

STATE OF ILLINOIS  
90TH GENERAL ASSEMBLY  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
TRANSCRIPTION DEBATE

1st Legislative Day

December 2, 1997

Speaker Madigan: "The House shall come to order. The House shall come to order. The Members shall be in their chairs. Mr. Mautino, would you please take your seat? Mr. Hoffman, please take your seat. We shall be led in prayer today by Father Michael Pfleger from the St. Sabina Church in Chicago. Father Pfleger is the guest of Representative Monique Davis. The guests in the Gallery may wish to rise and join us in the invocation."

Father Michael Pfleger: "Gracious and awesome God, we acknowledge You and honor You and we worship You, for You are the author of all life and the standard of which each of our lives must line up. And You are the one to whom we are each ultimately accountable. We call down Your spirit as we gather in this seat of government and we ask You to touch and guide and direct those whom You have privileged to govern and lead. Lord, this is a Special Session and we ask Your special anointing. On this critical day we ask that You will release such an anointing, will allow each of us here to put aside all personalities and politics, parties and partnerships, angers and attitudes, hurts and egos, that we might walk with integrity, speak always with clarity and legislate with strength. Tear down every wall that seeks to divide us from rural to urban, to race to religion, from DuPage to Cook. Keep our hearts sensitive to Your spirit and our lives faithful to Your word and our eyes fixed on You, that we may come together in unity and build a nation and a state that is just and fruitful for every single human being. We ask this in Jesus' name. Amen."

Speaker Madigan: "We shall be led in the Pledge of Allegiance by Representative Hartke."

Hartke: - et al: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United

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States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

Speaker Madigan: "Roll Call for Attendance, Representative Currie."

Currie: "Thank you, Speaker. I'm aware of no excused absences among House Democrats today."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Cross. Mr. Cross."

Cross: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. If the record would please reflect that Representative Leitch is excused today."

Speaker Madigan: "Let the record show that Representative Leitch is excused. Mr. Clerk, take the record. There being 117 Members responding to the Attendance Roll Call, there is a quorum present. Mr. Clerk, read the Special Session Proclamation."

Clerk Rossi: "WHEREAS, the State of Illinois has struggled for many years with the question of how to adequately fund our public schools; and WHEREAS, I appointed a Blue Ribbon Committee in 1995, known as the Ikenberry Commission to study education funding in the State of Illinois; and WHEREAS, the Ikenberry Commission recommended the establishment of a foundation level of funding for all public school children and determined that an adequate foundation level should be \$4,225 of revenue per student; and WHEREAS, the Ikenberry Commission found that an estimated 700,000 Illinois school children attended public elementary and secondary schools funded below the foundation level; and WHEREAS, a bipartisan majority of the Illinois House and Senate have voted to approve a series of fundamental changes in how our public schools are funded by such changes, have not become law; and WHEREAS, many of our local schools are overcrowded, aging, or

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crumbling, and it is important to provide a state-funded capitol program to ensure safe and modern facilities for present and future generations of school children; THEREFORE, pursuant to Article IV, Section 5(b) of the Illinois Constitution of 1970, I, Jim Edgar, Governor of the State of Illinois, hereby call and convene the 90th General Assembly in Special Session to commence at noon on December 2, 1997 to consider the following: Motion to Concur in Senate Amendments 1 and 3 to House Bill 452 and Motion to Concur in Senate Amendments 1 and 2 to House Bill 398."

Speaker Madigan: "The Chair recognizes Representative Currie for a Motion."

Currie: "Thank you, Speaker. Pursuant to Rule 18(g), I move to discharge from the Rules Committee, First Special Session House Resolutions 1 and 2 for immediate consideration."

Speaker Madigan: "Is there leave? Leave is granted if the Resolutions are discharged from the Rules Committee. Mr. Clerk, read the Special Session Resolution #1."

Clerk Rossi: "House Resolution #1 of the First Special Session. Be it resolved, that the Rules of the House of Representatives of the 90th General Assembly be adopted as the Rules of this Special Session. So far as the same may be applicable and that the Committees of the House of Representatives of the 90th General Assembly, including the House Journal Review Committee and their membership shall constitute the Committees of the House during this Special Session."

Speaker Madigan: "For what purpose does Mr. Black seek recognition? Mr. Black."

Black: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. I had my light on before leave was given. I assume the Rules provision

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simply has to do with bringing the 90th General Assembly Rules to the Floor. Is that the Lady's intent?"

Speaker Madigan: "That would be my understanding, Mr. Black."

Black: "And that's all it has to do. So, in other words, we'll have rules to govern our conduct? Not that that's ever really made a lot of difference, but it would be nice to have some rules today."

Speaker Madigan: "Well, it didn't make too much difference during the prior two years."

Black: "Thank you very much."

Speaker Madigan: "But we're very pleased that you're with us today."

Black: "Yes, well, at the appropriate time, I'll ask you about the rule on smoking. I think we might have to change that after today."

Speaker Madigan: "Very good. Mr. Parke."

Parke: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I would like a clarification. There's been a Motion to discharge from the Committee. Does that require unanimous consent of the Floor or a majority?"

Speaker Madigan: "That Motion required unanimous consent and there was leave granted."

Parke: "I spoke out against it."

Speaker Madigan: "Okay. Thank you."

Parke: "Well..."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Parke, we've moved beyond that point. There was a Motion, leave was granted, and we're now on a Motion by Representative Currie for the adoption of Special Session Resolution #1. Those in favor say 'aye'; those opposed say 'no'. The 'ayes' have it, the Motion is adopted. Mr. Clerk, read the Special Session Resolution #2."

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Clerk Rossi: "House Resolution #2 of the First Special Session.

Be it resolved, that the Clerk inform the Senate that a Majority of the House is assembled, pursuant to the Proclamation of the Governor convening a Special Session of the General Assembly, and are now ready for the transaction of business."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Currie moves for the adoption of Special Session Resolution #2. All in favor say 'aye'; opposed 'nay'. The 'ayes' have it, the Resolution is adopted. The Clerk for the purpose of an announcement."

Clerk Rossi: "On the Democratic side of the aisle, the center section microphones, a fuse is blown and if anyone wishes to speak, they're going to have to move to another mike."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Daniels. Mr. Daniels. So, on the... on page 2 of the Calendar, on the Order of Consideration Postponed, there appears House Bill 452. The Chair recognizes Mr. Daniels."

Daniels: "Well, Mr. Speaker, before you get to that Order of Business, I was asking to be recognized. I would like to just give my congratulations to Lincoln Way High School on their championship football game. Renee Kosel and I had a little bet because I represent Addison Trail High School and we were humbled that day, but we want to congratulate Renee Kosel. Where are you Renee? We're over here. Congratulations, Renee."

Speaker Madigan: "The Chair recognizes Representative Kosel."

Kosel: "Thank you very much, Sir. I'd like to thank our Leader for that kind recognition to the wonderful athletes from New Lenox. I would also like to highlight the fact that we had not one championship title come to New Lenox, but two. Providence Catholic High School won the 4-A Championship on Friday night of that same week. So, now we are a

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singular town with two State Championships, which are to be commended the fine athletes from those schools. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "The Chair recognizes Mr. Daniels."

Daniels: "Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, I move to concur in Senate Amendments 1 and 3 to House Bill 452. As you all know, this is the education funding Bill that's been before the General Assembly before, was placed on Postponed Consideration. My review of this legislation will include a discussion as to where we are today, as well as the recognition of what has occurred throughout the last few years on education funding reform. This is the third phase in education reform in the State of Illinois. The first phase being Chicago school reform that was addressed in 1995."

Speaker Madigan: "Could the Membership please give their attention to Mr. Daniels?"

Daniels: "Chicago School Reform passed and was signed by the Governor in 1995. That Bill had a vote when it went to the Governor of 63 Republicans and 4 Democrats. That was followed in 1996 by the Quality First Plan, passed by this General Assembly with 63 Republicans and 8 Democrats. We now have House Bill 452, which was called earlier, just a few weeks ago, which received 49 Republicans and 18 Democrats in vote. This is our third opportunity continue in our reform of education in the State of Illinois. I'm very proud to be a Sponsor of House Bill 452 and want to recognize the work that was done in the Senate by Senator Philip and his colleagues along with the Governor and of course, with the person that's been the point person on this, Mark Boozell from the Governor's Office. Some people have said, 'Return Mark Boozell to the Department of

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Insurance, pass this Bill.' And I'm one that subscribes to that. I think it's time that Mark Boozell returns to the Department of Insurance and that in his honor we also pass this Bill today. I'm led to believe that the votes are here to pass House Bill 452. I'm led to believe that in my discussions with Mr. Madigan, with the mayor's office, with the Governor's office, with Senator Philip, Senator Jones, that finally people when they return home for the Thanksgiving holidays, recognize the need to pass this legislation. During the course of this legislation, we have had certain guiding principles for education funding reform. First, a minimum foundation level, academic reforms, school construction and improvement grants, no general tax increase, being the income tax, and must have bipartisan support. Throughout that process, we also looked at some common sense classroom reforms. And in that, reforms that are contained in this legislation, we have no social promotion, which is part of academic reforms, a program called no pass/no play, Teachers Certification Reform, and Tenure Remediation Reform. Throughout the discussion of this legislation, was brought up and several people said and then when they returned from here and it only had 18 Democrat votes, 'Why would a Chicago Legislator vote for this Bill? What would be the reasons in voting for it?' And going through that legislation, we recognized that it provided for Chicago an increased state funding, less need to raise local property taxes, provided hundreds of millions of dollars in school construction funding allocated to Chicago schools. It provided a poverty factor and new state aid formula targeted towards areas with high concentration of low income students. It provided a three-tiered teachers'

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certification process to preserve the quality of Illinois teachers. It directed state appropriations to the Chicago Teachers' Pension Fund, instead of funneling it through the State Board of Education. Primarily though, it was recognized with the concentration of money that was sent with 20% of the state's students, 20% of the money, a little bit better than that, would go into the City of Chicago. Secondly, I was asked the question, 'Why would a Cook County or collar county Legislator pass this legislation?' The benefits under this legislation for the Cook County and collar county Legislators would include a hold harmless provision. In fiscal year 1999, suburban Cook and collar counties will overwhelmingly benefit under the hold harmless provision. School districts will receive \$30 million of total hold harmless funding. They'll have School Construction Grants, the double-whammy problem is taken care of where school districts and tax cap counties will be provided additional funding to remedy the double-whammy situation and classroom reforms will be involved. And, Mr. Speaker, I notice that everyone on the Republican side is intently listening to the discussion on this Bill. Can you bring your side to order so that we can discuss the passage of this legislation?"

Speaker Madigan: "Would the Members please give their attention to Mr. Daniels, and would the staff please retire to the rear of the Chamber? So, will staff please retire to the rear of the Chamber? Would the Members please be in their chairs and give their attention to Mr. Daniels? Mr. Daniels."

