

not tax themselves as planned, we could end up with the same educational disparities as the present system.

House Bill 537 is generally good, but some of the aforementioned taxes could be eased by a couple of things: I propose to fix some of the problems of the bill by taxing heavily products totally unnecessary to Vermonters. We could put a larger tax on tobacco products, all lottery tickets and games, alcoholic beverages and even candy. I understand that in 537 there is going to be broad-based taxes on things like rooms, meals and gasoline, but a heavy tax on the mentioned products ought to generate a lot of additional revenue to ease the other taxes.

Also for revenue a higher tax should be put on inheritances and trust funds, but not for inherited agricultural land. With the revenue from these taxes we could put forth the money to fixing some of the problems with the bill. We could allow a residential tax for maybe up to six acres of land and reduce the monetary need for the local income tax by pouring some of the revenue into the state pool for block grants.

Other revenue could go to reducing the non-residential tax so businesses and non-residents won't move out or be discouraged from coming here. This can make our state attractive to prospective businesses which if they moved in could stimulate our economy.

Lawmakers need to move slowly and do this reform correctly. We definitely do not want as equally a poor system that will just have to be overhauled again in another couple of years. We should run statistic tests and implement the reform gradually to see how it evolves and works—I know the revenue from alcohol, tobacco and other products fluctuates—to examine the amount of the income the proposed taxes do indeed generate.

Lastly, politics should be left out of this bill. It is important to remember that the bill is for the kids and justice in funding education and remember that a good education makes for the best economic climate.

I think that everyone has made this bill so complicated, I didn't touch on a lot of the nitty-gritty complications of it and I think they get lost in all those complications, so if you just think about it sensibly and make it simple. As I mentioned in my presentation that people who earn more should pay more. The progressive tax format I believe works for property but I think and I do like House 527, I just think there are things that might be made better partly because they made it so complicated.

You can get into a whole other topic because sure, the federal government subsidizes or whatever education and you get into issues like how much—I mean if you look at the pie chart of what they spend each year, they spend five to ten percent on education and then you get into issues of how much they spend on defense and the military as opposed to education.

The present system basically there was a lawsuit that stemmed out of this whole thing and it is actually been a problem for a number of years. Matter of fact, in 1987 Madaline Kunin said years ago that the quality of education that a child in Vermont receives depends on where he or she resides, she just said it straight out, and people all the way back to the 70's and before. The problem—but it is being forced that the legislature has to do something and something has to be done because of the Supreme Court decision stemming from a lawsuit or whatever, the case of Amanda Brigham, and they ruled last February that it was unconstitutional and that they should totally—that it is going to be totally overhauled and the legislature should do it as fast as they can.

Some property-rich towns were spending twice as much, say between eight and \$11,000

for people for education while other property-poor towns under the present and all funding systems were paying half that, 3,000, 4,000, \$5,000 for people.

Thank you for your time, Congressman Sanders.

RECOGNITION OF TEACHERS OF THE YEAR

HON. LARRY COMBEST

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 4, 1997

Mr. COMBEST. Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to bring to the attention of my colleagues several distinguished teachers from the 19th Congressional District of Texas. My home district extends from the Panhandle of Texas through the South Plains to the Permian Basin, and encompasses various cultures, personalities, and dreams. I am pleased to recognize these recipients of the Teacher of the Year Award who enable our students to understand and learn from each other, and strive to achieve their goals.

Good teachers nurture our country's best hope for tomorrow, her children. Their perseverance and dedication challenge and shape students to dream, and to work hard to make those dreams come true. Unfortunately, educators toil with little public thanks or appreciation, even though their efforts are essential to a strong future. These teachers, in particular, go beyond the call of duty and wholeheartedly devote themselves to this important mission.

It is my pleasure to present to you the 19th District of Texas' Teachers of the Year: Ms. Dee Ann Liles and Ms. Kathleen McDowell, Sunray ISD; Ms. Candace Dyer, Farwell ISD; Mr. W.W. "Bear" Mills and Ms. Rebecca T. Watson, Midland ISD; Ms. Narelle Horton, Bushland ISD; Ms. Ann Green, Hartley ISD; Ms. Julie Harris and Ms. Laura Landes, Amarillo ISD; Ms. Pam Perrin, Vega ISD; Ms. Connie Gilbert and Ms. Janie Rendon, Hereford ISD; Ms. Clarice Andres, Slaton ISD; Ms. Sonya Wilson and Dr. David LeMaster, Odessa ISD; and Ms. Jan Morris and Ms. Shelli Stegall, Odessa ISD.

