advanced work force. The ultimate rewards, as the students in the House gallery can attest better than I, are lifelong skills and self-respect.

I look forward to the competition tomorrow in the Rayburn foyer, and I promise all who come a real treat. Thank you, Mr. Speaker, for your effort and your assistance in cosponsoring this event.

□ 2000

PAYCHECK PROTECTION ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SUNUNU). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BOB SCHAFFER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, it happened again just a few days ago. I was at a Republican event, a political event dealing with putting candidates on the ballot back in Colorado and one of the individuals in the audience came up and he said, ''I am fed up and sick and tired of labor unions taking cash out of my wages and spending those dollars on political causes that I do not support.''

This was a Republican worker who lives up north in the Morgan area, in Morgan County in my district, in the Fourth District of Colorado. And he asked if there is anything I can do about that.

Well, I asked more questions, tried to find out exactly what had occurred to him. It seems he works for a closed-shop operation there in Colorado, which is in not a right-to-work State. A closed-shop State means essentially that one can be forced or compelled to join a labor organization against their will as a condition of employment. Their only option, of course, is to give up their job and move on and go somewhere else.

So this individual does not approve of his union's activities. I suppose he probably supports some of the collective bargaining and maybe some of the agency representation and so on. But what he really resented was that a certain portion of his paycheck was automatically deducted and withheld and redirected toward political causes of the union's choosing without the consent of this particular wage earner. He thought it was a crime. In fact, he called it such. And I could not disagree with him at all.

Well, this is a practice which occurs throughout the country. It is interesting, here on the House floor, with all the debate about campaign finance and campaign finance reform and what campaigns ought to look like, how they ought to be funded, whether there ought to be caps and limits, what kind of disclosure and reporting requirements that we ought to insist upon, that no one is really willing to spend the time talking about whether campaign funds are raised legitimately in the first place.

The fact of the matter is, right here in the great old United States, it is quite possible, in fact it is quite likely, that a wage earner can have a portion of his wages automatically deducted and withheld out of his paycheck and spent on some political cause simply because he happens to be associated with a labor union. It happens with other organizations as well.

Well, we have tried in fact to take a crack at the issue here on the House floor. The last time campaign finance issues were raised we brought a topic to the floor called the Paycheck Protection Act, a proposal designed to end this practice of having wages automatically deducted and spent on political causes without the consent of the wage earner.

It strikes me as being a pretty simple matter, yet it gets quite confused here in Congress. And I will explain that in a moment, why there seems to be a source of confusion. But it seems that anybody would be hard pressed to come up with an explanation as to why stealing wages out of somebody's paycheck and directing it toward a political cause without the wage earner's knowledge or the wage earner's consent is a good idea, how it can possibly be justified, how we can in fact stand for it, how we can allow campaign cash to be raised in this sort of manner and not object on a daily basis.

Well, I have heard from too many constituents, rank and file union Americans, who do object, who do come up to me at political events, at town meetings, at the parade celebrating small towns throughout my rural district, who come up and tell me that they are fed up with it, that they are sick and tired of having their wages raided by people they do not support for political causes they do not condone, and spent in a way that is outside their control.

I sort of look at this as a pay raise. If we can really protect the paychecks of hard-working Americans, make sure that no portion of their wages are automatically deducted and siphoned off for political causes, that really means, for many wage earners in America it means more dollars in their pocket.

It is very consistent with our efforts towards tax cuts in America to try to encourage and empower individual wage earners by protecting what they work hard for, by protecting their earnings, to allow them to keep what they have toiled over and the fruits of their labor and let them spend it on things that they believe to be high priorities rather than some union boss sitting in another city perhaps or maybe right here in Washington, D.C., or maybe a committee of them that is forming today perhaps to decide which Members of Congress ought to stay and which ones ought to go.

Well, it really does work that way. If my colleagues want to figure out what the motivation is why any labor organization would stand for siphoning off portions of their members' wages to spend on political causes of the union's choosing, they just need to spend a little time here in Washington D.C.

Whenever we have these campaign finance debates, these halls are lined out here in the committee hallways and Members offices' are lined with union organizers and union lobbyists and union bosses who understand that when we talk about paycheck protection, we really are threatening the way of life for a handful of powerful union bosses who have made an art and a career out of siphoning wages away from wage earners' paychecks for the political purposes of their choice.

