertisement for Itself" (Gwirtzman, 1992, A14) or, as some politicians say, the "national wastebasket." What is the CR, and why might people refer to it in this way?

A Record of the Congress

The CR was established by the Constitution as a means of occasionally reporting to the American people the activities of Congress. It first appeared in its current form in the mid 1800s. The CR is not a verbatim record. Although court reporters record the words spoken on the floors of the respective houses, they later 'clean up' the grammar of the speakers. The speakers themselves also usually have the opportunity to revise and extend their remarks before they are printed in the CR. Thus, the advent of C-SPAN caused some concern for Congress in that interested parties could now compare what was actually said on the floor with what was printed in the CR. It is also the case that significant amounts of text are printed in the CR that were not spoken on the floor. This is done through a procedure referred to as "reading into the Record." When a member of Congress has a newspaper article from a hometown newspaper, or some other source, they can request that the article be entered in the CR without

being read on the floor. We will see shortly that this practice can be used strategically and is worth examining in some detail.

Accuracy of the Congressional Record

In spite of the 'inaccuracies' in the CR, most scholars view it as a reliable record of what happens and what is said in Congress. The fact that members of Congress can revise their remarks is beneficial for my own research in that one can assume that the remarks finally placed in the CR are more carefully scrutinized than they might be if they were a verbatim record of what a person might say in the midst of a verbal conflict on the floor. Thus a member of Congress speaking on the floor might accidentally make a remark that could be seen as derogatory, pejorative or racist, but such a remark would not likely be allowed to enter the record. Essentially, the record has been sanitized for our protection, and its content should be viewed as carefully thought out texts for which the member is responsible (i.e., these are not 'accidental' texts).

Durability and Accessibility

Finally, the CR is important because it is a durable record, and it is accessible. One can gain access to the text of the CR going all the way back to the founding of the Union. Examining the last century of records is as easy as going to a government depository library (of which there are several in every state) and viewing microfiche records or hard copies (bound, printed versions). And, as I mentioned earlier, more recent records (back through the last decade) are available on-line through a number of sources.

The distribution of the CR throughout the nation to certain libraries is a very small part of the picture. One of the goals in publishing the CR is to make the information available as soon as possible. Thus updates are sent out daily, with a delivery lag time of up to ten days depending on the recipients' location.

More astonishing, however, is that the office responsible for printing the CR works all night and each member of Congress receives a printed copy of the CR each morning for the previous day. Each day's CR is usually longer than 100 pages, and sometimes exceeds 300 pages. In addition to libraries and members of Congress receiving the CR, individual subscriptions are available at a reasonable cost, and most groups who interact directly with Congress (e.g., lobbyists, special interest groups, political action committees, etc.) subscribe to the CR as a way of tracking the proceedings of Congress.

How is the Congressional Record Used

I have already suggested many of the uses of the CR, but there are some I have not mentioned that should be examined closely. The CR should be viewed in some respects as one of the privileges provided to members of Congress. As with the other privileges I discussed earlier, some members of Congress learn how to manipulate it for their benefit.

As I mentioned earlier in this section, some people view the CR as a self serving advertisement for Congress and individual members of Congress. This attitude is linked directly to the practice of making speeches on the floor (normally during the beginning of the Congressional day when one minute speeches on any topic are allowed) which pertain to the constituents at home rather than the issues on the floor. These matters may also be inserted in the CR under the section for extension of remarks. For example, it is common for members of Congress to wish someone in their state or district a happy birthday or bar mitzvah or anniversary. They may congratulate a hometown or university sports team for their achievements. The member then makes copies of the page of the CR which contains the remarks and sends it with a nice letter to the individual (or organization, etc.).

Gwirtzman (1992) states that of the ninety-eight entries under the Extension of Remarks section on June 4, 1992, thirteen had to do with legislation before the Congress. The rest were personal remarks. This day was not selected because it was an unusual day; in fact it is quite typical. This is the most common way the CR is abused for personal benefit. It is not, however, the most subtle, cynical, or sophisticated. I save these designations for two other practices that involve reading material into the CR. One of these practices is reading material into the CR that will enhance the member's own standing in the eyes of his/her constituents in relation to a particular issue. The other is having material read into the CR that might not be tolerated if it were spoken on the floor.

Enhancing Personal Status[3]

On March 1st, 1993, Toby Roth (R), a Representative from the 8th district in Wisconsin, gave a speech (Roth 1994) supporting an amendment to Title 4 of the United States Code that he had proposed. This was one of several amendments proposed during the 103rd Congress that would have made English the official language of the United States. At the end of this speech Roth had an article from the American Legion Magazine, written by Gary Turbank, entitled *The Campaign against English,* read into the CR (see Appendix Four for both the speech and the article). The article explicitly supported Roth's attempts to make English the official language of the United States.

Several aspects of this article are important in considering the full impact of Roth having it read into the CR. For instance, Roth obviously knew what was in Turbank's article before he decided to have it read into the CR. In fact Roth almost certainly knew what the article would be about before it was published,

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[3]Some of the material in this section is taken from a paper I wrote for Professor Gail Stygall during the summer of 1995.

and he had input into the article while it was being written since it is clear that Turbank interviewed Roth for the article. This illustrates a cycle of legitimation that is in place in Roth's actions. Turbank, in writing his article, turns to Roth as a source of information. Roth knew before he had the article read into the CR that he is quoted in the article (actually twice). Thus, Roth legitimates Turbank by recommending this article to his colleagues and having it read into the CR. Turbank legitimates Roth's views by quoting him (to support Turbank's argument) in a published article. One begins to ask questions at this point like, did Roth ask Turbank to write this article with Turbank and Roth both knowing that it would be read into the CR?

Turbank quotes Roth as saying that "America is fast becoming a society divided by language" and bilingual education is "a flop at what we have asked it to do--teach students English" thus reproducing some of Roth's ideology in print. Roth quotes a man named Ernesto Ortiz, a quote that is also used in Turbank's article. Thus we see Roth intertwining two texts, using each to legitimate the other. As a strategy this works to help Roth build credibility for himself by being able to point to Turbank's article and claim that it is an example of a well thought out essay in support of Roth's position. In turn Roth adds credibility to Turbank by using his article and having it read into the CR, which adds credibility to Roth because he is quoted as a reliable source of authoritative information in Turbank's article. This kind of self legitimation works for Roth because he is in a position of power and relative credibility, and he has the means (the CR and access to a willing journalist) to assert power and reproduce ideology in a broad arena. This is a subtle and effective way of enhancing one's own status.

Avoiding Censorship

Another use of the CR, which does not happen as often as the practices I have detailed so far is the practice of having something read into the CR that makes statements or conveys ideas that might not be permitted to be spoken on the floor. One example of this comes from Senator Steve Symms (R) of Idaho.

In October of 1983, the Senate was debating a proposed national holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Senator Symms was opposed to the idea and took the rostrum to make his views known (see Appendix One). He began by stating that many of his constituents were opposed to the idea, and so was he; but their opposition had nothing to do with "race or with civil rights." Symms spoke for a brief time about King's involvement with the anti-war movement during the Vietnam War. Symms then asked unanimous consent to place an article in the CR.

This article was written by "John Beauclair...a postal clerk in Boise [Idaho]" and appeared in the "Valley Sentinel, the official publication of the Boise, Idaho, American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO." The article is entitled *Martin Luther King, Jr. -- Martyr?*, and as the title suggests, questions whether King was a martyr, or just a victim of self provoked violence.

Beauclair states that there is "[e]nough documentation...to fully substantiate the close personal ties of Martin Luther King, Jr. with known communists and communist-front organizations" and also portrays his opposition to the Vietnam War as an act of treason. Beauclair then forwards a hypothesis for why King was killed, and how he might have avoided it. It is worth examining this part of the article as it appears:

> Martin Luther King, Jr. was not a martyr in the traditional sense usually associated with the word martyr. Instead, he was more

> than likely a victim of the violence that followed his non-violent demonstrations -- a non-violence which had very little in common with the christianity (sic) he supposedly professed but one more in keeping with the methods used by the communists and the communist fronts to stir up racial discontent and fan the fires of revolution in our country. Christianity teaches just the opposite. Humility, longsuffering and turning the other check (sic) in face of insult are tenets of Christianity.

There are several ideas in this text that should be noted. First Beauclair argues that King should not be viewed as a martyr, but as a victim of his own campaign of non-violence. Second, King supposedly was not truly advocating for civil rights, but was using communist tactics to stir up "racial discontent." Finally, Beauclair implies that "Humility, longsuffering and turning the other [cheek]" are the appropriate response to racial oppression. His version of Christian theology claims that injustice should go unopposed and instead those who are oppressed should simply be humble and long-suffering, and turn the other cheek. This is a fairly transparent way of telling the oppressed to get used to their situation because it is not going to change. When such methods of cognitive control are used effectively, they are a powerful tool in the service of (re)producing power relations between the dominant and the dominated.

Senators who were present may have objected to this message being spoken on the floor of the Senate. To avoid such objections, Symms had the material read into the CR. By the time any other Senators see the article (the next morning when the CR arrives at their office), the text has already been printed and widely distributed. At the same time Symms can claim that these ideas are not his; he did not say them. He was simply relating the ideas of his constituency.

So far, then, we have seen several dimensions of the Congressional context that are important to a complete understanding of the texts I will begin

analyzing in Chapter 4. To summarize, Congress is an institution of great power. Members of Congress have vast resources at their disposal, including money, staff members, privileges, access to media and social status. The Congressional Record, which is the source of my data, can be used to the advantage of the members of Congress when they are willing to master the necessary skills and strategies. In the next section of this chapter, I will examine the actual proposals of official English legislation that have come before Congress since 1981.

Proposed Legislation

Overview

Official English proposals began appearing in Congress with S.I. Hayakawa's proposed constitutional amendment in 1981 (97th Congress, 1st session). In the next fifteen years there were thirty-four proposals in all, counting the various versions of HR 123 (the proposal that finally passed in the House of Representatives on August 1, 1996). There are many different ways to group these proposals by similarities. One of the most obvious is to place them in two groups, one group consisting of proposed Constitutional amendments, the other group consisting of proposed amendments to Title 4 of the United States Code (see Chart Two). Prior to the 101st Congress (1989), all proposals to make English the official language of the United States were in the form of Constitutional amendments (ten proposals total). From the 101st Congress to the 104th Congress there were twenty-four proposals, only five of which were Constitutional amendments.

The USC is the compilation of the Federal laws of the United States. Title 4 of the USC relates to such matters as the flag, the seal and the seat of government of the United States, matters related to the states and the official

territorial papers. These subjects are divided by chapter: 1. The Flag, 2. The Seal, 3. Seat of the Government, 4. The States and, 5. Official Territorial Papers. The proposed OE amendment to Title 4 would add a chapter 6 entitled "Declaration of official language of the Federal Government."

One of the first events in the life of a legislative proposal in Congress is it gets sent to a committee for consideration. The committee can reject it, table it, refer it to a subcommittee, not act on it or send it to the floor for a vote. Proposals are sent to a committee based on the committee's area of responsibility. All proposed OE constitutional amendments are sent to the Committee on the Judiciary. Proposals to amend Title 4 of the United States Code were sent to one of three committees: the Committee on Government Affairs (Senate), the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunity (House) and the Committee on Education and Labor (House). To be technically correct, I should mention that when HR 123 was considered on the floor of the House of Representatives, the House was resolved into the Committee of the Whole, as it is when any piece of legislation is being put to a final vote.

It is helpful in understanding the nature of the Congressional OE movement to observe in which house these proposals were submitted and who the authors were. The OE movement in Congress began with Hayakawa in the Senate, but quickly transferred to the House. Eight proposals were made in the Senate, twenty-five in the House. There are a relatively small number of Senators and Representatives who made most of the proposals. Six different authors wrote 24 of the proposals; nine different authors wrote the remaining nine proposals (see Chart One).

In addition, these proposals, taken as a group, have a chronological continuity. Hayakawa submitted the first proposal in the Senate and then retired.

Representative Norman Shumway submitted a proposal in the House in the 98th, 99th, 100th and 101st Congresses. Representative Bill Emerson submitted a proposal in the 101st, 102nd, 103rd and 104th Congresses.

Table One. Authors of Official English legislation

Author	Year of proposal(s)	Number of Proposals Authored
Hayakawa	1981	1
Dornan	1982	1
Shumway	1983 to 1989	5
Huddleston	1983	1
Miller (of Ohio)	1987	1
Smith (of Nebraska)	1987 to 1989	2
Broomfield	1987	1
Emerson	1989 to 1996	6
Shelby	1990 to 1995	5
Dickinson	1991	1
Doolittle	1993 to 1995	2
Roth	1993 to 1995	2
King	1995	1
Pickett	1995	1
Cunningham	1996	2

The chronological and authorial continuity of the proposals as displayed in Chart One must be taken into account when considering the context of the Congressional OE discourse. The information in Chart Two shows that of the first twelve proposals, nine had no co-sponsors. The greatest number of co-sponsors for the remaining three of the first twelve proposals was sixteen. All together, the first twelve proposals (covering 1981 to 1989) had only 32 co-sponsors between them. This indicates that these first proposals had little support in Congress; they were not part of the mainstream discourse.

However, when one person introduced a proposal in consecutive Congresses, support, even when small, tended to increase. For instance, Shumway proposed OE legislation in the 98th, 99th, 100th and 101st Congresses. In the 98th Congress, his proposal had no co-sponsors. The

number increased, however, to twelve, sixteen and eighteen in the 99th, 100th and 101st Congresses respectively. Similarly, the number of co-sponsors for Emerson's proposals was eight, thirty-eight, eighty-six and 196 in the 101st, 102nd, 103rd and 104th Congresses respectively. It would appear that as one member of Congress continued to work on the OE legislation, he was able to gain support over a number of years.

Finally, when considering the passage of HR 123 in 1996, one needs to factor three other issues into the context. The first is that the Republicans had very recently taken control of the House. Prior to that the Democrats had controlled the House for approximately forty years. The Republicans made it clear in their first weeks in the 104th Congress that they were going to push through many bills that never had a chance when the Democrats were in control. Second, OE legislation was clearly partisan legislation. On the final vote on HR 123, 223 Republicans and thirty-six Democrats voted in favor of the measure; eight Republicans and 160 Democrats voted against the measure. Of the thirty-six Democrats who broke ranks and voted for the measure, twenty-five were Southern Democrats, with a history of being much more conservative than the rest of the Democrats. The third factor to consider regarding the passage of this legislation is the death of Representative Bill Emerson of Missouri.

As I noted earlier, Emerson had authored OE proposals in four consecutive Congresses, gaining support with each new proposal. Emerson was a popular member of the House and when he was diagnosed with inoperable lung cancer he elected to remain in Congress, participate fully and even seek re-election. Emerson was outspoken about the fact that he did not miss a single vote due to his illness, even though he had to sleep in one of the House cloak rooms at times during late night sessions. Emerson died on June 22, 1996, about five

weeks before final consideration of his proposal, HR 123. After his death, 159 additional members of the House of Representatives signed on to HR 123 as co-sponsors, bringing the total to 196. Thus, the passage of this legislation may have been in part a project of the House Republican leadership to honor one of their own for his work in the Congress.

Another characteristic of these legislative proposals that should be noted is the trend in complexity from the first OE proposal to the version of HR 123 that finally passed the House on August 1st, 1996. The trend of the complexity of this legislation reflects both the abstract, ideological nature of the Congressional OE movement, and the practicality of the strategies adopted to push it through the House of Representatives.

Table Two
Overview of Proposed Official English Legislation

Proposal #	Body	Amends[4]	Complexity		Support	Committee	Date[5]	Author
104th Congress	H; S[6]	C; T4	Sects.[7]	Words[8]	Co-Sponsors			
S 356[9]	S	T4	5	875	1	Govt. Aff[10]	1/30/95	Shelby
S 175	S	T4	5	787	0	Govt. Aff.	1/9/95	Shelby
HR 739[11]	H	T4	2	506	25	EEO[12]	1/30/95	Roth
HR 3850	H	T4	5	981	0	EEO	7/18/96	Cunningham
HR 3898	H	T4	7	1367	2	EEO, Jud.[13]	7/25/96	Cunningham
HR 345	H	T4	5	885	0	EEO, Jud.	1/4/95	Pickett

[4]C = Constitution; T4 = Title 4 of the United States Code
[5]Date the proposal was introduced.
[6]House or Senate
[7]"Sections" is the number of sections in the body of the proposed legislation.
[8]"Words" is the number of words in the text of the proposed legislation.
[9]"S" indicates Senate Resolution.
[10]Committee on Government Affairs
[11]"HR" indicates House Resolution.
[12]Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunity
[13]Committee on the Judiciary

Table Two
Continued

HR 123sv[14]	H	T4	7	1407	NA	Judiciary	NA	NA
HR 123v3[15]	H	T4	7	1407	NA	NA	NA	NA
HR 123v2[16]	H	T4	7	1049	196	Whole[17]	7/30/96	Emerson
HR123v1 [18]	H	T4	7	869	37	EEO	1/4/95	Emerson
HR 1005	H	T4	6	833	30	EEO, Jud.	2/21/95	King
HJRes 109[19]	H	C	2	149	3	Jud.	9/28/95	Doolittle
103rd Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
S 426	S	T4	5	786	0	Gvt. Aff.	1/5/93	Shelby
HR 739	H	T4	2	400	10	Ed. & Lab.[20]	2/2/93	Roth
HR 123	H	T4	5	804	86	Ed. & Lab.	1/5/93	Emerson
HJRes 171	H	C	2	149	0	Jud.	3/31/93	Doolittle
102nd Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
S 434	S	T4	5	764	4	Govt. Aff.	2/6/91	Shelby
HR 123	H	T4	5	754	38	Ed. & Lab.	1/3/91	Emerson
HJRes 81	H	C	4	167	30	Jud.	1/18/91	Dickinson
101st Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
S 3179	S	T4	5	751	0	Govt. Aff.	10/2/90	Shelby
HR 4424	H	T4	5	751	8	Ed. & Lab.	3/29/90	Emerson
HJRes 81	H	C	4	167	18	Jud.	1/19/89	Shumway
HJRes 48	H	C	2	93	0	Jud.	1/3/89	Emerson
HJRes 23	H	C	4	165	0	Jud.	1/3/89	Smith[21]
100th Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
HJRes 13	H	C	4	164	0	Jud.	1/6/87	Broomfield
HJRes 60	H	C	4	164	0	Jud.	1/6/87	Smith
HJRes 33	H	C	2	106	0	Jud.	1/6/87	Miller[22]
HJRes 83	H	C	2	92	16	Jud.	1/8/87	Shumway
HJRes 656	H	C	4	185	0	Jud.	9/15/88	Shumway

[14]Version sent to Senate for consideration after passage in the House.
[15]Version which passed the House of Representatives on August 1, 1996.
[16]Version which was introduced to the Committee of the Whole on August 1, 1996.
[17]The House of Representatives resolved into the Committee of the Whole
[18]Version proposed by Representative Bill Emerson on January 4, 1995.
[19]"HJRes" indicates House Joint Resolution.
[20]Committee on Education and Labor
[21]Mrs. Smith of Nebraska
[22]Mr. Miller of Ohio

Table Two
Continued

99th Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
HJRes 96	H	C	4	164	12	Jud.	1/24/85	Shumway
98th Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
SJRes 167	S	C	2	107	4	Jud.	9/19/83	Huddleston
HJRes 169	H	C	4	163	0	Jud.	3/2/83	Shumway
97th Congress	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
HJRes 442	H	C	4	164	0	Jud.	3/17/82	Dornan
SJRes 72	S	C	6	208	0	Jud.	4/27/81	Hayakawa
Totals	H; S	C; T4	Sects.	Words	Co-Sponsors	Committee	Date	Author
	H, 26; S, 8	C, 16; T4, 18	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	15 Authors

Complexity and Construction

Overview

There are various ways to analyze the complexity of these proposals. I will continue to divide the proposals between those that would amend the Constitution of the United States and those that would amend Title 4 of the United States Code. Of the sixteen proposals that would amend the Constitution, one of them had six sections, 9 had four sections and six had only two sections. There is little variation in the number of words relative to the number of sections in these proposals. Ten of the proposals had 149 words to 167 words, four of the proposals had ninety-two words to 107 words, one proposal had 185 words and one had 208 words. The Title 4 amendments, on the other hand, while all having close to the same number of sections (from four to seven), have widely varying numbers of words, and many more words than the proposed Constitutional amendments (ranging from 400 to 1,407 words). Again, all of

these figures include only the sections and words found in the body of the proposals, so a proposal does not increase in complexity (via the number of words) just because there are 200 co-sponsors. From the statistics presented here one might conclude that the proposed Title 4 amendments are much more complex than the proposed Constitutional amendments, a conclusion that would be supported by several other observations about these proposals that I will discuss next. Before moving on, however, I want to note that there is a definite point in time when there was a shift from OE proposals to amend the Constitution to OE proposals to amend Title 4. The first proposal to amend Title 4 was introduced by Emerson in the second session of the 101st Congress. After that (up to the time HR 123 passed the House) there were only three more OE proposals to amend the Constitution, but sixteen OE proposals to amend Title 4.

Proposed Constitutional Amendments

There are significant differences between the proposed OE Constitutional amendments and the proposed OE Title 4 amendments. Understanding how these two different types of proposals are constructed will help explain the significance of their differences.

I will divide the proposed OE Constitutional amendments into two groups containing five types total (see Appendix Two) based on the degree to which they restrict specified activities and their complexity. I will refer to the first group as '**affirmative**' proposals, because these proposals only affirm the role and status of English in the United States. The affirmative group consists of two types of proposals: type 1, (HJ Res. 48, HJ Res. 33, HJ Res. 83 and SJ Res. 167), which are the least complicated of the proposals, having only two sections and type 2, (HJ Res. 109 and HJ Res. 171) which have the same number of sections as type 1 proposals, but are slightly more complicated in that they stipulate what

it means for English to be the official language of the United States. I will refer to the second group of proposals as '**restrictive**' proposals because they all restrict the United States and the several states from making any law requiring the use of any language other than English. This second group consists of three types of proposals. Type 3 proposals, (HJ Res. 23, HJ Res. 13, HJ Res. 60, HJ Res. 96, HJ Res. 169 and HJ Res. 442) all have four sections. Type 4 proposals (HJ Res. 81 in the 101st and 102nd Congresses and HJ Res. 656) have four sections, but also have some subsections. Type 5 (SJ Res. 72) is different in construction from all the other proposals.

Even though there are obvious differences between these groups and types of proposals, there are also fundamental similarities. For instance, every proposal begins with the sentence "The English language shall be the official language of the United States." Each proposal also gives Congress and (and in some cases also the States) the authority to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation. Beyond that, however, the proposals are different in ways that should be carefully analyzed.

As noted in the preceding paragraph, type one and type two proposals have only two sections. Type one proposals (SJRes 167 and HJRes 83, 33 and 48) all state very simply, "The English language shall be the official language of the United States" and "The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." The intentional lack of specificity in this proposal allows for a tremendous amount of interpretation by the courts and the various departments in the government. These proposals contain the most uncertainty about actual implementation. They have the potential to be very far reaching, nullifying all laws that provide for services in languages other than English in the

United States. They also have the potential to be interpreted as primarily symbolic and change only the official status of English in the United States.

HJRes. 171 and HJRes. 109, which also have only two sections, define what it means for English to be the official language. The implementation of these proposal is much less open to interpretation, but is probably as far reaching as the type 1 proposals could ever be. HJRes. 171 and 109 state that "[t]he English language shall be the official language of the United States. As the official language, the English language shall be used for all public acts including every order, resolution, vote or election, and for all records and judicial proceedings of the Government of the United States and the governments of the several States." This delimitation of how English "shall" be used would seem to abolish bilingual ballots and translation for court proceedings. Then the courts or departments of government would have to decide what else "public acts" includes. Certainly bilingual education, license examinations and other multilingual government services would be in question. On the other hand, the proposal does not explicitly state that languages other than English can not also be used for the stated purposes, thus leaving the possibility that type two proposals could also be largely symbolic.

The proposals in the restrictive group are not likely to be seen as merely symbolic measures. Type three proposals have four sections. The first section is like all the other proposals: "The English language shall be the official language of the United States." Section 2 then becomes more specific about what that means by stating that '[n]either the United States nor any State shall require ...the use in the United States of any language other than English." This wording limits the ways in which type three proposals can be interpreted. Whereas in type one and type two proposals, the amendment could be interpreted as largely a

symbolic gesture, type three proposals clearly forbid the United States and the several States from making any requirement that a language other than English should be used for any government purposes. Thus type three is more clearly restrictive than either of the affirmative proposals. Almost certainly, all programs requiring the use of a language other than English in the United States would be abolished.

Type three, however, does make an exception. Section three allows the use of languages other than English in the teaching of English to students who are not proficient in English, but only insofar as such instruction is for the purpose of making those students proficient in English (i.e., transitional bilingual education would be allowed, but not any kind of native language support or additive bilingual education).

Type four proposals are very similar to type three proposals, except that they provide more exceptions to the restriction on the use of languages other than English. Type four provides an exception for transitional bilingual education, for the teaching of foreign languages (but only to students who are already proficient in English), to protect the public health and safety and to allow for translation in court proceedings.

The only type five proposal is also similar to the type three and type four proposals in what it allows and what it restricts, but differs in its construction. The type five proposal has six sections. Section one is the standard "English ...shall be the official language...." Sections two, three and four state what is stated in section two of the type three and type four proposals. Section five provides an exception for transitional bilingual education.

Based on the preceding information, we can make several general observations about the proposed OE Constitutional amendments. Overall they

are broad, general statements that were intended to be interpreted by a body other than Congress. It seems that the authors intended to embed a certain idea in the Constitution (English shall be the official language of the United States) and then let others sort out the details. As a group these proposals had very little support; the sixteen proposed Constitutional amendments collected only eighty-three co-sponsors. In contrast, the second version of HR 123 alone had eighty-six co-sponsors. One may also note that there is no strategic maneuvering observable in the pattern of proposals to amend the Constitution. It is as if some proponents believed they could reintroduce the same proposal year after year and eventually it would pass.

As I noted earlier, the first proposals to amend Title 4 were introduced in the 101st Congress. When the proponents of OE legislation shifted from an emphasis on the Constitution to an emphasis on Title 4, they signaled a shift in strategy.

Proposed Amendments to Title 4 of the United States Code

Overview.

It is not easy to divide the proposed amendments to Title 4 into groups or types. There are some proposals that are identical, several that are unique, and several others that were integrated into the final version of HR 123 (see Appendix Four for the complete texts). In the 101st and 102nd Congresses, four proposals to amend Title 4 were introduced, two in the Senate and two in the House. All four were identical and are the basis of the version of HR 123 that was approved by the House of Representatives. HR 123 was re-introduced in the 103rd Congress with its companion in the Senate, S 426. These bills were identical, but were slightly altered versions of the previous HR 123, proposed in the 101st and 102nd Congresses. Also introduced in the 103rd Congress was HR 739, by

Roth, which is significantly different in construction and focus than the various versions of HR 123 and its companion bills. In the 104th Congress, seven OE bills were introduced in addition to HR 123. S 175, introduced in the Senate by Shelby, was intended to be the Senate companion to HR 123, but it was the outdated version from the 103rd Congress. Twenty-one days later Shelby introduced S 356, which was identical to the version of HR 123 introduced in the 104th Congress by Emerson. The other five OE proposals introduced in the 104th Congress were HR 3850, 3898, 345, 1005, and HR 739 was re-introduced from the 103rd Congress. All of the OE proposals introduced in the 104th Congress were referred to the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities; some of them were also referred to the Committee on the Judiciary. As we will see shortly, HR 3850, 3898, 345 and 1005 all have elements that were eventually integrated into HR 123 before it finally passed the House. Before discussing the process by which the final version of HR 123 was created, however, I will examine the basic construction of these proposals.

Construction.

All of the OE proposals to amend Title 4, with the exception of HR 739 in both the 103rd and 104th Congresses, have from five to seven sections; the proposals to amend the Constitution had from two to four sections, with the exception of Hayakawa's proposal which had six sections. The proposals to amend Title 4 also tend to have larger numbers of words than the proposals to amend the Constitution. This increase in the number of words and sections in the Title 4 proposals can be seen as the result of attempts to write technically sound legislation, rather than broad statements intended to be interpreted by the courts and implemented by the various departments of government. Whereas a Constitutional amendment can be as simple as "The English language shall be the

official language of the United States"; "The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation," an amendment to Title 4 has to spell out exactly what it intends to accomplish.

The Title 4 amendments begin by stating that the document is a bill "to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States...." The first "section" of the Title 4 proposals provides the title that the author and supporters of the proposal have chosen. Several proposals were entitled simply the "Language of Government Act of [year of proposal]". The second section of the proposal provides the rationale for the proposal. This section of these proposals is particularly helpful in understanding the author and supporters' attitudes toward language, linguistic minorities, cultural diversity, etc.

The third section usually begins the technical construction of the amendment. Section three stipulates exactly how Title 4 will be amended, stating in full each section of the new chapter. This includes stating exactly what the amendment prescribes, what exceptions are made, a definition of key terms, statements of the intentions behind the amendment and even instructions on how the table of contents of the United States Code must be revised to include this new chapter. In all of the OE Title 4 proposals there is a section entitled "Preemption" that states whether or not the amendment pre-empts any existing federal or state laws.

The last section of most of the Title 4 proposals stipulates when the amendment shall take effect if approved by both houses of Congress. In the Title 4 proposals that have more than five sections, there are usually one or two sections related to repealing a related law, for instance, the bilingual ballot provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 or the Bilingual Education Act.

Strategy.

When one carefully examines the way the OE proposals to amend Title 4 change over time, another difference between these proposals and the OE proposals to amend the Constitution stands out. Where the proposals to amend the Constitution tended to be re-introduced in an unchanged form for several Congresses, the OE proposals to amend Title 4 went through small but significant changes over a period of about eight years. As I mentioned earlier, HR 4424, introduced in the 101st Congress, was the first OE proposal to amend Title 4, and it contains the basic ideas that would be present in the version of HR 123 that passed the House (see Appendix Three for the complete text of HR 4424). The version of HR 123 introduced in the 102nd Congress is identical to HR 4424 except for the appropriate changes in dates. Emerson, the author of both of these bills was able to increase the amount of support for them, even though the proposals were the same. HR 4424 had eight co-sponsors, the version of HR 123 introduced in the 102nd Congress had 38 co-sponsors.

The version of HR 123 introduced in the 103rd Congress changed in several small ways from the version introduced in the 102nd Congress, but the basic ideas remained the same. The second section of the proposal changed from "Findings and Purpose" to "Findings and Construction." This is the section that provides the rationale for amending the USC to make English the official language of the United States. In the 102nd Congress, this section consisted of a paragraph of thirteen lines. In the 103rd Congress, this section was transformed into an outline form and expanded to twenty-six lines. The ideas are basically the same, except for the addition of a subsection regarding the construction of the proposal which stated that the proposal was not intended to discriminate against any individual or discourage the use of languages other than English in any non

official capacity, and it was not intended to repeal any laws of the United States (unless such law contravenes the proposed amendment).

In section three (the actual language that would have appeared in Chapter 6 of Title 4 if the proposal had been approved) there are several small changes that suggest Emerson is listening to supporters and strengthening the technical construction of the proposal. For instance, section `161 changed from "Declaration of official language" to "Declaration of official language of Government," section `163 changed from "Government activities in English" to "Official Government activities in English". Emerson also deleted section `164 "Antidiscriminatory provisions" (this section states that "Any person in the United States discriminated against solely because the person communicated to the Government in English shall be considered to have been discriminated against on the basis of national origin...."; I will consider this language explicitly in the next section of this chapter). In the 103rd Congress version, Emerson also included a provision, `Sec. 165 `(2) `(C), which allows for the use of languages other than English in international relations, trade or commerce.

Before Emerson introduced HR 123 in the 104th Congress, he made a few additional changes, some of which seem more ideological than technical. He added three items to the "Findings and Construction" section: (6) "the purpose of this Act is to help immigrants better assimilate and take full advantage of economic and occupational opportunities...." (7) "by learning the English language, immigrants will be empowered with the language skills and literacy necessary to be come responsible citizens and productive workers in the United States" and (10) "any monetary savings derived from the enactment of this Act should be used for the teaching of non-English speaking immigrants the English language." Also, to the definition of "Official Business" in `Sec. 165 `(2), he

added `(A) "teaching of foreign languages" as an activity that is not included in the definition of official business, and thus is not prohibited by this Act. This version of HR 123 had 86 co-sponsors.

It is in this form that the version of HR 123 introduced on January 4th, 1995, in the 104th Congress, was sent to the Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities along with all the other OE proposals introduce in the 104th Congress. Some nineteen months later, on July 30, 1996, HR 123 was reported out, with 196 co-sponsors, to the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for final consideration. The basics of the bill were still intact, but again, several changes were made. The first noticeable change is the title of the bill. Introduced as the "Language of Government Act of 1995," the bill was reported out as the "English Language Empowerment Act of 1996" (this was a feature of two of the OE proposals introduced in the 104th Congress, i.e., HR 3850, HR 3898). The most significant change, however, mandated that all naturalization ceremonies take place in English. This was a feature of several of the other OE proposals made in the 104th Congress (i.e., HR 1005, HR 345 and HR 3898 and HR 3850). There were several other technical adjustments as well. For instance, throughout the proposal the phrase "The Government" was changed to "the Federal Government" or "representatives of the Federal Government". `Sec. 164 was changed so that a person alleging injury from a violation of this act could seek relief in a civil action under chapter 151 of title 28, rather than sections 2201 and 2202 of title 28. In the "definitions" section, several changes were made that are worth noting. The definition of official business was expanded to include "publications, income tax forms, and informational materials" thus making these items available only in English if this proposal was enacted. The exceptions to

the definition of official business were also expanded to include `(i) "national security issues", `(D) "actions or documents that facilitate the activities of the Census", and `(G) "actions in which the United States has initiated a civil lawsuit." This version also included a definition of the United States: `(3) "United States - The term 'United States' means the several States and the District of Columbia." This may seem obvious or trivial, but in fact, because it excludes Puerto Rico from the affects of this act, as long as it is not a state, this definition would have significant impacts if the proposal had been approved, both on the debate regarding Puerto Rican statehood and on attempts by members of Congress to make Puerto Rico adopt English as its official language.

Few bills make it through final consideration on the floor of the House without suffering some additional changes; HR 123 is no exception. Although most of the changes that were imposed during final consideration were technical in nature, one of them was quite substantial. The first noticeable change is, again, in the title. In honor of the author of this proposal, Bill Emerson, who, as I mentioned earlier, died about five weeks before the bill passed the House, the bill was renamed the "Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act of 1996." Nothing else is changed until `Sec. 167., which is the rule of construction. Subsection `(2) was added, stating that nothing in this chapter shall be construed "to limit the preservation or use of Native Alaskan or Native American languages (as defined in the Native American Languages Act)." Added to the exceptions to the definition of official business was `(B) which allows languages other than English to be used in complying with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, thus allowing representatives of the Federal Government to use such languages as American Sign Language when communicating with people who are hearing impaired. The major change in the

version of HR 123 that passed the House, however, was that it repealed the section of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that required bilingual ballots (this was a feature of HR 1005 and HR 3898).

There are several conclusions I want to draw from this discussion of the differences between the OE proposals to amend the Constitution and the OE proposals to amend Title 4. We have seen that the proposals to amend the Constitution were very simple in their construction, making broad, general statements that were intended to be interpreted later. The basic strategy was to gain approval of the concept and deal with the details later. Thus the concept would always be open to (re)interpretation, depending on the political climate of the nation. The proposals to amend Title 4 were much more detailed, and thus more complex than the proposed Constitutional amendments. The Title 4 proposals would also have been subject to more restricted interpretation. Finally, the differences in strategy used by the proponents of the two types of proposals is worth noting. We saw that the proponents of the Constitutional amendments actually varied the content of their proposals very little. The proponents of the Title 4 amendments, however, changed their proposals in ways that were sometimes small, sometimes large, but always suggesting an attempt to negotiate, compromise and reach enough of a consensus to get one of the proposals approved. Many of the basic ideas in HR 4424, the basic foundation of HR 123 stood firm. Those ideas are evident in the language of the proposal. The next, and last, section of this chapter will deal with what those ideas are and how they are expressed.

Language

The speeches that I will examine in chapters four and five are linguistic artifacts that, through careful analysis, may reveal attitudes held by the speakers.

Legislation is also a very special kind of linguistic artifact. By analyzing the language of the legislation it is, again, possible to reveal attitudes held by the authors. Understanding what attitudes are displayed in this legislation is an important part of understanding the overall picture of ideology and power relations in the OE movement.

Proposed OE Constitutional Amendments

As I mentioned earlier, from the 97th Congress to the 100th Congress all of the OE proposals were to amend the Constitution. These proposals were relatively short and contain few words. The language of the proposals tends to be straightforward and reveals few assumptions on the part of the authors. In examining these proposals as a group one might conclude that the authors perceived a need to make English the official language of the United States, but any reason as to why they felt this need would be a mystery. One might also conclude that the authors of these proposals felt compelled to address issues related to language learning. Of course, examining their speeches will reveal that they were indeed very concerned about what they saw as an abuse of bilingual education. Thus, Hayakawa states in HJ Res. 72, Section 5 "This article shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English as required as a *transitional* method of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English" (emphasis mine). Shumway, in HJ Res. 656, addresses the matter in a somewhat different fashion. He repeats Hayakawa's wording, but adds in a subsequent subsection "[t]his article shall not prohibit any law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree or policy-- '(2) to teach a foreign language to students who are already proficient in English". This statement more fully suggests one of the main issues OE proponents were fighting against. The authors of these proposals seemingly felt that bilingual education was being

abused by keeping students in such programs for many years and teaching them their native language in addition to, or to the exclusion of, English. We will see in Chapter Four, however, that there are other reasons these legislators oppose bilingual education.

Proposed OE Title 4 Amendments

The Title 4 OE proposals, unlike the OE proposals to amend the Constitution, have relatively large numbers of words, and reveal much more about the authors' attitudes. Even the format of the Title 4 proposals lends itself to expressing attitudes quite openly. For instance, the second section of most of the Title 4 proposals is the "findings" section. In this section the author overtly explains the reasons why an OE amendment to Title 4 is beneficial.

HR 4424 (101st Congress), HR 123 (102nd Congress), S 3179 (101st Congress) and S 434 (102nd Congress) all have exactly the same wording for the paragraph that comprises the findings section. The paragraph begins with "[t]he Nation has benefited throughout its history by using the common language of English." I suspect that most lay people and most scholars would agree with this statement, although there are arguments to be made about the negative effects of an overwhelmingly monolingual population in an increasingly international age. There are also arguments to be made about the negative effects of the enforcement of English as a common language on the first languages of the North American Continent.

The second sentence in this paragraph reads "[t]he Congress finds and declares that English, the language of opportunity, should be recognized in law as the official language of the United States." This sentence introduces statements that are also ideological in nature, reflecting attitudes of the authors. For instance, the authors identify English as the "language of opportunity."

Opportunity probably refers to economic or educational opportunity, and it implies "success" as measured by an undefined economic standard. A fully expressed meaning might be "as a resident of the United States, if you do not speak English you will not have the same economic or educational opportunities as people who do speak English." These statements assume that people who know English have "opportunity" and people who don't know English do not have "opportunity" but want it. They also imply that if people who don't know English learn the language they will actually have "opportunity." It would be very helpful for the OE movement if everyone in the United States saw this assumption as a commonsense reality.

This second sentence in the findings section also states that English "should be recognized in law as the official language of the United States." This sentence reveals that the authors of these proposals are assuming that the advantages realized from having a common language (with no force of law) will still be realized when the same language is declared the official language, enforceable by law. Proponents of OE legislation point to various language conflicts around the world as evidence that having an official language is necessary. Opponents of OE legislation could point to many of the same conflicts and conclude that if there was no official language, backed by force of law, in those situations there would be fewer problems. In this way proponents of OE legislation present as a foregone conclusion the idea that having an official language would be beneficial. The third sentence in the "Findings" section of these four proposals follows the same theme as the second: "[t]he purpose of this Act...is to maintain the benefits of a single official language of the Government of the United States." The comments I made about the second sentence apply here also, as well as the observation that the United States has never had an

official language, and thus we do not know whether there are any "benefits" to maintain or not.

The fourth sentence in the "Findings" raises many more questions than any of the language so far: "[t]here is no intent to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the United States." This is a classic form of positive self presentation ('we, the authors of this legislation would never dream of creating racist legislation'). It also functions to counteract the doubts of some supporters. At this point one might ask, if there is nothing discriminatory about OE legislation, then why is there a need for a disclaimer? The answer to this question is simple. Many of the ELA proposals that came before the 101st Congress (and after) were accused of being discriminatory or racist. The response on the part of the OE proponents in Congress is simply to embed a denial of those accusations in the proposed bills themselves.

The idea of discrimination is raised explicitly again later in these four proposals. First, however, I want to examine one of the responsibilities of the government if any one of these four proposals had been enacted. `Section 163, subsection `(a), entitled "Denial of Services" states "[n]o person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Government *solely because the person communicates in English*" (emphasis mine). Approximately 97% of the population of the United States speaks English. The government has operated primarily in English since the founding of the nation. Yet the authors of this legislation are implying that English speaking citizens of the United States are in danger of being victimized by government programs because these citizens communicate in English. Apparently, these members of Congress are afraid that in the future the United States will be run by people who do not speak English, or speak one or more languages in addition to

English, and thus may choose to refuse services to people who do speak English, solely because these representatives of the government don't want to communicate in English. This is a case of writing legislation for situations that do not exist, and likely never will.

Also in regard to the issue of discrimination, `Section 164 is entitled "Antidiscrimination provisions." This section reads "[a]ny person in the United States discriminated against *solely because the person communicates in English* shall be considered to have been discriminated against on the basis of national origin..." (emphasis mine). The authors of this proposal attempt, in this phrase, to reverse the meaning of civil rights protection. When the term "antidiscrimination provision" is used, it implies the existence of discrimination, or some real possibility of discrimination. In the past, 'discrimination' has been thought of as harmful actions by (members of) the powerful majority against a much less powerful minority. The language of this legislation reverses that, proposing protection for the powerful majority from supposedly harmful acts of a small minority. At the same time this legislation removes protections that were in place for the minority.

This language is preserved in subsequent versions of these four OE proposals, with some additions. The version of HR 123 that passed the house contained several other statements that I want to examine here. Subsection (6) of the "Findings" section of this version of HR 123 states more fully what it means for English to be the "language of opportunity:" "[t]he purpose of this title is to help immigrants better assimilate and take full advantage of economic and occupational opportunities in the United States." Education is not specifically included as one of the opportunities these lawmakers are trying to make available. We also see that assimilation is a goal. It would seem that these members of

Congress, even though they extol the benefits of "rich diversity" (see Section 101, subsection (2)), are somewhat uncomfortable with this diversity. In fact, it would appear that they believe one cannot take "full advantage of ...opportunities" in the United States without sacrificing their own culture and taking on the attributes of mainstream American culture.

Furthermore, apparently these members of Congress are concerned about the personal responsibility and productivity of United States citizens. This can be seen in subsection (7) of Section 101 of this version of HR 123, which states "[b]y learning the English language, immigrants will be empowered with the language skills and literacy necessary to become responsible citizens and productive workers in the United States." The implication here is that immigrants are irresponsible and unproductive citizens until they learn English, and again, that learning English is a necessary condition for them to remediate their lack of responsibility and productivity. It is difficult to find a clearer example in this group of proposals of the majority painting the Other in explicitly negative terms. It is this sort of insidious language that leads opponents of the OE movement to label as "racist" the proponents of this legislation.

Implications

Equality vs. Nationalism

As we have seen, the language of the proposed amendments to Title 4 turns the notion of civil rights protection on its head. Rather than working to further the linguistic rights of ethnic minorities and protect these minorities from discrimination based on native language, this legislation is explicitly aimed at furthering the linguistic rights of the linguistic majority and protecting them from discrimination based on the language they speak. Here we see the struggle for equality and the civil rights advances of the 1960s and 1970s turned upside down

in an explicit effort to maintain the dominance and hegemony of English speaking citizens of the United States. In later chapters we will see very clearly that this strike against the struggle for equality and civil rights protections is undertaken in the name of national unity. We will see in Chapters Four and Five that Congressional OE proponents reconcile the tension between equality/individual rights and nationalism/national unity by using this perverse version of civil rights, justified by their concern for national unity.

Group Pluralism

In Chapter One, I wrote that the group pluralism model makes a number of assumptions about contemporary society. One of these assumptions is that ethnic diversity inevitably produces a destabilizing effect and that ethnic elites will "exaggerate ethnic differences" in order to "mobilize their followers in ways that cause unrest and ultimately division and power sharing in the polity" (Donahue, 1995, p. 114). The discourse of the OE movement reflects these assumptions, but with one important modification. One of the weaknesses of the Group Pluralist model, that Brass (1985) points out, is the inherent assumption that *ethnic group* refers only to ethnic minorities. The Group Pluralist model helps describe the OE movement only if *ethnic group* includes the dominant or major ethnic group, in this case, English speaking Anglos. From this perspective it is logical to argue that ethnic elites (conservative English speaking Anglos in Congress) are indeed attempting to "exaggerate ethnic differences" in order to "mobilize their followers," but not to cause division and power sharing in the polity. Rather, the goal is to strengthen the conservative position in order to reproduce conservative hegemony in the United States, and supplant the established elites in the United States Congress. It is only from this perspective that it makes any sense for conservatives in Congress to argue that English

speaking citizens need protection from linguistic discrimination, a proposal that is clearly an "exaggeration" based on ethnic differences.

Assimilation

Before concluding this chapter I would like to return briefly to Schmidt's typology of language policies. I argued in Chapter One that the legislative proposals of the OE movement in Congress most closely resemble the assimilation approach in Schmidt's typology. Again, the language of the proposed amendments to Title 4 provides an important preview of what we will see in the remaining chapters of this dissertation. We have seen in this chapter that the language of these proposed amendments clearly indicates a concern with making immigrants and refugees "responsible" and "productive" citizens by forcing them to learn English. In Chapters Four and Five we will see more explicit examples of Congressional OE discourse supporting the argument that the OE movement in Congress fits Schmidt's assimilation approach to resolving language policy conflict.

Conclusions

In this chapter we have seen how power relations in Congress are (re)produced, how power can be asserted within Congress and how Congressional discourse can be disseminated in the service of influencing what van Dijk (1998) refers to as "social cognition." We have also examined the Congressional Record and learned that it can be an effective tool in (re)producing power relations if one is willing to learn how to use it strategically. Finally, I have examined the OE legislation that was proposed from 1981 to 1996. I showed that this legislation underwent significant changes during those fifteen years in both construction and strategy, and ultimately in the language that was used in the legislation. In the next chapter I will begin to examine the actual

speeches that were made in support of OE legislation in Congress between April 27, 1981 and August 1, 1996.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE DISCOURSE OF THE CONGRESSIONAL OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT

Introduction

From April 27, 1981, when S. I. Hayakawa introduced the first English Language Amendment, to August 1, 1996, when the House of Representatives passed HR 123, members of Congress stepped to the rostrum 186 times to speak in favor of official English (OE) legislation. This includes approximately fifty-five speeches delivered during the debate regarding HR 123 on August 1, 1996. On many of these 186 occasions, the speech included a request to have printed material read into the CR. I take this printed material to be part of the text of the speech, since the member of Congress who is speaking is responsible for making it part of the permanent record of the Congress.

As I pointed out earlier, OE legislation in the United States will have real effects on real lives. The main effects will be felt by those who currently benefit the most from government programs that help them bridge barriers which exist as a result of not speaking English as a native language in a mostly monolingual English culture. I am primarily interested in showing what the Congressional proponents of this legislation say about those people who would be the most adversely affected by it, and also what these legislators say about themselves.

I will discuss briefly the categories of this body of discourse as they emerged. Then I will move to an analysis of what these speakers say about linguistic minorities and minority languages in the United States and about multilingualism and intra-national conflict. I will examine how they construct the participants in bilingual education and multilingual programs. I will consider what these members of Congress say about assimilation, multiculturalism and

opportunity in the United States. Finally I will analyze what they have to say about English, English speakers and national unity.

As I work my way through this discourse I will also being drawing connections back to material introduced in Chapter One. I will work toward constructing answers to the three research questions I proposed. I will show how the discourse of the Congressional OE proponents clearly places them in one of Schmidt's approaches to resolving language policy conflict (i.e., the assimilation approach). We will also see that their discourse accuses other ethnic groups of taking different approaches to resolving language policy conflict. I will show numerous examples of ideologies used by the Congressional OE proponents that are also the major assumptions of the group pluralist model. Finally, we will see in several places that the rhetoric of national unity or nationalism is prevalent and I argue that advocacy of equal rights and opportunity for all ethnic groups does not exist in the Congressional OE discourse.

Data Analysis

The process of analyzing this body of discourse was accomplished in three stages, guided by the work of Glaser and Strauss (1967). The initial stage entailed reading each speech and identifying the main ideas presented in each speech. Most speeches contained several ideas that the speaker seemed to be trying to communicate to her/his perceived audience. Sometimes there was a single statement that expressed the idea, sometimes the ideas were not completely expressed in a single statement, in which case I constructed a paraphrase of the idea. As I read each speech, (eventually identifying and recording over 800 main ideas) I compared it with the other speeches I had read. Glaser and Strauss argue that this process of comparison "draws...attention to their [in this case, the speeches'] many similarities and differences. Considering these [similarities and

differences] leads [the researcher] to generate abstract categories and their properties, which, since they emerge from the data, will clearly be important to a theory explaining the kind of behavior under observation" (p. 36). After recording the main ideas I went back and read through them several times. Throughout these first two stages of the process I realized that the speakers repeatedly addressed a relatively small set of topics. I made these topics the categories in my data. The third step involved identifying which category or categories a statement should be put in and identifying the major sub-categories (or properties) of the category. The properties of a category are defined by Glaser and Strauss as a "conceptual aspect or element of a category" (p. 36). Thus, the sub-categories that I identified in each category are also the major properties of that category. Ultimately I identified nine categories, as follows: 1) statements about national unity, 2) statements about immigration to the United States and assimilation, 3) statements about the relationship between English proficiency, opportunities and success in the United States, 4) statements about multilingual programs, policies and multiculturalism/multilingualism, 5) statements about Latino populations and the Spanish language in the United States, 6) statements about proponents and opponents of OE legislation, 7) statements about minority languages and linguistic minorities in the United States, 8) statements about a common language in the United States, the status and role of English in the United States and protecting the English language in the United States, and finally 9) statements explicitly addressing issues of racism, discrimination or intolerance related to the OE debate in the United States. There are other ways to represent this data. I chose these categories because they organize the "similarities and differences" in this body of discourse in a way that allows us to examine the substance of <u>what</u> Congressional proponents of OE

legislation were saying. I will briefly examine each of these categories and major sub-categories below and discuss the properties by which I identified each category.

Category 1: Statements about National Unity

The first category (which contains more than 190 statements) comprises statements about national unity. Within this category there are four sub-categories: national unity being achieved via a common language (in this case English); the divisiveness of multiple languages in one nation; examples of countries that have allowed multiple official languages and the consequences they have suffered; and linguistic conflict in the United States. I will treat each of these sub-categories individually.

National Unity via Language

The idea that national unity is achieved via a common language is quite widespread in the discourse of the Congressional OE movement and is one property of this category that can be seen in speeches in each of the Congresses I am considering (i.e., the 97th Congress through the 104th Congress). These statements appear in different forms such as "*English* is what holds this country together," to "*a common language* is what holds this country together," and "having a common language is helpful in maintaining national unity." For instance, during the debate on HR 123, Solomon (1996) stated that "For most of our Nation's history, the English language has been the key to integrating new Americans as well as the glue that has held our people together" (ll. 53, 54). Symms, (1985a) argues that "a common language has traditionally united us all as fellow citizens of one Nation" (l. 62). Shumway (1990a) stated that "[a] single language in government use, a common language, greatly enhances national unity, political stability, social equality and economic efficiency" (ll. 39-

42). In Chapter One I related Schmidt's argument that two conflicting values tend to dominate language policy debates: equality and nationalism. We have seen here that statements about national unity appear many times throughout the Congressional OE discourse. Also notable is the fact that there are no statements in the speeches I am examining in this dissertation advocating equal treatment for ethnic minorities.

Language Conflict and Division

Another property of this category is represented by the logical counterpoint to the statements about unity, i.e., statements that multiple languages in a country will inevitably cause division. Like the statements about national unity, these statements were dispersed throughout all of the congresses under consideration.

For example, Bereuter (1986) requested that remarks made by then Governor Lamm of Colorado that were quoted in a newspaper editorial be read into the CR. The editorial relates some remarks Lamm made, in a book he co-authored on immigration, about immigrants who "refuse" to learn English. The editorial goes on to state "Gov. Lamm points to the importance of ensuring that immigrants learn to speak the language of the majority in America. 'The history of countries with two or more languages, or two or more cultures is a history of disaster'" (ll. 85-86). The title of his book, The immigration time bomb: The fragmenting of America, suggests that Lamm, and thus Bereuter also, firmly believe that more than one language or culture in a nation inevitably causes the division of that nation. This is one of the major ideologies that Congressional OE proponents assert repeatedly in their efforts to secure consent for OE legislation. As I mentioned in Chapter One, this is also one of the major assumptions of the group pluralism model.

Examples of Nations aside from the United States that Suffer from Language Conflict

This property of category one seems to lend some illusion of empirical evidence to claims of impending doom. Members of Congress made statements purporting to give examples of countries that have tolerated multiple languages or cultures and are suffering catastrophic negative consequences. Most often cited is Canada, but also included are Sri Lanka, Belgium, India and Lebanon. In all cases, the implication is that the United States will certainly suffer similar consequences if the use of more than one language is allowed.

Language Conflict in the United States

The final property of category one is seen in the second session of the 101st Congress and the first session of the 102nd Congress, when statements were made that overtly tried to bring the urgency of the 'problem' closer to home. For instance, Broomfield, (1990a) states, "[w]hile language conflicts in our country are serious now, they are not acute. But, as the Canadians have learned, linguistic problems often bubble beneath the surface for years before erupting" (ll. 32-35). A year later, Dickinson (1991a), makes almost the exact same statement: "[w]hile language conflicts in our country are serious now, they are not severe. But as the Canadians have learned, linguistic problems often bubble beneath the surface for years before erupting" (ll. 40-43).

Summary

In summary, category one contains "statements about national unity." There are four properties of this category: "language and national unity," "language diversity and conflict", "examples of language conflict" and "language conflict in the United States." A statement that expresses the main ideas of category one would be: 'We should be concerned about the national unity of the

United States, which always has and always will be achieved through one common language (English). A diversity of languages causes division and conflict, as We can clearly see in countries like Canada, Sri Lanka, Belgium and India, and the United States is in immediate danger of experiencing those same conflicts.' Thus, we have seen in this category many statements about the importance of national unity, and none about the importance of equality for all ethnic groups. We have also seen in this category numerous statements that coincide with one of the basic assumptions of the group pluralist model, i.e., that ethnolinguistic diversity is destabilizing. It is clear, even from this brief analysis, that Congressional OE proponents operate with these ideas as an ideological base. As we move through the other categories we will see more of both of these statements.

Category 2: Statements About Immigration to and Assimilation in the United States

This second category is much smaller than the first category. While there were approximately 190 statements about national unity, there are only sixty-two about immigration and assimilation. Six sub-categories represent the properties of category two. I will briefly discuss these statements about immigration and assimilation.

Immigration

Members of Congress who spoke out about immigration primarily had one thing to say: the immigration rate in the United States is at an all time high. Shumway (1983a) stated "our nation is experiencing the largest influx of immigrants in its history" (l. 33). He restated the exact same phrase in a speech some two weeks later (1983b, ll. 17, 18). Burdick (1984) stated that "[w]e now find ourselves in the midst of the largest immigration wave in American history"

(l. 47). Symms (1985b) adds a subtle change to the formula when he claims that "times are changing. Immigrants from many countries are now streaming into America at a rapid rate" (ll. 68, 69). The notion that immigration is at an all time high is always portrayed in a negative light by Congressional OE proponents. This is another example of how the Congressional OE proponents express the major assumptions of the group pluralist model.

Assimilation

There are five sub-categories in category two that deal with the subject of assimilation. I will give examples below of how these ideas are expressed in the Congressional OE discourse.

The importance of assimilation.

Lipinski (1990) requested that an article from the Houston Chronicle be read into the CR. Among other things, this article states "[i]f [the United States] is going to live in peace with itself, it must continue to work toward the idea of welcoming everyone into a mainstream majority, not making it easy -- or beneficial -- for minorities to stay outside" (ll. 100-103). In 1983, Shumway argued that "[a]t a time when our Nation is experiencing the largest influx of immigrants in its history, it is critical that efforts are made to integrate these people into American society" (1983a, ll. 33-35).

A few members of Congress make statements that seem to be somewhat more tolerant of diversity, such as Emerson's (1990b) statement that "to be unified does not mean we all have to be exactly alike" (ll. 67-68). But these statements are often followed, as Emerson's is, by something similar to "[i]t does not mean we all have to have brown eyes or listen to Bach or like french fries. It means we share common dreams and goals and a dedication to common ideals"

(ll. 68-70). This gives us a clue to the meaning Congressional proponents of OE legislation assign to the word *assimilation.* I will examine that meaning next.

The melting pot.

Proponents of OE legislation seem to believe that the *melting pot* is the only real process of assimilation. Lipinski (1986) complains that "the melting pot ideology that served us well historically is being pushed aside by sentimental insistence on preserving a Balkanizing of other languages and cultures." Lipinski goes on to note that it is "essential that the process of assimilation go on..." (ll. 31-36). Canady (1996) argues that "American society has developed on the melting pot theory. We are a nation of immigrants from diverse backgrounds and cultures who have come together as one people..." (ll. 17-19).

Barriers to assimilation.

Many members of Congress who support OE legislation argue that there are barriers to assimilation. These arguments seem to fall into several groups. One argument is that bilingual education is a barrier to assimilation. Shumway (1983b) argues that

> [r]ather than encouraging the adaptation of immigrants to the speech and customs of their new homeland, the Government is prolonging their assimilation by sponsoring bilingual programs which enhance dissimilarities between immigrants and the mainstream of American life and thus which inhibit the process of acculturation (ll. 29 - 33).

Later in this speech he claims that "bilingual education has inhibited the integration of immigrants into society..." (ll. 41-42).

Some Congressional OE supporters also argue that retaining group identity is a barrier to assimilation. For example, Shelby (1993) claims that "[e]fforts to create pockets of other language usage result in language enclaves and discrimination. Individuals living within the realm of particular subcultures

are left out of the common fold" (ll. 108-112). Roth (1996) argues further that "as long as you consider yourself a part of a group you are still not assimilated into American society..." (ll. 62, 63).

Finally, some members of Congress who support OE legislation claim that immigrants are, by their own actions, a barrier to their own assimilation. For instance Dickinson (1991b) claims that

> [t]here is a trend now by some immigrant groups toward resisting assimilation into the larger society. A cult of ethnicity is bent on reversing the movement of American history and defining us not as a unified nation of individuals, but as adherents to an ethnic or cultural group. (ll. 173-178)

Immigrants past and present.

Congressional supporters of OE legislation also argue that current immigrants are different from those of the past. Huddleston (1984) had an editorial that was favorable to his proposed legislation read into the CR. This editorial stated that "[u]ntil recently, there has never been a serious question but that immigrants wanted to get into the mainstream of the life of their adopted country" (ll. 89, 90). Bryant (1996) claimed that "for over 180 years we all came together and we assimilated....About 25 years ago, we started going in a different direction..." (ll. 33, 34, 44). Roth (1993a) stated that "[w]hen immigrants came to America they adopted English so that their children could compete and could assimilate.... All that is now changing in America" (ll. 23, 24, 30).

English and assimilation.

Finally some members of Congress made comments about the role of English and OE legislation in the assimilation process. These comments primarily expressed two ideas: 1) "[l]earning to communicate in English is one of the most important ways in which [assimilation] takes place" (Canady, 1996,

ll. 21, 22), and 2) "[t]he intent of the English language amendment is to ensure that ... our non-English-speaking citizens will become part of the American mainstream as soon as possible" (Symms, 1987a, ll. 61-63).

Summary

Category two contains statements about immigration and assimilation to and in the United States. The properties of category two can be seen as one coherent statement about immigration and assimilation in the United States: Immigration to the United States is at an all time high. With such high levels of immigration, the process of assimilation (and the *melting pot* model in particular) is very important to the United States, but, increasingly, there are barriers to assimilation. Consequently immigrants today are not assimilating as readily as immigrants in the past. The English language, and OE legislation specifically, proponents argue, would help remedy that situation. This summary statement demonstrates that the ideologies of the OE movement in Congress very closely fit Schmidt's description of assimilation type language policies. It also provides another example of Congressional OE proponents employing a rhetoric of national unity rather than equality for ethnolinguistic minorities.

Category 3: Statements about the Relationship between English Proficiency, Opportunities and Success in the United States

The main property of category three, and the main idea expressed about English and opportunity in the United States, is that English proficiency is important or essential for opportunity (and implicitly, for success). For example, Shumway, (1984a) states that "it is clear that proficiency in English is integral to our Nation's immigrants and refugees becoming full and productive members of society" (ll. 65, 66). Six years later Emerson (1990a) claimed that "English is the language of opportunity in America. Knowledge of English is the key to

breaking the chains of the ghetto" (ll. 104, 105). There were more than 55 statements of this type in the body of discourse I am studying. These statements are accompanied by statements about the need for the government to provide more opportunities for non-native speakers of English to learn English, the negative results of not being proficient in English, the charge that immigrants in the past learned English quickly but they are not doing so now and the assertion that anyone can learn English (and should).

Category 4: Statements about Multilingual Programs, Policies and Multiculturalism/Multilingualism

This category is one of the largest of the nine categories I identified. The main property of this category is 'the negative effects of multilingual programs and policies.' For example, Shumway (1984b) stated that "multilingual ballots and voting materials represent one of the many Government-sponsored programs which have served to discourage proficiency in English and impede the full integration of immigrants into America's English-speaking society" (ll. 49-52). Linder (1996) stated that "[f]or over 200 years, the glue that held the fabric of this society together was a common language. Thirty years ago, we began to change that. We began to deal with people in different languages. That isolated them" (ll. 22-24). There were nearly 90 statements expressing similar ideas in this category. Bilingual education was one of the most frequently complained about bilingual policies, as there were an additional 50 statements about alleged negative effects of bilingual education. There were also numerous statements about the alleged negative effects of multilingualism and multiculturalism. The statements in this category have shown again that the underlying ideologies of the Congressional OE movement very closely resemble major assumptions of the group pluralist model, i.e., that ethnic diversity inevitably has negative effects.

Category 5: Statements about Latino populations and the Spanish language in the United States

This category consists of more than 25 statements legislators made about Latinos and the Spanish language in the United States. One of the main properties of this category is the idea that the United States and the English language are threatened in some way by the Latino population. For instance, Dickinson (1991b) stated that "opponents of my bill...try to downplay English as our common language....They would eliminate English as our common language because it is the linchpin of our common culture. These ethnic separatists know very well the role language plays in maintaining their own political bases..." (ll. 130-138). Dickinson gets more specific about what he means by 'ethnic separatists' when he says "If the Hispanics can demand that our government operate in their language, why shouldn't all the 148 language groups" (ll. 258-261). In these statements we see the first example of OE proponents accusing at least one linguistic minority in the United States (Latinos) of wanting to make the United States a linguistic confederation. We will see more explicit statements about this later in this chapter.

Another major property of this category is the notion that Latinos perform economically, educationally and socially below expected national norms. In addition, legislators assigned blame for Latinos' supposed linguistic 'demands' on 'Hispanic leaders and activists' and bemoaned the 'special' treatment Latinos get via bilingual education and multilingual government policies. One of the research questions I posed in Chapter One was "what do OE proponents intend for OE legislation to achieve?" In this category we see statements that suggest a possible answer. These statements about special treatment suggest that OE legislation is intended to eliminate programs, like bilingual education and

bilingual ballots, that OE proponents describe as special treatment. We also see in these statements the ideological privileging of English: what OE proponents demand for their children (education in their native language) is "special treatment" for children who do not speak English.

Category 6: Statements about Proponents and Opponents of OE Legislation

Category six is one of the larger of the nine categories I identified, with over 200 statements. The major properties of this category reflect on the popularity of ELAs and OE legislation and positive attributes of their supporters and the negative attributes of opponents of such legislation. For instance, Symms, (1985a) stated that "[s]ince the amendment was first introduced...it has gained steady recognition by the press, and -- more importantly -- enthusiastic acceptance by the American people" (ll. 20-22). Inhofe (1989) presents a resolution favoring OE legislation from a group called Pro America that he describes as "a group of involved citizens across this country who care deeply about the security of our nation and the well-being of our people, especially our children" (ll. 24-26). Roth (1995a) claims that "[o]nly those who are ripping off the government [with] programs like bilingual education and the cultural elitists were and are opposed" (ll. 18, 19). Broomfield (1990b) requested that an article by Howard Banks be read into the CR in which Banks claims "the proponents of bilingualism tend to be types who know what is best for other people, even if the majority doesn't agree" (ll. 135, 136). Other sub-categories or properties of this category express ideas about the unity that will result from OE legislation, the common sense nature of this legislation, how OE legislation will help people, and the effect OE legislation will have on the United States government.

Category 7: Statements about Minority Languages and Linguistic Minorities in the United States

Category seven is one of the smaller categories I identified in my data, with around 40 statements. The major property focuses on perceived problems that result from the use of minority languages. For example, Symms (1987b) requested that a very lengthy paper about the ELA written by one of his staff members be read into the CR. In this paper the staffer claims that using multilingual ballots allows "local candidates and ethnic leaders, who speak the minority community's language, to interpret and control all pertinent information. ...these leaders can present a biased view to their constituents" (ll. 271-275). Roth (1995b) makes the observation that "[i]n many parts of the country English is not the language that is spoken" (ll. 31, 32). Other statements in this category reflect the ideas that the number of non-English speakers is on the rise and that the United States is becoming a divided nation because of linguistic minorities. This idea that linguistic minorities are inherently divisive is, as we have see previously, one of the major assumptions of the group pluralist model. We see here, again, one of the major strategies OE proponents use in trying to persuade their colleagues to support OE legislation. OE proponents argue that linguistic minorities are destabilizing and in order to save the United States from being divided, these minorities must be assimilated into the mainstream.

Category 8: Statements about a Common Language in the United States, the Status and Role of English in the United States and Protecting the English Language in the United States

Category eight has over 200 statements, the majority of which express ideas about the need for a common language in the United States, usually expressed in the interest of national unity, an idea I examined in category one.

Another major property in this category is the notion that English is the language of opportunity and success, an idea we saw in category three. A property more unique to category eight is the notion that the English language in the United States needs protection. For instance, Burdick, (1984) argued that "the protection of our common language is an urgent item" (ll. 16, 17).

Category 9: Statements Explicitly Addressing Issues of Racism, Discrimination or Intolerance Related to the OE Debate in the United States

This is one of the smaller categories, with 40 statements identified. The major property in this category is the denial that OE legislation and its supporters are racist. Lipinski (1996) states that "[t]here is nothing radical or racist about declaring English the official language of the United States" (ll. 27, 28). This is a common denial seen throughout this category. The logical companion to this statement is that multilingual programs and opponents of ELAs and OE legislation are racist and discriminatory; this is another main property of this category. For instance Cox (1996) stated that "[b]ilingual education programs often require teaching children in their native language and discourage the learning of English. These programs are a shameful example of the damage to our society caused by official multilingualism. They are wasteful, discriminatory, and too often produce children who are illiterate in any language" (ll. 169-173). The other major property of this category expresses the idea that multilingualism and multiculturalism cause prejudice.

Summary

Overall, we have seen that there are a number of major ideas running through the discourse of the Congressional OE movement. I will attempt here to summarize what has been said over the 15 year period on which I am concentrating. There is a strong belief that national unity is enhanced by, or the

result of, the English language, or at the very least, a common language. Congressional OE supporters express the belief that national unity and the English language are both under attack and are in danger. Part of the problem seems to be that immigrants are no longer learning English or assimilating (or at least not as fast as did previous generations of immigrants). This, it seems, may be due in large part to the introduction of government multilingual programs (especially bilingual education and bilingual ballots), primarily at the insistence of Latinos. Since English is the language of opportunity, OE legislation should not be seen as racist or discriminatory because it will give immigrants the chance to live the American dream. In fact, opponents of this legislation and the multilingual programs they support should be seen as racist and discriminatory because they just work to keep immigrants down.

It is also important to note what has not been a part of the OE discourse over the last 15 years. There were no speeches in this body of discourse that advocated equal rights or equal resources for ethnolinguistic minorities. I did not find any speeches advocating protection for the languages of immigrants to the United States. Quite the opposite, multilingual programs were constructed as consuming too many resources already, and immigrant languages were constructed as threatening and divisive. In the discourse of the OE movement, civil rights struggles to provide equal educational opportunity for linguistic minorities through multilingual programs are constructed as racist, discriminatory and disruptive of national unity. The proponents of OE legislation have appropriated terms like *racist* and *discriminatory* and turned their meanings upside down.

In Chapter One I posed three research questions. In this section of Chapter Four I have suggested some possible answers to two of them. What do

OE proponents intend for OE legislation to achieve? We have seen in this section that OE proponents believe Latinos are getting more resources than they should in the form of bilingual education and bilingual programs. OE proponents intend OE legislation to end that situation. How do OE proponents argue for, or rationalize, OE legislation? We have seen that one of the major strategies is to construct minority cultures and languages as divisive, arguing that making English the official language and assimilating everyone into the mainstream will solve that problem.

This reading of these speeches has been primarily a literal reading. In the next section of this chapter I will treat this material on a different level by looking at some of the assumptions, implications and ideologies at work. I will show that these speeches work together to construct an Other that is not readily seen in the literal reading of the speeches.

Construction of the Other

Latinos in the United States

We saw earlier that one of the categories of themes in this body of discourse has to do with linguistic minorities and minority languages. In a way it is misleading to use plural forms in the title of this category. With a close reading of these speeches one realizes that these legislators are not really talking about all linguistic minorities and minority languages in the United States; they are talking almost exclusively about Latinos and the Spanish language. There are places where other minorities or minority languages are mentioned, but they are never attached to negatively evaluative comments about them as people. Latinos, however, are frequently mentioned in ways that evaluate them quite negatively. Latinos are, in this discourse, the exclusive Other. All other minority ethnic groups in this discourse are constructed as one of Us, as willing to be assimilated

or already integrated, as part of the mainstream. Consequently I will focus most of my analysis on how Congressional supporters of OE legislation construct Latinos in this discourse.

The Unified View

To understand how these legislators view Latinos, it is important to note that "Latinos" are generally seen as one homogenous group. There is no distinction made between recent Latino immigrants from Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico or Haiti, or persons of Latino descent who were born in the United States (whether their ancestors came to the United States five years ago or were forced into the United States through annexation as a result of the Mexican-American War). There is no distinction between the Latino entrepreneur, migrant worker, Latino ranch owner, doctor, mechanic, professor or illegal immigrant. Virtually all Latinos in the United States are painted with the same brush by these Congressional proponents of OE legislation.

There is one notable exception. During the debate on the OE bill, HR 123, Roth (1996) commends the speaker who preceded him with the following comment: "[t]he gentleman who just spoke before me is from Puerto Rico. Some of the finest people in the world live in Puerto Rico" (ll. 47, 48). As is customary in debate on the floor of the House, the speaker before Roth was opposing HR 123. It is for the analyst to ascribe intent to such a statement. Perhaps this represents a rhetorical move to comply with some perceived protocol in the House of Representatives (compliment your opponent before you disagree) or a sincere compliment on Roth's part, or a coded formulation of "you folks down there are nice, but you don't know what you're talking about." Given Roth's numerous degrading remarks about Latinos in other speeches, whatever the intent on his part, the effect produced is one of condescension. It is this sort

of paternalistic condescension that shows how deeply ingrained are the positive notions of Self and the denigrating notions of Other in this discourse. And, one might wonder, what about all the Latinos who are not from Puerto Rico?

In addition to these comments about Latinos, there are other statements in this discourse that construct a more detailed picture of Latinos. These statements address issues such as perceived Latino threats to stability in the United States, economic achievement, educational achievement, patterns of assimilation, and language learning behavior. I will discuss each of these below.

The Latino Threat

In one of the earliest speeches supporting the ELA, Hayakawa quotes an article from the Christian Science Monitor as stating "[t]he integration of the ever-growing Hispanic population to the American mainstream will pose a challenge to United States. society far greater than the civil rights explosion of the 1960's--perhaps as great as any since the Civil War" (1982, ll. 56-58). This is followed a little later by Hayakawa stating that "serious national problems resulting from the influx of Hispanics into the United States ...will arise indeed if the United States departs from its one-language tradition..." (ll. 90-93). Here we see that the Latino population in the United States is constructed to pose a profound threat ("perhaps as great as ... the Civil War") to the stability and unity of the United States. This problem is seen as resulting from some perceived resistance to integration on the part of Latinos. So, early on, proponents of ELAs characterize Latinos as threatening to the stability of the United States. No other minority group is characterized in such a manner in the discourse of the Congressional OE movement. Here again we see one of the major assumptions of the group pluralist model: the idea that ethnic diversity is destabilizing.

But it is not just the presence of Latinos and their supposed resistance to assimilation that threatens the United States. The remarks in this speech about the civil rights movement (a "challenge" and an "explosion") set the tone for issues related to civil rights throughout this discourse. Later in this speech Hayakawa quotes an article from the New York Times which stated that "Spanish speaking people will soon be the most numerous minority in the United States and they are now beginning to demand not only equal rights which is fair enough, but separate rights for the education of their children in the Spanish language" (ll. 62-66). Hayakawa seems troubled by two issues: the first is the growth of the Latino population (something that many Congressional OE supporters complain about loudly), the second is the thought of Latinos having equal rights and a quality education. Hayakawa refers to Latino children receiving education in their native language as "separate rights." The United Nations and many individual nations around the world view native language education as a fundamental human right. Hayakawa, however, views native language education for Latinos as a special right. Native language education for English speaking children, on the other hand, is assumed to be the normal situation. We see here, then, that what is guaranteed for English speaking children (basic education in their native language) is constructed as special treatment for nonEnglish speaking children. If civil rights (one of them being equal educational opportunity) are guaranteed in the constitution and the laws of the United States, ethnic minorities should not have to struggle to realize the benefit of those rights. It seems that Hayakawa and Congressional supporters of OE legislation are intent on adding Latinos to African-Americans as primary targets of discrimination. In essence, Hayakawa is arguing that in this democracy, where all are supposedly created equal, if you want the benefit of

your civil rights you have to fight for them. Casting the civil rights movement in this negative light, and casting Latinos' struggle for equality as a divisive action, ignores the fact that both of these actions sought to reconcile an immoral status quo. This is another clear example of how, for OE proponents in Congress, the value of equality is secondary to the value of national unity. Accusing Latinos of threatening the stability of the United States is one way of taking the focus off the immorality of the system and placing it (and the blame for some of "Our" problems) on this one minority group.

Economic Achievement

Congressional supporters of OE legislation in general describe Latinos as being poor economic performers. In a 1984 speech, Shumway requested that an article from the Washington Times be read into the CR. This article states that "the economic prospects for an already depressed minority are bleak. As a group, Latinos earn far less than the national average" (1984a, ll. 129-130). The article ties this below average economic performance to a supposed choice on the part of Latinos to preserve their language and culture. It states "...Hispanic groups clearly reveal their views of bilingual education as an important tool for preserving and promoting their language and culture" (ll. 115-117). This is preceded by Shumway arguing that "it is clear that proficiency in English is integral to our Nation's immigrants and refugees becoming full and productive members of society" (ll. 65, 66). Like many other Congressional supporters of OE legislation, Shumway also goes to great lengths to show that bilingual education is a total failure. In short, Shumway argues that Latinos choose to preserve their language and culture at the cost of economic success.

Symms (1987b) argues this point from a slightly different perspective. The paper he had read into the CR in this speech states that "Migrant workers

come to the United States to seek better paying jobs to support their families, but since they cannot speak English, these workers isolate themselves in their own groups...and usually remain poor and secluded the rest of their lives" (ll. 212-215). Who is Symms talking about here? The vast majority of migrant workers coming to the United States today are Latinos; a fact of which Symms certainly must be aware. His paper goes on to say that "[a] newsletter called Washington Alert, published by Leadership Foundation Inc., reported that since immigrants can receive information in their own language, they have no intention of learning English" (ll. 283-285). Rather than laying the blame for their supposed poverty completely on Latinos, Symms places blame also on multilingual programs operated by the government. However, the Congressional supporters of OE legislation, in the discourse we are considering here, repeatedly assert that Latinos are the only group pushing for these multilingual programs. According to this discourse, the blame for Latinos' economic underachievement really rests directly on Latinos themselves since (OE supporters argue) it is their choice to preserve their own language and culture and not learn English.

These Congressional supporters of OE legislation (and many of their colleagues) construct Latinos in a self-made and self-perpetuating cycle of poverty. Shumway asserts that Latinos are basically poor, an idea that Symms reinforces. Both Shumway and Symms argue implicitly that this is of the Latinos' own choosing. Shumway argues that Latinos choose to focus on preserving their language and culture at the expense of learning English, and that without a knowledge of English they cannot be economically successful. Symms argues that because these immigrants do not speak English they choose to isolate themselves in their own group and stay poor and isolated for the rest of their lives. But, Symms argues, even if they were inclined to give up their language

and culture and become a part of the mainstream, multilingual government programs provide information in Spanish, so these people, Symms reasons, would choose not to learn English anyway. Furthermore, the government only provides these programs because Latinos insist on it, so it is really their own fault. In essence, Symms and other Congressional OE supporters argue that Latinos have chosen poverty, and it is not until We step in and break this cycle by eliminating multilingual programs that they will ever be economically successful.

In arguing that Latino migrant workers and immigrants make choices not to learn English, Shumway and Symms ignore and exclude a vast array of factors which play into such choices. Neither Symms nor Shumway explain that many immigrants (including Latinos) want to learn English but cannot because the limited number of ESL classes are full and have long waiting lists; many of them have to work all their waking hours to make ends meet; many of the classes that are available are offered only during working hours; many of them do not have transportation to get to the class sites; etc. What Symms and Shumway portray as an economic situation created by choices on the part of the immigrants under discussion is actually a situation created by socio-economic realities and choices made by many people over a long period of time. Much of the time immigrants have little or no control over these choices and situations. Symms and Shumway, however, paint Latinos as poor simply because of choices they supposedly make in order to preserve their language and culture.

Ultimately this discourse argues that self imposed poverty is an inherent characteristic of being Latino, i.e., to be Latino is to choose poverty. Fortunately for Latinos, We can solve their problems by refusing their demands for multilingual programs. Looking back at the definition of racism in Chapter One, we can draw two conclusions about this discourse. First, Symms and Shumway

are making generalizations about Latinos. Second, these generalizations are based on "perceived or constructed cultural differences." In the case of the Congressional OE movement, these ideas have given rise to action (i.e., the attempt by OE proponents to pass OE legislation based on these generalizations). Thus we can conclude that the Congressional OE discourse exemplifies van Dijk's definition of racism.

Educational Achievement

Congressional supporters of OE legislation, however, do not limit their construction of Latinos as underachievers to the economic realm. As I mentioned in discussing category five, they also assert repeatedly that Latinos are a failure in education. Remarks regarding the educational achievement of Latinos focus mostly on the dropout rate of Latinos, a rate which varies depending on the legislator speaking. Some legislators claim it is around 50%, others claim it is as low as 30%, but they all assert that the dropout rate for Latinos is higher than for any other minority group in the United States.

Dropping out.

Symms (1985d), for instance, claims that "[n]ational Hispanic high school dropout rates, although not reliably monitored, are as high as ever: just under 40%, according to estimates by the Washington-based national Hispanic Policy Development Project" (ll. 439-441). Myers (1990) claims that "[a]fter 22 years of bilingual education programs, the rate of dropout before high school graduation among Hispanic students in the United States remains at nearly 50%. 40% of these students never reach the 10th grade" (ll. 208-212). Broomfield (1990b) claims, in regard to bilingual education,

> [t]he clearest indication of failure is the high dropout rate of Hispanic high school kids. Since the early 1970s, the dropout rate for white children has been tending down slightly. The dropout rate

> for black kids has more or less halved and is now roughly the same as for whites. The exception is for Hispanics. Their dropout rate is stubbornly high, roughly double that for the other groups, and the trend, if anything, has recently been rising slightly (ll. 89-94).

Porter (1991) states that "[i]n 1988, only half of Hispanics 25 years or older were high school graduates. Approximately 59 percent of the Hispanic dropouts did so by the 10th grade" (ll. 54-57). Finally Roth (1994), via an article he had read into the CR, claims that "[b]efore the bilingual program started, half of all Hispanic students dropped out of high school. Today, after 25 years of bilingual education, a report by the American Council on Education says the Hispanic dropout rate is still 50% - a rate much higher than for either whites or blacks" (ll. 186-189).

These statements about the dropout rate for Latinos all have several ideas in common. They assert that Latinos drop out of school at a higher rate than any other ethnic group, they consider Latinos in the United States to be a homogenous group and they use statistics as evidence for their arguments. Some of these statements indicate the source of the statistics they are using and some do not. This use of statistics is important to these speakers because they are operating in a scientifically oriented society in which numbers (as empirical evidence) are generally considered more credible than anecdotal evidence. One problem for these speakers is that a single statistic (e.g., the dropout rate for Latinos is 50%) rarely provides the whole picture, and thus tends to distort. I will examine this more carefully in the next few paragraphs.

In a report on the differences in dropout rates between White non-Hispanics, African Americans and Hispanics, sponsored by the National Center for Educational Statistics entitled *Dropout rates in the United States: 1993* , McMillen et al.(1994), describe numerous ways to measure and interpret dropout

rates. Their study presents three types of rates: event rate, cohort rate and status rate:

> Event rates measure the proportion of students who dropout in a single year without finishing high school.... Status rates measure the proportion of the population who have not completed high school and are not enrolled at one point in time, regardless of when they dropped out.... Cohort rates measure what happens to a single group (or cohort) of students over a period of time (p. v).

McMillen's study found that as of October 1993, the event dropout rate for Latinos was 6.7%; the status dropout rate for Latinos was 27.5%; the cohort rate for the 1990-92 group of Latinos was 12.7% (1994, p. 5). McMillen also found that "the observed differences between racial or ethnic categories in 1993 event dropout rates were not statistically significant" (p.5). In other words, of all the students who dropped out of school during the 1993 school year, the difference in numbers for Hispanics, White non-Hispanics and African Americans is insignificant. The event dropout rate for all groups was between 3.9% and 6.7%.

The status dropout rate for Latinos is the highest rate for the three groups. However, McMillen points out that one "factor inflating the Hispanic status rate may be substantial numbers of Hispanic immigrants to this country who came without completing high school and, in fact, are never enrolled in the United States. school system" (p. 48). What this means is that if all the Latinos in the United States are considered, the percentage who have not completed high school and are not attending school is 27.5%. This number includes immigrants who came to the United States without completing high school in their native country, never enrolled in school in the United States. and never intended to. While this number is the highest dropout rate of any kind cited in the McMillen study, it is still only a little more than half the 50% which some of the speakers we are

considering claimed in some of the texts we have been examining. It is also interesting to consider that a substantial portion of the Latinos who would be included in the status dropout rate would never have had the experience of being in bilingual education (those who never attended school in the United States), but they are included in the statistics and held up as evidence that bilingual education does not work.

