

"Isn't it time we hold Congress accountable?" it says.

It goes on to say, "Just as every American sits at the dinner table, and as they do, they balance their own books, they balance the budget of a family, a business, it's time that the American people hold Congress accountable to balancing the books."

This week we will be taking up the balanced budget amendment, a piece of legislation that is long overdue.

We have already started giving the voters of America what they said they wanted in the Contract and now it is time to focus on the job at hand and get on with the people's business.

As a freshman Member of the 104th Congress, I was sent here by the people to make real change, to make this happen for the first time in 40 years.

Let us not continue backsliding toward politics as usual, but let us give the American people what they sent us here to do, and, that is, to pass a balanced budget amendment.

CALL FOR AN INDEPENDENT COUNSEL IN SPEAKER'S ETHICS CASE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. BONIOR] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, we Democrats are anxious to get on with the business before this House. I was pleased on Friday that the Speaker appointed his Members of the Ethics Committee and Minority Leader Gephardt appointed Members from the other side of the aisle as well. To avoid a conflict of interest, they each chose Members from the preexisting ethics panel. This was a wise move because the only complaint before the Ethics Committee right now is a complaint involving Speaker GINGRICH. Clearly the Speaker would have had a conflict of interest appointing new Members who would sit in judgment on his own case. Unfortunately, even with Friday's announcement, the Speaker still has a conflict of interest problem. The subject of the ethics complaint and the essence deals with the relationship of GOPAC, which is a political action committee controlled by Mr. GINGRICH, to Mr. GINGRICH's other enterprises.

GOPAC is an organization which has raised over the last 9 years anywhere between \$10 and \$20 million in contributions. Its contributors included people who have direct interest in what we do in the People's House here. Direct interest. They have contributed to over 100 Republican candidates and campaigns. Yet we do not know who contributed the money or how the money was spent, because GOPAC still refuses to disclose the names of its past donors, and, I might add, its past expenses as well.

The ethics complaint involves questions about the relationship of this

multimillion-dollar slush fund to Mr. GINGRICH's alleged nonpartisan college course. Clearly any person who has had dealings with GOPAC has a serious conflict of interest in this case. Yet in this morning's Wall Street Journal, we learned that 2 of the 5 Members appointed to the Ethics Committee by Mr. GINGRICH on Friday have had past dealings with GOPAC.

Mr. Speaker, this will not do. The only way we are going to get on with the business of this House and to get past this ethical cloud swirling around the Speaker's head, from his book deal to GOPAC, to his supposedly nonpartisan college course, is to have a professional, nonpartisan, independent outside counsel appointed to this case.

I would urge in the strongest way possible that that is the course that this body and that the Ethics Committee take.

QUOTES FROM THE PAST SUPPORT BALANCED BUDGET

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HOKE] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. HOKE. Mr. Speaker, we are getting to the point in the balanced budget debate where the volume is being turned up, the heat is being turned up, we are starting to hear a lot of gnashing of teeth and beating of chests and wailing and wringing of hands, and I thought that it might be a good idea at this point to remind ourselves of the words of George Santayana who said that those who refuse to study history are condemned to repeat it, especially as we hear, and I talked last week a little bit, about the new species on the floor this year in Congress called the Metoobut.

The Metoobuts are known by their talking about a particularly positive and popular Republican principle, for example, in this case the balanced budget amendment, which the people of this country have said overwhelmingly that they want this Congress to enact, and they will say, "We absolutely have to have a balanced budget amendment, I support it completely, it's the best thing in the world, it's the greatest thing since sliced bread, but," and then launch into 55 reasons why we ought to have it maybe in the next millennium but not in this one.

I thought it might be instructive if we could just look a little bit at what other people in other times have said about the ability to spend the national treasury.

Going backward quite a way, I thought maybe we could start with the Roman statesman Cicero when he spoke in the Roman Forum in 63 B.C. Listen closely, because this has particularly special relevance to today, Mr. Speaker:

The budget should be balanced, the Treasury should be refilled, public debt should be

reduced, the arrogance of officialdom should be tempered and controlled, and the assistance to foreign lands should be curtailed lest Rome become bankrupt.