Campaigns can be fun if they are involved in them, if they are involved in raising money and trying to spend it in a way that helps affect the direction of Congress. It seems to be the American way. That is what every citizen should be encouraged to do and to participate in and be involved in, to choose the candidate of their liking and decide which one best represents them, to put a yard sign in their yard maybe, to put a bumper sticker on their car, to take some literature through their neighborhood and give it to their friends and neighbors, maybe to go to precinct caucus meetings and maybe some State and county assemblies, maybe the national convention, to be involved in whatever way they can in help selecting the candidate that best represents them and that they think is the one that is really going to help turn the country around and to meet their expectations.

And a big part of that is raising money too, as we all know in this case. We spend a lot of time trying to replenish the campaign coffers so that we can run for election. And our opponents who are out trying to replace us today are on the phone, perhaps trying to raise money for their campaign coffers so that they can convey their message.

There is nothing wrong with that. That makes a lot of sense. But it ought to be voluntary. It seems, at the very least, we ought to insist upon a voluntary nature about politics. To insist upon the simple notion that no one, no one in America should ever be forced to contribute to a political cause which they do not support. Does that seem to be too much to ask?

Well, when we asked that question here on the House floor a few months ago, the answer was no, it was too much to ask actually when it came right down to it. Because those union bosses and lobbyists that I mentioned who march around the Capitol building and who hang out around the offices of likely Members of Congress who seem to be sympathetic to the cause of union bosses, well, they said no, they said no to the Paycheck Protection Act.

We hope to give them another chance and another opportunity, in fact, several opportunities crafted in several different ways. There are a dozen, at least a handful of proposals and variations on the Paycheck Protection Act that we can consider here in Congress.

I am going to offer my proposal again. The Paycheck Protection Act is a very similar bill. It is only a couple of pages. What it suggests is that no wage earner's wages can be withheld for political contributions in any manner without the consent of the wage earner. And anyone who siphons money out of the paycheck of an unsuspecting wage earner would be subject to judicial proceedings and actions taken against him by the wage earner himself.

You see, I am not really against and I do not think anybody who supports the Paycheck Protection Act is against labor unions being involved in the political process. Quite the contrary, I am for that. I think labor unions serve a very useful purpose. I am for collective bargaining, I am for agency representation, as long as people voluntarily agree to become associated with these groups and organizations and clubs.

I am even for labor unions being involved in politics, and I think most supporters of the Paycheck Protection Act are, as long as the money that they raise is raised voluntarily, as long as the individuals who contribute to the political cause know what they are doing and agree to it and agree to open up their wages to give the special account number to the special interest groups so that some of the money that otherwise would go directly to the wage earner's paycheck is instead diverted, a small portion of it, to an union's account, a political account.

That is fine if it is voluntary. The Paycheck Protection Act insists upon a voluntary nature associated with raising political dues.

Well, what many of the opponents of paycheck protection understand is that the measure is pretty passionately opposed by union bosses. This is pretty easy money for these folks, that comes pretty easily. When they are stealing it, when they are taking it away from paychecks and wage earners unsuspecting, that is easy cashing for those who are here to raise money.

Many of us insist upon doing it the hard way, and that is getting on the phone or having a meeting with individuals and asking them to contribute, to in fact invest in our political cause and to back the message that we propose so carry to Washington, D.C.

But taking it through this mechanism of wage withholding and wage deduction is certainly easier. There is no confrontation involved. They do not have to do any explaining at all. They just take it and they spend it on these same Members of Congress and other candidates like then who seem to be sympathetic to the notion that these union bosses have good ideas and ought to perpetuate them in Washington.

Here is something else, Mr. Speaker, that these individuals, these same opponents of paycheck protection know. They know that the rank and file union members support the Paycheck Protection Act.

This is a graph that outlines a recent public opinion poll that was taken among the American citizens. And we asked, should we change or keep the current Federal election laws that allow unions to make political contributions with money deducted from a union member's paycheck?

Of all voters, when all voters were surveyed, way over there on my right, 78 percent of American voters throughout the country said that they in fact support changes in the law, those laws that currently allow political contributions to be made with money deducted from a union member's paychecks. Seventy-two percent of union households, now these are union households, these are households where union members are answering the surveys, 72 percent of union households say we should change the law so that paychecks are protected and that no one's wages are withheld without the consent of the wage earner.