Daniels: "For downstate Illinois, this provides more than \$210 million in funding for downstate schools without an income tax increase. Downstate schools receive 46% of the

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increased funding with only 37% of the schools' children. For downstate Legislators in Illinois to vote against this, is turning down the ability to receive 46% of the money under this Bill when you only have 37% of the students. This is a terrible vote if you vote against this if you are a downstate Legislator. This legislation will be enacted on January 1st, and will instantly benefit downstate schools by providing additional funding for the 1997-1998 school year. Now, some people have said they want specific terms here on property tax relief, but just think about it in these terms. If you have a school district that you're receiving approximately \$3200 per pupil in funding, and the state is now going to increase that funding of \$4,225. That means that you're going to have over a \$1000 more per pupil with the state surplus giving into that money to your students. Imagine the relief and the taking off the pressure on your local property tax. No place else in Illinois does...benefits more than downstate school districts in this legislation followed by, of course, Chicago and then followed by suburban Cook and collar counties. This Bill relies on existing revenue from the state's \$800 million surplus in combination with additional user revenue fees. Takes care of the poverty factor. Provides billions of dollars in school construction grant programs. So, downstate Legislators will benefit soundly from the passage of this Bill. Now, somebody has said, 'I'm going to vote against this Bill, because this Bill is not as good as the Bill that was in the spring,' but let's just offer a few comparisons. Under this Bill, it provides nearly \$500 million in state funding to local schools without an income tax increase. Under the Bill last spring, it called for the largest income tax

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increase in the history of Illinois. Under this Bill, it makes education the number one priority in state through a continuing budget appropriation. Under the Bill in the spring, it didn't have that provision. Under this Bill, you're raising the foundation level to \$4,425 by the year 2001. This Bill provides \$3 billion in School Construction Bonds in addition to the 300 million in Repair and Maintenance Grants. Under the Bill last spring, it dedicated a percentage of the income tax level to the School Capital and Technology Fund providing only \$100 million in funding. Under this Bill, it establishes a \$60 million Technology Loan Program which was not included. Under this Bill, we end social promotion which was not included in the Bill of last spring. This has a no pass/no play policy for student athletes, which was not part of the Bill last spring. This recognizes outstanding teachers and promotes continuing education, which was not included in the Bill last spring. And requires multi-year contracts for administrators, which was not included in the Bill last spring. In other words, in summation, there are many, many features that are in this Bill that were not contained in the Bill of last spring. Over the next four years, this plan will provide over \$2.6 billion in state money to our schools. Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, I just hope this, I hope with the majority of Republican Legislators supporting this legislation in this third phase of school funding, that we can have the Democrat side of the aisle join with us in once again bringing school reform to the State of Illinois and that we will have the passage of this Bill with bipartisan support. I seek your favorable support to concur in Senate Amendments #1 and 3."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Crotty, for five minutes."

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Crotty: "Thank you, Speaker. As a lot of you know, I am a newcomer here to Springfield, but I don't see this job or this position being any different than those that I held back in my community, whether it be elected or appointed. What I was hoping we could do today and what the Governor was going to call us back to do, is to say there are no more issues to be put on the table. We had two Bills that came out of the General Assembly, which is the first time in over 20 years that I can remember this happening. Both Bills had items in it that were very, very good for the State of Illinois and the kids in the classroom. Neither Bill, by the way that the Bills have transformed here in Springfield, were good for everyone. What I would love to see is that each and every single one of us sit down with the two Bills, pull out what's so important and, yes, property tax relief is extremely important to the majority of the taxpayers in this state. Just yesterday, here in Springfield, I had a senior citizen call me. She's raising her...in my community, she raising her grandson at \$766 a month. Property tax relief is very important to her and a lot of our constituents. I implore each and every single one of us that have been elected to this office to say to ourselves, 'We have the time, we have the motivation, to take both of those Bills, to sit down, no more items on the table, pull out the good portions in that Bill, form a Bill that is suitable to bring this state where it should be on the educational issues and reforms.' I'm willing to do that, Speaker. I'm willing to either stay now, or to come back later and work on this without a per diem. I ask that the Leaders in this Chamber do the same. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Parke, for five minutes."

Parke: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the

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House. When states all over the nation are lowering taxes, Illinois' answer to the educational problem is to raise taxes. Currently, we have budgeted in the State Budget, over \$600 million to end this fiscal year in a so called, rainy-day-fund. I say we don't need that much money in a rainy-day-fund. We, also, have estimated that when we end this fiscal year, that we will have over a \$150 million in unallocated extra funds. When this state economy is at an all-time high, our answer ought not to be to the taxpayers of this state to raise their taxes. Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, I wish you'd listen. This is probably the most significant legislation we will have voted on next to deregulation this year. Like you, I have been receiving phone calls from taxpayers, and from senior citizens. They've been telling me that taxes are too high. That the overall tax burden in this state is too high. And, Ladies and Gentlemen, they are right. Some of you in this Chamber have heard their calls. So, your answer will be with this Bill, to tax their calls. They want to raise it with this Bill to raise the tax...phone taxes from 5 to 7%. Now, I know you can justify a cigarette tax, or a riverboat tax, or a surcharge of 5% more on deadbeat taxpayers and this telecommunication tax. But, Ladies and Gentlemen, combined, this is a large tax increase you will foist on the taxpayers of this state. In addition, the telecommunication tax will cost Illinois jobs. Some Illinois businesses will leave for other states because they cannot afford to do business here. Ladies and Gentlemen, in our National Capitol, the Legislative Leaders and the majority of Congress believe that the answer is to devaluate the devaluation of power from Washington to the individual states and reflects our common agreement on this

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issue. Why then, should Springfield move the other direction and attempt to micro-manage local districts, school district actions. This Bill in some ways erodes local school board control. You are giving greater control to the State Board of Education in the decisions of charter schools and on who gets the building funds generated by this Capital Fund. I will tell you again, the hold harmless provision in this Bill is uncertain beyond the first year. When you have your local school districts come to you, remember I made the statement on the Floor of the House that unless it's appropriated by this General Assembly, that hold harmless could not be there in future years, which will predicate to everyone of your school districts that they must go back to the taxpayers for a property tax increase. I tell you in this Bill, in the next two to four years, most of your school districts will have to go back to the voters and ask for a property tax increase because they will not have enough money to fund the increases that are brought about by this legislation. The revenue stream is not stable. There's no stability to any of these Bills...of these taxes that we're raising, and when it doesn't generate the amount of money that must come in, they're going to go to the general revenue fund to fund them. In addition, there is a large question mark on the Special Education Fund, one of the most costly aspects of this Bill. There is no set aside money for special ed in this Bill and it will require our school districts to also seek increased studies. Ladies and Gentlemen, study after study is showing that higher taxes will not, in itself, improve schools. After this Bill, and if this Bill passes, Johnny will still not read better. This school funding plan drains taxes from suburban communities, rewards some

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downstate residents who make little effort to fund their schools adequately and provides no guarantee of improved school student achievements. Ladies and Gentlemen, I beseech you and I request, vote 'no' on this Bill because it will have adverse affects on your high school districts. Let us come back in the spring as one of my colleagues stated on the other side of the aisle. The taxpayers and students of this state require a better Bill than this one. We can do better than this. This is an outrage. This is a bad Bill for every...almost every high school district in this state. Please, vote 'no' or vote 'present' on this Bill."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Lang, at Representative Burke's desk, for five minutes."

Lang: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. Mr. Speaker, could we get the noise level down in here? Mr. Speaker, could we get the noise level down, please?"

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Shirley Jones, could you give your attention to Mr. Lang? Would the other Members please give their attention to Mr. Lang, for five minutes?"

Lang: "Thank you. Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think we have to start all of this debate by saying that there is nothing more important in the State of Illinois today or any day than educating our children. Having said that, I was one of those who voted against this Bill when we were here during the Veto Session. I had many reasons for doing so. The Bill relied on sin taxes for funding our schools. It provided no property tax relief. It was a Bill that demeans and devalues teachers in the State of Illinois. It provided no fundamental change in the way we fund our schools in Illinois. Those of us...many of us on this side of the aisle who voted 'no', voted for a Bill that we

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called the real Bill that's sitting in the Illinois Senate today. We called upon the Governor two weeks ago to expand his call for a Special Session, to insist that the Senate vote on the real Bill. A Bill that would have funded schools in a permanent way. A Bill that would have provided property tax relief, \$900 million of property tax relief, for our citizens. But we in this General Assembly, have relinquished all of our responsibility on education funding reform to one man. We have allowed Senator Philip to decide for all of the citizens of the State of Illinois what education funding policy will be. That is to our discredit. It is our mistake. It is our error and it's something that in the future, Members of the House and Senate, particularly Members of the House ought to take a look at. We should not abdicate our responsibilities in these major areas to one man. We've allowed Senator Philip to create education funding policy in Illinois. This House, this Body, did not create the Bill we see today. So we wanted a better Bill. Those of us who voted 'no' are not against funding education. In fact, most of us voted for the Bill sitting in the Senate that would have done the job. So, to those that say that lobbyists or special interest groups decided for us whether we should vote 'yes' or 'no', I say that's nonsense and you know that's nonsense. However, we're at a point today where we have a Concurrence Motion on House Bill 452. All of these other things aside, the question before us today is, 'Is there an alternative to House Bill 452?' Many of us have tried to create that alternative. We have other plans that we'd like to debate. We have a Bill in the Senate, the real Bill for education funding reform that would pass the Senate if only it were voted on, but none of those are

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available to us today and the question is, 'Will we vote for this Bill, or will there be no Bill?' And if you start from the premise that I started my remarks with, which is that there is nothing more important in Illinois than educating children, then all of the failures of House Bill 452 must fall beneath that. All of the failures of us to create a better Bill or to convince Senator Philip to call the real Bill, pale in comparison to what we have before us. So, I voted 'no' on the last effort to pass this Bill because I felt we needed some time for other alternatives. Today there are no other alternatives and accordingly, regardless of the flaws in this Bill, the failure of proper funding, the demeaning of teachers, the failure to create fundamental reform and property tax relief, if we are to take at least a step forward in funding the schools of Illinois to make sure every child has an opportunity to a quality education, it is appropriate to vote for this Bill, and I intend to vote 'aye' today. Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Madigan: "The Chair has been advised that there are several unauthorized persons on the Floor. All unauthorized individuals will leave the Floor. The doorkeeper will clear the Chamber. The only people authorized to be on the Floor are Legislators and authorized staff. Unauthorized individuals shall leave the Floor. The Chair recognizes Mr. Bost for five minutes. Mr. Bost."

Bost: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Madigan: "The Sponsor yields. Mr. Sponsor."

Bost: "For purposes of...Leader Daniels, for purposes of legislative intent, I know that the administrative expenditures caps that are in place in this Bill, Sections...line item Sections 254, 255 and 256, dealing

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with operation and maintenance, transportation and food service. It is the intent of this Bill to deal with capping administrative salaries not to stop if there is a construction problem, of say a boiler blows up or increases in bus transportation costs. That will not be capped under this, correct?"

Daniels: "Yes, this is the intent. That's correct."

Bost: "Thank you, Leader Daniels. To the Bill. The other night at one o'clock in the morning, I spoke on this particular Bill, I guess, with a loud voice that is not common for me to do. My feelings towards this Bill have not changed. Though maybe since it's not one o'clock in the morning, and I have a little less caffeine in me, I can calmly speak about this Bill and say as I did then, that this Bill doesn't provide everything that we wanted in Bill. Many of the things it doesn't provide, we can come back in the future and work on, but what it does provide is a base funding level for the students, especially the students in southern Illinois, which we as downstate Legislators know is important. Regardless of whether you like the taxing mechanisms or not, it does provide for the needs of those school districts that have been falling short for many years. I have met with my superintendents. I've talked with them, with their concerns on this particular Bill. I've agreed to work with them to try to modify and change future legislation, to try to make things a little better. But I believe, with this Bill being the Bill before us, it's the right thing to do to vote 'yes'. I encourage my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, for the school children of this state, to vote 'yes'. Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Madigan: "The Chair recognizes Mr. Scott. Mr. Doug

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Scott, at Mr. Burke's desk, for five minutes. Mr. Scott."