As a former teacher, I know firsthand the importance of a quality education; however, it is outstanding teachers like these who strive for excellence, knowing the worth of this goal. I thank these educators for all they do for our children and our Nation.

THE PROMISE OF CONSERVATISM

HON. HELEN CHENOWETH

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 4, 1997

Mrs. CHENOWETH. Mr. Speaker, in these trying times when many of our leaders appear to be second guessing our moral and political underpinnings, I commend to my colleagues' reading an address by former U.S. Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming entitled, "The Promise of Conservatism." It is one of the best descriptions of the crossroads at which we find ourselves:

THE PROMISE OF CONSERVATISM, AN ADDRESS BY MALCOLM WALLOP

Before this audience of conservatives, most of whom are Republicans, I would enjoy set-

ting forth a conservative agenda for the Republican Party. I would like to think that you could then put whatever insights I might give you to work for the Republican Party. But I'm afraid that the most useful insight I can give you is that the Republican Party seems well on the way to denying its conservative birthright, and that with every passing day you and I are becoming strangers to it.

The party's leadership seems determined to follow the disastrous example of the Canadian conservative party, which became afraid to challenge the socialists except with empty rhetoric, and which was entirely wiped out at the polls. But that's all right. Parties are born when they take up important tasks, and die when they let them drop. We cannot control the destiny of the Republican Party. We can control the destiny of the American conservative movement—and conservatism is a permanent fixture of American life, because the American people always need some shield against overweening government.

But I want to impress upon you that the character of conservatism is not written in the stars. It is subject to change for the better or the worse. It could just as easily come to resemble more the small and mean minded thing we see nowadays in Europe than the conservatism of Reagan, Goldwater, Coolidge, Lincoln, Clay, the Adamsses, and Washington. My task here today is to help clarify the difference between the kind of conservatism that made this country great and a Republican Party so fearful of the shadow of principle that it is cowering before Bill Clinton. I suggest to you that Bill Clinton and all his works are examples of the difference between government as it has been practiced since the New Deal and the way of life established by the Founding Fathers. The exposure of President Clinton's conversion of power into money is giving the conservative movement a historic opportunity to instruct itself and the country about the consequences of discretionary government power. The conservative movement dare not let it pass because it makes our point: Big government is corrupting America. It deprives us of freedom, makes us poorer, sows strife among us, undermines our families, and debases our souls.

Let's first address the Republican default, then turn to the practical, everyday mission of American conservatism: to cut back the extent and power of government.

From the time of Abraham Lincoln, the Republican Party has been a party of principle. The Democratic Party lives now as it has lived for most of its history as a brokerage house for government favors. Lots of people make a living out of being Democrats. The teachers' unions, the government workers' unions, the abortion industry, and a host of well connected businesses, the kind who get the U.S. government to set up deals for them abroad or to tailor regulations for them—they make a living out of being Democrats. Very few people make a living out of being Republicans. Today, many of our party's leaders envy the Democrats' vast network of patronage, and they have begun using Republican presidential victories in the '80s and congressional victories in the '90s to try to set up shop like the Democrats.

In front of us all during the last campaign and now with the new Congress, Republican leaders are running away from the issues.

Nowhere was this clearer than in California, where the California Civil Rights Initiative, a reaffirmation of equality before the law, withstood a titanic campaign against it. It won by ten points, yet our Republican candidate, down by double digits, waited till the final week to associate himself with the issue, and then weakly. The Republican leadership's unwillingness to ride a horse that

was obviously heading for victory, a horse that was so rightly its own, indicts its elementary political competence, as well as its commitment to conservative principles. Adding symbolic insult to injury, the Speaker decided to have as his guest to the State of the Union, not Ward Connerly, but Jesse Jackson—someone who stands for group rights over individual rights, who heads a federally financed patronage network, and who is supporting the proposition that the judiciary can overturn the result of the California referendum.

Our leaders seem tacitly to accept the liberals' premise that the voters disapprove of the conservative vision of American society, that piety, propriety, responsibility, standing for the rights of citizens and families against bureaucratic encroachment amount to extremism. So the Republican leadership now presses upon us an agenda best characterized as Rockefeller Republicanism—fiscal stringency combined with claims of superior competence in management, and guilty protestations of moderation.