The Government Accounting Office was also asked to perform a study of drop out rates for Latinos. This 1994 report, entitled *Hispanics schooling: Risk factors for dropping out and barriers to resuming education* found, among other things, that "rates for Hispanics show no consistent trends" (United States. Government, 1994, p. 2). This would indicate that there is not a consistent causal factor in the dropout rate for Latinos (e.g., bilingual education). This study, in a theme similar to the McMillen study, also concludes that

> it is not clear how many of these young dropouts intended to remain in the United States and thus had an incentive to resume their education to obtain a high school diploma or an equivalency certificate (p. 3).

This study, however, may indicate the source of the fifty percent figure used by several of these speakers. The GAO study divided Latinos into two groups: those that were born in the United States and those who were not born in the United States. This manipulation of the statistics showed that Latinos born in the United States had a twenty percent dropout rate. Although they did not specify an event, status or cohort rate, a comparison of the numbers from the McMillen study suggest that this is a status rate. Latinos born outside the United States and entering before 1985 had a thirty-five percent dropout rate, and Latinos born outside the United States and entering between 1985 and 1990 had a fifty-two percent dropout rate (p. 7). This fifty-two percent rate is the closest figure to the fifty percent figure frequently used by Congressional supporters of

OE legislation. Clearly this is only one number in a complex set of statistics that measures the dropout rate for Latinos in the United States. To select this one statistic out of a set of numbers and represent this figure as *the dropout rate* is a simplification aimed at persuading an audience. Presumably it also helps create a distorted picture of the educational achievement of Latinos in the United States. In this way these Congressional supporters of OE legislation who talk about dropout rates are able to make a complex situation seem simple, and in the process distort the reality of that complex situation.

Mainstreaming.

In another move that distorts the social realities of Latino educational achievement, Roth (1995c) presents a study that examines Latino educational achievement from a different perspective. In this speech he seems to propose a comparison between Latinos and other immigrant groups when he states

> Last year, bilingual and ESL programs in New York City were compared. Results: 92 percent of Korean, 87 percent of Russian, and 83 percent of Chinese children who started intensive ESL classes in kindergarten had made it into mainstream classes in three years or less. Of the Hispanic students in bilingual classes, only half made it to mainstream classes within three years. (ll. 222-226)

We should look closely at what Roth is claiming in this speech. A little earlier in the speech he states the purpose of the comparison very clearly: "[s]tudies confirm what common sense would tell you: the less time you spend speaking a new language, the more slowly you'll learn it" (ll. 219-220). In this statement Roth asks his audience to accept several assumptions. First, that speaking a language and learning a language have a direct correlation. Second, this is *commonsense*, i.e., anyone who can think for themselves would intuitively know this to be true. Third, children in intensive ESL classes in kindergarten spend more time speaking the target language (English) than children in bilingual

classes. Fourth, getting into an English language (mainstream) classroom as soon as possible is the best step for these students. And finally, Roth's audience is to accept the notion that the comparison ("study") he is about to present will prove these assumptions.

When Roth shows the results of the study he is using, we see that large percentages of Koreans, Russians and Chinese students who "started intensive ESL classes in kindergarten" made it to mainstream classes in three years or less. But "[o]f the Hispanic students in bilingual classes, only half made it to mainstream classes within three years" (ll. 222-226). One might ask at this point whether or not there were any Latino children in the intensive ESL classes (none are mentioned), and whether or not there were any Koreans, Russians or Chinese in the bilingual classes (none are mentioned). Did all the children in this study begin school with similar amounts of English language exposure, under similar socioeconomic conditions? Did their families all have similar educational backgrounds? Unfortunately Roth did not cite the study he is using so we cannot check for ourselves. One might also ask whether making it to a mainstream classroom as quickly as possible is the best plan for these students? Roth never talks about the cognitive or psychological results of such a move. There are many such questions that Roth left unanswered in his speech. Roth is arguing here about the effectiveness of bilingual education. Given the overall picture of Latinos in the discourse of the Congressional OE movement, however, by using a comparison in which three non-Hispanic immigrant groups all do better than Latinos, Roth creates the impression that Latinos are the only ones having trouble learning English and that bilingual education is proven inferior. In so doing, Roth (re)produces an ideology central to the Congressional OE movement: that

Latinos are academic underachievers and they resist learning English. In the next section we will examine assertions that Latinos also resist assimilating.

Resisting Assimilation, Refusing English

As I mentioned earlier, Huddleston (1984) requested that an editorial from the Madisonville Messenger of January 25, 1984, be read into the CR. This editorial is interesting in several ways. It is clearly about the need to make sure immigrants to the United States assimilate. It is also just as clear that it is primarily referring to Latinos, even though it never uses that word. This editorial uses language in a way that creates an unmistakable image of Latinos in the United States. I will examine sections of the editorial below.

Ben Hall, the author, begins by placing himself on a moral platform by explaining linguistic diversity through the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel. He argues that this turn of events created a "barrier to international intercourse" (l. 37), but "has rarely affected most of us in our day-to-day affairs until recently" (l. 38, 39). Hall argues further that "[n]ow in some parts of the country it is virtually impossible for an American who speaks only English to order a meal or get directions on the street" (ll. 41, 42). One cause of this situation, Hall argues, is that "[u]ntil recently, there has never been a serious question but that immigrants wanted to get into the mainstream of the life of their adopted country" (ll. 89, 90). Now, he would have us believe, all that has changed (i.e., recent immigrants do not want to "get into the mainstream").

What evidence does Hall give us to support this assertion? He argues from the premise that "[l]earning the language in which the affairs of the nation are conducted was, and is, the only way effectively to [get into the mainstream]" (ll. 90, 91). Then he claims that as a result of bilingual education "both children and adults are getting the idea... that there really isn't any need to learn English at

all" (ll. 68, 69). Hall pushes this further when he asserts that in the Southwest, this disinterest in learning the language and assimilating has "given rise to a sort of bastardized tongue locally called Tex-Mex, which combined some elements of English and Mexican Spanish and is semi-unintelligible to speakers of either" (ll. 73-75). Obviously to Hall, if people aren't interested in learning English, they aren't interested in assimilating either.

It is worth noting that Hall denigrates this rather sophisticated form of communication ('Tex-Mex') in two ways: first by referring to it as a bastardization (of both English and Mexican Spanish) rather than as a creative new linguistic code integrating elements of both. Second, Hall emphasizes that Tex-Mex is semi-*un*intelligible to people who speak only English or only Mexican Spanish, rather than emphasizing that it helps people who are monolingual in either language communicate with people who speak the other, and totally ignoring the fact that it is completely comprehensible to people who speak both. Yet Hall implies that Latinos came up with this "bastardized tongue" to avoid assimilating.

In the end Hall argues that the United States must "spend some effort, and, if need be some billions to emphasize that which has made us strong, rather than foolishly throwing aside our basic values at the behest of every illegal alien or every criminal, maniac or prostitute that Castro rid himself of" (ll. 122-125). This is the image Hall leaves with us: Latinos are illegal aliens, criminals, maniacs and prostitutes who refuse to assimilate to Our "basic values", who will go so far as to create a new language in order to avoid learning "our" language. By requesting that the editorial be read into the CR, Huddleston gives the image his blessing. This example of Congressional OE discourse demonstrates again that Congressional OE proponents favor an assimilation approach to resolving

language policy conflict. It also shows that Congressional OE discourse contains generalizations about Latinos that clearly fit van Dijk's definition of racism. The examples taken from Hall's writing also show a connection between Congressional OE proponents and group pluralist assumptions. The group pluralist model assumes that ethnic group elites will exaggerate ethnic differences in order to mobilize their followers. Here we see elites of the dominant (rather than minority) ethnic group (in this case Huddleston, via Hall) exaggerate ethnic differences in order to mobilize their followers.

As we saw earlier, Huddleston and others argue in various speeches that Latinos resist assimilation to preserve their language and culture within the United States. It could be argued that some "White non-Hispanics" in the United States also express a desire to preserve *their* language (English) and culture (some of them say "civilization" as if everything else is uncivilized). In the section below I will examine how Latinos are constructed in these speeches in contrast to how these "White non-Hispanics" are constructed.

The Campaign for Spanish

Broomfield (1990b) states that a threat to unity in the United States is "emerging in the increasingly strident political campaign for separate Spanish teaching. Fortunately, most Hispanic-Americans don't support the idea. A loud minority of Hispanic politicians and leftist liberals do" (ll. 56-59). Broomfield goes on to say that "merely raising questions about the efficiency of the so-called bilingual program often leads to accusations of racism. Such noises come mainly from those that benefit most from these programs--Hispanic politicians, bureaucrats whose careers depend on the programs..." (ll. 105-107). Broomfield states in clear terms what many of the congressional supporters of OE legislation state in more ambiguous terms: Latino politicians and leftist

liberals have launched an all out campaign to establish the infrastructure to provide Spanish language education for Latino children even though most Latinos don't support this, it is just these few politicians and leftist liberals. Latino politicians and bureaucrats are the people who benefit most from these programs. We will see below that other speakers posit some very interesting reasons why these Latino leaders would want to do this, and how they benefit.

Symms (1985c) requested that an editorial from the Idaho Press Tribune, written by Ron Crane, be read into the CR. Crane was a member of the Idaho State Legislature and the sponsor of an ELA in Idaho. Symms prefaces the editorial with remarks in which he states "Representative Crane's article may offend some, but he has the integrity to call a spade a spade and tell it just as it is. I recommend that my colleagues read this very well written article." Symms seems to be telling his audience, "some of you won't like what Crane has to say, but it doesn't matter, because what he says is TRUE. Most of YOU simply don't have the courage to say things like this. And besides, he's a good writer."

Crane's editorial is in response to an earlier editorial written by Camillo Lopez in opposition to Symms' ELA at the federal level. Crane does not waste any time categorizing Lopez. The first word in Crane's editorial is "Liberals," as in "[l]iberals, by and large, love bilingual education, bilingual ballots and other assorted bilingual programs--not because they assist non-English speaking minorities into full fledged membership in the American mainstream, but because they prevent it" (ll. 45-48). Later he asserts that "[t]he Hispanic Caucus and their fellow travelers look forward to a destiny for Spanish-speaking Americans separate from that of Anglo-, Italian-, Polish-, Lebanese-, Chinese-Americans and all the rest of us who rejoice in our ethnic diversity" (ll. 119-122).

So far, there are three observations that I think are important to make. First, this sample of Crane's editorial lets us know that *liberal* in this context (as in Broomfield's speech) is pejorative. A cursory reading of the entire article reveals further that it is a frequently used pejorative. Second, *liberals* are bad because, Crane asserts, they like programs that (supposedly) prevent assimilation. Third, Crane's audience is expected to accept the assertion that the Hispanic Caucus (and Crane points out that Lopez is one of their "fellow travelers" and a fellow liberal) is pushing for a "destiny" for themselves that is unique; something different from any other ethnic group in the United States. *Destiny* in this context is a rather ambiguous word, but it is clear from other speeches that *destiny* can be seen as code for a separate Latino geopolitical entity within the United States. For instance, Shumway (1983b) requested that an article from the Los Angeles Times, June 3, 1983, be read into the CR. In the article, the author argues that Latinos "envision a large, independent Spanish-speaking nation within the American nation" (ll. 136, 137). Roth (1995c) argues that "[s]ome advocates see...a radical transformation of the United States into a nation without one common language or fixed borders" (ll. 141, 142). These examples show how OE proponents accuse Latinos of favoring a linguistic confederation in the interest of preserving Latino culture. It does not matter that many Latinos do not favor such an arrangement. OE proponents know that if they are successful in raising the fear among their colleagues that Latinos really do want such a confederation, they will be well on the way to gaining consent for OE legislation as a remedy.

Crane and others argue, that bilingualism and bilingual government programs such as Broomfield describes in his speech are central to Latinos' effort to create such an entity. Dickinson (1991b) claims that "[o]pponents of my

bill...would eliminate English as our common language because it is the linchpin of our common culture. These ethnic separatists know very well the role language plays in maintaining their own political bases..." (ll. 130-138). Crane argues that through bilingual education "we have created a liberal's paradise -- an already large and continuously increasing group of 'victims' which will be unable to stand on their own and thus who will be permanently dependent upon bilingual interpreters and the handouts of big government" (Symms, 1985c, ll. 95-98). These two examples argue that language plays an important role in maintaining the unity of the United States and a political base within a certain linguistic minority (Latinos), and that by keeping Latinos from learning English (by enrolling them in bilingual education) liberals and Latino activists or political leaders are able to force the government to create programs to serve Latinos in their own language, thus creating a cycle that will effectively maintain a large group of Latinos in the country who are dependent on their (liberals and Latino activists and politicians) political leadership. Latino activists and political leaders then, are seen as evil agents (as are liberals) who want to divide the United States and who prey on their own base of political power to keep them loyal and in subjection.

There are other ways to view the actions of the Latinos about whom Congressional supporters of OE legislation complain. One can see their activism as a struggle to make sure Latinos obtain government services and the best possible educational opportunities, which for many would include an effective program of bilingual education. For doing so they are branded as know-it-alls, activists and political leaders, terms that, like *liberal*, are also pejorative in this context. Broomfield (1990b) remarks that "the proponents of bilingualism tend to be types who know what is best for other people, even if the majority doesn't

agree" (ll. 135, 136). Crane remarks that "[l]iberals have long thrived on the votes of the so-called 'victim' classes" (Symms, 1985c, l. 50), and that with Latinos "the liberals think they have found a virtual eternal fountain of 'sufferers.' Hispanics also represent an already large and constantly increasing source of political power" (ll. 63-65). Crane adds later "Camilo Lopez and other politically ambitious liberals don't want assimilation. They want a permanent 'victim' class which will provide a dependable source of votes and power for this generation and beyond" (ll. 124-126).

In Chapter One we saw that one of the major assumptions of the group pluralist model is the notion that ethnic group elites mobilize the support of their followers by emphasizing differences in ways that "cause unrest and ultimately division and power sharing in the polity" (Donahue, 1995, p. 114). Here we have seen a classic example of how this works in the Congressional OE movement. Congressional OE proponents openly assert one of their major ideologies, i.e., that Latino elites are trying to create a permanent victim class as a base of political support in order to gain a stronger political position in the United States. In doing so, OE proponents are attempting mobilize their own followers (and colleagues), not in order to cause division and power sharing, but to (re)produce conservative hegemony in the general public, and to weaken the position of liberals in Congress. So, while the group pluralist model assumes that ethnic *minorities* work to emphasize differences for their own benefit, here we see that conservatives of the ethnic *majority* are actually trying to mobilize their constituents in this way.

To summarize, then, it is apparent from a close reading of the speeches made by Congressional supporters of OE legislation that Latinos who advocate the preservation of their language and culture, bilingual government services and

bilingual education are seen pejoratively as activists, leftist liberals and plain liberals, a loud minority, demanding something the majority of Latinos do not want. These purportedly evil people prey on their constituents for their own political gain. The actions of Latino leaders and politicians are interpreted as attempting to make a permanent victim class out of their own constituents in an effort to (re)produce their ability to use their constituents to maintain their own power base. These Latinos are accused of trying to divide the United States and they are denigrated for demanding equal rights and good education for their children and the children of their constituents. This is quite different from how people who advocate for the preservation of English, the imagined mainstream culture, and civilization of the United States are described, as we will see below.

The Campaign for English

Congressional supporters spend far more time talking about Latino activists than they do talking about activists supporting the OE agenda. When they do talk about these OE activists, however, the language is strikingly different. Inhofe (1989) introduces a resolution from The National Association of Pro America. This resolution attacks bilingual education, "ethnic" residents of the United States (this word, as it is used in their resolution might be read as immigrant rather than ethnic, as all people who have "mainstreamed into the American culture" (l. 66) are excluded from the term), bilingual ballots and bilingualism (because it "prevents easy communication, is divisive, and pits one group against another" [ll. 74, 75]). Inhofe introduces The National Association of Pro America as "a group of involved citizens across this country who care deeply about the security of our nation and the well-being of our people, especially our children" (ll. 24-27). Weldon (1996) states that "[e]ncouraging immigrants to learn English is the compassionate thing to do and this bill does

that" (l. 50, 51). After placing himself in the camp of the compassionate, Weldon continues by stating that "one of the biggest reasons why I am rising in support of this bill is because it is what my mother would want me to do" (ll. 53, 54). Rohrabacher (1996) summarizes these descriptions when he says of those who support OE legislation: "[w]e care. We are the ones who care about every American citizen when we do not give them an easy way out, but we say, 'Become part of America, we love you, we have caring in our heart.' That's why you should learn to speak English..." (ll. 42-44). Gingrich (1996) provides the ultimate accolade when he says HR 123 is a "modest [step] in the direction of reinforcing and reasserting the greatest civilization ever to provide freedom to the human race" (ll. 101, 102). So we see that OE activists are "concerned citizens", filled with "compassion" and "motherly" instincts, people of the "greatest civilization," who "care about and love" every American citizen.

Conclusions

In summarizing the way Latinos have been described in this discourse compared to how OE legislation supporters are described, we will see a clear example of what van Dijk (1998) refers to as the "ideological square." This square consists of four rhetorical moves: "1. Express/emphasize information that is positive about Us. 2. Express/emphasize information that is negative about Them. 3. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is positive about Them. 4. Suppress/de-emphasize information that is negative about Us" (p. 267).

We have seen that Congressional OE supporters construct themselves as compassionate, loving, caring individuals, interested in the security of the United States. At the same time they construct Latinos as one homogenous group, as opponents of this beneficial legislation. Latinos who speak out in favor of bilingual programs are seen as liberals, activists and political leaders (all in a

pejorative sense). Latinos are seen as a threat to the United States, as a drain on the economy (because of their own choices) and as educational underachievers. Latinos are constructed as illegal aliens, criminals, maniacs and prostitutes who refuse to learn English and assimilate to Our basic values. Languages spoken by Latinos are judged inferior and are part of a supposed Latino plot to divide the United States and establish a Latino homeland within its borders.

The last two corners of van Dijk's square are realized more in what is *not* said than in what *is* said. For instance, Congressional supporters of OE legislation do not point out that many people of Latino ancestry are quite successful in business, that there are many Latinos with advanced degrees employed in the private sector and in the academy, and that Latinos have served at all levels of state and federal government and the military. Furthermore, they do not point out that such achievements occur among people of Latino ancestry who are first-generation immigrants as well as those who were born in the United States. At the same time, Congressional supporters of OE legislation de-emphasize information about the inequities that restrict the opportunities ethnic and linguistic minorities (including Latinos) have in the United States. Congressional supporters of OE legislation do not talk about the fact that one of the areas where a high percentage of Latinos live (the Southwest) is territory that the United States took by military force from Mexico, that is, that Spanish-speaking communities predated the annexation of these locations by the United States. And, of course, Congressional supporters of OE legislation would probably never even consider the idea that many of the problems with bilingual education in the United States stem from lack of funding from a Congress passionately anti-bilingual-education.

Thus we see that Congressional supporters of OE legislation operate within an ideological framework that allows them to construct the Other (in this case primarily Latinos) in explicitly negative terms while constructing Us in exclusively positive terms, suppressing the positive attributes of the Other and suppressing the negative attributes of Themselves. In this manner these members of Congress are able to (re)produce an ideology that is, by definition, racist.

In this chapter, we have seen ideologies of this movement in Congress that closely resemble the major assumptions of the group pluralist model (i.e., that ethnolinguistic diversity is inherently destabilizing and that ethnic group elites will exaggerate ethnic differences in order to mobilize their followers). We have been reminded of Schmidt's idea that there are two competing values in modern societies today: equality and national unity. In the discourse of the Congressional OE movement we have only seen examples of the rhetoric of national unity. We have also seen that the Congressional OE movement is clearly described by Schmidt's assimilation approach to language policy conflict. Finally, in regard to the research questions I posed in Chapter One, I have been able to begin constructing answers to two of those questions: What do Congressional OE proponents intend OE legislation to accomplish, and how do they argue for OE legislation? In this chapter we have seen that Congressional OE proponents intend OE legislation to end multilingual programs and "special treatment" for ethnic minorities. I have shown that Congressional OE proponents argue for OE legislation by trying to convince their colleagues that linguistic diversity is divisive and will destroy the United States if ethnic minorities are not assimilated. In Chapter Five we will see more examples of this discourse and explore some of the linguistic strategies Congressional OE proponents use to argue for OE legislation.

CHAPTER FIVE: LINGUISTIC STRATEGIES IN THE CONGRESSIONAL OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT

Introduction

The analysis in Chapter Four focused on the themes of Congressional OE proponents' speeches supporting OE proposals. The analysis in Chapter Five is more detail oriented, concerned primarily with examining linguistic properties of the discourse at a more micro level. Instead of looking at categories and their properties or underlying meanings of segments of discourse such as statements or utterances I will focus on smaller units of language. Specifically, I will examine the use of nominalization, passivization, modality, how syntax and pronouns are used to construct Others and how some concepts are naturalized via implication.

In Chapter Five we will also see numerous examples from this discourse that will help us answer the three research questions posed in Chapter One: what do OE proponents in Congress intend OE legislation to achieve? How do OE proponents in Congress argue for, or rationalize, OE legislation? And finally, can we determine what motivates OE proponents to pursue this legislation? We will see that assimilation is a major theme of this discourse and that it is expressed in ways that allow the speakers to construct the concept most fully to their advantage. We will see numerous examples of the rhetoric of national unity, but again, a total absence of any advocacy of equal rights for ethnolinguistic minorities. Finally, as throughout Chapter Four, we will see various ways in which ideology is used, naturalized and (re)produced.

Nominalization

Introduction

In Chapter Two I defined nominalization as the practice of using a noun to express the meaning or contents of a verb. I also reiterated Fowler's (1985) argument that nominalization allows the speaker to delete agency and modality, thus leaving a significant part of the meaning of an utterance cloaked in mystery. Nominalization leaves unanswered questions such as: Who is doing the action in this statement? What obligations and responsibilities are implicit in such a statement? Sometimes the nominalization is simply a different form of the verb it is expressing (e.g., assimilate frequently becomes assimilation), but the nominalization may also be an entirely different lexical item (e.g., melting pot). For this reason, the semantic content of a particular nominalization is sometimes unclear. I argued that analyzing nominalizations is an important part of denaturalizing the ideologies that Congressional supporters of OE legislation work to naturalize. In this section of Chapter Five I will analyze two examples of nominalization and explain their effects in this discourse.

Examples

The Melting Pot

The phrase *melting pot* is used sixty-one times in the body of discourse I am examining. This phrase represents one of the central concepts in the Congressional OE discourse. It is not clear that all of the speakers I will examine use the phrase in the same way. Ultimately, however, in examining these speeches, one can discover a group of common ideas centered around the phrase *melting pot* that indicate a generally accepted meaning among Congressional supporters of OE legislation. To see how this phrase naturalizes an ideology, it is important to carefully unpack its meaning. I believe that many Americans

accept the use of the phrase *melting pot* and attach a vague meaning to it, along the lines of "to become American." This is one of the values of a nominalization: when a member of Congress uses a commonly accepted phrase (such as *the melting pot*) to convey a very complex idea, many people are not inclined to ask what the speaker intend the phrase to signify. Instead they rely on their own ideas of what the term means, and none of the members of Congress who use this phrase offer an explanation of what it means. In this way, members of Congress are able to introduce ideas into the discourse without being challenged. When most people hear the phrase *melting pot* they probably think "becoming American" and forego any critical evaluation of what the term may mean or what the process entails. In addition, there is no agency or modality in Congressional OE supporters' use of this phrase. Most people will not ask themselves or their representative in Congress who or what is doing the *melting* in the melting pot?

In the paragraphs below I will examine several semantic attributes of this phrase as it is used in the context of the Congressional OE discourse. This analysis will help identify what Congressional supporters of OE legislation mean when they use the phrase *melting pot* and what ideology the use of this phrase helps to naturalize.

Symbol or model

Several of the speakers indicate in different ways that the melting pot is a symbol or model. Huddleston (1984b) requested that an article by Gerda Bikales be read into the CR. In this article she refers to the melting pot as an "ideal" and "a model for [immigrants'] adjustment to the American mainstream" (ll. 47, 48). Bereuter (1986) requested that an editorial by then Governor Richard Lamm of Colorado be read into the CR. In this editorial Lamm refers to the melting pot as "an admirable symbol" (l. 108). Lipinski (1986) requested that an editorial

written by Joan Beck for the Chicago Tribune be read into the CR. In this editorial she refers to the "melting pot ideology that served us well historically" (ll. 31). Roth (1995d) requested that an article written by Michael Gonzalez for the Wall Street Journal be read into the CR. In that article Gonzalez refers to the "ideal of the melting pot" (l. 58). In these instances the use of the phrase *melting pot* indicates that it is a metaphor, which makes the concepts behind the phrase even more mysterious: using a metaphor to express a concept that is undefined in the current context. However, other uses of the phrase *melting pot* will give us more insight about what this phrase means in Congressional OE discourse.

A social process

Some Congressional supporters of OE legislation use the term *melting pot* in ways that suggest it is a social process. Hayakawa (1981) states that the "American "melting pot" has succeeded in creating a vibrant new culture among peoples of many different cultural backgrounds largely because of the widespread use of a common language, English" (ll. 22-24). Huddleston (1983) argues that "[t]his process" of creating a vibrant new culture "was often referred to as the melting pot" (ll. 55). Knollenberg (1996) states that "for more than 200 years our Nation has been a melting pot of cultures and nationalities" (l. 19). For these speakers the melting pot is a "process" that operates on immigrants to the United States (a plurality of "cultures and nationalities") in a way that creates a singular "vibrant new culture." These remarks do not directly address the results of this process on actual people, but instead refer to abstract terms such as "cultures" and "nationalities." Neither is there any mention of who is responsible for this process (i.e., there is seemingly no agent involved). In the remarks above, the process appears to be autonomous and self perpetuating. But not all of the speakers present the melting pot in this way.

A controlled process

Some statements made by Congressional supporters of OE legislation seem to indicate that the melting pot is not autonomous and self perpetuating, but rather that it is controlled (again, the agent is a mystery). Symms (1985a) argues that "[w]e have removed the heat from the "melting pot", and the melting seems to have very nearly stopped" (ll. 34, 35). Emerson (1991b) states "America is a vast "melting pot" with ties to all humanity, and it is remarkable that despite 200 years of constant stirring and adding new ingredients to the brew, the pot does not boil over" (ll. 48-50). Finally, Roth (1993b) asks "[w]hat is the essential element that mixes new immigrants into the melting pot of America?" (ll. 30, 31). Each of these three statements implies that something or someone acts as a catalyst in this "melting pot." Symms comes closest to actually naming an agent, but he stops just short by using a suitably ambiguous "we." Emerson gives us no clues about who or what the agent is. Roth implies that the agent is not human by using the term "what." While these speakers imply that this process is not totally autonomous, they give us few clues as to the agent involved. So far, then, we have seen that Congressional proponents of OE legislation refer to this melting pot as a symbol, as some sort of social process, and one that is managed by some agent or agents (human or otherwise).

A part of Our national identity

Unfortunately for anyone trying to clarify what Congressional supporters of OE legislation mean when they use the term *melting pot*, some of these speakers see it even more abstractly than as a symbol or model. In the editorial by Lamm mentioned earlier (Bereuter, 1986) the United States is described as a "nation which has prided itself on being a 'melting pot'" (ll. 103, 104). Roth (1993a) argues that "America is no longer the melting pot" (ll. 35, 36). Gingrich

(1996) states that "[o]ur greatness in part comes from our ability to be a melting pot" (ll. 26, 27). These speakers see the melting pot as an integral part of Our identity, something the "nation" is proud of, a part of Our identity that We are turning Our collective back on, an ability that has made Us great. Given these remarks it seems that this melting pot is part of Our national psyche.

Products of the melting pot

If the melting pot is actually a process, one way to help define it is to observe what the process produces. Several of the speakers in this body of discourse comment specifically on the 'products' of the melting pot. We have already seen one of those products as Hayakawa (1981) expressed it: "The American melting pot has succeeded in creating a vibrant new culture among peoples of many different cultural backgrounds" (ll. 21-23). Huddleston (1983) seems to agree with Hayakawa when he states that the United States has been "using the melting pot philosophy to forge a strong and united nation" (ll. 237, 238). So far, then, the product of the melting pot seems to be a "vibrant culture" and a "strong nation."

Emerson (1990c) presents a slightly different idea about what the melting pot produces when he states "[w]hat we have here in America -- our famed melting pot -- is an unusual phenomenon....we, a nation of immigrants, have been able to live with one another in peace. Why? Largely, it is because we share a common goal, a common identity" (ll. 34-35). Emerson (1990b) continues to develop this idea when he argues that

> [w]e are truly a melting pot....We are demonstrating on a national level that in the United States nationhood is based not on race or ethnic or tribal identity, but on a set of beliefs about liberty, equality and individual rights....But it is important to understand that unity does not mean uniformity....It does not mean we all have to have brown eyes or listen to Bach or like french fries. It

> means we share common dreams and goals and a dedication to common ideals. (ll. 57-70)

Roth (1993b) sees the melting pot as "fusing many peoples into one" (l. 493, 494), and later (1996) states that "we have always had the idea that we are the melting pot, that we are all the same" (ll. 56, 57). It seems that in order for the melting pot to produce a "vibrant new culture" and "strong nation" it must do something about diversity. Of course, Emerson argues, we do not all have to look the same (which is physically impossible anyway), or like the same food or the same music (which may also be impossible), but, he argues, our values, our dreams, aspirations, goals and ideals must be the same. Roth is not even this tolerant of diversity. His melting pot "fuses us together" so that "we are all the same." Now the concept of the melting pot is becoming more clearly defined, and the definition seems to center around a distaste for any but the most superficial diversity, around a discomfort with differences. In the next section we will see a somewhat more detailed and explicit explanation of the 'melting pot.'

A contrast

Another way to get at the meaning of this phrase is to look for ideas or phenomena that are held up in contrast to it. For instance, Lipinski (1986) argues that "[t]he melting pot ideology that served us well historically is being pushed aside by sentimental insistence on preserving a Balkanizing of other languages and cultures" (ll. 32-33). In Beck's editorial (Lipinski, 1990), she states that "the melting pot model has been chucked aside in recent years, replaced by increasingly sharp racial and ethnic divisions that are rubbing this society raw. Rhetoric about the importance of roots and cultural identity is drowning out the old ideal..." (ll. 86-89). Emerson (1991a) requested that an article by John

Silber be read into the CR. Silber writes that "[i]n recent years it has, unfortunately, become fashionable to question the validity of the melting pot and to encourage groups of what Theodore Roosevelt called "hyphenated Americans," who perpetuate their ethnic particularism..." (ll. 107-109). Roth (1993b) argues that "America is in danger of losing its melting pot -- and becoming a cauldron of division and separatism" (ll. 496, 497). Finally, we get a sense of the melting pot through contrast in Gary Turbank's article that Roth (1994) requested be read into the CR. Turbank states that "America, they say, is not a homogeneous melting pot, but rather a salad bowl, where each ingredient should retain its distinctive qualities" (ll. 149-150). In these selections the melting pot comes to represent a process by which individuality, ethnicity and cultural identity are stripped away to be replaced with some set of goals, ideals and dreams that We hold in common. The melting pot, they argue here, counters division and separatism by producing unity and nationalism.

So far, then, in addition to seeing how a term like *melting pot* works to naturalize certain ideas, we have seen several examples of discourse that explicitly tie the Congressional OE movement to the group pluralist assumption that diversity is negative, an inherently destabilizing characteristic. We have also seen numerous examples of rhetoric that express the value of and the need to preserve national unity.

Summary

If we synthesize these attributes of the melting pot, we should be able to construct a reasonable description of what Congressional supporters of OE legislation mean when they use the term. We saw earlier that the melting pot is a metaphorical label for a social process that is responsible for taking individuals from many different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and creating a new

homogenous culture in the United States. The melting pot model described in these texts does not allow any cultural or linguistic diversity. There seems to be some external control over this process but it is not clear in the speeches I have examined here who or what controls the process. This process is viewed by Congressional supporters of OE legislation as a part of the national identity of the United States. It is as if these Congressional supporters of OE legislation view the United States as a machine. Immigrants and refugees enter the machine and soon they are transformed. As transformed people they should not speak their native language in public and they should espouse Our set of beliefs and values (e.g., democracy, capitalism, christianity and the superiority of all that is Western). In using the term *melting pot*, members of Congress are able to express these ideas in a way that masks the gory details of trading (or watching family members trade) one's closely held beliefs, values and language for a different model that is advertised as vastly superior.

Finally, we should note that several of the speakers whose speeches I have been examining here explicitly link the melting pot to the idea of assimilation. In the next section I will examine how the term 'assimilation' is used and what it might mean in this context. Ultimately we will see that Congressional OE proponents consider no approach to resolving the language policy conflict in the United States other than forcing immigrants to assimilate.

Assimilation

Huddleston (1983) states that "our great strength has been drawn from our ability to assimilate vast numbers of people....This process was often referred to as the melting pot" (ll. 52-55). Lipinski (1986) argues that "[t]he melting pot ideology that served us well historically is being pushed aside....But if this Nation is to survive the diverse new waves of immigration, it is essential

that the process of assimilation go on" (ll. 31-36). So these speakers add the term *assimilation* to our understanding of the term *melting pot*. Like the term *melting pot*, assimilation is a term that many Americans would probably offer a definition for if asked. Such definitions would most likely center around a concept such as becoming American much like the definition of the melting pot. This definition does not go far in helping us understand what assimilation means in the speeches of Congressional OE supporters that I am examining. Similar to the term *melting pot*, however, the term assimilation allows these speakers to posit an idea without being challenged, without explaining what they mean, without specifying who is responsible for assimilating these "diverse new waves" of immigrants. Examining how this term is used in the body of discourse I am studying here will help us understand more clearly what Congressional supporters of OE legislation mean when they use the terms *assimilation* and *the melting pot*.

The role of English

Several speakers conveyed a belief that learning English was central to assimilation. Badham (1985) requested that a letter from Norman Shumway to the Washington Post be read into the CR. In this letter Shumway argues that "[t]here continues to be no substantive or consistent evidence that bilingual education is having the desired result of assimilating language minorities into the American mainstream by providing them with English fluency" (ll. 43-46). Bereuter (1993) argues that "regardless of a person's nation of origin, there is an expectation of adoption of the English language as a part of the assimilation process" (ll. 26-28). Shumway (1985) approaches this belief from a different angle when he states that bilingual education programs "foster continued dependence on languages other than English - thus serving to impede the process

of assimilation" (ll. 34, 36). While these statements do not explicitly specify the role of learning English in the assimilation process, they make it clear that these supporters of OE legislation see it as an important part of the process. However, as we saw earlier, some Congressional OE supporters (e.g., Emerson [1990b]) argue that learning English is not enough. There is the additional issue of adopting Our dreams, Our goals and Our ideals (ll. 57-70). In addition to reinforcing my earlier arguments that Congressional OE proponents favor an assimilation approach to language policy conflict, the statements we have just examined also exemplify the ideology held by OE proponents that diversity is inherently negative.

Agency and the assimilation process

I stated earlier that nominalizations allow the speaker to delete agency. This is evident in statements made by Congressional supporters of OE legislation. For instance, Roth (1994) refers to "our tradition of assimilating, through English, new immigrants into American society" (ll. 40, 42). It is not clear here who "our" refers to or who carries out this "tradition." Cunningham (1996) states that "[w]e are proud of our Nation's ability to assimilate people from around the world" (ll. 23, 24). Again, it is not clear who "we" is or who "Nation" refers to. Does everyone in the United States take part in assimilating immigrants and refugees? Earlier I stated that assimilation is a social process. One could argue that everyone who participates in the existence of the United States is an agent of assimilation. One could also argue more narrowly that assimilation is performed by white, English speaking Americans, or by Americans who see themselves as, or strive to be part of, the social mainstream of the United States. However one might choose to argue, the main point here is that the speakers use inclusive terms ("our", "we", "Nation"), but who these

terms include is ambiguous, and thus the agency in the statements is also ambiguous.

In other speeches, Congressional OE supporters express a different view. Roth (1993a) states that "[w]hen immigrants came to America they adopted English so that their children could compete and could assimilate..." (ll. 23-25). Two years later Roth (1995e) refers to "children and newcomers who don't know English and who need to assimilate" (ll. 78, 79). Hutchinson (1996) talks about immigrants from Norway who "assimilated in our culture and...lived the American dream" (l. 45). Thus sometimes OE supporters in Congress see assimilation as a process that is done to immigrants and refugees and sometimes they see it as a process that immigrants and refugees do to, or are responsible for, themselves. This difference is significant because it allows Congressional supporters of OE legislation to construct minorities in different ways. Latinos are typically portrayed as resisting assimilation, so We must assimilate them. Earlier groups of immigrants are portrayed as having willingly assimilated on their own. Congressional supporters of OE legislation do not use a single meaning for the term 'assimilation.' Instead they use their own notions of what assimilation means, a (probably unconscious) tactic that allows them great flexibility in their discourse.

The quality of assimilation.

Several comments made by Congressional supporters of OE legislation suggest that assimilation is a process that is not completed to the same extent by or for everyone who migrates to the United States. Bryant (1996) states that "for over 180 years we all came together and we assimilated....We assimilated perfectly" (ll. 33, 34, 41). Shumway (1983b) refers to "our ability to effectively assimilate..." (ll. 23, 24). Huddleston (1984b) argues that "[v]virtually nothing

is known about the quality of assimilation of bilingual program participants" (ll. 94, 95). Badham (1985) argues that "newcomers to our shores gain confidence and have opportunity as they fully assimilate..." (ll. 62, 63). Dannemeyer (1990) argues that "[a]dopting English...would promote better assimilation..." (ll. 33, 34). These comments suggest that circumstances may determine how well someone is assimilated or assimilates in the United States. The process, it seems, does not work the same for everyone. This is important, because we will see below that Congressional OE supporters accuse certain 'newcomers' of resisting assimilation.

To summarize, assimilation, like the melting pot, appears to be a process for which Congressional supporters of OE legislation do not specifically take responsibility. Neither do they make it clear who is responsible for assimilating people who come to the United States. It seems that learning English is considered by Congressional OE supporters to be central to the process, and some people assimilate or are assimilated better or more fully than others. Understanding the product of the process will help us understand more fully what 'assimilation' means in the discourse I am examining.

The product of the assimilation process

When Congressional supporters of OE legislation talk about what assimilation produces, they tend to talk about a new nationality or a new culture. Broomfield (1990b) refers to "the very basis on which this country has been built: assimilation of diverse nationalities into a new nationality" (ll. 147, 148). Miller (1990) talks about assimilating and integrating "our diverse cultures into one" (l. 34). Cunningham (1996) and Weldon (1996) both state that "[w]e are proud of our Nation's ability to assimilate people from around the world in one cohesive society" (ll. 23, 24 and 66, 67 respectively). These remarks suggest

that Congressional supporters of OE legislation desire a homogenous United States with one nationality, another reminder that one of their major ideologies centers around the idea that diversity is negative. This discourse also contains remarks about those who resist assimilation that make this point even more strongly.

Resistance to assimilation.

Symms (1985a) argues that "a new bilingualism and biculturalism is being promulgated that would deliberately fragment the Nation into unassimilated groups...The new metaphor is ...the salad bowl, with each element distinct" (ll. 429-432). Stenholm (1991) refers to "ethnic separatists who scorn assimilation into the mainstream society" (ll. 31, 32). Dickinson, (1991b) argues that "there is a trend now by some immigrant groups toward resisting assimilation into the larger society....bent on reversing the movement of American history and defining us not as a unified Nation of individuals but as adherents to an ethnic or cultural group" (ll. 172-177). Knollenberg (1996) states that "[t]oday, our melting pot has become a patchwork quilt of culture....They aren't assimilating into our society like our ancestors did" (ll. 26, 28). From these remarks we can see that these members of Congress are concerned about dealing with a diversity of cultures within the United States, concerned about the possibility of anything other than a single culture that readily accepts only one set of core values and beliefs and cherishes only one language. Assimilation here is seen as a process that ends diversity and (re)produces uniformity. This idea is stated most clearly by Roth (1996):

> ...in America, we have always had the idea that we are the melting pot, that we are all the same. We do not believe in hyphenated Americans. We are all equal American.
>
> America must continue to be the melting pot. A Nation like America cannot be made up of groups. America is made up

> of individuals. As Woodrow Wilson said, as long as you consider yourself a part of a group, you are still not assimilated into American society... (ll. 56-63)

So ultimately we see that in the context of the Congressional OE discourse, assimilation, like the melting pot, is seen as a process that takes away the distinctiveness of the people from different cultures who come to the United States. It is a way of deleting diversity and enforcing uniformity of ideals, values, beliefs and language. Why is assimilation so important to the supporters of the Congressional OE movement? Because they see diversity as undesirable and destabilizing or divisive. Assimilation is heralded as the key to national unity.

Summary

I began this section on nominalization by arguing that nominalizations delete agency and modality from statements. We have seen in this discussion of the terms 'the melting pot' and 'assimilation' that indeed it is unclear who is doing 'the action' that is portrayed in these terms. The precise nature of the action is also mysterious. I argued that many people living in the United States would be able to offer a definition for both of these terms, probably along the lines of 'to become American'. I have shown in these few pages that a close examination of this discourse demonstrates that the processes represented by these two terms are in fact much more than simply 'becoming American'. They also entail immigrants sacrificing a part of themselves, their culture and their heritage. Why would We want immigrants and refugees to change in this way? Emerson gives some idea of why this might be the case. In 1990, he stated that "human nature often leads us to resist and fear those who are different from us" (1990d, l. 22) and in 1993 he stated that "human nature fears that which is different, that which is 'other'" (1993, ll. 115, 116). If Emerson's ideas can be

seen as representative of the Congressional OE movement (and he was the primary sponsor of HR 123 from the time it was introduced in 1991 until his death shortly before it passed in 1996) then one reason We want immigrants and refugees to change is because of Our fear of difference. As we saw in Chapter Four, it is the exaggeration of these perceived differences that Congressional OE proponents use to justify or rationalize OE legislation.

The process of nominalization plays a central role in the (re)production of ideology. As Hodge and Kress (1988) note "[a] word is the carrier of a compressed message, a synchronic syntagm. The importance of words...is that the messages contained implicitly in words were repeated many times, and assigned a high validity" (p. 187). We have seen in this section that the value of nominalization lies precisely in the ambiguities and differences among the contextually specified meanings and the more implicit, but popularly accepted, meanings. What effect does this have on the discourse? It allows the speakers to (re)produce ideas as common sense (e.g., it is only natural that immigrants should want to become American). Without specifying the process and the results of the process, they can assert an idea like this with little chance of being challenged. As the idea is repeated over and over, it becomes naturalized, a part of the dominant ideology in American society. In the next section I will examine another aspect of this discourse that allows speakers to posit ideas without being explicit about what they mean.

Passives

In passive sentences, subject-verb-object word order is reversed, and the subject may be deleted. In this manner a speaker is able to communicate ideas that may be objectionable without including the objectionable information. I will give several examples below.

Symms (1985e) states that "...we have bigger and bigger areas of ethnicity developing and separate languages being spoken" (ll. 119, 121). Symms presents this as an argument for adopting English as the official language of the United States. Interestingly he de-emphasizes the language issues by placing comments about language in a separate clause following his comment about ethnicity. He seems to want us to consider the issue of ethnicity first. Second, he states that "we have".... He does not mean by this that "we" are the subject, the agent doing the developing. Clearly the development is the result of "ethnics" (I'll discuss the implications of that term later) moving into a certain area. Why would Symms not simply say that immigrants are moving into areas in larger and larger numbers? One possible explanation is that he does not want to appear to be blaming immigrants for this alleged problem. Another possible explanation is that by starting with "we" he is able to communicate that this is Our problem and We should do something about it. In the second clause of this statement, he says that "we have...separate languages being spoken." Again, he avoids saying 'these immigrants are all speaking their own separate languages' a statement that would be more offensive to many listeners.

Symms continues by stating that "[i]t is most important that those people in those areas be given the opportunity to be immersed and to learn English so that they, too, can participate in the American dream..." (ll. 121-123). One might ask here, who "gives" these people the opportunity, and do the recipients want what is being given them? This construction allows Symms to substitute a benign "be given the opportunity" for the more alarming "we should force them to learn English by immersing them." In addition, Symms reinforces the already prevalent idea among Congressional OE proponents that moving immigrants into

the cultural and linguistic mainstream is the desired remedy. Clearly Symms ideology is consistent with the group pluralist model.

Shumway (1990b) states in regard to the language controversy in Quebec that "[d]espite the diversity of our people, we have been spared this bitter conflict thus far" (ll. 91, 93). Shumway imiplies that bitter, protracted, possibly violent conflict is possible, perhaps imminent. Thus he precludes the view that the degree of language conflict in the United States is much less than in Quebec. Shumway avoids an explicit comparison of language policy conflict in the United States and Canada, which might weaken his argument.

Shumway later states that "[t]hough representatives from many ethnic groups came together in the United States, English became their common language" (ll. 101-103). This passive construction obscures the forces throughout the history of the United States that forced immigrants to abandon their native languages. The passive construction allows Shumway to delete this part of American history.

Finally, Shumway states that "[t]he drive for public recognition of other languages has gained momentum in recent years. There has been strong pressure brought to bear in some quarters to mandate the use of other languages for official purposes" (ll. 130-134). As we have seen before, the passive construction allows Shumway to make these statements without specifying who or what is responsible for creating this "strong pressure". In this case, however, he only delays mentioning who is responsible. He continues by stating "[t]he Hispanic Issues Conference,...this year...called for a full range of public bilingual services" (ll. 134-136). So while in this case Shumway is willing to place the blame for these actions on the favorite target of the Congressional OE

movement (Latinos), he de-emphasizes this by using the passive and mentioning the 'agent' in the next sentence.

Thus, we see that the passive construction allows members of Congress to soften the tone of their rhetoric. By using the passive, they can mystify who has responsibility for certain actions. By using the passive they can de-emphasize and mystify the oppressive nature of their discourse. By using the passive, they can make quite complex social processes appear to be a simple matter of nature, simply common sense, simply inevitable. In the next section I will examine how Congressional supporters of OE legislation use another strategy to (re)produce ideology in their discourse.

Modality

Modality is used in English to express relative strength of certainty or doubt. When someone says 'I'm sure I had my keys with me' s/he expresses doubt. When s/he says 'I had my keys with me' (a statement with no modals included) s/he exhibits the maximum amount of certainty. 'I might have had my keys with me' is fairly uncertain. One of the striking features of Congressional OE discourse is the relative absence of modality. In the discourse I am examining it is unusual to find members of Congress expressing themselves with anything other than complete certainty.

For example, Roth (1993a) states that "America is breaking up into different linguistic groups" (l. 37). There is no qualification of this statement: Roth does not say 'America seems to be breaking up' or 'there is increasing evidence that America is breaking up.' He simply states "America is breaking up." Shumway (1983b) states that "our nation is experiencing the largest influx of immigrants in its history" (ll. 17, 18). What Shumway says was true in a very narrow sense in the late 1980s, but only in terms of absolute numbers and only

for a few years. If immigration is judged by the rate (number of immigrants per 1,000 population) then the decade of the 1980s was an average period for immigration. In fact, the decade of 1901 to 1910 had more than twice the rate of immigration. Shumway, however, offers no qualification. The way he states this (without modality) presents a claim of absolute truth. Symms (1987b) states that "America is a nation of many traditions and cultures bonded together by a common language--English" (ll. 13, 14). Is there some way to verify this? One could just as easily argue that the many traditions and cultures in the United States are not bonded together at all, but tolerate each other because of economic interests. Symms, however, makes such a statement as if it were incontestable.

My point here is not to say that unmodalized statements represent the majority of statements in this body of discourse. The point is that making unmodalized statements, put forward as statements of fact when there are alternative points of view, is a strategy that precludes attempts to develop a more complex understanding of migration, language learning and language use. It is also a strategy that aids the (re)production of ideology through the Congressional OE discourse.

'We' and Others

Carbo (1997) presents an analysis of political language that looks closely at various aspects of syntax and how they work to construct Us and the Other. In this section I will rely on some of her ideas to examine two examples from the Congressional OE discourse.

When Hayakawa (1981) introduced Senate Joint Resolution 72 (the first ELA) he began the process of establishing Them and Us in the Congressional OE discourse. It will be helpful in understanding the subtleties of this process

if we closely examine several excerpts from the speech he made on that occasion.

> Mr. President, language is a powerful tool. A common language can unify: separate languages can fracture and fragment a society. The American "melting pot" has succeeded in creating a vibrant new culture among peoples of many different cultural backgrounds largely because of the widespread use of a common language, English....
>
> This amendment is needed to clarify the confusing signals we have given in recent years to immigrant groups. For example, the requirements for naturalization as a U.S. citizen say you must be able to "read, write, and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language." And though you must be a citizen to vote, some recent legislation has required bilingual ballots in some areas. This amendment would end that contradictory, logically conflicting, situation....
>
> I am proposing this amendment because I believe that we are being dishonest with linguistic minority groups if we tell them they can take full part in American life without learning the English language. We may wish it were otherwise, but it simply is not so. As the son of an immigrant to an English-speaking country, I know this from personal experience if I spoke no English, my world would be limited to the Japanese-speaking community, and no matter how talented I was, I could never do business, seek employment, or take part in public affairs outside that community....
>
> The ability to forge unity from diversity makes our society strong. We need all the elements, Germans, Hispanics, Hellenes, Italians, Chinese, all the cultures that make our nation unique. Unless we have a common basis for communication and sharing ideas, we all lose.

In these excerpts, Hayakawa uses "we" in three different ways. The first way in which Hayakawa uses "we" is in line six, when he refers to "the confusing signals we have given in recent years." In this instance the signals are in the form of government policies; since Hayakawa is addressing the Senate, "we" logically refers to members of Congress. Hayakawa uses "we" in its most exclusive form here (referring only to members of Congress). In this instance the "we" is about the business of doing something positive for Them. "We" are

"clarifying confusing signals" and making sure that They can join Us in this "vibrant new culture."

In lines 13 and 14 Hayakawa states "we are being dishonest with linguistic minority groups if we tell them they can take full part in American life...." Again, "we" refers to members of Congress. Hayakawa also makes it clear here that "linguistic minority groups" are "them", "they", and they are excluded from that group of people who "can take full part in American life" (i.e., "we").

The second way in which Hayakawa uses "we" begins in line 23 when he states "[w]e need all the elements, Germans...all the cultures that make our nation unique." Here, by using "our nation" Hayakawa seems to be referring to that group of people who "can take full part in American life" and expanding the meaning of "we" in the same manner. Then finally, when Hayakawa states "[u]nless we have a common basis for communicating...we all lose" (ll. 24 and 25) he uses "we" in a third way, to include even those who cannot "take full part in American life".

In this example, as "we" becomes more inclusive, it loses some of its positive attributes. In the final instance "we" becomes totally inclusive and totally negative, precisely because of diversity: "we all lose." In this case They can cause Us harm, We become the victims, They become the oppressors. Thus in this excerpt the exclusive We is good while the inclusive "we" is only used in a situation that is characterized negatively. In this way, Hayakawa can reinforce the group pluralist assumption that ethnic diversity is inherently negative.

In speaking of the rhetoric of President Carlos Salinas of Mexico, Carbo (1997) argues that the

> complex operation of inclusion-exclusion ...is a basic ideological form employed in the discursive construction of indigenous peoples in institutional discourse. It operates with a basic binary structure of "us" and "them" to position "them" strategically, together with "us" or not in terms of a shifting definition of "us" that allows the ruling elite maximum scope to claim they represent the whole of Mexico or any convenient part of it (p. 96)

Similarly, Hayakawa and other Congressional supporters of OE legislation construct linguistic minorities in the United States (especially Latinos) and the "American mainstream" as separate entities in the Congressional OE discourse. In this way, linguistic minorities can be conveniently repositioned. At times They (or the diversity they bring) are important to Us. Most of the time They (and the diversity they bring) are divisive and destructive. This technique of constructing linguistic minorities occurs frequently in Congressional OE discourse.

Symms (1985a) provides another example. While Hayakawa's use of "we" was somewhat subtle and complex, Symms' use of nouns and pronouns paints a clearer picture of the distinction between Us and Them.

> Since the amendment was first introduced in 1981 by Senator Hayakawa, it has gained steady recognition by the press, and—more importantly—enthusiastic acceptance by the American people. It has stimulated a vigorous national debate on the language future of our Nation, reflected in a first round of hearings held last year in the Senate.
>
> The American people are impatient with us. All around them they see the results of the language policies Congress has imposed, policies that challenge the uniqueness of English in our national life. We have removed the heat from the "melting pot", and the melting seems to have very nearly stopped. Many Americans now feel like strangers in their own neighborhoods, aliens in their own country.
>
> The American people resent the failure of Congress to correct laws that are clearly dysfunctional, and they are letting us know it.
>
> All this indicates that Americans are deeply concerned about the erosion of English they see all around them, and they want Congress to take affirmative action to protect our language.

> For a common language has traditionally united us all as fellow citizens of one Nation, just as surely as separate languages would separate us into unrelated inhabitants of the same territory.
>
> The English language amendment is not intended to bar anyone, citizen or immigrant, from the opportunities to be found in American society. It merely ends the pretense that opportunities are fully open to those who don't learn our language.

In this excerpt Symms uses "our" four times, "us" four times, some form of "American" four times, "we" once, "their," "them," and "those" twice, and "they" three times.

The first term I want to examine occurs in lines one through three when Symms states that the English language amendment "has gained...enthusiastic acceptance by the American people." A more accurate statement would be "...enthusiastic acceptance by some American people." Later, Symms gives us more of an idea just who he excludes from the "American people." In lines 21 and 22 he states that "a common language has traditionally united us all as fellow citizens of one Nation." An American, then, seems to be a citizen of the United States, and anyone who does not speak English is not a "fellow citizen."

Symms states in lines three through five that the ELA has "stimulated a vigorous national debate on the language future of our Nation".... Whose nation? The nation of English speaking citizens of the United States. Symms continues in line seven, "[t]he American people are impatient with us." "Us" in this case refers to Congress as we see in the next statement when Symms says "[a]ll around them they [the American people] see the results of the language policies Congress has imposed...in our national life." Whose "national life?" The policies Symms refers to were designed to make life in the United States easier for people whose native language is not English, and Symms views these policies as having negative effects. Consequently, "our" in this case must also

refer to English speaking citizens of the United States. Symms reinforces the exclusion of people who do not speak English when he states "[w]e have removed the heat from the 'melting pot'....Many Americans now feel like strangers in their own neighborhoods, aliens in their own country." Symms draws a link here between language policies intended to make life easier for people who do not speak English and the melting pot, emphasizing the notion here that learning English is a part of assimilating into the American mainstream. By asserting that many Americans now feel like "strangers" in "their own neighborhoods," Symms makes it clear that people who do not speak English are causing a problem. The neighborhoods and the country belong to the English speaking Americans. That is to say, if an immigrant does not speak English, that person is part of the problem, that person cannot be an American.

In lines thirty-four and thirty-five Symms argues that the "American people resent the failure of Congress to correct laws...." Then in lines fifty-two and fifty-three he states that "Americans are deeply concerned about the erosion of English they see around them, and they want Congress to take affirmative action to protect our language". Would non-English speaking residents of the United States be concerned about the "erosion of English?" And who does "our" (in "our language") refer to? It cannot be any group other than those people who are concerned about the erosion of English, i.e., English speaking Americans. Symms is able to say "our" because in this speech he names and defines the group. One has no opportunity to resist Symms' definition, to decide not to be a part of the group.

Finally Symms concludes by arguing that this legislation is not intended to exclude anyone from opportunity in America: "It merely ends the pretense that opportunities are fully open to those who don't learn our language." Now we

know very clearly that They are people who "don't learn our language," members of the excluded group, and We are the owners of the language, the members of the exclusive group. In this way Symms makes it clear that if anyone who does not speak English can't be one of Us, can't be an American citizen. Symms and his colleagues base membership in the Us group on linguistic differences. Undoubtedly, if everyone in America spoke perfect English some people would find another reason to exclude those who are different from Us.

Unity and Diversity

In the speeches I am examining, Congressional proponents of OE legislation made many statements about national unity and ethnolinguistic diversity. On the surface, diversity *appears* to be put in a place of value by many Congressional supporters of OE legislation. These proponents of OE legislation, however, talk about diversity while omitting the people who create that diversity. Hayakawa states "we need all the elements." He does not say we need all the immigrants, all the refugees, all the people who bring this diversity to the United States. The immigrants and refugees are removed from the discussion of diversity when diversity is valuable. The notion that it is actually people who create diversity comes later when Hayakawa argues that "American democracy always strives to include in its mainstream everyone who aspires to citizenship." In this case, however, diversity is not welcome, but instead, moving people into the mainstream of American society is important. Note also that "everyone who aspires to citizenship" does not occupy a subject position or perform the work of an agent. "Everyone" is the object of this clause, being acted upon by an abstract agent, "American democracy." Thus, while claiming to value diversity, Hayakawa also makes it clear that We will only tolerate it within the parameters of the mainstream.

Miller (1990) states that "[t]he United States' greatness comes from its wide diverse ancestral background and our English language is the common unifying factor which allows us to assimilate and integrate our diverse cultures into one" (ll. 32-34). Like Hayakawa, Miller talks about diversity without talking about immigrants. It is especially interesting to me, however, that Miller conjoins two seemingly contradictory clauses. I argue that one could paraphrase Miller's statement as follows: Diversity is what makes the United States great and we, via the English language, must integrate our diverse cultures into one homogenous culture. Miller foregrounds the value of diversity but in the same sentence states that We do away with it. Again, the action is done by an abstract subject or agent ("us") to a deleted Them.

Finally, Shumway (1983b) states that

> While I believe that it is important that the tradition of accepting foreigners to our Nation is preserved, it is imperative that immigrants are integrated into U.S. society as quickly as possible in order to allow them to become useful, productive members of our society....The designation of English as the official language of the United States, however, should by no means be construed as a betrayal of the diverse cultures which make up our great Nation. Our Nation has been immeasurably enriched by the cultural diversity of our society and thus it is vital that this diverse cultural tradition be preserved. I submit, however, that a multilanguage society is not in the best interest of our Nation. (ll. 47-60)

Shumway states his belief that "accepting foreigners to our Nation" is important, but we see immediately, via the word "while," that this is a qualified belief. More important (in fact, "imperative") is that "immigrants are integrated into U.S. society as quickly as possible." Again, immigrants (and they are actually named this time) are the object of an action (integration) performed by an unspecified agent. In the next sentence Shumway implicitly introduces a point of conflict that exists in the OE debate: The designation of English as the official language

should not be "construed as a betrayal of the diverse cultures which make up our great Nation." The deletions in this statement should be noted. First, Shumway deletes the agent: who in this statement is designating English as the official language? Second, he deletes anyone who opposes OE legislation: who in this statement is doing the construing? In so doing, Shumway makes the opponents in this conflict ambiguous. If Shumway (a supporter of OE legislation, one who is trying to designate English as the official language) can delete the agent and mystify the object he makes it that much more difficult for observers to formulate the connections: i.e., Shumway is one of the agents of assimilation and his OE legislation can be seen as a betrayal, not only of diverse cultures, but a betrayal of immigrants themselves. Shumway reinforces this point in the next sentence, when, having praised the value of cultural diversity, he states "I submit, however, that a multilanguage society is not in the best interest of our nation."

These examples illustrate several points that Carbo (1997) makes about the effects of deleting material from a text. First, such deletion serves to suppress or symbolically or semantically erase the people who are deleted (in this case immigrants and refugees to the United States). Second, such deletion does not remove these people from the reader's or listener's thought, but rather incorporates them into the "ideological substratum that is immanent in the text" (pp. 96, 97). In other words, these deletions do not totally remove these people from the text, but move them from the conscious thought of most readers/listeners to the level of unconscious (and thus uncritiqued) assumptions. Third, deleting immigrants from this discourse about diversity establishes, in her words, "double constructions." Immigrants are not valued for who they are, but instead, their culture is praised because it adds to Our culture. At the same time, their culture is seen as a disruption and a threat to Our culture. Linguistic

constructions such as these present a moving, changing target. Such constructions, whether conscious or unconscious, can be highly effective in naturalizing controversial ideas in attempts at persuasion and securing consent. In addition to the linguistic strategies examined in this section, we have also seen again that OE proponents in Congress view diversity as undesirable and assimilation as the key to national unity. In the next section I will examine one more strategy used to naturalize such ideas, i.e., the use of implication.

Implication

Implicit messages work to communicate ideas in ways that other strategies cannot. For instance, as I mentioned earlier, Symms (1985e) states that "we have bigger and bigger areas of ethnicity developing and separate languages being spoken" (ll. 119, 121). Implicit in this statement is the idea that Anglos like Symms have no ethnicity. They are the unmarked group against which all other groups are measured. If You are not like Us, then You belong to an ethnic group. Ethnic groups define the Other. In tandem with this is the notion that all languages other than English are "separate languages." Again, all other languages are measured against English, the unmarked language, the standard.

Huddleston (1983) also makes statements that carry implicit messages about immigrants to the United States. For example, "[i]f immigration is continued at a high level, yet a substantial portion of these new people and their descendants do not assimilate into the society, they have the potential to create in America a measure of the same social, political and economic problems which exist in the countries from which they have chosen to depart" (ll. 318-322). Huddleston implies here that immigration is at a high level. As I have noted earlier, this point is open to various interpretations, and we know that the

immigration *rate* (i.e., immigrants per 1000 population) for the time period in which Huddleston was speaking is actually about average when compared to other years for which there is immigration data for the United States. By making his point implicitly, however, Huddleston does not have to deal with any facts. Next Huddleston implies that the countries these people have chosen to leave are in the midst of social, political and economic problems that immigrants will inevitably bring with them. To really understand what Huddleston is implying here one needs to think back to the early 1980s. Many of the immigrants and refugees at that time were coming from Central and South America. Several Central American countries were at war with neighbors or internally. As we have seen throughout the last several chapters, Congressional supporters of OE legislation focus more on Latinos than any other group. In the context of the early 1980s Huddleston really means to say "look at all the problems going on down there. If we let all these people come up here they will bring their problems with them and inflict them upon Our country." Of course, implicit in this message is the notion that somehow these "social, political and economic problems" are an attribute of the people who are leaving their countries to come to the United States. In some way it seems inevitable to Huddleston that these problems will come with the people. Also implicit in his statement is the notion that if they assimilate (i.e., learn English and accept Our beliefs and values) their problems will not affect Us.

Not all implications in this discourse are so complicated. Shumway (1983b) stated that "it is imperative that immigrants are integrated into U.S. society as quickly as possible in order to allow them to become useful, productive members of our society" (ll. 48, 50). The implicit message in this statement is not as hidden as the implication in the previous statement by

Huddleston. Shumway is implying that immigrants, before they are integrated into U.S. society (whatever it means to be 'integrated') are useless and unproductive. To refer to immigrants who have not yet (been) integrated into the mainstream of the United States as useless and unproductive is a social cognition shared by other Congressional proponents of OE legislation that exemplifies the prejudice attribute of van Dijk's definition of racism.

Lipinski (1986) read for his colleagues in the House an editorial written by Joan Beck for the Chicago Tribune. In the editorial Beck argues that "if this Nation is to survive the diverse new waves of immigration, it is essential that the process of assimilation go on, as least in the public life we share. And the key to being a united nation is a common language" (ll. 35-37). As we have seen many times, this statement weaves the idea of national unity together with the idea of linguistic homogeneity. This statement is also interesting from several other perspectives. As we saw repeatedly in the previous section of this chapter, individual 'immigrants' are removed from this statement and replaced with anonymous 'waves of immigration.' Beck does not explicitly mention immigrants as individual humans. Moreover, Beck implies that these 'waves' of immigrants threaten the survival of the United States. These are the same immigrants that Shuway described as "useless" and "unproductive." That is, immigrants are placed in the position of the aggressor. These new waves of immigrants are threatening Us. Beck makes Them the oppressor and Us the victims. Beck's solution: If They will just learn Our language they will cease to be a threat.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have described a number of strategies used by Congressional supporters of OE legislation to persuade their audiences, to gain

consent for their proposals and to (re)produce ideologies that work to legitimate their actions. I showed how nominalizations allow the speaker to encode large amounts of meaning in a single word or phrase without explicitly acknowledging that these meanings are associated with the word or phrase they are using. In so doing they are able to introduce ideas and (re)produce ideologies that are often inaccurate and offensive.

I showed that passivization, which allows the speaker to foreground the object of the sentence and delete agency, allows the speaker to emphasize the party that is being acted on, de-emphasize the action that is being taken and completely delete the agent responsible for the action. I also briefly examined the issue of modality, finding that unmodalized utterances are common, yielding statements that are presented as facts, not as ideas that might be debated or interpreted in ways other than the speaker proposes. Nominalizations and passivizations are particularly important when analyzing a body of discourse that is aimed primarily at persuasion and obtaining consent. As Hodge and Kress (1993) argue "[t]ransformations serve two functions, economy and distortion, often so inextricably mixed that even the speaker cannot separate them" (p. 10). The examples in this chapter are clearly evidence to support such a claim.

In the last third of this chapter I discussed how pronouns and syntax are used to construct the Other in this discourse. I showed how the speakers in the discourse I am considering use simple pronouns (we, our, us, them, they) in complex ways to construct the boundaries between Us and Them dynamically and ambiguously. The boundaries change when it is to Our benefit. I also showed how sentences are constructed in this discourse in a way that is intended to delete linguistic minorities from the reader/listener's conscious thought and places them in an 'ideological substratum' where they are most easily

manipulated as objects of this discourse. Finally I showed how implication is used in this discourse to introduce ideas that are offensive and would be quickly challenged if they were explicit.

Throughout this chapter we have also seen examples from the discourse of the Congressional OE movement that have reinforced ideas presented in Chapter One. More importantly, diversity is seen as inherently negative. We have also seen that Congressional OE proponents exaggerate ethnic differences in an effort to convince their followers that OE legislation is essential. Examples of a discourse of national unity are commonplace while a discourse of equality is not evident. Congressional OE proponents see assimilation of immigrants as the only solution to language policy conflict in the United States. Finally, there appears to be a conflict between what Congressional OE proponents claim motivates their movement and social realities in the United States. Congressional OE proponents claim that ethnolinguistic conflict in the United States is what motivates them, they want to avoid the divisive conflict and violence that they claim has accompanied ethnolinguistic diversity in some countries. Such conflict, however, has never been a social reality in the United States, and will not likely be anytime soon.

I believe this chapter, more than any other in this dissertation, shows the usefulness of discourse analysis in the field of language policy. Analyzing language policy is not easy. Policies can be analyzed in terms of results, in terms of how a policy has been implemented and in terms of goals of a given policy. This type of analysis is difficult to perform before a policy has been implemented. OE legislation, however, has not yet been implemented. Although attempts have been made to analyze the possible outcomes of OE legislation, such an exercise is speculative at best. Analyzing how OE legislation would be

implemented if it did pass is impossible, as any legislation that passes at the federal level will be tied up in court challenges for years to come and may evolve in the process. Understanding the meanings of the discourse of the Congressional OE movement, however, provides a perspective from which to examine the goals of such a policy. A critical discourse analysis can make implicit messages explicit, reveal contradictory messages within the discourse and illuminate assumptions and ideologies. Such a critical analysis is a fundamental step in developing a complex understanding of the possible goals of a movement such as the Congressional OE movement.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

> Intellectuals are in a position to expose the lies of governments, to analyze actions according to their causes and motives and often hidden intentions. In the Western world at least, they have the power that comes from political liberty, from access to information and freedom of expression....It is the responsibility of intellectuals to speak the truth and to expose lies.
>
> Noam Chomsky
> from The Responsibility of Intellectuals

> Intellectuals should not feel embarrassed about making judgments of truth; on the contrary, like other social groups, they have a responsibility to bring the particular perspective they can contribute into the public domain in debates over the great social and political issues.
>
> Norman Fairclough
> from Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language.

> You know what an intellectual is? It is someone who is educated beyond their intelligence.
>
> Representative Henry Hyde
> spoken during the impeachment trial of President Clinton
> (Congressional Record, January 26, 1999)

Summary

In Chapter One I presented three research questions: what do proponents of an Official English policy intend such a policy to achieve? How do Congressional OE proponents argue for, or rationalize, such a policy? And finally, can we determine what motivates Congressional OE proponents to pursue this legislation? In the succeeding chapters of this dissertation I worked to provide an analysis from which we can construct answers to those questions. In this chapter I will summarize the results of the three preceding analytical chapters and integrate those results into a series of answers to my research questions.

Chapter Three

The central purpose of Chapter Three was to provide a sense of the context in which the Congressional OE discourse that I am analyzing took place. For my purposes, the main components of this context are the Congress of the United States and the different proposals that were made between 1981 and 1996 to make English the official language of the United States. The most important characteristics of Congress, for my work, are its structure (the two bodies and the rules that govern them and the resources at the disposal of members of Congress), the Congressional Record and the ways these elements make it relatively easy for members of Congress to sustain existing power relations, and relatively difficult to change these relations.

The proposals to make English the official language of the United States are an important part of the context because they provide some insight into the intentions, or aims, of the Congressional OE movement. They also provide some insight into the strategies used by Congressional OE proponents as they worked to pass such legislation. My analysis of the language of these proposals found that proposed OE amendments to the Constitution of the United States changed very little over the 15 years I examined. Proposed amendments to Title 4 of the United States Code, however, changed significantly over the same period of time. I argued that these changes were an attempt to resolve political conflicts in the process of developing support for this legislation.

The key findings of Chapter Three in regard to the language of the proposed legislation were that this legislation aims to restrict or remove the use of languages other than English in the United States government. We also saw that this legislation is aimed at restricting or removing the use of languages other than English in schools across the United States, unless those languages are taught as

foreign languages to students who are fluent in English, or unless they are used only as long as necessary to facilitate the transition of a student from a class in his/her native language to a class that is taught entirely in English. I argued that the language of these proposals reflected attitudes about linguistic minorities held by Congressional proponents of OE legislation. The language of the legislation indicated that its authors view immigrants as useless and irresponsible until they learn English and assimilate into the cultural mainstream of the United States. The language of the legislation also suggests that the authors fear, or wish to suggest the possibility of, discrimination against English speaking residents of the United States based solely on the fact that they speak English.

Chapter Four

In Chapter Four I analyzed the Congressional OE discourse on two different levels. First I identified the main ideas in each speech and determined that these ideas could be organized into nine categories, as follows: statements about national unity; statements about immigration to the United States and assimilation; statements about the relationship between English proficiency, opportunities and success in the United States; statements about multilingual programs, policies and multiculturalism/multilingualism; statements about Latino populations and the Spanish language in the United States; statements about proponents and opponents of OE legislation; statements about minority languages and linguistic minorities in the United States; statements about a common language in the United States, the status and role of English in the United States and protecting the English language in the United States; and statements explicitly addressing issues of racism, discrimination or intolerance related to the OE debate in the United States. These ideas and categories were identified primarily through a literal reading of the OE discourse.

The second level of analysis examined this discourse to identify the assumptions, implications and ideologies implicit in it. I argued, as a result of this level of analysis that Latinos are the one ethnolinguistic minority in the United States singled out in this discourse. Latinos are described in exclusively negative terms. Congressional OE proponents describe Latinos as educational and economic underachievers, as resistant to assimilation and as threatening the national unity of the United States. Some proponents of this movement construct Latinos as criminals and as mentally ill. I argued in Chapter Four that Latino elites can be seen as working to protect Latino culture and language, and that Anglo elites supporting the Congressional OE movement can be seen as working to protect Anglo culture and language and that in this discourse, Anglo elites construct themselves as benevolent and compassionate toward Latinos. Thus, these members of Congress construct themselves in exclusively positive terms and construct Latinos in exclusively negative terms, a rhetorical move that (re)produces ideology and discourse that is, by the definition presented in Chapter One, racist.

Chapter Five

In Chapter Five I turned from an analysis that focused on the main ideas and themes of the Congressional OE discourse to an analysis that focused on micro-linguistic attributes of the discourse, i.e., nominalizations, passive constructions, modality, the syntax of Us and Others, deletions and implications. I argued in this chapter that nominalizations (the use of a noun to express the semantic content of a verb) are an especially effective strategy in (re)producing ideology as they allow the speaker to mystify a great deal of the meaning of a term or phrase, in addition to deleting the agency and modality of a proposition. Thus, the speaker can use a noun or phrase that is widely accepted (whose

meaning can be shifted to suit her/his purposes) and that expresses an action performed by no obvious agent. I showed how this practice allows Congressional proponents of OE legislation to use terms like *the melting pot* and *assimilation* (terms that represent major ideologies of the Congressional OE movement) without being questioned about or explaining what they mean.

I also showed in Chapter Five that Congressional OE proponents frequently use passive constructions which allow them to talk about an action while deleting the agent responsible for the action. I showed that this practice allows a speaker to emphasize the results of an action rather than the agent responsible for the action. Thus a speaker can talk about immigration or assimilation without talking about any of the forces responsible for them.

I argued in Chapter Five that Congressional OE proponents use pronouns in ways that allow them to position Others in this discourse in whatever way is most convenient at the time. In addition to being able to conveniently reposition Others in this discourse, Congressional OE proponents also delete Others as actual human beings, replacing them with abstract sets of attributes such as diversity or cultures. Thus, these members of Congress can appear to value diversity by praising it (not the immigrants themselves) but at the same time they can attack the immigrants themselves for being divisive and disrupting Our culture.

Explaining the Congressional OE Movement

In Chapter One I argued that the group pluralist model would help describe the Congressional OE movement. The group pluralist model was proposed to explain the impact of ethnic and linguistic diversity upon the political system, based primarily on observations of the United States. The group pluralist model does not advocate pluralism, but rather it sees it as having

particular political consequences, i.e., instability and divisiveness. The discourse of the Congressional OE movement follows the major assumptions of the group pluralist model. Congressional OE discourse centers on the divisiveness of ethnolinguistic diversity, and Congressional OE elites exaggerate ethnic differences in an attempt to mobilize their followers. Although the group pluralist model assumes ethnic *minority* elites will exaggerate ethnic differences, it was elites of the *dominant* ethnic group (native English speaking Anglos) who we saw exaggerating ethnic differences to further their cause.

Approaches To Language Policy Conflict

In Chapter One, I presented Schmidt's typology of approaches to language policy conflict. The four approaches that he lists are assimilation, domination/exclusion, pluralism and linguistic confederation. I argued in Chapter One that each of these approaches to language policy conflict describes some aspect of the Congressional OE movement. In Chapters Four and Five I argued that the discourse of the Congressional OE movement centers around the issue of assimilation. We have also seen that proponents of the Congressional OE movement describe the current situation in the United States as one of ethnolinguistic pluralism -- and they characterize that situation as problematic. We have also seen several examples of Congressional OE proponents accusing Latinos of attempting to create a linguistic confederation, that is, a political arrangement that allows for a geopolitical entity within the United States where Latino culture and language are the dominant social condition. Thus we see that these three approaches to language policy conflict describe some aspect of the Congressional OE discourse.

We have not seen, however, any discourse that would explicitly fit Schmidt's domination/exclusion approach to language policy conflict. This

should not be surprising. It would be politically unacceptable to explicitly state that a goal of the Congressional OE movement is to dominate Latinos (the main minority group mentioned in the Congressional OE discourse) and keep them from learning the "language of power" and/or publicly using it. It is important to keep in mind, however, as I pointed out in Chapter One, that the *policies* proposed by the Congressional OE movement are oriented toward the domination/exclusion of Latinos. It is clear from the Congressional OE discourse that Congressional OE proponents strongly oppose Spanish speaking residents developing their Spanish language skills in public schools or using them in the public arena. Eliminating bilingual education programs that allow students to develop their native language (a major goal of the Congressional OE movement) will have negative effects on many Latino students. There is a significant body of research showing that forcing a child to switch from her/his native language to a second language before the native language is fully developed has negative effects on the child's ability to fully develop competence in the second language. Students who are forced to switch languages in this way have great difficulty competing in the academic institutions that, in the United States, lead to greater economic opportunity. This sort of policy is an act of domination/exclusion.

We have also seen that Congressional OE proponents want to abolish bilingual ballots, government documents in languages other than English and most government services in languages other than English. All of these actions would make it more difficult for immigrants to access the services and information of government in the United States. Finally, while there is a great deal said about national unity in the Congressional OE discourse, there is virtually nothing said about the rights of ethnolinguistic minorities. That is, the discourse is dominated by the value of national unity, while the value of equality

is conspicuously absent. Thus, while the discourse of the Congressional OE movement explicitly focuses on assimilation, the policies of the movement show a strong tendency toward domination and exclusion. With this information in mind we can now return to the research questions I posed in Chapter One.

Research Questions

What do Congressional OE proponents intend OE legislation to accomplish?

In the preceding chapters, we have seen that Congressional OE proponents say that they intend OE legislation to unify the United States. They argue that having one official language and refusing to govern in any minority language will encourage ethnolinguistic minorities to learn English and assimilate into the cultural mainstream of the United States, and thus unify the country. They argue that offering multilingual programs encourages linguistic minorities to preserve and rely on their own language rather than quickly learning English. Most of the OE legislation that I have examined in this dissertation would eliminate government documents printed in languages other than English, ballots in languages other than English and federal funding for bilingual education. Proponents in Congress argue that eliminating these programs and services would force immigrants and refugees to learn English quickly, thus speeding the assimilation process.

We have also seen Congressional OE proponents state in various speeches that they perceive an unfair situation in the United States that they intend OE legislation to remedy. These members of Congress see multilingual programs as providing special resources for Latinos that other linguistic minorities and native English speakers do not have available, and thus these programs are constructed by Congressional OE proponents as unfair treatment. They also construct these multilingual programs as hindering Latinos from

learning English. These members of Congress argue that, in addition to being unfair to other linguistic minorities and native English speakers, multilingual programs trap Latinos in linguistic ghettos, and thus such programs are discriminatory against Latinos. OE proponents claim that their legislation is intended to remedy this situation.

The rhetoric of the Congressional OE movement also indicates that OE legislation, by abolishing multilingual programs, will save the taxpayers money, reduce the size and increase the efficiency of the United States government. To summarize, then, Congressional OE proponents say that they intend proposed OE legislation to improve the assimilation of immigrants and refugees, strengthen national unity, remedy discriminatory conditions allegedly caused by multilingual programs and save United States taxpayers money. These should be seen only as the explicit intentions of proposed OE legislation, the goals that proponents were willing to talk about in public. I will discuss other possible goals of this legislation that are more covert below.

How Do Congressional OE Proponents Argue For, Or Rationalize, An Official English Policy

This second question implies two possible approaches to an answer: what are the arguments and what are the strategies that Congressional OE proponents use to, in Chomsky's (1987) words, manufacture consent for their proposals. I have summarized the explicit arguments Congressional OE proponents use just above as follows: the United States is being divided, split apart, by ethnolinguistic minorities (Congressional OE proponents use the plural form [minorities], but only talk about one minority group, i.e., Latinos). Minority groups are too demanding. They demand an inordinate amount of government resources in the form of multilingual programs, and they refuse to

take the necessary steps to reduce their reliance on such programs (i.e., learn English and assimilate into the mainstream). Furthermore, Congressional OE proponents argue that multilingual programs only increase linguistic minorities' dependence on the government by hindering their ability to learn English and encouraging them to resist assimilation. What is needed, these members of Congress argue, is to send a message to linguistic minorities that We will only tolerate the use of one language in government and public life, and that language is English. Therefore, We must make English the official language of the United States. In addition, We must remove all barriers to learning English and assimilating to the mainstream. The best way to accomplish that, OE proponents argue, is to immerse English learners in the English language by removing multilingual government programs and bilingual education programs and insisting that minorities are assimilated into the cultural mainstream of the United States. Only then can We be certain that the unity of the nation will be assured. The structure of these arguments is fairly simple and straightforward. The strategies used to convey, or disseminate, these arguments, however, are somewhat more complex.

In the preceding sections I mentioned several linguistic strategies, which I examined closely in Chapter Five, that Congressional OE proponents use in arguing for OE legislation. Many people who oppose OE legislation find the fundamental ideas behind OE proponents' arguments not just inaccurate, but morally objectionable. I am referring here to ideas that construct Latinos as inherently inferior to Anglos, non-Anglo cultures as inferior to Anglo culture and Latinos as a threat to the stability and unity of the United States. Congressional OE proponents certainly understand that it would be harmful to their cause to overtly argue these ideas, so they, consciously or subconsciously, find ways to

express these ideas in more subtle ways that obscure the fundamental ideas. This is how strategies such as nominalization, passivization, implication and the skillful use of pronouns that I examined in Chapter Five are used. By mystifying or obscuring these main ideas in these ways, Congressional OE proponents make it more difficult for opponents to object. In addition, colleagues and constituents who are undecided about the OE issue are less likely to perceive the objectionable ideas at the core of the OE movement. Thus, one of the major strategies of the Congressional OE movement is to mystify, or obscure, the fundamental ideas behind the movement, and appeal instead to issues, such as national unity, that will have broad popular support. In this way they gain, or manufacture, consent for their proposal, but the consent is artificial in the sense that it is consent to ideas that are not fully understood.

There are also non-linguistic strategies that should be noted here. When Hayakawa introduced the first OE proposal in 1981, there was no OE movement to speak of. Few members of Congress knew about or spoke out about the issue. Hayakawa retired from the Senate shortly after introducing Senate Resolution 72 and founded U.S. English. This organization grew rapidly and within a few years Congressional supporters of OE legislation began to claim that their constituents were overwhelmingly in favor of such legislation. Thus, one must take into consideration the impact organizations like U.S. English had on the movement in Congress. As I mentioned in Chapter One, this organization was founded at a time when national confidence in the United States was at a low. The economy was weak, the memory of the Vietnam war was still fresh, and the memory of 52 American hostages being held for over a year in Iran was immediate. The United States was in a period of self doubt. As a result, some people in the United States were happy to have a group of people to blame for

problems the nation was facing. Organizations like U.S. English were willing to construct Latinos (and ethnolinguistic diversity in general) as being the root of many of the problems the nation was facing.

We see then, that the strategy is to assert the necessity of OE legislation on several fronts: Congressional OE proponents worked to convince their colleagues that this legislation was in the best interest of the United States. Organizations like U.S. English worked to generate public support for OE legislation. Soon members of Congress began to get mail in support of this legislation. Consequently, OE proponents in Congress could begin to argue not only that this legislation was a good thing, but also that the American people want Congress to enact it. It is difficult to overstate the importance of the linguistic strategies discussed earlier to this entire process. It is largely these linguistic strategies that allow Congressional OE proponents to convince colleagues and constituents that OE legislation is necessary for the survival of the United States.

Can We Determine What Motivates Congressional OE Proponents To Pursue This Legislation?

Finally we come to the last and most difficult question. Ultimately, the answer to this question is no. We cannot determine what motivates members of Congress to pursue this legislation. We can, however, say something about what Congressional OE proponents claim motivates them, and how their claims relate to social realities in the United States. In Chapter Five I noted that Congressional OE proponents argue that the United States is in immediate danger of being torn apart by ethnolinguistic diversity. It is this alleged social disintegration that these members of Congress claim they are trying to address with OE legislation. Yet there is little evidence for their claim. One does not see anything approaching the situations in Canada, Sri Lanka, India or Belgium.

Certainly there are areas in the United States that have become home to more immigrants than most other areas, e.g., Florida and California. But even in these parts of the United States we do not see any attempts at secession or widespread rioting. Plainly put, Congressional proponents of OE legislation are attempting to nurture fear in their colleagues and constituents in an effort to pass this legislation. So, if the imminent demise of the United States as a result of ethnolinguistic diversity is not a social reality, what does motivate Congressional proponents of OE legislation?