Scott: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. As the Sponsor said, we've been talking about this issue for a long time. I remember having a Bill last Session over in the Senate where we were trying to switch funding from property taxes over to income tax. And one of the Senators over there said, 'Well, you're trying to hold a gun to our head. We know what the issue is, we've been talking about it for 20 years,' and she was right. We have been talking about it for 20 years, because for 20 years or more we've had a serious need for structural reform in the way we fund schools. The Governor in his State of the State Address said that very thing. He said that it was wrong that we have such a reliance on property taxes, and he was right back then when he said that. Now, he's backing a proposal that has no property tax relief whatsoever in it, when he'd been bashing plans exactly like the one that's been pieced together here in the last days of the Fall Session. In fact, his press secretary was quoted yesterday as saying 'It's really not what the Governor wanted.' Now the focus is on taking care of the poorer districts and that's a noble cause, I don't object to that, but not on property tax relief and, apparently, the majority will agree with that, but we're missing the point. We have poorer districts because we rely so heavily on the property taxes. But until we address this, we're just going to keep coming back here every two, three, four or five years with these temporary stopgap programs; which is exactly what this is, only it's worse. This one's worse because this one's being labeled as educational funding reform and some kind of major step. And what it will really do is delay real reform for several years. Talk

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about a couple of the details. The revenue here is built on sand. I don't have any big problem with taxing fairly potentially destructive things to fund noble purposes, and that's what we're doing here, but I do have a problem with relying on that money to be here for several years, because it probably won't be. And then we put it on the phone tax. Well, that's not a sin tax at all. It's just a nice... one more regressive tax that we're going to hit our seniors with. What happens when the revenue surplus that we're planning on having in this Bill disappears in a couple of years? What happens then? Well, we know what happens then. The parts of this particular Bill that are in the continuing appropriation, get appropriated, and the rest of it doesn't. Like the shell game that we've been hearing about for the last 20 years with lottery money that we have to try to explain our way out of every time we talk to a group. Now, about the spending, you know, the construction grants sound good. In previous Bills that we dealt with this spring, they were guaranteed. They're not guaranteed in this particular Bill. So, maybe the districts that already have a funding source in place, look out, you probably won't be eligible to get these grants. And then, there's all the money for the districts. I've supported more money for districts before and I'm sure I will again. But, let's take those charts that we always hear about. District so and so will get so much money, and I'm sure we'll hear it in the summation, just like we did two weeks ago. But, run that money...run the surplus money through the school aid formula and see what happens to districts. Run last spring's vote money through and see what happens to our districts. I notice a lot of the people that support this, weren't really too keen on supporting that

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measure last spring even though it brought even more money to my district. Come to my district and talk about not having property tax relief in this Bill and see how far you get. And the reforms in the Bill, you know, on one hand, we're saying we want more professional people, there has to be more accountability. But what are we doing? With para-professionals we're allowing contracting out. Well, how do you contract out and make money for the private company unless you pay less wages. In a profession that has a terribly demanding job and there's tremendous turnover right now, and we're going to have even more, and we're going to make that problem worse. That'd be ironic. It's even more ironic that we want more accountability out of teachers, and yet we're willing to settle for non-teachers being...coming in with just having some work experience in the private sector. And you've got a Section there about administrative cap costs, which because my particular district is under a court order to have certain administrators, you're just going to cost them more money. So, why are we doing this? We keep hearing this is a last chance. The media keeps saying this is the last chance for it. Well, this is the same media that was faxing me to say, 'Kill this Bill,' a few weeks ago when it had an ink tax in it. Now that we've removed it, it's wonderful, let's go ahead and vote for it. For certain businesses who were faxing me a few weeks ago saying 'Kill this Bill,' because the sales tax collection fee was taken out of it. Now, they're saying they're all for it. We're told we should do this because there's more money for our districts, but I'll tell you what, the principle of property tax reform that most of us say we believe in is very important and we're putting it off for years and

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years. And if we do that just because somebody's thrown a little money at our district, well then, we know what we are and we're just arguing over the price. So, who are we turning our backs on if we delay this and come up with a real structural reform? Not the kids. By passing this today, we're turning our backs on senior citizens who can't live in their houses anymore because of the property taxes that they have to pay. We're turning our backs on young families who can't buy a house. And we're turning our backs on kids because every two or three years, we use them as the football in the middle of this. This is weak, we can do better. We have done better. The 'ayes' will win today, but we'll all lose tomorrow. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Persico for five minutes."

Persico: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Madigan: "Sponsor yields."

Persico: "Representative Daniels, one of the unintended consequences of a Tax Cap Bill that we passed about eight years ago, dealt with what is now known as the double whammy. Can you tell me what is the legislative intent of the double whammy included in House Bill 452?"

Daniels: "Representative Persico, the legislative intent of the double whammy provision is to allow school districts in property tax limited counties, full access to the general state aid. The provision provides for the general state aid entitlement to be calculated two ways. Normally, the general state aid entitlement is based on the growth and property value. However, in property tax limited counties the actual property tax growth may be the greater than the allowable extension growth. With this provision, the school district will receive the greater general state aid entitlement as a result of these two calculations."

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Persico: "Thank you, Mr...Representative Daniels. Another question for legislative intent. With the administrative expenses, is it the Legislature's intent not to...if a school district is building new buildings or expanding on existing buildings and they may need an assistant principal or more administrative staff to staff these new buildings, will this 5% prevent the school districts from doing that?"

Daniels: "That is not the intent."

Persico: "And in terms of the hold harmless, there's been some talk that it's only for one year, but with my reading of the Bill, it says all subsequent years. This hold harmless is supposed to be indefinitely?"

Daniels: "That is correct. The law specifically states, and this is a change in the law, that the hold harmless will be effective this year and subsequent years. The intent of that is that the hold harmless provision will be in law for the indefinite future without limitation."

Persico: "Thank you, Representative. To the Bill. This is not a perfect Bill, we all know that. There are certain aspects of this Bill that I'm sure some of us can find fault with. I do think that overall though, it is a good Bill. A Bill that's long coming. When I first began down in the Legislature eight years ago, I was appointed to a task force to study school funding. I believe since then, there have been three or four more task force to study this very difficult issue. One of the things that I did learn in the last 2 1/2 years with dealing with another major piece of public policy, and I think this is why we're all elected down here, to set good public policy. When I dealt with the issue of deregulation, there is no perfect Bill. We have to do what is politically doable, and that's the art of politics, it's the art of compromise. There are measures

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in here that I disagree with. I think there are measures that could be, if we do not set the rules straight and correctly, that can be punitive to teachers and I don't think that's the intent of this legislation. The teacher unions were the ones that set this whole policy question going, moving, always moving towards an adequate level of funding for every child and student in the State of Illinois. I want this 90th General Assembly to be remembered as an Assembly that did good work. We've been accused of a 'do nothing' Assembly and I think that's wrong. We are going to set two major pieces of public policy this year. One, on the issue of deregulating the utilities in the State of Illinois; and secondly, insuring that every student in the State of Illinois receives an adequate amount of money in order to be educated. And so, with that in mind, I urge yourself and everyone else in this Chamber to vote 'aye' on House Bill 452."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Novak for five minutes."

Novak: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Gentleman yield?"

Speaker Madigan: "The Sponsor yields."

Novak: "Yes, Mr. Speaker, could we have some more order, please? I have few questions. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Representative Daniels, I've had some time to review this Bill, a little bit more detail and I have a few questions. Why is this Bill penalize high school districts? I understand in some correspondence, I think, all of us received about, oh, I think maybe 12 to 14 high school districts, including the high school district in your home community of Elmhurst was penalized. So, why are the high school districts penalized in this Bill?"

Daniels: "I'm glad you asked that question, Representative, wherever you may be. There you are."

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Novak: "Been here 10 years."

Daniels: "Let me just tell you that the Bill that you voted for last spring, the one that you touted as a great Bill, had the very same provision in it. You supported it then, and I would anticipate you'd support this now. But it is not punishing school districts. What it's doing is treating all kids the same in the State of Illinois. Recognizing that children are children and they need an education of quality and that's what it's doing. So, when you supported this Bill, this provision, last spring, I presume that you'd want to support it now."

Novak: "Well, Representative, for the record. The second draft of the Governor's proposal last year gave one of my high school districts almost \$125 thousand. This doesn't give any high school districts in my community any extra money. But I understand nothing is perfect in this world we live in. Can you ask me, or tell me, what are debt service grants, and why were they put in the Bill? What are debt service grants?"

Daniels: "For school districts that have passed referendums of January 1, '96 to January 1, '98, that would provide a return of some dollars in debt service grants. It would help them offset their referendum costs and the costs of their increased taxation."

Novak: "And can you give me any indication of where are most of the successful referendums? Where do they occur? Were they spread out around the state or mostly involved...mostly in the suburban areas of the state?"

Daniels: "Well, they're all over the state. I mean, I do have a list of successful construction bond referendums, Madison County, Richland, Champaign, McLean, Woodford, Rock Island, Lee, Winnebago, DeKalb, Boone, Will, McHenry. I've got

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Champaign again in 1997, St. Clair, Monroe, Washington, Perry, Clinton. Do you want me to go on?

Novak: "That's fine. That's fine."

Daniels: "I mean, they're all over the state, including some areas, you know, that's around you."

Novak: "Well, I know. We definitely need some new school buildings in our area..."

Daniels: "So, once again, it's another reason why you would want to support this Bill because it helps districts around your area."

Novak: "I understand, Representative. I've got a question on the taxes. I understand in order for this thing to be sold to the Senate Democrats, the continuing appropriation provision was put in and that's one of the major reasons why it was passed so easily in the Senate. When the continuing appropriation ends in the year 2001, do the taxes also end...tax increases end? Where does that money go? Does it continue to go into the General Revenue Fund?"

Daniels: "I think that, again, that's a good question because I think everyone should understand. The continuing appropriation...and this is to the credit of Senator Jones, and that's one of the reasons that he supported this Bill, the continuing appropriation is in force until 2001. The reason for that is at that point, we have to reevaluate the foundation level and how much money we put into the foundation level and what the continuing appropriation will be at that time. Furthermore, the taxes that you referred to, these are sin taxes, these are user taxes, consumer taxes and not taxes on people's employment. Doesn't tax every citizen in the State of Illinois. It depends on the use of an item. These taxes are dedicated to schools, dedicated to education, so there's a benefit from those

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increases."

Novak: "No, I understand, Representative. But my question was, when the continuing appropriation ends in 2001, do the tax increases also end?"

Daniels: "No, they do not, and the reason for that is, because as I explained, you know, we end the continued approp at that time, anticipating that we'll renew it because we want to analyze and reevaluate the foundation level that we see whether or not we need to put more money into that."

Novak: "Thank you. To the Bill, Representative. I've had time to reassess my position on this Bill. And, you know, I've taken the tough votes for education down here. I've supported...in my career down here, I've supported the surcharge increase in 1989 and I took the high road and I made the tough vote this spring. That's real reform, what happened this spring. That's the way it should be. But we know we're all realists. We can't have the entire loaf. This Bill does benefit my school districts very much. And as much as it penalizes some and doesn't benefit some other school districts in my legislative district, I am compelled to support this Bill. But, it does not provide true reform. Let no one fool anybody here. This does not provide true reform. This is a cop out. The media will go away for three years. Nobody will discuss it anymore. It will not be a campaign issue in the 1998 election. It will not, which it should be, and people will go away. So, we come back to the table in 2001 and we start all over again, all over again, and we start battling each other. We should have had the guts this spring to do the right thing. To pass true reform. But, again, I'm a realist; I'm a pragmatist. My school districts do benefit from this Bill. And I will stand up and support this Bill, however

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reluctantly, because I'm for school kids in my district.

Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Deuchler, for five minutes."

Deuchler: "Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. Will the Sponsor yield for a question, please?"

Speaker Madigan: "Sponsor yields."

Deuchler: "Representative Daniels, will you support a Bill next spring that would allow for dockside gaming?"

Daniels: "How does that have to do with this Bill, Representative?"

Deuchler: "Well, I'd like to tell you, but maybe you can answer my question after I tell you how this Bill affects my town of Aurora. Maybe we can come back."

Daniels: "Does your vote depend upon my answer to the question?"

Deuchler: "Pardon me?"

Daniels: "Does your vote depend upon my answer to the question?"

Deuchler: "No, it does not."

Daniels: "Well, okay."

Deuchler: "Let me tell you, then, how this legislation affects my town of Aurora. For one point, Mr. Speaker, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, if I can pick this up, these are all letters that I have received in my district office from the 1600 employees who live in the Aurora area, many of them in my district. I have a huge petition from...signed by these same employees. They're saying, 'School funding, yes; compromise, yes; hurt Aurora and surrounding communities, no.' We are a town, an older town of over 100 thousand population. In my legislative district, the 42nd district, this is the town that has rebounded to a bustling economy from a very old town with a river running through it. We have moved forward and we are looking good, and we have jobs for our people. For the reason of those

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individual employees, and also, for the reason that there is no property tax relief in this Bill, the many senior citizens that have called my district office and said, 'Please, Representative Deuchler, get us property tax relief.' For these reasons, I think we can do better. Yes, the Bill does have some positive points, no question. I would like to work on this next spring. And for that reason, I will be voting 'no' today. I would hope that the Sponsor would at least be willing to work with me on a dockside piece of legislation that might give us some relief in Aurora."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Hannig. Representative Hannig at Representative O'Brien's desk, Representative O'Brien's desk. Mr. Hannig for five minutes."