Look over here, when we talk to members of teachers' unions, these are again not all union members throughout the country, that is this column here, this is just union members who are part of a teachers' union, this is a smaller subset, 78 percent of teacher union members tell us that they support changes in the current law which allows wages to be automatically withheld and spent on political causes without the consent of the wage earner. Seventy-eight percent of members of teachers' unions say that that law ought to be changed.

When we exclude all the union members and talk to all union members, we get a 2 percent bump; 80 percent of nonunion voters throughout the country believe that we ought to change the law.

The next graph is pretty similar and in many ways restates what I had said earlier, but the question was asked a little differently in this instance. We asked whether the respondent would approve or disapprove of a new Federal law that would protect workers' paychecks, whether they would support the paycheck protection in fact.

Again, when we ask all voters, all voters throughout the country, 80 percent tell us they support the Paycheck Protection Act. Eighty percent of union members, union households, tell us they support the Paycheck Protection Act.

That is really remarkable for a lot of people. If we listened to the opponents of paycheck protection, we would think, in listening to their arguments, come to the conclusion that union members somehow want their wages to be withdrawn and withheld for political causes against their will. But when we asked the wage earners themselves, 80 percent of them told us that they believe that we ought to pass the Paycheck Protection Act and end this abuse.

When we go to teachers' union households in this case, 84 percent tell us that we ought to pass the protection, they approve of the law. And again, when we exclude all the union members and just look at nonunion households, 80 percent of nonunion households support a measure that would protect the paychecks of, well, anybody's paycheck; they do not even have to be a labor union member, but anybody's paycheck that is subject to being raided by various political operatives of various sorts.

It is interesting that we would think that with 80 percent of all voters who favor paycheck protection that we would have the balance, the 20 percent, that would oppose. Actually, the number is smaller than that. It is 16 percent. There is a handful of folks in every single instance who have not made up their minds on the matter, who have not come to a conclusion yet as to whether we ought to protect the paychecks of wage earners.

Sixteen percent of all voters say that we ought to leave the law as it is. Sixteen percent of union members say we ought to leave the law as it is. Thirteen percent of teachers throughout the country say we ought to leave the law as it is. Sixteen percent of nonunion members say we ought to leave it as it is.

Those are small numbers, 16 percent, 13 percent in the case of teachers, and the comparisons on the other graph are very similar. But it is odd how powerful this minority of voters seem to be here in the halls of the United States Congress. Because these are the people who won when we took the last vote here in Washington. These are the folks who were represented who earned more votes in Congress than the people in these tall columns.

So we wonder why that might be. And the reason is because what happens with campaign laws as they are today, which allows wages to be raided and a portion of those wages to be redirected toward political causes without the consent of the wage earner, as we have this 80 percent column that is footing the bill for union political causes, and only 16 percent, this small minority here, actually approve of how those dollars are spent.

□ 2015

So you take money from this big column here and you spend it to empower the small minority there. The small minority there turns around and gives that cash in many cases to Members of Congress, to candidates who are running for office, to governors, to city council members, to county commissioners, to anyone who is sympathetic to their special interest causes.

Once again, I say, I am really not opposed at all to unions being involved in the political process. If they want to give their cash to candidates who are sympathetic to them, that is great. That is what democracy is all about. That is what industrial democracy is all about. That is what is being part of a union is all about, too. But the money ought to be raised legitimately.

It ought to be raised credibly. It ought to be raised voluntarily. That is why the Paycheck Protection Act is such a central and essential part of any debate we propose to have here on the floor of the House with respect to campaign finance.

Now, there are lots of issues we can discuss. Again, you will hear all kinds of particular topics of debate, about whether we ought to have spending limits, where candidates can only spend a certain amount of money. Some people here in Congress support the notion of having the Government finance campaigns. Some people think that all we need to do is maintain full and open disclosure and timely disclosure so that everyone knows and understands where a candidate's cash comes from in a timely manner. Some think we ought to cap the amount of money that people can give to the political process, really to limit the extent to which an individual can participate in politics, in the democratic process here in America.