In part the answer can be found in Sonntag's (1995) elite competition model. The OE movement in Congress fits the conditions Sonntag argues are necessary for an official language movement to be used by a group of emerging elites. The control of Congress by the Democrats was based on a non-linguistic alignment (i.e., the New Deal/Great Society agenda). This satisfies Sonntag's first condition, that in order for an emerging elite to use an official language movement to gain power, the power of established elites must be based on non-linguistic alignments. We also saw that the established elites (Democrats) were vulnerable to a challenge by emerging elites (Republicans) because of the negative conditions in the United States that I described just above. This satisfies Sonntag's second condition, that the established elites must actually be vulnerable to a challenge by emerging elites. Third, we saw that, beginning in the 1980s, the Republicans represented a real challenge to the Democrats as evidenced by the election of 1980 when Ronald Reagan became president and Republicans captured the majority of seats in the Senate. This satisfies Sonntag's third condition, that emerging elites must represent a real challenge to established elites. Sonntag's fourth condition states that there must be "ethnolinguistic discrimination, real or imagined, against some portion of the population" (1995,

p. 95) in order for the emerging elites to make an appeal to the population based on language issues. We saw in Chapter Three that many of the OE proposals contain provisions intended to protect native English speakers from linguistic discrimination. We also saw in Chapter Four and Chapter Five that many Congressional OE proponents claim that multilingual programs discriminate against people who speak a native language other than English and make them permanent victims. Congressional OE proponents, then, attempt to play the sensibilities of their native English speaking constituents and colleagues in two ways: first, raise the fear of linguistic discrimination aimed at native English speakers and second, play on the sympathies of native English speakers by accusing ethnic group elites of victimizing their own people through failed multilingual programs like bilingual education.

Thus, all four of Sonntag's conditions are satisfied. Given the history of Republican/Democrat competition in the United States, Sonntag's suggestion appears quite reasonable.

Limitations

As with any research study, the current project has limitations. Included in Appendix Four are the speeches from which I took examples for my analysis. While this appendix contains a large body of discourse, the reality is that it contains little more than half of the speeches made by members of Congress in support of OE legislation between April 17, 1981 and August 4, 1996. Furthermore, the examples I have analyzed from this portion of the Congressional OE discourse represent a portion of the discourse contained in Appendix Four. There is much more work that could be done with this body of discourse. I have also omitted any historical context of the Congressional OE movement. In fact, the United States has a long tradition of bilingualism (see

Kloss, 1977) and minor language policy conflicts (see Baron, 1990). Examination of this history would be helpful in developing a more complete understanding of the issues.

There are also complimentary bodies of discourse that could have been analyzed in conjunction with the discourse I have examined here. Numerous committee meetings were held in Congress with the alleged intent of gathering information about the advantages or disadvantages of OE legislation. An analysis of this discourse would provide additional evidence on which to base an understanding of the Congressional OE movement. There is also a significant Congressional discourse opposing OE legislation. An analysis of this discourse is important in order to gain a full understanding of this language policy conflict.

Of course, the results of this dissertation are also shaped by my own views. No researcher can be a totally objective observer and I have been aware, throughout the process of analyzing this discourse, that I oppose OE legislation and am incensed at the racism evident in this discourse. Many discourse analysts believe that the initial stages of the analysis, particularly the formation of categories, can be an objective process. I would argue that an analyst's personal views affect how categories emerge from the data. This is especially true in cases, such as this dissertation, where there is no attempt to establish inter-rater reliability among a group of analysts. It is difficult to imagine that several researchers with different political perspectives would identify exactly the same categories in the discourse.

Future Research

There is a great deal of work to be done if we are to understand the complex linguistic realities of the United States. The body of discourse that I have analyzed for this dissertation could be more thoroughly investigated. In

addition, there are numerous related Congressional discourses that deserve their own analysis. There have been protracted debates in Congress over the Civil Rights Act, the Voters' Rights Act (especially in regard to bilingual ballots), bilingual education and immigration. Each of these debates represents a discourse of its own that requires analysis if we are to come to a fuller understanding of the issues faced by ethnolinguistic minorities in the United States as a result of government policies and legislation. There is also a significant body of legal discourse resulting from numerous court actions about linguistic issues. This discourse also warrants analysis if we are to understand how courts in the United States manage linguistic rights and language policy conflicts. These court actions have taken place at both the state and the federal level, as have all aspects of the OE movement. This dissertation has concentrated on the OE movement at the federal level, but a comprehensive treatment of the OE movement in the individual states is also important in fully understanding the OE movement in the United States. Finally, there is a large body of media coverage of linguistic issues in the United States. Analysis of this discourse could provide valuable insight into the interactions between media coverage and public opinion in the language policy arena.

In spite of these limitations and the amount of future work that remains to be done, this dissertation has demonstrated several key points. The motivations and intentions of Congressional OE proponents are suspect. It is not at all clear that they are truly attempting to do what they explicitly claim to be doing, i.e., unify the United States and assimilate ethnic minorities into the mainstream. The arguments of the Congressional OE movement are shown to be based on fundamentally racist assumptions and ideologies. Finally, an analysis of the discourse of the Congressional OE movement allows one to more completely

understand the inconsistencies between the stated aims of Congressional OE proponents and the more implicit messages that are communicated through the discourse.

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Appendix One

Senator Steve Symms on Martin Luther King Jr. Day

Congressional Record
Volume 129
Part 20
98th Congress
1st Session
November 5, 1983 to November 20, 1983
pp. 28112, 28113

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, the proposal to honor the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., with a national holiday is regarded by many of my constituents as a bad idea. They do not think we need another paid holiday for Government workers which will cost the taxpayers millions of dollars. If we are to set aside another holiday, they think others are more deserving of the honor than Dr. King.

Their views, which I share, have nothing at all to do with race or with civil rights. Dr. King was an articulate spokesman for his people and for the civil rights movement. But he was also a spokesman for other causes and groups, and it is in these areas that his words and deeds have caused so much controversy and concern.

In particular, many of my constituents are very upset that we would consider establishing a national holiday to honor a man who denounced this country and gave aid and comfort to its enemies during the conflict in Vietnam.. Veterans of that war, including many blacks, were incensed by his lack of patriotism then, and they would be insulted by it now if we observed a national holiday in his honor.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the RECORD an article by John Beauclair, published in the current issue of the Valley Sentinel, the official publication of the Boise, Idaho, American Postal Workers Union, AFL-CIO. Mr. Beauclair, who is a postal clerk in Boise, eloquently expresses the concerns I have heard from many others in my State regarding the King holiday proposal. He has the courage to challenge the national leaders of his union who have endorsed that proposal I believe he is in closer touch with grassroots America than they are, and I earnestly hope that my colleagues in the Senate will listen to his message.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. - MARTYR?

(By John Beauclair)

Up the street from the main post office lives an elderly man and woman. Both have spent a lifetime of hard work. Their children have been reaised and are now on their own. The indignities and demeaning insults praticed by unthinking people have not spared them. They are black.

Neither one of them has ever taken off a $300.00 suit or dress and put on a factory faded outfit to take part in a massive non-violent peoples march across town. Neither of them has received an honorary title allowing them to use "Dr." before their names. Nobody from the national news media has ever shown any interest in them.

But, in my opinion, this man and his wife, who have worked all their lives, raised their family to honor this country as they have done, are more worthy of being honored with a national holiday than the apostle of non-violence, Martin Luther King, Jr.

Enough documentation exists to fully substantiate the close personal ties of Mrartin Luther King, Jr. with known communits and communist-front organizations. The violent vocal tirades of this man against the land of his birth during the Vietnam War are a matter of public record. Any veteran of this war should consider a national holiday in honor of this man who gave public aid and comfort to an enemy of this nation during a time or war an additional slap in the face. In former times, his actions would have been treated as TREASON!

The national news media have pulled out all stops to have Martin Luther King, Jr. honored with a national holiday. This would place him beside Jesus Christ and George Washington. Veterans should also remember these same national news media missed very few opportunities to discredit and hold up to ridicule and shame the American men and women who fought in the Vietnam war. There is no doubt in my mind that the actions of Martin Luther King, Jr. and the national news media prolonged this war and contributed to needless death and destruction.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was not a martyr in the traditional sense usually associated with the word martyr. Instead, he was more than likely a victim of the violence that followed his nonviolent demonstrations- a non-violence which had very little in common with the christianity he supposedly professed but one more in keeping with the methods used by the communists and communist fronts to stir up racial discontent and fan the fires of revolution in our country. Christianity teaches just the opposite. Humility, longsuffering and turning the other check in face of insult are tenets of Christianity. Christianity teaches love of country. Christianity teaches obedience of the laws of one's country. Christianity does not teach the right to pick and choose which laws to obey and which laws to purposely disobey.

It is understandable black Americans would want a black American honored with a national holiday. The choice of Martin Luther King, Jr. is most unfortunate.

It is also unfortunate our own national union leadership had to get wrapped up in this campaign. Are they so far to the left they feel comfortable with the Martin Luther Kings? Are they so out of tune with conditions existing in this nation? The high unemployment; severe inflation (which has only begun to get started); the excessive taxation, which causes any monetary increase to disappear before we even receive it; bankruptcies by the thousands - all these make it exceedingly difficult for the average American family to make ends meet. Does our national union leadership realize the spectacle federal workers present to the general public? The spectacle of federal workers going after another paid holiday (we already have nine) while many millions are out of work? Another holiday will cost our government hundreds of millions of dollars. These dollars have to be first taken from other Americans- a bitter pill to swallow when you are out of work. Or perhaps is our national union leadership out of touch with the troubles engulfing the average American family? Have they been off the work floor too long?

In my opinion, the black man and his wife mentioned at the beginning of this article have, in their lifetimes, accomplished many times more good will between the blacks and whites than have any of the apostles of non-violence. Their example and the example of millions of other black Americans who have lived their lives in peace and harmony with their neighbors, bearing silently the sufferings inflicted on them, had much more to do with acquiring the full dignities of citizenship than ever did the Martin Luther Kings and their fellow travelers.

Mr. Symms. I yield the floor.

Appendix Two

Official English Proposals to Amend the Constitution

Proposal, Congress & Year	Text
	Affirmative proposals
Type 1 SJRes 167 (98th, 1983) HJRes 83 (100th, 1987) HJRes 33 (100th, 1987) HJRes 48 (101st, 1989)	`SECTION 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.  `SECTION 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'.
Type 2 HJRes 171 (103rd, 1993) HJRes 109 (104th, 1995)	SECTION 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States. As the official language, the English language shall be used for all public acts including every order, resolution, vote or election, and for all records and judicial proceedings of the Government of the United States and the governments of the several States. `SECTION 2. The Congress and the States shall enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'.
	Restrictive Proposals
Type 3 HJRes 442 (97th, 1982) HJRes 169 (98th, 1983) HJRes 167 (98th, 1983) HJRes 96 (99th, 1985) HJRes 60 (100th, 1987) HJRes 13 (100th, 1987) HJRes 23 (101st, 1989)	`SECTION 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.  `SECTION 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall require, by law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy, the use in the United States of any language other than English. `SECTION 3. This article shall not prohibit any law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy requiring educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English.  `SECTION 4. The Congress and the States may enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'.

Type 4 HJRes 81 (101st, 1989) HJRes 81 (102nd, 1991) HJRes 656 (100th, 1988)	`SECTION 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.  `SECTION 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall require, by law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy, the use in the United States of any language other than English. `SECTION 3. This article shall not prohibit any law, ordinance, regulation, order, decree, program, or policy--  `(1) to provide educational instruction in a language other than English for the purpose of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English, `(2) to teach a foreign language to students who are already proficient in English,  `(3) to protect public health and safety, or `(4) to allow translators for litigants, defendants, or witnesses in court cases.  `SECTION 4. The Congress and the States may enforce this article by appropriate legislation.'.
Type 5 SJRes 72 (97th, 1981)	"SECTION 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States. "SECTION 2. Neither the United States nor any State shall make or enforce any law which requires the use of any language other than English. "SECTION 3. This article shall apply to laws, ordinances, regulations, orders, programs, and policies. "SECTION 4. No order or decree shall be issued by any court of the United States or of any State reguiring that any proceedings, or matters to which this article applies be in any language other than English. "SECTION 5. This article shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English as required as a transitional method of making students who use a language other than English proficient in English. "SECTION 6. The Congress and the States shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.".

Appendix Three

Official English Proposals to Amend Title 4 of the United States Code

The texts of S 434 (102nd Congress, 1991), HR 123 (102nd Congres, 1991), S 3179 (101st Congress, 1990) and HR 4424 (101st Congress, (1990) are virtually identical:

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Language of Government Act of 1990'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.

The Nation has benefited throughout its history by using the common language of English. The Congress finds and declares that English, the language of opportunity, should be recognized in law as the official language of the United States. The purpose of this Act (and the amendments made by this Act) is to maintain the benefits of a single official language of the Government of the United States. There is no intent to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the United States. Except where an existing law of the United States directly contravenes this Act (or the amendments made by this Act) (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for an official act of Government of the United States), no implied repeal of existing laws of the United States is intended.

SEC. 3. ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language.

`162. Preserving official language.

`163. Government activities in English.

`164. Antidiscrimination provisions.

`165. Standing.

`166. Definitions.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language

`The official language of the Government of the United States is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Governnment shall have an affirmative obligation to protect, preserve, and enhance the role of English as the official language of the United States.

`Sec. 163. Government activities in English

`(a) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(b) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled to--

`(1) communicate with the Government in English;

`(2) receive information from or contribute information to the Government in English; and

`(3) be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`(c) RESTRICTIONS- No entity to which this chapter applies shall make or enforce an official act that requires the use of a language other than English.

`Sec. 164. Antidiscrimination provisions

`Any person in the United States discriminated against solely because the person communicates in English shall be considered to have been discriminated against on the basis of national origin, and all lawful remedies available under section 701 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. 2000e) shall be available to a person so discriminated against.

`Sec. 165. Standing

`Any resident of the United States (including a corporation) alleging a violation of this chapter shall have standing to sue in the courts of the United States under sections 2201 and 2202 of title 28, United States Code, and for such other relief as may be considered appropriate by the courts (including

attorneys fees under section 2412 of title 28, United States Code, or similar statutes).

`Sec. 166. Definitions

For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) GOVERNMENT- The term `Government' means all branches of the Government of the United States and all employees and officials of the Government of the United States while performing official acts.

`(2) OFFICIAL- The term `official' means governmental actions, documents, or policies that are enforceable with full weight and authority of the Government, but does not include--

`(A) actions, documents, or policies that are purely informational or educational;

`(B) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the United States;

`(C) actions that protect the public health or safety;

`(D) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants; and

`(E) documents that utilize terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.'.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 4. PREEMPTION.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall not preempt any law of any State.

SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall take effect upon the date of the enactment of this Act, except that no suit may be commenced to enforce or determine rights created by this Act (or amendments) until January 1, 1991.

The texts of **HR 123** (103rd Congress, 1993), **S 426** (103rd Congress, 1993) and **S 175** (104th Congress, 1995) are virtually identical:

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Language of Government Act of 1993'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION.

(a) FINDINGS- The Congress finds and declares--

(1) that the United States is comprised of individuals and groups from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds;

(2) that the United States has benefited and continues to benefit from this rich diversity;

(3) that throughout the history of the Nation, the common thread binding those of differing backgrounds has been a common language;

(4) that in order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the United States should maintain a language common to all people;

(5) that English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States;

(6) that the use of a single common language in the conduct of the Government's official business will promote efficiency and fairness to all people; and

(7) that English should be recognized in law as the language of official business of the Government.

(b) CONSTRUCTION- The amendments made by section 3--

(1) are not intended in any way to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the United States;

(2) are not intended to discourage or prevent the use of languages other than English in any nonofficial capacity; and

(3) except where an existing law of the United States directly contravenes the amendments made by section 3 (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for official business of the Government of the United States), are not intended to repeal existing laws of the United States.

SEC. 3. ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language of Government.

`162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language.

`163. Official Government activities in English.

`164. Standing.

`165. Definitions.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language of Government

`The official language of the Government of the United States is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the United States Government. Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.

`Sec. 163. Official Government activities in English

`(a) CONDUCT OF BUSINESS- The Government shall conduct its official business in English.

`(b) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(c) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled to--

`(1) communicate with the Government in English;

`(2) receive information from or contribute information to the Government in English; and

`(3) be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`Sec. 164. Standing

`Any person alleging injury arising from a violation of this chapter shall have standing to sue in the courts of the United States under sections 2201 and 2202 of title 28, United States Code, and for such other relief as may be considered appropriate by the courts.

`Sec. 165. Definitions

`For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) GOVERNMENT- The term `Government' means all branches of the Government of the United States and all employees and officials of the Government of the United States while performing official business.

`(2) OFFICIAL BUSINESS- The term `official business' means those governmental actions, documents, or policies which are enforceable with the full weight and authority of the Government, but does not include--

`(A) actions or documents that are primarily informational or educational;

`(B) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the United States;

`(C) actions, documents, or policies necessary for international relations, trade, or commerce;

`(D) actions or documents that protect the public health or safety;

`(E) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants; and

`(F) documents that utilize terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.'.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 4. PREEMPTION.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall not preempt any law of any State.

SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 3 shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, except that no suit may be commenced to enforce or determine rights under the amendments until January 1, 1994.

The texts of **HR 123** (104th Congress, 1995) and **S 356** (104th Congress, 1995) are also virtually identical:

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Language of Government Act of 1995'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION.

(a) FINDINGS- The Congress finds and declares that--

(1) the United States is comprised of individuals and groups from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds;

(2) the United States has benefited and continues to benefit from this rich diversity;

(3) throughout the history of the Nation, the common thread binding those of differing backgrounds has been a common language;

(4) in order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the United States should maintain a language common to all people;

(5) English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States;

(6) the purpose of this Act is to help immigrants better assimilate and take full advantage of economic and occupational opportunities in the United States;

(7) by learning the English language, immigrants will be empowered with the language skills and literacy necessary to become responsible citizens and productive workers in the United States;

(8) the use of a single common language in the conduct of the Government's official business will promote efficiency and fairness to all people;

(9) English should be recognized in law as the language of official business of the Government; and

(10) any monetary savings derived from the enactment of this Act should be used for the teaching of non-English speaking immigrants the English language.

(b) CONSTRUCTION- The amendments made by section 3--

(1) are not intended in any way to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the United States;

(2) are not intended to discourage or prevent the use of languages other than English in any nonofficial capacity; and

(3) except where an existing law of the United States directly contravenes the amendments made by section 3 (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for official business of the Government of the United States), are not intended to repeal existing laws of the United States.

SEC. 3. ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language of Government.

`162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language.

`163. Official Government activities in English.

`164. Standing.

`165. Definitions.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language of Government

`The official language of the Government of the United States is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the United States Government.

Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.

`Sec. 163. Official Government activities in English

`(a) CONDUCT OF BUSINESS- The Government shall conduct its official business in English.

`(b) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(c) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled to--

`(1) communicate with the Government in English;

`(2) receive information from or contribute information to the Government in English; and

`(3) be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`Sec. 164. Standing

`Any person alleging injury arising from a violation of this chapter shall have standing to sue in the courts of the United States under sections 2201 and 2202 of title 28, United States Code, and for such other relief as may be considered appropriate by the courts.

`Sec. 165. Definitions

`For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) GOVERNMENT- The term `Government' means all branches of the Government of the United States and all employees and officials of the Government of the United States while performing official business.

`(2) OFFICIAL BUSINESS- The term `official business' means those governmental actions, documents, or policies which are enforceable with the full weight and authority of the Government, but does not include--

`(A) teaching of foreign languages;

`(B) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the United States;

`(C) actions, documents, or policies necessary for international relations, trade, or commerce;

`(D) actions or documents that protect the public health;

`(E) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants; and

`(F) documents that utilize terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.'.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 4. PREEMPTION.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall not preempt any law of any State.

SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 3 shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, except that no suit may be commenced to enforce or determine rights under the amendments until January 1, 1996.

The text of the version of **HR 123** that passed the House of Representatives on August 1, 1996 is, of course, identical to the version of **HR 123** sent to the Senate for consideration:

AN ACT

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act of 1996'.

TITLE I--ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT

SEC. 101. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds and declares the following:

(1) The United States is comprised of individuals and groups from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds.

(2) The United States has benefited and continutes to benefit from this rich diversity.

(3) Throughout the history of the United States, the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds has been a common language.

(4) In order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the Federal Government should maintain a language common to all people.

(5) English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States.

(6) The purpose of this title is to help immigrants better assimilate and take full advantage of economic and occupational opportunities in the United States.

(7) By learning the English language, immigrants will be empowered with the language skills and literacy necessary to become responsible citizens and productive workers in the United States.

(8) The use of a single common language in conducting official businesss of the Federal Government will promote efficiency and fairness to all people.

(9) English should be recognized in law as the language of official business of the Federal Government.

(10) Any monetary savings derived from the enactment of this title should be used for the teaching of the English language to non-English speaking immigrants.

SEC. 102. ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language of Federal Government

`162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`163. Official Federal Government activities in English

`164. Standing

`165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`166. Application

`167. Rule of construction

`168. Affirmation of constitutional protections

`169. Definitions

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language of Federal Government

`The official language of the Federal Government is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`Representatives of the Federal Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the Federal Government. Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.

`Sec. 163. Official Federal Government activities in English

`(a) CONDUCT OF BUSINESS- Representatives of the Federal Government shall conduct its official business in English.

`(b) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Federal Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(c) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled--

`(1) to communicate with representatives of the Federal Government in English;

`(2) to receive information from or contribute information to the Federal Government in English; and

`(3) to be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`Sec. 164. Standing

`A person injured by a violation of this chapter may in a civil action (including an action under chapter 151 of title 28) obtain appropriate relief.

`Sec. 165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`(a) FLUENCY- It has been the longstanding national belief that full citizenship in the United States requires fluency in English. English is the language of opportunity for all immigrants to take their rightful place in society in the United States.

`(b) CEREMONIES- All authorized officials shall conduct all naturalization ceremonies entirely in English.

`Sec. 166. Application

`Except as otherwise provided in this chapter, the provisions of this chapter shall supersede any existing Federal law that contravenes such provisions (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for official business of the Federal Government).

`Sec. 167. Rule of construction

`Nothing in this chapter shall be construed--

`(1) to prohibit a Member of Congress or an employee or official of the Federal Government, while performing official business, from communicating orally with another person in a language other than English;

`(2) to limit the preservation or use of Native Alaskan or Native American languages (as defined in the Native American Languages Act);

`(3) to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the country; and

`(4) to discourage or prevent the use of languages other than English in any nonofficial capacity.

`Sec. 168. Affirmation of constitutional protections

`Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to be inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States.

`Sec. 169. Definitions

`For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) FEDERAL GOVERNMENT- The term `Federal Government' means all branches of the national Government and all employees and officials of the national Government while performing official business.

`(2) OFFICIAL BUSINESS- The term `official business' means governmental actions, documents, or policies which are enforceable with the full weight and authority of the Federal Government, and includes publications, income tax forms, and informational materials, but does not include--

`(A) teaching of languages;

`(B) requirements under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act;

`(C) actions, documents, or policies necessary for--

`(i) national security issues; or

`(ii) international relations, trade, or commerce;

`(D) actions or documents that protect the public health and safety;

`(E) actions or documents that facilitate the activities of the Bureau of the Census in compiling any census of population;

`(F) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the United States;

`(G) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants;

`(H) actions in which the United States has initiated a civil lawsuit; or

`(I) using terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.

`(3) UNITED STATES- The term `United States' means the several States and the District of Columbia.'.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 103. PREEMPTION.

This title (and the amendments made by this title) shall not preempt any law of any State.

SEC. 104. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 102 shall take effect on the date that is 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE II--REPEAL OF BILINGUAL VOTING REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 201. REPEAL OF BILINGUAL VOTING REQUIREMENTS

(a) BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS- Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1a) is repealed.

(b) VOTING RIGHTS- Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973b) is amended by striking subsection (f).

SEC. 202. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) REFERENCES TO SECTION 203- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended--

(1) in section 204, by striking `or 203,'; and

(2) in section 205, by striking `, 202, or 203' and inserting `or 202'.

(b) REFERENCES TO SECTION 4- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended--

(1) in sections 2(a), 3(a), 3(b), 3(c), 4(d), 5, 6, and 13, by striking `, or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2)';

(2) in paragraphs (1)(A) and (3) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision seeking a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2)';

(3) in paragraph (1)(B) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision seeking a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) that denials or abridgements of the right to vote in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2) have occurred anywhere in the territory of such State or subdivision'; and

(4) in paragraph (5) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision which sought a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) that denials or abridgements of the right to vote in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2) have occurred anywhere in the territory of such State or subdivision'.

Passed the House of Representatives August 1, 1996.

The text of **HR 3850** (104th Congress, 1996) is similar to that of HR 123, version one, except that it requires that naturalization ceremonies be performed in English. This requirement became part of HR 123 version 2.

A BILL

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `English Language Empowerment Act of 1996'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds and declares the following:

(1) The United States is comprised of individuals and groups from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds.

(2) The United States has benefited and continues to benefit from this rich diversity.

(3) Throughout the history of the United States, the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds has been a common language.

(4) In order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the Federal Government should maintain a language common to all people.

(5) English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States.

(6) The purpose of this Act is to help immigrants better assimilate and take full advantage of economic and occupational opportunities in the United States.

(7) By learning the English language, immigrants will be empowered with the language skills and literacy necessary to become responsible citizens and productive workers in the United States.

(8) The use of a single common language in conducting official business of the Federal Government will promote efficiency and fairness to all people.

(9) English should be recognized in law as the language of official business of the Federal Government.

(10) Any monetary savings derived from the enactment of this Act should be used for the teaching of non-English speaking immigrants the English language.

SEC. 3. ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language of Federal Government.

`162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language.

`163. Official Federal Government activities in English.

`164. Standing.

`165. Reform of naturalization requirements.

`166. Rule of construction.

`167. Definitions.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language of Federal Government

`The official language of the Federal Government is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Federal Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the Federal Government. Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.

`Sec. 163. Official Federal Government activities in English

`(a) CONDUCT OF BUSINESS- The Federal Government shall conduct its official business in English.

`(b) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Federal Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(c) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled--

`(1) to communicate with the Federal Government in English;

`(2) to receive information from or contribute information to the Federal Government in English; and

`(3) to be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`Sec. 164. Standing

`A person injured by a violation of this chapter may in a civil action (including an action under chapter 151 of title 28) obtain appropriate relief.

`Sec. 165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`(a) FLUENCY- It has been the longstanding national belief that full citizenship in the United States requires fluency in English. English is the language of opportunity for all immigrants to take their rightful place in society in the United States.

`(b) CEREMONIES- All authorized officials shall conduct all naturalization ceremonies entirely in English.

`Sec. 166. Rule of construction

`Nothing in this chapter shall be construed--

`(1) to prohibit a Member of Congress, an employee or official of the Federal Government, while performing official business, from communicating orally in a foreign language with another person.

`(2) to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the country;

`(3) to discourage or prevent the use of languages other than English in any nonofficial capacity; and

`(4) except where an existing Federal law directly contravenes the amendments made by such section (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for official business of the Federal Government), to repeal existing Federal laws.

`Sec. 167. Definitions

`For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) FEDERAL GOVERNMENT- The term `Federal Government' means all branches of the Federal Government and all employees and officials of the Federal Government while performing official business.

`(2) OFFICIAL BUSINESS- The term `official business' means governmental actions, documents, or policies which are enforceable with the full weight and authority of the Federal Government, and includes publications, income tax forms, informational materials, and the contents of franked mail (as described in section 3210 of title 39, United States Code), but does not include--

`(A) teaching of foreign languages;

`(B) actions, documents, or policies necessary for international relations, trade, or commerce;

`(C) actions or documents that protect the public health and safety;

`(D) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the

United States;

`(E) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants; or

`(F) documents that utilize terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.'.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 4. PREEMPTION.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall not preempt any law of any State.

SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 3 shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, except that no suit may be commenced to enforce or determine rights under chapter 6 of title 4, United States Code, until the date that is 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act.

The text of **HR 3898** (104th Congress, 1996) is nearly the same as HR 123, version 2, except that it repeals the provision in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for bilingual ballots. This repeal was added to HR 123 version 2 before it was approved by the House.

A BILL

To declare English as the official language of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `English Language Empowerment Act of

1996'.

TITLE I--ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT

SEC. 101. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds and declares the following:

(1) The United States is comprised of individuals and groups from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds.

(2) The United States has benefited and continutes to benefit from this rich diversity.

(3) Throughout the history of the United States, the common thread binding individuals of differing backgrounds has been a common language.

(4) In order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the Federal Government should maintain a language common to all people.

(5) English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States.

(6) The purpose of this title is to help immigrants better assimilate and take full advantage of economic and occupational opportunities in the United States.

(7) By learning the English language, immigrants will be empowered with the language skills and literacy necessary to become responsible citizens and productive workers in the United States.

(8) The use of a single common language in conducting official businesss of the Federal Government will promote efficiency and fairness to all people.

(9) English should be recognized in law as the language of official business of the Federal Government.

(10) Any monetary savings derived from the enactment of this title should be used for the teaching of the English language to non-English speaking immigrants.

SEC. 102. ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

`See.

`161. Declaration of official language of Federal Government

`162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`163. Official Federal Government activities in English

`164. Standing

`165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`166. Application

`167. Rule of construction

`168. Affirmation of constitutional protections

`169. Definitions

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language of Federal Government

`The official language of the Federal Government is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`Representatives of the Federal Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the Federal Government. Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.

`Sec. 163. Official Federal Government activities in English

`(a) CONDUCT OF BUSINESS- Representatives of the Federal Government shall conduct its official business in English.

`(b) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Federal Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(c) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled--

`(1) to communicate with representatives of the Federal Government in English;

`(2) to receive information from or contribute information to the Federal Government in English; and

`(3) to be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`Sec. 164. Standing

`A person injured by a violation of this chapter may in a civil action (including an action under chapter 151 of title 28) obtain appropriate relief.

`Sec. 165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`(a) FLUENCY- It has been the longstanding national belief that full citizenship in the United States requires fluency in English. English is the language of opportunity for all immigrants to take their rightful place in society in the United States.

`(b) CEREMONIES- All authorized officials shall conduct all naturalization ceremonies entirely in English.

`Sec. 166. Application

`Except as otherwise provided in this chapter, the provisions of this chapter shall supersede any existing Federal law that contravenes such provisions (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for official business of the Federal Government).

`Sec. 167. Rule of construction

`Nothing in this chapter shall be construed--

`(1) to prohibit a Member of Congress or an employee or official of the Federal Government, while performing official business, from communicating orally with another person in a language other than English;

`(2) to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the country; and

`(3) to discourage or prevent the use of languages other than English in any nonofficial capacity.

`Sec. 168. Affirmation of constitutional protections

`Nothing in this chapter shall be construed to be inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States.

`Sec. 169. Definitions

`For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) FEDERAL GOVERNMENT- The term `Federal Government' means all branches of the national Government and all employees and

officials of the national Government while performing official business.

`(2) OFFICIAL BUSINESS- The term `official business' means governmental actions, documents, or policies which are enforceable with the full weight and authority of the Federal Government, and includes publications, income tax forms, and informational materials, but does not include--

`(A) teaching of languages;

`(B) actions, documents, or policies necessary for--

`(i) national security issues; or

`(ii) international relations, trade, or commerce;

`(C) actions or documents that protect the public health and safety;

`(D) actions or documents that facilitate the activities of the Bureau of the Census in compiling any census of population;

`(E) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the United States;

`(F) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants;

`(G) actions in which the United States has initiated a civil lawsuit; or

`(H) documents that utilize terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.

`(3) UNITED STATES- The term `United States' means the several States and the District of Columbia.'.

`(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 103. PREEMPTION.

`This title (and the amendments made by this title) shall not preempt any law of any State.

SEC. 104. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by section 102 shall take effect on the date that

is 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

TITLE II--REPEAL OF BILINGUAL VOTING REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 201. REPEAL OF BILINGUAL VOTING REQUIREMENTS

(a) BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS- Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1a) is repealed.

(b) VOTING RIGHTS- Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973b) is amended by striking subsection (f).

SEC. 202. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.

(a) REFERENCES TO SECTION 203- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended--

(1) in section 204, by striking `or 203,'; and

(2) in section 205, by striking `, 202, or 203' and inserting `or 202'.

(b) REFERENCES TO SECTION 4- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended--

(1) in sections 2(a), 3(a), 3(b), 3(c), 4(d), 5, 6, and 13, by striking `, or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2)';

(2) in paragraphs (1)(A) and (3) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision seeking a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2)';

(3) in paragraph (1)(B) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision seeking a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) that denials or abridgements of the right to vote in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2) have occurred anywhere in the territory of such State or subdivision'; and

(4) in paragraph (5) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision which sought a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) that denials or abridgements of the right to vote in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2) have occurred anywhere in the territory of such State or subdivision'.

The text of **HR 345** (104th Congress, 1995) is nearly the same as HR 123, version one, except that it requires the use of English in all naturalization ceremonies. It is also similar to HR 3850 except that the section requiring the use of English in naturalization ceremonies is constructed somewhat differently.

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States and to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide that public ceremonies for the admission of new citizens shall be considered solely in English.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Language of Government Act of 1995'.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND CONSTRUCTION.

(a) FINDINGS- The Congress finds and declares--

(1) that the United States is comprised of individuals and groups from diverse ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds;

(2) that the United States has benefited and continues to benefit from this rich diversity;

(3) that throughout the history of the Nation, the common thread binding those of differing backgrounds has been a common language;

(4) that in order to preserve unity in diversity, and to prevent division along linguistic lines, the United States should maintain a language common to all people;

(5) that English has historically been the common language and the language of opportunity in the United States;

(6) that the use of a single common language in the conduct of the Government's official business will promote efficiency and fairness to all people; and

(7) that English should be recognized in law as the language of official business of the Government.

(b) CONSTRUCTION- The amendments made by section 3--

(1) are not intended in any way to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual in the United States;

(2) are not intended to discourage or prevent the use of languages other than English in any nonofficial capacity; and

(3) except where an existing law of the United States directly contravenes the amendments made by section 3 (such as by requiring the use of a language other than English for official business of the Government of the United States), are not intended to repeal existing laws of the United States.

SEC. 3. ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language of Government.

`162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language.

`163. Official Government activities in English.

`164. Standing.

`165. Definitions.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language of Government

`The official language of the Government of the United States is English.

`Sec. 162. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Government shall have an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the United States Government. Such obligation shall include encouraging greater opportunities for individuals to learn the English language.

`Sec. 163. Official Government activities in English

`(a) CONDUCT OF BUSINESS- The Government shall conduct its official business in English.

`(b) DENIAL OF SERVICES- No person shall be denied services, assistance, or facilities, directly or indirectly provided by the Government solely because the person communicates in English.

`(c) ENTITLEMENT- Every person in the United States is entitled to--

`(1) communicate with the Government in English;

`(2) receive information from or contribute information to the Government in English; and

`(3) be informed of or be subject to official orders in English.

`Sec. 164. Standing

`Any person alleging injury arising from a violation of this chapter shall have standing to sue in the courts of the United States under sections 2201 and 2202 of title 28, United States Code, and for such other relief as may be considered appropriate by the courts.

`Sec. 165. Definitions

`For purposes of this chapter:

`(1) GOVERNMENT- The term `Government' means all branches of the Government of the United States and all employees and officials of the Government of the United States while performing official business.

`(2) OFFICIAL BUSINESS- The term `official business' means those governmental actions, documents, or policies which are enforceable with the full weight and authority of the Government, but does not include--

`(A) actions or documents that are primarily informational or educational;

`(B) actions, documents, or policies that are not enforceable in the United States;

`(C) actions, documents, or policies necessary for international relations, trade, or commerce;

`(D) actions or documents that protect the public health or safety;

`(E) actions that protect the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants; and

`(F) documents that utilize terms of art or phrases from languages other than English.'.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE- The amendments made by this section shall take effect upon the date of enactment of this Act, except that no suit may be commenced to enforce or determine rights under the amendments until January 1, 1996.

SEC. 4. ENGLISH LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT FOR CEREMONIES FOR ADMISSION OF NEW CITIZENS.

(a) REQUIREMENT- Section 337(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1448(d)) is amended by adding at the end `All public ceremonies in which the oath of allegiance is administered pursuant to this section shall be conducted solely in the English language.'.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE- The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 5. PREEMPTION.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall not preempt any law of any State.

The text of **HR 1005** (104th Congress, 1995) is slightly different from all the other proposals, and it repeals the provision in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for bilingual ballots, repeals the Bilingual Education Act and requires naturalization ceremonies in English.

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `National Language Act of 1995'.

SEC. 2. ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language.

`162. Official Government activities in English.

`163. Exceptions.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language

`English shall be the official language of the Government of the United States.

`Sec. 162. Official Government activities in English

`The Government of the United States shall conduct its official business in English, including publications, income tax forms, and informational materials.

`Sec. 163. Exceptions

`This chapter does not apply to the use of a language other than English--

`(1) for religious purposes;

`(2) for training in foreign languages for international communication;

`(3) to programs in schools designed to encourage students to learn foreign languages; or

`(4) by persons over 62 years of age.

`This chapter does not prevent the Government of the United States from providing interpreters for persons over 62 years of age.'.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

SEC. 3. TERMINATION OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS.

(a) REPEAL OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT- The Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 3281 et seq.) is repealed.

(b) TERMINATION OF OFFICE OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND MINORITY LANGUAGES AFFAIRS- The Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs in the Department of Education, established by part D of the Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 3331 et seq.), is terminated.

(c) RECAPTURE OF UNEXPENDED FUNDS- Any funds that have been provided as grants under the Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 3281 et seq.), and that have not been expended before the date of the enactment of this Act, shall be recaptured by the Secretary of Education and deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

(d) TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS-

(1) COMPLETION OF PROGRAMS DURING CURRENT SCHOOL YEAR- Subsections (a) and (c) shall not apply to any program under part A of the Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 3291 et seq.) until completion of the most recent school year of the program that commenced before the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) ASSISTANCE FOR TRANSITION TO SPECIAL ALTERNATIVE INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAMS- During the 1-year period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Education may assist local educational agencies in the transition of children enrolled in programs assisted under the Bilingual Education Act (20 U.S.C. 3281 et seq.) to Special Alternative Instructional Programs that do not make use of the native language of the student.

SEC. 4. REPEAL OF BILINGUAL VOTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) IN GENERAL-

(1) BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS- Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1a) is repealed.

(2) VOTING RIGHTS- Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973b) is amended by striking subsection (f).

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS-

(1) REFERENCES TO SECTION 203- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended--

(A) in section 204, by striking `or 203,'; and

(B) in the first sentence of section 205, by striking `, 202, or 203' and inserting `or 202'.

(2) REFERENCES TO SECTION 4- The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.) is amended--

(A) in sections 2(a), 3(a), 3(b), 3(c), 4(d), 5, 6, and 13, by striking `, or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2)';

(B) in paragraphs (1)(A) and (3) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision seeking a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2)'; and

(C) in paragraphs (1)(B) and (5) of section 4(a), by striking `or (in the case of a State or subdivision which sought a declaratory judgment under the second sentence of this subsection) that denials or abridgments of the right to vote in contravention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2) have occurred anywhere in the territory of such State or subdivision'.

SEC. 5. ENGLISH LANGUAGE REQUIREMENT FOR CEREMONIES FOR ADMISSION OF NEW CITIZENS.

Section 337(d) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1448(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: `All public ceremonies in which the oath of allegiance is administered pursuant to this section shall be conducted solely in the English language.'.

SEC. 6. NONPREEMPTION.

This Act (and the amendments made by this Act) shall not preempt any law of any State.

The texts of **HR 739** (103rd and 104th Congresses) are significantly different from all the other proposals to amend Title 4.

HR 739, 103rd Congress

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Declaration of Official Language Act of 1993'.

SEC. 2. ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language.

`162. Preferred language of communication.

`163. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language.

`164. Duties of citizenship.

`165. Reform of naturalization requirement.

`166. Exceptions.

`167. Preemption.

`168. Construction.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language

`English is the official language of the Government of the United

States.

`Sec. 162. Preferred language of communication

`English is the preferred language of communication among citizens of the United States.

`Sec. 163. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Government of the United States shall promote and support the use of English for communications among United States citizens. Communications by officers and employees of the Government of the United States with United States citizens shall be in English.

`Sec. 164. Duties of citizenship

`All United States citizens should be able to read, write, and speak English to the extent of their physical and mental abilities.

`Sec. 165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`The Immigration and Naturalization Service shall--

`(1) establish an English language proficiency standard for all applicants for United States citizenship, and

`(2) establish a written and oral examination to test for the achievement of such standard by such applicants.

`Sec. 166. Exceptions

`This chapter does not apply to the use of a language other than English for--

`(1) religious purposes, or

`(2) training in foreign languages for international communication.

`Sec. 167. Preemption

`This chapter preempts any State or Federal law which is inconsistent with this chapter.

`Sec. 168. Construction

`This Act is not intended to affect programs in schools designed to encourage students to learn foreign languages.'.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

(c) REPEALS-

(1) BILINGUAL EDUCATION- Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is repealed.

(2) BILINGUAL BALLOT- Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1a) is repealed.

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Declaration of Official Language Act of 1993'.

SEC. 2. ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language.

`162. Preferred language of communication.

`163. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language.

`164. Duties of citizenship.

`165. Reform of naturalization requirement.

`166. Exceptions.

`167. Preemption.

`168. Construction.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language

`English is the official language of the Government of the United

States.

`Sec. 162. Preferred language of communication

`English is the preferred language of communication among citizens of the United States.

`Sec. 163. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Government of the United States shall promote and support the use of English for communications among United States citizens. Communications by officers and employees of the Government of the United States with United States citizens shall be in English.

`Sec. 164. Duties of citizenship

`All United States citizens should be able to read, write, and speak English to the extent of their physical and mental abilities.

`Sec. 165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`The Immigration and Naturalization Service shall--

`(1) establish an English language proficiency standard for all applicants for United States citizenship, and

`(2) establish a written and oral examination to test for the achievement of such standard by such applicants.

`Sec. 166. Exceptions

`This chapter does not apply to the use of a language other than English for--

`(1) religious purposes, or

`(2) training in foreign languages for international communication.

`Sec. 167. Preemption

`This chapter preempts any State or Federal law which is inconsistent with this chapter.

`Sec. 168. Construction

`This Act is not intended to affect programs in schools designed to encourage students to learn foreign languages.'.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

(c) REPEALS-

(1) BILINGUAL EDUCATION- Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is repealed.

(2) BILINGUAL BALLOT- Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973aa-1a) is repealed.

HR 739. 104th Congress

A BILL

To amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the `Declaration of Official Language Act of 1995'.

SEC. 2. ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

(a) IN GENERAL- Title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

`CHAPTER 6--LANGUAGE OF THE GOVERNMENT

`Sec.

`161. Declaration of official language.

`162. Preferred language of communication

`163. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`164. Duties of citizenship.

`165. Reform of naturalization requirement.

`166. Exceptions.

`167. Preemption.

`168. Construction.

`169. Enforcement.

`Sec. 161. Declaration of official language

`English is the official language of the Government of the United States.

`Sec. 162. Preferred language of communication

`English is the preferred language of communication among citizens of the United States.

`Sec. 163. Preserving and enhancing the role of the official language

`The Government of the United States shall promote and support the use of English for communications among United States citizens. Communications by officers and employees of the Government of the United States with United States citizens shall be in English.

`Sec. 164. Duties of citizenship

`All United States citizens should be encouraged to read, write, and speak English to the extent of their physical and mental abilities.

`Sec. 165. Reform of naturalization requirements

`(a) It has been the long-standing national belief that full citizenship in the United States requires fluency in English. English is the language of opportunity for all immigrants to take their rightful place in American society.

`(b) The Immigration and Naturalization Service shall--

`(1) enforce the established English language proficiency standard for all applicants for United States citizenship, and

`(2) conduct all naturalization ceremonies entirely in English.

`Sec. 166. Exceptions

`This chapter does not apply to the use of a language other than English for--

`(1) religious purposes,

`(2) training in foreign languages for international communication, or

`(3) use of non-English terms of art in government documents.

`Sec. 167. Preemption

`This chapter preempts any State or Federal law which is inconsistent with this chapter.

`Sec. 168. Construction

`This Act is not intended to affect programs in schools designed to encourage students to learn foreign languages.

`Sec. 169. Enforcement

`(a) CAUSE OF ACTION- Whoever is injured by a violation of this chapter may, in a civil action, obtain appropriate relief.

`(b) ATTORNEY'S FEES- In any action under this chapter, the court may allow a prevailing party, other than the United States, a reasonable attorney's fee as part of costs.'.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT- The table of chapters for title 4, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

161'.

(c) REPEALS-

(1) BILINGUAL EDUCATION- Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (other than sections 7201 through 7309) is repealed.

(2) BILINGUAL BALLOT- Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (42

U.S.C. 1973aa-1a) is repealed.

Appendix Four

Speeches cited, listed in alphabetical order by author.

Cited as: Badham (1985)

Congressional Record
Volume 131
Part 14
99th Congress
1st Session
July 11, 1985 to July 22, 1985
p. 19723

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT, HOUSE JOINT
RESOLUTIONTION 96

HON. ROBERT E. BADHAM
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday July 18, 1985

Mr. BADHAM. Mr. Speaker, theWashington Post recently printed a series of articles on bilingual education. As an original cosponsor of theEnglish Language Amendment (H.J.Res. 96) introduced by my distinguished colleague, Representative NORMAN D. SHUMWAY, I would like to state that these articles clearly point out the need for the enactment of theEnglish language amendment. This series confirmed my belief that bilingual education is an unproven method of teaching non-English-speaking children the English language. Passage of the amendment would clarify to newcomers that learning English is indispensable for participation in American society. In response to the Post's series, Representative Shumway wrote a letter which was printed in the Washington Post on July 13, 1985, and which I ask to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of the Members of the House. I wholly support Mr. Shumway in his efforts to reaffirm the importance of English in our national life, and I urge the support of my colleagues to achieve this goal.

[From the Washington Post, July 13,1985]

As the primary sponsor of the English Language Amendment (ELA) declaring English the official language of the United States, I read with great interest the series on bilingual education.

To my way of thinking, the series resulted in the same conclusion that motivated me to introduce the ELA: There continues to be no substantive or consistent evidence that bilingual education is having the desired result of assimilating language minorities into the American mainstream by providing them with English fluency.

Conversely. I believe that limited, experimental efforts to "immerse" students in intensive language training have demonstrated great effectiveness. Why, then, should we continue to pour scarce federal dollars into the unproven bilingual approach?

I agree with the 1983 findings of the Twentieth Century Fund: "Children to whom English is an alien language are being cheated if it remains unfamiliar to them: they will never swim in the American mainstream unless they are fluent in English."

The ELA would not deny language minorities necessary training; it would not prohibit bilingual education in areas where such an approach were deemed necessary by school officials, and it would not undermine the cultural background of newcomers. It would simply help to guarantee that those newcomers to our shores gain confidence and have opportunity as they fully assimilate the culture of their adopted nation.

NORMAN D. SHUMWAY
U.S. Representative (R-Calif.),Washington

Cited as: Bereuter (1986)

Congressional Record
Volume 132
Number 10
99th Congress
2nd Session
June 11, 1986 to June 19, 1986
pp. 13400, 13401

ENGLISH—THE LANGUAGE OF THE SUCCESSFUL MAINSTREAM

HON. DOUG BEREUTER OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 11,

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr Speaker, today this Member wishes to commend Congressman NORMAN SHUMWAY of California for his continuing efforts to speak out on a controversial issue. Our colleague is the sponsor of House Joint Resolution 96, a constitutional amendment which would establish English as the official language of the United States. I am proud to be a cosponsor of this important legislation, and encourage other colleagues to consider supporting it as well.

One of the proudest traditions that the United States can point to in its short history is the one that allows a man or woman to come here, seek work, put down new roots, and achieve a success that is the envy of the rest of the world. It is so very true that we are a great nation of immigrants, and the pluralism of an immigrant society creates a richness and texture to the American landscape that is unparalleled elsewhere.

Our heritage is filled with names from far-off places. But in any culture, one of the ties that binds and strengthens that culture is the tie of common tongue. The most successful individuals in any society speak in the dominant language. This, of course, is not to underestimate the value and importance of learning another language. Children who grow up in a bilingual family or learn another language in school are very fortunate, and certainly better citizens of the world. That American commerce and daily life, however, are conducted in English is an inescapable fact. If we would protect our diversity by nurturing successful individuals, we would insist upon immersion in the language for any new arrivals.

This Member believes that there are many who are reluctant to move ahead with an effort to declare English the official language of the United States. Many fear that they will alienate potential voters. But I would caution those who oppose such a declaration that they are consigning children and individuals who are not fluent in English to a second class economic life in the United States. A school's bilingual goal is to move a child into English-speaking classes within 3 to 7 years. In the life of a child, however, 3 to 7 years of a second-class status is

formative. It amounts to disenfranchisement. We do them no favors if we maintain the bilingual approach in the form it has become today.

This Member, then urges this body to support legislation to make English our official language. In doing so, we will surely protect and enhance our traditional stance as the "land of opportunity."

I commend to my colleagues attention the following two fine editorials on this subject:

[From the Norfolk Daily News, June 2, 1986]

ASSIMILATION THE GOAL

Gov. Richard Lamm of Colorado made a strong appeal to Congress last week to deal with two problems destined to become more serious the longer remedial action is postponed. The immediate problem is illegal immigration, topic of a book Gov. Lamm has co-authored, "The Immigration Time Bomb: The Fragmenting of America." The other problem he cited in his testimony before a congressional committee is derived in great part from Illegal immigration. It relates to that "fragmenting," an inability of immigrants to assimilate in American society.

"America can and should accept people from many lands, but we have a great stake to make sure that they eventually become Americans," Gov. Lamm said.

Emphasis on providing special rights to ethnic groups, as governmental policies have tended to do, rather than making sure that all rights rest with individuals, works against such an eventual result. So does bilingualism, not only tolerating those who do not learn English but accommodating them as if refusing to learn were somehow commendable.

On that point, Gov. Lamm points to the importance of ensuring that immigrants learn to speak the language of the majority in America. "The history of countries with two or more languages, or two or more cultures, is a history of disaster," he says, and points to Quebec, Belgium, Lebanon and Sri Lanka, among others.

The most urgent problem is posed by illegal aliens entering the United States from Mexico, and to a lesser extent, from other Latin American countries.

The goal must be to enforce immigration laws which now exist or to change them in ways which will make them fully enforceable. As a basic first step in policy changes, it ought to be made clear that all who aspire to be citizens and thus to enjoy the full rights and protection of the American government, are obligated to learn the common language, English. Anything less is an injustice to residents of this nation, for there will always be subtle discrimination and limited opportunities for those without English language skills.

"Either we move toward a united country, which gains strength through diversity, or we move to a bitter division which will result in perpetual tension and strife," Gov. Lamm observes. It is an accurate summation of the situation

faced by the products of a nation which has prided itself on being a "melting pot."

Governmental polices need to be aimed directly at assimilation, including a common language, in keeping faith with that historic concept. The melting pot remains an admirable symbol.

[From the Omaha World-Herald, June 3, 1986]

GOVERNOR LAMM HAS IT RIGHT ON ONE NATION, ONE LANGUAGE

Two reasons exist for every American to learn English. One is the good of the individual. The other is the good of the country. Colorado Gov. Richard Lamm, speaking to a congressional committee the other day, touched on both.

In a predominantly English-speaking society, a person is handicapped if he can't express himself in English. "Some of the discrimination against Hispanics is really a linguistic impediment, a cultural impediment," Lamm said.

A similar concern was expressed by D.L. Cuddy, a Department of Education official, in an article printed on the World-Herald's Weekend Focus page Sunday. He said people who lack a command of English not only limit their chances of being hired in certain job areas and regions of the United States but also limit how high they might rise in the work place.

Cuddy quoted a Chicago management consultant who said an inability to handle the "technical, English-language requirements of supervision and other responsible positions" keeps some people from being promoted.

Addressing the national importance of a common language, Lamm noted that the "country did not demand, nor should it demand, uniformity" of its immigrants. Wisely so, considering the principles of individual dignity on which the country was founded. But the country "should demand certain elemental levels of unity," Lamm said. One is that today's immigrants, like the immigrants of earlier years, make an effort to learn the country's language and to understand its customs and traditions.

"There has to be a social glue that holds people together," Lamm said, listing Quebec, Belgium, Lebanon and Sri Lanka as places with a ``history of disaster" caused by linguistic divisions.

Lamm's statements take on added significance because of his liberal positions on some other issues. Too often, liberals have approached the language issue with a live-and-let-live attitude, advocating bilingualism in schools and government offices. Some of the principal advocates of having every American learn English, on the other hand, have been conservatives including former Sen. S.I. Hayakawa of California and Secretary of Education William Bennett.

This isn't, however, an issue on which liberals and conservatives should feel compelled to be on opposite sides. Both ought to be able to agree that it is inexcusable to send a youngster into an English-speaking world without the tools

to compete: both ought to be able to see the damage that could result if linguistic enclaves were permitted to destroy the American tradition of one people, one language.

Cited as: Bereuter (1993)
Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Thursday, July 1, 1993
103rd Cong. 1st Sess.
139 Cong Rec E 1710

REFERENCE: VOL. 139 NO. 95

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE IS CENTRAL TO AMERICAN IDENTITY

SPEAKER: HON. DOUG BEREUTER OF NEBRASKA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E1710] THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1993

MR. BEREUTER. MR. SPEAKER, ANY NATION, IF IT IS TO REMAIN A STRONG AND COHESIVE ENTITY, MUST HAVE SOME UNIFYING CHARACTERISTICS. ONE OF THE CENTRAL CHARACTERISTICS THAT IDENTIFY ALL AMERICANS IN THE USE OF ENGLISH AS A COMMON LANGUAGE. IT IS ONE OF THE TIES THAT BIND US ALL TOGETHER. REGARDLESS OF A PERSON'S NATION OF ORIGIN, THERE IS AN EXPECTATION OF ADOPTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS A PART OF THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS. THUS, IT IS PARTICULARLY DISTURBING WHEN THIS MEMBER LEARNED THAT A FEDERAL JUDGE IN ARIZONA RECENTLY ORDERED A SPANISH LANGUAGE CEREMONY FOR NEW U.S. CITIZENS.

MR. SPEAKER, A SPANISH LANGUAGE CEREMONY SENDS PRECISELY THE WRONG MESSAGE TO OUR NEWEST CITIZENS. IT TELLS THEM THAT THEY DO NOT HAVE TO ACT TO LEARN ENGLISH SO THAT THEY CAN BE INTEGRATED INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY. THE FACTS ARE SIMPLY THIS: PEOPLE WHO DON'T LEARN ENGLISH ARE PLACED IN A POSITION OF ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE IN OUR COUNTRY. AS A JUNE 28, 1993 EDITORIAL ENTITLED "ENGLISH IS NATIONAL BINDING FORCE" IN THE OMAHA WORLD HERALD NOTED, "THE MORE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE FALLS INTO THE POSITION OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE, THE MORE AMERICA WILL ENCOUNTER [WRENCHING SOCIAL] PROBLEMS." THIS MEMBER WOULD PLACE THIS IMPORTANT ARTICLE IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, AND I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO HEED THE WARNING.

ENGLISH IS NATIONAL BINDING FORCE

A federal judge in Arizona displayed wretchedly poor judgment when he organized a Spanish-language ceremony for new U.S. citizens.

U.S. District Judge Alfredo Marquez will preside over the ceremony in which 75 immigrants will take the oath of citizenship. He will administer the oath in English. But the rest of the proceedings will be in Spanish. The judge said he believes that the ceremony will be more meaningful if conducted in the immigrants' native tongue.

Thus is tradition diluted and symbolism compromised.

The ceremony of citizenship signifies the transfer of allegiance from the old country to the new. To conduct the proceedings in the language of the old country says, in effect, that the transfer can be a halfway thing. Take it or leave it.

Perhaps if such thinking were isolated, the public could look indulgently at what Judge Marquez has done. But it isn't isolated. America is becoming a nation of quarreling enclaves, jealous of their status and eager to be sure no other group gets ahead. In too many instances, they consider themselves members of an ethnic group first Americans second.

For much of the nation's history, such fractiousness was held in check by the English language, the gateway to the Constitution, the courts, the educational system, the economic system and the national culture. Now English is being
139 Cong Rec E 1710, *E1710
devalued by officials who should be the first to know better.

Are we saying that immigrants should give up their culture? That they should fail to pass their heritage and language on to their children? Of course not. Multicultural understanding, including the ability to operate in more than one language, is a gift -- some would say a necessity -- in these times of global consciousness. Part of the advantage of living in a free and open society is the ease with which people can hold on to their individuality, their cultural identity.

But English must not be neglected if newcomers are to have the full benefits of citizenship -- and if America is to avoid the wrenching social problems of a Canada, a Belgium or what was once known as Yugoslavia. The more the English language falls into a position of secondary importance among immigrants, the more America will encounter similar problems.

The purpose of the proceedings in Judge Marquez's courtroom should be to validate the decision of the immigrants to become citizens, not to encourage them to think of themselves as hyphenated Americans. Judge Marquez may think he is helping them feel better about themselves. It's a distressing example of how trying to help people sometimes hurts them.

Cited as: Broomfield (1990a)

Congressional Record -- House
Wednesday, July 18, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 4977

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 92

TITLE: LANGUAGE, THE TIE THAT BINDS

SPEAKER: MR. BROOMFIELD; Mr. EMERSON; MR. HUTTO; Mr. MILLER of Ohio; MR. MONTGOMERY; Mr. MYERS of Indiana; MR. NIELSON OF UTAH; MR. SHUMWAY; MR. SLAUGHTER OF VIRGINIA

MR. BROOMFIELD. MR. SPEAKER, AS A COSPONSOR OF THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT, H.R. 4424, I CALL ATTENTION TO CANADA AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF WHY WE MUST DESIGNATE ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES.

AFTER YEARS OF ATTEMPTING TO PROVIDE EQUAL STATUS FOR ENGLISH AND FRENCH, CANADA TODAY IS DIVIDED BY BITTERNESS, RESENTMENT, AND EVEN HATRED. THE SECESSIONIST MOVEMENT IS STRONG IN QUEBEC, WHICH IS SEEKING RECOGNITION AS A DISTINCT SOCIETY. THE MESSAGE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES IS INESCAPABLE: BILINGUALISM IN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WORK.

WHILE LANGUAGE CONFLICTS IN OUR COUNTRY ARE SERIOUS NOW, THEY ARE NOT ACUTE. BUT, AS THE CANADIANS HAVE LEARNED, LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS OFTEN BUBBLE BENEATH THE SURFACE FOR YEARS BEFORE ERUPTING. DISCORD BETWEEN THE TWO LANGUAGE GROUPS IN CANADA DATES BACK 200 YEARS. MORE RECENTLY, THE 1969 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT [OLA] ATTEMPTED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS. THE OLA ENSURED EQUAL STATUS FOR BOTH LANGUAGES, USHERING IN CEREAL BOXES AND TOOTHPASTE TUBES WITH ENGLISH-FRENCH LABELS.

IN QUEBEC, HOWEVER, MANY VIEW BILINGUALISM AS A THREAT TO THE PRESERVATION OF FRENCH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE. QUEBEC'S REJECTION OF OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM 5 YEARS AFTER THE OLA SET THE PROVINCE ON ITS UNILINGUAL COURSE. QUEBEC DECIDED TO ALLOW ONLY THE USE OF FRENCH, AND EFFECTIVELY PROHIBIT THE USE OF ENGLISH, IN EVERY SPHERE OF PUBLIC AND COMMERCIAL LIFE. THE DECISION AROUSED PROFOUND RESENTMENT AMONG ENGLISH SPEAKERS IN THE NINE OTHER

PROVINCES WHERE THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAD IMPOSED BILINGUALISM.

THE SITUATION IS COMPLICATED BY THE FACT THAT CANADA IS A CONFEDERATION, AN ALLIANCE IN WHICH THE 10 PROVINCES HOLD MUCH GREATER POWER THAN THE AMERICAN STATES. CONFEDERATION ENABLED CANADA TO PURSUE FEDERAL BILINGUALISM AND UNILINGUALISM IN THE PROVINCES, WITH LIMITED CONCESSIONS TO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MINORITIES. QUEBEC'S REFUSAL TO GRANT RECIPROCAL CONCESSIONS TO ITS 800,000 ENGLISH SPEAKERS EXACERBATED THE CURRENT CRISIS.

IN CONTRAST TO CANADA, THE UNITED STATES IS HISTORICALLY ENGLISH SPEAKING. FOR CENTURIES, IMMIGRANTS COMING HERE RECOGNIZED THE NECESSITY TO LEARN THE COMMON LANGUAGE. TODAY, HOWEVER, INCREASING DEMANDS FOR OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM ARE PRODUCING SMALL FISSURES IN OUR NATIONAL UNITY THAT MAY ONE DAY RUPTURE, MUCH AS IN CANADA.

SOME HISPANIC ACTIVISTS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE DEMANDING GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN SPANISH. THE HISPANIC ISSUE CONFERENCE IN RACINE, WI, THIS SPRING SUGGESTED A FULL BILINGUAL APPROACH IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS -- SPANISH-SPEAKING POLLWORKERS AT ELECTIONS; TRANSLATORS AT CITY GOVERNMENT MEETINGS; SPANISH LANGUAGE NEWS UPDATES IN THE LOCAL NEWSPAPERS; AND IMPORTANT INFORMATION PRINTED IN BOTH SPANISH AND ENGLISH, SIDE-BY-SIDE, INSTEAD OF PLACING ONE LANGUAGE HIGHER THAN THE OTHER.

SOME ACTIVISTS MAINTAIN THAT HISPANICS WILL NOT ASSIMILATE INTO THE CULTURE OF THE UNITED STATES; THEREFORE GOVERNMENT SERVICES MUST BE PROVIDED IN SPANISH. STILL OTHERS POINT OUT THERE ARE NOW AREAS IN THIS COUNTRY WHERE A KNOWLEDGE OF SPANISH, NOT ENGLISH, IS VITAL FOR DAILY LIVING.

IT IS TIME TO ASK THESE ACTIVISTS IF THEY SEEK TO ESTABLISH LINGUISTIC ENCLAVES, MUCH LIKE QUEBEC, IN THIS COUNTRY? SOME ARE QUITE OPEN IN ANSWERING "YES" TO THESE QUESTIONS.

CANADA IS USED AS A MODEL BY THOSE PROMOTING OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM IN THIS COUNTRY: "IN CANADA *** THE LEGISLATURE *** PASSED THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT," SAID JOSUE GONZALES, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN TESTIMONY BEFORE CONGRESS. "PERHAPS IT IS A BIT TOO EARLY TO THINK SERIOUSLY ABOUT A COMPARABLE BILL IN THIS COUNTRY. BUT IF THE PRESENT RATE OF GROWTH OF SPANISH SPEAKERS CONTINUES, IT IS NOT UNLIKELY THAT WE WILL SOON HAVE TO CONSIDER THAT AS A VERY DEFINITE POSSIBILITY."

THE WORDS OF DR. GONZALES AND OTHERS HAVE NOT GONE UNNOTICED. COMMENTATOR ERIC SEVARIED PROVIDED ONE OBSERVATION IN A RECENT C-SPAN INTERVIEW. WHEN SEVAREID WAS ASKED WHAT HE PERCEIVED AS THE GREATEST DANGER TODAY, HE REPLIED: THE ISSUE OF LANGUAGE. SEVAREID SAID:

WHAT IS HAPPENING TODAY IS UNPRESENTED IN U.S. HISTORY. IN THE PAST, MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO MIGRATED TO THE COUNTRY ALL UNDERSTOOD THE NEED TO SPEAK ENGLISH TO LIVE AND WORK AND PROSPER IN THIS NATION.

BUT TODAY, HE EXPLAINED, AN ATTITUDE PERSISTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST CONFORM TO THOSE WHO DO NOT KNOW THE COMMON LANGUAGE. THIS ATTITUDE, SEVAREID SAID, HAS LED TO A FEELING THAT SPANISH MAY BECOME A SECOND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. "THIS WOULD MEAN GOVERNMENT, SCHOOLS, BUSINESSES, WOULD BE LEGALLY REQUIRED TO USE SPANISH AS WELL AS ENGLISH," HE SAID.

THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT IS NOT ABOUT WHETHER ONE LANGUAGE IS BETTER THAN ANOTHER. IT'S ABOUT WHETHER WE WILL HAVE ONE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT AS OPPOSED TO CHAOS. IF THE HISPANIC CAN DEMAND GOVERNMENT SERVICES IN THEIR LANGUAGE, WHY SHOULDN'T ALL OF THE 148 LANGUAGE GROUPS IN OUR COUNTRY RECEIVE SERVICES IN THEIR LANGUAGES?

AND HOW DO WE PAY FOR THIS? OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM COSTS CANADA MORE THAN HALF A BILLION FEDERAL DOLLARS A YEAR. LOCAL COSTS ARE MUCH MORE.

IN COSPONSORING H.R. 4424, I DO NOT MEAN TO DOWNPLAY THE IMPORTANCE OF OTHER LANGUAGES. DURING MY YEARS IN CONGRESS, AND PARTICULARLY IN MY EXPERIENCES AS VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, I HAVE SEEN FIRST HAND THE VALUE OF KNOWING OTHER LANGUAGES. I ENCOURAGE THE STUDY AND USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES.

BUT AS AN AMERICAN I APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH AS A UNIFYING FORCE IN THIS DIVERSE LAND POPULATED BY DIVERSE PEOPLES. PERHAPS PRESIDENT TEDDY ROOSEVELT MADE THE BEST ARGUMENT FOR A COMMON LANGUAGE IN GOVERNMENT WHEN HE SAID 75 YEARS AGO:

THE ONE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN WAY OF BRINGING THIS NATION TO RUIN, OF PREVENTING ALL POSSIBILITY OF ITS CONTINUING TO BE A NATION AT [*H4982] ALL, WOULD BE TO PERMIT IT TO BECOME A TANGLE OF SQUABBLING NATIONALITIES.

I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN ME IN COSPONSORING H.R. 4424, THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT.

Cited as: Broomfield (1990b)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Tuesday, June 5, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec E 1783

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 69

TITLE: DO WE WANT QUEBEC HERE?

SPEAKER: HON. WM. S. BROOMFIELD OF MICHIGAN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E1783] MR. BROOMFIELD. MR. SPEAKER, I WANT TO SHARE WITH MY COLLEAGUES AN ENLIGHTENING ARTICLE ON THE PERILS OF BILINGUALISM.

OUR NEIGHBORS IN CANADA ARE STRUGGLING TO MAINTAIN NATIONAL UNITY UNDER THE STRAIN OF THEIR TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGES -- FRENCH AND ENGLISH. IN CONTRAST, THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN BUILT ON A FOUNDATION OF ASSIMILATION OF DIVERSE NATIONALITIES INTO A NEW NATIONALITY. ADOPTING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE HAS ALWAYS BEEN AN IMPORTANT PART OF BECOMING AN AMERICAN.

BEFORE ABANDONING THIS IMPORTANT SOURCE OF OUR NATIONAL IDENTITY, WE WOULD BE WELL ADVISED TO ASK, AS DOES HOWARD BANKS, "DO WE WANT QUEBEC HERE?" I COMMEND MR. BANK'S FORBES MAGAZINE ARTICLE TO MY COLLEAGUES AND URGE THEM TO AFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH AS OUR COMMON LANGUAGE BY JOINING ME AS A CO-SPONSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT, HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 81.

DO WE WANT QUEBEC HERE?

(By Howard Banks)

"The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalists." So warned Teddy Roosevelt in 1915.

We have avoided that danger here -- which Canada clearly has not (see previous article). We have avoided it in part because of the common use of English by all of the immigrants that make up America. Adopting the English language has always been part of becoming American. Relative case of communication in a single language has provided a kind of national glue, a common thread to the creation

and development of a nation that is spread over a wide area and harbors diverse interests, beliefs and national origins.

But a threat to that thread is emerging in the increasingly strident political campaign for separate Spanish teaching. Fortunately, most Hispanic-Americans don't support the idea. A loud minority of Hispanic politicians and leftish liberals do.

"There are obvious differences [with Canada], but the parallels are clear enough," says Kathryn Bricker, executive director of U.S. English. This is the organization founded by former Senator S.I. Hayakawa to pursue his idea of a constitutional amendment that would make English the official language of the U.S.

Bilingual teaching began as an off-shoot of the civil rights right movement in 1960s. It was at first intended to help so-called LEP kids [for limited-English-proficient] get into the main-stream of economic life by teaching them English. But it has turned into a monster born out of a loosely worded 1974 decision from the Supreme Court (Lau v. Nicholas). This concerned a complaint by a Chinese that his children were not being taught English adequately in the local public schools. One possible remedy listed by Justice William Douglas was teaching the children in Chinese.

And then the predictable happened. The Department of Education was established in the Carter era and was looking for something to do. Why not promote bilingualism? There would be jobs and money in it. So it didn't take the bureaucrats long to launch a vast, federally funded bilingual education program. Because by far the largest number of immigrants today come from Spanish-speaking countries, Spanish was the logical co-language.

In many areas of the country where there are concentrations of Spanish-speaking kids, bilingual education has in practice turned into mostly Spanish teaching. "If it is measured against the original intent, to teach English to disadvantaged children, it's a failure. If it had been intended to teach Spanish, it would have been a tremendous success," says Bricker.

The clearest indication of failure is the high dropout rate of Hispanic high school kids. Since the early 1970s, the dropout rate for white children has been tending down slightly. The dropout rate for black kids has more or less halved and is now roughly the same as for whites. The exception is for Hispanics. Their dropout rate is stubbornly high, roughly double that for the other groups, and the trend, if anything, has recently been rising slightly. Yet -- and here's an apparent paradox -- Spanish-speaking Americans have a lower unemployment rate than blacks and slightly higher average earnings. How come?

A survey by the Civil Rights Commission has found that when the differences in educational attainment, and especially for proficiency in English, are eliminated, what emerges is that Hispanics do as well as the rest of the population. A logical conclusion is that the poor language proficiency of many Hispanics is dragging down their average economic performance.

The issue of Spanish-language teachings of Hispanics is emotion-charged. Merely raising questions about the efficiency of the so-called bilingual program often leads to accusations of racism. Such noises come mainly from those that benefit most from these programs -- Hispanic politicians, bureaucrats whose careers depend on the programs, the providers of textbooks in Spanish and, maybe, some teachers who retain their jobs [and sometimes get a bonus] because they speak Spanish.

It's a big economic issue, too, for these groups. A guesstimate by the Education Department suggests that when the $160 million cost of the Bilingual Education Act, 1974, is added to other programs involved in bilingual education, the cost reaches $1.5 billion a year. Each child in bilingual education is "worth" around $350 a year to a school. But "once they become fluent in English, the school district loses its bilingual funding," explains Sally Peterson, a teacher for 26 years at Glenwood Elementary School, Sun Valley, Calif., and founder of the 20,000-member Learning English Advocates Drive.

The crying shame is how badly that money serves those it is intended to help. As jobs tend away from assembly-line work, where little language is involved, to computer screens, pay and working conditions depend on educational and English attainment. Today's anti-English bias, it seems, sentences too many minority school leavers, particularly Hispanics, to a second-class economic life.

Typically, the pols' response is to call for yet more money to be poured into a failed program Fortunately, most Hispanic-Americans don't buy those arguments. A government survey asked Hispanic parents to rank 70 items in importance to their children's education. Teaching them English was third, teaching them Spanish was third, too, but from the bottom. A recent poll by the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE showed that 69% of Hispanics approved of English being the official state language in California.

But the proponents of bilingualism tend to be types who know what is best for other people, even if the majority doesn't agree.

So, would a constitutional amendment, as proposed by ex-Senator Hayakawa (SEE BOX) and now by Representative William Emerson (R-Mo.), solve the problem? It wouldn't hurt.

To oppose bilingualism is not the same thing as opposing the teaching of foreign languages. It is merely to insist that to be American one should understand English -- a not very onerous requirement. In any case, some 23 states, from Arizona to Virginia, have passed or have pending legislation to make English the official language.

Bilingualism undermines the very basis on which this country has been built: assimilation of diverse nationalities into a new nationality. Many intellectuals scorn what this country represents, and for them bilingualism is a handy tool. It is a handy tool, too, for those looking for ways to pry money out of the taxpayer. But, as Canadians have learned, it is not a good way to create a national identity or preserve national unity.

BILINGUALISM: A WOLF IN SHEEP'S CLOTHING

Ex-Senator S.I. Hayakawa, 84, is a little frail these days. But he clearly recalls why in 1981 he launched the campaign for a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the U.S. With the implementation of laws like the Bilingual Education Act, 1974, the U.S. government was for the first time encouraging people not to learn English. Hayakawa saw what other politicians chose to ignore: that this could mark the beginning of the end of the great American experiment. Bilingualism was a wolf in sheep's clothing.

He is the eldest son of a Japanese couple who lived in Canada. "We were in a neighborhood with Scots and English. My father spoke and wrote good English and I spoke English with my brother and sisters. My mother never learned English worth a damn, so we spoke Japanese with her." He got his master's in English from McGill University in Montreal, Quebec, where he paid his way working as a cab driver. "I spoke French there -- when it was necessary," he remembers.

So there's no Anglo-snobbism here, and Hayakawa rejects the notion that other languages are not worth learning. But he remains convinced of the need for a constitutional amendment, the task now of U.S. English, the Washington based foundation he created when he retired from the Senate in 1983.

[*E1784] Hayakawa knows the vibrant new culture created here is largely a result of the use of a common language, English. His amendment would put into law the country's political and social reality and clear away the mixed signals given since the 1970s to immigrants. "In the early days of the U.S. there was a great deal of pressure for one language and we all learned English," he says. "It's turned out to be a blessing." It's a blessing many non-Hispanics would do away with, some out of a naive desire to help immigrant children, even though the polls show Spanish-speaking parents want their children educated in English. -- H.B.

Cited as: Bryant (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. Bryant).

(Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BRYANT of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, I have been involved in a committee and I have missed part of the debate, but the part that I have heard about in this debate concerns me because I keep hearing about how this bill will cause disunity, how it will break up this country, even such illogical statements that it might cause church burnings and things of this nature. To me that flies in the face of logic.

I cannot imagine anything that would hold this country together, that would pull the different peoples of this country together any more than having a common language. The voices from the other side stand up and say, we do not need this law. We have not needed this. We have never had to do this before. So why do we need it now?

As the gentleman from New York, Mr. King, so eloquently said, for over 180 years we all came together and we assimilated. He compared this language, this common language of English, which people learned because they had to learn it, because they had to learn it to socialize, to have business contacts, to have debate. Could you imagine this floor if we all spoke different languages trying to debate this bill? We all speak English here on this floor because that is what we all understand. But for 180 years this is what we did.

We assimilated perfectly. Mr. King described it as the glue that held this stained glass window together. I could not think of a better description.

About 25 years ago, we started going in a different direction in this country. We started moving toward where the law required bilingual ballots and bilingual warnings in all types of things in the official government. Keep in mind here, we are talking about only official language. We are not saying you cannot speak other languages. We are saying for official language purposes of this United States, it will be English.

So for the last 25 years, we have gone through this. I submit to my colleagues that a good part of the distrust, the mistrust in this country, the division that exists today is caused by things like this. I urge my colleagues not to vote for this amendment but to support the underlying bill, H.R. 123.

Cited as: Burdick (1984)

Congressional Record
Volume 130
Part 1
98th Congress
2nd Session
January 23, 1984 to February 1, 1984
pp. 796, 797

SPEAK ENGLISH PLEASE

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, last September, I cosponsored Senate Joint Resolution 167, an amendment to the Constitution to designate English the official language of the Nation. I take pride in my cosponsorship, for I know that the protection of our common language is an urgent item worthy of my colleagues attention.

I have been asked several times just what it is that this amendment would do, and I want to take this opportunity to respond to this important question. The answer may well disappoint those who believe that a constitutional amendment should bring about profound and fundamental changes in our society. The English language amendment--the ELA--will alter very little in the lives of most Americans. Elegant French restaurants will continue to print French menus; seminarians will continue their Latin studies; our Jewish youngsters will continue to attend Hebrew school, opera lovers will still hear their favorite works in Italian, German or French; as before, immigrant families and friends will meet and greet each other in their native tongue; high schools and colleges will go on teaching foreign language as an academic subject--hopefully to more students and in better ways in the future than in the past. Our precious first amendment will continue to protect free speech, as it always has and as it always must.

The ELA then, will not create any great upheavals in American society, and that, indeed, is precisely our intention. It will formally grant a measure of legal protection for English, our historic language, and thus assure that its primacy does not ever slip away from us.

The ELA is the path of prudence. The English language has been the centripetal force in American society bringing together in the rewards and obligations of citizenship people from all races, religions, and cultural traditions. Americans know instinctively that, without a common language our differences, now a source of national strength and personal pride, would become unmanageable and irreconcilable. For that reason our definition of American citizenship has always included an acceptance though not necessarily full mastery our language.

We now find ourselves in the midst of the largest immigration wave in American history. Because so many new immigrants speak the same language we are drifting toward ever greater quasi-official recognition of that language. For too long we have allowed ourselves to be pressured into giving up on the time-tested ways of acculturating new immigrants. In too many cases we have permitted English to take a back seat in the public schools, while we instruct non-English-

speaking students in their native language. We have acquiesced to separating English from the essence of citizenship, and while our naturalization laws still call for a knowledge of simple English our voting laws require us to provide ballots and voting materials in certain foreign languages. Instead of expecting applicants for publicly subsidized benefits to struggle with standard application forms, we have taken on the burden of translating these government forms into the applicant's native language.

The same trends are at work in State and local governments. In 30 States an applicant for a driver's license need not know English to get an operator's license—the test is given in the applicant's preferred language. Some States have given civil service examinations in a foreign language as well as professional licensure examinations in such fields as medicine, engineering and nursing.

What started out nearly two decades ago as a gesture of good will and courtesy toward those newly joining our society has been reinterpreted as a matter of "language rights"" and, all too often, this has been accompanied by resistance to the learning of our common language. In the absence of any protection or formal acknowledgement of the uniqueness of English the trend toward the total acceptance of non-English-speaking citizens into every facet of society will continue to grow. On the contrary, that trend must be stemmed.

The suggestion that the English language amendment is the antithesis of bilingualism is unfounded. Bilingualism--and indeed multilingualism--is absolutely necessary if not the primary ingredient in bringing together the peoples of the various nations and cultures of this world. We must cone to encourage such interaction. What must be discouraged are practices which allow citizens of this country not to learn English.

Therefore, in fact, the ELA is opposed to monolingualism where the language is not English. In order for this country to strengthen and in order for its individual citizens to progress, to achieve higher goals, and to compete with fellow citizens in education, in employment, and in political stature, we must all know English. Our former colleague. Sam Hayakawa of California, said it best when he noted:

The language we share is at the core of the identity as citizens and our ticket to full participation in American political life. We can speak any language we want at the dinner table but English is the language of public discourse, of the marketplace, and of the voting booth.

An indication of the support for Sam Hayakawa's position on the language issue is the extraordinary success of U.S. English, a national public interest organization founded just a year ago by him, upon his retirement from this body. The organization has publicized the plight of English and the growth of language separatism, and the response from the American people has been most extraordinary. People all over the country are coming to the fore to defend our common language from further displacement, and we are beginning to see the protection of English arise as a potent political issue that we would ignore at our peril.

Prudent legislators will look at all these trends—the record immigration we are experiencing, the new resistance to the acceptance of English the laissez-faire language policies now in effect; they will note the strong desire of American people to preserve the language that holds us together; and they will review available options, see the benign effect of a constitutional amendment, and they will decide that the national interest will be well served by such legislation.

We have the opportunity to leave behind, as a permanent legacy to generations of Americans yet unborn, the instrument of our social cohesion and of our national unity. A greater gift no Congress can ever hope to bestow.

I urge all my colleagues to join me in this endeavor.

Cited as: Canady (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, American society has developed on the melting pot theory. We are a nation of immigrants from diverse backgrounds and cultures who have come together as one people, the American people.

Learning to communicate in English is one of the most important ways in which this coming together, the transformation from the many to one, takes place. Of necessity, each of us or our forefathers have had to learn English in order to succeed. As Americans, we all value our heritage, but we also recognize that as Americans, we must become proficient in English if we are to fully participate in all facets of American life.

The 1975 bilingual ballot amendments to the Voting Rights Act have had the effect, whether intended or not, of encouraging minority language dependency and therefore self-imposed segregation, both politically and culturally.

English is our common language of discourse. In recognition of this fact, now more than ever, the Federal Government has a responsibility to look for things to bring us together as a nation and unify us rather than encouraging further separation along ethnic lines. Ballots are the recognized formal instrument for citizen participation in the electoral process. The ballot's highly official nature gives great weight to all that is written on the ballot. Present this information in English, and the message is unmistakable that English is the official language of our shared public life. It is the language Americans use that affects the future of our Nation as a whole.

A ballot in two or more languages delivers a very different message. It sanctions other languages as coequal to English in the process that determines the future of our Nation. It says that the highest authorities in the land place no special value on the English language as we participate in the central act of democratic self-governance.

In addition, the Federal mandate requiring bilingual ballots is both ineffective and expensive. The county registrar for Yuba County, CA, Mrs. Frances Farey, testified before the Judiciary's Subcommittee on the Constitution that in 16 years she received only one request for a bilingual ballot. She testified that for just three

elections the county has spent over $46,000 to comply with the Federal bilingual ballot requirements.

According to statistics from the Census Bureau, voter participation and registration rates by Hispanic voters have in fact decreased, decreased since this Federal mandate was first imposed in 1975. In addition, bilingual ballots are expensive. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that repealing the Federal bilingual ballot mandate will save State and local governments between $5 and $10 million for each election. Finally, as I have stated earlier, bilingual ballots are divisive and harmful to our society as a whole.

The Serrano substitute strips the bilingual ballot repeal from this important legislation. I urge my colleagues to reject government- sanctioned and enforced multiculturalism and to vote against the Serrano substitute.

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

Cited as: Cox (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. COX of California. Mr. Chairman, the immigrant experience is central to our national character. It epitomizes the intergenerational improvement inherent in the American Dream. Americans by choice add to the cultural and ethnic diversity we have always celebrated. It is America's unique national trait that from such diversity springs unparalleled unity and strength of purpose.

For nearly four centuries, natives of other lands have come to America to build a better future. But unlike their predecessors, today's immigrants are met with Government policies allegedly concerned with the preservation of their ethnic separateness. Chief among these misguided policies is the mandate of a multilingual government. By discouraging immigrants and their children from using the English language, this policy has erected a linguistic barrier that keeps many immigrants from becoming full participants in the society they have chosen to join. Whatever its putative intentions, a policy of governmental insistence on a multitude of official languages works insidiously to harm the very people it was meant to help.

The use of English is indispensable to immigrants and their children who wish to participate fully in American society and realize the American Dream. As we seek to promote the rich and varied traditions new Americans bring, we must simultaneously work to ensure that all of us share some basis for common understanding. Securing both these important goals requires overcoming the divisive influence of linguistic separatism. English should be and remain the official language of our National Government.

English, our common language, provides a shared foundation which has allowed people from every corner of the world to come together to build the American Nation. Without it, we might never have achieved the cohesion that permits Irish-American and African-American, Asian- American and Hispanic-American, to live in peace and prosperity together as in no other nation on earth.

The experience of two other immigrant nations--Canada and Israel-- offers us clear lessons on just how powerful a force language can be in either uniting or dividing a people. These are lessons we cannot fail to heed.