Then we move closer to our own era, and we find a gentleman named Alexander Fraser Tyler who wrote about the decline and fall of the Athenian Republic. He was a Scotsman, a scholar, a historian and a professor, and he wrote this book in 1805. He said that a democracy "can only exist until the voters discover that they can vote themselves money from the Public Treasury. From that moment on, the majority always votes for the candidates promising the most benefits from the Public Treasury with a result that a democracy always collapses over loose fiscal policy always followed by dictatorship. The average age of the world's greatest civilizations has been 200 years. These nations have progressed through the following sequence." This is all according to Mr. Tyler:

From bondage to spiritual faith;
From spiritual faith to great courage;
From courage to liberty;
From liberty to abundance;
From abundance to selfishness;
From selfishness to complacency;
From complacency to apathy;
From apathy to dependency;
From dependency back into bondage.

Mr. Tyler's assessment is not very positive and I think I will take issue with his notion that every democracy will collapse over loose fiscal policy followed by a dictatorship. That is one of the reasons that we are not going to allow that to happen here at this time in the history, in the life cycle of our own Republic.

Let us go back to what one of our own Founding Fathers said, one of the greatest Founding Fathers, Thomas Jefferson, in 1789. He had one reservation about the Constitution, this document that he personally had had so much to do with authoring. He said, and this is 1789 he wrote this, "If there is one omission I fear in the document called the Constitution, it is that we did not restrict the power of the government to borrow money."

That is what our balanced budget amendment is all about. It is about requiring a supermajority, a three-fifths vote of the House, in order to borrow more money. The operative working section of this constitutional amendment is the requirement that 60 percent, that is the restriction right there, 60 percent of the House of Representatives and the Senate must vote in order to pass a raising of the debt service, or the debt limit, the ceiling on the debt. That is the restriction that Thomas Jefferson was talking about, right there.

Finally, I would like to quote from the founder of our party, Abraham Lincoln. He wrote, "As an individual who undertakes to live by borrowing soon finds his original means devoured by interest and next to no one left to borrow from, so it must be with a government."

Let us learn from the past and not repeat these same mistakes to the detriment of our future generations.

APPOINTMENT OF OUTSIDE COUNSEL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. MILLER] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, at the end of last week, the makeup of the Ethics Committee was announced by the Speaker and by the minority leader. We know as Members of this House that that is among the most difficult task Members can be called upon to perform, and, that is, to sit in those rare occasions when they must in judgment of their colleagues in this House for actions or allegations of behavior. The difficulty of that task was recognized by Speaker GINGRICH back in 1988 when the conduct and questions of the former Speaker was called into question, and he said that the Speaker of the House, a position which is in third line for succession to the presidency and the second most powerfully elected position in America, this investigation has to meet a higher standard of public accountability and integrity.

I think he is probably correct. It certainly must meet the same standards as for Members of the House, but clearly sitting in judgment of the Speaker is a far more difficult task than sitting in judgment upon regular Members of the House because of his position of power and prestige and his integral being to the workings of this House and to the success of Members of his own party and of the House generally.

It is for that reason that while we applaud finally that there is an Ethics Committee in place, that we must raise the issue of the appointment of an outside counsel. Serious allegations have been made against the Speaker in his dealings with the potential publication of his book, the funding of his college class, the solicitation and the disbursement of fundings for GOPAC, a PAC which he controls and which many Members of the House have benefited from or been involved in over the last year. It now turns out that three of the Members, or two, maybe three of the Members on the Republican side of the Ethics Committee have had dealings with GOPAC and been involved in one fashion or another with that.

I think again unfortunately in this House we do not get to deal with simply the facts. We must also deal with the appearance when we do the public's business. And the appearances of a conflict within the Ethics Committee must be dealt with and they must be dealt with in a timely fashion and they must be dealt with immediately.