On top of this, they timidly set a veneer of procedural, contentless conservatism: The balanced budget amendment instead of a commitment to cut taxes; the line item veto instead of commitments to cut entitlements and de-fund leftist advocacy groups; propping up a ponzi scheme going broke instead of real efforts to privatize Social Security; a declaratory Defend America Act instead of a bill to build real missile defenses; touchy-feely talk about concern for the environment instead of reforming environmental laws so that they don't steal people's property. And then they wonder why Republican voters have lost their enthusiasm and why Bill Clinton, that thinly veiled blob of fraud, was able to cast himself as the defender of families, religion, indeed of "our values" and was able to cast the Republicans as dark forces threatening America.

On Election Day, according to exit polls, some 25% of self-described conservatives and a big majority of self-described moderates, most of whom share the cultural premises of conservatism, voted for Clinton. I stress that Clinton was able to occupy this conservative ground only because the Republicans vacated it. The cynically counterfeit character of Clinton's appeal to cultural conservatism could have been blasted away by a single picture of a partial birth abortion, or by a pointed reference to *Romer v. Evans*, or by a real commitment to tax reduction. But the Republican candidate and party seemed afraid of their own issues. The reason why our leaders flock to contentless issues is precisely that they spare them the trouble of taking on real interests and changing real habits.

The American conservative tradition, which began with Washington and Adams, is founded on human dignity and a concern for character. No phrase came from Washington more often than "We have a national character to establish." Following Aristotle, Cato the elder, and others, George Washington repeated that the Republic could only be built on the firm foundations of private morality. John Adams surveyed the world's peoples and found that only in America were there the same habits that under-girded freedom in a few ancient republics. In crafting our institutions, the Founding Fathers limited the power of government because only under limited government can we encourage those habits. The government established by the Founders did not make us moral. But it took pains to be on the right side of the great moral questions.

Now let me say a few words about our historic opportunity to make clear which way of life we want to foster and which way of life we abhor.

Republicans did themselves and the country a disservice in 1996 by talking about the "Character Issue" without ever mentioning Bill Clinton's specific misdeeds and above all without explaining what about them is wrong. They failed to make the essential political point: The conversion of power into money, or sex is corruption and is the inevitable result of big government. Corruption can be fought only by restricting the opportunities to profit from it. The late Christopher Lasch wrote that whereas the American dream once was that any person, no matter his circumstances, could make his way without having to curry anyone's favor, now that dream consists of the opportunity to rise out of the class of the ruled, into the class of the rulers. We conservatives want to do away with Bill Clinton's America, where people must wheedle and pay for privileges as well as to stay out of trouble with the government. We want to bring back the Founders' America of freedom, responsibility, and, yes, virtue.

Today government at all levels taxes, spends, and regulates roughly twice as much as when I grew up. It touches every aspect of our lives, and harms just about everything it touches. It will fine you for not wearing a seat belt, but will not protect your life from criminals. It will deliver contraceptives to your children, but cannot deliver the mail. It prohibits a Jewish community in New York from having a school district—who knows what politically incorrect things their kids might learn from reading the Bible—but it forces others to accept the normality of two moms. In the name of racial equality, the government forces us to discriminate on the basis of race. Once upon a time our government was a bulwark against domestic enemies. Now big government has become our chief domestic enemy.

That is why there is really only one issue. Who will stand on the side of the American people against their government gone bad? Make no mistake: America is rapidly dividing into two sets of people with two distinctive ways of life. One set has behind it the full power of Bill Clinton's corrupt state of clients and patrons. The other set, that tries to live virtuously and by their own hard work, is looking for political leadership. It is up to us to protect the vast majority of the American people against a government that is undermining our capacity for self government, our prosperity, our families, our spiritual lives, and even our capacity for self defense.

With each passing year, America resembles less and less what the Founders bequeathed us and looks more and more like the countries our immigrant forefathers tried to get away from. This is happening in large part because the ruling classes who run our government, the universities, the media, the entertainment industry, the arts, have gathered unto themselves enormously powerful means of governance.

They detest our patriotism. They dislike our people's prosperity. It is their policy that we consume too much of the world's resources.

But whether the excuse is environmentalism or poverty or crime, the recipe is always the same. Take money away from independent working people and give it to the favorites of the ruling class.

Of course, this is a recipe for economic decline. Nowhere in the writings of the Founding Fathers is there anything about managing the economy. Our Founders wanted to promote prosperity, not manage it. They set about ensuring that government would be small, frugal, impartial, and moral. We became rich because government, in Jefferson's words, would not "take from the mouth of labor the bread it had earned." If we aban-

don the Founders' mores, no economic policy can keep us out of the poorhouse.

The ruling class dislikes our tradition of self-government. They equate local control of crime with brutality and racism. Local zoning is racism. Local control of schools is racist. We are all racists—except they. They have turned laws that prohibit racial discrimination into mandates for racial preferences in everything from school admissions to hiring and firing. A whole industry has grown up to administer this American form of apartheid.