Canada, our neighbor to the north, bears much in common with the United States. Our settlement, founding, and national growth share the same time and place in world history. Our peoples emigrated from the same native lands. But

unlike America, Canada has struggled with the divisive issue of language since its earliest days. Though the British won control over French Canada more than a decade before the American Declaration of Independence, they failed then to conquer the destructive force of linguistic separation. The French and English settled throughout North America, but the lesions of language that live on in Canada are healed in our country. Today, centuries after the French settlement of Quebec, the French language serves as a reason for the Quebecois refusal to become integrated into a Canadian nation. The continued existence of Canada as we know it is very much in doubt.

Canada chose to make both English and French its official languages. It has striven for decades to foster unity through official multilingualism. The evidence is clear: that experiment is a horrid failure. Linguistic differences have not promoted national harmony, but rather have dramatically increased Canada's cultural and communal divisions. Twice in recent years, Quebecois have demanded and won the right to vote on whether they should separate from Canada. And when they did so most recently, in October 1995, only the barest majority-- 50.6 percent of Quebec voters--managed to save the country from the kind of disintegration that we ourselves avoided in the Civil War. A third vote could be held as soon as next year. Multilingualism has become a dagger pointed at the heart and soul of the Canadian nation.

The largest immigrant-absorbing nation on earth, in percentage terms, is Israel. Millions of emigres from around the world, speaking as many tongues as Babel, have been welcomed there. Israel's founding fathers, in contrast to Canada, have long recognized the centrality of language to their quest to reestablish a Jewish state in their historical homeland.

The Jews who have returned to the Holy Land shared a common history and religion, but they brought with them enough different native languages to threaten all hope of a cohesive nation. While Yiddish, the German-Jewish dialect spoken by East European Jews, at least overcame that group's experience with Russian, Polish, or Hungarian, Yiddish was as alien to the Arabic and French-speaking Jews of the Middle East as was Spanish. And Spanish was just one of the many other languages brought to Israel by immigrants from Spain and Latin America.

Israel has shown the world that the key to uniting a polyglot people is to establish a language of mutual understanding. Unlike America, where our British colonizers left us with an English language that is preponderant throughout the world, Israel had no obvious choice from among the languages of its varied citizenry. So its founders revived a tongue whose heritage they all shared, but which none of them spoke. Hebrew--the language of the Old Testament which had survived as the medium of prayer and religious study, but which had virtually disappeared from secular use--became once again the vernacular of Israel.

Israel did, and continues to do, much more than simply declare Hebrew to be the country's common language. The Israelis put in place an infrastructure to ensure that each and every immigrant will be able to speak this common tongue to his or her new countrymen, and thus become quickly integrated into Israeli society. New arrivals, whatever their age, are strongly encouraged to take an

ulpan, the intensive Hebrew- language course typically taught by the immersion method. As soon as possible after their arrival, immigrant children are placed in regular Hebrew-speaking classrooms, and given extra Hebrew-language instruction to help them catch up with their classmates. Those arriving to take degrees at Israel's universities must prove their Hebrew proficiency before graduation, even if their degrees are in subjects--such as French, Russian, or English--that may be taught in their mother tongues.

Just as in America, those immigrants who arrive later in life inevitably remain more comfortable with their mother tongue. And just as in America, the culture and society of Israel is hospitable to such people: The Israeli press includes newspapers published in German, Russian, French, Yiddish, and many other foreign languages. Although none of these foreign languages is the official language of Israel, their use is welcomed in a free society. But Israel's insistence on Hebrew as the national language insures that the children of immigrants quickly become Hebrew speakers first, and speakers of their parents' language second. Although a parent might wish for her children to speak English as well as an American, this does not come at the expense of embracing Israel's language and customs. Immigrants need not abandon their ties to the country of their birth. But if they truly wish to become part of the country of their choice, the linguistic bonds to their new country soon strengthen.

Because Canadians have been unable to overcome the linguistic differences that separate them into distinct Anglophone and Francophone communities, they may not long remain as members of a single nation-- despite the essential homogeneity of their population. By stressing a single, unifying language, Israel has built a strong, cohesive society--despite the amazingly diverse composition of its people.

The lesson for America should be clear. Fortunately, the United States already has a common language. We do not need to overcome centuries of linguistic separation, or to find a national tongue to bring our diverse population together. English is our common language, which has enabled us to become and remain the United States of America. We need only ensure that we do not lose it by neglect or inaction.

Many people do not realize that, while English is our common language, government at all levels is actively undermining its unifying function. All of the benefits our Nation reaps from our linguistic harmony will be lost if ill-advised government policies continue to forment linguistic separatism.

Today, American taxes are being spent so that people who cannot understand or communicate in English can nonetheless receive ballots to vote in Filipino, Vietnamese, or Chinese. Federal Government job announcements frequently invite applications from people with limited English skills. Immigrants have even been sworn in as new citizens at a U.S. Government ceremony conducted almost entirely in Spanish. And bilingual education, which purports to aim at bringing students into full participation in our society, has instead condemned them to what the New York Times calls a "bilingual prison."

Under these doctrinaire and disruptive bilingual policies, in too many U.S. schools children who wish to learn English are given only a few minutes of English instruction each day. Ignoring the time-tested wisdom that practice makes perfect, children are taught all day long in the foreign language they already speak, rather than in English. And children who should be moved quickly into mainstream classes are kept in language separation for 7 or more years.

Immigrant parents who have expressed serious concerns about this practice have no recourse. Despite parental fears that bilingual programs do not bring their children fully into the fold of American society, nothing is done to help their kids. That's why dozens of Latino parents at the Ninth Street School in Los Angeles recently pulled their children out of school to protest the education bureaucracy's refusal to teach their children in English.

Bilingual education programs often require teaching children in their native language and discourage the learning of English. These programs are a shameful example of the damage to our society caused by official multilingualism. They are wasteful, discriminatory, and too often produce children who are illiterate in any language. Yet they are perpetuated by a requirement that 75 percent of Federal bilingual education grant money be used for instruction in a child's native language rather than finding the most effective means to assist the transition to English. Instead of helping immigrants and their children achieve the American dream, these policies are condemning generations to isolation--cut off from the boundless opportunity our country offers to those who share the common bond of speaking and writing the same language, and being understood by their fellow citizens.

A 1995 study by Ohio University economists Richard Vedder and Lowell Galloway finds that a lack of English skills has trapped almost 1.5 million immigrants in poverty. And the Department of Labor has found that while 98 percent of Asian males who are fluent in English participate in the labor force, fully one-quarter of Asian males who lack English fluency are jobless. The simple truth is that those who cannot function in our country's predominant language are less able to find jobs. As a result, they are cheated of the opportunity for improvement and happiness that America promises to millions.

Even when non-English speakers are able to find jobs, they can expect to earn a fraction of what others earn. In 1989, immigrant men who lacked English skills earned $233 a week on average, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Those who spoke other languages but were proficient in English earned $449, and those who spoke primarily English earned an average of $584 a week. A 1995 study by the Latino Institute has confirmed that the ability to speak English can make the difference between a low-wage job and a high-wage managerial, professional, or technical job.

These facts paint an unmistakable picture. Immigrant communities themselves recognize what must be done: According to the U.S. Department of Education, 42 percent of new enrollees in adult education are signed up for classes in English as a foreign language. Almost all of those enrollees--97 percent of them--were born outside the United States.

The drive for self-improvement these students demonstrate reflects an understanding of what America itself must not take for granted: that language is the foundation on which all human interaction rests. In America, where the principal language of interaction is English, its use and active promotion through Government policy can pave the way for unprecedented opportunity and national prosperity. But just as a common language opens the door to communication, so too the lack of it erects a barrier not easily overcome. If the common bond of a national language is neglected and denigrated long enough, experience teaches that the Nation itself will ultimately suffer. Such an important key to realizing the American dream ought not be kept from those who come to the United States.

As we continue to welcome new Americans to our shores, we must ensure that misguided national policies do not undermine the important role of a common language of national understanding. English as the official language of our Government encourages its use by all Americans, so as to secure brighter opportunities and a better future for us all.

Cited as: Cunningham (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, at the outset let me say I agree with some but not all of the findings of the substitute offered by my friend, the gentleman from New York (Mr. Serrano). I know the gentleman is well-intentioned, but his substitute goes in the opposite direction of the bill itself.

I would again acknowledge that we are a nation of immigrants, no doubt about it. Our history has been shaped by many cultures, religions, languages from around the world. We are proud of our Nation's ability to assimilate people from around the world in one cohesive society. On that, the gentleman and I agree.

But it is our common language that binds us together as a nation, and it is the English language which empowers newcomers to the access of the American dream. First, the substitute states that English is the primary language of the United States. If that is the case, then the opponents should have no problem designating English as the official language in statute.

Second, the substitute implies that the supporters of H.R. 124 believe the Nation was founded on racial, ethnic, and religious homogeneity. Not true. We recognize the diversity in this country, and so state in the findings to H.R. 123.

Third, the substitute, H.R. 123, recognizes the importance of multilingualism in the context of international relations and national security. There are exceptions for each of those situations in the bill already.

Fourth, the substitute talks about a threat to the status of English. That is not the issue. The issue is are we going to continue down the road of a Balkanized, piecemeal language policy, program by program, with 320 languages in this country? Or are we going to establish a national, commonsense, common language policy of the Federal Government which 23 States have already established as the official policy, and over 80 nations, and the President of United States, when he was governor of Arkansas?

Fifth, the substitute mischaracterizes H.R. 123 as an English -only bill. It is not an English -only bill. It is an official language of the Government bill. If it were an English -only bill, it would apply not only to the Government but to private businesses, churches, neighborhoods, and homes. H.R. 123 does not

apply to homes, churches, neighborhoods, communities, public health, safety, national security, international relations, or the teaching of languages.

My friend, the gentleman from California (Mr. Becerra), asked me to recognize that the bill decouples bilingual education. It has nothing to do with the bilingual education issue.

I would say to my friends that the intention of this bill is to empower people, empower our American children, because there is a growing need to educate children in the English language, and the tendency has gone otherwise.

Cited as: Dannemeyer (1990)

Congressional Record -- House
Tuesday, June 12, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 3428

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 74

TITLE: IN FAVOR OF CODIFYING ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

SPEAKER: Mr. DANNEMEYER

TEXT:

[*H3428] (Mr. DANNEMEYER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Madam Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 4424, legislation to designate English the official language of the United States.

Each year, for as long as I have had the privilege of serving in the House, legislation has been introduced to proclaim English our official language, an innocuous affirmation in reality as most of us already perceive this to be the case. While perhaps this is why this effort has languished, I disagree with the veracity of that argument. Seventeen States clearly agree as they have deemed English their official language. Similarly, some 90 countries of the world have their own official languages.

Adopting English would have a tremendous impact on this Nation as it would promote better assimilation of the myriad ethnic groups that reside here. By neglecting to codify English in the past, we have not provided the encouragement for people of different nationalities to become proficient in English so that they could better communicate with each other. As a result, across the United States there are innumerable groups who still are illiterate in English and, for the most part, communicate in their native tongues. This has created language barriers that have yet to be broken. As more and more people are allowed to migrate to America, this communication gap will continue to get worse until we take some corrective action.

Adopting English as our official language is by no means a solution in itself; however, it is a good start in the right direction and for that reason H.R. 4424 should be enacted immediately.

Cited as: Dickinson (1991a)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Tuesday, January 22, 1991
102nd Cong. 1st Sess.
137 Cong Rec E 240

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 14

TITLE: ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

SPEAKER: HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON OF ALABAMA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:

Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E240] MR. DICKINSON. MR. SPEAKER, ALABAMA IS THE MOST RECENT STATE TO APPROVE A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT THAT WOULD MAKE ENGLISH AND OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. THIS MAKES ALABAMA THE 18TH STATE TO PASS SUCH A MEASURE. A NATIONAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT WOULD SECURE THE HARMONY OF OUR COUNTRY, ENCOURAGE ALL CITIZENS TO LEARN ENGLISH, AND ENSURE EQUAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND JUDICIAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL AMERICANS. FOR THAT REASON, I HAVE INTRODUCED HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 81 WHICH WILL AMEND THE U.S. CONSTITUTION TO DESIGNATE ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE.

SUCH LEGISLATION IS NEEDED TO ENSURE THE UNITY OF OUR SOCIETY AND EQUAL ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND JUDICIAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL AMERICANS.

TODAY, MANY AMERICAN CITIZENS DO NOT SPEAK ENGLISH AND ARE NOT ENCOURAGED TO LEARN OUR LANGUAGE. SINCE THE UNITED STATES HAS NO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, WE COULD BE HEADING TOWARD A BILINGUAL SOCIETY.

WHILE LANGUAGE CONFLICTS IN OUR COUNTRY ARE SERIOUS NOW, THEY ARE NOT SEVERE. BUT AS THE CANADIANS HAVE LEARNED, LANGUAGE PROBLEMS CAN OFTEN TAKE AS LONG AS 200 YEARS BEFORE ERUPTING. IN CONTRAST TO CANADA, THE UNITED STATES IS HISTORICALLY ENGLISH SPEAKING. IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY, IMMIGRANTS HAVE RECOGNIZED THE NECESSITY TO LEARN THE COMMON LANGUAGE.

SHOULD THE UNIFYING FORCES IN CANADA PREVAIL, THERE IS STILL A LESSON FOR THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING OUR OWN CURRENT LANGUAGE DEBATE. TO ENSURE THAT WE REMAIN A NATION OF UNITY, ONE IN WHICH STRENGTH IS CONSTRUCTED

FROM RICH CULTURAL DIVERSITY THROUGH A COMMON
LANGUAGE, I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN ME IN
COSPONSORING HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 81, THE ENGLISH
LANGUAGE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION, DESIGNATING
ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Cited as: Dickinson (1991b)

Congressional Record -- House
Thursday, July 18, 1991
102nd Cong. 1st Sess.
137 Cong Rec H 5645

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 110

TITLE: THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT

SPEAKER: MR. DICKINSON; Mr. EMERSON; MR. GALLO; MR. PORTER; MR. SKELTON; MR. STENHOLM

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

MR. DICKINSON. MR. SPEAKER, I RISE THIS EVENING TO EXTEND MY CONGRATULATIONS TO SENATOR S.I. HAYAKAWA UPON HIS 85TH BIRTHDAY. IT IS A MILESTONE IN A LIFE OF MILESTONES, MANY OF WHICH HAVE BEEN IN SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA HAS SAID THE DESIGNATION OF ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE A CROWNING ACHIEVEMENT IN HIS LIFE. I CALL UPON MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN ME IN ENDORSING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION, AND I WANT TO TAKE A FEW MINUTES TO TELL YOU WHY I SUPPORT IT SO WHOLEHEARTEDLY.

THERE IS A TURN OF PHRASE WE HEAR FREQUENTLY IN THIS COUNTRY THAT CONVEYS MUCH OF THE SPIRIT OF THIS LAND. YOU HEAR IT WHEN SOMETHING EXTRAORDINARY HAPPENS -- SOMETHING UNUSUAL OR PECULIAR TO THIS COUNTRY. MOST OFTEN, YOU HEAR IT WHEN SOMEONE HAS BEATEN LONG ODDS AND ACHIEVED AN ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE SUCCESS.

THAT'S WHEN YOU WILL HEAR SOMEONE SAY: "ONLY IN AMERICA COULD THIS HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE."

SENATOR HAYAKAWA MUST HAVE FELT THAT WAY. BECAUSE ONLY IN AMERICA COULD A MAN OF JAPANESE PARENTAGE, BORN IN CANADA -- WHO WAS ONCE DENIED ENTRY INTO THIS COUNTRY BECAUSE OF [*H5647] HIS RACE -- ONLY IN AMERICA COULD THAT MAN ACHIEVE WHAT SENATOR HAYAKAWA HAS ACHIEVED -- AS AUTHOR, LINGUIST, EDUCATOR, AND U.S. SENATOR.

THE COUNTRY'S MOST FAMOUS AUSTRIAN IMPORT, ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER, HAS ALSO KNOWN THAT ONLY IN AMERICA

EXPERIENCE. HE ARRIVED ON OUR SHORES IN 1968 WITH ONLY A DUFFEL BAG AND A PASSION FOR HIS NEW HOMELAND. WHEN HE BECAME A CITIZEN 15 YEARS LATER, ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER WAS WELL ON HIS WAY TO BEING ONE OF THE 10 WEALTHIEST ENTERTAINERS IN AMERICA AND ONE OF OUR BIGGEST FILM STARS. HE IS ALSO A MAJOR IMPETUS FOR OUR NATIONAL INTEREST IN PHYSICAL FITNESS.

THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE ARE TESTIMONY TO THE "ONLY IN AMERICA" QUALITY THAT IS SUCH A UNIQUE PART OF OUR NATIONAL HERITAGE. STEPHEN BAKER IS ANOTHER. HIS NAME MAY NOT BE FAMOUS, BUT I'LL BET YOU'VE "LET YOUR FINGERS DO THE WALKING" THROUGH THE YELLOW PAGES OF THE TELEPHONE BOOK. STEPHEN BAKER CREATED THAT SLOGAN. A HUNGARIAN IMMIGRANT WHO STEPPED OFF A BOAT FROM EUROPE IN 1943 WITH $7 IN HIS POCKET, STEPHEN BAKER HAS MANAGED TO TAP INTO OUR AMERICAN SENSE OF HUMOR. HE IS AUTHOR OF 21 BOOKS, AMONG THEM "HOW TO PLAY GOLF IN THE LOW 120'S" AND "HOW TO LIVE WITH A NEUROTIC CAT."

THE "ONLY IN AMERICA" EXPERIENCE IS PART OF THE AMERICAN DREAM, WHICH, I AM HAPPY TO SAY, IS STILL COMING TRUE AFTER MORE THAN 200 YEARS. IT IS A PROMISE OF OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER THAT OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD SEEK TO EMULATE AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT SEEKS TO PRESERVE. "ONLY IN AMERICA" IS A PROMISE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY THAT OFFERS US THE CHANCE TO CRACK THE CYCLE OF POVERTY, IGNORANCE, AND PREJUDICE AND BREAK THROUGH TO GOALS WE ONLY DREAMED OF.

THE AMERICAN DREAM DEPENDS ON THE UNITY AND POLITICAL STABILITY WE ENJOY UNDER OUR UNIQUE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. COMMON LANGUAGE IS A POWERFUL INGREDIENT IN THIS MIX. ALL OF US WHO SERVE AS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS KNOW THAT OUR GOVERNMENT DEPENDS UPON COMMUNICATION BETWEEN ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES AND THE ELECTORATE. OUR REPUBLIC HAS ALWAYS RELIED UPON COMMON LANGUAGE TO KEEP GOVERNMENT IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE.

EARLIER THIS YEAR, I SAW A LETTER OPPOSING ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES. THE LETTER SAID THAT OUR FOUNDING FATHERS HAD REJECTED THE IDEA OF NAMING ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. THAT MEANS THEY CONSIDERED IT, AND THEN REJECTED IT. I WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE HISTORICAL VALIDATION OF THAT STATEMENT. ACCORDING TO MY RESEARCH, THE SUBJECT NEVER EVEN CAME UP. IT WAS ASSUMED TO BE A FACT.

THE FOUNDING FATHERS ARGUED ABOUT INDIVIDUAL WORDS AND PHRASES DURING THAT HISTORIC SEPTEMBER MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1787. BUT I COULD NOT FIND A SINGLE

INDICATION THAT THEY EVEN CONSIDERED AN OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. WHY SHOULD THEY HAVE? THE GOVERNMENT OF THE 13 COLONIES IN THE NEW WORLD, WHICH WOULD BECOME THE STATES, WAS ENGLISH. IT WAS A NATURAL PRESUMPTION BY THE FOUNDING FATHERS THAT OUR NEW COUNTRY WOULD FUNCTION IN ENGLISH.

DURING THE ARDUOUS, 3-YEAR RATIFICATION PROCESS BY THE STATES, THE AUTHORS OF THE CONSTITUTION DEPENDED ON OUR COMMON LANGUAGE MORE THAN EVER.

THEY EMBARKED ON AN UNPRECEDENTED CAMPAIGN TO BRING THEIR ARGUMENTS TO THE PUBLIC. IN COUNTLESS SPEECHES, NEWSPAPER ARTICLES AND PAMPHLETS, THEY FOCUSED ON THOSE ISSUES WHERE CONSENSUS WAS POSSIBLE.

WORD FOR WORD, LINE FOR LINE, THE CONSTITUTION WAS MADE AVAILABLE FOR THE FULLEST PUBLIC DISCUSSION. NOTHING LIKE THIS HAD EVER HAPPENED BEFORE -- AND PERHAPS NEVER WILL AGAIN. AS CONGRESSMEN BEGAN TO CONSIDER THE NEW PLAN, THOUSANDS OF CLERGYMEN, FARMERS, LAWYERS, SHOPKEEPERS, DOCTORS, BLACKSMITH, AND MERCHANTS WERE READING IT THEMSELVES. THEIR ACTIVE INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING OUR GOVERNMENT BEGAN A PATTERN OF CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT IN THE NEW NATION. AND PARTICIPATORY GOVERNMENT REQUIRES COMMON LANGUAGE.

OPPONENTS OF MY BILL, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT, AND CONGRESSMAN EMERSON'S LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT, TRY TO DOWNPLAY ENGLISH AS OUR COMMON LANGUAGE AND MAKE IT JUST ONE OF MANY LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THIS DIVERSE NATION. THEY WOULD ELIMINATE ENGLISH AS OUR COMMON LANGUAGE BECAUSE IT IS THE LINCHPIN OF OUR COMMON CULTURE. THESE ETHNIC SEPARATISTS KNOW VERY WELL THE ROLE LANGUAGE PLAYS IN MAINTAINING THEIR OWN POLITICAL BASES, YET THEY MAINTAIN THAT ENGLISH PLAYED VERY LITTLE PART IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NATION AND PLAYS VERY LITTLE ROLE IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE TODAY. I SAY THEY ARE WRONG.

IN LOS ANGELES, THERE IS A SCHOOL PARTLY SUPPORTED BY U.S. ENGLISH, THE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION FOUNDED BY SENATOR HAYAKAWA IN 1983 TO PROMOTE OUR COMMON LANGUAGE. THIS SCHOOL IS CALLED THE CAMBRIA ENGLISH INSTITUTE, AND IT IS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD OBTAINING THE AMERICAN DREAM FOR MANY NON-ENGLISH SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS. PEOPLE COME THERE FROM ALL OVER THE WORLD -- SWITZERLAND, GUATEMALA, CAMBODIA, MEXICO, LAOS, GREECE, INDONESIA.

THEY ARRIVE AT CAMBRIA INSTITUTE WITH LITTLE IN COMMON BUT THE DESIRE TO LEARN ENGLISH AND TAKE THEIR PLACE IN THEIR NEW COUNTRY. AS SISTER JULIA HNU WROTE: "ENGLISH TO ME IS VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE IT ENABLES ME TO COMMUNICATE WITH OTHERS IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN OTHERS."

LEARNING ENGLISH IS NOT EASY, BUT THE STUDENTS AT CAMBRIA UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF OUR COUNTRY. SONIA GUANDIQUE SAID LEARNING ENGLISH IS HARD FOR HER. "BUT I'M TRYING TO SPEAK IT PERFECTLY," SHE WROTE. "BECAUSE IF I'M LIVING IN THIS COUNTRY, I HAVE TO FIND A WAY TO MAKE IT BETTER FOR ME."

THE DREAM OF A BETTER LIFE HAS MOTIVATED MILLIONS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE COME TO THE UNITED STATES. THEY HAVE COME, AND STILL COME, FROM EVERY PART OF THE WORLD, SPEAKING EVERY LANGUAGE AND REPRESENTING ALL TYPES OF CULTURES. MANY MAINTAIN THEIR NATIVE CULTURES AND LANGUAGES WHILE ADAPTING TO THEIR NEW COUNTRY. BUT THERE IS A TREND NOW BY SOME IMMIGRANT GROUPS TOWARD RESISTING ASSIMILATION INTO THE LARGER SOCIETY. A CULT OF ETHNICITY IS BENT ON REVERSING THE MOVEMENT OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND DEFINING US NOT AS A UNIFIED NATION OF INDIVIDUALS, BUT AS ADHERENTS TO AN ETHNIC OR CULTURAL GROUP.

A MAJOR CONCERN EXPRESSED BY SENATOR HAYAKAWA WAS PREVENTING THE SEGREGATION OF OUR SOCIETY ALONG LINGUISTIC LINES. THIS WOULD BE CALAMITOUS IN A NATION AS DIVERSE AS OURS. THE COMMON LANGUAGE MOVEMENT SEEKS TO INCLUDE EVERY RACE, ETHNIC, AND CULTURAL GROUP IN THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. SO LONG AS WE PRESERVE ONE SHARED, COMMON LANGUAGE, WE WILL PRESERVE THE FREEDOMS OF ALL AMERICANS.

THE ROLE OF COMMON LANGUAGE IN THE BUILDING AND SUSTAINING OF OUR NATIONHOOD CANNOT BE TRIVIALIZED. WE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE BOUND TOGETHER BY CONCEPTS OF FREEDOM AND INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND BY LOVE OF COUNTRY. BUT THESE ARE CONCEPTS AND FEELINGS THAT CANNOT BE SEEN OR TOUCHED. THEY ARE ARTICULATED THROUGH OUR COMMON LANGUAGE, AS THEY HAVE BEEN FOR MORE THAN TWO CENTURIES OF OUR NATION'S HISTORY, IN OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, CONSTITUTION, AND BILL OF RIGHTS.

COMMON LANGUAGE IS AT THE CORE OF OUR DEMOCRACY. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT SEEKS TO PRESERVE THIS CORE. ALL MEMBERS INVOLVED IN THIS SPECIAL ORDER SHARE THE GOAL OF ESTABLISHING A CLEAR LANGUAGE POLICY FOR OUR COUNTRY. A POLICY THAT SAYS: "ENGLISH IS IMPORTANT IN THE UNITED STATES. TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE ECONOMIC,

POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL LIFE OF THIS NATION, YOU SHOULD KNOW ENGLISH."

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IS A WORLDWIDE CONCEPT. THE CONSTITUTIONS OF MORE THAN HALF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ESTABLISH AN OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. MANY OTHERS HAVE LAWS ON GOVERNMENT LANGUAGE POLICY. THESE PROVISIONS DO NOT MEAN THAT OTHER LANGUAGES ARE FORBIDDEN IN THESE COUNTRIES. THEY SIMPLY CLARIFY PUBLIC POLICY.

VENEZUELA IS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF A NATION WITH OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. IT IS IN OUR HEMISPHERE, AND IT IS A DEMOCRACY. VENEZUELA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IS SPANISH, THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF ITS PEOPLE. A PERSON TRAVELING TO VENEZUELA IS FREE TO SPEAK OR READ ANY LANGUAGE HE CHOOSES WHILE IN THAT COUNTRY, BUT WHEN HE CONDUCTS BUSINESS WITH THE GOVERNMENT, HE WILL USE SPANISH. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS ARE IN SPANISH. ELECTIONS ARE CONDUCTED IN SPANISH.

THE NEWCOMER TO VENEZUELA WHO DOES NOT KNOW SPANISH WILL FIND THE COUNTRY OPERATING IN HIS LANGUAGE UPON DEMAND. BY DECLARING SPANISH AS ITS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, VENEZUELA SAYS IT IS IMPORTANT TO KNOW SPANISH IN THAT COUNTRY. BY MAINTAINING AN OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, VENEZUELA PRESERVES AN IMPORTANT COMPONENT OF THE UNITY AND WELL-BEING OF ITS PEOPLE AND ITS DEMOCRACY.

I FIND IT IRONIC THAT PEOPLE IN HISPANIC COUNTRIES LIKE VENEZUELA VIGOROUSLY PROMOTE THE DOMINANCE OF A SINGLE LANGUAGE -- SPANISH -- IN THEIR COUNTRIES. BUT HISPANICS IN AMERICA PROMOTE BILINGUALISM JUST AS VIGOROUSLY IN THIS COUNTRY. WHILE THEY DOWNPLAY THE ROLE OF ENGLISH AS THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES, THEY KNOW VERY WELL THE IMPORTANCE OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN MAINTAINING THEIR POLITICAL CONSTITUENCIES. AND IN AREAS ALL ACROSS AMERICA, HISPANIC ACTIVISTS ARE PUSHING FOR BILINGUALISM IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND EDUCATION. IT IS TIME TO ASK HISPANIC ACTIVISTS IF THEIR ULTIMATE GOAL IS OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM IN THE UNITED STATES, AND IT IS TIME FOR THEM TO ANSWER.

BILINGUALISM IN INDIVIDUALS IS TO BE ENCOURAGED. AS WE MOVE INTO THE 20TH CENTURY AND INTO A TRULY GLOBAL ECONOMY, WE ARE GOING TO NEED MORE AND MORE BILINGUAL INDIVIDUALS. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT DOES NOT DISCOURAGE THE STUDY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. BUT OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM IS SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENTLY. THE OPERATION OF GOVERNMENT IN MORE THAN ONE LANGUAGE SIMPLY DOES NOT WORK. CANADA IS THE PRIME EXAMPLE OF THAT.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT IS ABOUT WHETHER WE WILL HAVE ONE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AS OPPOSED TO CHAOS. IF THE HISPANICS CAN DEMAND THAT OUR GOVERNMENT OPERATE IN THEIR LANGUAGE, WHY SHOULDN'T ALL THE 148 LANGUAGE [*H5648] GROUPS IN OUR COUNTRY DEMAND IT TOO? AND HOW DO WE PAY FOR ALL THIS? OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COSTS CANADA MORE THAN HALF A BILLION FEDERAL DOLLARS A YEAR. LOCAL COSTS ARE MUCH MORE. IN THIS COUNTRY, IT IS JUST PLAIN COMMON SENSE FOR OUR GOVERNMENT TO FUNCTION IN ENGLISH. THAT DOESN'T MEAN ENGLISH IS BETTER THAN ANY OTHER LANGUAGE; IT JUST MEANS ENGLISH IS THE COMMON LANGUAGE OF OUR COUNTRY.

AS I SAID EARLIER, COMMON LANGUAGE IS THE LINCHPIN OF OUR COMMON CULTURE. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT RECOGNIZES OUR ENGLISH AS THE FOUNDATION OF OUR JUST AND PEACEFUL NATION AND ITS NATURAL OUTCOME, A BETTER EDUCATED AND MORE PROSPEROUS CITIZENRY.

THE GOOD LIFE IS ATTAINABLE BY MASTERING THE INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES OF A SOCIETY. IN THE UNITED STATES, WE CALL THE AMERICAN DREAM. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT SEEKS TO PRESERVE THE FOUNDATION OF THAT DREAM -- SO THOSE SUCCESS STORIES THAT BEGIN WITH "ONLY IN AMERICA" ARE AS MUCH A PART OF OUR FUTURE AS THEY HAVE BEEN OF OUR PAST.

WE IN GOVERNMENT HAVE A PARTICULAR RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT OURS IS A COUNTRY OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. WE MUST MAINTAIN THOSE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND PERSONAL FREEDOMS THAT PROMISE OUR PEOPLE: "IF YOU CAN DREAM IT, YOU CAN DO IT." I BELIEVE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT WILL KEEP THAT PROMISE INTACT, AND I INVITE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN ME IN COSPONSORING THIS HISTORIC LEGISLATION.

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TITLE: LANGUAGE, THE TIE THAT BINDS

SPEAKER: MR. BROOMFIELD; Mr. EMERSON; MR. HUTTO; Mr. MILLER of Ohio; MR. MONTGOMERY; Mr. MYERS of Indiana; MR. NIELSON OF UTAH; MR. SHUMWAY; MR. SLAUGHTER OF VIRGINIA

Mr. EMERSON. I thank the gentleman from Ohio for his valuable contribution.

Mr. Speaker, today, coincidentally, is the 84th birthday of a great man, one of the world's preeminent linguists, former distinguished Senator from California who, through his boundless energy, enthusiasm, and determination has shown to many of us the importance of a single unifying language in a nation.

Mr. Speaker, I want to wish the Honorable S.I. Hayakawa, an American of Japanese extraction, a very happy birthday.

It is my hope that by this time next year the House will have passed the Language in Government Act, and for Senator Hayakawa that would indeed be a very special birthday present because it would represent a step forward toward a fulfillment of his very long and tireless efforts.

Turning once again to the issue, I would like to address some of the criticisms that have been leveled against this bill, the Language in Government Act, and its predecessor, the English language amendments.

A hearing was held on the ELA in March 1988. At that hearing it was suggested that efforts to make English the official language of the U.S. Government were somehow an assault on the many cultural heritages of the people of this great land. It was even suggested by an opponent of the ELA that the State of Colorado would instantly have to change its name as would many other places in the United States. This assertion is more than untrue, it is ludicrous. Declaring English the official language of the United States would have no effect on the names of cities, towns, States, or any other person or place.

I will give you an example that is close to home. The name of my home State of Missouri is derived from the native American language. The State [*H4980] itself represents a very rich, broad heritage representing diverse peoples and influences.

When you come to the Eighth District of Missouri -- and I invite you as I have the distinguished former speaker here this evening, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Myers], I have taken him to visit St. Genevieve and we have towns like Valley Mines and Bonterre, named for the French people who settled in there or New Madrid, or, as we call it, New Madrid, named after the capital of Spain, evoking memories of the Spanish explorers.

Travel southwest a bit and stop at Wappappello Lake, named in the American Indian tongue for recreation. Come back east and you can stop at New Hamburg or Altenburg or Frohna or Whittenburg or Altenburg, towns that were all founded by German settlers. Stick around for a while and you can have some of the best bratwurst west of the Mississippi. Or spend a wonderful day at a folk fair, Fete du Jour.

The point of this brief international tour through Missouri's Eighth District is not so much to brag about the bratwurst, although it is good, but to show the many cultures that settled here, very alive and very well, thriving among descendants of the immigrants.

Southeast Missourians are proud of our heritage, but we are all Americans first and foremost. Thanks to the common language that we all share, we can communicate not only with each other in our French and German communities but also with folks in California on one coast and Maine on the other.

We will not change the names of our cities or towns, but because we all speak the same language, we are able to participate in the affairs of our Nation as a single people, as Americans.

Another criticism which has been aimed at this bill is that folks who do not speak English, newly arrived immigrants, perhaps, will not be able to receive the essential information because they do not speak English. Let me assure you that this is not the intent of the bill and the legislation makes specific reference to this problem.

Any action that protects the public health or safety is not subject to the official language declaration, nor is any action which protects the rights of victims of crimes or criminal defendants nor any action, document, or policy that is purely informational or educational in nature.

No individual rights would be infringed by this bill. The intent is to bring people, all people together, and not to drive people further apart.

A third criticism directed at the bill centers on the teaching of foreign languages. Some folk allege that if English becomes the official language of the United States our children will not be able to learn foreign languages. This is a ridiculous and unfounded assertion. Supporters of official English, not only condone, but actually encourage the teaching of foreign languages. The study of foreign language can open doors to new and exciting worlds for young students, but if these same students are not proficient in English, the doors of our own country may be closed to them opportunity wise. We should never lose sight of that fact.

English is the language of opportunity in America. Knowledge of English is the key to breaking the chains of the ghetto. It is the first step on the way to achieveng the famed American dream. Many of our immigrants came to America in search of that dream, in search of a better life for them, and for their children. Their children will not have the chance at that better life if they do not learn to speak English.

We cannot solve all the problems of the ghetto. We have waged a war on poverty, but poverty still exists. We are fighting drugs and crime, and we have made advances, but drugs and crime still ravage our neighborhoods. However, we can solve at least one problem. We can remove the language barrier. There is absolutely no reason in the world that a child in America cannot learn to speak English. In my view, the Government should have an additional obligation to take on this challenge. H.R. 4424 imposes just such an obligation. This is something that we can do, and it is something that we should do.

The critics of this bill have based their comments and criticisms on false assumptions. This bill will not halt the teaching of foreign languages. It will not cut off folks from their ethnic heritage. It will not force anyone to give up their culture or native language. What this bill will do is reaffirm that there is one language in which all of our official business is conducted. As Americans, we must not remain strangers to each other, but we must use our common language to develop a fundamental and open means of communication, to break down artificial language barriers, to explore our many cultures and traditions, and to define our national identity. Let Members support H.R. 4424 and achieve these goals.

MR. SPEAKER, COINCIDENTALLY, TODAY IS THE 84TH BIRTHDAY OF A VERY GREAT MAN, ONE OF THE WORLDS PREEMINENT LINGUISTS, A FORMER DISTINGUISHED SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA, WHO THROUGH HIS BOUNDLESS ENERGY, ENTHUSIASM, AND DETERMINATION HAS SHOWN TO MANY OF US THE IMPORTANCE OF A SINGLE UNIFYING LANGUAGE IN A NATION. I WOULD LIKE TO WISH THE HONORABLE S.I. HAYAKAWA -- AN AMERICAN OF JAPANESE EXTRACTION -- A VERY HAPPY BIRTHDAY. IT IS MY HOPE THAT BY THIS TIME NEXT YEAR, THE HOUSE WILL HAVE PASSED THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT. FOR SENATOR HAYAKAWA, THAT WOULD BE A VERY SPECIAL BIRTHDAY PRESENT, FOR IT WOULD REPRESENT A STEP TOWARD FULFILLMENT OF HIS LONG AND TIRELESS EFFORTS.

TURNING TO THE ISSUE ITSELF, I'D LIKE TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE CRITICISMS THAT HAVE BEEN LEVELED AT THIS BILL -- THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT -- AND ITS PREDECESSOR, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT [ELA].

A HEARING WAS HELD ON THE ELA IN MARCH 1988. AT THAT HEARING, IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT EFFORTS TO MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT WERE SOMEHOW AN ASSAULT ON THE MANY CULTURAL HERITAGES OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY. IT WAS EVEN SUGGESTED BY AN OPPONENT OF THE ELA THAT THE "STATE OF COLORADO WOULD INSTANTLY HAVE TO CHANGE ITS NAME, AS WOULD MANY OTHER

PLACES IN THE UNITED STATES." THIS ASSERTION IS MORE THAN UNTRUE; IT'S LUDICROUS. DECLARING ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE NO EFFECT ON THE NAMES OF CITIES, TOWNS, STATES, OR ANY OTHER PERSON OR PLACE.

I WILL GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE THAT IS CLOSE TO HOME. THE NAME OF MY OWN STATE OF MISSOURI IS DERIVED FROM NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE. THE STATE ITSELF REPRESENTS A RICH, BROAD HERITAGE, REPRESENTING MANY DIVERSE PEOPLES AND INFLUENCES. WHEN YOU COME TO THE EIGHTH DISTRICT OF MISSOURI, I INVITE YOU TO VISIT SAINTE GENEVIEVE, VALLE MINES AND BONNE TERRE, NAMED BY THE FRENCH PEOPLE WHO SETTLED THERE, OR NEW MADRID, EVOKING MEMORIES OF THE SPANISH EXPLORERS. TRAVEL SOUTHWEST A BIT AND STOP AT WAPPAPELLO LAKE, NAMED IN THE AMERICAN INDIAN TONGUE, FOR RECREATION. COME BACK EAST, AND YOU CAN STOP AT NEW HAMBURG, FROHNA, WITTENBURG AND ALTENBURG -- TOWNS THAT WERE ALL FOUNDED BY GERMAN SETTLERS. STICK AROUND FOR A WHILE, AND YOU CAN HAVE SOME OF THE BEST BRATWURST WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI. OR SPEND A WONDERFUL DAY AT A FOLK-FAIR, THE TOUR DE FETE.

THE POINT OF THIS BRIEF INTERNATIONAL TOUR THROUGH MISSOURI'S EIGHTH DISTRICT IS NOT TO BRAG ABOUT THE BRATWURST -- ALTHOUGH IT IS GOOD -- BUT TO SHOW THAT THE MANY CULTURES THAT SETTLED HERE ARE ALIVE AND WELL, THRIVING AMONG DESCENDANTS OF THE IMMIGRANTS. SOUTHEAST MISSOURIANS ARE PROUD OF OUR HERITAGES, BUT WE ARE ALL AMERICANS FIRST AND FOREMOST. AND THANKS TO THE COMMON LANGUAGE THAT WE ALL SHARE, WE CAN COMMUNICATE NOT ONLY WITH EACH OTHER IN OUR FRENCH AND GERMAN COMMUNITIES, BUT ALSO WITH FOLKS IN CALIFORNIA ON ONE COAST AND MAINE ON THE OTHER. WE WON'T CHANGE THE NAME OF OUR CITIES AND TOWNS, BUT BECAUSE WE ALL SPEAK THE SAME LANGUAGE, WE ARE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE AFFAIRS OF OUR NATION AS A SINGLE PEOPLE -- AMERICANS.

ANOTHER CRITICISM WHICH HAS BEEN AIMED AT THIS BILL IS THAT FOLKS WHO DON'T SPEAK ENGLISH -- NEWLY ARRIVED IMMIGRANTS, PERHAPS -- WON'T BE ABLE TO RECEIVE ESSENTIAL INFORMATION BECAUSE THEY DON'T SPEAK ENGLISH. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT THIS IS NOT THE INTENT OF THE BILL, AND THE LEGISLATION MAKES SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THIS PROBLEM. ANY ACTION THAT PROTECTS THE PUBLIC HEALTH OR SAFETY IS NOT SUBJECT TO THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE DECLARATION -- NOR IS ANY ACTION WHICH PROTECTS THE RIGHTS OF VICTIMS OF CRIMES OR CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS; NOR ANY ACTION, DOCUMENT, OR POLICY THAT IS PURELY INFORMATIONAL OR EDUCATIONAL IN NATURE. NO INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS WILL BE INFRINGED BY THIS BILL. THE

INTENT IS TO BRING US -- ALL OF US -- TOGETHER, NOT TO DRIVE US FURTHER APART.

A THIRD CRITICISM DIRECTED AT THE BILL CENTERS ON THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. SOME FOLKS ALLEGE THAT IF ENGLISH BECOMES THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES, OUR CHILDREN WILL NOT BE ABLE TO LEARN FOREIGN LANGUAGES. THIS IS AN UNFOUNDED ASSERTION. SUPPORTERS OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH NOT ONLY CONDONE, BUT ACTIVELY [*H4981] ENCOURAGE THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. THE STUDY OF A FOREIGN LANGUAGE CAN OPEN DOORS TO NEW AND EXCITING WORLDS FOR YOUNG STUDENTS. BUT IF THESE SAME STUDENTS ARE NOT PROFICIENT IN ENGLISH, THE DOORS OF OUR OWN COUNTRY WILL BE CLOSED TO THEM.

ENGLISH IS THE LANGUAGE OF OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA. KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH IS A KEY TO BREAKING THE CHAINS OF THE GHETTO. IT'S THE FIRST STEP ON THE WAY TO ACHIEVING THE FAMED AMERICAN DREAM. MANY OF OUR IMMIGRANTS CAME TO AMERICA IN SEARCH OF THAT DREAM -- IN SEARCH OF A BETTER LIFE FOR THEM AND FOR THEIR CHILDREN. THEIR CHILDREN WILL NOT HAVE A CHANCE AT THAT BETTER LIFE IF THEY DO NOT LEARN TO SPEAK ENGLISH.

WE CAN'T SOLVE ALL THE PROBLEMS OF THE GHETTO. WE'VE WAGED A WAR ON POVERTY, BUT POVERTY STILL EXISTS. WE'RE FIGHTING DRUGS AND CRIME, AND WE'VE MADE ADVANCES, BUT DRUGS AND CRIME STILL RAVAGE OUR NEIGHBORHOODS. BUT WE CAN SOLVE AT LEAST ONE PROBLEM -- WE CAN REMOVE THE LANGUAGE BARRIER. THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO REASON IN THE WORLD THAT A CHILD IN AMERICA CANNOT LEARN TO SPEAK ENGLISH. IN MY VIEW, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE AN AFFIRMATIVE OBLIGATION TO TAKE ON THIS CHALLENGE. H.R. 4424 IMPOSES JUST SUCH AN OBLIGATION. THIS IS SOMETHING WE CAN DO. AND WE SHOULD DO IT.

THE CRITICS OF THIS BILL HAVE BASED THEIR COMMENTS AND CRITICISMS ON FALSE ASSUMPTIONS. THIS BILL WON'T HALT THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. IT WILL NOT CUT OFF FOLKS FROM THEIR ETHNIC HERITAGE. IT WILL NOT FORCE ANYONE TO GIVE UP THEIR CULTURE OR NATIVE LANGUAGE. WHAT THIS BILL WILL DO IS REAFFIRM THAT THERE IS ONE LANGUAGE IN WHICH ALL OF OUR OFFICIAL BUSINESS IS CONDUCTED. AS AMERICANS, WE MUST NOT REMAIN STRANGERS TO EACH OTHER, BUT MUST USE OUR COMMON LANGUAGE TO DEVELOP A FUNDAMENTAL AND OPEN MEANS OF COMMUNICATION, TO BREAK DOWN ARTIFICIAL LANGUAGE BARRIERS, TO EXPLORE OUR MANY CULTURES AND TRADITIONS, AND TO DEFINE OUR NATIONAL IDENTITY. SUPPORT H.R. 4424, AND LET'S ACHIEVE THESE GOALS.

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TITLE: LANGUAGE, THE TIE THAT BINDS

SPEAKER: MR. BROOMFIELD; Mr. EMERSON; MR. HUTTO; Mr. MILLER of Ohio; MR. MONTGOMERY; Mr. MYERS of Indiana; MR. NIELSON OF UTAH; MR. SHUMWAY; MR. SLAUGHTER OF VIRGINIA

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*H4977] The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Emerson] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, last month, an important deadline passed for our friends in Canada. At that time, the constitutional amendments granting French-speaking Quebec recognition as a distinct society failed to win unanimous approval of the English-speaking provinces. Thus, with the strength of the separatist movement in Quebec, the future of a united Canada is in doubt.

We are witnessing in Canada the power of a single province, set apart by language and culture, that appears ready to place its own diversity above the unity of the whole country. Quebeckers apparently hold affection for Canada, but they give prime importance to their language and their distinct society.

We in the United States have a lesson to learn from the Canadian experience. It is the lesson of our Nation's motto: E Pluribus Unum -- Out of many, one.

With 148 of the world's 208 language groups represented within our borders, how is it that we in our country remain united? What has made a nation out of this hodgepodge of nationalities, races and colors represented by the immigrants who people our land? Why haven't we fragmented into enclaves of Italians, Greeks, Mexicans, Germans and Poles?

The single most important reason is our common language, English.

We as Americans are united, of course, by love of freedom, feelings of patriotism, respect for individual rights and love of country. These beliefs cannot be seen or felt, but they can be articulated through a common language.

The English language has made possible the communication among all the various elements in our country. It is with our common language that we have dissolved mistrust and fear and drawn up understandings and agreements that make our society possible.

In the Congress, we come from all backgrounds, all nationalities. We are truly a melting pot. We debate, we argue, we huddle, we compromise -- using our skills in English to communicate our beliefs on issues and to translate those beliefs into legislation.

We are demonstrating on a national level that in the United States nationhood is based not on race or ethnic or tribal identity, but on a set of beliefs about liberty, equality and individual rights.

It is those beliefs -- and the freedom to express them -- that keep us united. But it is important to understand that unity does not mean uniformity. To be unified does not mean we all have to be exactly alike. It does not mean we all have to have brown eyes or listen to Bach or like french fries. It means we share common dreams and goals and a dedication to common ideals. And it means we must communicate, really communicate. Thus it is that our common language, English, is the single most unifying force in the history of our country.

Within this framework of unity, fostered by our common language, there is room for a great wealth of diversity. Our country is living testimony to the fact that unity, genuine and solid, allows us -- even encourages us -- to be diverse. Thus it is that we celebrate our diversity with community festivals, then join together as one nation to celebrate the Fourth of July and Memorial Day.

In Canada, the language issue divides the country into two camps -- English and French. The Canadian Government in 1969 passed a law designating both French and English as official languages. Five years later, Quebec -- attempting to preserve its distinct language and culture -- declared French its sole official language, effectively prohibiting the use of English in every sphere of public and commercial life. The decision aroused profound resentment among English -speakers in the nine other provinces where the Federal Government imposed bilingualism and spent millions of dollars trying to give the two languages equal status.

The United States cannot ignore language strife in Canada, nor can it dismiss as unimportant the calls for official bilingualism in our country. The Hispanic Issues Conference in Racine, WI, this spring suggested a full bilingual approach in public affairs: Spanish-speaking pollworkers at elections, translators at city government meetings, Spanish language news updates in local newspapers, important information printed in both English and Spanish.

In light of the Quebec experience, we must ask the Hispanic activists who claim to speak for Hispanic Americans if their ultimate goal in the United States is official bilingualism. If it is, we must examine ways to finance government services for the 147 other language groups represented in our country.

The inescapable conclusion emerging from the Canadian crisis is that official bilingualism does not work. The language division over English and French has undermined the unity of Canada. That is the primary lesson for the United States as we respond to calls for bilingualism in our country.

As sponsor of the Language of Government Act, H.R. 4424, I urge my colleagues in the House to join me in affirming the wisdom of designating a single, official language of government.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I am delighted to yield to my good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Myers].

Cited as: Emerson (1990c)

Congressional Record -- House
Tuesday, June 12, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 3475

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 74

TITLE: H.R. 4424 -- LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT

SPEAKER: Mr. EMERSON

TEXT:

[*H3475] The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Emerson] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, last Tuesday, an overwhelming majority of Alabama voters -- 89 percent -- declared that English should be that State's official language. Alabama thus become the 18th State to enact such a measure, either by constitutional amendment or by statute.

The move is a wise one indeed. Language is a powerful tool, not to be underestimated. Reason tells us, and history confirms, that those who speak the same language are invariably united in a common identity. Those who cannot communicate with one another are destined to inevitable misunderstandings and misconceptions.

What we have here in America -- our famed melting pot -- is an unusual phenomenon. Throughout the history of the world, wars have been fought, lives have been lost, and century-old conflicts have taken place over differences in culture, religion and heritage. Yet we, a nation of immigrants, have been able to live with one another in peace. Why? Largely, it is because we share a common goal, a common identity. Our common language has provided a kind of national glue, a common thread, by which people of diverse cultures and backgrounds can live and work side by side.

Back in 1915, Theordore Roosevelt warned us that "the one absolutely certain way of bringing this Nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities." With Tuesday's vote, the people of Alabama have affirmed their intention to focus on our strengths, our common bond and keep our Nation together. It's time for Congress to take that same step. Support H.R. 4424, the Language of Government Act, to maintain that bond that makes each and every one of us, no matter what our skin color, heritage, or national origin may be, uniquely American.

Cited as: Emerson (1990d)

Congressional Record -- House
Tuesday, February 6, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 226

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 9

TITLE: ENGLISH AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

SPEAKER: Mr. EMERSON

TEXT:

[*H226] (Mr. EMERSON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, this Nation has achieved its greatness through the contributions of the many diverse peoples who have come to settle here. Yet this is an unusual phenomenon which stands out against the background of world history. It is not often that people of so many varying cultures and backgrounds can live together in peace -- human nature often leads us to resist and fear those who are different from us.

What, then, has enabled America to become the country that it is, the "great melting pot" of the world? It is, in large measure, our common bond of the English language. We come from widely varying cultures. We eat a vast variety of foods. We have different cultural norms and different lifestyles. Yet we share a common tongue. We can talk to each other. We can communicate. We can discuss our differences, and each culture can learn to respect the others. If we had no common tongue, we would be little more than isolated islands of communities, lacking a common vision.

I will soon be introducing legislation to promote and encourage the use of English as the official language of the United States. I am aware that some folks will look at this legislation with a jaundiced eye, however. This legislation will not ask minority groups to give up their various cultures. It will not stifle or prohibit languages other than English. It simply states that English should be the one language that everybody knows and the one language in which all of our official business is conducted.

I am aware that some critics of this legislation may paint it as a subtle form of discrimination. Yet I propose to you that as a second language becomes more prominent in the United States, we will see more, not less, racial and ethnic discrimination. We will see more, not less, strife among the races. We will see more hatred of, and less respect for, our differences.

We need to preserve the common bond of a unifying language in this country. I urge you to join me in supporting efforts to make English the official language of the United States.

52

Cited as: Emerson (1991a)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Wednesday, January 23, 1991
102nd Cong. 1st Sess.
137 Cong Rec E 264

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 15

TITLE: A CLOSE LOOK AT BILINGUAL EDUCATION

SPEAKER: HON. BILL EMERSON OF MISSOURI IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E264] MR. EMERSON. MR. SPEAKER, BILINGUAL EDUCATION IS, IN THEORY, A GOOD THING. IT CAN PROVE TO BE A USEFUL TOOL TO HELP EVERY STUDENT IN AMERICA LEARN ENGLISH AND THUS BECOME EQUIPPED TO FULLY PARTAKE IN AMERICAN CULTURE, COMMERCE, AND POLITICS -- ALL OF WHICH ARE CONDUCTED PRIMARILY IN ENGLISH.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION HAS, UNFORTUNATELY, FAILED TO LIVE UP TO ITS POTENTIAL. IT HAS FAILED OUR SOCIETY AT LARGE, AND IT HAS FAILED THOSE STUDENTS WHO RELIED ON THEIR PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AMERICA TO TEACH THEM TO BECOME PART OF A LARGER SOCIETY. I URGE MY COLLEAGUES IN THE CONGRESS TO TAKE A CLOSE LOOK AT THE SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE COMING MONTHS. THE FOLLOWING EXCERPT FROM PROFESSIONAL EDUCATOR AND RECENT GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATE JOHN SILBER'S BOOK, "STRAIGHT SHOOTING," OFFERS A UNIQUE PERSPECTIVE ON THE ISSUE.

I WOULD CALL ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT MR. SILBER STRONGLY SUPPORTS MORE AND BETTER TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES, AS DO I AND MANY OTHER ADVOCATES OF OFFICIAL ENGLISH. AS HE STATES:

[D]EVELOPING AMERICA AS A MULTILINGUAL COUNTRY IN NO WAY REQUIRES DEPRIVING IT OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE; IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, THE POSSESSION OF A NATIONAL LANGUAGE GOES HAND IN HAND WITH A HIGH DEGREE OF MULTILINGUALISM.

THERE IS NO REASON WHY AMERICA SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE THE SAME BOAST.

STRAIGHT SHOOTING -- WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA AND HOW TO FIX IT

(BY JOHN SILBER)

BILINGUAL EDUCATION ALSO POSES PROBLEMS. AT STAKE ARE THE FUTURES OF HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF CHILDREN WHOSE NATIVE LANGUAGE IS NOT ENGLISH. OUR NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE IS LIKEWISE AT STAKE.

THE MOTIVE BEHIND BILINGUAL EDUCATION IS PRAISEWORTHY. WE ARE PROPERLY CONCERNED TO EDUCATE ALL CHILDREN NO MATTER WHAT THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE. BUT OUR APPROACH HAS BEEN SERIOUSLY CONFUSED, AND ONE OF THE CASUALTIES OF THIS CONFUSION IS THE FAILURE TO BRING ALL CHILDREN TO A LEVEL OF COMPETENCE IN ENGLISH.

SCHOOL SYSTEMS SPEND HUGE AMOUNTS OF MONEY -- SOME OF IT FROM THEIR OWN BUDGETS, MUCH OF IT FROM THE FEDERAL BUDGET -- ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION. A GREAT DEAL OF THIS MONEY IS WASTED IN SCATTERED PROGRAMS THAT HAVE NO COMMON GOAL AND PRODUCE UNSATISFACTORY RESULTS.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION CAN HAVE ONLY ONE VALID GOAL: THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GENUINE COMPETENCY IN READING, WRITING, HEARING, AND SPEAKING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. THUS IT IS NOT, STRICTLY SPEAKING, BILINGUAL EDUCATION. IT IS THE EDUCATION OF NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR COUNTRY.

Parents understand this. Many Chinese and Vietnamese families in particular want no part of today's misdirected bilingual education programs. They put their children into English-speaking classrooms so that they can become fluent in English as quickly as possible and eventually graduate at the top of their class from West Point, or achieve goals equally as distinguished. This is not because they are anxious to leave their cultural heritage behind, or because they are ashamed of their background. They remain very aware of their cultural heritage, more so than many other ethnic groups, but they recognize that their ability to compete and thrive in America will be greatly enhanced by learning English.

Of course, this awareness is not confined to the Chinese and Vietnamese. Concerned parents from all ethnic groups realize that it is essential for their children to grow up speaking English.

The most succinct and telling statement I have heard on the subject came from Ernesto Ortiz, a foreman on a south Texas ranch, who said: "My children learn Spanish in school so they can grow up to be busboys and waiters. I teach them English at home so they can grow up to be doctors and lawyers.

Wave on wave of immigrant groups followed the example provided by the English-speaking Irish, who learned how to make the American system work for

them. Germans, Italians, Jews, and other groups, emulating the success of the Irish, realized that they had to learn the language and enter the political stream. The result was the melting pot.

In recent years it has, unfortunately, become fashionable to question the validity of the melting pot and to encourage groups of what Theodore Roosevelt called "hyphenated Americans," who perpetuate their ethnic particularism at the expense of their integration into American society.

In arguing that all citizens should be Americans, I would not deny ethnic groups their right to preserve their language and heritage. To the contrary, ethnic groups should be encouraged to maintain their languages and customs. We should not deny any ethnic group its identity or its children the opportunity to speak their native language. The perpetuation of linguistic identity by ethnic groups that preserve their native language in newspapers, church services, festivals, and businesses adds strength and vitality to the United States and preserves the pluralism out of which our national unity is forged.

But we must not ignore the need for a common language on which our national unity depends. The citizens of the Roman Empire spoke many diverse tongues, but Latin was the official language, the language [*E265] of law, commerce, and government. A German or Briton who came to Rome asserted his citizenship by being able to say civis romanus sum (I am a Roman citizen). Roman society never considered it necessary or desirable to provide him with German or Celtic legal, educational, or political institutions. And we should not forget that when Greek became the official language of its eastern provinces, the Roman Empire split in two.

Except for Switzerland, no country has ever prospered with more than one official language. And even Switzerland must promulgate its laws in Latin, so that there is a single authoritative text should linguistic push come to linguistic shove. The country is known in its various regions as Suisse, Schweiz, Svizzera, and Svizra, but officially it is named in Latin: Confoederatio Helvetica.

The citizens of India speak diverse tongues, but Hindi and English are, like Latin, official languages. And it is worth noting that Hindi's position in this regard is more theoretical than practical. Pandit Nehru, on whom the successful negotiation of Britain's withdrawal depended, did not learn Hindi until he entered politics; he had grown up speaking only English. India is unified by the language of the conqueror. The Tamils of southeast India, for example, find English acceptable as an official language, while objecting to Hindi. There is in fact, no realistic foundation for the preservation of India's unity apart from reliance on the English language. The very independence of India depended on English, for the national groups that drove the English from power had no common language but English. And they used English in planning and achieving their liberation. For so vast and diverse a nation, India enjoys a considerable measure of cohesion, but the Indian Empire of Queen Victoria has already split into three nations, and had it entirely lacked a common language, it would almost certainly have fragmented further.

With these examples in mind, no one can contemplate with equanimity the loss of a national language in a democracy spread over half a continent.

The bilingual movement in America, as presently misdirected, would, if successful, establish the United States as a multilingual nation deprived of a national language -- a Babel brought up to date. Until fairly recently, the United States was unique in the world as a very large nation covering a great land mass that maintained a single national language with dialects that are easily mutually intelligible. Our comparative peace and our single language are almost certainly related; unlike Canada, Belgium, and other nations with explosive linguistic problems the United States has been able to sustain, along with freedom a diverse culture within the context of one official language.

Bilingual ballots strike at this notion of a national language by assuming that it is possible to be a citizen without being able to read the national language as long as one is literate in the language of one's ethnic group. This argument cannot be founded on any theory of right, for if that were the case, each citizen would have the right to have a ballot printed in whatever language he was reared, no matter how obscure it might be, no matter how many ballots had to be printed. If we make no pretense of providing ballots in the more than 100 separate languages of American Indians, how then do persons who come to this country after English was well-established as our national language acquire this right?

In practice, we exempt only one large group of citizens -- Hispanic Americans -- from a requirement that has hitherto been expected of all citizens: the acquisition of some competence in the national language. This is to reduce the standards of performance expected of a citizen to a derisory level. It is also to patronize Hispanic culture by implying that it, unlike Polish culture, for example, cannot survive in a predominantly English-speaking country.

Special pleading for Spanish also has racist overtones, suggesting that Spanish-speaking American citizens cannot be expected to attain the same level of competence acquired by immigrants from Germany, Italy, Poland, Greece, Russia, and many other countries, and until recently by all Spanish-speaking citizens as well.

A similar question arises with regard to the various dialects of English. Recall, for instance, the movement in the 1960s maintaining that students who grow up speaking black English or other dialectal variants of English should not be required to learn standard English, and that to require them to do so was racist.

Nothing could be further from racism than requiring students from the ghetto to learn standard English. This is to treat them as the equals of the great majority of students.

My own experience is perhaps instructive. Like all native Texans, I had to learn English as a foreign language when I started school. Later, as an instructor at Yale, I insisted on standard English from all my students. I did not exempt recent immigrants to Connecticut from Lithuania, Atlanta, or Pearsall, Texas. They neither spoke nor wrote standard English at the beginning of their freshmen year, but all them ignernt boys done right good by the time they wuz thew. Later,

as a professor in Texas, it never occurred to me to exempt any student, white, black, or Hispanic, from the requirement of standard English.

The teacher who condones the substitution of ghetto English for standard educated English, expecting less of black students than of whites, is a racist. Such condescension can have a good results in neither the short nor the long term. It is especially disturbing to hear a minority student arguing for his exemption from standard English, since by doing so he greatly weakens his ability to oppose racism. He cannot plausibly use his race or ethnicity as a basis for claiming supposed privileges and exemptions from standards without provoking others to use the same basis for denying him genuine rights.

Unfortunately, the United States Congress is deeply confused about the goal of bilingual education; and since Congress provides much of the funding for bilingual programs, the confusion is promulgated and replicated throughout the land. The current law governing bilingual education, as well as Senate and House bills under consideration, all contain the following policy clause: "A primary means by which a child learns is through the use of such child's native language and cultural heritage." This seemingly benevolent statement contains a receipt for disaster, and one of its main ingredients is ignorance of how language acquisition really works. Once we accept that the primary means by which a child in the United States learns is through his native language rather than English, and that a school should try to teach him through his native language rather than English, and that it is the school's responsibility to preserve the child's native cultural heritage in his native language, we have taken on a task that is both practically and financially impossible.

In my home state of Massachusetts there is a perfect test care that demonstates this impossibility. In Massachusetts, every public school is governed by the Transitional Bilingual Education Law. And because the task set by the law is impossible, and so must be reduced in some way, the Commonwealth has restored to magic. But rather than use a wand, or investigate the astrologicla signs of non-English-speaking residents, the Commonwealth uses the much more respected and up-to-date magic of numerology. Massachusetts bilingual numerology is based on the magic number twenty. If fewer than tweney students speak the same foreign language and have limited ability in English, they have no rights; but when twenty such students come forward the school board must provide a program of transitional bilingual education. This means -- and the schools have no choice -- that all required courses must initially be taughte in the students native language, rather than putting all students into one basic program where they would learn English and go on from there to learn other subjects as quickly as possible.

This Massachusetts law is misnamed. It is called the Transitional Bilingual Education Law, but for a great many children who begin with classes taught in their native language, there is no transition. The Commonwealth ought to indicate more accurately the effect on these children and call the law the Bilingual Dropout Encouragement Law.

To the extent that a child can function by working in his native language, he will, of course, do so; to the extent that he can get along without learning

English, he will. And this is why, jeopardizing their futures, many children stay in bilingual programs year after year -- up to five or six years -- and then, finding that they are unable to cope in English when their bilingual programs come to an end, drop out of school.

In dealing with bilingual education, Congress and state legislatures have also failed to realize that our resources are not infinite. Programs focused on teaching children in their native language, and teaching them about their native cultural heritage, face the problem of the number of languages involved. Chinese provides one example: Bilingual programs in Mandarin Chinese are based on the false assumption that all Chinese-speaking children speak Mandarin. In fact, many speak Cantonese and other quite dissimilar dialects. The native language of a Boston student may be any one of thirty, but the Boston school system offers only twenty different bilingual programs. It does not even attempt to meet the impossible standards put forth by the Commonwealth.

Clearly many school systems are going about the problem backwards, trying to feed every branch of the tree when they should be watering the roots. The resources are not available, even if it were deemed desirable to provide instruction in all the necessary languages and cultures. But school systems do have the resources to teach English to children from any linguistic background. Furthermore, as the Irish, Jews, Poles, and so many other ethnic groups in this country have amply demonstrated, we may properly and confidently leave to parents and ethnic groups the responsibility of preserving and transmitting their cultural heritage. If there is not sufficient identity to sustain the culture, the public schools are incapable of generating it.

But this in no way excuses teachers and students who fail to show respect for children from homes in which a foreign language is spoken. And we must no overlook the educational advantage that will accrue to English-speaking pupils once their foreign-language-speaking classmates have achieved proficiency in English. Those bilingual children will demonstrate to their classmates that mastery of two languages is [*E266] well within the reach of the average child. Perhaps this will encourage American-born children and their parents to support vigorous programs of foreign lanague instruction in the primary grades, when langauges can most easily be learned.

The mastery of English should primarily be the responsibility of programs in the preschool and primary grades. From ages three to six, children can achieve mastery of English appropriate to their age levels within a few months. Programs that focus on the first three grades would achieve the maximum results at minimum cost. Such programs would be operating wholesale, whereas now the process is retailed, with each separate group having its own set of programs at a wide variety of levels. Nor should there be any doubt about what sort of programs we should have. The goal most be to make children proficient in English -- the national language of the country in which they live -- in the shortest possible time.

Without a common language, there is at best a very limited common political, social, and cultural life; and there are severe economic limitations as well. How can anyone be successful in a job interview without knowledge of the language in

which it is conducted? Participation in the political life of the nation is equally dependent upon a common language. Without a knowledge of English, how will those who speak only Spanish or Vietnamese choose a president? How will they be able to assess the merits of one candidate or another when all they know of them is derived from unintelligible talking faces on television? And how will individuals participate in our national life if they lack at least some acquaintance with the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and The Federalist?

Perhaps we need to ask ourselves whether we believe that there is such a thing as a United States culture, which is a prominent part of Western culture, and which should be preserved and augmented for future generations. Do we believe future generations should read the formative documents of our political culture? If the answer is yes, we should remember that all of these documents were written in English.

Our nation will be severely crippled if we do not preserve a single national language. Many of the things we hope non-English-speaking members of our society will be able to share -- good-education, a well-paying job, democratic government -- will be denied them if we fail in the task of teaching children proficiency in their nation's language.

Bilingual education is distinct from another important issue, monoglottal Americans. If the United States is to compete effectively in the world economy, and carry on effective diplomatic relations, we need to introduce instruction in the major foreign languages that few Americans speak -- in particular, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, Portuguese. This instruction should begin in the elementary grades. An effective program of bilingual education for Hispanics would ensure a large pool of Americans fluent in English and Spanish, but that would be only a start at solving the problem of what Senator Paul Simon has called "the tonguetied American." But developing America as a multilingual country in no way requires depriving it of a national language; in European countries, the possession of a national language goes hand in hand with a high degree of multilingualism.

Cited as: Emerson (1991b)
Congressional Record -- House
Tuesday, November 26, 1991
102nd Cong. 1st Sess.
137 Cong Rec H 11873

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 177 -- Part 4

TITLE: ENGLISH: LET'S MAKE IT OFFICIAL

SPEAKER: MR. EMERSON

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*H11873] The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Emerson] is recognized for 5 minutes.

MR. EMERSON. MR. SPEAKER, I RECENTLY HAD THE GOOD FORTUNE TO MEET WITH DR. ROBERT M. SPIRO, A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF THE AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL. IN THE COURSE OF OUR VISIT, DR. SPIRO EXPRESSED HIS GRAVE CONCERN ABOUT THE INCREASING DIVISION OF OUR SOCIETY AMONG RACIAL AND ETHNIC LINES. HE AND I SHARE THE VIEW THAT AMERICA'S STRENGTH LIES IN OUR UNITY, AND THAT THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IS THE COMMON THREAD THAT TIES OUR MANY RACES, RELIGIONS, AND CULTURES TOGETHER.

DR. SPIRO HAS WRITTEN AN EXCELLENT ARTICLE OUTLINING A FEW OF THE REASONS WHY WE NEED A COMMON LANGUAGE. I RESPECTFULLY REQUEST THAT THE ARTICLE BE REPRINTED IN THE RECORD, AND I COMMEND THE ARTICLE TO EACH OF MY COLLEAGUES. PLEASE TAKE A FEW MINUTES TO READ WHY AMERICA NEEDS OFFICIAL ENGLISH.

ENGLISH: LET'S MAKE IT OFFICIAL

(By Robert H. Spiro, Jr.)

It is a truism, accepted at home and abroad, that the United States of America is a diverse nation, pulsating with the heartbeats of a hundred ethnic groups, harking back to every other nation on the entire globe.

All continents, races, ethnic groups, languages, tribes, and families have contributed to the making of America.

America is a vast "melting pot" with ties to all humanity, and it is remarkable that despite 200 years of constant stirring and adding new ingredients to the brew, the pot does not boil over. The search for unity, harmony, order and

tranquility was expressed eloquently in the Preamble to the Constitution, and has been a constant theme in American history.

Throughout two centuries of national history, this exciting Nation has searched for a central concept, unity. Midway in its history, a terrible Civil War, by far the bloodiest in the New World, tore the Nation apart. Twenty-two northern states, inspired by Lincoln, faced eleven seceding states. Four million men were mobilized and 600,000 died in fierce fighting. There were many "causes" for this conflagration, but the basic issue was the right to secede, to separate, to disrupt the unity of the Nation.

Diverse ethnic ties are constantly dividing the Nation, and cultural tensions frequently pull it apart. Its many religions are increasingly varied, while many citizens decry all religions. Nothing is more important than a single common language, spoken by all citizens.

A COMMON LANGUAGE IS THE CEMENT THAT BINDS THE NATION

A nation speaking one language is stronger, more firmly united, and more secure than a nation divided by language barriers and the consequences of those barriers -- acrimony and ethnic conflict. It is apparent that the strongest of the many new immigrant nations of the modern world are those with a common language.

Canada, self governing since 1867, is officially bilingual, a fact which engenders bitter conflict. Martin G. W. King, a Canadian who edits an insurance industry magazine in Washington, D.C., has written eloquently [*H11874] about "O Canada! Coming Apart at the Seams?" Washington Post, May 27, 1990).

He laments, "And yet my country is falling apart ... Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Canadian governments tried to mend the country's increasingly tattered social fabric by promoting 'unity and diversity.' The country became officially bilingual, and new laws required that even cereal boxes be printed in both official languages. Civil servants were provided with crash courses in each other's language."

Yet the demands of separatists in Quebec have become increasingly strident, and there have been kidnapping and murders. And now, after the failure of the Meech Lake Accords of 1987, Canada is facing even greater discord and the possible secession of its second largest province, which also in 1987 adopted "laws that made Quebec a unilingual French province, with draconian provisions forbidding even public restaurant signs in anything but French." Canada has become unglued.

Belgium, another advanced western nation, features a French-speaking majority together with Flemish and German minorities. It is a nation bitterly divided and at war with itself.

Sri Lanka, formerly Ceylon, has seen sharp rivalry and civil war between its two language groups, the Sinhali and the Tamils.

India, with 123 languages and over 600 dialects, has severe conflicts among its ethnic components, greatly exacerbated by language differences.

But many say of the United States: "What's the problem? English has been our common language for more than 200 years. We have no problem." But we do have a problem. Puerto Rico, which has been officially bi-lingual for 89 years (since 1902), when the Official Language Act was passed by its legislature, has just voted (March 1991) to make Spanish the sole official language of the Commonwealth.

Yes, it is true that English has been our common language for more than 200 years. America has welcomed millions of immigrants from every nation under the sun. In the first decade of this century, more than one million a year came to these shores. Almost without exception, those immigrants eagerly, almost fiercely, embraced the English language, certain their future was dependent upon their learning English and adopting the "American Way of Life" in the exciting New World, to which they had voluntarily come.

Today, new waves are bringing immigrants from Central and South America, Mexico, the Caribbean, Cambodia, Vietnam, Japan, China and Korea, and many other places. Some -- by no means a majority -- resist Americanization, and which to create old-country enclaves in the United States. This is understandable, and is by no means a new phenomenon.

America must resist Balkanization, with its attendant hostilities and rivalries. It is wonderful to remember one's roots, to cherish one's native language and culture; but a permanent move to a new country symbolizes a fresh start, a new commitment -- a new birth in a new world!

Surely the problem is a complex one. If America is to have a second language, which one shall it be? Waves of immigration throughout history occasioned by wars, persecutions, droughts and famines, earthquakes and floods, social and volcanic upheavals, have sent successive floods of immigrants to this land from four continents and the islands of the sea. If there is a second language, then there must be a third, fourth, and a fifth, ad infinitum.

Perhaps an excellent example of the complexity of the issue is to be found in a local high school in northern Virginia where there are thousands of new immigrants. In the JEB Stuart High School in Fairfax County, VA. are 1600 students. They represent 60 nations speaking 35 different languages. In fact, there are so many different ethnic contingents that JEB Stuart High offers four 4 levels of English as a second language.

How can the language problem affect you as an English-speaking U.S. citizen? Picture yourself applying for a business permit in a foreign language; or attending a city council meeting in which the council member speaks in another language; or dealing with a police officer who doesn't speak English; or fretting with an I.R.S. agent whose language is not English. This is not as far-fetched as one may imagine. It is said that the City Council of Sweetwater, Florida, does not conduct its meetings in English.

I know of no one supporting English as the official language who asserts the superiority of English. English is not necessarily "superior" to any other language. But it is the historic and common language of the United States, and a common national language is essential to national harmony and unity.

There are a few apparent exceptions, like Switzerland, but they are indeed few, and are in very special circumstances with a long evolutionary history. The strongest of the many new immigrant nations in the modern world are those with a common language, such as the United States, Australia, and New Zealand.

The point is obvious. The U.S. is derived from diverse ethnic, national, and religious groups, held together by the glue of a common language. The English language is for the United States the cement that bonds the Nation, unifies the people.

There is also an important security factor. As a reserve military officer, I am concerned about the effect of multiple language usages of military strength. Defeat in battle will surely result from the inability of men and women in the military forces to communicate in one common language. Only thus can clear, understandable, and unmistakable military orders be issued, understood, and carried out.

Here, then is a rational language policy, good for individuals and good for the nation:

1. The U.S. must remain united by one language, not divided by two.

2. Non-English speaking newcomers must be encouraged to learn English quickly, to develop fluency in English as soon as possible as the crucial first step in their integration into American life. This is in their best interest, and the nation's.

3. Bilingual education courses must aim toward moving students rapidly into standard, English-speaking classrooms as soon as possible, within one or two years, three at the most.

4. To be consistent with the English language requirement for U.S. citizenship, ballots for U.S. elections should be in English.

5. New Americans should be encouraged, in all constructive ways, to remember and honor their roots, which is a time-honored tradition deep in American history.

6. All U.S. citizens should be encouraged to study and use foreign languages both to enhance their personal growth and cultural understanding, and to promote better communication with all mankind.

The effort to make English official is a very positive program. It denigrates no ethnic group nor demeans any language. It is imperative that this great democratic and immigrant republic, devoted to human rights and dedicated to liberty, protect

its unity by legally declaring the common language, English, to be the official language of the Republic.

The Congress has run hot and cold on the issue. But eighteen (18) states so far have amended their constitutions to make English official. This year, on January 3, 1991, Representative Bill Emerson of Missouri, with 38 co-sponsors, introduced House Resolution 123 declaring English the official language of the Government of the United States. At a September 1991 Capitol kickoff of the national campaign to make English official, members of Congress lauded English as the common bond among Americans and called for the passage of HR 123.

California, the largest state, with a very large percentage of new Americans, in 1986 passed Proposition 63. Exactly 73.2 percent of all voters approved the amendment to make English the official language of the state.

Florida, the fourth largest of the states, made English official in 1988 by a resounding affirmative vote of 83 percent. Other states with approved amendments are Arkansas, Arizona, Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Alaska, and Hawaii.

Thus almost half of the requisite 38 states to amend the Federal Constitution have already approved the English Language Amendment. Let us hope that by the year 2000 we shall attain the approval of both 38 states and the Congress. With an approved English Language Amendment we shall assure the continuing unity and strength of the Nation in the 21st century.

Cited as: Emerson (1993)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Tuesday, January 5, 1993
103rd Cong. 1st Sess.
139 Cong Rec E 17

REFERENCE: Vol. 139 No. 1

TITLE: LANGUAGE FOR ALL PEOPLES INITIATIVE

SPEAKER: HON. BILL EMERSON OF MISSOURI IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E17] TUESDAY, JANUARY 5, 1993

MR. EMERSON. MR. SPEAKER, IN BOTH THE 101ST CONGRESS AND THE 102D CONGRESS, I INTRODUCED THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT, LEGISLATION TO DECLARE ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. I DID THIS BECAUSE I SEE INCREASING DIVISION WITHIN THIS GREAT LAND OF OURS -- DIVISION AMONG ETHNIC LINES, AMONG RACIAL LINES, AND AMONG LINGUISTIC LINES. I INTRODUCED THIS BILL BECAUSE I HAVE A GREAT RESPECT FOR THE POWER OF LANGUAGE, BOTH ITS POWER TO UNITE AND ITS POWER TO DIVIDE. EVEN WITH ALL THE PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES THAT APPEAR IN OUR HEADLINES DAILY, THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS BEEN A SHINING EXAMPLE OF HOW DIFFERENT PEOPLES CAN LIVE AND WORK SIDE BY SIDE IN HARMONY. OUR COMMON LANGUAGE HAS BEEN OUR COMMON BOND. I AM INTRODUCING THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT AGAIN, TOGETHER WITH A BILL PROVIDING A TAX CREDIT FOR EMPLOYERS WHO OFFER ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING TO THEIR EMPLOYEES AND A SENSE-OF-THE-CONGRESS RESOLUTION WHICH RECOGNIZES THE BENEFITS OF OUR MANY LANGUAGES, YET STRESSES THE NEED FOR A COMMON LANGUAGE. TOGETHER, THESE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS WILL FORM THE LANGUAGE FOR ALL PEOPLES INITIATIVE.

MORE THAN 150 LANGUAGES ARE USED THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES TODAY. EACH OF THESE LANGUAGES CONTRIBUTES TO THE RICH FABRIC OF THE AMERICAN CULTURE. YET UNLESS WE HAVE ONE LANGUAGE WITH WHICH WE MAY ALL COMMUNICATE, OUR COEXISTENCE COULD BE CHAOTIC, AS ONE CAN WELL IMAGINE. COMMUNICATION IS AT THE VERY HEART OF DEMOCRACY. A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT CANNOT EXIST IF MEMBERS OF A COMMUNITY CANNOT TALK TO EACH OTHER. THE GOVERNMENT MUST REMAIN IN TOUCH WITH THE

PEOPLE IT GOVERNS IN ORDER TO FUNCTION EFFICIENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY. THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT MOVES US ANOTHER STEP IN THAT DIRECTION.

EFFORTS TO ENACT THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT BEGIN WITH SEVERAL QUESTIONS: WILL WE HAVE A COMMON LANGUAGE FOR GOVERNING A NATION OF DIVERSE IMMIGRANTS, OR WILL WE ATTEMPT TO PROVIDE EVERY FUNCTION OF GOVERNMENT AT EVERY LEVEL IN EVERY LANGUAGE? THAT IS OVER 150 LANGUAGES. THE NEED FOR EFFICIENT DELIVERY OF GOVERNMENT SERVICES REQUIRES THE FORMER. WILL WE ENJOY A NATION OF DIVERSE PEOPLES SHARING THE RICHES OF THEIR VARIED CULTURES WITH ONE ANOTHER, OR WILL WE BE NATION OF SEGREGATED, ISOLATED LANGUAGE GROUPS? THE NEED FOR UNITY AND HARMONY REQUIRES THE FORMER.

POLL AFTER POLL HAS INDICATED THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE -- FOLKS FROM ALL BACKGROUNDS AND WALKS OF LIFE -- SUPPORT THIS SORT OF LEGISLATION. THE NEED IS CLEAR -- IN THIS COUNTRY, ENGLISH IS CLEARLY THE LANGUAGE OF OPPORTUNITY. IT IS DIFFICULT TO APPLY FOR A JOB, CAST AN INFORMED VOTE, PURCHASE TRAIN OR BUS TICKETS, OR EVEN TO ORDER A PIZZA IN THIS COUNTRY WITHOUT KNOWING ENGLISH. NO ONE WHO COMES TO THESE SHORES SHOULD BE DENIED THE OPPORTUNITIES THIS LAND HAS TO OFFER SIMPLY BECAUSE HE OR SHE DOES NOT KNOW ENGLISH.

BECAUSE OF THIS, I BELIEVE WE NEED TO TAKE STRONG STEPS TO ENCOURAGE EVERYONE TO LEARN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT PLACES AN AFFIRMATIVE OBLIGATION UPON THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROMOTE AND ENHANCE THE ROLE OF ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE -- INCLUDING PROVIDING BETTER OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEARNING THE LANGUAGE. THIS IS A GOOD STEP, BUT I BELIEVE WE COULD DO MORE. I AM THEREFORE INTRODUCING A BILL TO PROVIDE A TAX CREDIT TO EMPLOYERS WHO PROVIDE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TRAINING TO THEIR EMPLOYEES WHO NEED ASSISTANCE WITH THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. HOPEFULLY, THIS BILL WILL PROVIDE THE NECESSARY INCENTIVE FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO BECOME INVOLVED AND HELP ENSURE THAT EVERYONE IN THIS COUNTRY -- NO MATTER WHAT HIS OR HER NATIVE LANGUAGE MAY BE -- CAN COMMUNICATE EFFECTIVELY.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT DESIGNATING ONE LANGUAGE FOR THE OFFICIAL BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT AND ENCOURAGING EVERYONE TO LEARN THE COMMON TONGUE DOES NOT MEAN THAT OTHER LANGUAGES CANNOT OR SHOULD NOT BE SPOKEN. TO THE CONTRARY: OUR WORLD IS BECOMING EVER SMALLER, AND IT IS TRUE THAT IF WE WISH TO REMAIN COMPETITIVE IN A GLOBAL MARKET, AMERICANS SHOULD LEARN OTHER LANGUAGES. I STRONGLY ENCOURAGE EVERYONE TO

LEARN AS MANY LANGUAGES AS HE OR SHE CAN POSSIBLY LEARN, AND PUT TO GOOD USE, AND I WILL WORK TO PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER FOREIGN LANGUAGE OPPORTUNITIES AS A PART OF THE LANGUAGE FOR ALL PEOPLES INITIATIVE. AT THE SAME TIME, I MAINTAIN THAT OF ALL THE LANGUAGES WE SPEAK, ONE SHOULD BE COMMON TO ALL. OF ALL THE LANGUAGES WE SPEAK, ONE SHOULD BE ENGLISH.

IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT DESIGNATING A SINGLE LANGUAGE FOR OFFICIAL ACTS OF GOVERNMENT IN NO WAY DENIGRATES OTHER CULTURES OR HERITAGES. CONTRARY TO SOME RHETORIC HEARD OF LATE, A COMMON LANGUAGE IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH APPRECIATION OF DIVERSITY. AGAIN, THE ISSUE IS ONE OF COMMUNICATION. WE ARE DIVERSE; NO ONE WILL DISPUTE THAT. I BELIEVE THAT THIS DIVERSITY IS GOOD -- IT EXPOSES US TO THOSE WHO ARE DIFFERENT FROM OURSELVES AND BROADENS OUR HORIZONS. AS A CULTURE, WE CAN LEARN A GREAT DEAL FROM OUR DIVERSITY. BUT WE CAN LEARN NOTHING FROM EACH OTHER UNLESS WE CAN COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER. WITHOUT A COMMON LANGUAGE -- A COMMON MEDIUM OF UNDERSTANDING -- WE WHO ARE PRODUCTS OF OUR DIVERSE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL HERITAGES CANNOT COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER. HUMAN NATURE FEARS THAT WHICH IS DIFFERENT, THAT WHICH IS "OTHER." ONLY THROUGH COMMUNICATION AND DIALOGUE CAN WE LEARN TO DISCOVER OUR SIMILARITIES AND TO UNDERSTAND OUR DIFFERENCES. ONLY THROUGH COMMUNICATION -- A COMMON LANGUAGE -- CAN WE TRULY BEGIN TO APPRECIATE THE "OTHER" WHICH SURROUNDS US. THE SENSE OF THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION RECOGNIZES BOTH THE IMPORTANCE OF OUR DIVERSITY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF UNITY IN DIVERSITY.

IN ADDITION TO THE THREE MEASURES I'VE DISCUSSED ABOVE, I HOPE TO EVENTUALLY INCLUDE A BILL TO BETTER THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT TO IMPROVE OUR CURRENT PROGRAMS FOR TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE. NEITHER PROPOSAL IS READY TO INTRODUCE IN BILL FORM AT THIS POINT; HOWEVER, I HOPE TO INCLUDE THEM IN THE LANGUAGE FOR ALL PEOPLES INITIATIVE WHEN THEY ARE MORE FULLY DEVELOPED. I AM COMMITTED TO REMOVING LANGUAGE BARRIERS IN THIS COUNTRY, BOTH BY PROMOTING A LANGUAGE COMMON TO ALL AND BY EXPANDING OUR KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES. I STRONGLY URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN ME IN THIS EFFORT AND TO COSPONSOR ANY OR ALL OF THE BILLS IN THE LANGUAGE FOR ALL PEOPLES INITIATIVE.

Cited as: Gingrich (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Gingrich), the Speaker of the House.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Georgia (Mr. Gingrich) is recognized for 5 1/2 minutes.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman from California for yielding time to me.

Mr. Chairman, I think we are at a very important turning point for America. This is a country whose doors have always been open, and should always be open to people from across the world. We are a nation of immigrants. Our greatness in part comes from our ability to be a melting pot, to draw from everywhere and to allow people to pursue happiness, to allow people to live under the rule of law, to protect their unalienable rights, and to have everyone be equal before the law.

This is a truly remarkable civilization. I agree with Max Lerner's great work on America as a civilization, that we are in fact a unique civilization, partially derived from Europe, partially derived from Africa, partially derived from America, partially derived from Asia, but ultimately, a unique tribute to the concept that we have been endowed by our Creator, and that we represent the greatest extension of freedom to the widest range of people in the history of the world.

But there is a key part of that, and this bill is one step in that direction. The key part is very simple: Is there a thing we call American? Is is unique?

My Ph.D. is in European history. I believe in studying other countries. I believe in learning other languages. But I believe we start here with America, and we need to learn here about America.

I want to say unequivocally that while I cherish every person who comes from anywhere, who comes here legally and seeks to pursue happiness, and I hope all of them decide to stay and become American citizens, but I want them to become American. And part of becoming American involves English. It is vital

historically to assert and establish that English is the common language at the heart of our civilization.

One does not have to look far to see the dangers. Look north to our friends in Canada and the challenge of separatism in Quebec. Look to the Balkans, look to the continuing tensions in Belgium, a country which has mostly avoided violence and has mostly done a good job but has a very complex and very structure relationship between its Fleming and Walloon populations. Then ask yourself, in an America where their are over 80 languages taught in the California schools as the primary language, not as the secondary language but as the primary language, in a country where in Seattle there are 75 languages being taught, in Chicago there are 100; this is not bilingualism, this is a level of confusion which if it were allowed to develop for another 20 or 30 years would literally lead, I think, to the decay of the core parts of our civilization.

This bill is a very modest bill. It says English is the official language of the Government. The Government. You can speak any language you want in your homes, you can speak any language you want in private life, you can campaign in any language you want, but all Americans should have access to their government in their common language.

It says the Government has an affirmative obligation to preserve and enhance the role of English as the official language of the U.S. Government, and that such obligations shall include encouraging greater opportunities to learn the English language. I believe it is important to understand that we need every citizen and, frankly, in the long run every person who comes here to learn English. We need to be willing to say it proudly and simply and not with hostility but with a sense of joy: Yes, we want you to come; yes, we want you to immigrate; and, yes, we want you to become American, but there are standards.

For me one of those standards occurred with the naturalization ceremony. Naturalization ceremonies normally involve people of many countries with many language backgrounds, and part of the great joy of seeing them stand there and, in whatever quality of English they have mastered, repeating in English their Pledge of Allegiance, indicating in English their new commonality. They may come from Thailand, from Nigeria, from Paraguay, but when they are in that room becoming American, they are joined together by their Pledge of Allegiance and they are joined together by their new common language.

They leave that room as Americans, not hyphenated Americans, not partial Americans, not semi-Americans. At that moment they are citizens of the United States, under the protection of our law, living within our Constitution, and their rights have been endowed by their Creator. That is the framework this bill seeks to continue.

This bill is a very simple bill, a very modest bill. I would urge Members to vote no for the substitute, which, frankly eliminates any effective steps, and vote yes on final passage. The Bill Emerson English Language Empowerment Act is the right direction and the right bill, and the additions from the Committee on the Judiciary are very helpful. These are modest steps in the direction of reinforcing

and reasserting the greatest civilization ever to provide freedom to the human race.

Cited as: Hayakawa (1981)

Congressional Record
Volume 127
Number 6
97th Congress
1st Session
April 9, 1981 to May 4, 1981
pp 7444, 7445

By Mr. HAYAKAWA:

S.J. Res. 72. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to proceedings and documents in the English language; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Proposed Constitutional Amendments with respect to proceedings and documents in the English language.

Mr. HAYAKAWA. Mr. President, Language is a powerful tool. A common language can unify: separate languages can fracture and fragment a society. The American "melting pot" has succeeded in creating a vibrant new culture among peoples of many different cultural backgrounds largely because of the widespread use of a common language, English.

Learning English has been the primary task of every immigrant group for two centuries. Participation in the common language has rapidly made available to each new group the political and economic benefits of American society. Those who have mastered English have overcome the major hurdle to full participation in our democracy.

Today I am introducing a constitutional amendment declaring as the law of the land what is already a political and social reality, that English is the official language of the United States.

This amendment is needed to clarity the confusing signals we have given in recent years to immigrant groups. For example, the requirements for naturalization as a U.S. citizen say you must be able to "read, write, and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language And though you must be a citizen to vote, some recent legislation has required bilingual ballots in some areas This amendment would end that contradictory, logically conflicting, situation.

Bilingual education programs were originally designed to help non-English speaking children learn English quickly so they could join the mainstream of education and of our society. The Carter administration attempted to substantially broaden this mandate by proposing requirements for schools to teach other academic subjects entirely in students' native language.

I am proposing this amendment because I believe that we are being dishonest with linguistic minority groups if we tell them they can take full part in American life without learning the English language. We may wish it were otherwise, but it

simply is not so. As the son of an immigrant to an English-speaking country, I know this from personal experience if I spoke no English, my world would be limited to the Japanese-speaking community, and no matter how talented I was, I could never do business, seek employment, or take part in public affairs outside that community.

Let me explain what the amendment will do, upon its passage by Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the States:

It will establish English as the official language of State, Federal. and local government business;

It will abolish requirements for bilingual election materials;

It will allow transitional instruction in English for non-English-speaking students, but do away with requirements for foreign-language instruction in other academic subjects;

It will end the false promise being made to new immigrants that English is unnecessary for them.

On the other hand, and this is important, there are things the amendment will not do:

It will not prevent the use of any other language within communities. churches. or cultural schools.

That is, Yiddish schools, Hispanic schools, Japanese, and Chinese schools are perfectly all right insofar as their support by local communities, but not by the taxpayer.

It will not prevent the use of second languages for the purpose of public convenience and safety. for example on signs in public places, but it will not allow governments to require multilingual postings or publications.

I am thinking, Mr. President, of such signs as you see in the street sometimes, "Danger, construction area." If this sign is put up in a building lot in Chinatown, let us say, there is certainly no objection whatsoever to putting signs to that effect in Chinese or any other language that is appropriate for the passerby. So, for purposes of public convenience and safety, other languages may be used wherever necessary. I think that what we have, in Washington, Los Angeles, and San Francisco, street signs in Chinese or Japanese, are perfectly acceptable, because they are also accompanied by street signs in English. They are also acceptable because they give a cosmopolitan flavor to those cities that have them and we are proud of the fact that we are a cosmopolitan culture.

My amendment, Mr. President, will not prevent public schools from offering instruction in other languages, nor will it prevent schools and colleges from requiring some study of a foreign language.

Incidentally Mr. President, we are crippled in international relations because of our imperfect command not only of the well known languages like Spanish French German, or Italian, but we have very few speakers of Chinese. Japanese. Russian, Hungarian, Arabic, Thai– some languages some people here ought to know so they can serve our Nation intelligently in diplomatic service or in trade. If we have a huge trade deficit vis-a-vis Japan, for example, it is because they have some Japanese salesmen speaking English in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, but we have very, very few Japanese-speaking Americans doing a selling job in Tokyo or Osaka.

So, at the same time that I declare English to be the official language of the United States, I am not trying to discourage foreign language studies.

The ability to forge unity from diversity makes our society strong. We need all the elements, Germans, Hispanics, Hellenes Italians, Chinese, all the cultures that make our nation unique. Unless we have a common basis for communicating and sharing ideas, we all lose. The purpose of this proposal is to insure that American democracy always strives to include in its mainstream everyone who aspires to citizenship, to insure that no one gets locked out by permanent language barriers.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the joint resolution be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

S.J. Res. 72

Resolved by the-Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

ARTICLE

Section 1 The English language shall be the official language of the United States.

"Sec. 2. Neither the United States nor any state shall make or enforce any law which
requires the use of any language other than English.

"Sec. 3. This article shall apply to laws, ordinances, regulations, orders, programs and policies.

"Sec. 4. No order or decree shall be issued by any court of the United states or of any state requiring that any proceedings or matters to which this article applies be in any language other than English.

"Sec. 5. This article shall not prohibit educational instruction in a language other than English as required as a transitional method of making students who use a language other than English proficient In English.

"Sec. 6. The congress and the states shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Cited as: Hayakawa (1982)

Congressional Record
Volume 128
Part 11
97th Congress
2nd Session
June 17, 1982 to June 30, 1982
pp. 14105, 14106

English Language Constitutional Amendment

Mr. HAYAKAWA. Finally, Mr. President, I should like to talk about the constitutional amendment which I have introduced to make English the official language of the United States.

Recently the Census Bureau released figures to show that recent immigrants from Latin America are learning English at about the same rate of speed as other immigrant groups. A Los Angeles Times editorial, "Reassurance, in Any Language," of May 26, 1982, comments on this finding as an argument against my proposed constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States. The editorial also says that there is no comparison between the French-English split in Canada and a possible Spanish-English split in the United States.

I would like to reply to the Los Angeles Times editorial and in the course of so doing make clear what I have in mind in the English language constitutional amendment.

I was born and brought up in Canada and am fully aware of the differences between the Canadian and American situations. In Canada, French and English have both been official national languages by law, under the British-North America Act of 1867, superseded just a week ago by a new constitution. When I was growing up in Canada, and long after I left, the fact that we had two official languages created no problems. Many of us who spoke English learned French and many did not, especially if they lived far from Quebec. Many French-speaking Canadians learned English, and many did not, especially if they lived in Quebec. And many French-speaking Canadians learned English and vice versa. As I say, many ignored each other, but we all got along well together and did not quarrel about it, just as do the Swiss, who have three official languages, German, French, and Italian, as well as an unofficial one, Romansch. So differences in language do not themselves create difficulties if they are willing to accept each other.

Trouble arises not from differences of languages as such, but from politicizing those differences. Highly politicized differences of language, culture, and religion resulted in huge riots in India which led to 1 million deaths between 1957 and 1968. Belgium has long been bedeviled by strife between speakers of French and Flemish. Sri Lanka at this very moment is involved in a struggle by speakers of Tamil, who want independence from the speakers of Sinhalese, which is the principal language of the country.

Geoffrey Goodsell. in a five-part series on "Hispanics–The Challenge Ahead" in the Christian Science Monitor, observed that

"The integration of the ever-growing Hispanic population to the American mainstream will pose a challenge to U.S. society far greater than the civil rights explosion of the 1960's –perhaps as great as any since the Civil War."

Writing in the New York Times, James Reston said,

"This immigration from the south has already reached the point that the Spanish speaking people will soon be the most numerous minority in the United States and they are now beginning to demand not only equal rights which is fair enough, but separate rights for the education of their children in the Spanish language... The Latin immigration, and what happens in the vote about independence for the province of Quebec, in the end could be more important to the future of this hemisphere than Iran or Afghanistan."

The separatist sentiment in the Province of Quebec was triggered, I am sure, by the American Civil Rights movement, in which an aggrieved black minority dramatically protested the injustices of the past and present. Following the black example, other minorities with grievances, real and imagined, including politically ambitious French Canadians, got into the act. General de Gaulle visiting Canada in 1967, played up to popular sentiment by proclaiming, before a large French Canadian audience, "Vive le Quebec libre!" (Long live free Quebec!).

In the decade since General de Gaulle's provocative remark and the cultural chauvinism it aroused, the tolerant bilingualism of Canada has disappeared in Quebec and, despite the British North America Act, Quebec passed laws recognizing only one official language, French. All advertising, street signs, public education even for English-speaking children, must be in French. English-speaking residents of Quebec, small businesses and large corporations have left the province for other provinces or the United States. Thanks to the Parti Quebecois, the province has suffered enormous economic losses as well as profound alienation from the rest of Canada, which is now a seriously divided country.

The serious national problems resulting from the influx of Hispanics into the United States, as foreseen in the above quotations from Messrs. Goodsell and Reston will arise indeed if the United States departs from its one-language tradition and officially encourages the use, in public life, of other languages. Ethnic politics, especially ethnic passions heightened by language differences, is fatal to national unity. But under pressure from ambitious politicians, Mexican American and Anglo, one such divisive measure after another has been made into law.

There is the bilingual ballot, which says that an immigrant voter may have a ballot in his own language, despite the fact that the law requires the individual to be a citizen in order to vote and "to be able to read, write, and speak English in common usage" in order to become a citizen. The bilingual ballot simply negates

our fundamental immigration law and says that an immigrant can exercise the rights of citizenship without having learned the language of the country.

Then there is 'bilingual education," which made sense when its main purpose was to use the immigrant language to facilitate the learning of English, but rapidly developed into using the immigrant language almost exclusively, and in some instances exclusively, for classroom instruction in all subjects, so that students were given no opportunity or encouragement to learn English. Fortunately, this trend is being stopped by new regulations of the Department of Education. Who objects to the constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States? Let me say in all seriousness that the objections come principally from Mexican American politicians and Mexican American political organizations. They do not come from the rank and file of Mexican American or Cuban American or Puerto Rican citizens.

Indeed, my constituency mail has run heavily in favor of the English language amendment. Much of it comes from immigrants who had to learn English on the job or at night school.

One Mexican American tells me that his parents, also immigrants, would punish him for speaking Spanish at home, despite the fact that they, too, were beginning students of English.

Indeed, the strongest support for my amendment has been expressed to me in letters written in imperfect English, by immigrants who had to learn the language as adults. The most emphatic support I have had was from a Chinese gentleman whose English I could only partly understand. He was one of a delegation of four in San Francisco's Chinatown who came to tell me of support for my amendment. His English was almost incomprehensible, but there was no doubt about the warmth of his handshake.

Non-English-speaking hordes continue to come to this country, as they have throughout its history. Our most recent newcomers are Vietnamese, Cambodians, Hmong, Central Americans, Cubans, Haitians.

Where are they going to come from next? Our whole history, since the beginning of the Republic--since Plymouth Rock, for that matter been a matter of refugees from somewhere or other. This is going to continue. Where will the next catastrophe fall to send people fleeing to our shores?

My English language amendment is aimed not at the problems of today but at the problems of the coming decades and the coming centuries that is the way a constitutional amendment should be aimed.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ANDREWS). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Cited as: Huddleston, (1983)

Congressional Record
Volume 129
Part 18
98th Congress
1st Session
September 15, 1983 to September 23, 1983
pp. 25053 - 25057

By Mr. HUDDLESTON (for himself, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. Symms, Mr. RANDOLPH, and Mr. ZORINSKY):

S.J. Res. 167. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the English language to the Committee on the Judiciary.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. President, the remarks I am about to make will be readily understood by my distinguished colleagues in the Congress. They will be understood by my constituents in Kentucky. They will be understood by the journalists in the press gallery, and by most of their readers across the country.

No simultaneous interpreters will be needed for those in this Chamber, and no translators will be needed for most of those who will be reading these words in the Congressional Record.

In order to guarantee that this current state of affairs endures, as it has for over 200 years, I am introducing today a constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States.

The amendment addresses something so basic , so very fundamental to our sense of identity as Americans, that some, who are in full agreement with the objectives of this amendment, will nevertheless question the necessity for it. So widely held is the assumption that English already is our national language that the notion of stating this in our national charter may seem like restating the obvious. However, I can assure my colleagues that this is not the case and that the need for a constitutional amendment grows stronger every day.

Almost alone among the world's very large and populous nations, the United States enjoys the blessings of one primary language, spoken and understood by most of its citizens. The previously unquestioned acceptance of this language by immigrants from every linguistic and cultural background has enabled us to come together as one people. It has allowed us to discuss our differences, to argue about our problems and to compromise on solutions. It has allowed us to develop a stable and cohesive society that is the envy of many fractured ones, without imposing any strict standards of homogeneity, or even bothering to designate the language, which is ours by custom, as the Nation's official one.

As a nation of immigrants, our great strength has been drawn from our ability to assimilate vast numbers of people from many different cultures and ethnic groups into a nation of people that can work together with cooperation and understanding. This process was often referred to as the melting pot and in the past it has been seen as an almost magical concept that helped to make the United States the greatest nation on Earth.

But for the last 15 years, we have experienced a growing resistance to the acceptance of our historic language an antagonistic questioning of the melting pot philosophy that has traditionally helped speed newcomers into the American mainstream.

Initially, the demands to make things easier for the newcomers seemed modest enough; and a generous people, appreciative of cultural diversity was willing to make some allowances. For example, the English language requirements for naturalization were removed for elderly immigrants living here for 20 years who were still uanble to meet them; and the use of a child's home language in the school setting was encouraged, in a well-intentioned attempt to soften the pain of adjustment from the home to the English-speaking society that school represents.

However, the demands have sharply escalated, and so has the tone in which they are presented. Bilingual education has gradually lost its role as a transitional way of teaching English and now mandates a bicultural component. This mandate has been primarily shaped and promoted by the Federal Government. The unfortunate result is that thousands of immigrants and nonimmigrant children are languishing in near-permanent bilingual/bicultural programs kept in a state of prolonged confusion suspended between two worlds and not understanding what is expected of them. They and their parents are given false hopes that their cultural traditions can be fully maintained in this country, and that the mastery of English is not so important after all.

This change in attitude was aptly described by Theodore H. White in his book "America in Search of Itself" wherein he stated:

Some Hispanics have however, made a demand never voiced by immigrants before: that the United States in effect, officially recognize itself as a bicultural, bilingual nation ... [They] demand that the United States become a bilingual country, with all children entitled to be taught in the language of their heritage at public expense. No better hymn to the American tradition has ever been written than "The Education of Hyman Kaplan," by Leo Rosten, which describes with tears and laughter the efforts of the earlier immigrants ... to learn the language of the country in which they wished to live. In New York today, forty years later, Hispanic entitlement has created a college, Hostos community college-- supported by public taxes –which is officially bilingual; half its students receive instruction primarily in Spanish as they strive to escape from the subculture of the Spanish ghetto. Bilingualism is an awkward word– but it has torn apart communities from Canada to Brittany, from Belgium to India. It expresses not a sense of tolerance but a demand for divisions.

This misdirected public policy of bilingualism has been created primarily by the Federal Government, at the insistence of special interest groups, and it continues

today because elected officials do no want to run the risk of taking a position that could, in some way, offend these groups. An example of how far this special interest influence reaches can be seen by President Reagan's reversal on the issue. At the beginning of his administration he attempted to kill the bilingual program, now he is embracing the concept.

Over the last few years the Federal Government has spent approximately $1 billion on the bilingual education program and this year alone it cost $139 million. What we have bought with this money is a program that strives to keep separate cultural identities rather than a program that strives to teach English. It is a program which ignores the basic fact that in order to learn another language the student must talk, read and use that language on a regular basis.

The failure of bilingual education programs to teach children how to speak English in the shortest time has been documented by a study done at the U.S. Department of Education and by the recent report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and secondary Education policy. The latter report stated unequivocally that:

... The Task Force recommends that the federal government clearly state that the most important objective of elementary and secondary education in the United States the development of literacy in the English language...

... The Task Force recommends that federal funds now going to the bilingual program be used to teach non-English speaking children how to speak, read, and write English.

Even though the bilingual education program has received failing marks by many reputable educators, it still survives because it is a political issue rather than an educational issue. What this means is that we will continue to finance an expensive bilingual program that does more to preserve cultural identities than it does to teach children to speak English.

In the area of voting rights we have also formulated a national policy that encourages voting citizens not to learn to speak English. The Voting Rights Act, which was reauthorized in 1982, requires bilingual ballots if more than 5 percent of the citizens of voting age in a jurisdiction are members of specified language minority groups and the illiteracy rate is higher than the national rate. As a result bilingual ballots are required by Federal law to be provided in 30 States-- even if there is no demand for them.

In essence, we have gone far beyond providing a necessary service on a temporary basis; and, we are now engaged in actively encouraging the use of bilingual ballots even though in many cases they may not be needed. The wisdom of this policy is clearly lacking when you consider that the vast bulk of political debate, whether it is in the printed press or the electronic media, is conducted in English. By failing to provide a positive incentive for voting citizens to learn English we are actually denying them full participation in the political process. Instead, we are making them dependent upon a few interpreters or go-betweens for information as to how they should vote. Although this process helps to preserve minority voting blocks it seriously undercuts the

democratic concept that every voting individual should be as fully informed as possible about the issues and the candidates.

In many parts of the country foreign language ballots are under attack. In San Francisco, a local initiative petition has been filed urging that local governments be allowed to print ballots in English only. In that area ballots are now printed in English, Spanish, Chinese and because of the new census figures Tagalog ballots will probably be printed in the future.

There are other less prominent provisions of Federal law which now require the use of foreign languages. For example 28 U.S.C. 1827 requires the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. courts to establish a program for the use of foreign language interpreters in Federal civil and criminal proceedings for parties whose primary language is other than English; 42 U.S.C. 254 requires the use of foreign language personnel in connection with Federally funded migrant and community health centers; and 42 U.S.C. 4577 requires the use of foreign language personnel in the alcohol abuse and treatment programs. Although I can understand that this kind of assistance is helpful, the fact that it must be legislated strongly indicates that we are failing miserably in our efforts to teach immigrants and many of our native born how to speak, read and write English.

The Federal laws requiring the use of interpreters and foreign languages are merely the tip of the iceberg. I recently sent a request to all of the State Governors and the major Federal agencies asking for information regarding non-English forms and publications that their offices produce, which are intended for use in this country. Although my staff is still in the process of reviewing the data, and I have not yet received responses to all of my letters, we know that hundreds of different non-English forms and publications are now being printed and distributed on a wide scale throughout the United States. These publications cover a broad spectrum and range from White House press releases in Spanish to National Labor Relations Board notices in 32 different languages. The non-English materials which I have received are in a stack that is about 3 feet high, and we are adding to it almost daily. However, even when all the responses are in we still will not have a complete picture of the use of official non-English publications. Many of the states are only sending a few samples of what they produce, and I am told that if copies of all bilingual educational materials were sent we could fill a large room. While distribution of these materials may be seen as providing just another government service, it can also be seen as reducing the incentive to learn English and demonstrates a growing nationwide problem.

At the nongovernment level there is a great deal of emphasis being placed on the use of non-English languages. In some major metropolitan areas English is the second language; minorities, who speak only English, are being told that they must learn a foreign language in order to be elgible for a job in parts of this country; and, in many stores non-English languages are the only ones used to conduct business. It is not uncommon to find areas in this country where an individual can live all of his or her life having all of his social commercial, and intellectual needs met without the use of English.

Statistics show a disconcerting trend away from the common use of English. In 1975 the Bureau of the Census reported that about 8 million people in this

country used a language other than English in their households. When the census was conducted in 1980 the number of people who spoke a language other than English at home was found to be over 22 million. Although these numbers are subject to many interpretations, to me they indicate --very strongly-- that the melting pot is not working as it once did.

My assumption is confirmed by a recent population bulletin, "U.S. Hispanics, Changing the Face of America" which concluded that because of their common language and large numbers, Hispanics will take longer than other immigrant groups to assimilate into the American society.

If this situation were static and merely a reflection of the large scale legal and illegal immigration the United States has been experiencing over the last few years-- in 1980 more immigrants entered the United States than at any time other than the peak years at the turn of the century-- there would not be cause for concern. However, what we are seeing is a decrease in the use of English and a widely accepted attitude that it is not necessary to learn English.

There is a new philosophy taking hold, and it is gaining more and more acceptance. In the June 13, 1983, Time magazine an article stated in regard to this new philosophy, that:

Now, however, a new bilingualism and biculturalism is being promulgated that would deliberately fragment the Nation into separate, unassimilated groups ... The new metaphor is not the meling pot but the salad bowl with each element distinct. The biculturalists seek to use public services particularly schools not to Americanize the young but to heighten their consciousness of belonging to another heritage.

The United States is presently at a crucial juncture we can either continue down the same path we have walked for the last 300 years using the melting pot philosohpy to forge a strong and united nation or, we can take the new path that leads in the direction of another Tower of Babel.

There are many nations in the world today that would give a great deal to have the kind of internal social and political stability that a single primary language (English) has afforded us. For us to consciously make the decision to throw away this stabilizing force would be seen as foolish and stupid in countries that have paid a high price for not having a universally accepted language.

We have to look no further than the nation which is closest to us geographically and culturally--Canada. They have had a long-running experience with bilingualism and biculturalism and it is an experience that still generates divisiveness and still threatens to shatter the Nation's unity. The key cause of Canada's internal conflict is language according to the Annual Report, 1981, of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the total cost so far in implementing the Canadian Official language Act "is on the order of $4 billion spread over the 12 years. The question of cost-effectiveness is more problematical. Measured against the goals of relieving English-French tensions and fostering a common pride in the value of our national languages the results may be more questionable."

Belgium is another nation that haa suffered severe internal dissent, much of which has been caused by language differences. In the last 39 years the political coalitions that are necessary to govern that country have been broken apart over 30 times by the fights between the French speaking Walloons and the Dutch speaking Flemish. This political squabbling has had serious consequences for Belgium and it is not the kind of situation to which any nation should voluntarily subject itself.

This type of political instability has been repeated throughout history and is still occurring in many countries today. In countless places, differences in language have either caused or contributed significantly to political, social, and economic instability. While the absence of language differences does not guarantee that these problems will not occur, I believe that it does significantly reduce the chances that they will occur.

The constitutional amendment which I am proposing is not unusual, and in fact, many nations have one official language. According to the Library of Congress these include, but are not limited to, Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, and Sweden.

Within the United States there is ample tradition and legislation to justify this approach. According to the Library of Congress:

Several Federal statutes and numerous State laws do require the use of English in a variety of areas.

Thus the Nationality Act of 1940 (8 U.S.C. S.C. 423) requires that—

"No person ... shall be naturalized as a citizen of the United States upon his own petition who cannot demonstrate—

"(1) an understanding of the English language, including an ability to read, write and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language (with provisos).

Secondly, 28 U.S.C. 865 requires that in determining whether a person is qualified for jury service, the chief judge of a district court "shall deem any person qualified to serve on grand and petit juries in the district court unless he (the prospective juror)

"(2) is unable to read, write, and understand the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to fill out satisfactorily the Juror qualification form;

"(3) is unable to speak the English language...

At the State level, most States have statutes requiring the use of English as the language of instruction in the public schools. Some states also statutorily require English as the language of legal proceedings and legal notices, of business regulation, etc.

More recently, the U.S. Senate has spoken out very strongly in favor of establishing English as the official language. On August 13, 1982, Senator Hayakawa introduced an amendment to the Immigration Reform and Control Act declaring that "the English language is the official language of the United States". On a rollcall vote 78 Senators voted for this amendment and it was included in the bill. When this same bill was again reported out of the Judiciary Committee on April 21, 1983 it again contained this language, and the report of the full committee stated:

If immigration is continued at a high level, yet a substantial portion of these new persons and their descendants do not assimilate into the society, they have the potential to create in America a measure of the same social. political and economic problems which exist in the countries from which they have chosen to depart. Furthermore, if language and cultural separatism rise above a certain level, the unity and political stability of the nation will--in time— be seriously diminished. Pluralism, within a united American nation, has been the single greatest strength of this country. This unity comes from a common language and a core public culture of certain shared values, beliefs, and customs which make us distinctly "Americans".

The concerns that were expressed by the Senate Judiciary Committee are reflected in the concerns of thousands of citizens throughout this country. In fact, a new national organization has recently been created called U.S. English. The honorary chairman of this organization is former U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa, who speaks with a great deal of authority on this issue because he is an immigrant and distinguished scholar of semantics and languages.

U.S. English refers to Itself as "a national, non-profit, non-partisan organization ... founded to defend the public interest in the growing debate on bilingualism and biculturalism".

If we continue along the path we now follow, I believe that we will do irreparable damage to the fragile unity that our common language has helped us preserve for over 200 years. Cultural pluralism is an established value in our national life, and one which we greatly cherish. Paradoxically, cultural pluralism can only continue if we retain our common meeting ground; namely, the English language. If we allow this bond to erode, we will no longer enjoy the benefits of cultural diversity, but rather, we will suffer the bitterness of ethnic confrontations and cultural separatism.

The constitutional language I am proposing is simple and straightforward: It would serve to establish a principle that would strengthen us as a nation. However, I am aware that adding to the Constitution takes us into uncharted waters, and that there will be many misleading allegations about the extent of the problem and the proposed remedy. This is one of the reasons I have chosen to propose a constitutional amendment in order to address this issue. It will focus national attention on the problem, and subject it to the type of thorough national debate which is necessary.

During this constitutional process all parties, sides and interests will have the opportunity to present their respective points of view. This will guarantee that

the final version submitted to the States for ratification will accomplish only what is needed to be accomplished and that basic individual rights are not interfered with.

Even though I believe that the constitutional language I am proposing will work, I am open to all recommendations and I will carefully consider any proposed improvements or modifications. However, regard less of the final language, to a large extent it is the legislative history which determines how the language will be interpreted.

Accordingly, it is my intent that the amendment I am proposing would not do a number of things.

First. It would not prohibit or discourage the use of foreign languages and cultures in private contexts, such as in homes, churches, communities, private organizations, commerce, and private schools. The United States is rich in ethnic cultures and they would continue to survive as they have in the past.

Second. It would not prohibit the teaching of foreign languages in the Nation's public schools or colleges, nor will it prohibit foreign language requirements in academic institutions.

Third. It will not prevent the use of second languages for the purpose of public convenience and safety in limited circumstances.

On the other hand the amendment would accomplish a number of objectives.

First. It would bring national recognition to the proposition that a common language is necessary to preserve the basic internal unity that is required for a stable and growing nation.

Second. It would establish English as the official language of Federal, State, and local governments throughout the United States.

Third. Since voting by citizens is the method of choosing the representatives of these governments and is the first step in the official process of governing, it would prevent the printing of ballots in foreign languages.

Fourth. It would permit bilingual education where it could be clearly demonstrated that the primary objective and practical result is the teaching of English to students as rapidly as possible, and not cultural maintenance. It would not affect the use of total immersion in English which is a proven method of teaching English.

Fifth. It would discourage discrimination and exploitation by making it clear to immigrant parents and children that learning English is indispensable for full participation in the American society and economy and by speeding them into the mainstream of our society and economy as rapidly as possible.

Sixth. It would reaffirm that we are truly "one Nation ... indivisible ...".

Mr. President, national unity is not a subject to be taken lightly for without it we would lose much of the strength which sets us apart as a great Nation. I believe that history has taught us that one of the vital ingredients for obtaining national unity is a commonly accepted language. This has been conformed by our own past experience in this country, and it has been proven by other countries that have been divided and weakened by their internal arguments centering around language differences.

National unity does not require that each person think and act like everyone else. However, it does require that there be some common threads that run throughout our society and hold us together. One of these threads is our common belief and support of a democratic form of government, and the right of every person to fully participate in it. Unfortunately, this right of full participation means very little if each individual does not possess the means of exercising it. This participation requires the ability to obtain information and to communicate our beliefs and concerns to others. Undoubtedly this process is greatly hindered without the existence of a commonly accepted and used language.

In essence, what a policy of bilingualism/biculturalism does is to segregate minorities from the mainstream of our politics, economy, and society because we are not making it possible for them to freely enter into that mainstream. We are pushing them aside into their own communities, and denying them the tools with which to break out. I have always been against segregation of any kind and by not assuring that every person in this country can speak and understand English we are still practicing segregation. It was wrong when we segregated blacks because of color and it is just as wrong when we create a system which segregates any group of people by language.

As Americans we are a unique people and one of the things that makes us uniquely American is our common language--English. My proposed constitutional amendment would assure that anyone in this country can fully take part in the American dream and that future generations also will have this privilege.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Joint resolution be printed the Record.

There being no objection, the Joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J.. Res. 167

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after its submission to the States for ratification:

"ARTICLE

"Sec. 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.

``Sec. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Cited as: Huddleston (1984)

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pp. 1364, 1365

MORE SUPPORT FOR ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. President, since I introduced Senate Joint Resolution 167, which would amend the Constitution to make English our official language, numerous articles and editorials in support of this resolution have been printed. One of the best editorials I have read on the issue was recently printed in the Messenger of Madisonville, Ky, and was written by Ben Hall , city editor.

I ask that the editorial be printed in the Record.

The editorial follows:
[From the Madisonville (Ky.) Messenger Jan. 25. 1984]

ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

(By Ben Hall)

If the Old Testament story is to be taken literarlly, the construction of the tower of Babel was halted when the builders found themselves unable to follow a common project because they suddenly spoke a multitude of tongues.

That means of confounding those who would build a tower to heaven was, indicates the Biblical account, the most effective the Almighty could think of to bring the effort to a quick and permanent end.

Since that time, the confusion of languages has been a barrier to international intercourse in business and diplomacy, but has rarely affected most of us in our day-to-day affairs until recently.

Now in some parts of the country it is virtually impossible for an American who speaks only English to order a meal or get directions on the street.

The situation has deteriorated to the point that Kentucky's Sen. Walter "Dee" Huddleston has introduced an amendment to the Constitution designating English as the official language of the United States.

That is like passing legislation declaring Victoria Principal a woman.

And, as so often is the case, the odd turn of events is being financed and encouraged by the federal government.

This is to say that your tax dollars and mine—$139 million of them last year alone— are being spent to undermine the strongest single element which holds the country together and has done so for more than 200 years.

Like so many ideas that end up as fiscal and social nightmares, the notion of bilingual education was based on good motivations.

The idea was that children from non-English-speaking homes, largely Spanish-speaking, should be eased into the mainstream of American English-speaking life by having a part of their schooling conducted in their first language.

So far so good, but it soon went beyond that and now has gone beyond that at a cost of more than $1 billion federal dollars.

The bilingual boondoggle has proliferated to the point that in Florida, New York, and the Southwest, both children and adults are getting the idea, Sen. Huddleston points out, that there really isn't any need to learn English at all.

This is a problem which is not new, at least in the Southwest. It is one that has existed in Texas for example, for as long as anyone can remember. In fact, it has given rise to a sort of bastardized tongue locally called Tex-Mex which combined some elements of English and Mexican Spanish and is semi-unintelligible to speakers of either.

When I was trying to teach a little English to foreign students at the University of Houston a while back, I found that students from Latin America had as much trouble understanding Tex-Mex as I did.

One of the great strengths of American culture and of the American nation has always been that it was made up of a diversity of cultures from all nations of the Western world.

The English language, particularly the American version, contains a great many words from the languages of all the groups which make up our heritage of unified differences.

Until recently, there has never been a serious question but that immigrants wanted to get into the mainstream of the life of their adopted country. Learning the language in which the affairs of the nation are conducted was, and is, the only way effectively to do that.

As ususal, the youngsters are the ones who come out losers in this sort of idiocy, although the taxpayers who foot the bill bear a needless burden also.

Without a clear goal of learning English and becoming comfortable with the whole cluster of traditions affiliated with it, the children are left in a cultural and linguistic limbo without firm roots anywhere.

While every immigrant group coming to this country has held on to its own traditions in one way or another, and to one degree or another, all have

recognized that having cast their lot here, they must begin to move into that cultural mainstream, taking from it and contributing to it.

An attempt to isolate oneself from the great majority of one's fellow citizens by maintaining and encouraging a barrier of language is foolish.

The end result will be an isolation and inbreeding that will keep both the immigrant and the society into which he has placed himself from benefitting from the other.

While the immigrant in Miami or Taos may be able to get along in his own limited circle, he will find that if he attempts to circulate in the big world of business, industry, government, or social events, his "native" language will be about as valuable as a Latin dictionary is to a lobster.

Is it not time that the traditions and approaches, including the English language, recognized as having worked very well since the birth of the nation, get some consideration?

Is it not time that we spend some effort, and, if need be some billions to emphasize that which has made us strong, rather than foolishly throwing aside our basic values at the behest of every illegal alien or every criminal, maniac, or prostitute that Castro rid himself of and which a bumbling President clasped to our collective bosom?

Every group of immigrants coming to the United States throughout our history has done so because they liked what they saw from afar. They have met the challenges of newness and difference and their overcoming of these challenges had made them, and the nation stronger and better.

If the new wave of immigrants is unable to meet the standards and the challenges this country offers, and accept the opportunities it offers, the answer is not in changing the standards.

The answer is to remind them that fishing boats can sail both ways and that a river can be crossed in both directions.

If it takes an amendment to the Constitution to make that point, Sen. Huddleston's bill deserves to become law.

It might bring an end to the growing babble.

Cited as: Huddleston, (1984b)

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THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE ISSUE

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. President, since I introduced the constitutional amendment to make English our official language, the national debate on this issue has quickened. The issue has captured the interest of thousands of people across our great country, and organized efforts are underway to alter our mad rush toward becoming a bilingual society.

The prestigious publication, English Around the World, recently printed an article on this very important problem. I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

UNITED STATES: MOVING TOWARD A BILINGUAL SOCIETY
(By Gerda Bikales)

It is one of the great ironies of history: people all over the world are making sacrifices to learn English, the language widely recognized as the key to opening the doors of opportunity; yet, at the same time, unprecedented resistance has developed to the acceptance of English in the world's largest English-speaking country.

To highlight the extent of disaffection that has befallen the language commonly believed to be the official language of the United States, one need only point to the headline-making controversy that developed recently when the Mayor of Elizabeth N.J. issued orders to City Hall personnel that they speak English on the Job. Mayor Thomas Dunn, a liberal Democrat who has held this office for 18 years, was immediately threatened with law suits charging violations of the civil rights of his employees, and with political retaliation from the city's large Hispanic population.

The conflicts erupting in today's headlines have been a long time in the making. Briefly, they were created by the confluence of several disparate trends:

A decade of record immigration.
Rejection by minorities of the "melting pot" ideal as a model for their adjustment to the American mainstream.
A more stagnant economy, in which even mastery of English no longer assures upward mobility.
The use of language criteria to define minority status.

A new government role in funding bilingual /bicultural education in the public schools, and foreign language voting ballots.

Understandably, the advocates of bilingual education and of voting materials in foreign languages deny that their position implies any rejection of English or of American culture. They argue that teaching academic subjects in the student's home language allows him to progress at grade level, and in fact teaches him English better than the more traditional methods. The point is frequently made that children in bilingual programs also learn to take pride in their heritage, which helps them to become more self-assured and encourages them to stay in school.

Bilingual education is also presented as the solution to the problem of better foreign language instruction in public school, a good way to provide the country with a corps of highly literate foreign language speakers.

Other advantages are also claimed for bilingual programs. By law, special efforts must be made to reach out to the parents of the bilingual students, and to involve them in school affairs and policy-making. It is argued that this promotes parent participation in the community and cooperation between school and home.

A similar explanation is offered to justify voting in other languages—people are more likely to register, vote and participate in politics if they can do so in the language they know best.

Unfortunately, the parents who enthusiastically lobby for bilingual-bicultural education for their youngsters seem to have been promised more than the school system can presume to deliver. The parents are led to believe that their children can effectively master English, learn to understand the American system, fit well into American society, and still retain their full ethnic loyalties and cultural understanding.

This is really a false hope, bound to be dashed. The school can not serve as a hot house to preserve the culture and loyalties of origin, in an environment that demands adjustment and change. To the extent that the school succeeds at all in this questionable objective, it sets up painful conflicts and confusions that interfere with the student's integration into the new society.

A mass of empirical evidence points to serious weaknesses in the bilingual education method, when compared to other methods of instructing children who don't speak English. After years of testing, the best that can be said unequivocally is that bilingual education is yet to prove itself.

Virtually nothing is known about the quality of assimilation of bilingual program participants. This is a much needed area of investigation one that is yet to attract the interest of serious researchers, or the dollars from government funding agencies.

The American people had no input into the series of government decisions that gradually brought about wider acceptance of foreign languages in official situations. Resentment against government support of rival foreign languages, popularly perceived as a mechanism for weakening the strongest tie that unites a

culturally diverse people, has been very high but nearly invisible until recently. Despite the low level of public support for these programs, the bilingual interests have been on a successful offensive that saw their budgets and their influence in Congress grow steadily. In early 1983, they felt secure enough to put on a conference, right in the nation's capital, destined to be remembered as a milestone in the history of language use politics in America. The conference, sponsored by the consortium of bilingual interests known as the National Association for Bilingual Education, was held under the overall theme of "Bilingualism In the National Interest." The quantum leap from "bilingual education" to "bilingualism" was a high risk act of bravado that at first went unnoticed, and is only now being questioned by an emerging countermovement to protect English as the common heritage of all the American people.

The movement for the maintenance of the nation's monolingual character received its impetus with the introduction, in 1981, of a Constitutional Amendment to make English the official language of the United States. Senator S. I. Hayakawa, who introduced the Amendment, was somewhat taken aback by the intensity of the popular enthusiasm that greeted his proposal. Some journalists were clearly bemused by the notion of an English Language Amendment, but people all over the country clamored for a chance to help pass it.

In time, Senator Hayakawa came to see the need for a national organization that would channel citizen support into a purposeful movement to protect English from further erosion. Upon his retirement from the Senate, he helped found U.S. English, a national membership organization working for legal protection for the language that history gave us. The Washington-based group has experienced rapid growth since it opened its door early in 1983, and has already been involved in several successful campaigns, most notably the current initiative drive in San Francisco to restore English-only ballots. This November, the San Francisco initiative will provide a first opportunity for voters in that area to express their feelings on the subject of multi-lingual voting ballots, though the outcome will have no practical effect, since the federal law mandating this practice can only be changed by Congress.

Unlike the "Americanization" movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, today's English language advocacy is neither nativistic nor isolationist. Dr. Hayakawa, considered the spiritual "father" of the movement for the protection of English, is himself an immigrant of Japanese ancestry. He has attracted to the leadership of U.S. English people with strong ties to other linguistic and cultural traditions. They recognize that America today is part of an interdependent world, in which a knowledge of foreign languages is a personal asset and a valuable resource to the nation.

U.S. English stresses the importance of teaching foreign languages to English-speaking youngsters, and supports legislation to fund better foreign language instruction at every level in the school curriculum. It appeals to a more cosmopolitan, more traveled, better educated, and certainly more tolerant America than had been the case in prior periods of our history when English had been at issue.

As president of U.S., English I am often asked to speculate on the future of

English in the United States. Can we avoid the development of an American "Quebec," and all its implied confrontations? Will we continue to spawn ever larger langauge ghettos, separated and alienated from the American mainstream? Are language politics doomed to divide this once cohesive nation?

I have no crystal ball that can supply ready answers. The outcome will ultimately be affected by several interrelated but quite unforeseeable factors; among them, I would cite future immigration flows, economic opportunity, and the legal status of English as the ones of most immediate relevance.

It seems to me that there is no reason to panic, but that the time for mindless laissez-faire in the area of language policy is now well behind us. The time has come to firmly assert ourselves in defense of the langauge that unites us, and to reject those unfortunate policies that tend to pull us apart.

History will Judge us by how courageously we respond to this assignment.

Cited as: Hutchinson (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. Hutchinson), who drafted this same bill in Arkansas, which Governor Clinton then signed.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I rise in strong support of this bill which makes English the official language of the U.S. Government.

Mr. Chairman, I believe it is our values and our ideals that ultimately bind us together as a nation. But it is the English language which serves as the means by which we can communicate these values to those around us. Our common language, English, is that which unites us.

Eight-six percent of all Americans support establishing English as the official language of the U.S. Government. In fact, in a recent survey, telephone survey, taken in a section of my district in northwest Arkansas, it was found that 97 percent of those polled approved of declaring English as the official language of our Government.

I think the numbers speak for themselves, Mr. Chairman. Nearly half the States in our country have established official English laws, including my home State of Arkansas.

In 1987, as a second term legislator in the Arkansas General Assembly, I cosponsored this legislation which we have before us, signed by then-Governor Bill Clinton, now President Clinton, making English the official language of the State of Arkansas. Governor Clinton signed that law. I hope he will sign this bill as well.

My legislative director's grandparents were immigrants from Norway. They came over on a boat. They learned English. They taught their children English. They assimilated in our culture and they lived the American dream. They still revere their Norwegian heritage. They still cherish that tradition, but they knew that English was part of becoming Americans.

Mr. Chairman, I think this bill is very reasonable. It takes a reasonable approach; it makes good sense. We can honor the diverse backgrounds that are

present in our society while at the same time emphasize the common bond that we have in the English language. I urge an aye vote on this bill.

Cited as: Inhofe (1989)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Thursday, April 13, 1989
101st Cong. 1st Sess.
135 Cong Rec E 1210

REFERENCE: Vol. 135 No. 44

TITLE: THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRO AMERICA

SPEAKER: HON. JAMES M. INHOFE OF OKLAHOMA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOTE:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E1210] MR. INHOFE. MR. SPEAKER, THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PRO AMERICA IS A GROUP OF INVOLVED CITIZENS ACROSS THIS COUNTRY WHO CARE DEEPLY ABOUT THE SECURITY OF OUR NATION AND THE WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLE, ESPECIALLY OUR CHILDREN.

EACH YEAR, PRO AMERICA ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS ON THE ISSUES ITS MEMBERS FEEL ARE OF THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO OUR COUNTRY. AMONG THE MATTERS THEY FOCUSED ATTENTION ON LAST YEAR WERE THE NECESSITY OF ALLOWING PARENTS TO FREELY CHOOSE WHO WILL CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN, THE PROBLEMS THAT ARISE WHEN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS NEGOTIATE WITH A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT IN VIOLATION OF THE LOGAN ACT, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND DANGERS OF COURT DECISIONS THAT ARE ANTAGONISTIC TOWARD RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

BECAUSE THEY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF A LARGE SEGMENT OF OUR POPULATION, I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE MEMBERS OF THIS HOUSE BE AWARE THE POSITIONS ADOPTED BY PRO AMERICA. I HAVE COPIES OF THESE RESOLUTIONS AVAILABLE IN MY OFFICE, AND I WOULD LIKE TO SUBMIT FOR THE RECORD PRO AMERICA'S RESOLUTIONS ON ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, ABORTION, AND THE ALASKAN ISLANDS.

THE RESOLUTIONS FOLLOW:

ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Whereas, bilingual education has been federally mandated and funded since 1973, perpetuating a language handicap which discriminates against non-English speaking students and prevents their successful incorporation into American society, economically, culturally, and politically; and

Whereas, a March 1985 report to Congress showed that students enrolled in Bilingual Education programs often do not reach English proficiency even after seven years; and

Whereas, the Immersion program has been proven to be a quicker and more efficient way of learning the English language; and

Whereas, many ethnic residents of the United States have demanded special treatment, ignoring the fact that countless generations of immigrants have mainstreamed into the American culture without special language concessions; and

Whereas, Bilingual ballots are contradictory to the essence of an informed electorate in an English speaking and writing society inasmuch as one who cannot read English well enough to cast a ballot certainly cannot fully understand the issues; and

Whereas, Bilingualism prevents easy communication, is divisive, and pits one group against another; and

Whereas, the majority of Americans resent the accommodation of any ethnic group demanding special favors and refusing to assimilate into American culture; and

Whereas, one language gives cohesiveness to any people and is a unifying force; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Association of Pro America supports appropriate legislation mandating English as the official language of the United States.

Cited as: Knollenberg, (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. Knollenberg).

Mr. KNOLLENBERG. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Chairman, as has been mentioned for more than 200 years our Nation has been a melting pot of cultures and nationalities united by one common bond--our English language.

WHen our ancestors came to America, they came to this country knowing they had to learn English to survive.

Today, our melting pot has become a patchwork quilt of cultures, isolated because they cannot speak English. They aren't assimilating into our society like our ancestors did.

Our current bilingual policies are shredding the common bond that has made our Nation great. Today you can get a drivers license if you don't speak English. You can get forms to vote. You can apply for Social Security and welfare, all in scores of different languages. And bilingual education classes allow immigrant children to never learn English.

By making it easy for those who come to America, we have ripped the heart out of our national unity. We have shredded our common bond, leaving behind the legacy of our ancestors--new and old--who worked so hard to learn English.

Now, opponents of official English will demonize the bill. They are wrong. We want you to speak your own languages, and celebrate your cultures. But English --our common thread--must be the official language.

Mr. Chairman, my district is one of the most diverse districts in the Nation. In West Bloomfield more than 60 different ethnic groups attend schools and in Farmington, 45. Administrators, teachers, and the students themselves say making English our common language is the only way they can get along. It creates a common bond across ethnic lines that each student shares.

Testimony after testimony show that people must speak English to be successful. A quote by a Houston farmer Ernesto Ortiz says it best. "My

children learn Spanish in school so they can grow up to be busboys and waiters. I teach them English at home so they can become lawyers and doctors."

English is overwhelmingly supported by the American public. A recent USA Today poll found 97 percent of Americans feel English should be the official language. And more than 23 States have laws making English official, including one signed by then Governor, now President Clinton.

Oppose these weakening amendments. Support our common bond. Help make English as our official language. Oppose the Serrano substitute.

Cited as: Linder (1996)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- HOUSE
Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9725

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 123, ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

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

Mr. Speaker, in closing let me just say this is a modest attempt to do what the people of this country have wanted for some time in overwhelming numbers, to establish English as the first and official language of this country.

For over 200 years, the glue that held the fabric of this society together was a common language. Thirty years ago, we began to change that. We began to deal with people in different languages. That isolated them. This bill is going to bring them back together. The isolation that was created by putting people in pockets of communities that spoke a different language kept them apart and out of the American dream. This is a modest effort to change that. I urge support for the rule.

Cited as: Lipinski (1986)

Congressional Record
Volume 132
Number 14
99th Congress
2nd Session
August 6, 1986 to August 11, 1986
pp. 19458, 19459

MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. LIPINSKI] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise before my colleagues today to read an editorial written by Joan Beck for the Chicago Tribune on July 7, 1 986. The issue refers to a resolution before Congress to make English the official language of the United States by an amendment to the Constitution. As a cosponsor and strong supporter of this resolution, I feel that this editorial is a timely and relevant piece that would interest my fellow Members of Congress. The piece follows in a slightly edited form:

America Needs A Common Voice-English

Almost all of us are immigrants or immigrants, children, 1st or 2d or 5th or 10th generation. Immigrants—at least 70 million by now—have nourished this country with energy, enterprise, intellect, and fresh commitment to our unique national heritage. That commitment to becoming part of one nation, indivisible, is even more essential today. Immigration—legal and illegal—is at an alltime high. The melting pot ideology that served us well historically is being pushed aside by sentimental insistence on preserving a Balkanizing of other languages and cultures.

But If this Nation is to survive the diverse new waves of immigration, it is essential that the process of assimilation go on, at least in the public life we share. And the key to being a united nation is a common language.

This is not as clearly understood now as it has been in the past. Sympathy for newcomers, sentiment, and concerns about the civil rights of minorities have weakened the historic assumption that newcomers should be helped to learn English as quickly and efficiently as possible and should do so as part of their responsibility to become citizens.

Bilingual education programs sometimes spend as much effort maintaining students' native language as encouraging their fluency in English. And the great concentrations of immigrants in some American cities—especially those with foreign-language TV— are making it easy for people to live in the United States a lifetime and never learn English.

So critical is it that people in the United States share a common language that support is growing to make English this Nation's official language—either by constitutional amendment or by State and Federal laws.

Low-key efforts to use a constitutional amendment to make English the Nation's official language are also underway. The amendment was introduced in Congress in 1981 by S.I. Hayakawa, a semantics scholar and then Senator from California. But enthusiasm for using the cumbersome amendment process for this purpose has been slow to develop. Hayakawa also heads U.S. English, a national, nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that pushes the amendment and wants to speed up bilingual education, repeal laws requiring bilingual ballots, insist on being able to speak English as a requirement for naturalization and encourage the use of English by the entire Nation. "Government should foster the similarities that unite us rather than the differences that separate us," the organization insists.

Making English the official language is essentially a proimmigrant policy. It aims at integrating newcomers into the mainstream of American life as quickly as possible, not keeping them linguistically isolated and powerless in semantic segregation. The intention is to open the doors to American success for immigrants and push them to share the rich cultural life, literature and history of the country they have chosen to be their home.

Those who claim the right to settle in the United States—and who often get tax-paid benefits—have a responsibility, too. Making English the official language serves notice on newcomers and prospective immigrants that they are expected to become Americans in the fullest sense.

Cited as: Lipinski (1990)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Friday, October 26, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec E 3526

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 149 -- Part 4

TITLE: H.R. 4424, THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT

SPEAKER: HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI OF ILLIONIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E3526] MR. LIPINSKI. MR. SPEAKER, I RISE TODAY TO SHARE WITH MY COLLEAGUES AN INSIGHTFUL ARTICLE ON THE LANGUAGE IN GOVERNMENT ACT, H.R. 4424. THE AUTHOR, JOAN BECK, EXAMINES THE PROSPECT OF DECLARING ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF OUR GOVERNMENT, AND USING IT AS A VEHICLE FOR CREATING EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATIONAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN LIFE.

I COMMEND MS. BECK'S ARTICLE TO MY COLLEAGUES AND URGE THEM TO AFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH AS OUR COMMON LANGUAGE BY JOINING ME IN SPONSORING THIS LEGISLATION.

[From the Houston (TX) Chronicle]

ABANDONING THE AMERICAN IDEAL

(By Joan Beck)

Already, the long knives of touchy minorities are being drawn to kill the English-as-official-language -of-government bill introduced last week in Congress.

The opponents are wasting their energy. The legislation hasn't much chance.

Members of Congress can hardly scrape together the courage to pass a sensible budget. They aren't about to support anything else that could rile up even a few more voters before Nov. 6. And the official-English measure isn't being attached to an essential bill in a legislative maneuver to slip it through.

But a good case can be made for the bill -- not so much because of any changes it would force in government operations, but for what it would symbolize about this country's one-nation-indivisible hopes for the future.

The legislation was introduced by Sen. Richard Shelby, D-Ala.. It simply provides that English will be the official language of the federal government. It wouldn't affect private use of language, education, emergency services, public health and safety, court proceedings or other situations.

A somewhat similar measure, introduced by Reps. Bill Emerson, R-Mo., and Ike Skelton, D-Mo., is pending in the House Education and Labor Committee. And a constitutional amendment to make English this country's official language proposed by Rep. Norman Shumway, R-Calif., with 69 co-sponsors is before a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee.

Shelby's proposed law says it purpose "is to maintain the benefits of a single official language of the government of the United States. Thre is no intent to discriminate against or restrict the rights of any individual."

In a Senate speech, Shelby said, "For more than 200 years, persons from every nationality, race and religious belief have come here to share in the riches of our land. How is it that the United States has built such a strong society out of this melting pot of nationalities; races and ethnics groups? It is language that has made communication and, more important, democracy possible."

Millions of Americans agree. Four months ago, 89 percent of the voters in Alabama voted to ratify an amendment that makes English the official language of state government. Seventeen other states have similar laws.

Even so, Shelby's bill has prompted a rage of racist and discrimination charges, particularly from Hispanic groups. Their anger, however, is shortsighted and self-defeating.

The melting pot ideal of a United States that welcomes a worldwide diversity of people with the opportunity and expectation they will become part of mainstream America worked well for almost two centuries. Over the years, this country absorbed more than 60 million immigrants -- an astonishing phenomenon.

But the melting pot model has been chucked aside in recent years, replaced by increasingly sharp racial and ethnic divisions that are rubbing this society raw. Rhetoric about the importance of roots and cultural identity is drowning out the old ideal that Americans as individuals can make of ourselves what we will free of the constraints, limitations, animosities and problems of the past.

Granted, the ideal hasn't always been realized. But it should not be abandoned. The alternative is to settle for becoming a nation of squabbling minorities, fighting over the spoils of affirmative action, always looking for changes to scream "discrimination," even rewriting history in hopes of finding self-esteem elsewhere than in our own efforts.

This country needs to be more than a multilingual, multicultural collection of competing minorities living within a set of geographical borders. If it is to live in peach with itself, it must continue to work toward the idea of welcoming everyone into a mainstream majority, not making it easy -- or beneficial -- for minorities to stay outside.

There is an object lesson for the United States as close as Canada, where bilingualism exaggerates ethnic differences and deepens the schisms and separatist sentiments between Quebec and the other provinces. Passing an English-as-official-language law would make it clear the United States intends to avoid this bitter trap.

But such a law should also carry the moral -- perhaps even the legal -- obligation to asist those who can't speak English to learn how. Help in dealing with the government should be easily available. Other languages should be cherished and esteemed -- both as private heritage and national resource.

Congress should, however, declare that English is the official language of government and so help nudge the nation toward its future as one nation indivisible.

Cited as: Lipinski (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Lipinski).

(Mr. LIPINSKI asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of H.R. 123, the English as the Common Language of Government Act. This bill declares English to be the official language of the U.S. Government, and requires the Federal Government to conduct its official business in English. The measure also requires that all naturalization ceremonies be conducted entirely in English.

There is nothing radical or racist about declaring English the official language of the United States. By providing a means to communicate across ethnic and racial lines, a common language unites people and eliminates misunderstanding, segregation, distrust, and discord. English is our single shared language. It is the one language that crosses all ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds and allows diverse Americans to share their multicultural backgrounds.

Declaring English as the official language will provide an incentive for immigrants to learn English. Throughout our history, new Americans were proud to learn to speak, read and write English. They knew that English was the key to assimilating to their new country. English was necessary to take advantage of all the opportunities that America had to offer.

Yet, today there are more than 32 million Americans who are not proficient in English. In many cities, immigrants can live, work, and play without ever knowing a word of English. The Federal Government caters to these immigrants by providing programs and services in their native tongue, discouraging them from learning English. According to the General Accounting Office, the Federal Government, between 1990 and 1994, printed more than 250 official documents in other languages. Even swearing-in ceremonies for naturalized American citizens have taken place in other languages.

Making English official will let immigrants know that they have no right to receive public services in any other language. Most Federal Government

business--documents, meetings, records, legislation, and ceremonies--will be in English. This is a tremendous incentive for new citizens to learn English so that they may participate fully in American society.

H.R. 123 does not prohibit languages other than English to be used in nongovernmental settings. It simply states that English is the language in which all official U.S. Government business will be conducted. Official English does not infringe on individual rights, nor does it prevent immigrants from preserving their cultures and languages in their personal lives. It does, however, encourage immigrants to learn English in order to fully participate in Government.

I encourage all my colleagues to support this nonpartisan, overwhelmingly popular piece of legislation. As Members of Congress, we have an obligation to ensure that non-English speaking citizens have an incentive to learn English so they can prosper and fully partake of all the economic, social, and political opportunities that exist in this great country.

Cited as: Miller (1990)

Congressional Record -- House
Wednesday, July 18, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 4977

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 92

TITLE: LANGUAGE, THE TIE THAT BINDS

SPEAKER: MR. BROOMFIELD; Mr. EMERSON; MR. HUTTO; Mr. MILLER of Ohio; MR. MONTGOMERY; Mr. MYERS of Indiana; MR. NIELSON OF UTAH; MR. SHUMWAY; MR. SLAUGHTER OF VIRGINIA

Mr. EMERSON. I thank the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to yield to my friend and colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, the Honorable Clarence Miller.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, the State of Alabama last month overwhelmingly reaffirmed the strong wave of support in our country for making English the official language of the United States when more than 90 percent of the voters ratified a constitutional amendment making English the State's official language.

An integral component of any society is that its people have a common unifying factor. The United States' greatness comes from its wide diverse ancestoral background and our English language is the common unifying factor which allows us to assimilate and integrate our diverse cultures into one.

In these times when we are striving so hard to ensure individual civil rights and the acceptance of all of our residents into the mainstream of American life, let us at the Federal level further open the doors of opportunity for all by designating English as our primary language -- ensuring equality of opportunity for all Americans. If we as a country and a people are going to realize our full potential, it will require a unified and cooperative effort on the part of all involved. good coordination and cooperation evolve from a thorough understanding of each other's wants and needs.

It stands to reason that a common and recognized national tongue would better facilitate such understanding and help this country and its people more readily attain that potential.

Again I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Cited as: Myers (1990)

Congressional Record -- House
Wednesday, July 18, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 4977

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Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. Myers] for his valuable contribution to this discussion. Mr. Speaker, I hasten to add there is nothing in our proposal that is designed to discourage people from learning a second language. Indeed the proponents of the Official English Language Act encourage us to know other languages. This is really an effort to get us to focus on the fact that we do need the one common language to unite us and that in the process of everyone learning English, there is nothing to say that we should not know other languages as well.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Merci beaucoup. Danke schoen. Grazia. And thank you.

MR. SPEAKER, I RISE AS A COSPONSOR OF THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT, H.R. 4424, TO CALL ATTENTION TO A FACT I FIND ASTONISHING AS WE IN THIS COUNTRY FACE THE 21ST CENTURY AND MOVE INTO AN ERA OF INCREASED INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESSS. THE FACT IS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES, THERE ARE STATES IN WHICH A STUDENT MAY GO THROUGH SCHOOL AND GRADUATE WITHOUT KNOWING HOW TO SPEAK AND WRITE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

I BRING THIS TO THE ATTENTION OF MY HOUSE COLLEAGUES TO UNDERSCORE THE NEED FOR OUR COUNTRY TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND TO BEGIN PUTTING MORE RESOURCES INTO PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS SPECIFICALLY FOR ENGLISH INSTRUCTION.

THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT WOULD MAKE ENGLISH THE LANGUAGE OF OUR LEGISLATIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT. SINCE OUR GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS IN ENGLISH NOW LITTLE WOULD CHANGE ABOUT THE MANNER IN WHICH WE CONDUCT THE PUBLIC BUSINESS. BUT SETTING A CLEAR LANGUAGE POLICY WOULD

ACCOMPLISH A VERY IMPORTANT OBJECTIVE: WE WILL BE SAYING THAT IN ORDER TO REAP THE BENEFITS OF LIVING IN THE UNITED STATES, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO KNOW ENGLISH. THAT MESSAGE IS CRUCIAL TO THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY.

THERE ARE MANY REASONS FOR ENCOURAGING OUR CITIZENS TO LEARN ENGLISH, BUT I CAN THINK OF NONE MORE COMPELLING THAN OUR ECONOMIC WELLBEING. U.S. COMPANIES DEPEND UPON WELL-EDUCATED WORKERS, BUT MANY FEAR -- WITH REASON -- THAT THE WORK FORCE OF THE YEAR 2000 WILL LACK EVEN THE MOST BASIC SKILLS. YOUNG PEOPLE DOUBLY AT RISK HAVE NEITHER THE ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE IN ENGLISH NOR THE LITERACY SKILLS THEY NEED FOR GOOD JOBS.

ECONOMISTS TELL US THAT THIS COUNTRY IS MOVING RAPIDLY FROM A MANUFACTURING-BASED TO A SERVICE-BASED ECONOMY. THE HUDSON INSTITUTE'S WORKFORCE 2000 STUDY INDICATES THE FASTEST GROWING OCCUPATIONAL FIELDS BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY WILL BE PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL, MANAGERIAL, SALES AND SERVICE JOBS. ON THE OTHER HAND, JOBS SUCH AS MACHINE TENDERS, ASSEMBLERS, MINERS AND FARMERS ACTUALLY WILL DECLINE. AT THE TIME THE NEED FOR HIGHER SKILLED WORKERS IS GROWING, THE BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS INDICATE FEWER NEW WORKERS WILL BE ENTERING THE WORK FORCE. COMPETITION FOR QUALIFIED EMPLOYEES IS GOING TO BE STIFF.

EMPLOYERS ARE GOING TO BE MORE WILLING TO OFFER JOBS AND TRAINING TO THOSE THEY HAVE TRADITIONALLY IGNORED -- THE MINORITIES. HOWEVER, THE JOBS BEING CREATED BY THE ECONOMY WILL DEMAND MUCH HIGHER SKILLS THAN THE JOBS THAT EXIST TODAY. STUDIES INDICATE THAT MINORITY WORKERS MAY HAVE LANGUAGE PROBLEMS THAT PREVENT THEM FROM TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE JOBS THAT WILL EXIST.

IN SHORT, WE ARE GOING TO FIND OURSELVES WITH A WORK FORCE THAT DOESN'T POSSESS THE SKILLS FOR THE WORK THAT NEEDS DOING. EDUCATION, PARADOXICALLY, IS BOTH THE SOLUTION AND THE PROBLEM. PART OF THE PROBLEM WITH LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION FOR MINORITY CHILDREN IS A PROGRAM CALLED NATIVE LANGUAGE BASED BILINGUAL EDUCATION. THIS PROGRAM TEACHES LIMITED ENGLISH-SPEAKING PUPILS IN THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE -- NOT IN ENGLISH. IT IS SYSTEMATICALLY UNDEREDUCATING OUR LANGUAGE MINORITY CHILDREN AND SEVERELY REDUCINGTHEIR OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT.

I WANT TO STOP HERE AND EMPHASIZE THAT I AM NOT CRITICAL OF ALL BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS. I SUPPORT BILINGUAL EDUCATION THAT MOVES THE NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENT INTO THE EDUCATIONAL MAINSTREAM AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE.

IN THE 22 YEARS SINCE BILINGUAL EDUCATION BEGAN, THE NUMBER OF DIFFERENT LANGUAGES REPRESENTED IN SCHOOLROOMS NATIONWIDE HAS GROWN TO 153. THESE PROGRAMS HAVE BECOME THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL AREA IN PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND IT'S NO WONDER.

NATIVE LANGUAGE BASED BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS, IN MOST INSTANCES, SEGREGATE LIMITED ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS, OFFER THEM INFERIOR EDUCATION AND OFTEN DOOM THEM TO UNSKILLED JOBS AS ADULTS. THESE ARE THE UNSKILLED JOBS THAT THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR SAYS WILL BE IN SHORT SUPPLY IN THE COMING DECADE.

EVIDENCE OF THE IMPACT OF INEFFECTIVE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS ABOUNDS. IN LATE 1988 CON EDISON, THE PUBLIC UTILITY COMPANY OF NEW YORK CITY, GAVE AN ENGLISH LANGUAGE APTITUDE TEST TO 7,000 APPLICANTS FOR ENTRY LEVEL JOBS. ONLY 4,000 PASSED -- AND NOT ONE OF THOSE WAS A GRADUATE OF THE CITY'S BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAM. YET A COALITION OF ETHNIC ACTIVISTS RECENTLY SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING THE STATE BOARD OF REGENTS TO PASS NEW REGULATIONS KEEPING MORE LIMITED ENGLISH CHILDREN ENROLLED FOR MORE YEARS IN NATIVE LANGUAGE CLASSES.

IN NEW JERSEY LAST YEAR, THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION ANNOUNCED THAT LIMITED ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS MAY TAKE THE TEST OF BASIC SKILLS REQUIRED FOR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION IN ANY OF 12 LANGUAGES. WHAT THE BOARD DIDN'T EXPLAIN WAS HOW A STUDENT WHO PASSES THE TEST ONLY IN SPANISH CAN GET A JOB IN OUR ENGLISH-SPEAKING SOCIETY OUR QUALIFY FOR COLLEGE ENTRANCE.

THE SOLUTION PROPOSED FOR THESE PROBLEMS BY BILINGUAL EDUCATION ADVOCATES IS MORE NATIVE-LANGUAGE-BASED BILINGUAL EDUCATION. DESPITE ITS OWN STUDIES SHOWING THAT NATIVE-LANGUAGE-BASED BILINGUAL EDUCATION FAILS THE CHILDREN IT IS MEANT TO HELP, THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION CONTINUES TO DIRECT THE MAJOR PORTION OF ITS FUNDING FOR LANGUAGE-MINORITY CHILDREN INTO THESE SAME PROGRAMS.

THUS, WE HAVE STUDENTS IN 1990 GRADUATING FROM HIGH SCHOOL IN THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO READ AND WRITE THE COMMON LANGUAGE [*H4979] OF OUR LAND. HOW CAN THESE YOUNG PEOPLE TAKE THEIR PLACE IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND CULTURAL LIFE OF OUR COUNTRY WITHOUT KNOWING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE?

THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1968 WAS DESIGNED TO REMOVE LANGUAGE BARRIERS TO LEARNING. ACCESS TO AN

EQUAL EDUCATION WAS ITS PRIMARY GOAL AND EARLY MASTERY OF ENGLISH WAS SEEN AS THE KEY. THREE YEARS OF STUDY WAS RECOMMENDED UNDER THE NEW INITIATIVE CALLED BILINGUAL EDUCATION, WHICH WAS EXPECTED TO HELP STUDENTS LEARN ENGLISH FASTER, DEVELOP SELF ESTEEM AND MASTER SUBJECTS FOR GRADE PROMOTION AND HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION. THE AIMS WERE NOBLE, AND CLEARLY EVERYONE UNDERSTOOD THAT LIMITED ENGLISH-PROFICIENT STUDENTS NEEDED MORE HELP THAN HAD BEEN PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED. THE OLD "SINK OR SWIM" METHOD IS UNACCEPTABLE.

BUT SOON BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS BEGAN TO CHANGE.BILINGUAL ADVOCACY GROUPS EXERTED PRESSURE AT THE STATE LEVEL FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS TO PROVIDE SUPPORT FOR MAINTAINING STUDENTS' NATIVE CULTURES, AS WELL. OFTEN SCHOOLS WERE URGED TO HIRE ONLY TEACHERS OF THE SAME ETHNIC BACKGROUND AS THE STUDENTS. THERE WERE REPEATED EFFORTS TO KEEP STUDENTS IN BILINGUAL CLASSES BEYOND THE 3 YEARS ORIGINALLY RECOMMENDED.

IN MANY CASES, POLITICAL PRESSURE CHANGED WHAT WAS TO BE A TEMPORARY, TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM INTO A PERMANENT VEHICLE FOR DEVELOPING THE STUDENTS' NATIVE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE AT THE EXPENSE OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE LEARNING AND INTEGRATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM CLASSROOMS. IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEN, THAT SCHOOLS IN SOME AREAS ARE GRADUATING STUDENTS WHO SPEAK SPANISH BUT NOT ENGLISH. WHEN STUDENTS ARE TAUGHT A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF EACH DAY IN SPANISH, THE LANGUAGE THEY WILL KNOW IS SPANISH, NOT ENGLISH. BUT IF THEY LIVE IN AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRY, AS OURS IS, THEIR ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL OPTIONS WILL BE LIMITED.

LANGUAGES SERVE A PRACTICAL, COMMONSENSE PURPOSE -- COMMUNICATION. LANGUAGE POLICIES HAVE TO BE JUDGED IN LIGHT OF THAT BASIC REALITY. A LANGUAGE OR DIALECT THAT SEVERELY RESTRICTS HOW MANY PEOPLE YOU CAN COMMUNICATE WITH IS A GREAT HANDICAP, NO MATTER WHAT ITS MERITS MAY BE, COMPARED TO OTHER LANGUAGES.

SPANISH IS A LANGUAGE OF GREAT BEAUTY AND SUBTLETY, BUT IF YOU LIVE IN AN ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRY, YOU CANNOT USE IT TO COMMUNICATE WITH AS MANY PEOPLE AS YOU CAN REACH WITH ENGLISH. IF YOU CANNOT COMMUNICATE WITH EMPLOYERS, YOU MAY NOT GET A JOB.

ABOUT 60 PERCENT OF NATIVE-LANGUAGE-BASED BILINGUAL EDUCATION STUDENTS ARE HISPANIC. PROPONENTS OF THE PROGRAM HAVE CLAIMED THE METHOD IS SUPERIOR TO ANY OTHER METHOD OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION AND THAT THIS SUPERIORITY CAN BE PROVEN OBJECTIVELY BY STANDARDIZED

ACHIEVEMENT TEST SCORES. IN REALITY, THE PROOF HAS NOT BEEN FORTHCOMING.

AFTER 22 YEARS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS, THE RATE OF DROPOUT BEFORE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION AMONG HISPANIC STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES REMAINS AT NEARLY 50 PERCENT. FORTY PERCENT OF THESE STUDENTS NEVER REACH THE 10TH GRADE. BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS REPORTS INDICATE THAT A TOTAL OF 14 MILLION HISPANICS WILL BE IN THE UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE BY THE YEAR 2000. WITH THE SHRINKING NUMBER OF UNSKILLED JOBS AVAILABLE, WHERE WILL WE FIND WORK FOR PEOPLE WHO DON'T HAVE HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATIONS? THESE YOUNG PEOPLE LEAVING SCHOOL BEFORE THE 10TH GRADE ARE THE VERY ONES TO WHOM WE NEED TO BE PROVIDING QUALITY EDUCATION, CHOCK FULL OF BASIC SKILLS LIKE READING AND WRITING -- IN ENGLISH.

BY THE YEAR 2000, HISPANICS ARE PROJECTED TO BE 10 PERCENT OF THE UNITED STATES LABOR FORCE, UP FROM 7 PERCENT IN 1986. THIS INCREASE RESULTS IN 6 MILLION MORE HISPANICS ENTERING THE LABOR FORCE BY THE TURN OF THE CENTURY.

THESE SOBERING STATISTICS ADD UP TO BUT ONE CONCLUSION: MORE JOBLESSNESS AMONG THE LEAST SKILLED AND LESS JOBLESSNESS AMONG THE MOST EDUCATIONALLY ADVANTAGED.

MY COLLEAGUES, THE ISSUE IS NOT MAINTAINING ONE'S CULTURE. CAN A PERSON WORKING THREE JOBS TO PUT BREAD ON THE TABLE FOR HIS OR HER FAMILY GOING TO HAVE MUCH TIME TO DEVOTE TO FINE ART OR GREAT LITERATURE OR CLASSICAL MUSIC? THIS ISSUE IS, QUITE FRANKLY, THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. THE KIND OF LEGACY WE WANT TO LEAVE OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN. IF OUR ECONOMY FAILS TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF THE 21ST CENTURY AND WE FAIL TO LEAVE A VIGOROUS, THRIVING ECONOMY, WE WON'T BE ABLE TO ACCOMMODATE THE IMMIGRANTS WHO WANT TO MAKE THEIR HOME HERE, MUCH LESS PROVIDE JOBS AND FUTURES FOR THE PEOPLE WHO ALREADY LIVE HERE.

WHERE DOES OFFICIAL ENGLISH FIT INTO THIS SCENE? HOW DOES MAKING ENGLISH OUR LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT AFFECT OUR EDUCATIONAL PREPAREDNESS FOR THE COMING DECADES?

FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT WILL NOT AFFECT THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF OTHER LANGUAGES IN OUR COUNTRY. THE PURPOSES OF THIS LEGISLATION IS NOT TO DAMPEN THE INTEREST OR ENTHUSIASM THAT OUR CITIZENS HOLD FOR OTHER LANGUAGES. IN FACT, THE TEACHING AND LEARNING OF OTHER LANGUAGES WILL BECOME MORE AND MORE IMPORTANT AS OUR ECONOMY GROWS. THIS LEGISLATION WILL NOT DETER THE

PRIVATE USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES IN THE HOME, THE COMMUNITY, THE CHURCH AND ELSEWHERE.

THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT ESTABLISHES A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY THAT SAYS TO THOSE WHO LIVE HERE AND THOSE WHO COME HERE: ENGLISH IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. YOU MAY LIVE IN THE UNITED STATES WITHOUT KNOWING ENGLISH, BUT TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS THAT OUR COUNTRY OFFERS, YOU SHOULD KNOW THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN ME IN COSPONSORING H.R. 4424, THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT.

Cited as: Porter (1991)

Congressional Record -- House
Thursday, July 18, 1991
102nd Cong. 1st Sess.
137 Cong Rec H 5645

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 110

TITLE: THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT

SPEAKER: MR. DICKINSON; Mr. EMERSON; MR. GALLO; MR. PORTER; MR. SKELTON; MR. STENHOLM

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

MR. PORTER. MR. SPEAKER, IT IS ONLY APPROPRIATE THAT TODAY, ON THE 85TH BIRTHDAY OF THE DISTINGUISHED FORMER SENATOR HAYAKAWA, WE DISCUSS THE MERITS OF DESIGNATING ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES.

SENATOR HAYAKAWA SPENT MUCH OF HIS PROFESSIONAL LIFE AS A TEACHER. FROM THIS EXPERIENCE, HE LEARNED HOW IMPORTANT IT IS TO PROVIDE THE YOUTH OF OUR GREAT NATION WITH THE VITAL COMMUNICATION SKILLS NECESSARY TO SUCCEED IN THEIR FUTURE ENDEAVORS.

THIS RESPECT FOR THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION LED SENATOR HAYAKAWA TO PROPOSE THAT OUR COMMON LANGUAGE, ENGLISH, BE ESTABLISHED AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE U.S. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. TO ACHIEVE THIS END AND TO PROMOTE OPPORTUNITIES FOR AMERICANS TO LEARN ENGLISH, HE FOUNDED THE NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION U.S. ENGLISH. TODAY, U.S. ENGLISH BOASTS A MEMBERSHIP 400,000 STRONG AND PLAYS A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN THE MOVEMENT TO ESTABLISH ENGLISH AS OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

WE MUST FOLLOW SENATOR HAYAKAWA'S EXAMPLE AND JOIN THE FIGHT TO PREVENT THE SEGREGATION OF OUR SOCIETY ALONG LANGUAGE LINES. WE LIVE IN A LAND OF IMMIGRANTS -- IMMIGRANTS WHO CAME TO OUR GREAT NATION IN SEARCH OF A BETTER LIFE. WITHOUT A COMMAND OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, THE CHILDREN OF THESE IMMIGRANTS WILL BE UNABLE TO FULFILL THEIR VERSIONS OF THE AMERICAN DREAM. WITHOUT AN UNDERSTANDING OF ENGLISH, THEY WILL FIND FULL SCHOOL CURRICULA INACCESSIBLE AND WILL BE SEGREGATED FROM THEIR ENGLISH SPEAKING CLASSMATES.

THE MAJORITY OF THE CHILDREN SERVED BY THE CURRENT BILINGUAL SYSTEM ARE HISPANIC. I FIND THE DISPARITIES IN EDUCATION FOR THIS GROUP EXTREMELY DISTURBING. IN 1988, ONLY HALF OF HISPANICS 25 YEARS OR OLDER WERE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES. APPROXIMATELY, 59 PERCENT OF THE HISPANIC DROPOUTS DID SO BY THE 10TH GRADE. WE HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PREPARE OUR CHILDREN FOR SUCCESS IN OUR SOCIETY. CHILDREN WHO DO NOT SPEAK ENGLISH AT HOME MUST BE BROUGHT TO ENGLISH PROFICIENCY AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE.

ON JANUARY 3, THE GENTLEMAN FROM MISSOURI [MR. EMERSON] INTRODUCED H.R. 123, THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1991. THIS MEASURE WOULD ESTABLISH ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND DIRECT THE GOVERNMENT TO PRESERVE AND ENHANCE THE ROLE OF ENGLISH AS SUCH.

MR. SPEAKER, HISPANIC EDUCATORS HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRESCHOOL CHILDREN ARE AT AN AGE TO LEARN ENGLISH WITH RELATIVE EASE.

HOWEVER, THESE EDUCATORS OPPOSE THIS MEASURE OUT OF FEAR THAT LEARNING ENGLISH WILL CAUSE THE CHILDREN TO ABANDON THEIR NATIVE TONGUES AND LOSE TOUCH WITH THEIR NATIONAL HERITAGE. I CANNOT EMPHASIZE ENOUGH HOW MISPLACED THIS FEAR IS. H.R. 123 WILL NOT AFFECT THE TEACHING OR STUDYING OF OTHER LANGUAGES IN ADDITION TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. NOR WILL IT DETER THE USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES IN THE HOME, COMMUNITY, CHURCH, OR ELSEWHERE. WHAT THE BILL SAYS IS MERELY, IN ADDITION TO ANY LANGUAGE PEOPLE CHOOSE TO LEARN, EVERY AMERICAN IS EXPECTED TO KNOW ENGLISH.

I URGE ALL MEMBERS TO JOIN ME TODAY IN COMMENDING SENATOR HAYAKAWA FOR HIS VISION ON THIS ISSUE AND IN SEEING HIS EFFORTS TO FRUITION BY SUPPORTING H.R. 123.

Cited as: Rohrabacher (1996)

Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9738

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

TEXT: [*H9738]

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Rohrabacher).

Mr. ROHRABACHER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of H.R. 123 and in opposition to the amendment. Those who support bilingualism in the United States of America no doubt are well motivated. They care about immigrants and they care about their fellow man, and thus they want to make it easier for them not to learn how to speak English.

Well, my colleagues are not doing anybody a favor by making it easier for them not to learn English. People all over the world are struggling to teach their children English and struggling how to learn English because they know that is the key that unlocks the door to opportunity. Those people who are making it easier for our own people, people who live in this country, not to speak English are doing them a great disservice.

I have a large number of Asians in my district, people who are American citizens who are of Asian descent. When they come to me and ask me my advice on how to make sure they can do well and their children can do well, I always advise them: "Make sure your children learn how to speak English," and I have never had one of them disagree with me.

I will tell my colleagues this much: Those people in the Hispanic community who are being led down this downward path by people who care about them are going to resent it in the end when their children do not have the opportunity of other Americans because they are locked out of the American system because they cannot speak English.

We care. We are the ones who care about every American citizen when we do not give them an easy way out, but we say, "Become part of America, we love you, we have caring in our heart. That's why you should learn to speak English and that's why we are doing you a disservice by making it easier for you to exist in our society without being able to communicate, without being able to be fully part of the economic system."

Cited as: Roth (1993a)

Congressional Record -- House
Wednesday, February 3, 1993
103rd Cong. 1st Sess.
139 Cong Rec H 364

REFERENCE: Vol. 139 No. 13

TITLE: ONE NATION, ONE LANGUAGE

SPEAKER: Mr. ROTH

TEXT:

[*H364] (Mr. ROTH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, we Americans are a people from every corner of the globe, every ethnic group, every language known on Earth, yet we are one people, one Nation. Why?