Hannig: "Yes, thank you, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the House. There seems to be some thought around this Body, and I think around this state, that we ought to just fund education out of the balances that we have in the treasury. But, let me tell you, that while \$600, \$700 million that's a lot of money for us as individuals, just consider that the State of Illinois spends about \$36 billion, \$36 billion a year. That's about \$3 billion a month. That's about \$100 million a day, \$100 million a day. A \$100 million a day on average, sometimes some more, sometimes a little bit less. And so, the point that I would make, is that when we have \$600 million in the bank, we barely have a week's worth of spending that we have in the bank. And, certainly, in the parts of the fiscal year when spending goes out faster than revenues come in, we need to maintain that cushion. So, Ladies and Gentlemen, it indeed, is not unreasonable to expect that the Governor should have \$600 million in the bank at any given time. In fact, we should

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applaud Governor Edgar for being fiscally conservative. And let's take a look at some of the other states around the midwest and the country and what they carry as year-end balances. Minnesota carries \$1.6 billion. Indiana, now there's a state that we know is smaller than Illinois, but they have \$1.2 billion in the bank, nearly twice what we have. Michigan has \$1.2 billion. Ohio has a billion dollars. Texas has \$2.4 billion. Florida has \$1.2 billion. Massachusetts, a small state, \$1.2 billion. New Jersey \$1.2 billion. So, I don't think it's unreasonable for us to expect and, in fact, I think we need to keep, 6, \$700 million in the bank at any given time just to make sure that we can pay the bills. Let me tell you. I've been here when we couldn't pay the bills, when we had people lined up and the Comptroller was putting vouchers in boxes and they were sitting around waiting until the day when we had some money in the bank, so that we could pay the nursing homes and so that we could pay the pharmacists. Let me tell you, we've done that and we don't want to go back there. That's no way to run the State of Illinois. So, we need to dispel this idea that somehow we can address education funding without finding new revenue sources. Indeed, we've fought very hard just to make sure that we have enough money in the bank to pay our bills. We need not and should not regress to a situation where we owe everybody under the sun. We need to fund education, we need to find a way to fund education by revenue sources other than just current money in the bank. So, let me applaud the Governor and the Leaders on both sides of the aisle for the efforts that they've put into this proposal. And let me say as a downstater, I really like the way this money is divided up, Representative Daniels. I like that

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46% of the money downstate for our 36% of the kids. That's really, I think something that we as downstaters need to consider when we cast our votes. And for the people in my district, in the small community of Mt. Auburn, where they're considering whether or not they should close that building and send those first and second and third graders 20 miles down the road each day, one way on a bus, I have to say that this is a solution to that problem. This may not be a perfect Bill, it may not do everything that everyone would like it to do but, frankly, here in this Chamber of compromise and incremental movement, I think that this is a step forward and a step in the right direction. And it certainly goes a long way in my representative district in solving the problem of education. Not a perfect Bill, but certainly a Bill that goes in the right direction, and this is the only way that we can do it by finding new sources of revenue. It's not realistic to believe that we can simply take the money out of the bank because, surely, that money would be exhausted in a very short period of time and we'd be back to the days of borrowing and spending and borrowing and spending, and we don't want to go back there. So, this is the chance to move forward and I'd encourage Members of both sides of the aisle to vote 'aye'."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Tom Johnson for five minutes."

Johnson, Tom: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. I, reluctantly, am going to be voting 'no' on this Bill today, because I believe there are a number of questions and facts that really, we are not talking about and we are not dealing with as a Body. I think we're coming here today recognizing full well that we have elections coming up next year and by all means, let's not make education an issue."

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Let's make sure that education is off the burner for the next election cycle and that to me, is the ultimate failure and the ultimate disservice we do to our children. We have been told this year that our schools are in dire straits. I think it's important to recognize that our schools are succeeding in many, many ways. Many of our children are doing very, very well. There are problems with some of our schools. There are problems with some of our districts. But, I think it's important to recognize that this General Assembly over the past four years has raised education level spending by 837 additional million dollars into the base level of education. Three hundred million of it, we raised in May. We hear about 700 thousand students in this state going to schools that aren't even funded at a rate of \$4225, as if that's a magic number. To take care of those 700 thousand students, Ladies and Gentlemen, would cost this state a grand total of approximately \$100 million. If, in fact, that is so critical, why haven't we written a check long before today? We are sitting on surpluses in this state now of about 8 to \$900 million and growing. What in the name of heaven, if education is the number one priority, can't we re-prioritize some of our spending and use some of that surplus? This Bill is going to grow government to the extent of another \$430 million over the next several years. It costs, and I remind you, \$100 million to bring those magic numbers up to \$4200. We are currently ranked number 8th in the nation in average salaries to teachers across this state. The distribution might not be appropriate, but we are ranked number 8. We are ranked under 20 in the nation as it relates to expenditure per pupil. Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a train driven by greed and politics to get us by the next

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election cycle and let's not talk about education anymore. This is not 'do or die'. We meet every year in Session. We will continue to meet every year in Session. We will continue to deal with the needs of our students. But for crying out loud, let's not turn around and just raise the tax burden on our citizens, who now pay in excess of 40% of their incomes to taxes just to run away from another problem that we are going to band-aid. Over 40% of our income today is going for taxes. Oh, what's another \$400 million. If all it takes for this General Assembly to reach consensus is to figure out how we're going to spend the money, as opposed to thinking about the backs of the people that we are taking it from, we indeed have come to a new low point. I urge us to continue to work for our children. We can do that, we can take care of their needs, we can take care of those impoverished districts, but we do not have to, once again, go back and pick the pockets of our citizens to do that. Let us come together, let us continue to work in terms of reform, where reform is necessary; help, where help is necessary, but not at the expense of just throwing money, picking pockets, and throwing it out there. It's for those reasons, and I respect those who differ, that I will be casting a 'no' vote today."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Lopez, for five minutes. Mr, Lopez."

Lopez: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the General Assembly. Will speak to the Bill. There are good things and there's bad things in this Bill. Let me start with the good things. On the financial side, there's \$600 million guaranteed for the next three years. Guarantee education level for \$4225 for three years. Bonding, \$1.4 billion throughout the state. And one of the most important

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issues, teachers' certification issues. Making sure that all children in the State of Illinois have the best teachers available to teach them. And the Reading Improvement Block Grant for \$80 million. And I asked myself, and you ask yourself, how many people read this 260 page Bill? How many of you truly read this Bill that night? Very few, and that's exactly what is wrong with this process. Coming to us at the last second and as many Representatives say, there's a lot of questions still that need to be answered. But when you throw things to us at the last second and expect us to come out and vote, and then you accuse us of being against the children. Now, the problem with the Bill. This is not a kid's Bill. Let's stop fooling the public, let's call it what it is. If the Chicago school system has a balanced budget like they've said they have, I feel that all the new money should go to Chicago, should go directly to the local schools and to go to pay the basic, and I mean the basic, books, papers, computers, the basic educational needs, to cover for the programs that have been cut to balance the budget. If not, this is not a kid's Bill. It is not a Bill for schools. Let me show you. Let me show you what this Bill is for, because a lot has been said in the media, a lot has been said in the media. Certain elected officials get up and certain bureaucrats get up before television and open their mouth and accuse us. How dare they accuse us of selling our vote to special interests. I am going to show you who this Bill is for. It's for the contractors, people who have contracts. I did not get one letter in my district from any constituent to tell me to vote for this Bill. What I got was letters telling me to vote 'no' on this Bill. But the letters that I received are from people who

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are receiving contracts for the Chicago public schools. And then they turn around and they say that we sold our votes to special interests. And again, what hurts even more, is that certain elected officials, even people here, sitting here with us, Legislators who sit here with us and who fight with us everyday, get up and say that we sold our votes to special interests. How dare you say that. How dare you say that, because I don't sit here to look at how you vote. I don't question how you voted. And this is not over for those elected officials who sit here everyday and are going to sit there and go before the media and say 'Oh, I'm great for education. The people who voted 'no' are against education.' Your day will come. Your day will come, and you know who you are. I'm not going to point fingers. You know who you are. Who's going to benefit from this? This is not the first time that we used children. It's not the first time that we support kids, support children as whipping sticks because that's what we've been using them for the last two weeks. My back already hurts of hearing all the crying from everybody. You want this Bill? You want this Bill? Say what it is. Say what this Bill is really about. It is cover your behind Bill, and for you over there to get up and stand up and say, 'This is for education.' Let's say what this Bill is really about. It is just a royal band-aid, that's all it is. And you can feel good, and you can smile on the other side, and you can laugh about it, but you know what, sooner or later it's going to catch up. Sooner or later the taxpayers of this state are going to catch up. Sooner or later they're going to find out the truth of what happens down here in Springfield. Let's vote. Let's vote, let's get the heck out of here because what's going on here

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in this Chamber, and what's going on here in Springfield, stinks."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Roskam for five minutes."

Roskam: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. I believe that taxpayers are fatigued. I believe that we, over the past several years, have gone back and back and back to taxpayers and asked them for about all that we can possibly ask them. Ladies and Gentlemen, the idea that we have a \$35 billion plus state budget..."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Roskam, let me try and get some order. Ladies and Gentlemen...Ladies and Gentlemen, if you could give your attention to Mr. Roskam. Ladies and Gentlemen, if you could give your attention to Mr. Roskam. Proceed, Mr. Roskam."

Roskam: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. You know, the idea that we have \$35 billion state budget and that somehow within that dollar amount, we're not able to allocate the resources properly, we're not able to prioritize properly, and that what we've got to do that's going to solve all of our problems and make this issue go away and demonstrate our commitment to education, is go back to the taxpayers just one more time. I reject that premise. I think that we have asked the taxpayers for plenty. I think the taxpayers have given to the point where they are weary. In this Bill, there's a tax on, of all things, telephone calls. You know, if you think about something that affects everybody all across the State of Illinois, you think about something that affects senior citizens on a fixed income, living in some fixed income situation and they're going to pick up the phone and they're going to call their grandkids on their birthday and what are we going to do, we're going to tell the senior, 'No, no, no, no, we need a little extra

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slice out of that, because we've only got \$35 billion from you. We need a little bit more, Mrs. Senior Citizen, Mr. Senior Citizen.' When we go out to the entrepreneurial spirit in this great state and we've got people that are starting businesses and investing and so forth, and they need phone lines and fax lines and pagers and beepers and cell phones, what are we telling them? We're telling, 'No, no, no, no, not so fast. We just need another little slice of sunshine from you because you're not paying enough already. You're not contributing enough already, and if you give us just this little bit more money, then all of our problems will go away.' I say that that's nonsense. I know there's well-intentioned people who are behind this Bill, but it just boggles my mind that we are willing in Illinois, to say that the solution to our problems is to raise taxes. That's bad politics, that's bad government, that's bad advice, and here's why. If you look at the referendum questions that happened across this country in the last set of elections, the Governor's race in New Jersey, the Governor's race in Virginia, the race up in Staten Island for the open seat up there. All across this country, taxpayers have said, 'Enough is enough. We've contributed enough. Now, you public officials, you figure it out. You allocate the resources that have been allotted to you and do the right thing with the money that you have.' We have the money in our state budget today to meet the needs, we don't have to...every time somebody picks up this phone, we don't have to be taxing that. I respectfully urge you to vote 'no'. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Monique Davis in Representative Burke's Chair. Representative Monique Davis."