The ruling class does not care about public safety. Having made it very difficult for States and localities to police themselves, having left ordinary citizens with no choice but to protect themselves as best they can, they now try to take our guns away. In fact they blame us and our guns for crime. This is so wrong that it cannot be an honest mistake.

The ruling class does not care that our children are being diseducated, that schools are becoming factories of ignorance and decay. Every proposal regarding education that has come out of the establishment calls for more money and more union control.

Above all, the people who run this country have deep contempt for the culture on which it rests. They tell us we are zealots if we talk about social issues like abortion, education, homosexuality, race relations, and the role of religion in public life. Because liberals have failed the country on these issues, they would rather we not talk about them—I say we must.

In this period of capitulation and bewilderment, it would be easy to wring our hands and say that it's difficult to know what to do. But it isn't. It's easy. The tools and policies are right in front of us.

We can and should end welfare—not "as we know it." Just end it, period. Charity for those who deserve it is something with a long and honorable history in America.

We can and should privatize Social Security—obviously people who are already retired should get every penny already promised. But just imagine if every penny deducted from us henceforth went into individual retirement accounts of our choosing and to our families. We could all look forward to a lot more money, and the government would have a lot less to spend from day to day.

For the monsters of Medicare and Medicaid, we can and should substitute individual medical savings accounts, backed up by vouchers.

We can and should be rid of the monstrous educational establishment by giving parents vouchers for whatever amount any level of government taxes them to educate their children.

We can and should re-establish the line between what is individual property and what is the government's property by replacing the failed Endangered Species Act with conservation programs that really work because they do not pit the interests of wildlife against those of landowners.

We can be rid of the terrible bureaucracy of the IRS, and of all the distortive inequities of the current system just by instituting a flat tax.

We can restore self-government by reducing the power of the federal courts to review the acts of state courts and the enactments of citizens. The Founding Fathers wrote Article 3, Section 2 of the Constitution precisely to make sure that the judiciary would be, in Alexander Hamilton's words, "the least dangerous branch." Now that the courts have become a clear and present danger to our democracy, it is time to use the Founders' remedy.

We can and we should thwart the administration's devilish and dangerous Chemical

Weapons Convention and just say no to dishonest diplomacy that makes our citizens feel secure while their danger increases.

Shrinking the government would yield many specific benefits. But these are not the main reasons why we should cut government.

We want to cut taxes not primarily because doing so will put more money in our pockets, but because it will put the means of freedom in our hands. We want to cut the government's power to grant privilege not primarily because privilege is economically inefficient, but because we don't want to be a nation of favor-seekers. We want to keep and bear our guns not because we want to shoot somebody, but because we have a right and duty to take care of ourselves. Moral leadership, today as in 1789, does not mean that the President of the United States forces anyone to go to church or synagogue. But it does mean that by word and deed he leads the country in giving unto God the things that are God's.

The dignity of citizenship has been co-opted by laws and rules. These confine and direct the lives of Americans away from liberty, faith, and prosperity, into behavior defined by the ruling classes as acceptable to them. Thus denied the gifts endowed by our Creator, we become sheep to be shepherded.

My friends and colleagues, we cannot succeed by proposing to take over management of the redistributionist state from the Democrats and pat ourselves on the back for doing it more efficiently. We must attack it root and branch. We cannot prevail by continuing to hand out the favors and the goodies, only fewer than the Democrats.

At this time when all too many Republican leaders have lost their way and don't know what to do except capitulate to forces of big government, it is up to conservative activities in this room to provide the nerve and backbone that the leadership so noticeably lacks.

I do not say this casually. The organization I founded when I retired from the Senate in 1995, *Frontiers of Freedom*, supported any number of conservative initiatives in the last Congress. But when the Republican leadership strayed, we did not hesitate in crossing swords, even with the Speaker of the House.

And so I say to you, where does the strength come from to be a vigilant conservative? From:

The dignity of citizenship
the passion of patriotism
the honor of freedom
the security of property
the joy of opportunity in a free society
the nurture of family
and the love of God.

These things belong to tomorrow no less than the past. Rise up my friends and demand that if Newt and Jack and the others will not lead us there . . . then by golly, get out of the way because that is our destination. That is the promise of conservatism.