Because we have a wonderful bond called the English language. When immigrants came to America they adopted English so that their children could compete and could assimilate and become successful Americans.

We have not had the ethnic strife that we see in Quebec, Canada, Yugoslavia, and other places around the globe.

All that is now changing in America. In the last election people could vote in seven different languages in San Francisco alone. In many parts of our country, English is not the primary language in schools, and in many parts of America, English is not the language of choice.

This will create tremendous problems for our children down the road. America is no longer the melting pot; America is becoming more like a patch quilt. America is breaking up into different linguistic groups.

Therefore, I have introduced legislation to make English our official language of this country. I do not think it is asking too much for our new arrivals to adopt English as the common language.

If we Americans are to remain one Nation, one people, we have no other choice but to make English our common language. I ask all Members to sign on to this legislation.

Cited as: Roth (1993b)

Congressional Record -- House
Monday, May 3, 1993
103rd Cong. 1st Sess.
139 Cong Rec H 2188

REFERENCE: Vol. 139 No. 59

TITLE: DECLARATION OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT

SPEAKER: Mr. ROTH

TEXT:

[*H2188] The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Roth] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, on the Great Seal of the United States is inscribed our national motto, "E Pluribus Unum," "From the Many, One." This phrase sums up the promise of America -- a nation which welcomes people of all origins tojoin together in the quest and pursuit of our common American ideals.

As people emigrated from throughout the world to America, they came for different reasons -- fleeing persecution and poverty, seeking freedom, and hoping for a better future. But whatever their origin, they all proudly adopted the name "Americans."

Indeed, as Americans, we represent every language, every culture, every heritage on Earth. Yet, we are one people, one Nation. What is the essential element that mixes new immigrants into the melting pot of America? That allows them to compete and take hold of the American dream? One factor stands out above all else. Wherever they came from, whatever their native tongue, they all adopted the English language -- as their own.

Now, unfortunately, we are losing this cohesion, this unique American blessing. One need only look at our schools to see this in dramatic fashion. In Chicago schools, 100 languages are spoken. In Denver schools there are 89 languages in use. The list goes on -- 80 languages in Los Angeles, 47 languages in Broward County, FL, and 115 languages in New York City.

America is fast becoming a society divided by language, and with it we will inherit all the problems that stem from this development -- ethnic strife, more discrimination, and entrenched poverty -- the creation of an entire subculture that is unable to compete in the American economy.

The stakes could not be higher. The National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education estimates that 40 million Americans will be non-English-language-proficient in just 8 years -- 40 million Americans. About one-sixth of our population.

These 40 million Americans are increasingly isolated -- split off from the American dream -- and we are doing nothing to stop it. Theodore White adeptly summed up this tragedy when he said: "It is distasteful that a nation whose seal bears the inscription E Pluribus Unum should be asked to divide itself from the one nation into many tribes."

How can we put a halt to this fragmentation? How can we reunite the diverse peoples of America into one Nation -- unified in purpose, dreams and opportunities?

We must go back to our roots, our common foundation, the English language. Considering America's historical legacy, it is not surprising that most people assume English to be our country's official language. In fact, whenever I raise the official language issue, I am asked again and again: isn't English our official language now? The American people are surprised to learn the answer to that question is "No."

Americans believe the benefits of knowing our national language should be obvious to anyone. It is the world's and our Nation's language of commerce, diplomacy and opportunity. We must recognize this reality through a formal declaration that English is America's official language. In addition, we must reexamine the failed policies that have brought us to this precipice.

The 40 million Americans mentioned earlier who are being segregated from the American economy and society are not just recent immigrants, but in many cases Americans who were born in this country. What is especially tragic is that our own Government is encouraging this trend through failed policies, including:

Bilingual education programs;

Multilingual ballots; and

Other government language services.

These programs create the fiction that you can compete in this country -- and take hold of the American dream -- without learning English. This is fantasy.

For most of our history, America gave the children of immigrants a precious gift -- an education in the English language. As each new wave of immigrants arrived on these shores, the first task they wanted to complete was to make certain that they and their children had a chance to learn English.

The dreams these immigrants embraced are dear to all of us. Perhaps that is why a short scene in the film "Casablanca" touches our hearts. A husband and wife at Rick's Cafe announce they are moving to America. They add that because they are going to America, they must learn English.

That couple represents the ancestors of many of us here in this Chamber. People who spent long days in backbreaking toil and then spent their evenings learning English so they could get their piece of the American dream. The men and women in this Chamber might not be here today had their parents or

grandparents been denied the opportunity to learn English -- an opportunity that in many instances we deny a large segment of our society today.

Mr. Speaker, a majority in every American ethnic group recognizes the vital importance of the English language to be successful in America. The Latino National Political Survey released on December 15, 1992 showed that over 90 percent of Hispanics nationwide agreed that all U.S. residents should learn English. Further, a recent San Francisco Chronicle poll found that 90 percentof Filipinos, 78 percent of Chinese and almost 70 percent of Hispanic immigrants in California support declaring English as our official language.

Thomas Sowell, in his book "Inside American Education," cited numerous surveys proving that the great majority of Hispanic parents -- more than three-fourths of Mexican-American parents and more than four-fifths of Cuban-American parents -- are opposed to the teaching of Spanish in the schools at the expense of English. The Latino National Political Survey found a similar result.

If immigrants have not changed, then what has changed? I would suggest, Mr. Speaker, that during the 1960's a small group of self-styled elitists decided that it was more important to dwell upon what divides America than what unites America.

The 1960's and 1970's were a time when Canada adopted language laws which threaten that Nation's unity today. During the same period in our nation the elite decided that learning English wasn't important for new Americans.

Accordingly, laws and regulations were passed that, regardless of their good intentions, segregated Americans on the basis of language. The programs mentioned earlier -- bilingual education, bilingual ballots, and language services -- were the result.

The special interests who sought these changes have succeeded in dividing our Nation. Instead of bringing us together, language now tears us apart -- economically and culturally -- into segregated enclaves.

What are we doing to help the 40 million Americans I mentioned earlier who need help with their language skills? Instead of a first-rate education in English, our Government now provides failed bilingual education programs. Let's take a closer look at these programs.

In the case of bilingual education, we have allowed special interests to keep afloat a program which wastes millions of taxpayer dollars while failing to give students an adequate education in any language. Congress is a prime defendant in this indictment. This institution has misguidedly supported policies [*H2189] that are guaranteed to condemn the children of today's immigrants to the second-class status of the non-English-proficient.

It was estimated in 1985 that the Federal bilingual education program had already cost American taxpayers over $1.7 billion. This vast sum was spent with little to show for it. Billions of dollars later, there remains little evidence that

these programs have accomplished what Congress asked them to do -- assimilate immigrant children into American society.

Supporters of bilingual education readily admit this. They don't want the success of bilingual education to be measured by how well it teaches children to speak, read, and write English.

Instead, in the words of Prof. Walter Secada:

Proponents of *** bilingual-education programs [think they] should be evaluated against broadly construed standards of success: development of English and native language skills, development of dual-language literacy, academic achievement in either language, enhanced student self-concepts and understanding of other cultures, lowered drop-out rates, post-secondary education and employment, and other similar criteria.

Prof. Lily Wong Filmore, who is such a strident advocate of bilingual education that she criticizes preschools for not being bilingual, has gone even further. She claims that to test students in the bilingual program using English is a "subversive activity," since "children who are being taught to read in Spanish are unlikely to make a good showing on English reading tests."

Make a target big enough and close enough and anything can hit it. By the criteria listed by Professor Secada, bilingual education would "succeed" if a student learned no English but kept coming to school and could read Chinese. And Professor Filmore's test of success omits English proficiency altogether.

Contrast these attitudes with the commonsense approach of Dr. Henry Gradillas, the highly respected principal of the east-Los Angeles High School shown in the film "Stand and Deliver." Dr. Gradillas objects to the emphasis placed on bilingual education because it diminishes a student's vision and future. In his words:

The bilingual proponents hate me because I disagree with almost everything they are trying to push on these kids. I don't want to teach students math in Spanish for the simple reason that the college entrance tests are not given in Spanish, neither are students allowed to fill out a job resume in Spanish.

Still quoting Dr. Gradillas:

When I voice these concerns, educators look at me like I am some kind of traitor. They seem to have already stereotyped me as being pro-bilingual just because I am Latino.

Our country could use a lot more of Dr. Gradillas' commonsense approach. Being fluent and proficient in other languages is laudable. But we dare not lose sight of a fundamental truth: the future in America belongs in large part to those who read and write English well. Learning English well must be the first priority of anyone's education, whatever their heritage.

Robert Reich, our new Secretary of Labor, stated in his 1991 book, "The Work of Nations," that the most skilled workers -- he calls them symbolic analysts -- will be the most successful in the 21st century economy. Symbolic analysts include computer programmers, lawyers and such -- all of whom must have top-notch communications skills.

The Germans, the Japanese, and others are busy learning English. In the meantime the Government of the United States is denying American-born children the same opportunity. And the American taxpayers are paying for the privilege as well. The Federal Government and State and local governments spend at least a half-billion dollars on bilingual education each year.

What have these many billions purchased Mr. Speaker? Future symbolic analysts? No. Instead, these billions have funded programs which produce children who are illiterate in English.

One mother in New York City, Gregoria Jiminez, came to the attention of the press recently because she was forced to hire a private tutor for her son. Why? Because after 3 years of bilingual education, her son could not read or write in any language.

Congress has known for years that bilingual education has problems -- at least dating back to the first real research on this issue released in 1978. Rudolph C. Troike of the Center for Applied Linguistics and National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education admitted as much that year when he said:

When the Bilingual Education Act (title VII) was launched in 1968, it was, unlike the Moon landing program or Federal efforts in public health, undertaken largely as an act of faith, with little research to support it *** (and) we have very little more of a research base for bilingual programs than we did 10 years ago.

But we have done nothing except study the programs further. How many more generations of English-language illiterates will we allow bilingual education programs to produce before we demand changes?

Bilingual education has succeeded at just one thing: it has created well-paying jobs for professional ethnic activists and bilingual educationbureaucrats. The Bilingual Education Act is a cash cow for a vast, well-funded national bureaucracy. The bilingual lobby includes bilingual education program administrators and professional ethnic activists who represent no one but themselves.

These people know all too well that they are without a constituency. Consider the recent case of New York City's Schools Chancellor Joseph Fernandez. Fernandez tried to impose a new school curriculum that among other things would have insisted that schools maintain the native language of all students, even at the expense of English. Did the parents of these children rally behind him? No. In fact, Hispanic parents were among the leaders of the successful effort to drive Fernandez from office.

The bilingual lobby's disinterest in teaching English to the students in bilingual programs appears to be motivated by pure self-interest. After all, if the bilingual education program is dismantled, the bilingual bureaucrats would have to find honest work. More importantly, newly English-proficient immigrants might just integrate into the American economy and cause these bureaucrats to lose their dependent constituency.

Thus New York City, like most States and cities, employs an entire staff of bilingual bureaucrats whose job it is to convince reluctant parents of the virtues of bilingual education. Were a businessman to do what these people do, he or she would be indicted for consumer fraud. In Los Angeles, CA, these people tell concerned parents that transitional bilingual education is the best way for their children to learn English. They don't tell them that the children will learn English late in their school career and probably never adequately learn English.

Bilingual education instead of easing the transition for new immigrants to America actually imprisons its pupils below a glass ceiling of at best functional literacy and substandard English. An article in the Washington Post on this topic earned the headline "No English, No Future."

What a travesty. New immigrants who want to share the American dream and create a better future for their children are being defrauded by the American Government. Their new country is endorsing programs which will keep their own children in poverty.

No more poignant statement of this problem can be found than in the words of Ernesto Ortiz, a foreman on a south Texas ranch who said:

My children learn Spanish in school so they can grow up to be busboys and waiters. I teach them English at home so they can grow up to be doctors and lawyers.

I say again, Mr. Speaker, that English is still the language of opportunity in America. America's business -- and increasingly much of the world's -- is transacted in English.

Consider the plight of the non-English speaker in America. The daily newspaper is irrelevant to him or her. The vast majority of the books in the public library are useless. Classified ads offering jobs and products might as well not exist as far as he or she is concerned. Filling out a job application or writing an effective resume is impossible.

This Congress has stood firm against English-language illiteracy among Americans who understand only English. Why are we less concerned about English-language illiteracy among Americans who understand no English? This is misguided multiculturalism. It sacrifices the futures of generations of [*H2190] immigrants to the politically correct view that learning English is not important.

Bilingual education is not something Congress has done in response to a demand from parents. In fact, all too often the Government requires parents to

put their children into bilingual programs despite the parent's strenuous objections.

In one case, Charles Pacheco, an ex-marine and native born American, found his daughter placed in a Spanish-based bilingual educational program strictly because her last name was Hispanic in origin. Even after Mr. Pacheco informed the school that no one in his home spoke Spanish his daughter was trapped in the bilingual class.

Congress supposedly made this kind of discrimination illegal. But bilingual bureaucrats continue to assign kids to bilingual classes on the basis of their last name. And in San Francisco, after complaints arose that bilingual classes were segregated, American-born, English-speaking, African-American children were assigned to bilingual classes in which most of the instruction was in Spanish.

As the evidence continues to mount up that bilingual education is simply indoctrination for a life in a linguistic ghetto, a broad consensus is emerging. Thoughtful academics with many advanced degrees and new immigrants struggling to learn English agree that bilingual education actually hinders the process by which new Americans adapt to our society and prosper.

President Clinton issued a challenge to this body in his State of the Union Address. He said:

We are eliminating programs that are no longer needed. *** Many of these programs were justified in their time. But if we're going to start new plans, we must eliminate old ones. Government has been good at building programs. Now we must show that we can limit them.

Accordingly, the Declaration of Official Language Act which I have proposed would eliminate the hundreds of millions of dollars spent on behalf of bilingual education, a program that has certainly outlived any reasonable time it had to prove its effectiveness. If we cannot eliminate the millions spent annually for bilingual education programs, we have no business asking the American people to make the sacrifice of paying higher taxes.

Bilingual education is not the only linguistic deception perpetrated on the American people. The argument supporting federally funded bilingual ballots is equally fraudulent.

Bilingual ballots were renewed by Congress last year despite a lack of proof that bilingual voting materials were needed. This has been a continuing problem for advocates of these programs.

Abigail Thernstrom's book, "Whose Votes Count?" demonstrates that the need for bilingual ballots were scarcely evident even during the hearings Congress held on the issue in 1975. She notes that the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund [MALDEF] had a tough time finding any witnesses able to honestly testify as to their need for bilingual voting services. A MALDEF representative later said:

We were able to produce those [needed] horror stories, but not many of them. *** We did it really by the skin of our teeth.

Thernstrom also notes that many of the charges came from a handful of witnesses reporting on very few Texas counties. "What we found," one lobbyist later frankly admitted, "we portrayed *** as a giant State-wide pattern, which it really wasn't."

Bilingual ballots are not only a solution to a nonexistent problem, they are also costly -- a point underscored by the unwillingness of supporters of the renewal last year to vote to require the Federal Government to pay for these bilingual services it was mandating. Sacramento County, CA, calculates that the bill will add $50,000 to the cost of every election just for bilingual ballots because it will be required to provide these services not simply for those few who request them. Consider the huge cost which Los Angeles must bear, where the ballots were printed in six languages for the last election.

Bilingual ballots are not only unnecessary and costly, they may also be misleading the same voters they are meant to help. The bilingual requirements of the Voting Rights Act apply to localities with native American populations over a certain proportion of the population. The locality must provide all materials in the language(s) of the affected tribes -- even if the language does not have a written form.

This opens the door to fraud and misrepresentation of issues by interpreters. Such fraud has already been documented by U.S. Assistant Attorney General John Dunne during the 1988 and 1990 elections.

According to his testimony on this issue last year:

Even when translators were available, the message conveyed to minority language voters often did not resemble the issue on the ballot and it was impossible for a minority language individual to cast an informed vote.

In his testimony that same day, Mr. Dunne noted that a victim's rights initiative was translated as referring to any number of things instead of what the issue was about. He added that many Indian languages did not even have English equivalent words for complicated ballot questions.

Lifelong English speakers often disagree about the proper wording of controversial ballot initiatives. How can it be taken for granted that translations will be accurate?

The language being translated need not be uncommon to cause translation problems, especially when precise legal terminology is required. In a 1983 California case, People versus Diaz, the court noted:

[W]e examined four different Spanish translations *** of the Miranda advisement at issue. We discovered that none of the translations were identical.

Bilingual ballots were a well-intentioned gesture, meant to help people vote. But a program without evidence of its need that is costly and inaccurate can hardly be continued on the basis of good intentions.

Bilingual government services of all kinds suffer from the flaws I have outlined. They also share a fundamental problem: Bilingual government services remove a strong incentive to learn English and be a more productive citizen in our democracy.

Because of a few misguided special interest groups, our country no longer encourages new Americans to become proficient in English. Thanks to these special interest groups, people today can file government forms, get their driver's licenses and collect welfare all without being able to speak a word of English.

Our Nation's future is in jeopardy if we allow the anti-English lobby to continue to dominate the Federal Government. Immigrants and their children will continue to be denied an effective knowledge of the English language. Without that knowledge, immigrants will be left at the margins of our society, unable to fully pursue the American dream.

When immigrants to our country find themselves without the basic opportunities other Americans have, America's unity and strength is threatened. Linguistic division will tear at the very fabric of the American Nation. Historically, such divisions have been the forerunner of violent clashes.

The recent turmoil in the Balkans has demonstrated to me the pressing need for action. America may never disintegrate the way Yugoslavia has, but dare we take the risk of encouraging that result by the policies of today?

The separatist movement in the Canadian Province of Quebec has also reinforced my belief that we must act now to safeguard our country's unit. Declaring English our official language will ensure that our country will continue to enjoy its harmony of cultures.

My bill, the Declaration of Official Language Act, is an attempt to redirect our focus on English as our national language. Some groups will label any attempt to change the current system as extreme. However, my bill takes a moderate, reasonable approach to reform.

The bill is not, as some would have you believe, an attempt to eliminate the speaking of non-English from our country. In fact, the study of foreign languages should be encouraged. Multilingual language ability broadens an individual's horizons and is essential for the future competitiveness of our Nation. But the official language of the United States must be English.

Neither is the bill an attempt to wipe out cultural diversity. Our Nation is stronger because of the diverse heritage [*H2191] of its people. People should be encouraged to maintain the traditions of their families and forefathers.

What then does the Declaration of Official Language Act do? The legislation focuses on four goals.

First and foremost, it designates English as the official language of the United States of America. In so doing, it states that English is the preferred language of communication among American citizens and that the Federal Government shall support and promote the use of English within its borders.

My bill instructs the Immigration and Naturalization Service to establish an English language proficiency standard for all citizenship applicants and administer the exam to prospective citizens. This would ensure that new Americans understood the value and necessity of learning English, because their citizenship would depend on it.

This is hardly a new idea. By 1906, Congress had decided to require oral English literacy as a condition of becoming a naturalized American citizen. In 1950, Congress added the requirement that persons who wish to become citizens must "demonstrate an understanding of the English language, including an ability to read, write and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language."

The problem is that we have not applied this requirement in a consistent and effective manner. A national exam would ensure that the same standards apply to all prospective citizens, whatever their origin.

Third, this legislation would repeal all programs that diminish or discourage the use of English among American citizens. Specifically, the Federal bilingual ballot and bilingual education programs would be repealed, as well as similar programs. These programs must be repealed explicitly, rather than waiting for years of litigation to have an impact. We cannot afford to consign yet another generation to the economic prison created by poor English skills.

The Declaration of Official Language Act also seeks to guarantee that all of America's public schools and government agencies use English to communicate. English is after all the common bond that has kept us one Nation, one people. It's our commonality.

In the past, America has been a shining example of how people from all corners of the world can live and work together in harmony. The world has marveled at how well the American melting pot has performed in fusing many peoples into one.

Today, however, America is in danger of losing its melting pot -- and becoming a cauldron of division and separatism. Cultural and ethnic divisions, once swept away by the English language's power to unite, now persist and fester in our country.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., spoke in his book, "The Disuniting of America" of how: "a common language is a necessary bond of national cohesion in so heterogeneous a nation as America. *** [I]nstitutionalized bilingualism remains another source of the fragmentation of America, another threat to the dream of 'one people.' "

Our tongue, English, has been the foundation of our collective American citizenship. Professor Schlesinger is correct. The English language has indeed been, and remains, America's common bond.

One of the most insidious problems in our Nation is the erosion of our common language. The English language is one of the moorings to which our society must remain anchored. The more that knot is untied, the more we will see the results in the headlines:

Less toleration for others;

More violence and ethnic strife;

More entrenched poverty; and

More division.

This issue may not grab the headlines each day, but many of the headlines in our papers can be attributed directly to its effects.

The best-kept secret in this entire debate is that most immigrants, like most Americans, agree that English should be our official language. Whenever I've discussed the English language bill in public, such as on the Bob Grant call-in show in New York, I have received hundreds of phone calls giving overwhelming support from all over America. The American people support the declaration of official language bill. Only the minority of those who make their living directly or indirectly from Government bilingualism oppose this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleagues join me today in the fight to preserve the bond that has kept America one Nation, one people. The American people have been speaking out on this issue in record numbers. They understand the critical need to act now.

Since I introduced this bill on February 2, support from all over the country has been expanding with each passing day. This bill has touched off a firestorm, and I urge you all to heed the will of the American people. Join me in declaring English as the official language of the United States of America. Our future, and our children's future, depend on it.

Cited as: Roth (1994)
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- Extension of Remarks
Tuesday, March 1, 1994
103rd Congress 2nd Session
140 Cong Rec E 289

REFERENCE: Vol. 140 No. 20

TITLE: THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ENGLISH

SPEAKER: HON. TOBY ROTH OF WISCONSIN IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT: Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken By a MEMBER of the Senate on the floor. [*E289]

Tuesday, March 1, 1994

MR. ROTH. MR. SPEAKER, WE AMERICANS REPRESENT EVERY LANGUAGE, EVERY CULTURE, EVERY HERITAGE ON EARTH. YET WE ARE ONE PEOPLE, ONE NATION. WHY? BECAUSE WE SHARE A COMMON BOND, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

NOW, UNFORTUNATELY, WE ARE LOSING THIS COHESION, THIS UNIQUE AMERICAN BLESSING. IN THE LAST ELECTION IN LOS ANGELES, BALLOTS WERE PRINTED IN SIX DIFFERENT LANGUAGES. IN MANY PLACES IN AMERICA, ENGLISH IS NO LONGER THE FIRST LANGUAGE IN SCHOOL. THE NATIONAL CLEARINGHOUSE FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION ESTIMATES THAT 40 MILLION AMERICANS WILL BE NON-ENGLISH-LANGUAGE PROFICIENT IN JUST 8 YEARS.

AMERICA IS FAST BECOMING A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY, AND WITH IT WE WILL INHERIT ALL THE PROBLEMS THAT STEM FROM THIS DEVELOPMENT-ETHNIC STRIFE, MORE DISCRIMINATION AND ENTRENCHED POVERTY-THE CREATION OF AN ENTIRE SUBCULTURE THAT IS UNPREPARED TO COMPETE IN MAINSTREAM AMERICA.

THE SOLUTION IS TO RETURN TO OUR TRADITION OF ASSIMILATING, THROUGH ENGLISH, NEW IMMIGRANTS INTO AMERICAN SOCIETY. IN THE PAST OUR NEW CITIZENS WERE INTEGRATED WITHOUT SACRIFICING THEIR ETHNIC HERITAGE. AS LINDA CHAVEZ, FORMER DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, POINTS OUT; FOR THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN, LEARNING ENGLISH WAS THE FIRST AND MOST CRUCIAL STEP ON THE ROAD TO BECOMING AMERICAN.' 1A"

HOW ARE WE CURRENTLY HELPING THESE CHILDREN TAKE HOLD OF THE AMERICAN DREAM? INSTEAD OF A FIRST-RATE EDUCATION

IN ENGLISH, WE PROVIDE THESE UNFORTUNATE STUDENTS FAILED BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS-AT A COST OF SOME BILLION DOLLARS ANNUALLY TO YOU, THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER.

THESE MISGUIDED POLICIES CONDEMN IMMIGRANTS TO SECOND-CLASS STATUS. THIS REALITY WAS MADE CLEAR BY ERNESTO ORTIZ, A TEXAS RANCH FOREMAN WHO SAID: MY CHILDREN LEARN SPANISH IN SCHOOL SO THEY CAN GROW UP TO BE BUSBOYS AND WAITERS. I TEACH THEM ENGLISH AT HOME SO THEY CAN GROW UP TO BE DOCTORS AND LAWYERS."

ERNESTO ORTIZ REALIZES THAT ENGLISH IS ESSENTIAL FOR SUCCESS IN AMERICA. SIMILARLY, IN A RECENT SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE POLL, THE VAST MAJORITY OF FILIPINO, CHINESE, AND HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS IN CALIFORNIA SUPPORTED DECLARING ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. WE MUST ALL EMBRACE THIS CAUSE.

LINGUISTIC DIFFERENCES OFTEN FORESHADOW MORE DANGEROUS DIVISIONS. ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR., HAS NOTED: WHAT HAPPENS WHEN PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC ORIGINS, SPEAKING DIFFERENT LANGUAGES * * * SETTLE IN THE SAME [AREA] AND LIVE UNDER THE SAME POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY? UNLESS A COMMON PURPOSE BINDS THEM TOGETHER, TRIBAL HOSTILITIES WILL DRIVE THEM APART." THE STRIFE IN THE BALKANS HAS DEMONSTRATED THE DANGER. IS AMERICA FOLLOWING YUGOSLAVIA'S PATH? DARE WE TAKE THE CHANCE?

ONLY BY PRESERVING OUR COMMONALITY-ENGLISH-CAN WE ENSURE THAT WE WILL CONTINUE TO LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER AS ONE NATION, ONE PEOPLE. [*E290]

AMERICANS ARE UNITED ON THIS QUESTION. A RECENT PHONE-IN SURVEY CONDUCTED BY USA TODAY WEEKEND MAGAZINE SHOWED THAT 97 PERCENT OF THE RESPONDENTS WANTED CONGRESS TO MAKE ENGLISH OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. AFTER I APPEARED ON THE BOB GRANT CALL-IN SHOW IN NEW YORK TO PROMOTE ENGLISH AS AMERICA'S OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, MY OFFICE WAS DELUGED WITH HUNDREDS OF CALLS FROM ALL OVER THE NATION, OVERWHELMINGLY IN FAVOR OF THIS CAUSE.

IN WISCONSIN, A RECENT TELEPHONE POLL ON WAOW TV-9 IN WAUSAU SHOWED THAT 87 PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS ENDORSED ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. I'M PROUD TO TAKE UP THEIR FIGHT BY INTRODUCING THE DECLARATION OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT. IT'S TIME CONGRESS SHOWED AS MUCH COMMON SENSE AS THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THIS MONTH'S EDITION OF THE AMERICAN LEGION MAGAZINE CONTAINS AN ARTICLE THAT I COMMEND TO THE ATTENTION OF

MY COLLEAGUES. IT SUMMARIZES THE CURRENT THREAT OUR COMMON LANGUAGE FACES. I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO READ THIS ARTICLE, AND I ASK THAT IT BE PRINTED IN FULL AT THIS POINT IN THE RECORD.

[From the American Legion Magazine, February 1994]

The Campaign Against English
(By Gary Turbank)

On July 2 last year, 76 Hispanic immigrants gathered in the Tucson, Ariz., city council chambers to become naturalized Americans. Although the brief citizenship oaths and naturalization documents were in English, most of the ceremony took place in Spanish-including the pledge of allegiance, a message from U.S. District Judge Alfredo Marquez and a welcome from the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In essence, these immigrants received their U.S. citizenship in Spanish, the first ever to do so.

This is multiculturalism run amok," says George Tryfiates, executive director of the English First advocacy group, and the son of Greek immigrants. Will the Immigration and Naturalization Service now conduct ceremonies in Farsi, Serbo-Croatian and Laotian, too?

The Tucson incident is but one shot in an ongoing fight over the primacy of English in this country. In schools, government offices, voting booths and scores of other places, English in America is rapidly giving ground to other tongues. Inexorably, foreign languages find new ways to replace the mother tongue that gave us the Constitution, Declaration of Independence and Gettysburg Address.

English has long been the glue holding multicultural America together, but now that unity is threatened. Daily, the battle to keep English as America's language becomes more heated.

America is fast becoming a society divided by language," says Rep. Toby Roth of Wisconsin, chief sponsor of a bill to make English the official language of the United States. Although 14 other nations-from India to Uganda to Vanuatu-have declared English their official language, the United States has never done so.

Naturally, some Americans who speak other languages see things differently. They believe the American government should speak in a multitude of tongues. To their ears, the mingling of languages creates a symphony, not a cacophony. America, they say, is not a homogeneous melting pot, but rather a salad bowl, where each ingredient should retain its distinctive qualities.

Ethnic communities and their languages and cultures add something unique and very positive to the flavor of the United States," says Steven Carbo,

spokesman for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. We should promote multilingual policies, not English-only policies."

The United States has always been a land of immigrants. Most learned English in a sink or swim" acceptance of their new home's mother tongue. That attitude still prevails, but many modern newcomers-or at least some of their vocal leaders-believe America should adapt to them instead of the other way around.

This may explain why there are growing numbers of foreign-speaking families in the United States. According to the 1990 census, the number of people living in America who speak a language other than English in their homes jumped more than a third during the 1980s-to nearly 32 million, or one out of eight U.S. residents. America is home to at least 150 different tongues.

The erosion of English is most apparent in America's public schools since the 1960s, when the federal Bilingual Education Act directed millions of children to be taught in other languages-mostly Spanish.

Theoretically, children with limited English proficiency (LEP) will be better students if they study science, math and other subjects in their native languages while learning English on the side. After a year or two, they are supposed to switch to an all-English curriculum.

The only problem with bilingual education is that it is generally considered a failure. The program is a flop at what we have asked it to do-teach students English," says Congressman Roth.

LEP students often remain in native language classes for several years, and some never do learn English. According to the English First organization, it's possible for a teenager to graduate from a public school in New York City without ever gaining English fluency.

Before the bilingual program started, half of all Hispanic students dropped out of high school. Today, after 25 years of bilingual education, a report by the American Council on Education says the Hispanic dropout rate is still 50 percent-a rate much higher than for either whites or blacks. Recently, The Boston Globe reported that the Hispanic dropout rate in that city is actually higher for students in the bilingual program than for those who don't participate in it.

In California, a 1993 report by the Little Hoover Commission called bilingual education divisive, wasteful, and unproductive." The commission said the number of non-English speaking students in the state today has doubled to more than a million since 1987. However, the commission said the bilingual program annually turns out the same number of fluent English speakers-60,000-as it did a decade ago.

Christine Rossell, professor of political science at Boston University, has evaluated 79 different studies of bilingual education's effectiveness. None of these, she says, found bilingual education to be any better than the sink-or-swim method of immersing children in English.

According to the LEAD (Learning English Advocates Drive) organization, some schools even put children into bilingual classrooms solely on the basis of their Hispanic- or Asian-sounding last names-regardless of the youngsters' English skills. One Hispanic mother in Glenwood, Calif., made five trips to her school before she got her English-speaking daughter out of a class taught in Spanish.

The program even angers parents it is supposed to please. In the book, Straight Shooting," by Boston University President John Silber, Texas ranch foreman Ernesto Ortiz expresses his dismay: My children learn Spanish in school so they can grow up to be busboys and waiters," he says. I teach them English at home so they can grow up to be doctors and lawyers."

In one Florida poll, 98 percent of Hispanic parents thought it was important for their children to read and write English perfectly." In another, Hispanic parents rated 70 items of importance to their children's education. Teaching them English ranked third, and teaching Spanish ranked 67th.

Critics say bilingual education continues only because it enjoys an entrenched constituency of bureaucrats, administrators, teachers, ethnic activists and other adults who benefit from it. The program provides jobs for bilingual teachers, and each enrolled child nets the school about $ 400 in federal funds. Nationally, bilingual education cost taxpayers an estimated $ 1.5 billion annually.

I call it bilingualgate," says Sally Peterson, a long-time California teacher who is the president of LEAD.

English is in retreat on other fronts, too. A federal law requires election ballots and other voter information to be printed in languages spoken either by 10,000 people or by 5 percent of the population in a voting jurisdiction.

Currently, 375 jurisdictions in 21 states run elections in English and at least one other language. Voting materials in San Francisco are available in seven languages. In Los Angeles, the $ 6 million cost of the 1993 city election included $ 900,000-15 percent of the total-for printing multilingual materials. When Long Beach, Calif., spent $ 6,200 preparing bilingual voting materials for four ballot measures, officials received only 22 requests for the publications-a cost of $ 281 per non-English voter.

Federal statutes also require government-funded document translations and courtroom interpreters for non-English-speaking defendants in criminal trials. Some jurisdictions extend this service to civil cases.

Hawaii and New Mexico have even granted official status to Hawaiian and Spanish. Although unenforced, New Mexico has a constitutional requirement that all the state's teachers be fluent in Spanish and English.

Nearly 40 states give written and sometimes behind-the-wheel driver's license exams in languages other than English. Michigan offers its written test in 20 tongues, including Arabic, Finnish and Portuguese and, if necessary, will

provide an interpreter for the actual driving exam. Its road signs, of course, are not written in 20 different languages.

Nationally, the GED high school equivalency test is available in English, Spanish and French, and plans are underway to add more languages. Some American colleges also conduct classes for non-English speakers.

California state agencies must accommodate speakers of other languages-even by hiring bilingual employees, if necessary. Depending on the linguistic preferences of local populations, printed information about food stamps, workers' compensation, taxes and other subject in California must be available in English, Spanish, Vietnamese and other tongues.

In 1988, Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis even delivered part of his acceptance speech in Spanish.

Although most Americans probably don't care what language people speak in their homes and other private places, it is difficult not to notice the changing tenor of the marketplace. Everything from Burger King menus to the phone book Yellow Pages have been printed in languages other than English, and many retailers advertise in their primary tongue.

In Arizona, Connecticut, Illinois, Colorado, California and several other states, radio and [*E291] television stations broadcast primarily or exclusively in Polish, Greek, German, American Indian, Portuguese and other languages. There are nearly 350 Spanish radio stations in this country. The Los Angeles Dodgers broadcast their games in Spanish, Korean, Chinese and-yes-English.

In the workplace, more and more employees are demanding the right to speak-and be spoken to-in their native tongues. Last year, the Nebraska legislature considered a bill to require every employer with four or more non-English-speaking workers to provide a translator. The bill was tabled.

Jose Fabila, the son of Mexican immigrants, disagrees with this approach. His California food company employs 103 people. You don't have to speak English to work for me," he says. But if you want to be a salesman, front office worker, route supervisor or a driver on our best routes, you have to know English. If I did not speak English, my business would not be as prosperous as it is."

If there is an epicenter to the language earthquake, it is Miami and Dade County, Fla., where more than half the people consider Spanish their first language.

In 1973, the area's governing body-the Metro Commission-ruled that Dade County would henceforth be bilingual and bicultural. Translators annually turned thousands of pages of English public documents into Spanish, and vice versa. Interpreters' voices echoed at meetings and conferences. Radio stations even aired Spanish public service annuncements-prepared at taxpayer expense-encouraging better use of Spanish by Miamians

In 1980, Emmy Shafer, an immigrant and survivor of a Nazi concentration camp, because upset with Miami's extensive use of Spanish. She organized a drive to reinstate English as the only official language, and Dade County voters approved the measure with a 59 percent majority.

But that's not the end of the story. In May 1993, a Hispanic-dominated Metro Commission threw out the 1980 English-only ordinance, returning Dade county to bilingualism. One commissioner has even proposed that many government services be provided in up to six additional languages.

The increasing use of other tongues has triggered a substantial backlash among Americans who think English should be the language of the United States, Various polls indicate that more than three-fourths of all Americans believe English should be the official language of government and anyone who wants to live in this country should learn English. Eighteen states have made English their official language, and 20 others have considered similar measures. In 1987, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton signed into law a statute making English the state's official language. In most cases, however, these designations are largely ceremonial, since official English laws often lack enforcement teeth, and bureaucrats seem universally reluctant to implement English-only policies.

H.R. 739, a bill currently under consideration in Congress, would make English the nation's official language. In addition to requiring that all business of the federal government be conducted in English, the measure would repeal statutes that mandate bilingual education and multilingual ballots. A House-Senate proposal, H.J.Res. 171, would amend the Constitution to make English America's official language.

English proponents hope that Congress will at long last heed the advice of President Theodore Roosevelt when he wrote in 1917, We have but one flag. We must also have but one language, and that language is English."

THE LEGION'S POSITION

Delegates to the 1992 American Legion National Convention in Chicago unanimously passed Res. 543, which urges Congress to establish English as the official language of the U.S. government. Last year at the 75th National Convention in Pittsburgh, delegates reaffirmed that position by passing Res. 254, which urges Congress, the U.S. Justice Department and the U.S. Immigration and Nationalization Service to require that all citizenship naturalization ceremonies be conducted in English.

Cited as: Roth (1995a)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- House
Monday, November 13, 1995
104th Congress 1st Session
141 Cong Rec H 12132

REFERENCE: Vol. 141 No. 179

TITLE: ONE PEOPLE, ONE LANGUAGE, ONE NATION

TEXT: [*H12132]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Roth) is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, when I first introduced my legislation to make English our official language, the American people were most supportive, and today we have overwhelming support for this legislation. Only those who are ripping off the government programs like bilingual education and the cultural elitists were and are opposed.

These same critics were silenced 2 weeks ago when the entire world received an object lesson in the importance of a common language in preserving a nation and its common purpose. Just a short time ago, we almost witnessed the end of a nation. Our great friend and neighbor to the north, Canada, just narrowly avoided splitting in two over linguistic and cultural differences.

Canada may yet split up. The linguistic tensions in Canada were not eased by their razor-thin victory for unity. In fact, the Canadian people face their greatest challenges in the months and years ahead, i.e., to weave a common thread of unity through an increasingly divided Nation.

Canada's example is a cautionary tale for our country, the most diverse Nation in the history of the world. Their narrow brush with breakup should sound a clarion call to all Americans who dismiss the importance of a common language and culture to a nation.

Here in America we have been given a precious and unique gift. We have been given this gift, a common language. One of this century's greatest statesmen, Winston Churchill, instinctively understood language's paramount importance in keeping a Nation together. He remarked that "the gift of a common language is a priceless inheritance" to a nation. America has truly been blessed in a way that our Canadian neighbor has not.

Around the world, nations have come to realize how right Churchill was. India, faced with a tangle of 14 languages and dialects spoken on their soil, turned to English to unite their diverse peoples. Eighty-eight countries have constitutional language provisions.

I participated in an international conference at the Sorbonne in Paris last March where national language policies were being considered in many European and South American countries.

Here in America, opinion polls show overwhelming support for official English language among the American people. In one recent survey, more than 11,000 people were polled, and 94 percent came out in favor of official English for the United States.

Let the cultural elitists say what they will, but the American people have spoken. They know from plain common sense that we need one language to keep this United States from breaking up into little Quebecs.

The recent events in Canada demonstrate that this issue is not an American or even a North American preoccupation. Nations all over the world are looking to language legislation to tame the centrifugal forces of ethnic and linguistic nationalism.

I do not want to watch the United States unravel the way Canada almost did. I have introduced legislation that seeks to reinforce the common bond that holds our country together, the English language. I hope that you will heed the warning signs and join me in the effort to keep America one Nation, one people, and for that we need one common language.

My friends, the old adage says that actions have consequences. It is equally true that inaction also has consequences. Canada's narrow brush with national divorce showed us what is possible when a Nation does not nurture and protect its national unity.

Let us not make the same mistake. Let us not be guilty of inaction when decisive efforts to preserve our common bond are needed. Let us make English our official language. Help me to do that by cosponsoring H.R. 739, and let us keep the United States the United States. For that, we need one people, one language, one Nation.

Cited as: Roth (1995b)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- House
Thursday, June 8, 1995
104th Congress 1st Session
141 Cong Rec H 5698

REFERENCE: Vol. 141 No. 93

TITLE: MAKE ENGLISH OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

SPEAKER: MR. ROTH

TEXT: [*H5698]

(Mr. ROTH asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the Speaker for endorsing English as our official language yesterday in his speech before the Iowa Chamber of Commerce. It is a fight I have been engaged in for a long time.

We Americans are a people from every corner of the globe, every religion, every ethnic background you can think of, but we are one Nation, one people. Why? Because we have a wonderful commonality called the English language. We are losing that today and losing it very quickly. One out of seven Americans does not speak English. U.S.A. Today has reported that it costs some $ 12 billion a year at the Federal, State, and local level for bilingual education. I think it is time we go back to the concept again of one Nation, one people.

In Los Angeles now you can vote in seven different languages. In many parts of the country English is not the language that is spoken. And while we want everyone to have a chance to protect their culture, speak any language they want at home, to protect their culture and promote their culture, I think it is very important when you deal with the Government, when you vote, you do it in the English language so we can keep our wonderful commonality, we can keep this common glue that has held our country together so we do remain one Nation, one people, one flag, and yes, one language.

Cited as: Roth (1995c)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- Extension of Remarks
Wednesday, August 2, 1995
104th Congress 1st Session
141 Cong Rec E 1598

REFERENCE: Vol. 141 No. 127

TITLE: ONE NATION, ONE COMMON LANGUAGE

SPEAKER: HON. TOBY ROTH OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT: Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken By a MEMBER of the Senate on the floor. [*E1598]

Wednesday, August 2, 1995

MR. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call the attention of my colleagues to the August issue of Reader's Digest and the article, "One Nation, One Common Language." The author, Linda Chavez, makes a compelling case against bilingual education and for preserving our our common bond, the English language.

MS. CHAVEZ POINTS OUT THAT IMMIGRANTS OPPOSE BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR THEIR CHILDREN AND TEACHERS OPPOSE IT FOR THEIR STUDENTS. LISTEN TO THE COMMONSENSE OBSERVATION ON BILINGUAL EDUCATION'S SHORTCOMINGS THAT ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHER GAIL FIBER MAKES: "HOW CAN ANYONE LEARN ENGLISH IN SCHOOL WHEN THEY SPEAK SPANISH 41/2 HOURS A DAY?"

A RECENT SURVEY SHOWED THAT IN JUST 5 YEARS, THERE WILL BE 40 MILLION AMERICANS WHO CAN'T SPEAK ENGLISH. THOSE AMERICANS WILL BE ISOLATED, CUT OFF FROM REALIZING THE AMERICAN DREAM, IF THEY DON'T HAVE THE ONE SKILL THAT IS REQUIRED FOR SUCCESS IN AMERICA: FLUENCY IN ENGLISH.

LINDA CHAVEZ IN HER ARTICLE CALLS FOR AN END TO MANDATORY BILINGUAL EDUCATION AT THE STATE AND FEDERAL LEVEL, AND SHE'S ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. MY BILL, H.R. 739, WOULD DO JUST THAT. I HOPE YOU ALL JOIN ME IN MY EFFORT TO MAKE ENGLISH OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE AND KEEP AMERICA ONE NATION, ONE PEOPLE. COSPONSOR H.R. 739, THE DECLARATION OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT. I ASK THAT THE FULL TEXT OF HER ARTICLE APPEAR IN THE Record at this point.

One Nation, One Common Language

(By Linda Chavez)

Lusi Granados was a bright five-year-old who could read simple words before he entered kindergarten in Sun Valley, Calif. But soon after the school year began, his mother was told that he couldn't keep up. Yolanda Granados was bewildered. "He knows his alphabet," she assured the teacher.

"You don't understand," the teacher explained. "The use of both Spanish and English in the classroom is confusing to him."

Yolanda Granados was born in Mexico but speaks excellent English. Simply because Spanish is sometimes spoken in her household, however, the school district-without consulting her-put her son in bilingual classes. "I sent Luis to school to learn English," she declares.

When she tried to put her boy into regular classes, she was given the runaround. "Every time I went to the school," she says, "the principal gave me some excuse." Finally, Granados figured out a way to get around the principal, who has since left the school.

Each school year, she had to meet with Luis's teachers to say she wanted her son taught solely in English. They cooperated with her, but Luis was still officially classified as a bilingual student until he entered the sixth grade.

Immigrant parents want their kids to learn English. Why, then, do we have a multibillion-dollar bureaucracy to promote bilingual education?

Unfortunately, the Granados family's experience has become common around the country. When bilingual education was being considered by Congress, it had a limited mission: to teach children of Mexican descent in Spanish while they learned English. Instead, it has become an expensive behemoth, often with a far-reaching political agenda: to promote Spanish among Hispanic children-regardless of whether they speak English or not, regardless of their parents' wishes and even with-out their knowledge. For instance:

In New Jersey last year, Hispanic children were being assigned to Spanish-speaking classrooms, the result of a state law that mandated bilingual instruction. Angry parents demanded freedom of choice. But when a bill to end the mandate was introduced in the legislature, a group of 50 bilingual advocates testified against it at a state board of education meeting.

"Why would we require parents unfamiliar with our educational system to make such a monumental decision when we are trained to make those decisions?" asked Joseph Ramos, then co-chairman of the North Jersey Bilingual Council.

The Los Angeles Unified School District educates some 265,000 Spanish-speaking children, more than any other in the nation. It advises teachers, in the words of the district's Bilingual Methodology Study Guide, "not to encourage minority parents to switch to English in the home, but to encourage them to strongly promote development of the primary language." Incredibly, the guide

also declares that "excessive use of English in bilingual classrooms tends to lower students' achievement in English."

In Denver, 2500 students from countries such as Russia and Vietnam learn grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation in ESL (English as a Second Language). An English "immersion" program, ESL is the principal alternative to bilingual education. Within a few months, most ESL kids are taking mathematics, science and social-studies classes in English.

But the 11,000 Hispanic children in Denver public schools don't have the choice to participate in ESl full time. Instead, for their first few years they are taught most of the day in Spanish and are introduced only gradually to English. Jo Thomas, head of the bilingual/ESL education program for the Denver public schools, estimates these kids will ultimately spend on average five to seven years in its bilingual program.

ACTIVIST TAKEOVER.

Bilingual education began in the late 1960s as a small, $ 75-million federal program primarily for Mexican-American children, half [*E1599] of whom could not speak English when they entered first grade. The idea was to teach them in Spanish for a short period, until they got up to speed in their new language.

Sen. Ralph Yarborough (D., Texas), a leading sponsor of the first federal bilingual law in 1968, explained that its intent was "to make children fully literate in English." Yarborough assured Congress that the purpose was "not to make the mother tongue dominant."

Unfortunately, bilingual-education policy soon fell under the sway of political activists demanding recognition of the "group rights" of cultural and linguistic minorities. By the late 1970s the federal civil-rights office was insisting that school districts offer bilingual education to Hispanic and other "language minority" students or face a cutoff of federal funds. Most states followed suit, adopting bilingual mandates either by law or by bureaucratic edict. The result is that, nationally, most first-grade students from Spanish-speaking homes are taught to read and write in Spanish.

The purpose in many cases is no longer to bring immigrant children into the mainstream of American life. Some advocates see bilingual education as the first step in a radical transformation of the United States into a nation without one common language or fixed borders.

Spanish "should no longer be regarded as a 'foreign' language," according to Josue Gonzalez, director of bilingual education in the Carter Administration and now a professor at Columbia University Teachers College. Instead, he writes in Reinventing Urban Education, Spanish should be "a second national language."

Others have even more extreme views. At last February's annual conference of the National Association for Bilingual Education (a leading lobbying group for

supporters of bilingual education) in Phoenix, several speakers challenged the idea of U.S. sovereignty and promoted the notion that the Southwest and northern Mexico form one cultural region, which they dub La Frontera.

Eugene Garcia, head of bilingual education at the U.S. Department of Education, declared to thunderous applause that "the border for many is nonexistent. For me, for intellectual reasons, that border shall be nonexistent." His statement might surprise President Clinton, who appointed Garcia and has vowed to beef up border protection to stem the flow of illegal aliens into the United States.

I WAS FURIOUS

Bilingual education has grown tremendously from its modest start. Currently, some 2.4 million children are eligible for bilingual or ESL classes, with bilingual education alone costing over $ 5.5 billion. New York City, for instance, spends $ 400 million annually on its 147,500 bilingual students-$ 2712 per pupil.

A great deal of this money is being wasted. "We don't even speak Spanish at home," says Miguel Alvarado of Sun Valley, Calif., yet his eight-year-old daughter, Emily, was put in a bilingual class. Alvarado concludes that this was done simply because he is bilingual.

When my son Pablo entered school in the District of Columbia, I received a letter notifying me that he would be placed in a bilingual program-even though Pablo didn't speak a word of Spanish, since I grew up not speaking it either. (My family has lived in what is now New Mexico since 1609). I was able to decline the program without much trouble, but other Hispanic parents aren't always so fortunate.

When Rita Montero's son, Camilo, grew bored by the slow academic pace of his first-grade bilingual class in Denver, she requested a transfer. "The kids were doing work way below the regular grade level," says Montero. "I was furious." Officials argued they were under court order to place him in a bilingual class.

In fact, she was entitled to sign a waiver, but no one she met at school informed her of this. Ultimately she enrolled Camilo in a magnet school across town. Says Montero, "Only through a lot of determination and anger did I get my son in the classroom where he belonged." Most parents-especially immigrants-aren't so lucky. They're intimidated by the system, and their kids are stuck.

Most school districts with large Hispanic populations require parents with Spanish surnames to fill out a "home-language survey." If parents report that Spanish is used in the home, even occasionally, the school may place the child in bilingual classes. Unbeknown to parents, a Spanish-speaking grandparent living with the family may be enough to trigger placement, even if the grandchild speaks little or no Spanish.

Though parents are supposed to be able to opt out, bureaucrats have vested interest in discouraging them, since the school will lose government funds. In some districts, funding for bilingual education exceeds that for mainstream classes by 20 percent or more. New York State, for example, doesn't allow Hispanic students to exist the bilingual program until they score above the 40th percentile on a standardized English test.

"There's a Catch-22 operating here," says Christine Rossell, a professor of political science at Boston University. She explains that such testing guarantees enrollment in the program, for "by definition, 40 percent of all students who take any standardized test will score at or below the 40th percentile."

FAMILY'S BUSINESS

Bilingual programs are also wasted on children who do need help learning English. Studies confirm what common sense would tell you: the less time you spend speaking a new language, the more slowly you'll learn it.

Last year, bilingual and ESL programs in New York City were compared. Results: 92 percent of Korean, 87 percent of Russian, and 83 percent of Chinese children who started intensive ESL classes in kindergarten had made it into mainstream classes in three years or less. Of the Hispanic students in bilingual classes, only half made it to mainstream classes within three years. "How can anyone learn English in school when they speak Spanish 41/2 hours a day?" asks Gail Fiber, an elementary-school teacher in Southern California. "In more than seven years' experience with bilingual education, I've never seen it done successfully."

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, former director of bilingual education in Newton, Mass, and now with the Institute for Research in English Acquisition and Development, reached a similar conclusion. "I felt that I was deliberately holding back the learning of English," she writes in her eloquent critique, Forked Tongue: The Politics of Bilingual Education.

Native-language instruction is not even necessary to academic performance, according to Boston University's Rossell. "Ninety-one percent of scientifically valid studies show bilingual education to be no better-or actually worse-than doing nothing." In other words, students who are allowed to sink or swim in all-English classes are actually better off than bilingual students.

The overwhelming majority of immigrants believe that it is a family's duty-not the school's-to help children maintain the native language. "If parents had an option," says Lila Ramirez, vice president of the Burbank, Calif., Human Relations Council, "they'd prefer all-English to all-Spanish." When a U.S. Department of Education survey asked Mexican and Cuban parents what they wanted, four-fifths declared their opposition to teaching children in their native language if it meant less time devoted to English.

SENSE OF UNITY

It's time for federal and state legislators to overhaul this misbegotten program. The best policy for children-and for the country-is to teach English to immigrant children as quickly as possible. American-born Hispanics, who now make up more than half of all bilingual students, should be taught in English.

Bilingual education probably would end swiftly if more people knew about last November's meeting of the Texas Association for Bilingual Education, in Austin. Both the Mexican and U.S. flags adorned the stage at this gathering, and the attendees-mainly Texas teachers and administrators-stood as the national anthems of both countries were sung.

At least one educator present found the episode dismaying. "I stood, out of respect, when the Mexican anthem was played," says Odilia Leal, bilingual coordinator for the Temple Independent School District. "But I think we should just sing the U.S. anthem. My father, who was born in Mexico, taught me that the United States, not Mexico, is my country."

With 20 million immigrants now living in our country, it's more important than ever to teach newcomers to think of themselves as Americans if we hope to remain one people, not simply a conglomeration of different groups. And one of the most effective ways of forging that sense of unity is through a common language.

Cited as: Roth (1995d)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- Extension of Remarks
Friday, October 20, 1995
104th Congress 1st Session
141 Cong Rec E 1988

REFERENCE: Vol. 141 No. 163

TITLE: THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION TRAP

SPEAKER: HON. TOBY ROTH OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT: Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken By a MEMBER of the Senate on the floor.

Thursday, October 19, 1995

MR. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to call the attention of my colleagues to a column that appeared yesterday in the Wall Street Journal. The author, Michael Gonzalez, makes a compelling case against bilingual education and for preserving our common bond, the English language.

MR. GONZALEZ' ARTICLE SHARES HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS AS A NEW AMERICAN GROWING UP IN NEW YORK CITY. HIS STORY IS A CAUTIONARY TALE OF BUREAUCRATIC EXCESS AND EDUCATIONAL INEFFECTIVENESS. RATHER THAN HELPING CHILDREN LEARN ENGLISH, THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS HE DESCRIBES ACTUALLY HOLD THEM BACK.

A RECENT SURVEYS SHOWED THAT IN JUST 5 YEARS, THERE WILL BE 40 MILLION AMERICANS WHO CAN'T SPEAK ENGLISH. THOSE AMERICANS WILL BE ISOLATED, CUT OFF FROM REALIZING THE AMERICAN DREAM, IF THEY DON'T HAVE THE ONE SKILL THAT IS REQUIRED FOR SUCCESS IN AMERICA: FLUENCY IN ENGLISH.

WE SHOULD HEED THE WARNINGS OF PEOPLE LIKE MICHAEL GONZALEZ, WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FIRST HAND. I HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION THAT WOULD END THESE MISGUIDED GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS AND SHIFT OUR EDUCATIONAL FOCUS BACK TO TEACHING NEW AMERICANS ENGLISH QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY. I HOPE YOU WILL JOIN ME IN THIS EFFORT BY COSPONSORING H.R. 739, THE DECLARATION OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE ACT.

I ASK THAT THE FULL TEXT OF MR. GONZALEZ' ARTICLE APPEAR IN THE Record at this point.

(From the Wall Street Journal, Oct. 18, 1995)
The Bilingual Ed Trap
(By Michael Gonzalez)

The push to make English the official language of the U.S. misses the point. If proponents of such a constitutional amendment aim to prevent Balkanization and preserve the ideal of the melting pot, they would do far better to channel their efforts into radically changing bilingual education programs. Immigrants will learn English if the social engineers will only let them.

I know about bilingual education first-hand. When my family came to this country from Cuba via Spain more than 20 years ago, the New York City public school system, in its infinite wisdom, put me in a bilingual program, despite my family's doubts. The program delayed my immersion into English, created an added wedge between new immigrants and other students, and was sometimes used as a dumping ground for troubled Spanish-speakers more fluent in English.

When I tried to transfer to a regular class, the system threw roadblocks in my way. Administrators finally relented, though it took a lot to convince them. The process was an education in itself, but it wasn't one a 14-year-old should be asked to go through.

One year later, the students who had stayed in the bilingual class were still there, and their English-language skills were little improved. They were every bit as bright as I; it was the system that held them back. Sadly, this picture has not improved in the past two decades.

While a bilingual program of short duration that truly aims at quick immersion in the English-speaking culture would be of value, the lobbying groups that support bilingual education appear to have other aims in mind: chiefly, pushing the Spanish language as something in need of protection and creating a multicultural, multilingual nation.

Spanish is my native tongue, and it is the native tongue of every member of my family. I work hard at not losing it and speak it as often as I can, especially in the street. It is beautiful, melodious tongue, especially suitable for poetry and other forms of literature. It is not a waif that needs the help of some concerned administrator. The language is alive and duly celebrated in Spain and 18 countries in Latin America, as well as in any other country where individuals have chosen to add it to the particular inventory of the foreign languages they know.

Paul Hill, research professor at the University of Washington's graduate school of public policy, says one hidden agenda of bilingualism's proponents may be to create demand for teachers who speak a foreign language. He also suggest a more Machiavellian agenda: Instilling in a child a self-consciousness as a member of a separate group virtually ensures that he or she will never fully feel a member of the larger society and will be more vulnerable to claims of ethnic pride, or resentment, by politicians and marketers alike. I fear Prof. Hill may be right on target.

As a correspondent, I have witnessed countries such as South Korea and Japan use unity of purpose to compete globally. I have also witnessed strife in countries that are multilingual and multicultural, such as Afghanistan and Cyprus. We should think twice before we toss out the corny goal of having a melting pot.

Yes, Americans, an English-speaking people, had better start learning foreign languages, such as Spanish, in order to better compete in the world. Yes, our diversity is a real strength: Americans of Eastern European, Asian and Latin American background are leading the charge in opening markets in those regions. But we cannot afford to become dissipated at the center-we have to understand one another, linguistically and culturally, back at the head office.

But if the liberals on one side confuse matters, the conservatives on the other side also send the wrong message with English-only drives. The first law that established English as the official language of a state, in Nebraska in the 1920s, restricted the learning of any other foreign language until secondary education. Any law that risks encouraging isolationism should be opposed. Globalism is real-anyone who doubts it should visit our business schools and see students grappling with how to overcome America's natural seclusion. In addition, if it's fair to speculate about the motives of bilingual-ed supporters, it is also legitimate to hypothesize that supporters of English-only may be animated by nativism, racism and ignorance.

Far from working toward union, making English an official language risks creating further divisions. It goes against the grain of how things have traditionally been done in this country, where there is no official religion nor family that represents the state. Reforming bilingual ed and restricting government literature to English does not require an official language. We've done without one for 219 years. We don't need one now.

Cited as: Roth (1995e)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- House
Tuesday, December 5, 1995
104th Congress 1st Session
141 Cong Rec H 13932

REFERENCE: Vol. 141 No. 192

TITLE: MAKING ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

TEXT: [*H13932]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Roth) is recognized during morning business for 3 minutes.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee prepares to hold hearings tomorrow on the issue of making English our official language. One of the issues that heavily dominates that debate is this issue of bilingual education, which was started as part of the Great Society Program back in 1968 and has grown and mushroomed to the juggernaut that it is today. I wish to put this problem into a proper perspective.

Mr. Speaker, a quick look at some startling facts will tell us all we need to know. Today, 32 million Americans don't speak English. In just 5 years, that number will increase to 40 million. English is a foreign language for one in seven Americans.

For most of our Nation's history, America gave the children of immigrants a precious gift-an education in the English language. As each new wave of immigrants arrived on these shores, our public school system taught their sons and daughters English, so they could claim their place in the American dream.

What are we doing for these new Americans today? Instead of a first-rate education in English, our bilingual education programs are consigning an entire generation of new Americans-unable to speak, understand, and use English effectively-to a second-class future.

This tragedy has human faces. Let me tell you about two people's experiences which will illustrate the impact of our failed bilingual education programs. I've never heard the problems with bilingual education more poignantly put than in the words of Ernesto Ortiz, a foreman on a south Texas ranch who said: "My children learn Spanish in school so they can become busboys and waiters. I teach them English at home so they can become doctors and lawyers." Ernesto understands that English is the language of opportunity in the country. He understands that denying his children a good education in English will doom them to a limited-as opposed to limitless-future.

Bilga Abramova also understands this simple truth. Bilga is a 35-year-old Russian refugee who has entered a church lottery three times in an attempt to win 1 of 50 coveted spaces in a free, intensive English class offered by her local parish. Her pleas in Russian speak volumes about the plight of all too many immigrants: "I need to win," she said. "Without English, I cannot begin a new life."

The ultimate paradox about our commitment to bilingual education in this country is that Bilga and others like her all across the country are on waiting lists for intensive English classes while we spend $ 8 billion a year teaching children in their native language.

You've heard from parents like Ernesto Ortiz and how they feel about bilingual education. Even teachers oppose these programs. A recent survey of 1,000 elementary and secondary teachers found that 64 percent of these teachers disapproved of bilingual education programs and favored intensive English instruction instead.

Even longtime defenders of these programs are starting to change their tune. The California Board of Education approved a new policy last month in which they abandoned their preference for bilingual education programs.

This year marks the 27th year of bilingual education programs. For more and more people, that is 27 years too long. It is time to take a fresh look at this problem. Bilingual education has had 27 years and billions of dollars to prove that it accomplished what it said it would do in 1968: teach children English quickly and effectively. Too many people lose sight of the fact that the real issue here is how to help children and newcomers who don't know English and who need to assimilate.

Let us not forget about Ernesto Ortiz and his children, about Bilga Abramova and other new Americans like them. While a Senate committee will discuss this issue for the first time tomorrow, Ernesto and Bilga have already given us their testimony on bilingual education, in words and in images. We must not lose sight of the fact that this is not just an abstract public policy issue; bilingual education and our national language policies have real world consequences. When our policies fail, the failures have names and faces attached to them. When our policies serve to divide rather than unite us, the rips appear in the very fabric of the American Nation. Don't underestimate this issue's importance. This is an issue that can affect the very future of new Americans and America itself.

Cited as: Roth (1996)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- HOUSE
Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9725

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 123, ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Roth), who has worked on this issue for many, many years.

Mr. ROTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Georgia for yielding me this time, and I appreciate the fine and the fair rule that the Committee on Rules has brought to the floor.

I wish we had more time to debate the issue, but I know at this time that we have a good deal of pressing legislation issues before us.

This is an historic day. I frankly have told many people who have doubted this day would ever come to have faith, that the day would come when the American people's wishes were going to be heard. In every single survey that has been taken on whether English should be our official language, 90 to 97 percent of the people say, yes, English should be our official language, which basically means when we vote, when an individual works with the Federal Government, that we do it in the English language.

The people have spoken and the Congress has listened, and now we can say that Congress has as much common sense as the American people.

We are people from every corner of the globe. We represent every religion, every ethnic group, every Nation under the Sun, but we are one nation, we are one people. Why? Because we have a wonderful commonality, a common glue, called the English language.

Now, in some 80 nations around the world they have official languages; 63 nations have English as the official language, and other nations have various other languages, of course.

The gentleman who just spoke before me is from Puerto Rico. Some of the finest people in the world live in Puerto Rico. But in Puerto Rico they have Spanish as their official language, and rightly so. They should have that right. In Mexico, they have Spanish as their official language. And again, rightly so.

Now, in this country we are told by the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education that by the turn of the century, one out of seven Americans will look at English as a foreign language.

Now, Mr. Speaker, as has been said before, in America, we have always had the idea that we are the melting pot, that we are all the same. We do not believe in hyphenated Americans. We are all equal American.

America must continue to be the melting pot. A Nation like America cannot be made up of groups. American is made up of individuals. As Woodrow Wilson said, as long as you consider yourself a part of a group, you are still not assimilated into American society, because America, like other nations, is made up of individuals and not made up of groups.

So today, in this debate, we are discussing this issue from the perspective of over 200 years of American history, of our culture and the things we hold dear. We should look around us in this Chamber today. All of us can take part in this debate. Why? Because we have all adopted English as our language, and this bill will allow us to do that 25, 50, and 100 years from now. Without this bill, we could not do that.

Cited as: Shelby (1993)

Congressional Record -- Senate
Wednesday, February 24, 1993
(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 5, 1993)
103rd Cong. 1st Sess.
139 Cong Rec S 2021

REFERENCE: Vol. 139 No. 20

TITLE: STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

SPEAKER: MR. SHELBY

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

[*S2021] By Mr. SHELBY:

S. 426. A bill to amend title 4, United States Code, to declare English as the official language of the Government of the United States; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1993

MR. SHELBY. MR. PRESIDENT: I RISE TODAY TO INTRODUCE LEGISLATION DESIGNATING ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THE TIME HAS COME TO FORMULATE A RATIONAL, FAIR, AND COHERENT LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT. THIS LEGISLATION, THE LANGUAGE IN GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1993, DOES THAT.

WE ARE A NATION OF IMMIGRANTS, COMPRISED OF INDIVIDUALS FROM VARIED CULTURAL, ETHNIC, AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS, EACH OF WHOM HAS MADE HIS OR HER UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE BRILLIANT MOSAIC OF AMERICA. IMMIGRANTS HAVE COME TO THE UNITED STATES FROM EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE. THEY HAVE FORGED A NATION THAT CONTINUES TO BE ENVIED FOR ITS ECONOMIC STRENGTH, POLITICAL STABILITY, AND DEMOCRATIC IDEALS.

HOW DID THE INDIVIDUALS FROM SUCH DIVERSE BACKGROUNDS AND CULTURES ESTABLISH A NATION? VITALLY IMPORTANT WAS THE EVOLUTION OF A COMMON LANGUAGE. FROM VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, ENGLISH CAME TO BE THE COMMON TONGUE OF THE GERMANS, DUTCH, SWEDES, AFRICANS, AND OTHER GROUPS WHO LIVED ALONG AMERICA'S EAST COAST IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

A COMMON LANGUAGE ALLOWED THEM TO ENGAGE IN COMMERCE AND, LATER, TO ENTER INTO POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS.

AS FRENCH-SPEAKING LOUISIANA PURCHASE TERRITORIES AND THE SPANISH-SPEAKING AREAS OF THE SOUTHWEST AND CALIFORNIA JOINED THE UNION IN THE 19TH CENTURY, THOSE NEW CITIZENS ALSO ADOPTED ENGLISH AS THEIR COMMON LANGUAGE. ENGLISH EVENTUALLY BECAME THE ONLY LANGUAGE THAT CROSSED ALL RACIAL, NATIONAL, AND RELIGIOUS LINES -- THE LANGUAGE WITHOUT ETHNICITY.

TODAY, OUR COMMON LANGUAGE, ENGLISH, ALLOWS US IN THE SENATE TO DEBATE DIFFERENCES AND FORGE COMPROMISES. IT CONTINUES TO ALLOW ALL AMERICANS TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN OUR DEMOCRACY, SHARE IDEALS, AND INFLUENCE VIEWS. A COMMON LANGUAGE ALLOWS ALL OF OUR DIVERSE PEOPLE TO BE INCLUDED. NO SIDE IS LEFT OUT.

WE ARE NOW FACED WITH THE REALITY THAT NOW MORE THAN 150 LANGUAGES ARE SPOKEN IN THE UNITED STATES. EACH OF THESE LANGUAGES CONTRIBUTES TO THE RICH FABRIC OF AMERICA. YET WITHOUT A COMMON LANGUAGE, OUR COEXISTENCE WILL BECOME CHAOTIC, PARTICULARLY OUR DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT. DEMOCRACY CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT COMMON COMMUNICATION. MORE THAN ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVERNMENT, A DEMOCRACY REQUIRES INTERACTION BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THOSE WHO GOVERN.

AS A NATION, WE CAN LEARN A GREAT DEAL FROM OUR DIVERSITY -- IF WE CAN COMMUNICATE WITH EACH OTHER. ONLY THROUGH COMMUNICATION CAN WE DISCOVER OUR SIMILARITIES AND UNDERSTAND OUR DIFFERENCES. JUST AS WE RECOGNIZE OUR DIVERSITY, WE MUST ACKNOWLEDGE THE IMPORTANCE OF FOSTERING UNITY WITHIN IT.

WILL WE ENJOY A NATION OF DIVERSE PEOPLES SHARING THE RICHES OF THEIR VARIED CULTURES [*S2022] WITH ONE ANOTHER, OR WILL WE BE A NATION OF SEGREGATED LANGUAGE GROUPS?

THERE IS INCREASING DIVISION BETWEEN ETHNIC AND LINGUISTIC GROUPS. THIS WILL BECOME PERMANENT IF WE CONTINUE TO FOCUS ON SEPARATE BUT EQUAL COMMUNICATION RATHER THAN EMPOWERING AND INCLUDING PEOPLE BY PROVIDING OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEM TO LEARN THE COMMON LANGUAGE. SEPARATE BUT EQUAL GOVERNING HAS NEVER BEEN EQUAL.

A COMMON LANGUAGE IS NOT ONLY ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH THE APPRECIATION OF DIVERSITY, IT IS A REQUISITE FOR MULTICULTURALISM. MULTICULTURALISM THROUGH A COMMON

LANGUAGE FOSTERS TOLERANCE BY ENABLING US TO SHARE IDEAS AND COMMUNICATE WITH ONE ANOTHER.

SHOULD WE HAVE A NATION OF MULTILINGUAL INDIVIDUALS WHO SHARE A COMMON PUBLIC LIFE, OR A GOVERNMENT WHICH ATTEMPTS TO OPERATE IN EVERY LANGUAGE? EFFORTS TO CREATE POCKETS OF OTHER LANGUAGE USAGE RESULT IN LANGUAGE ENCLAVES AND DISCRIMINATION. INDIVIDUALS LIVING WITHIN THE REALM OF PARTICULAR SUBCULTURES ARE LEFT OUT OF THE COMMON FOLD.

WE MUST SHOW ALL NATIVE LANGUAGES AND CULTURES TOLERANCE AND ACCEPTANCE. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD NOT TEAR AT THE COHESION OF THE NATION IN THE PROCESS BY ATTEMPTING TO CREATE A GOVERNMENT FOR EACH LANGUAGE GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES.

MULTILINGUAL INDIVIDUALS ARE CLEARLY AN ASSET TO ANY NATION. INDEED, OUR RICH DIVERSITY IS ONE OF OUR MOST SIGNIFICANT NATIONAL STRENGTHS. BUT A MULTILINGUAL GOVERNMENT IS A FORMULA FOR DISASTER. ONLY THROUGH A COMMON LANGUAGE CAN MULTILINGUAL PEOPLE WITH DIVERSE CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS SHARE THE COMMON GOALS NECESSARY FOR A GREAT NATION TO SURVIVE AND THRIVE IN THE FUTURE AS IT HAS IN THE PAST.

TO MAINTAIN UNITY AMID SUCH DIVERSITY AS WE HAVE IN THE UNITED STATES, WE MUST HAVE COHERENT NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY FOR GOVERNMENT. I URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO STUDY THIS BILL. THEY WILL FIND THAT IT DOES NOT PROHIBIT THE GOVERNMENT FROM PROVIDING ESSENTIAL SERVICES TO THE LIMITED ENGLISH POPULATION. IN FACT, I HAVE WRITTEN INTO THE LEGISLATION AN EXEMPTION CLAUSE WHICH SPECIFICALLY STATES THAT THIS BILL WILL NOT AFFECT THE FOLLOWING: ACTIONS, DOCUMENTS, OR POLICIES NECESSARY FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, TRADE OR COMMERCE, ACTIONS OR DOCUMENTS THAT PROTECT THE PUBLIC HEALTH OR SAFETY, ACTIONS THAT PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF VICTIMS OF CRIMES OR CRIMINAL DEFENDANTS, AND DOCUMENTS THAT UTILIZE TERMS OF ART OR PHRASES FROM LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH.

LIKEWISE, THE BILL DOES NOT AFFECT EDUCATION, THE VOTING PROCESS, OR IMMIGRATION.

CLEARLY, THIS BILL IS NOT AN ATTEMPT TO DENY -- OR EVEN DISCOURAGE -- INDIVIDUALS THEIR RIGHT TO USE NATIVE LANGUAGES IN THEIR PRIVATE LIVES OR TO DENY THEM CRITICAL SERVICES. THIS BILL IS AN HONEST AND EARNEST ATTEMPT TO WRITE INTO LAW A FAIR AND FLEXIBLE LANGUAGE POLICY. WITH MORE THAN 150 LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE UNITED STATES, WE ARE NOT GOING TO BE ABLE TO MAINTAIN ALL GOVERNMENT

FUNCTIONS IN EACH LANGUAGE EQUALLY. THIS BILL WILL ESTABLISH FLEXIBLE COMMONSENSE PARAMETERS THAT FOSTER FAIRNESS, INCLUSION, AND EMPOWERMENT.

THIS BILL ONLY AFFECTS THE OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT. IT ESTABLISHES CLEAR AND FAIR PARAMETERS ON WHEN AND HOW OTHER LANGUAGES ARE TO BE USED WITHIN OUR GOVERNMENTAL SYSTEM. IT MAKES A VERY SIGNIFICANT LEGISLATIVE STATEMENT REGARDING THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING ENGLISH – TO FULLY TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ALL THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES THAT EXIST IN THE UNITED STATES. AND MOST IMPORTANT, IT PROVIDES THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHALL HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO PROMOTE OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIVIDUALS TO LEARN ENGLISH.

FINALLY, I BELIEVE THAT THIS LEGISLATION WILL ENSURE THAT OUR NATION WILL NEVER EVOLVE INTO BEING OFFICIALLY MULTILINGUAL AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT; FORCED TO EXPERIENCE THE TREMENDOUS PROBLEMS CURRENTLY FACING CANADA, SRI LANKA, OR YUGOSLAVIA.

I STRONGLY URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO JOIN IN THIS EFFORT TO ESTABLISH A NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THE U.S. GOVERNMENT BY COSPONSORING THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1993.

Cited as: Shumway (1983a)

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May 26, 1983 to June 10, 1983
p. 14268

ENGLISH IS AND MUST REMAIN OUR ONLY ONLY LANGUAGE

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday June 1, 1983

Mr. Shumway Mr. Speaker on March 2, I Introduced House Joint Resolution 169 a constitutional amendment designating English the official language of the United States. Since that time, I have been greatly encouraged by the overwhelmingly enthusiastic response I have received to the bill.

The mail which I have received from across the Nation reaffirms my belief that this amendment reflects the view of many Americans: English is and must remain our only national language. The common themes throughout these letters are the concern that a multilanguage society is not in the best interest of our Nation and an awareness that the integration of the growing non-English-speaking populations in America is a challenge which we must confront.

At a time when our Nation is experiencing the largest influx of immigrants in its history, it is critical that efforts are made to integrate these people into American society. We must not promote the segregation of our Nations immigrants by legislating bilingual programs which enhance the dissimilarities between immigrants and the mainstream of American life. Rather, we must encourage those who wish to enjoy the benefits of American citizenship and who wish to become contributing members of American society to learn the language of their new homeland.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the April 20 edition of the Christian Science Monitor, written by Gerda Bikales, which underscores the value of English to the assimilation of immigrants into American society.

The article follows:

YOU'D BE A NOBODY IF THEY DIDN'T MAKE YOU LEARN ENGLISH

I learned my fourth language more self-consciously than I had learned my first language (German), my second language (Flemish) and my third language (French).

As a young child in Nazi-occupied Europe, I had had to learn languages as a matter of survival. But I was nearly 16 by the time I landed in America more easily embarrassed, more fearful of ridicule, too old to ever acquire the accent of the native.

Arriving without knowledge of English I nevertheless learned it very fast. So did my friends among the immirant students in my New York City high school. There were no special classes set up for us. Only kind and encouraging teachers willing to make some allowances for a while.

Within a year, I was taking the dreaded New York Regents examinations. I took the foreign language Regents in German and French and received perfect scores that boosted my average in my weaker subjects. I did well in the algebra and geometry exams which involve little knowledge of English. I got passing grades in English and American history, and 19 months after coming to the United States I managed to graduate high school with honors, several college acceptances in hand.

My parents had a much harder time. For them, English was a mischevious tongue twister which even I could not always understand. Yet they tried, and kept on trying. They wanted to become American citizens and had to know some English to pass the test. They also had to know the rudiments of American history and something about the way American government operates. I had studied these subjects in school, and by the time I was elgible for citizenship I was well versed in them. But my parents had had little formal schooling in their native Poland and had no framework for relating events in American history to anything else. Nor had their prior experience with authoritarian governments prepared them for understanding the US system of governance. They spent days memorizing facts. I helped by role-playing the naturalization officer, endlessly quizzing them: "Who was the first president of the United States?" "Who makes the laws of the United States?"? "What is the Constitution?

My parents answered by rote. Sometimes they got confused as when questions were posed differently such as "Who was George Washington?"

I was not with them when near-disaster struck during testing. In his nervous state, my father could not produce the answers to some of the questions asked. When the examiner realized my father's predicament, he tried to help. He rephrased the questions and gave some broad hints. My father passed, after all.

Once they became citizens, my parents boasted of their achievement, especially to immigrant friends too afraid to apply for naturalization. Like the fish in oft-repeated fishing stories, the difficulty of the test grew with every retelling. My parents registered to vote, followed politics in the foreign language press that was their regular reading, and voted faithfully in primaries and general elections.

Yet in most other ways they were to remain on the fringes of the American mainstream. They lived in immigrant neighborhoods, socialized with immigrant friends. But they expected me to venture forth, to seize the opportunities, to do well in America. I tried to meet their expectations.

My own Americanization proceeded rapidly, far beyond where my parents could follow. After I learned English I started to speak it at home, and conversation dried up. I had no time for religious observance. I became intolerant of my mother's cooking which I found unimaginative and heavy.

America had estranged us, as it had generations of immigrant families before us. This was the cost of immigration none of us had taken into account in planning our new life here, and which we paid in tears and pain.

I often think of those early years in the country we adopted, and which so generously adopted us. For today's newcomers, there is bilingual education. and voting ballots in foreign languages and talk about dropping English as a requirement for citizenship.

I asked my parents, now retired, whether these accommodations would have helped us when we were newcomers. They were offended at the mere suggestion "You would be a nobody if they didn't make you learn English right away," my mother lectured me, "and ifwe didn't have to work hard for our citizenship would we appreciate it the way we do?"

I reminded my mother that they would have failed the test, were it not for the kindness of the examiner. She then reminded me of my high school teachers, who overlooked my shortcomings those first few months. And then my mother, who had lived as a refugee in a half-dozen countries told me: "That's what's so special in America, they want you to learn American ways, but they don't make fun of you when you don't know. They give you a break, and they are willing to help you just try." Right on, Mom!

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WHY MAKE IMMIGRANTS FOREVER STRANGERS?
HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday June 14, 1983

Mr. SHUMWAY Mr. Speaker, our nation is experiencing the largest influx of immigrants in its history. In 1976, 400,000 immigrants came to the United States legally and in 1980 more than 800,000 legal immigrants came to our country. It is believed that if immigration continues at this rate of growth, the population of the United States by the year 2030 will be over 320 million. I am deeply concerned with the economic and social problems associated with this large influx of immigrants into the United States, particularly with our ability to effectively assimilate these newcomers into U.S. society.

Our Nation's linguistic minorities do necessitate, to a certain degree, special attention and help. I strongly believe however, that this assistance should serve to integrate the growing non-English speaking populations in America into U.S. society, not to promote the segregation of America's immigrants. Rather than encouraging the adaptation of immigrants to the speech and customs of their new homeland, the Government is prolonging their assimilation by sponsoring bilingual programs which enhance dissimilarities between immigrants and the mainstream of American life and thus which inhibit the process of acculturation.

Government-sanctioned programs such as bilingual ballots and bilingual education, have served to impede the full integration of immigrants into American society. U.S. naturalization laws state that a person must "read write, and speak English in ordinary usage" to become a U.S. citizen. Our laws, however, also mandate that immigrants who vote, and who thus exercise the highest privelege of U.S. citizenship, must be provided with ballots in their native language. Furthermore, bilingual education has inhibited the integration of immigrants into society. Mastery of the English language is vital to the assimilation of our Nation's immigrants, and yet bilingual education appears to have become an end in itself, rather than the means for immigrants to become full and participating members of American society.

While I believe that it is important that the tradition of accepting foreigners to our Nation is preserved, it is imperative that immigrants are integrated into U.S. society as quickly as possible in order to allow them to become useful, productive members of our society. I strongly believe that proficiency in English is essential to this assimulation. On March 2, I introduced a constitutional

amendment -- House Joint Resolution 169 -- designating English the official language of the United States. This amendment reflects the views of many Americans that English is and must remain our only national language. The designation of English as the official language of the United States, however, should by no means be construed as a betrayal of the diverse cultures which make up our great Nation. Our Nation has been immeasurably enriched by the cultural diversity of our society and thus it is vital that this diverse cultural tradition is preserved. I submit, however, that a multilanguage society is not in the best interest of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the June 3 edition of the Los Angeles Times, written by Neal R. Peirce, which underscores some of the important questions regarding the value of bilingual programs to our Nation's immigrants.

The article follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times June 3, 1983]
Why Make Immigrants Forever Strangers?
(By Neal R. Peirce)

This year the federal government is spending about $138 million to subsidize bilingual-education programs in schools across the land. State and local governments are publishing ballots in Spanish and multiple other languages. Philadelphia and Florida are offering Civil Service examination in Spanish. There are only 11 states in which one needs to know English to take a driver's-license test. And increasingly the question is being asked--Why?

Critics say that bilingual-education programs which were originally sold as a way to help foreign language-speaking children make a transition to English have become an end in themselves. Behind the programs are bilingual-education teachers (some with a shaky knowledge of English themselves) and cultural organizations with a vested interest in the continuing bilingual school curriculums that are financed by federal dollars.

There's even a National Bilingual Education Conference that draws hundreds of delegates from as far as our Pacific territories for national lobbying conferences in luxury hotels. The theme at the last meeting in Washington, was "Bilingualism--In the National Interest," a far cry from the goal of short-term transitional programs in the schools.

Now a prestigious Twentieth Century Fund task force on education, headed by the University of Massachusetts' Robert Wood, asks what good all the bilingual-education programs achieve. "Anyone living in the United States who is unable to speak English cannot fully participate in our society, its culture, its politics the panel says. It recommends "that federal funds now going to bilingual programs be used to teach non-English-speaking children how to speak, read and write English.

On a parallel track the English language has finally acquired its own organized lobby. It's called U.S. English and it's open to all 'who agree that English is and must remain the only official language of the people of the United States."

The proponents of "English first" have to know that they're playing a dangerous game. All so easily they can be labeled racist, reactionary, xenophobic or anti-Latino.

But the leaders of U.S. English are hardly know-nothings Their honorary leader is a semanticist of Asian origin -- himself an immigrant--former Sen. S. I. Hayakawa of California who proposed a constitutional amendment affirming English as the official language of the United States. The chairman is Michigan physician John Tanton, the founder of the Federation for American Immigration Reform. And the present is Gerda Bikales who learned four languages--German, Yiddish, Flemish and French--before she was finally taught English at the age of 16 after her family fled Nazi-occupied Europe and settled in the United States.

U.S. English which so far operates on a shoestring at its cramped offices in Washington is not against Americans full mastery of foreign languages. It is giving strong support to improved expanded foreign-language programs in schools and universities "for practical economic and foreign-policy reasons." One of the most intriguing things about the group is its requirement that its board members be masters of at least one foreign language. But on putting English first in the schools the group is adamant. "As a child," Bikales says, "I found language barriers could easily be overcome. Arriving in America without knowledge of English I nevertheless learned it very fast. So did my friends among the immigrant students in my New York City high school."

And so can immigrant children today, she says.

Indeed, the question is compelling. If the children of earlier generations, speaking so many languages, from Italian and Polish to Portuguese and Chinese, could learn English why not immigrant children now?

Where bilingual issues reach red-hot intensity is among Latinos who envision a large, independent Spanish-speaking nation within the American nation--an American Quebec as it were.