Davis, M.: "Thank you, Mr. Chairman, (sic-Speaker) Ladies and

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Gentlemen of the Illinois General Assembly. Let me share with you some figures on the dropouts in the State of Illinois. In 9th grade, we have white male dropouts to the tune of 1,572, 10th grade white male dropouts, 2,191; 11th grade white male dropouts, 2,728; 12th grade 2,678. In the State of Illinois for 1996-97, there was a total of 15,906 white male high school dropouts. Black, non-hispanic 9th grade, 2,854; 10th grade, 2,080; 11th grade, 1593; 12th grade, 1,060; a total of 13,962 African American dropouts in the year 1996-1997. Latino 10th grade, 1,433 males, total 7,183. Now, that's not giving you the number for females. What about House Bill 452? First of all, it's the only Bill on the table. There is no other Bill on the table and this is the only Bill we'll have an opportunity to support now and forever before our next election. In this Bill, nobody loses. Our children are the winners. And when your children are the winners, there are no losers, there are no losers, when the children are the winners. Do we want the dropouts to continue because there's no money for after-school programs or intervention programs? No, we don't want that. We have an opportunity to continue our summer school program. Is this Bill perfect? No, but is it the best we could get? Yes. Compromises were made. There is no tax on over-the-counter medicine, the dollars are guaranteed. There's no raid on any pension funds, false information. The children of Chicago and the children of the State of Illinois deserve these additional dollars. Don't hide your face, don't put blinders on. Just know that the right vote today, is a 'yes' vote for all the children. We can't be concerned with one district. All the children in the state will benefit. Vote 'yes'. Thank you, Mr. Governor, for this

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opportunity. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for this opportunity."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Mitchell, for five minutes."

Mitchell: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, most of you know that education was my life, my career for 27 years and I've not spoken on any of the Bills so far. I've done my work behind the scenes. Everybody pretty well knows where I stand, and everybody pretty well knew where I stood on the other issues. There is no issue that has come before this House that is nearer and dearer to my heart. Let's talk about common sense, because we can stay intellectual forever and we will never, never, never agree. Representative Davis, I think you pretty well hit the nail on the head because that was going to be my theme. Kids don't care. They don't care where the money comes from. They just care when they've got 35 classmates and can't talk to their teacher, and that's kindergartners folks. They don't care where the money comes from when they don't have computer access and they hear other schools do. They don't care about adequacy or equity. They don't care that we have argued education funding for 25 years, and some in this Chamber would like us to continue to argue funding for another 25 years so that nothing happens. Last time when we spoke about this Bill, everybody referred to it as a band-aid. They referred to Governor Edgar's plan as a band-aid. Folks, that's all any education Bill ever will be. We will never be done with education funding because it affects those little children that we hold dear. Most of us in this Chamber have kids, or grandkids. There's nothing that can set off this Chamber any faster than education funding, than education, than kids. So, look into your heart and

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see what's fair. The Ikenberry Study told us that we needed an adequacy level for every child in the State of Illinois and this gives us that. The Ikenberry Study also said that our schools are crumbling, and are we going to wait until a kindergartner dies because a roof falls on them. Look at some of our schools, this gives us an opportunity. I have battled my side of the aisle. I have argued the other side of the aisle, but I'll tell you what I haven't done. I've never gone home and had to look into the eye of a child and say, 'I didn't vote to help your education, son, because it wasn't the right way to tax, or we didn't take it out of the economic excess that this state has.' You've got to understand that we are not going to solve all the problems ever. This is the largest infusion of money, especially in downstate, since the Ogilvie era. What can schools do with this? Well, let's pass it and see. Will it help? It'll sure as the world help a lot of poor districts, and it'll help an awful lot of kids. I, for one, believe that it's time to move to a foundation level. I believe it's time to move to an adequacy level. Equity won't ever happen in this state unless we move to an income tax basis and look at it very closely. And we tried that, and it didn't work. Representative Davis again said, that this is all there is at this time. No, it's not the best that there is. I'm concerned about high school districts and I challenge everybody in here to work to try to solve the problem of the high school districts and make sure that high school districts are let down easily, or at least make sure that their funding level is not cut abruptly. I'm concerned about my constituents not having property tax relief and I challenge every man and woman in this Assembly to work with

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me to try to find a way to move from the property tax basis to an income tax basis sometime. But don't take away the foundation level. Don't take away that adequacy level from kids because that is a start. And if we don't start applying some of these band-aids, folks, our schools are going to bleed to death. It's time to move, and time to go home, stand up, be counted and be proud of the fact that you did something right for kids. It's not the best Bill in the world, but we'll never see that because there's 118 of us, we all come from different parts of this state and we all look at our own interests, and I understand and respect that. But kids are kids and they need our help. It's time to vote 'yes' and go home and stand up and be counted. Thank you."

Speaker Hartke: "Representative Hartke in the Chair. Representative Ronen, for five minutes. Representative Schakowsky at Carol Ronen's Chair."

Schakowsky: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. There are many, many reasons that we've heard today to be against this legislation and lots of them carry a lot of weight. I live in a town, the town of Evanston, one of the areas that I represent, that has the highest property tax rate in the county. And this Bill, of course, does nothing for the people of my community in terms of property tax relief and does nothing fundamentally to remove what is the real engine of inequality in school funding, and that is reliance on the property tax. And we provide the revenue through, as we've heard, some of the most unstable sources of funding. That's true, it's all true. And some of the so called reform measures that are being touted in this Bill, are unfairly punitive to our teachers who we rely so heavily on to teach our kids. That's true and I've opposed

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those. And in terms of Evanston Township High School, the disappearance of the weighting, the way that poverty funds are calculated, which excludes ETHS even though we have 29% of the kids on reduced and free lunches, and concern over the hold harmless, what's going to happen next year and the year after to our schools? These are valid criticisms. So, there are many, many reasons to be against this Bill but in the end, there are 700,000 reasons to be for this Bill. There are 700,000 children in this state who are not even at the minimally adequate level of funding, that have not achieved a foundation level. There are the schools that are falling down, that have classrooms in the auditorium, that have old textbooks. This is a Bill that is going to help 700,000 children in Illinois and so, even though we can all stand here and list the many reasons, the many good reasons that this is not a great Bill, we need to vote for this, for the 700,000 children, and I plan to vote 'aye'."

Speaker Hartke: "Thank you, Representative Schakowsky. The Chair recognizes the Lady from Cook, Representative Mulligan."

Mulligan: "Thank you...thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Hartke: "The Sponsor indicates he will."

Mulligan: "Leader Daniels, as you know, my district abuts the City of Chicago and I have a number of retired Chicago school teachers who have received a mailing within the last few days and have been calling my office with great concern because they feel that the provisions of this Bill...or they have been told that the provisions of this Bill will not have their pension funded for the next ten years and as older constituents of mine, they are concerned. Could you explain to me what the provisions of this Bill do to that

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pension funding?"

Daniels: "Representative, thank you for asking that question because I think there's been a lot of misinformation that's been circulated about the pension program. Under current Illinois law, we must maintain a funding level for the Chicago Teachers' Pension Fund at the 90% level. What is provided under this Bill, is that if it's in excess of that, they can use that money for school programs and then, they could have that money available for school programs. But the Chicago Teachers' Retirement Fund must still stay at a minimal of a 90% level. So, you're not jeopardizing their pension funds at all."

Mulligan: "And currently, it's funded at 98%, wouldn't that be one of the better funded pensions?"

Daniels: "That's approximately where it is today, at about 98%. It's one of the best funded pensions in the State of Illinois."

Mulligan: "One of my school superintendents expressed a concern that he felt the language of the Bill might reduce or eliminate the state's funding for special education. I have at least one school district that has a particularly good autistic program and we're having autistic parents or children of autistic...parents of autistic children moving to my district to avail themselves of that and they're really concerned that, that funding may be removed. Do you feel that this Bill does that?"

Daniels: "Well, it doesn't do anything regarding the special education changes. It doesn't take away ability, it still maintains local control and the Bill does not negatively impact special education."

Mulligan: "Thank you. To the Bill. As a Suburban Cook Representative, I do not feel the funding levels adequately

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help my district at all, but it's a much less odious Bill than certainly, the spring Bill would have been. Which totally impacted my district negatively in a number of ways, particularly, income tax. I cannot help but notice when I walk into a first grade class in my district where you have first grade children that are in a computer lab, already writing stories and doing things that the people that say increased money does not make a difference in a school district. I think increased money does make a difference. It makes a difference in the quality of equipment, the quality of teachers, the quality of facilities. My local districts fund their schools, and although I find many Bill parts of this Bill objectionable, I cannot, in good conscience, not vote for a Bill that reduces the total problems that we are having around the state with children who are not adequately funded. Unfortunately, there are several provisions I would like to point out that I do not think are good and that I would hope we would revisit. The ability of the state board to determine whether a local district that receives only, somewhere between 3 and 6% state funding, to have the board override them on whether they can have a charter school, is totally wrong and I would hope that we would revisit this. The provisions about administrative cost are poorly written and need to be readdressed. My local superintendents feel that we could not even hire an attorney for adequate fees if we had a major lawsuit because of the way this section is written. That needs to be readdressed. The bottom line is, I, as a legislator, when I came here, had illusions of statesmen, people getting together on issues and coming together on conclusions on good legislation. I certainly found that, that was not the case. The fact that politics

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plays a bigger issue than this, and what the real issue is, is a disappointment and I would hope that we would be able to revisit many of the poor parts of this Bill, if it is passed, to make it better and to come together with a better agreement as statesmen and what we need to do in a very diverse state so that certain parts of the state, we can lift the quality of our children without harming areas of my state that live and die by education as the chief export of what they're doing in our local communities. That the high school districts are totally penalized and that I have award winning high schools does not escape me and that this Bill for some reason, tends to be punitive to teachers who I think are the best thing that we have in this state going for us and the best thing that any child can have, also escapes me. I do not know why we have to combine this type of Bill with the funding that is so sorely needed but, unfortunately, it is the best that we have right now."

Speaker Hartke: "Thank you, Representative Mulligan. The Chair recognizes the Gentleman from Bureau, Representative Mautino at Representative O'Brien's desk."

Mautino: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. In listening to the course of the debates, I'd like to ask the Sponsor a couple of questions and then go to the Bill."

Speaker Hartke: "The Sponsor indicates he'll yield."

Mautino: "Leader Daniels, in this legislation, do we still have the provision for...which was located on page 95, for prorating the 'hold harmless' moneys?"

Daniels: "Yes."

Mautino: "Okay, and as far as the numbers you had said that 46% of the new dollars which are coming into this will go to

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the downstate school districts, is that correct?"

Daniels: "Yes."

Mautino: "Okay. Thank you, to the Bill. Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, and I spoke on this Bill at length when it first surfaced, I guess some of the major concerns that I have with it are that in this legislation, 46% of the new dollars will go to downstate. Now, if we took these new dollars and put it into our current state aid formula, downstate would receive 53% of those new dollars and our current state aide formula, although it may not be fair to the suburbs as it's structured, we downstate in the past have been willing to live and die to protect the formula because we're not as fortunate to have the growth that there are in some of the districts that can spend 14 and 15 thousand dollars per child. So, when we look at this legislation, if you're going to raise these taxes, and they are not a stable source of funding, and if you are not going to address the fundamental concern of the citizens of the State of Illinois, which is the assessment of the property taxes to fund the schools, if we're not going to deal with that, then why did we not take this \$450 million and put it to the current state aid formula? Then the problem with the high schools would have gone away. Then the problems of the 700 thousand students who we are trying to help and who deserve to be helped, would have been addressed through that formula. I mean, it's not a fundamental change. And for those of us from downstate to say, 'Yes, we've put \$500 million, or \$450 million in new money into the schools, this is a good thing.' You also have to remember that for the next 20 or 30 years, we are going to get 46% of funding where we would currently get 53. So, we're going to take a loss in the long run. I'm

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very skittish when someone tells me that there's true change and there's fundamental reform when in June, my folks are going to get their property tax bills. They're going to look to their schools and their school boards to say, 'Wait a minute, if we've had this fundamental change, then why don't I see a reduction?' Because the school boards are concerned about the hold harmless money. They don't think it'll be there. They don't believe that we will appropriate that money. And you know what's really interesting? The very next Bill that we are going to be voting on is the Supplemental and do you know what's in that? This year's hold harmless money. So, we're saying in this legislation that if we don't appropriate enough in the future, then we're going to prorate your dollars. While the very next Bill has the money in it that we did not appropriate for this year and is it a wonder why people are concerned and don't believe us? So, as a Member of downstate, I know that this is the only Bill we're going to vote on, but I can't quite bring myself to say, 'I have to vote yes because it's the only thing out there.' There is a better plan out there. We could have just left the formula alone, which would have protected those 700 thousand kids, but we did not do that. We settled for something less and we will have to address it in 2001, or if I know this Body and our ability to appropriate moneys in the past, we'll be looking at that hold harmless money next year as we are going to do with this year's money in the next Bill. Vote 'no'."