A MESSAGE FROM THE ROMANIAN PARLIAMENT TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 4, 1997

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to discuss the United States' relationship with the Republic of Romania. Among the countries that were within the sphere of influence of the former Soviet

Union, Romania stands out as a country that has made a rapid transition from an authoritarian form of government to a democratic nation and from a centrally planned economy to a free market economy. The road that Romania has traveled to arrive at a point where they now have a democratically elected government and a growing free market economy has not been an easy one; however, the Romanian people have been steadfast in their determination to keep traveling down that road.

Today, Romania is seeking to join the ranks of countries that are members of NATO. Significantly, among Central and Eastern European countries, Romania was the first country to join the Partnership for Peace program. The Government of Romania has also reached out to its neighbors to insure regional peace as illustrated by their concluding a political bilateral treaty with Hungary and initialing a similar document with Ukraine. Romania should also be commended for its participation in the peace-keeping missions in Angola and Bosnia.

Membership in NATO is a primary goal of the Romanian Government and people. In April 1997, the Romanian Parliament, in a joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate, unanimously passed an "Appeal of the Parliament of Romania to the United States House of Representatives." The Parliament's appeal to us was that the House support Romania in its efforts to gain NATO membership. I would ask my colleagues read this appeal by the Romanian Parliament so that they can gain a fuller appreciation of this friend of the United States that desires to join NATO so that they can more fully participate in the promotion of peace and stability in Europe:

APPEAL OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ROMANIA TO THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Now, at a time of crucial importance for Romania's destiny, we are writing, in hope and trust, to the members of the United States House of Representatives, having the profound conviction that the Romanian people will enjoy your help to build its future. Our country's choice for integration into NATO is a fundamental priority of the Romanian foreign policy, based on the natural and legitimate aspirations of the Romanian people to become a part of the Euro-Atlantic community of the states with which it shares the same values and principles of freedom and democracy.

Ours are strong arguments for having Romania included among the very first group of candidates—a democratic state governed by the rule of law, its internal stability, geo-strategic position, economic and military potential, the political consensus and massive popular support for NATO, the inter-ethnic harmony, a full civilian control over the army as well as over the institutions dealing with public order and national security, a high degree of interoperability with the armed forces of the Alliance.

The change of government following the November 1996 elections has demonstrated the consolidation and proper functioning of all institutions under the rule of law in Romania. Our new Executive has proved its commitment to a market economy and far-reaching economic reforms, all of which are oriented towards this objective—to accelerate privatization, to restructure economy, to facilitate foreign investment—and has succeeded to conduct an active and coherent foreign policy. Romania has established a solid partnership with Hungary, with the other applicant countries, and is now perfecting its framework of relations with

Ukraine whose stability and independence we regard as being essential for the security of this region. In this context, we will foster a dynamic dialogue and cooperation with the Russian Federation, in line with the new political relations existing on the European continent.

Romania is an active member of the various regional cooperation agreements, while its participation in the Partnership for Peace, in the peace-keeping missions in Angola and Bosnia and, more recently, in the protection force in Albania has shown its capability to make a contribution to strengthening the security and stability in this area as well as on the continent, to be a security builder and an important factor within the Euro-Atlantic security system.

We can assure you that we will undertake the costs of Romania's joining the Alliance structures. In response to the economic difficulties during transition, we have developed an ambitious and pragmatic economic program that has support from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and gives prospects for a sustainable economic growth that will allow us to take the accession costs upon ourselves. Considering that Romania is, at present, one of the countries which is best prepared from the viewpoint of the criteria set for admission to the North Atlantic Alliance structures, we are submitting to you, before the Summit meeting in Madrid, our request to support Romania's application to be accepted as a member in the first round of NATO enlargement process.

Strongly believing that our appeal will find the desired interest and reception, we would like to assure you of our high consideration and extent our thanks for every action you may decide upon in order to back up our démarche.

This Appeal has been adopted by unanimous vote today, the 24th of April 1997, in a joint session of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

IN MEMORY OF FRANCES MARIE QUINN

HON. NICK LAMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 4, 1997

Mr. LAMPSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the memory of Frances Marie Quinn, who recently left us. Like many women of her generation, she began her family during World War II. While her husband, Coridon John Quinn II served his Nation across the world as a pilot, Frances gave birth to her first child. The Quinns had eight children and two of their sons carried on the family tradition of military service. That proud family tradition is now carried on by two of Frances' grandchildren.

After a full life marked by a strong family and care for her community, Frances passed away at the age of 76. Her family and friends will miss her greatly.

DES EDUCATION AND RESEARCH AMENDMENTS OF 1997

HON. LOUISE MCINTOSH SLAUGHTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, June 4, 1997

Ms. SLAUGHTER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to introduce today the DES Education and Research Amendments of 1997.