Asked about taxpayer-supported Spanish education the Puerto Rico-born mayor of Miami, Maurice Ferre, is quoted in the May issue of Esquire as responding: "We demand this because we recognize that culture is vitaly important if we are going to be able to solve our problems."

But Ferre, who also boasts that "you can go through your whole life without having to speak English at all" in today's Cuban dominated Miami, doesn't necessarily speak for all Latinos.

"Middle-class ethnics romanticize public separateness and trivialize the dilemma of the socially disadvantaged," writes Mexican-American novelist Richard Rodriguez author of "Hunger of Memory." "America is a place where you don't lose your culture-- you gain one."

The questions that remain for us all, native English-speaking and modern-day immigrant alike are these:

Why should ballots be printed in foreign languages when practically all political debate, the very essence of responsible citizenship is conducted in English?

Why should driver's-license tests be given in foreign languages --except for foreign visitors or for a limited time--when road signs warnings and the voice of the traffic officer are all in English?

Why shouldn't bilingual education be limited as U.S. English recommends. to "a program of short-term instruction that uses the child's home language to help him for the first few months"?

Any other choice consigns youngsters to segregated classrooms, to lifetimes of minimal or nonexistent English outside the mainstream of American business and public life. They may easily, in Bikales' words, "be doomed to be forever strangers in their new country." It could be the ultimate racism.

Cited as: Shumway (1984a)

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May 21, 1984 to May 24, 1984
p. 14381

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1984

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, as the chief sponsor of a proposed constitutional amendment (H.J. Res. 169) which designates English as the official language of the United States, I am deeply concerned with our Nation's ability to effectively assimilate the growing numbers of non-English-speaking immigrants and refugees into American society.

Because the decision to admit immigrants and refugees to our country is a Federal one, I believe the Federal Government has a responsibility to provide services and training to these special individuals. I strongly believe, however, that this assistance should serve to integrate the non-English-speaking populations in America into U.S. society, not to promote the segregation of America's immigrants. Rather than encouraging the adaption of immigrants to the speech and customs of their new homeland, the Federal Government is prolonging their assimilation by sponsoring bilingual programs which enhance dissimilarities between immigrants and the mainstream of American life and thus which inhibit the process of acculturation.

A major example of such programs is bilingual education, the primary method utilized for increasing limited English proficient (LEP) students' proficiency in English. This method was essentially institutionalized by the Federal Government in 1975 when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare developed guidelines, the "Lau remedies", which require school districts to provide instruction for LEP students in their native language as a condition for eligibility for Federal funds. Despite the fact that little evidence has been produced to prove bilingual education's effectiveness in making LEP students proficient in English and moving these students into the mainstream of U.S. society, it continues to be utilized almost to the exclusion of alternative approaches.

Given the considerable doubt which surrounds the value and effectiveness of bilingual education, I believe it makes little sense for the Federal Government to continue to devote scarce dollars to this instructional approach. Moreover, given the diversity of LEP students throughout America, I have serious reservations

about the Federal Government prescribing to school districts a specific approach to remedy the problem of educating America's LEP students.

The Reagan administration recognizes this and has submitted legislation (H.R. 2682) allowing school districts to decide for themselves which instructional approach is best suited to the unique needs and circumstances of their LEP students. This legislation, as well as House Joint Resolution 169, provides for instruction in a language other than English, but emphasizes that such instruction is for the sole purpose of making LEP students proficient in English. These proposals, in my view, correctly move away from the prevailing one-sided emphasis on the bilingual approach, as embodied in pending legislation (H.R. 5231), toward broadening the instructional methods for serving LEP students.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that proficiency in English is integral to our Nation's immigrants and refugees becoming full and productive members of society. We must, therefore, move away from programs which are of dubious value in facilitating the learning of English and which may actually impede the assimilation of our Nation's LEP population into the American mainstream. To continue to rely on such programs is to tragically keep many of America's linguistic minorities forever on the fringes of America's English-speaking society.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues an article which appeared in the Washington Times on May 22. This article underscores the importance of English proficiency for our Nation's linguistic minorities and notes important lessons our Nation can learn from the Canadian experience with bilingualism.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Times, May 22, 1984]
A LESSON IN BILINGUALISM
(by Rusty Butler)

The May 8 attack on the Quebec National Assembly has focused attention again on the bilingual/bicultural problems of Canada. Hopefully, the incident will give Congress food for thought as it considers pending bilingual education legislation.

Separate House bills portend distinct directions this nation may take in education and in politics. Reagan administration bill H.R. 2682 alters the course of bilingual education since Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act became law in 1968. Conversely, H.R. 5231, favored by the NEA and most ethnic groups, further entrenches traditional bilingual education at a greatly increased level of funding. The House Education and Labor Committee recently approved a so-called compromise bill, H.R. 11, which avoids the real issues by maintaining the status quo.

The administration wants to establish learning of English as the primary purpose of bilingual education, and allow school districts the choice of educationally sound methods for achieving that goal. In contrast, H.R. 5231 and H.R. 11

would dwell heavily on the child's native language and culture through transitional bilingual education.

The big gun in the administration's arsenal is a 1981 Department of Education report, Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature. This study concludes that no single method for teaching English is superior to another. If accurate, its implications for the traditionalists are devastating. To date, the bilingualists have found nothing which invalidates the basic finding of the report (including a critical study by the American Psychological Association in 1982 for the Congressional Hispanic Caucus).

Notwithstanding the educational implications of the House resolutions, the potential political impact is profound. Numerous statements by Hispanic groups clearly reveal their views of bilingual education as an important tool for preserving and promoting their language and culture. They intend it as a means of achieving their political and social aspirations, and legitimizing their distinctive heritage and standing as a separate ethnic group in our nation.

Few will argue against the desirability of pride in one's culture and heritage. However, when that pride promotes linguistic and cultural separation, problems inevitably follow. Social scientists have pointed out that the failure (or refusal) to learn the common language of a host country makes it far easier, even emotionally desirable, to stay within the ethnic group for social and institutional life, and for close friendships. Gone are the incentives to interact with "outsiders" or even change residence.

Worse yet, the economic prospects for an already financially depressed minority are bleak. As a group, Hispanics earn far less than the national average. Yet this is a nation where economic advancement is greatly enhanced by knowing the English language. A few years ago one writer even referred to bilingual education as "training for the ghetto".

Some political scientists have argued that no parallels can be drawn between Quebec and our bilingual problems here. As a resident of Canada during the 1960s and 1970s, and as a close observer of their bilingual/bicultural evolution, I choose to differ. True, the situations are not exactly the same, but there are similarities.

Already New York, Los Angeles, and other major cities have large Hispanic populations. In the not-too-distant future several cities and states will count Hispanics as majority. Then what, if we continue on the path of separate language and culture instruction?

One proposed solution, which would resolve both the bilingual education issue and potential Quebec-style problems, is a constitutional amendment making English the official language of the United States (S.J. Res. 167 and H.J. Res. 169). Critics are quick to cry "ethnocentric and xenophobic" whenever the amendment is discussed but, beyond meaningless name-calling, they have not offered any rational alternatives.

Today we stand at a crossroad. The results of congressional decisions on the pending House bills and the proposed amendment will have far-reaching implications for our nation's future. Either we blend our pluralism into a harmonious unity or we may find ourselves retracing Canada's footsteps.

Cited as: Shumway (1984b)

Congressional Record
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October 3, 1984 to October 4, 1984
p. 30286

PROPOSITION 38

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October *4, 1984*

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, on November 6 the people of California will have the opportunity to voice their opinion on the issue of multilingual ballots when they vote on proposition 38. This proposition, which calls upon the Governor to write to the President and Congress to urge that Federal law be changed to require that ballots and voting materials be printed in English only, qualified for the ballot after 626,000 signatures were filed with the California secretary of state.

Mr. Speaker, there has been growing concern in recent years with the proliferation of Government-sanctioned programs, such as multilingual ballots, which mandate the use of languages other than English in the official business of the United States. This concern was clearly seen in San Francisco last fall when the voters of that city and county overwhelmingly passed an initiative which rejects the use of multilingual ballots. In addition, a recent Field Institute poll found that of the 5 percent of California's voters which say they have heard of proposition 38's provisions, 40 percent are in favor, with 13 percent opposed and 47 percent undecided.

I have been contacted, Mr. Speaker, by people throughout the country to express their concern with Federal laws which require that people of limited English proficiency who vote, and thus who exercise the highest privilege of U.S. citizenship, be provided with ballots in their native language. These people are concerned not only with the financial cost of printing and distributing ballots in languages other than English, but with the social cost of multilingual policies which impede the learning of English and enhance dissimilarities between immigrants and the mainstream of American life.

I share the strong concern of these people and have introduced a constitutional amendment (H.J. Res. 169) which, among other things, would reverse the provisions of the Voting Rights Act which mandate the use of multilingual ballots. In my view, multilingual ballots and voting materials represent one of the many Government-sponsored programs which have served to discourage

proficiency in English and to impede the full integration of immigrants into America's English-speaking society.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the outcome of the San Francisco initiative and am convinced that on November 6 the voters of the entire State of California will pass proposition 38 and send a message which we, as Members of Congress, should all heed—that the time has come to reverse the trend toward Government-sponsored bilingualism in America and the implications of such policies. The time is now to reaffirm that proficiency in English is essential to full participation in American society; proposition 38 is an important first step.

Cited as: Shumway (1985)

Congressional Record
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99th Congress
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January 3, 1985 to January 30, 1985
pp. 1101, 1102

ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 24,1985

Mr. SHUMWAY. Mr. Speaker, I, and 12 other Members of the House, are proposing a constitutional amendment designating English the official language of the United States. We share the view of a growing number of Americans that English must remain our only national language, and that the Federal Government should not encourage the use of others.

Throughout our history, America has been immeasurably enriched by her ethic, religious, and cultural diversity—and it is vital that this tradition be preserved. At the same time, our common language has been a powerful factor in forging national strength, unity, and stability.

Unfortunately, the primacy of English in America has been challenged in recent years by a trend toward the quasi-official recognition of languages other than English. This trend is clearly seen in Government-sponsored policies that recognize other languages as the accepted medium of instruction in school. Such programs, although well intentioned, actually discourage proficiency in our common tongue. While purportedly temporary in nature, these programs foster continued dependence on languages other than English—thus serving to impede the process of assimilation of our Nation's linguistic minorities.

The English language amendment, therefore, seeks to provide a needed measure of legal protection to the English language, and makes it clear to our Nation's immigrants that proficiency in English is a civic responsibility as well as an indispensable ticket to educational, professional, and social opportunities in America.

The joint resolution that we are introducing establishes English as the official language of the United States, prohibits the use of the bilingual ballot, allows the instruction of English in non-English languages for the purpose of making students proficient in English, and ends the use of foreign languages in subject-matter instruction. This amendment does not seek to discourage the use of any foreign language for religious or ceremonial purposes, for domestic use, or for the preservation of ancestral culture; nor does the bill affect the teaching of foreign languages to American students.

Cited as: Shumway (1990a)

Congressional Record -- Extension of Remarks
Tuesday, February 27, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec E 418

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 17

TITLE: HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 81, A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT DESIGNATING ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF UNITED STATES

SPEAKER: HON. NORMAN D. SHUMWAY OF CALIFORNIA IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

[*E418] MR. SHUMWAY. MR. SPEAKER, I AM THE PRIMARY HOUSE SPONSOR OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 81, WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT DESIGNATING ENGLISH AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES. THE BILL NOW ENJOYS THE SPONSORSHIP OF 64 OF MY COLLEAGUES, ALL OF WHOM ARE ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE CONSTITUENCIES ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE. JUST LAST WEEK, I WAS PRESENTED WITH MORE THAN 30,886 DECLARATIONS OF SUPPORT FOR HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 81 FROM CITIZENS ACROSS THE NATION.

SEVENTEEN STATES ALREADY HAVE DECLARED ENGLISH THEIR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, INCLUDING MY OWN STATE OF CALIFORNIA. TWELVE MORE ARE CONSIDERING OFFICIAL ENGLISH LEGISLATION. POLLS AND SURVEYS CONTINUE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE PUBLIC OVERWHELMINGLY ENDORSES THE CONCEPT OF A SINGLE LANGUAGE IN GOVERNMENT.

OFFICIAL ENGLISH IS A COMMONSENSE IDEA. A SINGLE LANGUAGE IN GOVERNMENT USE, A COMMON LANGUAGE, GREATLY ENHANCES NATIONAL UNITY, POLITICAL STABILITY, SOCIAL EQUALITY, AND ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY. CONTRARY TO THE OPINION OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE MOVEMENT, SUCH A STEP WOULD NOT PROHIBIT OR DISCOURAGE THE USE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN HOMES, CHURCHES, COMMUNITY GROUPS, PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS, TOURISM, OR COMMERCE. ONLY GOVERNMENT FUNCTIONS WOULD BE AFFECTED. I APPLAUD AND ENCOURAGE THE ETHNIC DIVERSITY FROM WHICH THE RICH TAPESTRY OF OUR HERITAGE IS WOVEN. HOWEVER THE UNIFYING THREAD IN THIS VARIED TAPESTRY, THE

THREAD WHICH HAS FORGED UNITY FROM OUR DIVERSITY, IS A COMMON LANGUAGE.

AS THE MOST PLURALISTIC NATION IN THE WORLD, THE UNITED STATES IS MORE DEPENDENT THAN ANY OTHER ON THE UNIFYING BOND OF LANGUAGE TO FACILITATE COMMUNICATION, COOPERATION, AND THE EXCHANGE OF KNOWLEDGE. THE PETITIONS, I HAVE JUST RECEIVED, MAKE IT CLEAR THAT AMERICANS UNDERSTAND THAT DEPENDENCY, AND THAT THEY ENDORSE THE EFFORT TO DESIGNATE ENGLISH OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE. I STRONGLY URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO DO LIKEWISE.

Cited as: Shumway (1990b)

Congressional Record -- House
Wednesday, July 18, 1990
101st Cong. 2nd Sess.
136 Cong Rec H 4977

REFERENCE: Vol. 136 No. 92

TITLE: LANGUAGE, THE TIE THAT BINDS

SPEAKER: MR. BROOMFIELD; Mr. EMERSON; MR. HUTTO; Mr. MILLER of Ohio; MR. MONTGOMERY; Mr. MYERS of Indiana; MR. NIELSON OF UTAH; MR. SHUMWAY; MR. SLAUGHTER OF VIRGINIA

MR. SHUMWAY. MR. SPEAKER, AS A SPONSOR OF H.R. 4424, THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT, AS WELL AS A LONG-TIME SPONSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT, I AM PLEASED TO BE INVOLVED WITH WHAT I VIEW AS A WORTHWHILE AND VALUABLE EFFORT, DESIGNATING ENGLISH AS THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT IN OUR NATION.

WHEN I FIRST BECAME INVOLVED IN THE EFFORT TO DESIGNATE OFFICIAL ENGLISH, I REVIEWED THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE HAS PLAYED IN SHAPING OUR GREAT NATION, AND I ASKED MYSELF THE QUESTION WHICH IS OFTEN ASKED OF ME: WHY DO WE NEED ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE? AFTER ALL, FOR MORE THAN 200 YEARS, ENGLISH HAS BEEN OUR DE FACTO LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT. WHY IS THE OFFICIAL DESIGNATION NEEDED?

TO ANSWER THAT QUESTION, WE MUST EXAMINE THE MAKEUP OF OUR COUNTRY. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO NOT SHARE A COMMON ETHNICITY, RELIGION, RACE OR BACKGROUND. WE HAVE SHAPED OUR NATION FROM A MULTIPLICITY OF NATIONALITIES, MELDING A PEOPLE FROM IMMIGRANT ANCESTORS REPRESENTING MANY NATIONS AND CULTURES. AND WHAT HAS UNIFIED US, FORGING STRENGTH FROM OUR RICH CULTURAL DIVERSITY? WITHOUT DOUBT, A COMMON LANGUAGE. THROUGH OUR COMMON LANGUAGE -- ENGLISH -- WE ARE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH ONE ANOTHER THE BELIEFS AND COMMITMENTS WHICH BIND US TOGETHER AS AMERICANS: LOVE OF FREEDOM, RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS, PATRIOTISM AND LOVE OF COUNTRY.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IS NOT A NEW OR RADICAL CONCEPT. MORE THAN HALF THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAVE DESIGNATED A LANGUAGE IN WHICH THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS WILL OPERATE. INDEED, DETERMINING THE LANGUAGE WHICH WILL BE

USED TO CONDUCT THE BUSINESS OF GOVERNMENT IS WHAT OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IS ALL ABOUT.

WE NEED TO DESIGNATE ENGLISH OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE FOR A NUMBER OF VERY GOOD REASONS. FIRST, WE CANNOT TAKE OUR COMMON LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT FOR GRANTED. A FEDERAL JUDGE IN ARIZONA RECENTLY RULED THAT A STATE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE HAS THE RIGHT TO REFUSE TO SPEAK ENGLISH WHILE PERFORMING OFFICIAL DUTIES. THE JUDGE DETERMINED THAT THE EMPLOYEE HAS THE RIGHT TO SPEAK ANY LANGUAGE PREFERRED WHILE ON THE JOB. WHILE IT IS BEING APPEALED, THAT RULING IS QUITE A LANDMARK. AND, GIVEN THAT SOME 148 ETHNIC LANGUAGES ARE PRESENTLY SPOKEN IN THIS COUNTRY, IT HAS NIGHTMARISH POTENTIAL. CAN YOU IMAGINE BEING UNABLE TO FIND ANYONE ABLE OR WILLING TO SPEAK ENGLISH IN A GOVERNMENT BUILDING?

CASES INVOLVING LANGUAGE CONFLICTS ARE FINDING THEIR WAY INTO COURTS AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES FROM CALIFORNIA TO NEW YORK. FOR EXAMPLE, AN OHIO CARPENTER SUCCESSFULLY SUED A CITY BECAUSE CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATIONS WERE NOT MADE AVAILABLE IN A LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH. OTHER SUITS HAVE BEEN FILED IN ATTEMPTS TO HAVE NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING JURIES EMPANELED FOR TRIALS. IN MIAMI, TWO WOMEN SUCCESSFULLY COMPLAINED TO THE DADE COUNTY FAIR HOUSING AND EMPLOYMENT APPEALS BOARD ABOUT A CLEANING SERVICE WHICH WOULD NOT HIRE THEM BECAUSE THEY COULD NOT SPEAK ENGLISH. DOCUMENTS HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED TO COURTS IN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN ENGLISH. IN EL PASO, TX, A ROAD CREW WORKER WAS FIRED LAST YEAR AFTER HE COMPLAINED THAT HIS SUPERVISORS AND COWORKERS ALL REFUSED TO SPEAK ENGLISH TO HIM.

THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON FOR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE REMAINS UNITY. AROUND THE WORLD, WE ARE WITNESSING THE DIVISIVENESS OF LANGUAGE CONFLICTS. WE NEED LOOK NO FURTHER THAN QUEBEC FOR CONFIRMATION OF THE FOLLY WHICH ENSUES WHEN FELLOW CITIZENS ARE PITTED AGAINST ONE ANOTHER OVER LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY. DESPITE THE DIVERSITY OF OUR PEOPLE, WE HAVE BEEN SPARED THIS BITTER CONFLICT THUS FAR. WHY? BECAUSE ADOPTING THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE HAS ALWAYS BEEN PART OF BECOMING AN AMERICAN. THE ROLE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN UNITING US HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED BY SUCH INTERNATIONAL LEADERS AS MIKHAIL GORBACHEV. IN HIS BOOK "PERESTROIKA," THE SOVIET PREMIER POINTED TO OUR COMMON LANGUAGE AS A MAJOR UNIFYING ELEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

THOUGH REPRESENTATIVES FROM MANY ETHNIC GROUPS CAME TOGETHER IN THE UNITED STATES, ENGLISH BECAME THEIR COMMON LANGUAGE *** ONE CAN IMAGINE WHAT WOULD HAPPEN

IF MEMBERS OF EACH NATION MOVING TO THE UNITED STATES HAD SPOKEN ONLY THEIR OWN TONGUE AND REFUSED TO LEARN ENGLISH.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT REASON FOR SUPPORTING OFFICIAL ENGLISH IS BECAUSE, IN THIS COUNTRY, ENGLISH IS THE LANGUAGE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY. KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH IS THE KEY TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND ECONOMIC SUCCESS. WITHOUT A SOUND FOUNDATIONIN ENGLISH, NEWCOMERS TO OUR SHORES ARE DOOMED TO REMAIN FOREVER ON THE FRINGES OF OPPORTUNITY.

LANGUAGE HAS A PRACTICAL AND COMMONSENSE FUNCTION: IT PERMITS US TO COMMUNICATE. LANGUAGE POLICY MUST BE JUDGED IN THE LIGHT OF THAT PRACTICAL REALITY. AT LEAST 750 MILLION PEOPLE WORLDWIDE UTILIZE ENGLISH, AND SOME ESTIMATES ARE CLOSER TO 1 BILLION; 350 MILLION OF THOSE PEOPLE SPEAK ENGLISH AS THEIR MOTHER TONGUE. BY DESIGNATING ENGLISH OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, WE ACKNOWLEDGE NOT ONLY ITS ROLE IN OUR OWN PAST, BUT ALSO ITS GLOBAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FUTURE.

SKEPTICS ARE QUICK TO NOTE THAT UNITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND GLOBAL AWARENESS ARE EXCELLENT GOALS, BUT THAT ENGLISH HAS SERVED ALL THREE WITHOUT AN OFFICIAL DESIGNATION THUS FAR IN OUR HISTORY. WHY SUCH A DESIGNATION NOW? BECAUSE OUR NATION IS CHANGING RAPIDLY. THE DRIVE FOR PUBLIC RECOGNITION OF OTHER LANGUAGES HAS GAINED MOMENTUM IN RECENT YEARS. THERE HAS BEEN STRONG PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR IN SOME QUARTERS TO MANDATE THE USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES FOR OFFICIAL PURPOSES. THE HISPANIC ISSUES CONFERENCE, MEETING THIS YEAR IN RACINE, WI, CALLED FOR A FULL RANGE OF PUBLIC BILINGUAL SERVICES. FORMER MIAMI MAYOR MAURICE FERRE PREDICTED 8 YEARS AGO THAT, BY 1992, THERE WOULD NOT BE A WORD OF ENGLISH SPOKEN IN MIAMI. HE SAID RESIDENTS WOULD EITHER HAVE TO LEARN SPANISH, OR MOVE.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH GRANTING OTHER LANGUAGES PARALLEL LINGUISTIC RIGHTS WITH ENGLISH IN CITY, STATE, AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES? WHY CAN'T WE MEET THOSE DEMANDS? BEAR IN MIND THOSE 148 LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE COUNTRY WHICH I MENTIONED EARLIER. WHO WILL DECIDE, AND HOW, WHICH OTHER LANGUAGES WILL BE UTILIZED? HOW WILL WE PAY FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION? IN CANADA, OFFICIAL BILINGUILISM IS ESTIMATED TO COST THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT $1 BILLION EACH YEAR. LOCAL COSTS ARE MUCH MORE.

IN THE FACE OF INCREASING DEMANDS FOR BILINGUAL OR MULTILINGUAL GOVERNMENT, IT IS NECESSARY TO REAFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH IN PRESERVING NATIONAL UNITY,

STRENGTH, AND OPPORTUNITY. WE MUST ALSO REAFFIRM THAT A COMMON LANGUAGE MAKES GOOD SENSE IN A NATION OF NEARLY 240 MILLION PEOPLE FROM EVERY ANCESTRY, EVERY RELIGION, EVERY CULTURAL BACKGROUND, EVERY RACE.

THE OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT WAS BEGUN SOME 10 YEARS AGO BY FORMER SENATOR HAYAKAWA OF CALIFORNIA, PERHAPS THE NATION'S MOST RESPECTED LINGUIST. A LIFELONG STUDENT OF LANGUAGES AND AN IMMIGRANT HIMSELF, HE SAW THE NEED FOR MAINTAINING ENGLISH AS OUR COMMON GLUE. UNFORTUNATELY, HIS VISION HAS SPAWNED A NUMBER OF SPECIOUS ARGUMENTS AND FALSEHOODS ABOUT OFFICIAL ENGLISH, WHICH I HOPE TO LAY TO REST ONCE AND FOR ALL.

THIS MOVEMENT IS NOT ABOUT DISCRIMINATION IN ANY WAY, SHAPE, OR FORM, BE IT ECONOMIC, ETHIC, RACIAL, OR POLITICAL. IT IS ABOUT OPPORTUNITY, HOPE, AND SUCCESS, FOR EVERYONE. OFFICIAL ENGLISH ADVOCATES SEEK TO INCLUDE ALL PEOPLE IN THE MAINSTREAM OF OUR SOCIETY, NOT SEGREGATE THEM.

THIS MOVEMENT IS NOT ABOUT ENGLISH ONLY. THAT TERM IMPLIES THAT NO OTHER LANGUAGE WILL BE SPOKEN, AND THAT IS RIDICULOUS. PERSONALLY, I SPEAK TWO LANGUAGES AND AM LEARNING A THIRD. MY CHILDREN FOR THE MOST PART ARE ALSO BILINGUAL. EVERYONE SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO LEARN [*H4984] A SECOND LANGUAGE IS TODAY'S SHRINKING WORLD, AND EVERYONE IN THIS COUNTRY IS FREE TO SPEAK WHATEVER LANGUAGE HE OR SHE CHOOSES. AGAIN, OFFICIAL LANGUAGE DEALS WITH OFFICIAL FUNCTION, NOT PRIVATE CHOICE. IT DOES NOT ELIMINATE EFFECTIVE BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS, NOR DOES IT INTERFERE WITH THE TEACHING, LEARNING, OR USE OF OTHER LANGUAGES.

THE MOVEMENT WOULD NOT DENY RIGHTS OR PREVENT ASSISTANCE TO THOSE IN NEED. FOR EXAMPLE, AN ITALIAN-SPEAKING EMPLOYEE WOULD NOT BE PRECLUDED FROM SPEAKING ITALIAN TO A PERSON NEEDING HELP IN COMPLETING SOME PAPERWORK. INSTEAD, LAWS, REGULATIONS, RULINGS, DECISIONS, AND OTHER OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS WOULD BE PRINTED IN ENGLISH AS OUR OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT.

A WONDERFUL SIDE EFFECT OF THE OFFICIAL ENGLISH MOVEMENT IS THAT IT PROMOTES PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH; 67 MILLION ADULTS IN AMERICA TODAY HAVE READING SKILLS BELOW THE 12TH-GRADE LEVEL; 27 MILLION PEOPLE CAN'T READ WELL ENOUGH TO UNDERSTAND INSTRUCTIONS ON A PRESCRIPTION, OR COMPLETE A JOB APPLICATION. THOSE ARE DISMAL -- AND, FOR US AS A NATION, SHAMEFUL -- STATISTICS. THE KEY TO OPPORTUNITY AND ADVANCEMENT IS PROFICIENCY IN

ENGLISH, AND THE OFFICIAL ENGLISH EFFORT FOSTERS AND PROMOTES THAT PROFICIENCY.

AS AN AMERICAN, I AM BOTH PLEASED AND PROUD TO EXERCISE THE RIGHT TO LEARN AND EXPLORE OTHER LANGUAGES. MANY OF MY COLLEAGUES ARE FAMILIAR WITH MY KNOWLEDGE OF JAPANESE, AND MY EFFORTS TO BECOME FLUENT IN SPANISH. HOWEVER, ALSO AS AN AMERICAN, I RECOGNIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF ENGLISH AS A UNIFYING FORCE. AS A NATION, WE ARE A RICH TAPESTRY WOVEN FROM THE THREADS OF 100 DIFFERENT CULTURES AND HERITAGES. THE COMMON THREAD TO ALL THROUGHOUT THAT TAPESTRY, THE THREAD WHICH MAKES IT STRONG AND DURABLE AS WELL AS COLORFUL AND BEAUTIFUL, IS THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THANK YOU AGAIN FOR THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS MY VIEWS.

Cited as: Solomon (1996)

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- HOUSE
Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9725

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 123, ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Glens Falls, NY (Mr. Solomon), the chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time, and I rise in strong support of this legislation.

Mr. Speaker, today is a historic day, a day in which Congress focuses on those things which unite us as a country, and those which expand the horizons of opportunity for all of our citizens. The English Language Empowerment Act has nothing to do with fear, nothing to do with linguistic cleansing and nothing to do with targeting minority populations for political gain. My support of declaring the English language to be the official language of the Federal Government is based on two simple principles: unity and opportunity.

Mr. Speaker, from the very beginning our Nation has recognized that The prosperity of the people of America depended on their continuing firmly united, and the wishes, prayers, and efforts of our best and wisest citizens have been constantly directed to that object.

.Now this observation was not made by me, these are the words of wisdom in the Federalist Papers by John Jay, our country's first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

John Jay went on to say:

> I have * * * often taken notice that Providence has been pleased to give this one connected country to one united people--a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language * * * attached to the same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs, and who by their joint counsels, arms, and efforts, fighting side by side throughout a long and bloody war, have nobly established their general liberty and independence.

Based on this premise for the past two centuries, we have forged a nation out of our different peoples by emphasizing our common beliefs, our common ideals, and perhaps most importantly, our common language. Our English

language has permitted this country to live up to our national motto, "e pluribus unum"--out of many, one. For most of our Nation's history, the English language has been the key to integrating new Americans as well as the glue that has held our people together. It is in this spirit that this bill has been devised to secure English's central place in our society by making it America's official language.

Now, this devotion to unity and to the English language is not founded upon any bedrock of racism, mean spiritedness or division. Rather it is premised on the belief that our strength in unit can best be preserved through the prevention of divisions along linguistic or cultural lines such as encountered by Canada with Quebec.

Now what do I mean by divisions along linguistic lines? These divisions are not between people, but between opportunities. Americans who do not know English, are segregated from those who do, separated from everything the United States and its precious Constitution stands for. A declaration of English as the official language is necessary to demonstrate that the Federal Government's goal is to desegregate these Americans.

Yesterday in the Rules Committee we heard hours of testimony from members with deeply held concerns with this bill.

Some were puzzled over what problem this bill was trying to solve; others claimed proponents of the bill were afraid that the English language was facing extinction in the United States. Well, let's be clear. This bill is intended to ensure that no American citizen, no matter what their cultural background, no matter whether they live in Puerto Rico, or Iowa, has to be trapped in a linguistic box, kept away from the tools of opportunity. This is the land of opportunity and the language of the land of opportunity is English. There should be no ambiguity about this fact. Current projections show that by the year 2050 more than 20 million people in this country will not be able to speak English well or at all.

That's 20 million people unable to even try to attain the American dream.

The usage and understanding of English is the key to economic and educational opportunity in America. Therefore we as the Federal Government must promote and enhance the ability of all Americans, no matter what their heritage, to read, speak, and understand this language of opportunity. According to a study done by Dr. Richard Vedder and Dr. Lowell Galloway of Ohio University it was found that if immigrant knowledge of English were raised to that of native-born Americans, their income levels would increase by $63 billion a year. It was also concluded that the current situation has trapped 1.5 million immigrants in poverty. The simple truth is that those who cannot function in our country's predominant language are less able to find jobs.

As a result, they are cheated of the opportunity for improvement and happiness that America promises to millions. This bill places the Federal Government in the affirmative position of saying this tragedy is not going to continue.

Furthermore, this bill has nothing to do with what languages we speak in our home, church or organization, or what foreign languages we may wish to learn. This establishes English as the official language of the government, not the private sector. Many of my good friends have expressed the hardships with which their families have sought to learn English while retaining their native tongue.

I applaud them for their efforts and I do not want them to stop doing this. In fact, Americans should strive to learn other languages as a way of expanding their understanding of the entire world. However, this should not be at the expense of our common tongue.

Winston Churchill once said "the gift of a common language is a priceless inheritance." According to a USA Today poll taken in 1993, 97 percent of the American population agreed with Winston Churchill and supported making English the official language of Government. A more recent study found that 86 percent of Americans and 81 percent of immigrants want to make English the official language.

Now some of my colleagues have claimed that this bill preys upon linguistic minorities in this country, reminding us that Alexis de Tocqueville warned that the danger of democracy was that a majority could exercise tyranny over a minority. While I acknowledge that this is a serious concern, I would also remind my colleagues that before de Toqueville gave this warning he also stated that "the tie of language is, perhaps the strongest and the most durable that can unite mankind." Promoting this tie of language is not an attack on minorities, nor is it an act of self-preservation but it is a ramp to expanded opportunity and freedom for all Americans.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, it must be understood why this bill goes farther than just declaring English to be the official language of government. Yes, it does repeal the bilingual ballot requirement, yes it does require the Federal Government to conduct its written business in English and yes it does require the INS to hold its naturalization ceremonies in English. Do you know why? It is because America is composed of people who have for centuries pulled themselves up by their bootstraps with courage and a vision to pursue the opportunity that America has to offer. All of us at one time or another were immigrants. Our forefathers came here for the same reasons immigrants now come ashore.

America is the land of opportunity and if the Government does not remove the impediments to assuring that these immigrants receive the keys to opportunity here, then I am afraid they will remain in what the New York Times called a bilingual prison. Bilingual ballots, and INS ceremonies and Government documents in other languages continue to uphold the untruth that you can live in America, you can have access to opportunity and you can achieve the American dream without being able to speak English. The Government can no longer mislead the citizenry.

Mr. Speaker, I will close with the observation that 23 States have established English as their official language, 80 countries only print government documents in one language, 323 different languages are currently spoken in the United

States, a knowledge of English has been a requirement of U.S. citizenship since 1811, and the bill before us today is supported by the American Legion, the VFW, the Catholic War Veterans, the National Grange, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and many others.

This is a document of opportunity, a vision of unity and a compassionate measure. It deserves America's strongest support.

Cited as: Stenholm (1991)

Congressional Record -- House
Thursday, July 18, 1991
102nd Cong. 1st Sess.
137 Cong Rec H 5645

REFERENCE: Vol. 137 No. 110

TITLE: THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT

SPEAKER: MR. DICKINSON; Mr. EMERSON; MR. GALLO; MR. PORTER; MR. SKELTON; MR. STENHOLM

TEXT:
Text that appears in UPPER CASE identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the House on the floor.

MR. STENHOLM. MR. SPEAKER, I AM A COSPONSOR OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT A COMMON LANGUAGE IS VERY IMPORTANT TO A NATION. THOSE OF US WHO SUPPORT THIS LEGISLATION MAINTAIN THAT ENGLISH IS THE LINK THAT MAKES A SINGLE PEOPLE OUT OF A VARIETY OF ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS, RACES, AND NATIONALITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO SAY WE REALLY DID NOT NEED A COMMON LANGUAGE. THEY SAY WE COULD HAVE MADE IT THIS FAR WITHOUT IT BECAUSE SHARED LANGUAGE DOES NOT MEAN THAT MUCH ANYMORE. THE ETHNIC SEPARATISTS WHO SCORN ASSIMILATION INTO THE MAINSTREAM SOCIETY SAY U.S. CITIZENS ACTUALLY HAVE VERY LITTLE IN COMMON WITH THE UNITED STATES ANYMORE. THEY SAY WE ARE NOT A MELTING POT; WE ARE A SALAD BOWL. WE ARE JUST A COLLECTION OF VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS SHARING LITTLE MORE THAN GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION. THEY CLAIM ENGLISH IS JUST ONE OF MANY LANGUAGES IN THE MIX.

THIS ATTACK ON ENGLISH AS OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE ALSO OBLIGES US TO THINK ABOUT NATIONHOOD. DICTIONARIES DEFINE A NATION AS A GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO SHARE A COMMON HISTORY, ETHNICITY, AND LANGUAGE. THERE MAY BE MANY LANGUAGES REPRESENTED IN A GEOGRAPHIC AREA, BUT AT THE CORE OF A NATION IS THE LANGUAGE SHARED BY THE MAJORITY OF ITS PEOPLE. IN THE UNITED STATES, ENGLISH IS THE COMMON LANGUAGE. IT IS AT THE CORE OF OUR DEMOCRACY.

THIS IS WHY I SUPPORT H.R. 123, THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IS MORE THAN JUST ONE OF MANY LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THIS COUNTRY. IT IS MORE

THAN JUST PART OF THE MIX. THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT ESTABLISHES A LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THIS COUNTRY THAT SECURES THE IMPORTANCE OF KNOWING ENGLISH IN THE UNITED STATES. AMERICAN CITIZENS MAY USE THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE, BUT TO SUCCEED IN AMERICA, A PERSON MUST UNDERSTAND AND USE ENGLISH. CONSEQUENTLY, WE MUST TURN VIGOROUSLY TO ENSURING OPPORTUNITIES FOR NON-ENGLISH SPEAKERS LIVING IN OUR COUNTRY TO LEARN ENGLISH.

THIS COUNTRY IS COMING FACE TO FACE WITH ANOTHER UNDENIABLE FACT: THE ABILITY OF AMERICANS TO READ AND WRITE THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE DIRECTLY AFFECTS THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WELL-BEING OF THIS COUNTRY. THROUGH A SHARED LANGUAGE, KNOWLEDGE BECOMES AVAILABLE TO ALL. COMMON VALUES CAN BE DEFINED. COMMON GOALS -- LIKE QUALITY EDUCATION -- CAN BE ESTABLISHED AND PURSUED.

IT IS A NATIONAL DISGRACE, AND A PERSONAL TRAGEDY THAT THE TALENTS AND ABILITIES OF MILLIONS OF OUR FELLOW AMERICANS ARE TRAPPED IN THE CAGE OF ILLITERACY. ILLITERACY IS ERODING OUR ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS. ALREADY THE SKILLS DEFICIT IN AMERICAN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY HAS COST THE TAXPAYER AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY MORE THAN $20 BILLION IN LOST WAGES, PROFITS, AND PRODUCTIVITY.

WHAT IS MORE, WE ARE IN THE POSTINDUSTRIAL ERA WHEN MOST OF THE PEOPLE IN THE WORK FORCE MAKE A LIVING WITH THEIR MINDS, NOT THEIR HANDS. NEVER BEFORE HAS THE MAJORITY OF AMERICAN JOBS PLACED SO MANY DEMANDS ON EMPLOYEES. TO COMPETE EFFECTIVELY, THE AVERAGE AMERICAN WORKER TODAY MUST EMPLOY SKILLS AT A 9TH TO 12TH GRADE LEVEL. DURING WORLD WAR II, AMERICAN JOBS REQUIRED A FOURTH-GRADE SKILLS LEVEL.

AMERICAN BUSINESSES ARE PAYING A HIGH PRICE TO DEVELOP COMMUNICATION SKILLS IN THEIR WORKERS. U.S. COMPANIES ARE SPENDING HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS EVERY YEAR AS EDUCATORS OF LASTRESORT. FOR EXAMPLE, AT THE UNISYS PLANT IN MISSION VIEJO, CA, 125 WORKERS ARE TAUGHT TO READ, WRITE, AND SPEAK ENGLISH AT A COST OF $150,000. AMERICAN EXPRESS SPENDS $10 MILLION A YEAR TO TEACH ITS NEW WORKERS BASIC ENGLISH AND SOCIAL SKILLS.

HOW CAN WE IN CONGRESS HELP SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS?

THE FIRST STEP WE MUST TAKE IS TO ESTABLISH A CLEAR LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THIS NATION. WE MUST STATE UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT ENGLISH IS THE LANGUAGE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. THIS LEGISLATION WOULD MAKE ENGLISH THE LANGUAGE OF OUR

LEGISLATIVE, EXECUTIVE, AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT.

SETTING A CLEAR LANGUAGE POLICY WILL INFORM THOSE WHO LIVE HERE AND THOSE WHO COME HERE TO MAKE THIS NATION THEIR HOME THAT THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IS IMPORTANT TO THE UNITED STATES. YOU MAY LIVE IN THIS COUNTRY WITHOUT KNOWING THE COMMON LANGUAGE, BUT TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES OF THIS COUNTRY, YOU SHOULD LEARN ENGLISH.

SETTING A CLEAR LANGUAGE POLICY FOR THIS COUNTRY DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST ANYONE. AS A MATTER OF FACT, THROUGH A COMMON LANGUAGE WE ENSURE EQUAL ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL. IT IS IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE TO OPERATE OUR GOVERNMENT IN OUR COMMON LANGUAGE. IN ADDITION, IT IS IN OUR COUNTRY'S BEST INTEREST TO PROMOTE POLICIES THAT MAINTAIN OUR COMMON LANGUAGE. BY DOING SO, WE WILL HELP AMERICA REMAIN A LAND OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL RATHER THAN A NATION WITH SECOND-CLASS FOREIGN SPEAKING CITIZENS. JOIN ME IN PROMOTING EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, LITERACY, AND NATIONAL UNITY. SUPPORT H.R. 123, THE LANGUAGE OF GOVERNMENT ACT.

Cited as: Symms (1985a)

Congressional Record
Volume 131
Part 1
99th Congress
1st Session
January 3, 1985 to January 30, 1985
pp. 786 - 790

S.J. Res. 20. A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the English language; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, today I have the honor of reintroducing the English language amendment.

Since the amendment was first introduced in 1981 by Senator Hayakawa, it has gained steady recognition by the press, and—more importantly—enthusiastic acceptance by the American people. It has stimulated a vigorous national debate on the language future of our Nation, reflected in a first round of hearings held last year in the Senate.

A good measure of its growing popularity is its ever shorter, ever more informal designation. The amendment to make English the official language of the United States has become the English language amendment, or simply—the E.L.A. I urge my colleagues to remember that acronym, for they will encounter it often in their constituent mail.

The American people are impatient with us. All around them they see the results of the language policies Congress has imposed, policies that challenge the uniqueness of English in our national life. We have removed the heat from the "melting pot", and the melting seems to have very nearly stopped. Many Americans now feel like strangers in their own neighborhoods, aliens in their own country.

The American people resent the failure of Congress to correct laws that are clearly dysfunctional, and they are letting us know it. Each one of us last November received a letter from Gov. George Deukmejian of California, informing us that the people of his State passed a citizen initiative which directs him to call upon Congress and the President for an end to bilingual ballots. The initiative had been approved last November by 71 percent of Californian voters.

Two States, Indiana and Kentucky, also declared English their official language in 1984. They join three other States—Virginia, Illinois, and Nebraska—that have already taken that step. Ten percent of the States have now declared English their official language, and several more State legislatures are going to do the same in the next 2 years. In Florida, where tensions over language usage run

especially high, a citizen initiative drive is underway to make English the language of that State.

Two years ago, our former colleague Sam Hayakawa helped found a new organization to protect the primacy of our common language. That organization, U.S. English, now has over 70,000 paid members.

All this indicates that Americans are deeply concerned about the erosion of English they see all around them, and they want Congress to take affirmative action to protect our language.

For a common language has traditionally united us all as fellow citizens of one Nation, just as surely as separate languages would separate us into unrelated inhabitants of the same territory.

The English language amendment is not intended to bar anyone, citizen or immigrant, from the opportunities to be found in American society. It merely ends the pretense that opportunities are fully open to those who don't learn our language.

The English language amendment is not intended to exclude anyone, citizen or immigrant, from full participation in national life, for the opportunities to learn our language must always be available to those who want to make that effort.

The English language amendment is not intended to regulate language usage between private parties; nor to discourage the teaching of foreign languages as academic subject matter; nor to forgo the use of foreign languages, as expedient, in diplomacy, intelligence gathering, and in other activities related to the conduct of foreign affairs; nor to obstruct the interests of justice.

The English language amendment is intended to end the practice of voting in foreign languages; it is intended to teach children who don't know English through appropriate programs in that language; it is intended to make English the only language for official proceedings of governments at all levels operating in the United States – Federal, State, and local; it is intended to make the acceptance of English a condition of statehood incumbent upon all territories aspiring to that status.

The English language amendment is intended to proclaim a broad principle; English is the language of the United States, and enjoys a special status in this country that sets it apart from all other languages.

I invite my colleagues to join me in working to secure this basic principle in our national charter.

Mr. President, as part of my introductory remarks, I would like to add the eloquent speeches by Senators Hayakawa and Huddleston on the need for this amendment. and have these printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J. Res.. 20

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after its submission to the States for ratification:

Article-

"SECTION 1 The English language shall be the official language of the United States.

"SECTION 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation".

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HAYAKAWA. Mr. President, language is a powerful tool. A common language can unify; separate languages can fracture and fragment a society. The American "melting pot" has succeeded in creating a vibrant new culture among peoples of many different cultural backgrounds largely because of the widespread use of common language, English.

Learning English has been the primary task of every immigrant group for two centuries. Participation in the common language has rapidly made available to each new group the political and economic benefits of American society. Those who have mastered English have overcome the major hurdle to full participation in our democracy.

A constitutional ... amendment is needed to clarify the confusing signals we have given in recent years to immigrant groups. For example, the requirements for naturalization as a U.S. citizen say you must be able to "read, write, and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language." And though you must be a citizen to vote, some recent legislation has required bilingual ballots in some areas. This amendment would end that contradictory, logically conflicting, situation.

Bilingual education programs were originally designed to help non-English-speaking children learn English quickly so they could join the mainstream of education and of our society. The Carter administration attempted to substantially broaden this mandate by proposing requirements for schools to teach other academic subjects entirely in students'native language.

I believe that we are being dishonest with linguistic minority groups if we tell them they can take full part in American life without learning the English language. We may wish it were otherwise, but it simply is not so. As the son of

an immigrant to an English-speaking country, I know this from personal experience. If I spoke no English, my world would be limited to the Japanese speaking community, and no matter how talented I was, I could never do business, seek employment, or take part in public affairs outside that community.

Let me explain what the amendment will do, upon its passage by Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the States: it will establish English as the official language of State, Federal, and local government business;

It will abolish requirements for bilingual election materials;

It will allow transitional instruction in English for non-English-speaking students, but do away with requirements for foreign-language instruction in other academic subjects;

It will end the false promise being made to new immigrants that English is unnecessary for them.

On the other hand, and this is important, there are things the amendments will not do:

It will not prevent the use of any other language within communities, churches, or cultural schools.

That is, Yiddish schools, Hispanic schools, Japanese, and Chinese schools are perfectly all right insofar as their support by local communities but not by the taxpayer.

It will not prevent the use of second language for the purpose of public convenience and safety, for example on signs in public places, but it will not allow government to require multilingual postings or publications.

I am thinking, Mr. President, of such signs as you see in the street sometimes, "Danger, construction area." If this sign is put up in a building lot in Chinatown, let us say, there is certainly no objection whatsoever to putting signs to that effect in Chinese or any other language that is appropriate for the passerby. So, for purposes of public convenience and safety other languages may be used wherever necessary. I think that what we have, in Washington, Los Angeles, andSan Francisco, street signs in Chinese or Japanese, are perfectly acceptable, becausethey are, also accompanied by street signs in English. They are also acceptable because they give a cosmopolitan flavor to those cities that have them and we are proud of the fact that we are a cosmopolitan culture.

My amendment, Mr. President, will not prevent public schools from offering instruction in other languages, nor will it prevent schools and colleges from requiring some study of a foreign language.

Incidentally, Mr. President, we are crippled in international relations because of our imperfect command not only of the well known languages like Spanish, French, German, or Italian, but we have very few speakers of Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Hungarian, Arabic, Thai—some languages some people here

ought to know so they can serve our Nation intelligently in diplomatic service or in trade. If we have a huge trade deficit vis-a-vis Japan, for example, it is because they have some Japanese salesmen speaking English in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, but we have very, very few Japanese-speaking Americans doing a selling job in Tokyo or Osaka.

So, at the same time that I declare English to be the official language of the United States, I am not trying to discourage foreign language studies.

The ability to forge unity from diversity makes our society strong. We need all the elements, Germans, Hispanics, Hellenes, Italians, Chinese, all the cultures that make our Nation unique. Unless we have a common basis for communicating and sharing ideas, we all lose. The purpose of this proposal is to insure that American democracy always strives to include in its main stream everyone who aspires to citizenship, to insure that no one gets locked out by permanent language barriers.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO MAKE ENGLISH THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. HUDDLESTON. Mr. President, the remarks I am about to make will be readily understood by my distinguished colleagues in the Congress. They will be understood by my constituents in Kentucky. They will be understood by the journalists in the press gallery, and by most of their readers across the country.

No simultaneous interpreters will be needed for those in this Chamber, and no translators will be needed for most of those who will be reading these words in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The amendment addresses something so basic, so very fundamental to our sense of identity as Americans, that some, who are in full agreement with the objectives of this amendment, will nevertheless question the necessity for it. So widely held is the assumption that English already is our national language, that the notion of stating this in our national charter may seem like restating the obvious. However, I can assure my colleagues that this is not the case and that the need for a constitutional amendment grows stronger every day.

Almost alone among the world's very large and populous nations, the United States enjoys the blessings of one primary language, spoken and understood by most of its citizens. The previously unquestioned acceptance of this language by immigrants from every linguistic and cultural background had enabled us to come together as one people. It has allowed us to discuss our differences, to argue about our problems and to compromise on solutions. It has allowed us to develop a stable and cohesive society that is the envy of many fractured ones, without imposing any strict standards of homogeneity, or even bothering to designate the language, which is ours by custom, as the Nation's official one.

As a nation of immigrants, our great strength has been drawn from our stability to assimilate vast numbers of people from many different cultures and ethnic groups into a nation of people that can work together with cooperation and understanding. This process was often referred to as the melting pot and in the

past it has been seen as an almost magical concept that helped to make the United States the greatest nation on Earth.

But for the last 15 years, we have experienced a growing resistance to the acceptance of our historic language, an antagonistic questioning of the melting pot philosophy that has traditionally helped speed newcomers into the American mainstream

Initially, the demands to make things easier for the newcomers seemed modest enough; and a generous people, appreciative of cultural diversity, was willing to make some allowances. For example, the English language requirements for naturalization were removed for elderly immigrants living here for 20 years who were still unable to meet them; and the use of a child's home language in the school setting was encouraged, in a well-intentioned attempt to soften the pain of adjustment from the home to the English-speaking society that school represents.

However, the demands have sharply escalated, and so has the tone in which they are presented. Bilingual education has gradually lost its role as a transitional way of teaching English, and now mandates a bicultural component. This mandate has been primarily shaped and promoted by the Federal Government. The unfortunate result is that thousands of immigrant and nonimmigrant children are languishing in near-permanent bilingual/bicultural programs, kept in a state of prolonged confusion suspended between two worlds, and not understanding what is expected of them. They and their parents are given false hopes that their cultural traditions can be fully maintained in this country, and that the mastery of English is not so important, after all.

This change in attitude was aptly described by Theodore H. White in his book "America in Search of Itself" wherein he stated:

"Some Hispanics have, however, made a demand never voiced by immigrants before: that the United States, in effect, officially recognize itself as a bicultural, bilingual nation ... [They] demand that the United States become a bilingual country, with all children entitled to be taught in the language of their heritage, at public expense. No better hymn to the American tradition has ever been written than 'The Education of Hyman Kaplan,' by Leo Hosten, which describes with tears and laughter the efforts of the earlier immigrants ... to learn the language of the country in which they wished to live. In New York today, forty years later, Hispanic entitlement has created a college, Hostos Community College—supported by public taxes—which is officiaily bilingual; half its students receive instruction primarily in Spanish, as they strive to escape from the subculture of the Spanish ghetto. Bilingualism is an awkward word— but it has torn apart communities from Canada to Brittany, from Belgium to India. It expresses not a sense of tolerance but a demand for divisions."

This misdirected public policy of bilingualism has been created primarily by the Federal Government, at the insistence of special interest groups, and it continues today because elected officials do not want to run the risk of taking a position that could, in some way, offend these groups. An example of how far this special interest influence reaches can be seen by President Reagan's reversal on the

issue. At the beginning of his administration he attempted to kill the bilingual program, now he is embracing the concept.

Over the last few years the Federal Government has spent approximately $1 billion on the bilingual education program and this year alone it cost $139 million. What we have bought with this money is a program that strives to keep separate cultural identities rather than a program that strives to teach English. It is a program which ignores the basic fact that in order to learn another language the student must talk, read and use that language on a regular basis.

The failure of bilingual education programs to teach children how to speak English in the shortest time has been documented by study done at the U.S. Department of Education and by the recent report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy. The latter report stated unequivocally that:

"... The Task Force recommends that the federal government clearly state that the most important objective of elementary and secondary education in the United States is the development of literacy in the English language ...

"... The Task Force recommends that federal funds now going to the bilingual program be used to teach non-English-speaking children how to speak, read, and write English."

Even though the bilingual education program has received failing marks by many reputable educators, it still survives because it is a political issue rather than an educational issue. What this means is that we will continue to finance an expensive bilingual program that does more to preserve cultural identities than it does to teach children to speak English.

In the area of voting rights we have also formulated a national policy that encourages voting citizens not to learn to speak English. The Voting Rights Act, which was reauthorized in 1982, requires bilingual ballots if more than 5 percent of the citizens of voting age in a jurisdiction are members of specified language minority groups and the illiteracy rate is higher than the national rate. As a result bilingual ballots are required by Federal law to be provided in 30 States even if there is no demand for them.

In essence, we have gone far beyond providing a necessary service on a temporary basis; and, we are now engaged in actively encouraging the use of bilingual ballots, even though in many cases they may not be needed. The wisdom of this policy is clearly lacking when you consider that the vast bulk of political debate, whether it is in the printed press or the electronic media, is conducted in English. By failing to provide a positive incentive for voting citizens to learn English, we are actually denying them full participation in the political process. Instead, we are making them dependent upon a few interpreters or go-betweens for information as to how they should vote. Although this process helps to preserve minority voting blocks, it seriously undercuts the democratic concept that every voting individual should be as fully informed as possible about the issues and the candidates.

In many parts of the country foreign language ballots are under attack. In San Francisco, a local initiative petition has been filed urging that local governments be allowed to print ballots in English only. In that area ballots are now printed in English, Spanish, Chinese and because of the new census figures, Tagalog ballots will probably be printed in the future.

There are other less prominent provisions of Federal law which now require the use of foreign languages. For example, 28 U.S.C. 1827 requires the Director of the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts to establish a program for the use of foreign language interpreters in Federal civil and criminal proceedings for parties whose primary language is other than English: 42 U.S.C. 254 requires the use of foreign language personnel in connection with federally funded migrant and community health centers;: and 42 U.S.C. 4577 requires the use of foreign language personnel in the alcohol abuse and treatment programs. Although I can understand that this kind of assistance is helpful, the fact that it must be legislated strongly indicates that we are failing miserably in our efforts to teach immigrants and many of our native born how to speak, read and write English.

The Federal laws requiring the use of interpreters and foreign languages are merely the tip of the iceberg. I recently sent a request to all of the State Governors and the major Federal agencies asking for information regarding non-English forms and publications that their offices produce, which are intended for use in this country. Although my staff is still in the process of reviewing the data, and I have not yet received responses to all of my letters, we know that hundreds of different non-English forms and publications are now being printed and distributed on a wide scale throughout the United States. These publications cover a broad spectrum and range from White House press releases in Spanish to National Labor Relations Board notices in 33 different languages. The non-English materials which I have received are in a stack that is about 3 feet high, and we are adding to it almost daily. However, even when all the responses are in we still will not have a complete picture of the use of official non-English publications. Many of the States are only sending a few samples of what they produce, and I am told that if copies of all bilingual educational materials were sent we could fill a large room. While distribution of these materials may be seen as providing just another government service, it can also be seen as reducing the incentive to learn English and demonstrates a growing nationwide problem.

At the nongovernment level there is a great deal of emphasis being placed on the use of non-English languages. In some major metropolitan areas English is the second language, minorities, who speak only English, are being told that they must learn a foreign language in order to be eligible for a job in parts of this country; and, in many stores non-English languages are the only ones used to conduct business. It is not uncommon to find areas in this country where an individual can live all of his or her life having all of his social, commercial, and intellectual needs met without the use of English.

Statistics show a disconcerting trend away from the common use of English. In 1975 the Bureau of the Census reported that about 8 million people in this country used a language other than English in their households. When the census was conducted in 1980 the number of people who spoke a language other than English at home was found to be over 22 million. Although these numbers

are subject to many interpretations, to me they indicate--very strongly--that the melting pot is not working as it once did.

My assumption is confirmed by a recent population bulletin, "U.S. Hispanics; Changing the Face of America," which concluded that because of their common language and large numbers, Hispanics will take longer than other immigrant groups to assimilate into the American society.

If this situation were static and merely a reflection of the large scale legal and illegal immigration the United States has been experiencing over the last few years--in 1980 more immigrants entered the United Staes than at any time other than the peak years at the turn of the century--there would not be cause for concern. However, what we are seeing is a decrease in the use of English and a widely accepted attitude that it is not necessary to learn English.

There is a new philosophy taking hold and it is gaining more and more acceptance. In the June 13, 1983, Time magazine an article stated in regard to this new philosophy that:

"Now, however, a new bilingualism and biculturalism is being promulgated that would deliberately fragment the Nation into separate, unassimilated groups ... The new metaphor is not the melting pot but the salad bowl, with each element distinct. The biculturalists seek to use public services, particularly schools. not to Americanize the young but to heighten their consciousness of belonging to another heritage."

The United States is presently at a crucial juncture. We can either continue down the same path we have walked for the last 300 years, using the melting pot philosophy to force a strong and united nation or, we can take the new path that leads in the direction of another Tower of Babel.

There are many nations in the world today that would give a great deal to have the kind of internal social and political stability that a single primary language (English) has afforded us. For us to consciously make the decision to throw away this stabilizing force would be seen as foolish and stupid in countries that have paid a high price for not having a universally accepted language.

We have to look no further than the nation which is closest to us geographically and culturally—Canada. They have had a long-running experience with bilingualism and biculturalism, and it is an experience that still generates divisiveness and still threatens to shatter the Nation's unity. The key cause of Canada's internal conflict is language. According to the Annual Report, 1981, of the Commissioner of Official Languages, the total cost so far in implementing the Canadian Official Languages Act "is on the order of $4 billion spread over the 12 years. The question of cost-effectiveness is more problematical. Measured against the goals of relieving English-French tensions and fostering a common pride in the value of our national languages, the results may be more questionable."

Belgium is another nation that has suffered severe internal dissent, much of which has been caused by language differences. In the last 39 years the political

coalitions that are necessary to govern that country have been broken apart over 30 times by the fights between the French speaking Walloons and the Dutch speaking Flemish. This political squabbling has had serious consequences for Belgium, and it is not the kind of situation to which any nation should voluntarily subject itself.

This type of political instability has been repeated throughout history, and is still occuring in many countries today. In countless places, differences in language have either caused or contributed significantly to political, social, and economic instability. While the absence of language differences does not guarantee that these problems will not occur, I believe that it does significantly reduce the chances that they will occur.

The constitutional amendment which I am proposing is not unusual, and in fact, many nations have one official language. According to the Library of Congress these include, but are not limited to, Austria, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, and Sweden.

Within the United States there is ample tradition and legislation to justify this approach. According to the Library of Congress:

"Several Federal statutes and numerous State laws do require the use of English in a variety of areas.

"Thus, the Nationality Act of 1940 (8 U S.C. 423) requires that—

"No person ... shall be naturalized as a citizen of the United States upon his own petition who cannot demonstrate—

"(1) an understanding of the English language, including an ability to read, write and speak words in ordinary usage in the English language" (with provisos).

Secondly, 28 U.S.C. 865 requires that in determining whether a person is qualified for jury service, the chief judge of a district court 'shall deem any person qualified to serve on grand and petit juries in the district court unless he (the prospective juror)—

"(2) is unable to read, write, and understand the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to fill out satisfactorily the juror qualification form;

"(3) is unable to speak the English language, ...'

"At the State level, most States have statutes requiring the use of English as the language of instruction in the Public schools. Some States also statutorily require English as the language of legal proceedings and legal notices of business regulation, etc."

More recently, the U.S. Senate has spoken out very strongly in favor of establishing English as the official language. On August 13, 1982, Senator Hayakawa introduced an amendment to the Immigration Reform and Control Act

declaring that "the English language is the official language of the United States". On a rollcall vote 78 Senators voted for this amendment and it was included in the bill. When this same bill was again reported out of the Judiciary Committee on April 21, 1983 it again contained this language, and the report of the full committee stated:

"If immigration is continued at a high level, yet a substantial portion of these new persons and their descendants do not assimilate into the society, they have the potential to create in America a measure of the same social, political, and economic probems which exist in the countries from which they have chosen to depart. Furthermore, if language and cultural separatism rise above a certain level, the unity and political stability of the nation will—in time— be seriously diminished. Pluralism, within a united American nation, has been the single greatest strength of this country. This unity comes from a common language and a core public culture of certain shared values, beliefs, and customs which make us distinctly 'Americans'."

The concerns that were expressed by the Senate Judiciary Committee are reflected in the concerns of thousands of citizens throughout this country. In fact, a new national organization has recently been created called U.S. English. The honorary chairman of this organization is former U.S. Senator S. I. Hayakawa, who speaks with a great deal of authority on this issue because he is an immigrant and distinguished scholar of semantics and languages.

U.S. English refers to itself as "a national, non-profit, non-partisan organization ... founded to defend the public interest in the growing debate on bilingualism and biculturalism".

If we continue along the path we now follow, I believe that we will do irreparable damage to the fragile unity that our common language has helped us preserve for over 200 years. Cultural pluralism is an established value in our national life, and one which we greatly cherish. Paradoxically, cultural pluralism can only continue if we retain our common meeting ground; namely, the English language. If we allow this bond to erode, we will no longer enjoy the benefits of cultural diversity, but rather, we will suffer the bitterness of ethnic confrontations and cultural separatism.

The constitutional language I am proposing is simple and straightforward: It would serve to establish a principle that would strengthen us as a nation. However, I am aware that adding to the Constitution takes us into uncharted waters, and that there will be many misleading allegations about the extent of the problem and the proposed remedy. This is one of the reasons I have chosen to propose a constitutional amendment in order to address this issue. It will focus national attention on the problem, and subject it to the type of thorough national debate which is necessary.

During this constitutional process, all parties, sides and Interests will have the opportunity to present their respective points of view. This will guarantee that the final version submitted to the States for ratification will accomplish only what is needed to be accomplished and that basic individual rights are not interfered with.

Even though I believe that the constitutional language I am proposing will work, I am open to all recommendations and I will carefully consider any proposed improvements or modifications. However, regardless of the final language, to a large extent it is the legislative history which determines how the language will be interpreted.

Accordingly, it is my intent that the amendment I am proposing would not do a number of things.

First. It would not prohibit or discourage the use of foreign languages and cultures in private contexts, such as in homes, churches, communities, private organizations, commerce, and private schools. The United States is rich in ethnic cultures and they would continue to survive as they have in the past.

Second. It would not prohibit the teaching of foreign languages in the Nation's public schools or colleges nor will it prohibit foreign language requirements in academic institutions.

Third. It will not prevent the use of second langauges for the purpose of public convenience and safety in limited circumstances.

On the other hand the amendment would accomplish a number of objectives.

First. It would bring national recognition to the proposition that a common language is necessary to preserve the basic internal unity that is required for a stable and growing nation.

Second. It would establish English as the official langauge of Federal, State, and local governments throughout the United States.

Third, Since voting by citizens is the method of choosing the representatives of these governments and is the first step in the official process of governing, it would prevent the printing of ballots in foreign languages.

Fourth. It would permit bilingual education where it could be clearly demonstrated that the primary objective and practical result is the teaching of English to students as rapidly as possible, and not cultural maintenance. It would not affect the use of total immersion in English which is proven method of teaching English.

Fifth. It would discourage discrimination and exploitation by making it clear to immigrant parents and children that learning English is indispensible for full participation in the American society and economy and by speeding them into the mainstream of our society and economy as rapidly as possible.

Sixth. It would reaffirm that we are truly "one Nation ... indivisible ...".

Mr. President, national unity is not a subject to be taken lightly for without it we would lose much of the strength which sets us apart as a great nation. I believe that history has taught us that one of the vital ingredients for obtaining national

unity is a commonly accepted language. This has been conformed by our own past experience in this country, and it has been proven by other countries, that have been divided and weakened by their internal arguments centering around language differences.

National unity does not require that each person think and act like everyone else. However, it does require that there be some common threads that run throughout our society and hold us together. One of these threads is our common belief and support of a democratic form of government, and the right of every person to fully participate in It. Unfortunately, this right of full participation mean very little if each individual does not posses the means of exercising it. This participation requires the ability to obtain information and to communicate our beliefs and concerns to others. Undoubtediy this process is greatly hindered without the existence of a commonly accepted and used language.

In essence, what a policy of bilingualism/ biculturalism does is to segregate minorities from the mainstream of our politics, economy, and society because we are not making it possible for them to freely enter into that mainstream. We are pushing them aside into their own communities, and denying them the tools with which to break out. I have always been against segregation of any kind and by not assuring that every person in this country can speak and understand English we are still practicing segregation. It was wrong when we segregated blacks because of color and it is just as wrong when we create a system which segregates any group of people by language.

As Americans we are a unique people and one of the things that makes us uniquely American is our common language—English. The amendment would assure that anyone in this country can fully take part in the American dream and that future generations also will have this privilege.

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THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, I wish to speak to the English language amendment [ELA] by first telling about an unusual football game I saw on television last fall.

On two consecutive downs, the quarterback called one play but the members of the backfield ran another. On the second attempt, the mixup resulted in a fumble which culminated in a touchdown for the opposing team.

When asked about the blunder, the members of the backfield admitted to a "communications misunderstanding."

Football is a game I have often compared to life. It is true that in a football season, you have wins and losses, but those become memories when the next season rolls around, and we start over. But there is a great deal of similarity and parallel in the real world with respect to misunderstandings in communication, and this can lead to serious consequences—a business failure, the dissolution of a family, or even a war between nations.

The Bible speaks of mankind being created with one universal language which gave them great power: "And nothing which they proposed to do will be impossible for them."

Later, we read where the language was confounded during the construction the Tower of Babel. No longer able to communicate, the society disintegrated and the people went their separate ways. The world has been in an upheaval ever since.

I have on my staff a linguist who lived in Canada for 11 years during the bilingual-bicultural turmoil. He confirms the problems we read about there. Although the country is officially bilingual, English is the language of business in all but one province. There the minority became so defensive about French that they literally forced large corporations to relocate in other parts of Canada. Separatists in the East helped spawn similar sentiments in the West and there arose a movement to create an independent western Canada.

Now, the large Ukrainian-Canadian population in the prairie provinces of Canada has decided to set up Ukrainian schools to promote their language and culture. After all, "If bilingual is good, then trilingual must be better," according to their spokesman.

Sri Lanka and Belgium are two other nations whose linguistically different populations fight and bicker among themselves constantly. Just two decades ago in India, nearly 1 million people lost their lives in riots that were directly linked to language and culture differences.

So far, the United States has avoided the severe problems these countries have experienced. True, we have absorbed many people speaking hundreds of languages, but we did so because of the cement we call English.

A common language binds people together into societies. In this body, we argue, we debated, we disagree, and we compromise, but at least we understand each other. And because of a common language, somehow we make it happen; we have helped develop a mighty nation with the world's greatest system of government.

But times are changing. Immigrants from many countries are now streaming into America at a rapid rate. There are those who feed on this vast pool of non-English-speaking people for their own purposes. Greedy politicians and others find them easy targets because of the language barrier. And as long as the barrier remains, they are more easily manipulated.

At present, our. Federal policies are fuzzy: Do we want our new citizens to speak English, or do we not? Bilingual ballots, current bilingual education polices, and the lack of an official language for our governmental processes make people wonder.

There is some concern over what the ELA will and will not do. Briefly, let me state our intentions.

It will not prohibit or discourage the use of foreign languages at home, in church services, in communities, private schools, commerce, or private organizations. Indeed, we want to protect our rich ethnic heritage which people of many different nationalities who came to our country enjoy.

Second, it will not prohibit the teaching of foreign languages in our public schools, nor will it limit their foreign language requirements. I feel strongly that we should encourage, not discourage, foreign language learning.

My objection to what goes on in many of the bilingual educational programs is this: It is one thing to teach the discipline of a foreign language such as Spanish in the classroom, which I think we should do but I do think it is a mistake to teach chemistry, mathematics, social sciences, and many other courses in Spanish. When we do that those students are never put in the situation where they have to learn English and become competent in it. What will happen to those students who do not learn English fluently in their school years? They will be at a severe disadvantage until they become competent in English. As a father I encourage my children and make it a requirement that they take Spanish in the school system, because it is practical in the western part of the United States to be at least somewhat comfortable in Spanish.

Third, it will not prohibit the use of another language in matters of public convenience and safety in limited circumstances.

The English language amendment will reinforce the idea that our Nation's fundamental internal security and well-being requires a common language. Also, it will abolish bilingual ballots and establish English as the official language of Federal, State, and local elections and government processes. The ELA will reestablish the original intent of bilingual education; to teach students English as rapidly as possible so they may enter America's economic mainstream. And most important, it will reaffirm that we are truly "one nation • • • indivisable."

I am proud of my heritage as you are of yours. As a nation of immigrants, we have blended our diversity together into what Senator Hayakawa once called a "cultural symphony" known as the United States of America.

I want that symphony to continue harmoniously as possible. For that reason, Mr. President, I have introduced the English language amendment.

Mr. President, I would urge those Senators who may be listening, to instruct their staffs to look into this question, to look at the growth trends in the United States of America, at what is happening with respect to population growth. Now is the time for us to make a move to head off what could become a problem by the turn of the century or later. Currently we allow large sections of this country to go ahead with business as usual as we teach students in other languages in the schools. Soon we will have large sections of our population that are not fluent or competent in English. Those people will always be at a disadvantage—politically, economically, and culturally—to enjoy the vast benefits that are accorded to them as citizens of the United States of America.

Mr. President, I cannot think of a better example of what I am talking about than the example President Reagan used last night. Cadet Jean Nguyen will be graduating from West Point this coming May 22. Had this young lady come to the United States and not had the motivation to really learn English; or had the opportunity to go into a Vietnamese-speaking school that taught her history, physics, chemistry, and the other courses in Vietnamese, there is no way that she could have been admitted and been successful at West Point.

She came to this country and immediately learned English, and is now well on the way to becoming a commissioned officer in the Army of the United States. I think that is a good example of what we are talking about.

Mr. President, I would urge all Senators to join in this crusade, to get on board the English language amendment, and let us start making the English language what Senator Hayakawa, our former colleague, called a "cultural symphony" we know as the United States of America.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

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THE NEED FOR A COMMON TONGUE

Mr. SYMMS. I wish to insert into the RECORD one of the most salient articles that I have seen to date on the English language amendment [ELA]. It appeared as a guest editorial in the Idaho Press Tribune on August.. 28, 1985, and was authored by the member of the Idaho State Legislature who sponsors the English language amendment for the State of Idaho, Representative RON CRANE.

Representative CRANE says that the "liberals" thrive on a "victim" class of people in our society. But in the case of maintenance-style bilingual education, the liberals have made a permanent victim class among the very people they purport to help. Representative CRANE charges that "politically ambitious liberals" do not want assimilation, but rather they want a permanent "victim" class "which will provide a dependable source of votes and power for this generation and beyond."

Representative CRANE'S article may offend some, but he has the integrity to call a spade a spade and tell it just is it is. I recommend that my colleagues read this very well written article.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEED FOR A COMMON TONGUE

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Several weeks ago Caldwell resident Camilo Lopez authored a Guest Opinion outlining his opposition to an English Language Amendment sponsored at federal level by Sen. Steve Symms. In Idaho, the Legislature has been asked to adopt a position supporting English as the nation's official language. Today's Guest Opinion is written by the sponsor of the Idaho amendment.)

(By Representative Ron Crane)

Liberals, by and large, love bilingual education, bilingual ballots and other assorted bilingual programs—not because they assist non-English speaking minorities into full fledged membership in the American mainstream, but because they prevent it.

Liberals have long thrived upon the votes of the so-called "victim" classes. Whether that be the housewife who is a "victim" of male chauvinism, or the steelworker who is a "victim" of the so-called Robber Barons.

Unfortunately for the liberals, as their "downtrodden masses" begin to achieve the American dream and enter mainstream middle class America, they also cease to be "victims" and tend to become more and more self-reliant.

Witness the nearly open rebellion in the labor unions when their leadership attempts to march the rank and file in lock-step to the voting booth. Similarly, most women now reject the shrill shrieks of the National Organization of Women.

With Hispanics, however, the liberals think they have found a virtual eternal fountain of "sufferers." Hispanics also represent (surprise, surprise) an already large and constantly increasing source of political power.

To alleviate this suffering (and to bind the loyalties of the sufferers) the liberals have invoked their time-honored, foregone solution to every problem—throw money at it (other people's money, naturally). In this case, the enormously expensive programs of bilingualism.

Aside from supposedly helping the non-English speaking minorities, bilingualism has the side benefit of bringing a multitude of brand new bureaucrats into the federal system. This mushrooming of bureaucracy swells the ranks of the liberals in that the economic survival of each new bureaucrat becomes dependent upon the continuation of the program in which he is involved.

Unfortunately the bilingual programs also tend to make permanent the very "victim" classes they purport to help.

Bilingual education is a good example. First, the name "bilingual" education is in itself a misnomer. This particular program has been besieged from its inception by complaints that many of the Spanish-speaking teachers hired for it were themselves unable to speak English.

What it and the other government bilingual programs have actually developed is a system in which Hispanics perceive they need never learn English.

The rush to promulgate bilingualism has resulted in the creation of an environment in which a permanent Hispanic subculture can flourish. A subculture in which neither the first generation immigrants nor the generations which follow will be able to gain entry to the American mainstream.

In fact, we have created a liberal's paradise -- an already large and continuously increasing group of "victims" which will be unable to stand on their own and thus who will be permanently dependent upon bilingual interpreters and the handouts of big government.

Not only is this permanent Spanish-speaking subculture bad for Hispanics, but it is bad for the nation.

In the words of former U.S. Sen. S.I. Hayakawa (himself the son of Japanese immigrants), "What is it that has made a society out of the hodgepodge of nationalities, races and colors represented in the immigrant hordes that people our nation? It is language of course, that has made communication among all these elements possible. It is with a common language that we have dissolved distrust and fear. It is with language that we have drawn up the understandings and agreements and social contracts that make a society possible."

Virtually every other immigrant group, the Irish, the Germans, the Arabs, the Jews, the Koreans -- all of them not only adopted America as their new nation, but English as their new language. Further, they learned the language through their own initiative.

As a result these groups have been assimilated into the society. But Camilo Lopez and his fellow liberals want it different this time.

Again quoting Sen. Hayakawa, "The Hispanic Caucus and their fellow travelers look forward to a destiny for Spanish-speaking Americans separate from that of Anglo-, Italian-, Polish-, Lebanese-, Chinese-Americans and all the rest of us who rejoice in our ethnic diversity."

Camilo Lopez and other politically amibitious liberals don't want assimilation. They want a permanent "victim" class which will provide a dependable source of votes and power for this generation and beyond.

We need a state and a nation whose citizens, even if they differ in their means, methods and aspirations, at least retain the ability to talk to one another in the same language.

Theodore Roosevelt once stated "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns out people as Americans...not hyphenated Americans."

I agree.

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, a recent series on bilingual education in the Washington Post helps underscore the need for dramatic action in securing an official status for the English language in America.
Entitled "The War of the Words," the three-part series examined the controversies of bilingual education. Although I may not agree with all statements in the series, I believe it was a reasonably fair and accurate look at a very thorny issue.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the series be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks and that my colleagues who question my enthusiasm for the ELA please read it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President. the gut feeling one gets upon reading the series is that all is not well in the supposed utopia of bilingual education. There is a genuine battle going on in the Nation's educational trenches over the issue and the real victims are the young students.

The last installment, entitled "'Immersion' Success Fuels Debate," will particularly stick in the craw of bilingual enthusiasts. As the title suggests, the immersion method, which goes straight into mainstream English without wasting years in the students' native language, has been a roaring success whereever it has been used.

Mr. President, I wish to quote briefly from the article. Dr. Esther Eisenhower, one of the Nation's most reputable language-learning experts and Fairfax Country, VA's language program coordinator, said:

When working with a child in the native language is working against the child learning the English language, that's what I object to. In the name of a child "feeling good" about being a Turk, he's graduating from high school with a fifth-grade competency in English.

Unfortunately, this is what is happening far too often all in the name of someone's fuzzy political or educational theory.

In my own mind, and I hope in the minds of many of my colleagues, the Post's series only reinforces the need for an English language amendment.

The English language amendment (ELA) would impact directly two areas important to our Nation's unity and well-being: bilingual ballots and bilingual education. It would eliminate bilingual ballots, and would reestablish Congress' original intent in creating bilingual education—namely, to help non-English-speaking youngsters learn our Nation's language as fast as possible.

As the Post articles demonstrate, the current practice we call bilingual education is most often a maintenance program designed to coddle a youngster in his own language and shelter him from the dominant culture. This practice retards his entrance into the mainstream and diminishes his chances of full participation in our economic system. I call it America's apartheid system.

The ELA does not affect language use in any private context: First amendment rights are fully protected at home, church, private schools, and in businesses. But English would be the language of our schools, our governments at all levels, at the ballot box, and in similar public places.

The 15 sponsors of the ELA in this body, and the founder of the ELA former Senator S.I. Hayakawa, are not xenophobic or racist. We see the entire issue as a question of full economic and political opportunity for our new immigrants; and as an urgent need for national unity under a common means of communication.

Mr. President, I urge all my colleagues who have not done so to closely examine my arguments in favor of the English language amendment. I would be happy to supply them with whatever material they need to make this examination.

Exhibit 1
Bilingual EDUCATION'S DILEMMAS PERSIST
(By Cynthia Gorney)

REDWOOD CITY, CALIF—They were a mystery to Barbara Ruel, these exuberant Spanish-speaking children whose faces went empty every time she opened a reader and began to write English vocabulary on the blackboard. Even the most recent of the Central American immigrants understood some English, and Ruel was a veteran reading teacher, but every word she gave them seemed gone by the next week. They would stare at their readers, and Ruel could see them struggling, as though the shapes had blurred before them.

What was she doing wrong?

Then in 1976, intrigued by a controversial idea that was gaining momentum among a few teachers, Ruel decided to try something so different that she was not certain the school administration would even allow it. Working in secret, she and her Spanish-speaking aide sat down together and wrote an entire first-grade reading primer in Spanish.

Ten words a week, Ruel told the aide—two characters, a boy and a girl, admiring spring. *Mariposa.* Butterfly. *El PaJaro Vuele.* The bird flies. Ruel ran the pages

off on the school mimeograph, the aide watched the door to make sure no one was coming, and with no advance warning Ruel presented her Spanish-speaking first-graders one day with a small stapled volume written entirely in their own language.

All at once, Ruel says now, she had a roomful of voracious readers. She had children who ran to her at the end of each day to ask what stories or new sentences they might take home that night. "We could not keep up with them," she said recently. "I thought, *God, it's fabulous, it's just fabulous* They started to read like normal first-graders read."

And as Barbara Ruel sat back in the nearly deserted lunchroom at Hoover Elementary and remembered those children, a single glimpse through the open classroom doors nearby might have hinted at the breadth of the change in the decade since Ruel stapled together her primers. The school district's hard-bound Spanish readers lay in fat stacks on the bookshelves wall-length dual alphabet charts displayed the Spanish ll and ch, and a bright construction-paper leprechaun smoked a pipe under the large bulletin board letters that identified him: *El Duende.*

Ten years ago, spurred by a Supreme Court decision arguably as significant for non-English-speaking students as *Brown v. Board of Education* was for black students, the U.S. Office of Education began a nationwide wide effort whose premise was unprecedented in American education. The scope was massive affecting school districts from southern Florida to the Alaskan bush. Wielding educational research and the new mandate of the Supreme Court, officials declared that in the American public school system, every non-English-speaking child below high school age had a right to be taught in his own language—to learn basic subjects from a bilingual teacher so the child might develop self-confidence, sharpen his thinking skills and keep from falling behind in school while he was mastering English.

It was called "bilingual education," and the clamor it raised was tremendous, from the legislative battles to the heated school board meetings to the teachers who stopped speaking to each other in faculty lunchrooms. In the modern history of this nation's public schools, nothing except racial desegregation has so thoroughly entangled the classroom with intense feelings about ethnicity, politics and the meaning of becoming an American.

And although the outcry has quieted since the public debates of the early 1980s, the dilemmas of bilingual education have not. If you set out this year on a random tour of American classrooms, you would find, amidst teachers still deeply divided about the idea, half a million children now enrolled in what their schools call bilingual education—an effort that is costing local school boards and the federal government about $500 million a year.

You would find young Boston Haitians learning culture in Creole, and Mississippi Indians learning to read in Choctaw, and children of Michigan immigrants learning history in Albanian and Arabic. You would find math workbooks in Spanish, Italian reading primers, Chinese vocabulary cards,

Navaho storybooks, an Earth sciences text in Laotian, a U.S. history text in Vietnamese, and color and shape charts written in the Filipino dialect Tagalog.

You would find a Young Oakland teacher, the walls of her classroom bright with two language vocabulary posters, walking the narrow rows between desks and announcing the words for the day's spelling test. "In English—see. 'I will *see* who studied.'" A pause for the careful penciling of a few of the children, and then: "En Espanol—*pan.* 'Me gusta el *pan*' " I like bread. And the rest of the children hunch over their papers, murmuring the sentence as they write.

You would visit a Spanish bilingual class whose teacher speaks no Spanish: a bilingual Cambodian class whose teacher speaks no Khmer; a bilingual Chinese class whose teacher has no intention of learning Chinese and believes most dual-language education has no place in the taxpayer-funded schools of an English-speaking society.

You would watch attorneys and administrators grapple over major bilingual-education lawsuits in Illinois, California and Colorado. You would hear immigrant parents insist on English-only classes, and immigrant parents demanding improved bilingual classes. You would pick up studies that variously claim bilingual education improves, impairs or has no effect on academic performance.

And you might come across a school or two like Hoover Elementary, where for all their uncertainty and occasional misgivings Barbara Ruel and her colleagues say what sells them on bilingual education is the children around them—children they believe would have withdrawn into failure under a constant barrage of English.

"...Almost frightened to death," Ruel said, remembering Valentina, who came to Ruel's first-grade classroom three years ago from an elementary school where the child had been in English-only classes "I remember my aide and I welcoming her, and her little face kind of— 'Oh. my God, I can relax. Somebody's saying something I can understand for the first time in two years.'"

A decade of argument might be read into the slow unclenching of that small girl's face, in a Mexican-born schoolchild's discovery that she needed no English to make sense of her surroundings. A visitor to Hoover need drive less than 10 minutes to find junior high school teachers who think of "that warm little cocoon," as one social studies teacher called the elementary-level bilingual program, as a well-intentioned trap that produces seventh-graders unable to speak or write coherent English.

And the most fervent of bilingual education's supporters include scores of men and women who have never forgotten how it felt to be a Valentina years ago. Beatriz Arias, a Stanford education professor whose Mexican-born father sent her to a Los Angeles kindergarten in the early 1950s, still remembers being locked into a supply closet every time she spoke Spanish in the classroom. Louise Kinsley, an Arizona Navaho woman who is now 29, was in second grade when her Bureau of Indian Affairs schoolteacher drew a small circle on the blackboard and then demanded that Kinsley stand before the class with her nose

pressed into the circle—the classroom punishment for speaking Navaho in school.

No one punished Kinney Kinmon Lau for speaking Chinese at Jean Parker Elementary School in San Francisco, but no one taught him in Chinese, either. He was 6 years old, the son of an immigrant carpenter in San Francisco's Chinatown, when a young lawyer in 1970 happened to find Kinney "languishing," as the lawyer put it, in a first-grade class that treated him like any other San Francisco first-grader—the class was all in English, with no special courses like English as a Second Language to help a child who had grown up speaking Cantonese.