Speaker Madigan: "Speaker Madigan in the Chair. Representative Lindner is recognized for five minutes."

Lindner: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. My question was also on the Chicago Teachers Pension Fund, and that has already been

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answered by Leader Daniels so, to the Bill. I would like to go on record as saying that I, too, am upset about the riverboat tax because I do represent two areas of Aurora and Elgin, which both have riverboats and I hope that we will be able to address some of those problems in the next Session. But I do agree with all the editorials that have been out that we need to take a first step on education. Certainly, we never get a perfect Bill to vote on here, but when we look at it from a perspective of a broad public policy aspect, we are doing what we said by increasing the foundation level for the children of this state and adding the poverty grants. And for my area, certainly, the construction bonds and the elimination of the double whammy are extremely important. And I have heard from many of my superintendents who say that access to these bonds would have a profound effect on the taxpayers of the district and this does represent real tax relief to the citizens. So, I do think there is a certain amount of tax relief in this Bill. I plan to vote 'yes'."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Morrow at Mr. Burke's desk. Mr. Morrow for five minutes."

Morrow: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. Over the last two weeks, we've had time to consider House Bill 452, and I guess my comments are going to be made towards some of the people, who in the last two weeks, have called my office, fairly and unfairly, to pressure me to change my 'no' vote to a 'yes' vote. And one of the reasons that they used that I should change my vote, is to say that half-a-loaf is better than nothing. And my response to many of those people who use that analogy, 'Do you accept half a loaf or do you deserve a full meal with all the fixings?' And maybe this is the fundamental

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problem in our community. We keep accepting what is given instead of fighting for what we deserve. The question is, 'Do we accept educational funding from some segments of this society, or do we deserve educational funding from all segments of the State of Illinois?' I always thought the sum of the whole was greater than the sum of the parts. And really, this issue is common with a lot of other issues in this...that we deal with down in Springfield. The issue comes to the haves and the have nots. It's okay to use 'have not' money to build ball parks. It's okay to use 'have not' money to fund hotel deals. It's okay to give bailouts a big business and, yes, it's going to be okay to build a third airport with your 'have not' money. But let's talk about the sides of the 'haves'. It's never okay for the 'haves' to educate or clothe or shelter or heal the 'have nots'. And that's what this Bill does. What, basically, we're being told is, 'We don't want to use rich people's money to educate your children. No, that can't be done. But it's all right to use poor people's money for whatever use we want it to be used for.' Then you wonder. Then you wonder why the 'have nots' have so many ills. Hell, you try carrying all the burden of society on your back. Because every step you might make to be in the 'have', another ton of bricks is put on you and you alone to keep you a 'have not'. And for those who question the integrity of Members of this General Assembly, I question the integrity of some of the people who have coming down here asking for 'yes' votes. Why don't you disclose your contracts with the Chicago Board of Education? Why don't you disclose that you're a member of the payroll of the Chicago Board of Education? Whose food you eat, is whose song you shall sing. And I...so I said all of this to say

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...I said all of that, rather, to say this, 'If my constituents, if my constituents are willing to accept half a loaf, then they'll get their half a loaf as their duly elected offic...Representative. But remember this, remember this. You sent me down here to fight for what you deserve, not to accept what they give, and I cannot fight if you do not ball your fist. And you have decided not to ball your fist on this issue. You have decided to say that I made the wrong vote on this issue. But you did not call me last spring to compliment me when I voted for the real Bill, which was the best Bill. I've been here twelve years and have voted for two temporary fixes. It is time to deal with education on a permanent basis. I dealt with education on a permanent basis last spring. So, if you are willing to accept this, I'm going to give you a quote that I heard on a radio station a couple of weeks ago, WNUA. 'If you accept less than you deserve, then you will receive less than you accepted.' Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Black for five minutes."

Black: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker and Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. Our late friend Zeke Giorgi was right. This is absolutely the greatest show in town, probably the greatest show in the State of Illinois. I've listened to a number of comments. I respect all of those people who have spoken. I'm like many of you. Nineteen ninety seven was to have been the year of fundamental education funding reform but as those of us who grew up prior to television, and we've learned from television, a lot of times the hype doesn't meet reality and that's what happened in 1997. The hype didn't deliver. What we're doing here is not fundamental reform of how education is funded in the State of Illinois. We all know that. You know, I ran in 1996,

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on a platform of education as my number one priority. But I ran on that platform in '94 and '92 and '90 and before that. And for those who say, 'Oh, yeah, sure thing,' I voted for the Constitutional Amendment on this Floor late one night that went on the ballot. It passed in my district. My seatmate, who I respect, took umbrage with my vote. A dark day in the history of my Membership in this chamber. But that Constitutional Amendment passed in my district, but it failed in the State of Illinois. I Cosponsored, Cosponsored and voted for the Governor's plan last May, and I was joined by six lonely colleagues on my side of the aisle. That plan failed in the Senate. Every time we have tried to advance a measure that we think would bring fundamental reform to how we finance education in Illinois, the end result is the same. It has failed. So, now here we are in a Special Session, and in all due respect to my colleagues, there is no tomorrow. There is no tomorrow, there is no other Bill, we cannot amend the one we have, this is it. Now, I don't like it. I don't like it one bit. I don't think it's a half a loaf. It's one piece of bread, but I have districts that are starving to death. They are in desperate need of dollars, and if we don't pass this, the only place they can get the dollars will be the property taxpayer and, folks, that well is about dry. So, I'll vote for it today. I didn't vote for it three weeks ago, but I'll vote for it today because it's all I can get. I will take what I can get back to my district. I am bringing state taxes back to my district and maybe indirectly, we'll get some property tax relief. But I'm...I'm not going to go away. I'm still going to work for fundamental reform on how we finance education in this state. Sixty-five percent of the dollars come from

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the property taxpayer. That's not right, that isn't fair. What we have is a patched together Bill that is all we can pass at this time. I think it's built on a very strange foundation of taxes. Smoking, gambling, deadbeats and the telecommunications tax, what a strange message we're sending to our children on how we want to help fund their education. I would assume, Mr. Speaker, that we will revoke the no smoking law in the Chamber and I am a confirmed nonsmoker but I guess my motto will be tomorrow, 'Let's smoke one for the kids.' So, maybe we should become a smoking chamber. Maybe it's the only way that children in my district can get a new computer lab. Many of us have fought the good fight, we have voted our conscience, we have voted our district, our views have not prevailed. So, what we have today is a life preserver that we will throw out to 700 thousand children who attend the very poorest school districts in Illinois. I'm not going to go home and say it's the best we can do, and I don't think any of you are either. If we dare say it's the best we can do, shame on us. It is not the best we can do. The bottom line is simple. The bottom line is clear. Vote your conscience. This is all that will pass. There is no tomorrow. There are no Amendments. There is no other Bill that will be resurrected in January that has any realistic opportunity to pass. We all know it. The time now is to once and for all, either vote for education as your priority or vote 'no', and say other things are. I intend to vote 'aye'."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Lou Jones at Representative Kenner's desk. Representative Lou Jones for five minutes."

Jones, L.: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Members of the House, I've been a Legislator for nearly twelve years and this legislation, HB 452, has stirred up more interest than any

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other piece of legislation that I've seen. Everyone who has read the Bill and has spoke on the Bill has stated that it's not the complete answer to the school funding problem but it's the best that we have. In May, before the House adjourned, we passed a Bill on to the Senate, Senate Bill 645, that I feel was a fair Bill, and a Bill that would not only fund education at the state level of responsibility, but it was a permanent Bill. Permanent that would also provide some property tax relief for the parents of the children. Unfortunately, the Senate President refused to call the Bill in the Senate and therefore, we went home without any funding for our schools. The Senate President and others crafted another Bill which later became House Bill 452 Amendment and replaced the income tax with, what they call, user tax. Fourteen cent cigarette tax, a tax on riverboats, that if...only if you gross over \$20 million, a message tax and a tax on late filers of state income taxes. This Bill does not include any property tax relief. There are some who say 51 Legislators sold out to the tobacco industry, the communication industry and the riverboat owners. I am standing here before you today and I'm stating for the record, no one bought Lou Jones. I did not get a dime, and I don't believe my colleagues would sell out the children in Illinois for special interests. That's a very, very severe allegation and I don't think funding children's education with sin taxes is the answer. There are some that say we're using the money now for cigarette taxes that fund education now. That still does not make it right. This Bill will probably pass today and we'll all wish each other a Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year. And we'll all go back to our respective districts and we will start to campaign for our elections. No one

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will be campaigning for equal school funding because we have House Bill 452 which, again, I say is not a permanent fix. In three years, we will all be back here to square one to deal with the school funding for our children again.

And maybe then, we will tax the water we drink or the air we breathe to put another little temporary fix on it. So, we'll go home now and we'll all go into our campaigns and we'll delve into each other's personal life. We'll talk about each other's families. We'll talk about who didn't pay child support, and who did pay child support. We'll talk about who is supporting the gay community, who's not supporting the gay community, who is supporting abortions, who's not supporting abortion. They'll probably go all the way back to 1970 and probably find out if your grandparents paid income tax or not. But that's how the campaigns are run in the State of Illinois. They will find out where your money comes to run your campaign. They'll find out if you live where you say you live. They will challenge your petitions and they get into your personal life and so on and so on. But, whoever merges as the victors, whoever merges as the winners, whoever merges as the leader of this great state, I hope that they have the guts, and I'm using the words guts, because I have too much respect for this Body to use the word that I want to use. I hope they have the guts, I hope they have the guts to stand up to the man across the hall that calls himself the Senate President and run this state. Be they white, black, green, or polka dot, man or woman, if you're supposed to lead this state, you're supposed to lead this state. The last time I looked at my driver's license, it said Illinois. It does not say Pate's Place. And I disagree, the children are the losers because we do not have a permanent fix. We're going home again

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saying, this is the best we can do. This is the best we can do. It puts some of us in a bad, bad situation, cause I've campaigned to come down here to do the best I can do. The new saying now is, 'better than nothing', it's the best that the Legislators have, and so, I guess it is. So, I suggest we put a book bag on the back of Joe Camel, keep the cigarette in his hand, and tell him it's cool to go to school with Joe Camel."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Cowlshaw for five minutes. Representative Cowlshaw, five minutes."

Cowlshaw: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, our state does not need anymore money. Our cup runneth over. What we need is discipline, discipline, Mr. Speaker, discipline. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Kenner for five minutes."

Kenner: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House. Four years ago I campaigned, as many of you did, on a platform that I should come to the General Assembly and work towards school finance reform. As I saw it, the problem was not that we don't spend enough on education but rather, what we spend is not evenly dispersed throughout the state. The reason for this inequity is that we primarily finance our schools through an antiquated real estate tax that only benefits the individual school districts. Last spring, I supported a Bill that would have raised income tax and also provide property tax relief. However, because of the way the Bill was structured, I felt that the lion's share of the increased revenues would be shouldered by the bottom half of the state's wage earners. I saw it as a classic struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. But I supported that measure, not because it addressed the fundamental problem of how we fund our

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schools but rather, it moved us in the right direction. Three weeks ago, I said 'no' to a measure that I saw as yet another outrageous attempt by the 'haves' to relieve themselves of any financial burden to bring our poorest school districts up to even a minimum level of what we have determined to be this state's financial responsibility to our children. A couple of days later, I was horrified to read in the press and see on television that otherwise responsible leaders, were claiming that Legislators who had not supported this Bill, had sold out to special interests. That I had sold my vote...that I would sell out the neediest children in our state for a \$200 contribution. But that was just one punch in a two punch combination, because at the same time a false perception was being spread throughout the media that if we don't pass this Bill today, then it may be years before the 'haves' give the 'have nots' another opportunity to bail us out of this school finance fiasco. This false perception that this Bill must be passed today, has been repeated so many times in the last couple of weeks that it has virtually become a reality. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I will hold my nose and reluctantly vote 'yes', but I hope that over the next couple of years, we find the courage to end this outrageous hypocrisy and come up with real solutions to our school's financial problems and thereby, enable all of our children to receive a high quality education. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Representative Biggert."