As the Wall Street Journal pointed out in its discussion of the makeup of the Ethics Committee and about the potential conflict of the members of

that committee, it went on to quote Senator DOLE, the Republican leader in the Senate, who said on "Face the Nation" that "the American people want us to move forward. We are not doing that. All the focus is on NEWT GINGRICH."

I think that is quite clearly the mood in this body and the mood in the public and that is that we must move forward with the agenda, whether it is the contract as represented by the Republican Members of the House or the plight and the well-being of the American working family as represented by Democratic Members of the House, we must go forward with that agenda. We will not be able to do that until this issue is resolved, and this issue must be resolved in favor of the House of Representatives as an institution and must be resolved in favor of the confidence of the American people in this House and it must be resolved in a fair, full disclosure of these allegations and a fair and full investigation. That cannot be done when we have members of the Ethics Committee who have been involved with the organization called into question.

This should be done sooner rather than later and it must be done by resorting to an outside counsel as Speaker GINGRICH recognized when he was embroiled in a conflict with the previous Speaker of the House. It simply requires the appointment of an outside counsel so we can remove it from the floor of the Congress, we can remove it from our daily workings. We have already seen where Speaker GINGRICH has suggested that this would be tied up in the issue of Mexico, that somehow the issue of the bailout or the loan guarantees to Mexico could not be properly considered if this issue continued to be raised.

This issue must continue to be raised until it is settled. And the way you can keep it from being raised on the floor of the Congress is to have it put into the hands of an independent and outside counsel to remove it from this institution.

This issue was raised in the telecommunications policy where we see the Speaker as a beneficiary of the contract with a company owned by Rupert Murdoch, has now met with Mr. Murdoch, with his lobbyist about telecommunications policy, then engaged in a private meeting for Republicans only on telecommunications policy, and then threatened to tell the owners of these companies that they ought to get their reporters in line. So this conflict is spilling over onto the floor of the Congress, onto public policy. It must be separated. The only way it can be separated is with the timely and immediate appointment of an independent and outside counsel in the matter of the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH] versus the questions of his operation and GOPAC and in the funding of his college class and his book contract.

A CALL FOR OPENNESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] is recognized during morning business for 5 minutes.

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, I returned to my district in Springfield, IL this weekend as I do virtually every weekend, and it was interesting that some of my friends when I came across them at a party on Saturday night said, "What in the world was going on in the House of Representatives last week? We tuned into the news and we saw grown men and women shouting, red in the face, emotional. What was it all about?"

What it was all about was a 1-minute speech, like those given every day, by the gentlewoman from Florida, CARRIE MEEK, in which she raised the question of the Speaker's book contract. It led to a ruling by the Chair concerning which words were appropriate to be spoken on the floor and a reaction from my Democratic side of the aisle where there was a feeling that perhaps this ruling, which relied on a precedent almost a century old, had perhaps gone too far.

People in the ordinary course of life with their families may find it hard to imagine why grown men and women would get so exercised and so emotional over something which appears as inconsequential as what words can be spoken on the floor of this House. But frankly, ladies and gentlemen, I think when we take an oath of office to uphold the Constitution, including therein our freedom of speech, that this House probably as much if not more than any other place in the United States should be the situs where free speech is respected. As a result, our emotions ran high, on the Republican side in defense of their Speaker, on the Democratic side in defense of the concept of free speech.

I did not come to make this comment this morning on the issue of free speech, but merely to let you know as previous speakers have how much time has been focused in the last weeks on this floor of the House of Representatives on Speaker GINGRICH's financial dealings. I would like to make a suggestion this afternoon as to how we can really start focusing instead on some of the critical issues facing this country and move away from that.

Last week, of course, we were embroiled for an entire day on the question of what could be said on the floor of the House about the Speaker's multimillion-dollar book deal. Then in sequence every nightly news Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, all of the major networks were consumed with variations on that theme:

Did in fact the Speaker meet with the lobbyist to discuss policies relative to telecommunications? The same lobbyist for the same magnate, Mr. Murdoch, who owns the publishing company the Speaker is doing business