"Sinkor-swim" is the bilingual teachers' nickname for classes like that—you either master English, in what popular if arguable notions of American history insist is the time-honored manner, or you pass beneath the waves. In *Lau v. Nichols,* as the case came to be called, the Supreme Court ruled for the first time that sink-or-swim violated the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination by racial or national origin in any program receiving federal financial help. "There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum," wrote Justice William 0. Douglas in January 1974, "for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education."

The court did not mandate bilingual education: it simply mandated that students receive some special help. But when the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Education convened a panel to draw up guidelines for federal enforcement of the Lau ruling, the panel members in 1975 decided after some argument that the government's preferred approach—directly affecting about 500 school districts, and strongly influencing many subsequent state education laws—was the controversial and politically-loaded practice of dual language teaching in the schools.

"I don't think people realized how big it was," said Edward de Avila, an Oakland based educational consultant who helped prepare the government guidelines. "I know I didn't."

STRUGGLING IN REDWOOD CITY

Patty Swanson, her blond hair tucked under a small purple beret, dropped into an undersized wood chair one recent afternoon at Hoover Elementary and offered up the problem of Gloria. Gloria (her real name has been changed at Swanson's request) is in Swanson's bilingual fifth-grade class. The child came to Hoover in fourth grade, shy, just up from Mexico, speaking no English. Into a bilingual class she went—Hoover's Hispanic population is so large now that nearly every class is bilingual—and she began reading, as the Spanish speakers generally do at Hoover, in Spanish.

Two years later, Gloria is uneasy about English and is still reading in Spanish. When she has to get up in science class to present her work group's report on the results of their experiment, she struggles through the English words, glancing down at her notes to remember how to put the sentences together. On the face of

it, Swanson said, Gloria looks like fodder for the bilingual-education opponents who complain that the "crutch" of Spanish teaching keeps children from fluency in English.

But Swanson has seen what she believes happens to the Glorias who get no teaching in Spanish—who are immersed into traditional English classrooms and then pulled away each day for a brief session in English as a Second Language. Those ESL courses are what Swanson used to teach. Every day, in a rural school on the northern California coast, she led Spanish-speaking children through the workbooks offered in ESL. *What's this? It's a book What' this? It's a pen.*

Half the kids I worked with became big behavior problems, "Swanson said. "They were so frustrated. They were so angry ... Of the group, about a third of them survived and will do quite well. But those are the numbers you're working with in immersion."

And Gloria? To hurry her into English, Swanson is preparing her for English reading and is trying not to speak Spanish to her any longer. "Maybe in immersion she would have been forced..." Swanson mused. "But her conceptual stuff—she wouldn't have any idea who Christopher Columbus was. She wouldn't know the difference between transparent and opaque, or what causes a shadow."

Swanson nodded toward the other end of the classroom, where a curly-haired boy in fashionably baggy slacks was offering some arithmetic advice and horsing around in both English and Spanish. "Look at that kid—he's beaming with confidence," she said. "In math he's at the top of his class, because he hasn't missed out on concepts."

So when the class ranges from monolingual Anglos to Mexicans barely settled in this country, how does a bilingual fifth grade teacher cope?

This is how: She has four different reading groups, one in English, one in Spanish and two just switched over from Spanish to English and working through lower-level books. She assigns and writes compositions in whatever language the student is currently reading. She teaches ESL every morning, sends the whole class out to a special bilingual science workshop, sprinkles Spanish into her arithmetic lessons when the children seem to have trouble understanding, and sandwiches chunks of English teaching between tutoring sessions with children who need the ideas explained in Spanish.

"You just sort of look at your class and feel it out," Swanson said.

It is complicated and demanding—her training never prepared her for classes that include immigrant children who didn't start school until they were 12—and it is precisely what Swanson wants to do. She is part of a new generation of Redwood City teachers— women and men hired under a controversial 1981 board resolution to accept only teachers trained to work in two languages. School districts across the country reacted any number of ways to the bilingual mandates forced on them by federal guidelines and new state laws: some ignored

them, some handed the responsibility to bilingual but otherwise ill-qualified teaching aids, and some, like Redwood City, scrambled to snatch up the few bilingual teachers who were emerging with at least some theoretical training in dual-language teaching.

"You've got to compete," said Connie Williams, the energetic administrator who five years ago began setting up the city's bilingual program. "If you just wait for bilingual teachers to come to you, they don't come."

On paper, two years after the full complement of bilingual teachers finally settled in at Hoover, there is not a great deal to show for Williams' efforts so far. The test scores are mixed, with some showing slight improvement and some showing none. And there is little enthusiasm at the two Junior high schools that take Hoover students; a dozen teachers, interviewed at random, said either that they could see no difference between the bilingual-class children and children taught in traditional classes, or that they believed the bilingual classes were keeping some students from learning English.

"Enormous numbers of kids I get in my class say they've been here [in the United States] four and five years, and they don't have the English language skills that kids who haven't been in the bilingual program have," said Diane Davoli, a social studies teacher at Kennedy Junior High. Like the other teachers interviewed, she was not certain what students had gone to which schools--whether the children she was describing went through five years of bilingual classes, or even whether they were telling the truth about how long they had been in the country.

"Of course the scores are low," Swanson said heatedly over the faculty lunchroom table. "They're testing kids who have only been in school one or two years."

"They're probably comparing [them to] middle-class kids," said Barbara Ruel, the teacher who experimented with Spanish reading nine years ago." And I think that's unfair, I really do. And I don't think they're doing it because they're bad teachers. I think they're doing it because they don't understand the complexities ... Perhaps if some of those teachers worked over here for a while—with any amount of feeling, they would understand."

IN A CHILD'S SHOES

Ruel has no classroom now; she works as a resource teacher, helping plan other teachers' curriculums. She is one of the English speakers who promised in writing that she would pass a test in Spanish competency and "cultural understanding." She studied for two years, and then four years later, by then a 43-year-old schoolteacher with 20 years' classroom experience, she reported for her test.

The examiner was a young Mexican-American woman who read an article in rapid Spanish and asked Ruel to respond. Ruel does not remember now what the article was about, but she was certain, as she listened. that it had nothing to do with the words you use to teach first-graders to read.

She remembers the blood draining from her face. It seemed to her all at once that she must be feeling precisely what a 7-year-old Mexican immigrant feels the first time a teacher calls on him in English.

Ruel failed the examination. The news came by mail, some weeks later. She had passed the "cultural understanding" section, but she had failed the language test, and she needed both. She believes she is still an entirely capable Spanish reading teacher, and that although she has not been asked to leave Hoover, she would go if they wanted her to.

But she will not go through the examination again.

[from the Washington Post, July 8, 1985]

FOR TEACHERS, 10 YEARS OF TRIAL AND ERROR--BILINGUAL PROGRAMS DISMAY ADVOCATES, CRITICS

(By Cynthia Gorney)

Oakland, --On March 1, nine years after state officials first began requiring bilingual education for children who speak another language more fluently than they speak En glish, the California State Education Code finally caught up with Franklin Elementary School.

Spurred by an Oakland parents' lawsuit demanding improved bilingual classes citywide, a judge ordered the city's schools into compliance with the state guidelines that map out the largest bilingual education effort in the nation. In California, if an elementary school has one grade with at least 10 limited-English students from a particular language group, the school has to offer a bilingual class just for them.

Inside Franklin, which sits in the midst of inexpensive rental housing that attracts new immigrants, 14 languages are spoken in the course of a normal school day. According to state regulations, the school was supposed to offer bilingual classes in Cantonese, Spanish, Vietnamese, Laotian, the Cambodian language Khmer and the Ethiopian language Tigrinya.

So this is what happened at Franklin:

Priscilla McClendon, a fifth-grade teacher who jokes that she finds challenge aplenty in just mastering English, was assigned a group of fourthand fifth-grade Cambodians and told to promise in writing that she would learn Khmer.

Francesca Ferrari was assigned a collection of first-to third-grade Ethiopians and told to promise in writing that she would learn Tigrinya. Since state law requires at least one-third of the children in a bilingual class to be native English speakers, she got some of those, too—eight black American children and one Hispanic girl whose mother had just pulled her out of a Spanish bilingual class because she thought her daughter wasn't learning enough English.

Pat Eimerl lost her Cambodian-Vietnamese Ethiopian-Thai-Hispanic sixth grade, which on the books had been labeled a Cambodian bilingual class, since Eimerl had earlier promised in writing to learn Khmer. Her new students, all of whom filed in one afternoon carrying the contents of their former desks, are Cantonese-speaking Vietnamese. Eimerl was told to promise she would learn Cantonese, since this was now supposed to be a Chinese bilingual class, but for weeks she refused to sign the promise.

"See, with Cambodian I'm safe, because there aren't any classes." Eimerl said (she meant language classes for teachers) on the morning of the class shift. She was standing in the hallway, watching 11-year-old Asian boys wander back and forth in search of the right classrooms, and she was so angry her voice shook. "But there are Chinese classes. I've got three kids. I'm 40 years old. I'm not about to go try to learn Chinese."

WHO'S BEING SERVED?

Ten years ago, when federal officials began their unprecedented push for bilingual education in public schools across the country. grand hopes and promising research armed them against their critics. High school dropout rates for Hispanics were far higher than those for white students, they observed; here, they argued, was a possible remedy. Theory and their own convictions convinced them that students who learned at least part time in their native language had a much better chance in the schools, they would keep up academically, they would maintain their self-esteem, and they might in the end become literate and articulate in two languages.

A decade later, with half a million children enrolled in what their schools describe as bilingual programs, much of the whole enterprise has dismayed both its longtime critics and some of the people who most ardently believe in bilingual education. National Hispanic high school dropout rates, although not reliably monitored, are as high as ever: just under 40 percent, according to estimates by the Washington-based National Hispanic Policy Development Project. Teachers from San Francisco to Providence can be heard complaining that bilingual classes hold students back or keep them away from English. A U.S. Department of Education study, published in 1983 to vehement criticism from many bilingual edueators found "no consistent evidence" that dual-language instruction improved students' academic progress.

And bilingual advocates say schools are slapping the "bilingual" label on classes that have almost nothing to do with dual language teaching. They also say that because some states don't require bilingual education and some sehools ignore their own state requirements, more than three-quarters of the limited-English-speaking children in this country are receiving no dual-language instruction at all.

"What's going on in 90 percent of the classrooms in this country is a joke in respeet to what bilingual education ought to be," said Duane Campbell, a Spanish-English bilingual teacher who now works in the bilingual teacher training program at California State University at Sacramento. "And if you're going to tell me that doesn't work, I'll agree with you. It doesn't work."

Campbell, an Iowa-born Anglo, sounds a little more embittered than many of his colleagues. Franklin is in more linguistic turmoil than most neighborhood schools. But a Washington Post inquiry into public school bilingual education found similar heat and frustration among teachers, parents, administrators and researchers—many of whom are still at odds about the classroom efforts public schools are calling bilingual education.

There is nothing simple about this. Like many broad public school programs, the term "bilingual education" covers such vast territory—gifted teachers and dreadful teachers, imaginative new workshops and rote learning in overcrowded classrooms— that it defies the kind of generalizations people seem to want when such a controversial idea is proposed as public policy. So complex is the argument that critics and advocates cannot even agree on how many children in this country come to school with what the jargon calls "limited English proficiency"; the estimates range from 1.5 million to 3.5 million.

But a look at the problems in this massive undertaking, the business of helping immigrant schoolchildren in their own language, might begin at Franklin Elementary, or Franklin Year-Round, as the school is now officially named: its side-by-side buildings now hold children in a schedule that has eliminated the summer break. Down the long hallways, the bulletin boards all acolor with spring tulips and construction paper Humpty-Dumptys, doorways frame bright classrooms crowded desk to desk with the children of the new immigration. Phumpuang Phaisan, Khadihaj Muhammed, Phonevil Pomsouvanh, Kai-Phong Maek, Alejandro Esparza—the names, in careful block lettering, fill pink and green class lists on the desk of Franklin's harried bilingual coordinator, and next to each name the numerical code for the language the child brought to school: Khmer, Tigrinya, Laotian, Cantonese, Spanish.

"If you figure just the amount of time, money and education disruption ... the fact that English speakers have zero rights ... this has been costly as hell," said Martha Muller, the coordinator who for the last three months has been shuffling and reshuffling names into lists that will comply with California state education laws. 'The law is not meant for this kind of school. It is meant for a nice, neat, orderly Spanish-English population, or a Chinese-English population, or something. But it's not meant for a multilanguage school."

"Now that we're in compliance, it's just as ridiculous as when we were out of compliance," said Michael Phillips, who teaches his combined fourth-and fifth-grade class in both English and the Vietnamese he learned in preparation for a year's special military assignment in Vietnam. "So all my English-speaking kids have to sit there and wait while I'm translating for the Vietnamese. Now who's being served there?"

As chaotic as it is at this school, with nearly every morning bringing new immigrants to the front office to enroll their children, bilingual education at Franklin is in some of the same trouble that has plagued schools across the country for the last decade. It begins with California state law—a law, similar to those in some of the 22 states that mandate or permit bilingual classes, that lays out the number of speakers of any single language that is supposed to trigger a bilingual class.

It was violations of that requirement, among many other complaints, that moved a group of Oakland parents last fall to bring what turned into a bitterly argued lawsuit that accused the city school board of causing "irreparable injury" to thousands of students by failing to offer them bilingual classes. The documentation listed Franklin as one of the worst offenders: the school was missing teachers or aides in five languages, including Laotian and Tigrinya.

How does a school find candidates for a job like that? School officials actually interviewed a few people, Franklin principal Jay Cleckner said, although lawyers for the parents' group insisted Oakland had done far too little recruiting and hiring. But almost nobody quailfied as an American classroom teacher, Cleckner said. And if a few spoke English well enough to work as classroom aides, he said, he could not keep them in part-time jobs that paid about $5 an hour and offered no benefits. "I have interviewed for aides and for teachers, people who are very quailfied," Clecker said. "But they can go back to work for four times what I can pay them, and I tell them, 'Go. Take care of yourself.'"

The national shortage of qualified teachers has for some years been one of bilingual education's major problems. There is not a single Khmer-or Hmong-speaking credentialed teacher in Caiifornia, which has the nation's highest numbers of refugees from Cambodia and the part of Laos that was home to the Hmong people. Even qualified teachers who speak fluent Spanish are in short supply in many states; when Houston bilingual administrator Delia Pompa was presented this year with the revised Texas mandates for bilingual education through fifth grade, she calculated that even with extensive recruiting and $1,500 bonuses for the mostly Spanish-speaking dual-language teachers, conventional teaching patterns were going to leave the district short 400 teachers quailfied to work in two languages.

"Before, when Hispanics went to college, they went into teaching," said Pompa, who plans to accommodate the shortage by classroom rearrangements like teacher pairing. "Hispanics are starting to go into other professions ... Teaching, and education in general, is going through a low period. Teaching isn't looked at as a real respected profession. You're looking at a lot of problems."

Hardly anybody seriously expects Franklin's elementary school teachers to learn Khmer or Laotian in their spare time. But one of the ways many areas have adapted to the shortage is by asking teachers to sign up for courses in languages that seem more manageable to learn. In California, state figures show that fully half the "bilingual" teachers are regular teachers who have pledged to learn dual-language teaching methods and become fluent in a second language (usually Spanish, but occasionally English) while a bilingual aide helps them with the children.

That leads to a whole new set of problems. How well those teachers are actually learning both the language and the complicated business of dual-language teaching varies wildly from school to school, particularly since many principals are dubious about the idea to begin with. One elementary school will house an after-hours class for teachers genuinely committed to learning Spanish, and usually doing so on their own time; a second will sign up "bilingual" teachers

who plainly have little interest in ever learning more than a few words of the language. Even when they do try, bilingual advocates sometimes wonder what comes of their efforts: a Hispanic attorney tells of the newly trained Texas teacher who stood before a parents' group and began, "Damsa y cabailoa," which is a salutation of sorts; it means "Ladies and horses."

And the proceedings inside the dual-language class are only as effective as the teacher who runs it. In visits this spring to more than 20 bilingual classrooms, a reporter watched one bllingual teacher review long division in English scarcely intelligible through his Spanish accent, and another teacher who spoke no Spanish and left all the Spanish business to an aide she clearly distrusted: "I don't even think she's graduated from high school," the teacher confided.

Here were teachers translating right through history and arithmetic lessons, despite linguists' warnings that simultaneous translation is the least effective bilingual teaching method because it lets the student listen to the language he knows best. Here were teachers frustrated by school systems that hurried children into full-time English so fast that, as the teachers saw it, some of the point of bilingual education was being lost—the idea that children's English work will be stronger and more confident if they are allowed to fully develop and work in their own language at least part time for more than a year or two.

Here were teachers so tired of the whole bilingual effort—of juggling multiple two language reading groups, battling supervisors and watching children's confusion when a school offered them dual language at one grade but then abruptly not at another—that the teachers had finally bailed out. "You go crazy—that's why a lot of bilingual teachers go out of the program, because they can't handle it," said Erlinda Griffin, a quadrilingual Filipino who left bilingual teaching seven years ago for a school supervisorial job in the central California farm city of Fresno. Griffin believes bilingual education theory, and she has seen programs that seem to her to use it successfully. "But unfortunately, they were in the minority—there were so few of them."

And here, too, were teachers, nearly all of them monolingual English speakers, convinced that the bilingual classes they had seen were in large part misguided efforts that held a lot of children back. An Arizona teacher remembered Geme, her Navaho student who had sat through five years of bilingual classes before somebody realized the boy was having trouble because he had spoken scarcely a word of Navaho before he came to school. A suburban San Francisco teacher remembered Spanish-speaking children who never seemed to make the promised transition into English. A Rhode Island counselor remembered the Puerto Rican boy, bewildered by his referral to bilingual classes, who told the counselor in flawless English that he had grown up and gone to school in Lawrence, Mass.

"This is the stuff that goes on all the time," the counselor said. "I think a lot of kids are kept in those programs simply to build up the numbers and justify the programs. We've got kids in those programs who are fluent in English."

If anybody does belong in bilingual classes, who is it to be? To this day that generates argument and still another set of complaints. Some states reserve bilingual classes only for children who speak Spanish or some other language,

prompting complaints about ethnic and linguistic segregation. California requires them whenever possible to be in classes with native English speakers so the children won't be segregated and will have role models to help them learn the language.

But that doesn't satisfy everybody either. Because most bilingual classes are designed as remedial programs, aimed at moving children into English as rapidly as possible, English-speaking parents have often been disappointed when they allow their children into bilingual classes in the hope that they will learn Spanish. And in towns like Fillmore, a heavily Hispanic southern California farming community where the expansion of bilingual classes set off an angry Anglo protest this spring, English-speaking parents say their children waste time in a class taught partly in another language.

"Who's going to meet my daughter's needs?" demanded Judy Collins, a Fillmore parent whose husband recently proposed a controversial city council-adopted resolution making English the "official language" of Fillmore. "The amount of time that teacher is speaking Spanish is time that my child is not getting English instruction," Collins said.

It is complaints like these that have complicated the response to a generally unenthusiastic 1983 bilingual-education report by two federal Department of Education researchers. At the request of a White House policy review group, the researchers examined several hundred studies on bilingual education, many of which concluded that the classes had improved students academic performance, and found only 39 to be "methodologically acceptable." After analyzing those 39 studies, the researchers reported bilingual education producing only mixed results.

"Sometimes kids did better," said Department of Education analyst Keith Baker, the report's coauthor. "Sometimes it had no effect. And sometimes it had negative effects."

Baker and his partner, who have been criticized for their own methodology, suggested in the report that although limited-English-speaking children clearly needed some special attention, education officials might rethink their reliance on classes using native language—that full-time intensive English programs, for example, might be more effective in some cases.

Would Franklin Elementary's Francesca Ferrari, facing her tiny Ellis Island of a classroom earlier this year, have done any of her students a greater service by using their own language?

"This I do not know," she said.

"I do not know what I really think about bilingual education," Ferrari said.

When the Oakland parents' lawsuit was settled in May, with school officials committing themselves to a considerable expansion of the bilingual staff, the central office finally found some qualified teachers' aides for Franklin; a Tigrinya-speaking Ethiopian man now helps in Ferrari's classroom for 80

minutes a day. And she welcomes his presence, she said. He makes things easier for her. Last month they were working on sq words, and Ferrari did not have to go into contortions or bring lemons into class to explain squirt and squint and squid.

These are ideas the children would have grasped without translation, Ferrari said. Demonstrations, in her experience, are sometimes even more vivid than translation station. But she is happy to have the aide anyway— "grateful," Ferrari said. "I think it's a sense of security for the children to have him there, I really do."

Her class no longer includes the Spanish-speaking child; it is now all Ethiopian and native English-speaking children, and in March, as a welcoming gesture, Ferrari put up an Ethiopian market poster and wrote the Tigrinya words for "How are you?" in big bright letters on a poster she taped to the classroom door. Camilla 'Ha.

Some weeks later, in discreet messages conveyed through the principal's office Ferrari was told that this had distressed the Ethiopian families. Parents of all but three of her Ethiopian students indicated on signed forms that they wished their children taught exclusively in English, so Ferrari need no longer abide by her implausible promise to learn Tigrinya.

"They don't want their culture brought in," Ferrari said. "They feel they can take care of that at home." She took the poster down and pulled Camilla Ha off the classroom door.

[From the Washington Post, July 9, 1985]
"IMMERSION SUCCESS FUELS DEBATE"
(By Cynthia Gorney)

SAN FRANCISCO.—In a classroom bright with wall decorations, a line of raggedly cut paper pandas stretched overhead, Liana Szeto sat cross-legged on the floor and explained the morning game to the children around her. She would start with five plastic cubes and milk cartons with the top cut off, and they were to close their eyes while she hid some of the cubes under the milk carton. Then they could count the remaining cubes and figure out how many she had hidden.

Perhaps Sparky, Szeto suggested, might make the next guess.

Jesse (Sparky) Manger, a small blond boy in standard-issue kindergarten blue jeans and sneakers, squeezed his eyes shut and covered them with his hands. "Sparky" Szeto said. "*Gu yahp bihn yauh gei do go?*"

Just as she had all morning—just as she does for every full school day in a classroom that includes white children, Chinese-American children and a Chinese-Hispanic child— Szeto was speaking straight Cantonese.

Sparky, whisking his hands away and gazing at the single cube left atop the milk carton, contemplated her question: yes, he could guess how many she had left

inside. "Set" he said. Szeto lifted the--carton and clapped her hands in approval. Four, of course, was right.

Liana Szeto, a 27-year old Hong Kong immigrant who coaxes and performs her way through each day with a vigor that is almost exhausting to watch, speaks excellent English: she learned it both in her Hong Kong schools and in the junior high schools she attended when her family first arrived in San Francisco. But many of her students don't realize she speaks any English at all. From the first day of school last September, confronted with 24 kindergarten children who by and large spoke not a word of Cantonese, Szeto has never used English in her classroom. She uses posters, gestures, games, songs, repetition. theatrics, picture books, field trips and anything else she imagines might help her teach, but when ever she speaks—from "Please take out your pencils" to "Let's tell the story: of the five foolish fishermen!"—she speaks in Cantonese.

And Sparky Manger's mother Judy, an American Airlines ticket agent who has cringed at most American's inability to manage other languages, is delighted. "With China becoming a world power, in his lifetime, it's really going to be beneficial for him to learn Chinese," she said. "I thought he was going to come home and say, 'Mom, what have You done to me?' And he's never once said anything to me about that. He loves it ... Now he tells me his name is Jesse Wong sometimes."

There is a label in educationalese for the work Szeto is doing with these children, all of whom were sent to West Portal School because their parents wanted to experiment with a teaching method now being tried in at least 18 public school districts around the country. It is called language immersion, and although the teaching varies from school to school, the principle is the same: English-speaking children, principally from homes where nothing but English is spoken, spend either part or all of their days in classes conducted entirely in another language.

In Baton Rouge, La., fourth-grade children last month were discussing the tax system, studying the Louisiana state government and answering written test questions about layers of the atmosphere—all in French. In Culver City, Calif., fifth-graders were working long-division problems and reading aloud stories about construction workers and shy cats—all in Spanish.

There is Spanish immersion in Tulsa, French immersion in Montgomery County, German immersion in Milwaukee and Cincinnati. San Francisco school officials, already immersing students into Spanish and Cantonese, are thinking of adding Mandarin. And although some of the programs, like San Francisco's, are too new for any serious evaluation, many administrators have reported results comparable to those out of Canada, where for 20 years public schools have been offering French immersion that University of Southern California linguistics professor Stephen D. Krashen, has written "may be the most successful program ever recorded in the professional language teaching literature."

In the vast new array of efforts at teaching in two languages, no approach has been so carefully monitored, so widely praised for its effectiveness—and, in one of the more complicated ironies of this whole controversial field, so disturbing to

advocates of the more familiar theories of bilingual education, which insist that a child should learn to read and think first in his native language. The vision of these immersion classes, of American-born children learning math and reading from teachers who never address them in English, has prompted opponents of public bilingual education to ask the obvious question: If you can drop an English-speaking child into a special all-Spanish classroom and get him working and thinking in Spanish with no damage to his psyche or test scores, why can't you do the same thing in reverse?

Isn't this a natural way to accustom Spanish speakers to English without having to teach them reading and basic skills in Spanish?

School districts in several states are already trying special all-English programs for Spanish-speakers, and the federal government, both in U.S. Department of Education reports and in increased availability of special funds, has troubled bilingual-education advocates by showing considerable interest in the idea. And the heat this argument has generated—some teachers and language experts use words like "a crock" and "a crime" to describe the practice of immersing Spanish-speakers into special all-English classes—is part of a quiet but spirited national debate about America's attitude toward non-English languages, about the role of language in an immigrant society, about the ties between language and the human spirit.

Show and tell, afternoon kindergarten and first-grade class, Culver City's El Rincon School, just outside Los Angeles. Irma Wright, her black hair curled and a carnation pinned to her lapel, summoned around her a noisy collection of children and announced who would begin.

"Tu no eres primera," she admonished a small blond girl who had clamored to be first. "Cheryl es primera."

The child nodded, resigned to the primacy of Cheryl, and said in English, "Can I be second?"

Thus it went, the children—nearly every one of them from an English-speaking home—looking entirely unconcerned that their teacher spoke to them only in rapid, native Spanish. Cheryl showed off a stuffed gray bear that she said belonged to her mother, and Wright asked. "Quien le dio eso a tu madre?" Nobody had given it to her mother, Cheryl answered. "She saw it and she got it in a store." "Que tiene este oso en la nariz?" Wright asked, wondering what was appliqued on the end of the bear's nose. The children knew a heart when they saw one: "Un corazon!" they cried.

Irma Wright, a Hispanic woman who grew up in El Paso, has been teaching the kindergarten immersion class since 1971, when the Culver City schools opened the first U.S. version of the program that was generating so much interest in Canada. A school outside Montreal, now in its 20th year, had set off the whole experiment when a group of English-speaking parents asked for a dramatic and effective way to teach their children French; by last year, according to an article in the Canadian magazine Language and Society, 115,000 Canadian children were

studying in one of the French immersion programs now offered in every province.

Culver City administrators, under the supervision of linguists at the Unlversity of California at Los Angeles, followed almost precisely the original Quebec model: no English at all for the first two years (although the children are free to speak English, and the teacher must be bilingual so that she or he can understand and answer); an hour a day of English reading and language arts in second and third grades; and then a steady increase of English teaching time, until by the fifth grade students are doing more than a third of their classwork In English. "When they leave the elementary school, they are functionally bilingual," said Eugene Ziff, the principal at El Rincon. "They can understand, read, write and speak Spanish in a functional manner, and they have done this without losing any of their basic skills in English."

As he has done for dozens of uncertain parents, Ziff pulled out the mimeographed sheet listing El Rincon's most recent scores on the California Test of Basic Skills, which is administered in both English and Spanish to students in the immersion classes. In 1983 the sixth-grade students were testing out at eighth-grade level on English vocabulary and comprehension. Language mechanics and expression, math concepts and computation—all showed above average scores, and in the case of language expression, far above average. Only English spelling fell slightly short.

As for their Spanish skills, the Spanish reading test scores are not quite up to the average for native language speakers, but a recent visit to Mary Nabours' fourth- and fifth-grade classroom, for example, was startling: children with names like Jennifer Feingold and Pentti Monkkonen read easily from their Spanish texts, or talked in Spanish about characters in the story they had just finished, or worked in longhand on their definitions.

"Catarata—cascada." Waterfall. "Caldo— liquido que se calienta." Broth—liquid that is heated. Their chatter with each other was in English, but at the small horse-shoe table where Nabours worked with one reading group at a time, only Spanish was allowed. Their accents ranged from good to nearly native; Nabours, who is American but lived in Mexico while studying Spanish, speaks with almost no trace of American accent. They discussed words like supongo, suppose, and interes, as in bank interest, and if their grammar was often not quite right, they plowed cheerfully through what they were trying to say. A lively red-haired girl, asked to escort the visitor down to the kindergarten, was asked in Spanish whether she found the two languages difficult to manage, and she said in slightly ungrammatical but entirely unselfconscious Spanish, "No, because I'm used to it."

"They don't have any trouble getting across what they want to say," Nabours said between bites of a sandwich in the faculty lunchroom. "The program encourages creativity in a certain way, but the main thing it encourages—this is my opinion; I can't prove it, but I feel it in every cell in my body—is this feeling of, 'I can' ... 'If I can speak Spanish, I can do anything. I can do math. I can do science. I can do anything.'"

So why shouldn't it work in reverse? Why shouldn't Spanish speakers learn English the same way?

To answer that, teachers like Nabours believe, you must think about English and Spanish and the social roles they play here. The linguists who designed immersion programs like Culver City's have insisted the programs be used only for children who speak English, children who will go straight into an English middle school, children whose families have sought out the second language and who will never, as long as they live in North America, risk losing the language they grew up with.

CATERING TO ETHNIC GROUPS?

One six-school program in San Diego is using the Culver City model on both English and Spanish speakers, immersing them all into Spanish and then gradually working English into half the school day, but its goal is the same as Culver City's--to encourage bilingualism, and to celebrate the learning and reading of two languages rather than one.

That very notion, the idea that schools should promote bilingualism and should hold advanced classes in both languages, has been thoroughly attacked during public debates over dual-language education for Hispanics. There is still a strong feeling among many teachers and parents' groups that American schools ought to be teaching in English that offering special classes for bilingual children amounts to catering to certain ethnic groups. Indeed, the word "maintenance," commonly used to describe classes in Spanish for fully bilingual students who want to sharpen their Spanish fluency, has developed so dangerous a resonance now that most teachers and administrators hasten in interviews either to distance themselves from it ("We don't believe in maintenance here") or to confide that they personally believe in it but that the district wishes only to have students move rapidly into full-time English.

So when Spanish speakers are immersed into English, as several Texas school districts are now doing in a state-sponsored pilot program, no one imagines that they will gradually have Spanish worked back in to take over half their school day. The point is simply to teach them English, using techniques that have worked for Anglophones in places like Culver City: Speak nothing but English to the children, but let them use Spanish when they wish; use vocabulary and phrasing aimed at children just learning the language; fill the gaps with posters and pantomime and things the children can touch.

This is what it looked like on a recent morning in Houston: A plump, smiling teacher named Rachel Echavarry, traversing the rows of quiet children, held up small picture cards and waited for each response.

Jesus. what's this?

"It s a cat." "What's this?" "It's a cow."

"Where is the cow?"

Hesitation. Then, tentatively: "The cow— is in—the barn."

There is nothing unique about a class like this; it is standard English as a Second Language (ESL) teaching, offered as part of many public schools' bilingual programs. The difference, at Gregory-Lincoln Education Center and the other Texas schools trying similar approaches, is that Jesus and his classmates are immersed in English all day long—they are never supposed to hear Spanish from their teachers. Indeed, many of the teachers at Gregory Lincoln do not know how to speak Spanish or any of the Indochinese languages nearly a quarter of the students arrive with instead, in Saturday workshops and in-class training, they have studied ESL teaching techniques.

How well it works—whether these Texas children are having an easier time learning English while keeping up in their other classes—is still in some dispute.

"Thank God for the English immersion," said Linda Hunter, a fourth-grade teacher now at her 10th year at Gregory Lincoln, which used to offer an hour a day of Spanish-language instruction. Her colleague Sherilyn Kozodoy, a third-grade teacher whose class includes two Spanish-speaking children, agreed. "I had students in [my former school] who had been going to the bilingual classes for three or four years and still had difficulty with the English language," Kozody said. "They learn it much more slowly."

Some teachers are similarly enthusiastic in Texas cities like McAllen, which has attracted national attention for its English immersion pilot; and in Virginia's Fairfax County, which for seven years has insisted on intensive English instead of dual-language instruction. But preliminary Texas data indicates so far that the immersion classes there, experimentally begun four years ago in cities that also offered bilingual programs, are producing English test scores no higher than those from the bilingual classes—and there are misgivings about the experiment even among some of the administrators in charge of it.

"I had had one teacher start crying and saying, 'Look, I can't do this, it's not fair to the kids,'" said Delia Pompa, Houston's bilingual education administrator. "There were others, to be perfectly fair, who thought it was a good option ... I'll be honest. I would prefer a dual language program, because I don't know what kind of cognitive deficits [the immersion children] are going to have four or five years later. And I think there are going to be some."

Wallace Lambert, the social psychologist and language expert who developed the first French immersion programs in Quebec, has argued for more than a decade that to use these techniques on language-minority children is, as he wrote in a 1984 California Department of Education volume, "not only wrong but dangerous." The danger, he argues, lies in what he calls "subtractive bilingualism"—the elimination in school of the language the child first used to think, to conceive ideas and accept who he is.

"We are not removing their language from school," countered Sally Clyburn, acting instructional supervisor for the Houston schools. "We are removing the language from instruction ... the students are using their native language. They

can be seen walking to the school cafeteria, to and from the playground, using their native language."

"The child is basically being told, 'your language is not worth anything,'" said William Prather, who teaches in Spanish to English speakers at Rock Creek Elementary School's Spanish immersion program in Chevy Chase and who thinks the approach is entirely wrong for non-English speakers. Teachers like Prather and Mary Nabours believe a child whose language is kept out of the classroom will probably lose much of it, if his is not the language of society at large, and that public schools do children a great disservice that way.

"It's like taking a great gift and throwing it away—and some of us fight so hard to try and learn a new language," Nabours said "I understand it's hard to get bilingual teachers. But I also believe America has a real problem in its understanding of the importance of language ... I don't consider a person educated unless he speaks another language. If you have a child who speaks Spanish, and you don't use that to teach him to read and write in that language, you're stealing from him. And you're stealing from society, because we need people who can speak those languages."

FAIRFAX: "ENGLISH AND ONLY ENGLISH"
(By Anndee Hochman)

A filmstrip of "Cinderella" played to the small audience of fourth-, fifth- and sixth-graders in Susan Lawrence's Fairfax County classroom at Graham Road Elementary School one recent morning, and Rosa Garcia studiously ignored it.

Instead, she bent over a reading workbook; looking intently at a row of tiny line drawings; a picture of a can, a table followed by the letter "s," a child with a spoon, a birthday cake.

"Can tables eat cake?," she read haltingly to the teacher. Then she answered her own question giggling along with Lawrence. "No," Rosa said. Tables, she knew, cannot eat cake.

For seven Years, Lawrence and other Fairfax teachers of English as a Second Language (ESL) have relied exclusively on such books of word-picture diagrams, filmstrips, flashcards, charts, charades—and patient, continual repetition—to teach children like Rosa, Her teachers will never speak to her in Spanish, nor will they talk to her classmates in their native Urdu, Farsi or Chinese.

About 3,800 students—2 percent of the sprawling Fairfax County school population—are enrolled in ESL classes. Their predominant languages are Korean, Spanish and Vietnamese, although many speak Arabic, Khmer, Chinese, Farsi, Japanese, Laotian and Urdu. In all. they speak 75 different languages, and none of them is in a bilingual class.

"When working with a child in the native language is working against the child learning the English language, that's what I object to," said Esther Eisenhower, Fairfax County's ESL program coordinator. "In the name of a child 'feeling

good' about being a Turk, he's graduating from high school with a fifth-grade competency in English."

While bilingual education is an appealing notion in an ideal world, she said, there are few school systems with the funding, public support, native-language teaching materials and multilingual teachers to practice it effectively.

As proof the ESL program works, Fairfax educators point to test results—1980 and 1981 tests showed ESL students meeting or exceeding local and national norms in most subjects—and to children like Rosa, illiterate in her own language but now able to print words and chatter fearlessly in English.

Critics have claimed that affluent Fairfax County, where many students come from diplomatic and well-educated families, is not a fair setting to prove the worth of ESL teaching.

"I don't think that argument holds," Eisenhower said. "I could hardly say these are children of commanders of the Japanese navy or attaches in the Swedish Embassy." Sixty-two percent of ESL students, she pointed out, qualify for free or reduced-price lunches.

Many of Fairfax's ESL students would probably be in ESL classes no matter where they were, few teachers around the country are qualified to teach bilingual classes in Asian or Indochinese languages. And there is an active debate about whether Asian or Indochinese students, generally perceived as academically successful despite their language problems, need bilingual classes at all—particularly the Vietnamese, with their widely publicized climbs to school honor rolls.

Bilingual advocates have suggested that the newer waves of Indochinese immigrants will probably not do as well without bilingual education, since many of the earlier well-educated Vietnamese immigrants who often spoke two or three languages before they left Vietnam. The more recent immigrants, they point out, include thousands whose backgrounds are more like those of many less educated and less literate Hispanic families.

But Eisenhower and Lawrence believe the Fairfax plan will successfully move those children into English too. "I encourage them to read in their native language, to communicate with each other in their native language," Lawrence said. "But as far as the instruction goes, I feel English and only English is the best way."

THE VALUE OF NATIVE LANGUAGE

The argument over language immersion is not really about the merits of the few programs now trying in some formal and monitored way to place non-English speaking children in special all-English classes. There are not very many of those programs—most are either small experiments or are aimed at children like the Indochinese, who often have no bilingual teachers available—and it is highly unlikely that in the near future they could replace bilingual classes. Federal funds

that can be used for special English immersion programs are limited to less than 10 percent of the $139 million budgeted for bilingual education this year.

The battle over that funding was fierce, though, with bilingual education critics wanting much more of the budgeted money to be available to English immersion-type experiments. Bilingual education advocates fought back, some of them declaring that these special immersion classes were simply a convoluted path back to the days when schools openly sent Spanish and Chinese speaking children to fend for themselves in standard all-English classes—the kind of approach the Supreme Court prohibited 11 years ago.

So the argument is really about the value and meaning of native language in a child's schooling, and that makes it much bigger and more complicated than the proceedings inside a few public school classrooms. "I think the issue becomes an emotional issue, and people stop looking at what kids need, and what works for kids," said Houston's Delia Pompa. "It becomes in some ways a threat, and sometimes 'I-made-it-why-can't they,' and sometimes people bring political baggage and emotional baggage to it. I think sometimes people miss the point."

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ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT [ELA]

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, I think it is most appropriate that during the remarks I am about to make the distinguished senior Senator from Nevada be in the chair, because he comes from a background of an ethnic group, the Basques, who are very prevalent and prominent and important to my State both in its economic life and its cultural life.

Many distinguished citizens in my State, including our Secretary of State, Mr. Pete Cenarrusa, are of Basque origin. Pete happens to be one of my most ardent friends and supports the effort to pass an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the English language amendment. Pete has told me on repeated occasions of his experiences in the first grade in Belleview, ID, where he was unable to speak a word of English; yet with very strict instructions from his parents he not only immersed himself in English and learned it, but came home and taught them so they could all move into the economic mainstream of the United States and participate in our system.

His own personal achievements in political leadership, in his military service, in his college career, in his business career, and as a distinguished Secretary of State of Idaho, speaks very well to the fact that he has achieved those goals that his mother and father asked him to do at an early age in his life.

There are 14 cosponsors of the English language amendment, which we refer to as the ELA. This amendment was started early in this body by the distinguished Senator from California, Senator Hayakawa, and the Senator from Kentucky, Senator Huddleston. And as they said on numerous occasions, and as the other 14 sponsors of this amendment now have stated, we support the ELA because we seek to unify America and want all to understand that opportunity in America is spelled in English.

In spite of our efforts, there are still critics who continue to label our actions as "racist" and as an attempt to rob immigrants of their cultural identity.

But, Mr. President, as the distinguished occupant of the chair knows, nothing could be further from the truth. We continue to encourage everyone to cherish their heritage and their native language; and on that rich foundation we ask them to add the English language and the American culture.

No citizen of this great country can ever hope to be elected to a prominent State or Federal office without being fluent in English. Nor can they really succeed in

business and be able to move about freely in the United States without speaking fluent English.

Mr. President, I was recently contacted by a prominent citizen of Idaho Falls, ID, Mr. Nick Vrontikis, who is a successful small businessman and active chamber of commerce member. Nick is of direct Greek origin, but considers himself a 100-percent American who can attest to the value of the English language.

Nick said to me that although his parents came from Greece and although they spoke Greek in their home, his parents knew the value of learning English.

He said that while he and his brother were average students in school as they struggled to learn English, being immersed in the English language, nevertheless, they both eventually graduated from college and both are now very prominent businessmen.

Nick stressed that he and his brother never could have attained their success had they not entered the American mainstream and learned the American language. He is very proud of his heritage and justifiably upset at policies which isolate limited-English-speaking students in "linguistic ghettos" because of ethnic chauvinism and misguided Federal regulations.

Mr. President, the sponsors of the English language amendment seek to terminate this system of American apartheid, and assist all new citizens in gaining full standing in the world's greatest economic order—our free enterprise system.

The ELA would in no way affect the use of a non-English language in any private context—at home, in church, in private schools, or in private business. The right to free speech as guaranteed by the first amendment would remain paramount.

However, if adopted, the ELA would make English the official language of our Federal and State governments including our polling places.

Mr. President, we sincerely desire to avoid the political and linguistic nightmare that has afflicted our neighbor to the north. I recently learned that last summer Canada's Supreme Court ordered the Province of Manitoba to translate all its laws passed since 1890 into French. It mattered little that only 5 percent of the Province's population were French-speaking; or that many of the 4,500 laws and 5,000 regulations had been repealed or had expired. Embittered Manitoba voters overwhelmingly have rejected entrenched bilingualism; but nevertheless, because of the court ruling they must pay $50 million in translation costs anyway because of their nation's bilingual status.

The sponsors of the ELA just as earnestly want to help our limited-English-speaking students enter America's economic and social mainstream by making it possible for them to learn English as quickly as possible.

A recent New York Times editorial September 27, 1985, sums up our arguments for the ELA better than I could:

Mr. Bennett [the Secretary of Education] is exactly right when he says that American citizens must have a "common language in which to discuss our common affairs." English is the pot in which the melting takes place. Failure to speak and understand the American language hampers any citizen's ability to participate in American life."

I hardly think that the editors of the New York Times are racist or seek to deprive our immigrants of their cultural heritage. They, like those of us who sponsor the English language amendment, understand the reality of the American dream.

Mr. President, I ask that any who wish to join us in this effort please contact my office. We will send you all the information that you want on this subject. I encourage Senators who are listening or their staffs who are listening to seek this information and help us in this effort that is long since overdue, and is rapidly becoming a more important issue and a more important problem as we have bigger and bigger areas of ethnicity developing and separate languages being spoken. It is most important that those people in those areas be given the opportunity to be immersed and to learn English so that they, too, can participate in the American dream which is what all of us would like to have for all of our citizens.

Cited as: Symms (1987a)

Congressional Record
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January 6, 1987 to January 16, 1987
P. 771

By Mr. SYMMS:

S.J. Res. 13. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the English language; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

ENGLISH IS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, last November 4, California voters overwhelmingly approved a constitutional amendment, proposition 63, designating English as the State's official language. The lopsided 73- to 27-percent vote came after the citizen initiative qualified for the ballot with the signatures of more than 1 million voters.

California now becomes the eighth State to declare English as its official language. In November 1984, the voters of California passed another citizen initiative by a 71- to 29-percent vote which directed Gov. George Deukmejian to call upon Congress and the President to put an end to bilingual ballots.

Mr. President, today I wish to reintroduce the English language amendment which first came before this body in 1981 through the sponsorship of Senator S.I. Hayakawa. Since that time the American people have enthusiastically embraced this movement. I am sure that most of you in this body have received numerous letters from constituents about the ELA, as it is known. As the English language movement continues to generate momentum, I know you will receive even more inquiries. More than 25 States are expected to act on bills in 1987 that will designate English as their official language.

An analysis of the California vote shows that proposition 63 was approved by a strong bipartisan vote that crossed every ethnic and racial line, and it's easy to understand why.

Americans take considerable pride in their Nation, not just those born in the United States, but those who have immigrated here to start a new life and learn a new culture and language. They know that "opportunity" in their adopted nation is spelled in "English." They, like many native born Americans, often feel like a stranger in their adopted country because of our confusing language policies.

Mr. President, English is our common language—the tie that binds us all as citizens of one nation. Yet, as Senator Hayakawa recently pointed out, some politicians and ethnic leaders oppose giving English any legal protection. They continue to demand the use of other languages by government: Mandatory

bilingual ballots, bilingual education that doesn't emphasize English, and other divisive measures.

The English language amendment will not regulate the use of other languages in private contexts; first amendment rights are still guaranteed. Nor will it discourage foreign languages from being taught as academic subjects, nor their use in diplomacy, circumstances where safety is a consideration, or to obstruct justice.

The intent of the English language amendment is to ensure that English will be the official language of the United States, and that our non-English-speaking citizens will become part of the American mainstream as soon as possible. We seek to ensure that Federal programs, such as bilingual education, do not foster a system of American apartheid, but that they teach English as rapidly as possible.

Mr. President, we have read about the problems which our neighbors to the north in Canada have experienced because of Federal language policies, but few of us are aware of the severe language crisis that has occurred in Belgium. Because of it, last fall Prime Minister Wilfried Martens offered his resignation to the King, and Minister of the Interior Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb actually resigned.

This latest friction between the country's Flemish and French speakers came to a head when the French-speaking mayor of a small city refused to take a test to demonstrate his knowledge of Flemish. Provincial authorities dismissed Mayor Jose Happart, but he appealed to the Council of State. The Council ruled against him, thus precipitating a new crisis in the national coalition government that precariously balances the country's divided language interests.

Similar language disputes twice contributed to the fall of national governments in Belgium in the seventies. The current controversy is considered especially bitter, since it has come to light that Mayor Happart own top honors in Flemish in his high school class.

Mr. President, as elected representatives of this great Nation; we must do all that is within our power to ensure that we do not duplicate the experiences of Canada, Belgium, and numerous other countries with different languages.

Mr. President, the ELA proclaims a broad principle, English is the language of the United States, and enjoys a special status in this country that sets it apart from all other languages.

I invite my colleagues to join me and the American people in securing this basic principle in our Constitution.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the joint resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

S.J. RES. 13

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution if ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years after its submission to the States for ratification:

ARTICLE--

"SEC. 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.

"SEC. 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Cited as: Symms (1987b)

Congressional Record
Volume 133
Part 11
100th Congress
1st Session
May 28, 1987 to June 10, 1987
Pp. 14632 - 14638

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. President, America is a nation of many traditions and cultures bonded together by a common language—English.

Since the first settlers landed on America's shores, millions of immigrants have left their homelands and most of their worldly possessions behind, bringing their folklore and family histories to their new country. These people have passed their heritage from father to son, and generation to generation. Many Americans observe these traditions through the celebration of ethnic and religious holidays, such as: St. Patrick's Day, St. Lucia Day, Bastille Day, the Chinese New Year, and Hanukkah, to name a few. In our local newspapers and park recreation brochures you can read of organizations and schools which offer many opportunities to learn folklore songs and dances from countries around the world.

Because our ancestral heritage is important to us, we maintain and share our traditions enriching the lives of those around us. This has been and will continue to be done by using English as the medium of sharing our heritage with others, while we and all communities participate in the enrichment of one united America.

While it is important to maintain the cultural activities of our anceatral roots, it is necessary to establish a unity in order to join the mainstream of the American way of life. This unity is achieved by communication in a single common language—English. The common language necessary to establish and maintain a place in America's mainstream does not preclude participation in one's ancestral traditions; rather it enhances one's ability to share one's culture with others, and it serves as a vehicle to conduct America's business.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a paper written by Jerry Williams, a member of my staff, which describes the current problems encountered by those who fail to see the importance of learning English. It presents the arguments of what the English language amendment would and would not do and indicates the strong public support for the amendment. I urge my colleagues to review this paper and join me as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 13, The English language amendment.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUT OF MANY, WE CAN BECOME ONE—THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AMENDMENT

(By Jerry L. Williams)

OUTLINE

I. This paper will address some of the reasons the United States is becoming a multilingual society, and how a constitutional amendment might solve the problem.

II. The United States has multilingual problems.

A. Language communication problems exist in communities throughout the United States.

1. U.S. cities consists of multi-lingual communities who do not share a common language.

2. U.S. English-speaking citizens who apply for basic jobs are discriminated against.

3. Communication problems arise when employers and employees cannot speak a common language.

4. Immigrants who cannot speak English isolate themselves, and therefore cannot fully participate in Americas' mainstream.

5. Immigrants who cannot speak or understand English can lose their lives.

B. The Federal and state governments support multi-lingualism.

1. The Federal and state governments publish materials in foreign languages.

2. Government sponsored tests are given in more than one language.

3. The Federal government negates its immigration laws by allowing multi-lingual election ballots and materials.

4. The Government has changed the billingual education programs from learning English, as soon as possible, to maintaining the students' native language and their culture.

III. The English Language Amendment (ELA) is a solution to the multi-lingual problem.

A. The English Language Amendment would accomplish many things.

1. The ELA would make English the official language of the U.S.

2. The ELA would establish English as the official language of the national, state and local governments.

3. The ELA would enforce immigration laws.

4. The ELA would require English only ballots.

5. The ELA would change the bilingual education programs back to its original concept—to learn English.

6. A territory seeking to become a part of the U.S. would be required to declare English as its official language.

B. The English Language Amendment would not totally do away with the use of foreign languages in the U.S.

1. The amendment would not prevent schools from teaching modern foreign languages.

2. The amendment would not change the judicial process that allows for foreign languages to be used in court proceedings.

3. Foreign languages would not be prohibited for private use.

IV. General support for the English Language Amendment comes from all parts of the United States.

A. Many American ethnic organizations support the ELA.

B. Many naturalized citizens support the ELA.

C. Grassroots groups have been formed to promote English as the official language of the United States.

V. The English Language Amendment would prevent the United Stakes from becoming a diverse multi-lingual country by establishing a common language, and signed to immigrants that the way to full participation in America's political and economic mainstream is to learn English. The bilingual education system would be changed from a maintenance program to its original concept—to learn English. The ELA would protect, bind, and treat all ethnic groups equally bv the U.S. government, because all government business would be conducted in English.

America is a nation of immigrants, and one of its great strengths has been its ability to incorporate people from many countries with their different cultures and ethnic traditions into a nation of people who can communicate with each other. What allowed our ancestors to work out their problems and form a cohesive country was their total acceptance of learning to speak, write, and read English.

United States Senator Steve Symms (R-ID) stated:

"The unquestioned acceptance of this language [English] by immigrants from every linguistic and culture background enabled us to discuss our differences, to debate our problems, and to agree on solutions. It has allowed us to develop a stable and cohesive society that is the envy of language-fractured nations."[1]

President Theodore Roosevelt expressed the importance of having one language saying, "We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house," [2]

For the past seventeen years there has been a strong internal movement to linguistically fractionalize the United States, a fractioning to change our country from a one common language nation to a "polyglot boarding house." This situation has led us to a major piece of legislation that is currently before the United States Senate.

This paper will address some of the reasons the United States is becoming a multilingual society, and how a constitutional amendment might solve the problem.

It is assumed by most U.S. citizens, as they travel throughout the country, that communication will not be a problem. If one encounters a difficult situation, he can make a telephone call or talk to someone on the street and in simple English begin to solve the problem. This is not necessarily so today in America. In communities throughout the United Stakes many information and instructional signs, T.V., radio, and magazines are in several different foreign languges. Miami Mayor Mauriee Ferre relates how his Hispanic residents could live in an English-speaking country, while remaining totally immersed in a Spanish speaking culture. Mr. Ferre said:

"You can be born here in a Cuban hospital, be baptised by a Cuban priest, buy all your food from a Cuban grocer, [and] take your insurance from a Cuban bank.

"You can get all the news in Spanish— read the Spanish daily paper, watch Spanish television, listen to Spanish radio. You can go through life without having to speak English at all." [4]

The crux of Miami's problem ean be seen in the example of two English speaking women who were seeking a job with a Miami office-cleaning firm, and were rejected because they could not speak Spanish, and therefore would not be able to understand their Hispanic supervisors.[5] Mayor Ferre said that in ten years, "there [will] not be a word of English spoken—English is not Miami's official language—residents [will] have to learn Spanish or move." [6]

New York, like Miami, has had its share of communication problems due to the fact that New York consists of many multi-lingual communities. In the past four years, the New York City Transit Authority has hired over 408 engineers to

oversee a $6.5 billion progam to rebuild the bus and subway systems. Of those 408 hired, 291 lack basic English language skills.[7] New York State Comptroller Edward V. Reagan reported that these engineers "can't communicate with their supervisors, their subordinates or with each other."[8] He added, "Make no mistake about it, these deficiencies have been extremely costly. They have wasted time, and they have wasted money."[9]

Migrant workers come to the United States to seek better paying jobs to support their families, but since they cannot speak English, these workers isolate themselves in their own groups, away from the mainstay of American society, and usually remain poor and secluded the rest of their lives. Richard Rodriguez, a guest writer for the Wall Street Journal put it well when he wrote:

"For the Spanish speaking, especially, it is possible today to live in a quasi-public life apart from English. And those who have the most to lose in a bilingual America are the foreign-speaking poor, who are being lured into a linguistic nursery, quite apart from power and money in English-speaking America."[10]

Mr. Rodriguez continued to say, "there must be one public language in America."[11]

Ms. Chris Crystal, a writer for UPI, reported a major fire at the Los Angeles Dorothy May [residential] Hotel in which 24 lives were lost. Most of those who perished were members of a large Mexican family who could not understand rudimentary English. When the Los Angeles Fire Department (LAFD) arrived at the fire, they called out to the occupants and instructed them to stay in their fireproof rooms. The firefighters in turn would rescue them from each window. Not understanding the officers, the family panicked and ran into the hall where they died. The rooms on the other hand did not catch on fire and had the family understood English, they would have lived.[12] Having been ignorant of English these immigants lost more than their jobs or a chance at higher education, they lost their lives. Communication between emergency personnel and its respective community is of the utmost importance for the safety of all residents.

The Federal and state governments try to help immigrants by printing pamphlets on subjects ranging from rules of safety in the home, to the collection of welfare. These publications cover over 2,000 subjects and are printed in over 32 languages. Former United States Senator Dee Huddleston of Kentucky noted that the 2,000 subjects are just the tip of the iceberg and there are many more non-English government printed materials provided for foreign-speaking people.[13]

Many state governments, showing their concern for the problem, administer the drivers license exam in more than one language. Michigan, for example, gives the drivers exam in 16 different languages.[14]

One of the most basic rights of a U.S. citizen is the privilege to vote. According to former California Senator S.I. Hayakawa, the Federal and state governments

are supporting multilingualism and negating the immigrant law by providing multilingual ballots.[15]

United States immigration laws state that for a person to become a naturalized citizen, he must pass an English competency test. The exam is to show the person can communicate: read, write, and speak English.[16]

Senator Hayakawa stated:

"According to law, a person must be able to 'read, write and speak English in ordinary usage' to become a citizen. Nevertheless, the law now requires a so-called 'bilingual' ballot for those who do not read English. The bilingual ballot law simply negates our naturalization laws."[17]

Providing multilingual election ballots can cause many problems. First it gives the non-English speaking community the feeling that it is not necessary to learn English. And second, though multilingual ballots are used to provide a necessary service to preserve minority voting blocks, it allows for local candidates and ethnic leaders, who speak the minority community's language, to interpret and control all pertinent information. Since most political ads and debates are in English, these ethnic leaders can present a biased view to their constituents, and seriously undercut the opportunity for every voting individual to be informed about the candidates and the issues. The individuals' inability to communicate with the English-speaking world outside their immediate community would make it impossible for them to determine what issues were relevant to the campaign, and which candidates were best suited to the office in question. Therefore the communities' political leaders have great control over these isolated people. [18]

A newsletter called Washington Alert, published by Leadership Foundation, Inc., reported that since immigrants can receive information in their own language, they have no intention of learning English.[19]

The Department of Education reported that "26 million people in the U.S. (one out of every eight) are relying on a language other than English to communicate in their homes and their work place."[20] That is far more than three times as many as in 1975.[21]

Patrick B. Patterson, the Public Information Officer for the city of Los Angeles made the point, "There are currently 88 different dialects spoken within L.A. City schools. The largest majority speaking English and Spanish.[22]

In 1968 the Federal government passed the Bilingual Education Act to assist non-English speaking children in gaining fluency in the English language so they could progress educationally. This would allow possible upward mobility in the American society.[23]

Under the 1968 Education Act the Federal government allowed each state and local school district to decide which bilingual method would best work for their students.[24] Studies have shown that one national bilingual program or one

method used throughout the United States would not work.[25] The majority of educators welcomed the Act due to the fact that each state has different problems depending on the student's language, cultural background, and individual abilities.[28]

Ten years later, when the bilingual program came up for review the law was changed from pushing for fluency in English, as rapidly as possible, to teaching and maintaining the students' native language as well as their culture. This was called the Bilingual-Biculture method.[27] The thought was since proficiency in one language is good, then proficiency in two languages would be better. This new program would help develop the students' native tongue as well as work on their English.

Theodore H. White wrote in his book *America in Search of Itself* about how the Hispanics felt about bilingual-biculture edcuation:

"Some Hispanics have ... made a demand never voiced before: that the United States, in effect, officially recognize itself as a bicultural, bilingual nation ...(They) demand that the United States become a bilingual country, with all children entitled to be taught in the language of their heritage, at public expense."[28]

At the 13th Internationai Bilingual-Bicultural Education Conference of the National Association for Bilingual Education a resolution was promoted which stated:

"[Thel Federal government must play a lead role in bilingual education with legislative and major funding resulting in a) a national multicultural/multilingual society, and b) a national language policy, with English and Spanish recognized as the two 'legal languages' of the United States."[29]

In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Lau v. Nichols* [30] that failure of school districts to provide supplemental instruction to non-English speaking students is a violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act,[31] the Equal Education Opportunity Act of 1974,[32] and the Equal Protection Clause.[33] The problem was, the Court did not supply a solution or guidelines to define what was meant by supplemental instructions.

During the Carter Administration, members of the Federal Education Personnel drew up a list of restrictive guidelines known as the Lau remedies.[34] These remedies formed a bilingual teaching method called Transitional Bilingualism. The method basically meant non-English proficient children are taught about their culture and all academic subjects, excluding art, music and physical education, in their native tongue, until they are proficient in English. Transitional Bilingualism is a language and cultural maintenance program.[35]

At this point we need to ask after 18 years and $1.7 billion of federal funding of Bilingual Education,[38] what do we have to show for it?

A *New York Times* editorial commented, "The trouble with much of the bilingual education is that it isn't bilingual."[37] In other words the education system maintains the students native tongue, and does not teach English. President Reagan said:

"... bilingual programs should serve as a bridge to full participation in the American mainstream. They should never segregate non-English speaking students in a way that will make it harder, not easier, for them to succeed in life."[38]

A study made in 1980, for the Carter administration by Dr. Keith Baker and Adriana DeKanter of the Department of Education,[39] and a Harvard study in 1982, by Iris Rolberg[40] established similar findings. Transitional bilingual education had worked in some settings, but "had been ineffective and even harmful in others."[41]

In 1981, the Department of Education's report *Effectiveness of Bilingual Education: A Review of the Literature,* and a very critical 1982 study by the American Psychological Association for the Congressional Hispanic Caucus revealed no single bilingual teaching method was better than any other.[42]

The research proved how inconclusive the effectiveness of bilingual education was, and helped to explain why the Hispanic students, who constitute about 75 percent of those in language-assistance programs nationwide, are so very far behind the national average.[43]

Testimony given by Congressman James Scheuer of New York, the father of the Bilingual Education Act said the Act's "original purposes were perverted and politicised,"[44] and:

"English has been sort of thinned out and stretched out and in many cases banished into the mists and all of the courses tended to be taught in Spanish. That was not the original intent of the program."[45]

Secretary William J. Bennett of the Department of Education commenting on the bilingual education system said: "we have no evidence that the children whom we sought to help—that the children who deserve our help—have benefitted."[46]

In the San Diego school system, the second largest in California, the coalition of Chicano Organizations which was very concerned about the high dropout rate and the poor test scores, have been pushing the school district since 1981, to improve their bilingual education.[47] Mr. Gus Chavez, a San Diego University official and a member of the Coalitition for a Better Education, asked, "If we have all of this great bilingual program in place, why weren't our kids doing better in school? [48]

Mrs. Feliciani Asencio from McAllen, Texas (a small town just over the Mexican border) was very disappointed with bilingual education. In a newspaper article

she related that her 5th grade daughter had four years of the old programs and did not do well in school.[49] She said:

"When you get instructions in two languages, it's confusing. I say give them only English in school. Here in the [Rio Grande] Valley, we already speak Spanish all the time at home."[50]

Parents in McAllen, Texas, became so upset over the low ACT score results and the large dropout rate that they rallied together and petitioned to dissolve the local school board. Voting in a new school board, they pushed through a new language program called Immersion and have had much success.[51] "It has made a world of difference," [52] said Wilbur Harper, Sam Houston's Elementary Principal. He continued to say:

"We'd been using a bilingual education program and it just didn't seem to be working. It took too long for the transition from Spanish to English to occur. And the longer it took, the further behind the children would fall."[53]

Structured Immersion is becoming more and more popular. And the program should be used by more school districts when the Federal government changes the law and allows the local school districts to choose the program they prefer without losing money.

Testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution, Senator Jeremiah Denton (R-AL) brought to the nation's attention:

We [America] are witnessing a dangerous development in the culture history of our nation: the federal government is endorsing and supporting the development of a multicultural United States ... The bilingual policy of the government is discrimanatory in nature. There is no room for upward mobility in a society if one does not speak the language."[54]

The responsibility of the federal government, as explained by Secretary Bennett, is to "help ensure that local schools succeed in teaching non-English speaking students English, so that every American enjoys access to the opportunities of American society."[55]

With the reported problems and study findings previously mentioned, a strong warning signal swept through educational and business institutions. The 20th Century Fund Task Force on Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Policy stated, "anyone living in the United States who is unable to speak English cannot fully participate in our society, its culture, (and) its politics."[56] They strongly recommend the Federal government state the objective of elementary and secondary education in the United States is the development of literacy in the English language. The task force also directed federal funds now going to bilingual programs be used to teach non-English-speaking children how to speak, read, and write English.[57]

The National Academy of Sciences held a conference inviting representatives from big and small businesses, labor unions, education, and government for the purpose, "to define the education competencies that will be needed by the high school graduates for success in the workplace, both at entry level and throughout a 45 to 50 year career in a constantly changing economic environment."[58] Representatives came from such organizations and corporations as: Dupont, Kellogg, Woolworth, Becthtel, Hughes, Citi bank, Control Data, AT&T, and D.C. General Hospital as well as the Federal Office of Personal Management, the National Federation of Independent Business, the Department of Labor, the AFL-CIO, the Department of Defense, and representatives of major school boards.[59]

This distinguished group looked at the problem from the employers perspective that business in America is conducted in English. In a report entitled "High Schools and the Changing Workplace,"[60] these representatives formed a list of "10 Core Competeneies"[61] which are "vital to almost every job except the least skilled, and essential to upward mobility and adaptability." [62]

The first competency listed was a "command of the English language," [63] which was declared as "the most basie skill of all."[64] They continued to say "a command of the English language is essential for success and mobility in American society."[65] While they stated a second language could be helpful in getting a job, "all American young people, regardless of their home or native tongue, need a functional command of standard English in its written and spoken forms."[66]

The next three competencies were reading, writing and oral communications—all in English."[67]

Our Federal government established a bilingual program to teach new immigrants English in the shortest time, allowing them to have an opportunity to participate in upward mobility, but once the momentum was going, the government changed its direction and decided to maintain the immigrants' native language. This severely inhibited the students' ability to learn English and many even graduate from high school with little or no English skills.

What is most interesting is national education and ethnic organizations who sincerely try to help these people are actually preventing them from full participation in America's mainstream and its political process.

Former California Senator S.I. Hayakawa caught the vision of the problem, and in 1981, introduced in the United States Senate a constitutional amendment designating English as the official language of the United States.[68] The legislation was called the English Language Amendment (ELA). Before Senator Hayakawa retired from the Senate in 1982, he was able to convince several Senators to join him as cosponsors.

When Senator Hayakawa retired from the U.S. Senate, former Senator Walter Huddleston (D-Ky) took the initiative and in 1983, introduced another version of

the ELA.[69] During this time, hearings were held by the Senate Subcommittee on the Constitution, which was chaired by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT).[70]

Later Senator Steve Symms became the ELA's sponsor and with sixteen co-sponsors introduced the amendment in both the 99th[71] and the 100th[72] Congress. The ELA which is Senate Joint Resolution 13, simply reads:

"Section 1. The English language shall be the official language of the United States.

"Section 2. The congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."[73]

The ELA would give English a special legal status and be the only official language in the United States. There would be no other legal or equally shared status by any other language. To the immigrants, it would signal the seriousness of learning English, so they could fully participate in the mainstream of America's political process and socioeconomic lifestyle. The ELA would unify the United States with the bond of a common language, and show that we have a unified and cohesive society that can work, debate and solve problems together.

The amendment would establish English as the official language of the national, state, and local governments. All matter of official business would be conducted in English. These governments would no longer print pamphlets and other information in foreign languages, and all government postings, billings, and government-funded tests would be in English.[74]

Making English the official language of the United States should help enforce certain laws, such as immigration laws that require a person to pass an English competency test before he can become a U.S. citizen. If a person can pass the English competency test, and become a naturalized citizen, then multilingual ballots should not be needed.

In a letter to an editor, Senator Symms listed six important points for English-only ballots:

"English ballots do not keep anyone from voting. Anyone who needs help can bring an interpreter into the voting booth.

"Foreign language ballots invite abuse. A check of San Francisco bilingual ballot users in 1981 disclosed that 20 percent were not U.S. citizens.

"Foreign language ballots are not necessary because virtually all applicants for U.S. citizenship must pass an English language test.

"Foreign language ballots are discriminatory. Only Spanish. Native American, and Asian languages are targeted for special treatment within the law.

"Foreign language ballots are an insult to millions of immigrants who learned English in order to participate fully in American life.

"Foreign language ballots are costly. The cost to California tax payers is $1.3 million annually."[75]

In addition to the above, the government would not pay for election materials, booklets, or other information printed in a foreign language.[76]

The English amendment would change the United States bilingual education system from a bilingual-bicultural method to teaching English as rapidly as possible. The amendment does not promote one method over another, but would, as the Reagan Administration is currently promoting, allow the state and local school districts the authority to determine which bilingual method they feel would best help their students, as long as the end goal is to promote English.[77] It would also do away with teaching other academic subjects in foreign languages.[78]

And last, the ELA would require that a territory seeking to become a state, must make English its official language.[79]

On the other hand, according to the intent of its author, the ELA would not prohibit the use of foreign languages in the matters of "public convenience and safety; for example: warning labels on poisons, insecticides, and construction dangers."[80]

The constitutional amendment would not affect teaching foreign languages in public or private schools. The Supreme Court ruled in *Meyers v. Nebraska* [81] that states cannot prohibit teaching any modern foreign language in public or private schools, because it infringes upon the parents liberty to make "educational decisions for their children." [82] Also academic establishment could continue to require foreign language credit as a requirement to graduate.[83]

In cases of the judicial process, the ELA would not affect the use of another language where federal law states that interpreters could be used in the "physical and mental examination of alien immigrants seeking entry into the United States."[84] And courts could have interpreters in federal civil and criminal proceedings where the parties primary language is not English."[85] Another language could be used when the United States or state courts have a suit involving a foreign state, its political subdivisions, or agencies which would need a translation "into the official language of the foreign state." [86]

Finally the bill's sponsor maintains the ELA would not forbid or discourage foreign languages to be used at home, church, religious ceremonies, private schools, commerce, funerals, games, and entertainment, or by private organizations, etc.[87]

Letters from over one hundred different American ethnic organizations, representing nationalities from all over the world, were sent to Senator Symms in strong support of the ELA. The common feeling was that the amendment would

be a crucial element to bind, protect, and preserve this multi-ethnic republic. These organizations expressed all minority and ethnic groups would be treated equally by the U.S. government if English were the official language. The following quotes are excerpts from these letters.

The Anti-Communist Legion in the Free World Corp., stated:

"Those of us with homelands in Central Europe and the Balkans are all too painfully aware of the dangers of the national divisions along linguistic lines. A pluralistic society such as ours definitely requires the unifying strength of one official national language." [88]

The Afghan National Islamic Council wrote:

"Through the medium of the English language the Afghan community can share our heritage with Americans and others, and they with us, while we, and all communities, can participate in the enrichment of one, united American."[89]

The World Federation of the Cossack National Liberation Movement expressed how the government discriminates against some groups and not others:

"Like countless immigrants, the Cossack-American community learned English while retaining their ethnic identity and heritage. It is improper, and discriminatory for certain new immigrant groups to demand government subsidies for their national languages."[90]

Pointing out the cost of being a bilingual country, the Serbian National Committee commented:

"The cost of bilingualism is not born only by a federal government, but by state and even hard-pressed city budgets." [91]

The Serbian organization expressed the harm and the reverse discrimination that would occur if the U.S. were to have a second language. They wrote:

"... officializing the Spanish language would actually work against this Spanish speaking young people. They would be so encouraged to remain unilingually Spanish that they would end up permanently in an economically depressed ghetto, never being able to integrate successfully into the economic and social mainstream of the country. This would create whole non-integrated, economically depressed regions in America which would feel alienated from the rest of the country and be open to external political influences which are contrary to the national interest and security of the U.S. Those of us who have had to cope with learning English as a new language, know very well the necessity of doing so. Our people who failed to do this will have not been able to 'realize the American dream' like those who have mastered English well." [92]

An ethnic group representing Americans from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia called the IndoChinese Coalition for a Free IndoChina, strongly endorses the

ELA and felt the language policy currently held by the U.S. government is wrong. This group explained:

"Such respect for our ethnic diversity and protection for our political unity is undermined by the language policy mistakenly being pursued by our government. Instead of strengthening a common citizenship, this policy, which is unwarranted, unwise, and ethnically divisive, is creating linguistic ghettos. And ghettos are barriers between people; barriers, both physical and emotional, which nurtures suspicion, fear, and intolerance." [93]

A group of American immigrants from Turkey, the Turkestanian American Association, exemplified the importance of a united people and language saying:

"Any nation to claim to be as an Nation should have One National Flag, and One National or official Language." [94]

Support for the ELA has also come from individuals such as Mr. John Drost who came to America from Czechoslovakia with his wife and family. When they arrived, they could not speak English. In Mr. Drost's letter to Senator Symms, he told how he and his family became successful because they learned English.[95] He emphasized how:

"... important it is to master the English language, which opens up every possibility for a successful career ...

"... bilingualism is not our great land of opportunity. Recognition of a common language is necessary to preserve the basic internal unity required for political stability and national cohesion. The proposed amendment [ELA] would reaffirm the importance of English in our national life. It would clarify to newcomers that learning English is indispensable for full participation in American society and economy. It would reaffirm that we are truly 'One Nation, Indivisible".[96].

Another naturalized citizen came to the U.S. to study at the Columbia University and each day while traveling to the university he heard public announcements in Spanish, and saw Spanish emergency instructions and official notices declaring acts of discrimination to be illegal printed by the State of New York.[97] He said:

"This bilingual notice was the most galling as the state government was expressing its opposition to discrimination through the medium of blatant language discrimination. Over one hundred linguistic communities living in New York State have adopted English as their language, their instrument of communications with other ethnic-Americans ...

"The government policy of subsidizing a few select languages endangers our unity and promotes ethnic strife. It creates linguistic bantustans and insults all other immigrants, past and present, who have learned and adopted English. For these immigrants learning English was not an act of ethnic betrayal but a reconfirmation of their ethnic identity and a commitment to their political identity as Americans."[98]

Rabbi Peter E. Tarlow, leader of the College Station, Texas B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, felt:

"... when one group of Americans cannot speak with another group, or when children are kept from learning the daily language of the land in which they live, both economic slavery as well as political chaos is sure to follow."[99]

Hollywood actor Arnold Schwarzenegger, who came to the United States from Austria in 1968 after winning the Mr. Universe title, learned English the old fashioned way, he worked at it.[100] He said:

"... I do believe that anyone who comes to this country should learn the language. I think that if one lives in America, they should be educated in the English language."[101]

Since the introduction of the ELA in 1981, there has been a growing grassroots movement throughout the United States. National English support groups have been formed in support of the English Language Amendment, for example: U.S. English, English First, and EL PAC. The largest and most active of the groups, U.S. English, was founded and chaired by Senator Hayakawa. Its organization has branched out to almost all fifty states, and its board members included such people as Walter Cronkite and Gore Vidal.

These groups and others have used the ELA as a mechanism to persuade eight states, (California, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Nebraska, Tennessee, and Virginia), to make English as their official language. Thirty other states have currently before their state legislatures resolutions or constitutional amendments to establish English as their official language.[102]

In the 1986 November elections, California's electorate voted in favor of Proposition 63 (73.2% to 26.8%) making English the official language of California.[103] Several cities, such as Fillmore [104] and Alameda, [105] California, have also declared English as their official language.

In an Orlando, Florida, newspaper sound off there were 9,334 callers who responded to whether the English language amendment should pass. Of the 9,334 callers, 8,931 or 96% supported the ELA and 403 opposed it. The *Orlando Sentinel* reported the response was one of the largest the paper has ever had.[106]

America has been richly endowed with a vast number of different and exotic ethnic cultures and traditions. Throughout our history we have learned and shared from the immigrants who have come to the United States and preserved their heritage. Although there was diversity of culture, there was a basic understanding for the need of a common method of communication—a common language.

Our forefathers felt that having a common language was important since they wrote the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights in English.

Though we come from many different backgrounds, we in the United States are one people because as, our Declaration of Independence clearly states, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, (and that) Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." [107] Secretary Bennett said, "... government by consent means government by discussion, by debate, by discourse, by argument. Such a common enterprise requires a common language." [108]

The English Language Amendment would prevent the United States from becoming a diverse multi-lingual country by establishing a common language, and signal to immigrants that the way to full participation in America's political and economic mainstream is to learn English. The bilingual education system would be changed from a maintenance program to its original concept—to learn English. The ELA would protect, bind, and treat all ethnic groups equally by the U.S. government because all government business would be conducted in English.

Our national motto "E Pluribus Unum" [109] means out of many, (we have become) one."[110] With a common language we would remain as a nation of many cultures, but be a strong, united and cohesive nation because America's citizens can communicate with each other.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD -- HOUSE
Thursday, August 1, 1996
104th Congress 2nd Session
142 Cong Rec H 9725

REFERENCE: Vol. 142 No. 116--Part II

TITLE: PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 123, ENGLISH LANGUAGE EMPOWERMENT ACT OF 1996

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. Weldon).

(Mr. WELDON of Florida asked and was given permission to revise andb extend his remarks.)
m

Mr. WELDON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 123. Our country has a historic tradition of receiving immigrants from all around the world. H.R. 123 builds on that tradition and binds us together through the use of English as a common language.

Over the past 20 years the Federal Government has increased the number of languages in which it publishes documents and conducts official duties.

This has led to a de facto multilanguage policy which is very expensive for the taxpayer.

H.R. 123 declares English to be the official language of the United States Government and serves to unit us even more as a Nation.

All of us would agree that knowing English is a key to success in the United States.

A 1994 study of Southeast Asian refugees in Texas showed that those who knew English earned more than 20 times the annual income of those who did not speak English.

Knowing English will open a broad range of opportunities that would otherwise be unattainable.

This bill fosters and encourages everyone to learn English.

Encouraging immigrants to learn English is the compassionate thing to do and this bill does that.

Mr. Speaker, one of the biggest reasons why I am rising in support of this bill is because it is what my mother would want me to do. She passed away in 1991, but she was born to Italian American immigrants and spoke Italian as her first language.

She always taught me that this move towards multilingualism in the United States was bad and divisive. On my way over here I was speaking to another Member who told me his high school now conducts official proceedings in two different languages. I think that is wrong. I think the language that binds us together is English, and my mother was right. I encourage everyone to support the rule and to support the bill.

Mr. Speaker. As a cosponsor of H.R. 123, The English Language Empowerment Act, I rise in strong support of this bill. We are proud of our Nation's ability to assimilate people from around the world into one cohesive society. The purpose of H.R. 123 is to build upon our Nation's historic tradition as a melting pot of diverse cultures from around the world, and to bind us together through the use of English as a common language. This bill establishes a much needed uniform Government language policy, promotes assimilation, saves taxpayers money, and empowers immigrants to realize the American Dream for themselves.

This bill is needed because currently the Federal Government does not have a uniform national language policy on publishing documents or conducting its business. Whether documents are published in a foreign language depends in large part upon which particular Federal statute is involved. In addition, over the past 20 years the Federal Government has increased the official duties it performs in other languages resulting in a very costly de facto multi-language policy. This bill corrects this piecemeal approach by establishing English as the official language of the United States Government and requires the Government to conduct all its official business in English.

H.R. 123 will not only establish a uniform national language policy for the Government, but it will promote assimilation of immigrants, rather than isolation and separation. The current policy fails to encourage recent immigrants to learn English. The failure to encourage immigrants to earn English may be the easy thing to do, but it is not the compassionate thing to do. The compassionate thing to do is to encourage immigrants to learn English. A firm grasp of the English language is a key to succeeding in America.

Learning English not only helps immigrants assimilate, it is the key to having the opportunity to realize the American Dream. Studies show that people who learn English earn more for their families, and confirm that the ability to speak English can make the difference between a low-wage job and a high-wage managerial, professional, or technical job. In 1994, the Texas Office of Immigration and Refugee Affairs publicized a study of Southeast Asian refugees in Texas. The study showed that individuals proficient in English earned more than 20 times the annual income of those who did not speak English. H.R. 123 empowers each new generation of immigrants the opportunity to realize the American dream.

Nothing in this bill would in any way limit the ability to individuals to speak their native tongue. This bill simply limits official Government business to the English language.

Not only does this bill benefit the immigrant, it also benefits the taxpayer. There are hundreds of languages spoken in the United States. According to the GAO, The Federal Government already prints many documents in foreign languages including Spanish, Portuguese, French, Chinese, German, Italian, Russian, and others. For American taxpayers the question is where does the printing of these documents in foreign languages stop? This bill ensures that all Americans can count on one language for Government action, polices, documents and proceedings.

In conclusion, I support H.R. 123 because it helps recent immigrants by opening up to them a land of opportunity. It will stop the trend towards the separation and isolation. It will encourage assimilation. In supporting this bill I stand with 86 percent of Americans and 81 percent of immigrants who want to make English the official language of the United States.

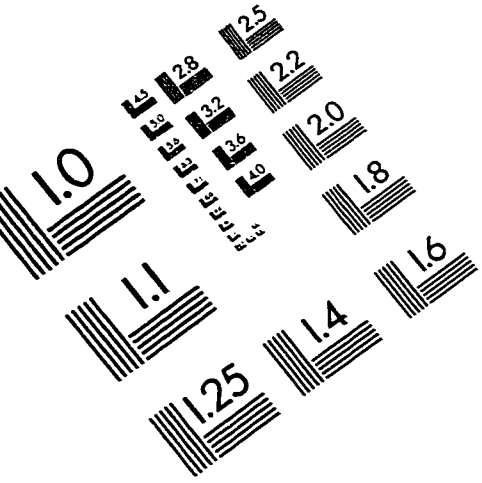
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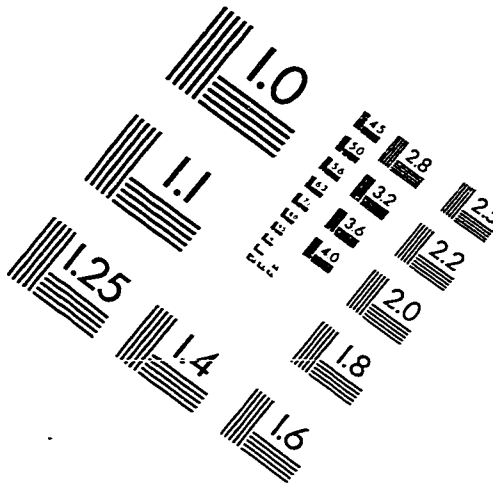
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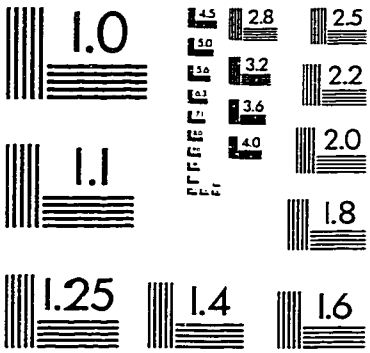
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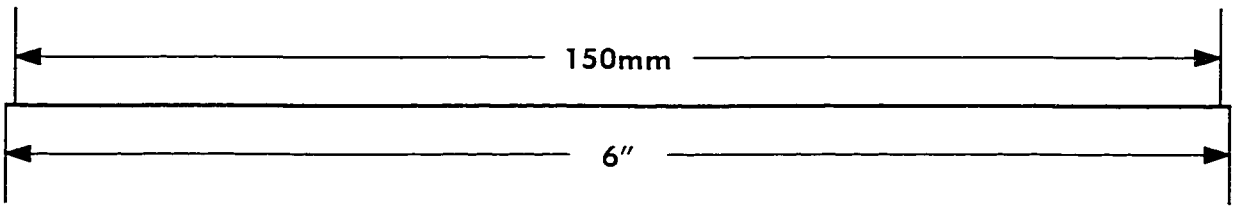
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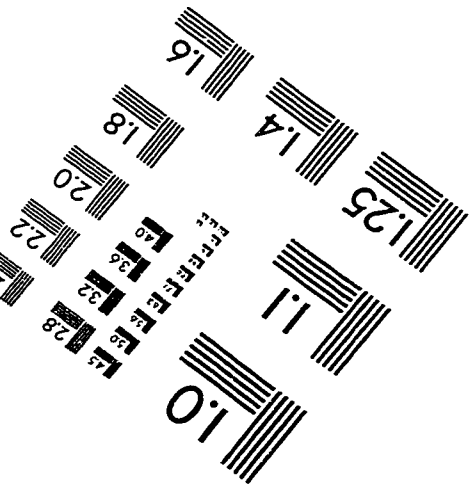
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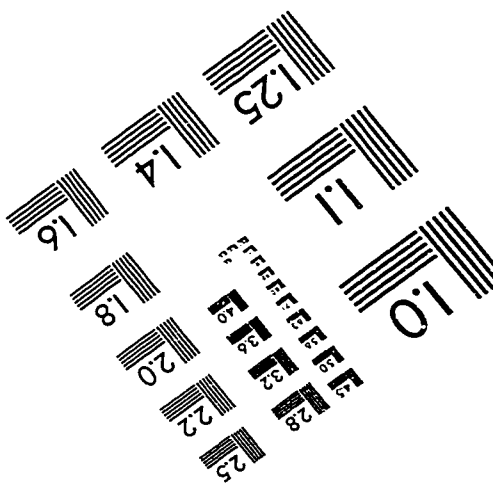












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