Biggert: "Thank you very much, Mr. Speaker. Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, to the Bill. Education is the most important issue facing this state. Children are our main concern. Education is our top priority. Every day that we delay to pass such a Bill, our children lose. This Bill certainly

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doesn't satisfy everyone, but is one that most Legislators can agree on. As a Member of the House Republican Task Force on Education, with my colleagues, we looked at many proposals to improve the quality of education for students statewide. Could we accomplish the goals of this Bill without raising taxes? I continue to believe that we could but, could such a measure pass the House? It would take a miracle to do so but think how far we have come in the last couple of years in discussing this issue. Bringing together different regions of this state to vote on such a Bill. I'm supporting this legislation because the state needs to address education funding and reform. It is not an easy issue to deal with, but we are elected to make the tough calls, not just the easy ones. Make education of our kids your top priority. This is the reasonable way to help public schools. Please, vote 'yes'."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Pugh in Representative Burke's chair. Mr. Pugh for five minutes."

Pugh: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Will the Sponsor yield for a question?"

Speaker Madigan: "The Sponsor yields."

Pugh: "Representative Daniels, can you tell me the genesis of this piece of legislation?"

Daniels: "Yes, I can."

Pugh: "Will you tell me where...from whence this piece of legislation originated?"

Daniels: "Yes, this piece of legislation started with the Governor's call for education reform in the State of Illinois. It actually started, I would say, about three years ago when we..."

Pugh: "Is this different..."

Daniels: "Yeah, I'm answering your question."

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Pugh: "Is this different..."

Daniels: "Let me answer the question and then you can ask me..."

Pugh: "You answered it. You answered it."

Daniels: "...then you can ask me a follow up question, Representative."

Pugh: "You answered it, Sir, and I thank you."

Daniels: "No, I didn't. I just started, I was just warming up."

Pugh: "Well, I was...I was secure with the answer that I received."

Daniels: "You were, okay. Three years ago, it started with Chicago school reform, then went to quality first, and now it started with a Bill that was voted on last year."

Pugh: "My next question is, what is the difference between this piece of legislation and the one that we passed out of the House in the spring?"

Daniels: "I'd be happy to cover that with you and I thank you for asking me that..."

Pugh: "No, let be a bit more specific, Sir."

Daniels: "I'd be happy..."

Pugh: "Is this...Is the Sponsor of this piece of legislation, the same Sponsor of that piece of legislation that we passed in the spring? Is this the Governor's Bill? Is this the real Governor's Bill that we're discussing now, or was that the real Governor's Bill in the spring?"

Daniels: "Okay, now I'm going to answer your questions. This is the Governor's Bill, this is Mr. Madigan's Bill, this is Senator Philip's Bill, Senator Jones' Bill and my Bill. This is Members' Bill. This is as a result of years of input. This is the mayor of Chicago's Bill, Paul Vallas' Bill, and numerous groups that have participated in this over years of study. This is the Ikenberry Commission Bill, this is the result of downstate input. This is the

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result of suburban input and Chicago input. This gives \$180 million in poverty funds to the City of Chicago. Now, you asked me a question and I'll answer it. What was the difference between this Bill and the Bill of last spring? This Bill provides nearly \$500 million in state funding to local schools without an income tax increase. Last Bill...last spring, a Bill was passed out of this House that had an income tax increase in it, taxing every citizen in the State of Illinois on their hard earned income. That's why this Bill is better because it doesn't have an income tax increase. This Bill makes education a number one priority in the state through a continuing budget appropriation. That continuing appropriation was negotiated by Senator Jones in the Senate, and I commend him as for his activity. The Bill last spring, didn't have a continuing appropriation in it at all, and if you argue that the value of the Bill last spring was a better Bill, then where was the continuing appropriation? It wasn't there. How can you now argue that this is a worse Bill when it has a better feature in it?"

Pugh: "Okay, let...then I'll answer you question, Sir."

Daniels: "This Bill raises the foundation level to a minimum of \$4425."

Pugh: "You asked me a question. You just...you asked me a question, Mr. Daniels. Mr. Daniels, Sir."

Daniels: "This Bill provides \$3 billion in school construction grant funds..."

Pugh: "Thank you for your answer. Thank you for your response, Sir."

Daniels: "...in addition to \$300 million in repairs. The Bill last spring, only..."

Pugh: "Thank you."

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Daniels: "...had \$100 million in repairs in it."

Pugh: "Mr. Speaker, I thank the Gentleman for his response...Thank you for your response to my question."

Daniels: "You want me to go on? I'd be happy to continue the comparisons between this Bill and last spring's Bill and that's why we stand here and we're so much in favor of this Bill because it does so much more in academic reform. Chicago schools ended social promotion. Do you realize that?"

Pugh: "I submit to you, Sir, that you..."

Daniels: "You Legislators from Chicago, the Chicago schools ended social promotion."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Pugh..."

Daniels: "We put this into law that now social promotion will end, it didn't have it in there last spring. What about the no pass/no play policy, now has it in there?"

Pugh: "Could we have some order, Mr. Speaker. Could we have..."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Pugh, let me...Mr. Pugh..."

Daniels: "Do you have any more questions of me? I'd be happy to answer them."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Pugh, let me suggest you speak to the Bill and we'll give you some extra time but, please, speak to the Bill."

Daniels: "I like his questions."

Pugh: "To the Bill,..."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Pugh."

Pugh: "...Mr. Speaker. Six years I've served in this Legislature and every election year, we hold our children hostage under the guise of offering them a better educational package. Every election year, we're holding our children hostage for the sake of political maneuvering. Every year, we're offering band-aids to a problem that is inherent with the

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structuring of education. We're going to continue to skirt bad needed changes in order to stabilize our school funding. This particular piece of legislation is merely a band-aid approach. It is not going to get to the fundamental issue of how we fund our schools and until we do, we're going to continue to allow those people like Pate Philips, to use our children as a means of furthering their political careers. When is it going to end? We have a Bill, we have a band-aid. How long...how long will this band-aid last? I assure you that in the year 2001, when we have used up these regressive taxes, the extent of these regressive taxes that we will be back to the table once again with our schools in disrepair, with our children uneducated, and our prisons being filled. When and where will it stop? These regressive taxes, these particular taxes, and the people in my community ought to listen to this, these particular taxes shifted tax burden from property owners to poor people. This tax shifts money to people who don't have money to pay the taxes. We are funding education with a disappearing tax base. If we're serious about funding education, then we would lend our attention to the Ikenberry Report that said a tax increase was the best way of funding education. This way of funding education is deficient and it does not offer any long-term needs for funding education. We have a media battle that we're playing and the Andy Shaws and the...all of the other political analysts have leaned heavily to the side of the people who have the money to buy the materials or the media and we are not getting the truth out to the people about the flaws in this piece of legislation. No one is talking about what this legislation will do to teachers. No one has mentioned the effects that this is going to have on the

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teacher's pensions, how the teachers pensions are going to be raided. No one is speaking to the tenure, the tenure track professionals that we're going to lose as a result of this legislation. And if we don't, and I submit to you, that if we do not have competent teachers, if the teachers are not comfortable, they will not be allowed to teach. And unless we remove some of the problems that we're having with our teachers and their comfort level, then there going into bad and worse situations and we will have more and more of our children resulting in prison...going to prison. And lastly, I have one question for the speaker of this Bill...the Sponsor of the Bill. Mr. Daniels,...Speaker Daniels."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Pugh. Mr. Pugh..."

Daniels: "Thank you. Thank you very much."

Pugh: "Where's the real Bill? Where's the real Bill? Where's the real Bill?"

Speaker Madigan: "Mr...Mr. Pugh. Mr. Pugh. Mr. Pugh, you're speaking to the Bill, please. You have one minute left to speak to the Bill. We've moved past that point in the debate. We're at the point where you're speaking to the Bill. Please, bring your remarks to a close."

Pugh: "But he was so good at answering questions. I submit to this august Body of individuals that this piece of legislation is inherently flawed, and we will be back to the table in two years. What are we going to do? Does this mean that education is off of the table now? Does this mean that we have...because we have a temporary fix, that we're through with education, with coming up with a plausible solution for funding education? I submit to you that this is a bad piece of legislation and we're going to pay for it in the future when we see that Johnny still

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won't be able to read."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Brady for five minutes. Mr. Brady."

Brady: "Will the Sponsor yield?"

Speaker Madigan: "The Sponsor yields."

Brady: "Where's the real Bill? No... Representative Daniels, in this legislation, there is a bond program that's available. The bond program calls for school districts to be able to receive a matching share from the state to make improvements. Is it necessary for those school districts to use referendum and bonding to access those moneys?"

Daniels: "No."

Brady: "Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. McGuire for five minutes. Mr. McGuire... The Chair recognizes Mr. Boland in Mr. McGuire's chair. Mr. Boland for five minutes."

Boland: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen, I'm an educator by profession, former school board member by volunteering. I would love to be able to support this Bill, but sad to say, this is a Bill that is built on quicksand as far as our educational funding. What happens after the three years? What happens to the cigarette tax as, hopefully, cigarette smoking goes down, as is predicted? What is the problem with the gambling tax when our gambling boat revenue may go down due to the fact that we don't have dockside gaming, and we can't compete with Iowa, Indiana, and Missouri? And worst of all, Ladies and Gentlemen, what is with the phone tax? This has to be one of the most regressive types of tax. It hits those who can least afford it, the hardest. Senior citizens, working families, poor people, this is not the way to fund education. This is funding it on quicksand. It is not on a solid basis. There is no property tax relief. There is

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no permanent, fair, equitable system of funding. Sad to say, this is a band-aid approach. Everybody has admitted that. We've admitted it. It's just something to carry us over the next election. And sad to say, we should have done as Representative Crotty, the first speaker said, we should have had a sit down of all of us and said, 'Let's put together the best features of both Bills.' The Bill in the springtime was the best Bill. It was a permanent Bill. It was a solid Bill. This is not, this is a quicksand Bill. There are some good things about it. We should have put them together. We could have done it, we should do it. Thank you."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Cross for five minutes."

Cross: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. To the Bill. I'm going to support this Bill and I supported it several weeks ago, but not without some bit of hesitation and I admit that, or say that because I represent both the towns of Aurora and Joliet. And I come at this in a fairly selfish manner and I'm not afraid to admit that. I want to talk about the ramifications of this Bill and maybe where we're going to be in a few weeks or in the next month and we're going to be back here asking for your help. I'm not going to go into all the other merits or downsides to this Bill, you've heard those. I'm not particularly pleased with some of the taxes, but I do believe it's the best Bill we have and it's going to be the only Bill. But I want you to think about the cities of Aurora and the cities of Elgin and the cities of Joliet. Ten years ago, we had unemployment in those cities as high as 20 to 22%. We lost heavy industry, we lost steel mills, we lost retail. Everyone abandoned our downtowns, and our downtowns were in many respects, ghost towns. We are just now starting to come back and have some

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revitalization in our downtowns. We're starting to have jobs, we're starting to have restaurants, we're starting to see some retail, and it's because of riverboats. It's because the riverboats came to our towns and took a gamble. Now, I realize that riverboat owners aren't the most popular people in this state. The perception is that they've made tons of money, and no one really has any sympathy for them. Well, they have made money and why should they be ashamed of that? But more importantly, they've become very good neighbors to all of our towns. And if you represent any of those towns like Representative Hoeft, Representative Kosel, Representative Hassert, Representative Deuchler, Representative Lindner, you know that jobs are very important to us in those towns. Fifteen hundred jobs in Elgin, 15 hundred jobs in Aurora, almost 3 thousand jobs in Joliet because of the riverboats. And because of this Bill, we run the risk of losing in Aurora, several hundred jobs, in Joliet, 3 to 4 hundred jobs. If that was happening to any of your towns, you would be screaming and in an uproar because of the loss of jobs. We have the opportunity in these same towns to have brand new hotels built, to have new boats built, to have top notch entertainment come into our towns. We have the risk, or about to lose all of that because of this Bill. The growth that we've encountered over the last few years is going to come to a screeching halt, a screeching halt. Now, I realize this Bill's going to pass and, quite frankly, I do hope it passes because, for the good of the state, I think it's a good Bill. But we're going to be back here within another month, maybe several weeks, looking to find some way to ease the pain for our municipalities. I don't care if you don't care about the boat owners, forget the boat

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owners for a minute. Think about our municipalities, think about the city council members, think about the fact that crime now in those three particular cities, is now going down. For the first time in the last ten years, our crime level has stabilized. We're not going up, we're going down. That's because of the boats. It's because the riverboat owners came to our town, took a gamble and it paid off. We have a chance to keep jobs. We have a chance to keep development going and we will be back here within a few months looking for a way to ease that pain. And I would encourage you to keep an open mind. I don't know if it's going to be dockside. I don't know if it's going to be some form of dockside, I don't know what it's going to be, but we're going to be back here asking for your help. And, please, please keep an open mind to those municipalities, to those people that are going to risk losing their jobs, to the economic development that's been going on in our municipalities and allow us to keep that open and to keep it going for the next few years because we rely heavily, we're not ashamed to admit, on these boats, and I appreciate your attention. Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

Speaker Madigan: "The last speaker will be Representative Ricca Slone and then, Mr. Daniels will close. Last speaker, Ricca Slone. And Ricca Slone is at Representative O'Brien's chair."

Slone: "Thank you. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Any true school funding reform proposal should support three principles: adequacy, a minimum amount for each child; equity, helping to narrow the gap between our school districts; and stability of funding. While this Bill partly meets the goal of adequacy by insuring that all districts will have at least a foundation level for three years, it is

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seriously flawed. The new formula funds...because the new formula funds elementary school to a greater extent than our high schools and unit districts, it discourages badly needed consolidations that would provide economies of scale and standardize the curriculum among our elementary schools that feed into a single high school district. Because the Bill reduces poverty grants, schools with many poor children will receive fewer, not more, resources. And somehow, despite all the talk about increases to the poorest districts, some of the wealthiest districts in the state, emerge with enormous increases in state funding. Because the Bill has no property tax relief, it does absolutely nothing to shift the burden from local taxpayers to the state and nothing to address the continuing and vast inequities that remain among our school districts' ability to pay for our school...children's education. The so-called reforms in this Bill, take no steps to insure that our students learn more and meet reasonable academic standards, rather, they are directed, erroneously in my opinion, to our teachers. Teachers are not the problem here. We are the problem because we don't have the political will to do what is right to meet the needs of all our children into the future. For every child we fail now, for every child we send into our economy without the skills he or she needs, the taxpayers will face increased costs for courts, for prisons, for foster care, for teen pregnancy, for welfare and health care cost. This Bill does not even provide stability. The tax sources are regressive, narrow and unstable. The continuing appropriation is a fantasy. This Bill says to our poorest districts, 'All right, Cinderella, you can have a coach and six fine, white horses, but only until midnight. After

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that, it's back to six white mice and a pumpkin.' Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a bad Bill, it does not serve our children or our state's future well. Vote 'no'."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Daniels to close."

Daniels: "Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen of the House, we now have debated this Bill for close to two hours, and now is the time that everybody has to make a decision on how they will vote. We reviewed this legislation in detail and I listened to, intently, the discussion of people both for and against this Bill. It seems to me that the people that are for the Bill, are saying in many occasions that there are certain provisions of this Bill that they're not real happy with, that if they wrote the Bill individually, they'd make those changes and they would like to have some changes in it. You know what, so would I. I didn't personally write this Bill. Mr. Madigan didn't personally write this Bill. The mayor of Chicago who supports this Bill, didn't personally write it. Paul Vallas, the great school chief of the City of Chicago didn't personally write this Bill. Governor Edgar didn't, Senator Philip didn't personally write it. Senator Jones didn't personally write it. They all support it. Some of my Members on this side of the aisle who will support this Bill, didn't personally write the Bill, but they'll support it. And they look and they listen to the debate on the other side of the aisle and they talk about whether or not this Bill is the best Bill and why not go back and do another Bill and they say, 'It's time now to stand up and be counted. It's time now to say that kids in this state are first, to put education as the first priority,' which this Bill does do. To pay attention to the children of Illinois. To not turn your backs on an opportunity, move education forward. Is there

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anyone that could say that this doesn't have a positive impact on education? No, you can't say that because even though you may disagree with some of the needs of this Bill, the fact of the matter is, it still has many features that put a positive impact on education in this state. Putting in law for the first time in history, a minimum foundation level. Putting in law for the first time, ending social promotion. Putting in law, academic reforms that we've never seen before. Sending unprecedented levels of poverty money into the City of Chicago and other pockets of the state that need our state's assistance in poverty funding. So, when you look at this, when you review this Bill, when you put kids first by voting for this legislation, making the school funding the number one priority of this state, providing key academic reforms, repairing and updating our school facilities with no general income tax increase, what you are saying is that all these things count to you, matter to you, and the kids of this state are the most important ones of all. The estimated total expenditures for statewide education as a result of this Bill and this year alone, will put \$445 million more into education this year alone. Next year, \$654 million more will go into education if this Bill wasn't passed. The following years, \$722 million and then by the year 2000, \$797 thousand...million. Ladies and Gentlemen, you pass this Bill, you are funding education more between 1997 and 2001 by 2 billion 600 million dollars. Now, some people say it's too much and where I might agree with that, or some people say don't raise any tax and I might agree with that, the fact of the matter is, that it's time now to stand up and be counted for the children of Illinois. Not just the children of Chicago,

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not just the children of a suburban area, or not just the children of downstate Illinois, but the children of all Illinois because this puts into the total general funds, an increase of 12.70 percent of money for education. And for total general state aid increase 23.5 percent. To those in the south suburbs, in the southwest suburbs around Chicago, it puts in a total of \$21.7 million more into your schools that you would have if you didn't pass this Bill. Twenty-one million dollars more of school funding goes into the southwest and south suburbs of the State of Illinois into the 35th, 36th, 37th district, the 79th and the 80th district in Illinois. To the Gentleman from the 76th district who talked about this legislation, if you took his approach and put all this money into the school aid formula, then we would fall way short of the \$4225 goal that this Bill has in it. In other words, what you'd be doing is taking away the very principle of this Bill and building and guaranteeing a minimum foundation level. And the district that's getting fifteen thousand dollars today, under his approach, would actually get more money under his approach than what we put into this Bill so, it's counterproductive. So, when you look at this and you review the academic reforms and all the benefit to this legislation statewide, what you're really saying is that I'm going to stand up and be supportive of all kids in all of Illinois, in every pocket of Illinois. This isn't the perfect Bill, nobody said it was. Nobody will rest until we continue to improve the quality education in this state, but yet it is another step, another important step to the improvement of education in every classroom, in every part of Illinois, in every segment, and every race, creed or color in the State of Illinois. Ladies and Gentlemen, I

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proudly stand up as a Sponsor of this Bill. I stand with my Republican colleagues and I ask you to join us. To pass this legislation in law, right now. Talk has been too long, we've stood around too long. Now is the time to act on school reform, right now. Put the kids first, vote 'yes' on this Bill. Vote 'yes' now."

Speaker Madigan: "The question is, 'Shall this Bill pass?' Those in favor signify by voting 'aye'; those opposed by voting 'no'. Have all voted who wish? The Clerk shall take the record. On this question there are 83 'ayes' noes; 31 'noes'. This Bill having received...Let the record show that Representative Saviano was attempting to vote 'aye'. There being 83 'ayes', 31 'noes', this Bill having received a Super Majority Constitutional... Constitutional Super Majority, is hereby declared passed. On the Order of Concurrence, there appears House Bill 398. Mr. Hannig. Mr. Hannig at Representative O'Brien's chair."

Hannig: "Yes, thank you, Mr. Speaker and Members of the House. This Bill does a number of things that we promised last week in the Veto Session with the Bond Bill. It also, first of all, provides that we appropriate the money that we just authorized the State of Illinois to raise. That's \$116 million in supplemental state aid, \$10 million in low income assistance grants, and \$42 million for school infrastructure projects including \$12 million for debt services. It includes the items that we authorized in the Bond Bill during the Veto Session, including \$111 million for higher education, capitol projects and \$95 million for corrections for the purposes of a new maximum security prison, and I might note that 80% of the assaults occur in the four existing maximum security prisons and certainly,

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the addition of an additional maximum security prison should help relieve some of the pressure on those institutions and our friends over in AFSCME have lobbied for this...for a number of years and now, the Governor has agreed and that will be funded. It provides for...It provides that we take the money that was put together with the Electric Deregulation Bill, there's \$5 million for coal technology development grants, \$38 million for the half-year funding for the Low Income Energy Assistance Program, and \$10 million for funding for the Renewable Energy Resources Program. That money will be...was authorized when we passed a Deregulation Bill earlier in the year. We break out the IDOT spending by district, we reallocate the \$10 million for immigration along the lines of what Governor Edgar had proposed. We have language changes and other corrections that each of the four caucuses had requested that are no new net dollars. We have some additional flood money that we have to authorize. This was \$37 million that's left over from the 1993 flood bills that have still continued to come in. We have some changes in federal money and the only item that I think might be somewhat controversial is \$10 thousand increases for district office allowances. Now, there are some other items, but those are the highlights and I'd be happy to answer any questions."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Ryder."

Ryder: "Thank you, Mr. Speaker. I rise simply to suggest that this is a bipartisan Bill, that we've worked hard. This does allow us to do what the previous Bill authorized, which is to put money for education. I would urge my colleagues to vote 'yes', and I thank Representative Hannig for his cooperation. Thank you, Mr. Speaker."

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Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Skinner."

Skinner: "Yes, I wonder if the Gentleman would turn to page 64, and look at Section 31 and tell me why we're spending \$700 thousand to renovate, rehab, reconstruct a baseball field? I mean, this is not Iowa, if they build it, they may not come."

Hannig: "Representative, did you...you're talking about the \$700 thousand?"

Skinner: "Yes."

Hannig: "For Village of Crestwood, is that what you said, Representative Skinner?"

Skinner: "Yes."

Hannig: "That was a...that's a language change that came from the Senate Republican Caucus."

Skinner: "Well, that certainly shuts me up. Could you, also, explain James Allen Newsome receiving money for having been falsely incarcerated? Could you give us detail on that, please?"

Hannig: "That was a Court of Claims item. It was adjudicated in his favor in a Court of Claims and so, we owe the money and we're paying."

Skinner: "This is the gentleman who was in jail for what?"

Hannig: "Representative, I only know that the Court of Claims ruled in the gentleman's favor and so, we owe the money, so we're paying."

Skinner: "This is a...Is this one of the cases where DNA proved that he was innocent, do you know?"

Hannig: "Apparently, I'm informed that a fingerprint check cleared this gentleman's name and under Illinois law, he is...and he's been pardoned by the Governor and now he, under Illinois law, won this in the Court of Claims and so, we're paying."

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Skinner: "And he spent 15 years in jail?"

Hannig: "He spent time in jail for a crime that he did not commit."

Skinner: "Thank you very much."

Speaker Madigan: "Mr. Hannig to close."

Hannig: "I just ask for a 'yes' vote."

Speaker Madigan: "The question is, 'Shall this Bill pass?' All those in favor signify by voting 'aye'; those opposed by voting 'no'. Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? Have all voted who wish? The Clerk shall take the record. On this question there are 108 'ayes'; 9 people voting 'no'. This Bill, having received a Constitutional Super Majority, is hereby declared passed. Mr. Clerk, read the Resolution."

Clerk Rossi: "House Resolution #3 of the First Special Session, offered by Representative Currie. Be it resolved by the House of Representatives by the 90th General Assembly of the State of Illinois at the First Special Session thereof, that when the House of Representatives adjourns on Tuesday, December 2, 1997, it stands adjourned sine die."

Speaker Madigan: "We've all heard the Resolution. Those in favor signify by saying 'aye'; those opposed by saying 'no'. The 'ayes' have it. The Resolution is adopted. Is there anything further to come before this Special Session? There being nothing further, Representative Currie moves that the House do stand adjourned sine die. Those in favor say 'aye'; those opposed say 'no'. The 'ayes' have it. The House does stand adjourned sine die. It will reconvene in regular session on January 14, 1998."