But I think before we get to any of those discussions, before we get to any of those debates, we ought to be able to agree that the 80 percent of wage earners in America who think their paychecks ought to be protected should at least be considered here in Washington, should at least be considered in some minor way by the Members of the House. I hope we can convert that to consideration in a major way where we will actually respond positively and affirmatively with a Paycheck Protection Act as part of this overall campaign finance debate that will reach out to hard-working wage earners, that will reach out to the mother and father who are working extra hours, perhaps right now, maybe two jobs, trying to make ends meet, to pay the high taxes that this government maintains, that will reach out to those individuals and tell them that we are just going to make sure that you do not end up contributing to a political cause without your knowledge, and that politics in America continues to be voluntary.

There are a lot of people involved in this debate. A lot of people have a lot to say about it. A lot of people who are undecided, those hard-working rank-and-file union members and wage earners who are hoping tonight, maybe watching and maybe paying attention to what goes on here in Congress because they care, those individuals who are hoping that we will vote for them for a change, that we will reach out to them and that we will ignore those minority of union bosses, we will ignore that little 13 and 16 percent column that I showed you, and instead pay attention to the average hard-working person in America. That we will protect their wages, and we will construct a campaign system here in America that will earn their confidence.

Mr. Speaker, with that I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DELAY), the distinguished minority whip.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding to me and I really appreciate the gentleman from Colorado taking this special order. What he is doing is so right. The best part of what the gentleman from Colorado is doing is he is trying to participate. I think it is rather fascinating that we are here tonight when we should be debating campaign reform under an open rule process, where every Member can have the opportunity to offer the kinds of amendments that that Member cares to offer and every Member get to offer their own substitutes, unfortunately we are not doing that. What we are doing is we are in special orders talking about an issue that is very important to both of us. But we are being held hostage once again by what I think quite frankly is a situation that the Democrats have found themselves in. It is the same sort of situation when the dog chases the big dump truck down the street and catches the dump truck, he does not know what to do with the dump truck. Well, we have been criticized by the Democrats and some organizations for not having open and honest debate on campaign reform for months, mainly in my opinion to cover up the fact that the administration and the Democrat National Committee have broken campaign law, and so it is an old political ploy that you go from breaking campaign law, and the way to shift the focus of the American people is to all of a sudden be great reformers of campaigns and campaign law.

But here we are in a special order as the gentleman knows. I just asked the question, why do the Democrats not want to support an open rule on campaign reform? I mean, we had every intention of bringing a rule to the floor this evening that would open up the process, allow all kinds of amendments, really have an open debate in this House, and frankly it started with a very good debate last week. I thought it was very helpful. The gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON) who has the base bill presented his side, everybody was presenting their sides, we were getting ready to have this debate. Yet all of a sudden the rule is not good enough. Members of the minority party asked for an open process in campaign reform. They even demanded it. And when we first announced that we would have an open rule, my colleagues were exuberant.

The gentleman from Maine (Mr. ALLEN), Mr. Speaker, said, and I quote, this is great, this is exciting, after learning that we would bring an open rule to the floor.

The gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. SHAYS) said it was a great day for democracy.

Fred Wertheimer of Common Cause said, and I quote, it was a real breakthrough.

But now these same so-called reformers are complaining because this debate will be too open for their tastes. Apparently the only kind of open debate that they want is debate on their proposals and no other proposal of Members of the House. In their minds the only reforms worth real discussion are their reforms. This attitude is typical of the wider debate that is going on here. The so-called reformers want to shut down this political discussion in America. Now they want to shut down discussions of issues on this House floor. In my view, the real reason we are having this debate at all is because of the abuses that the Clinton campaign had in the last election. In my opinion, Democrats oppose this open rule for one reason and one reason only. It will allow us to vote on reforms dealing with the Clinton scandals of 1996.

Mr. Speaker, the Clinton Democrats remind me of the boy who killed both of his parents and then begged for mercy because he was an orphan. The Clinton campaign brazenly broke campaign laws and then begged for mercy claiming that the campaign system was broken. This open rule that we wanted to bring to the floor earlier this evening would have allowed us to vote on an amendment that would prevent fund-raising in churches and in temples.

The open rule that we wanted to bring here earlier this evening would have allowed us to vote on an amendment that will demonstrate that controlling legal authority prevents politicians from raising money in government buildings.

The rule also would have allowed an amendment closing a huge loophole in the Shays-Meehan substitute that would allow donations from foreign nationals to State and local campaigns and non-Federal PACs. That rule would have allowed us to fix that gaping hole in the Shays-Meehan bill.

The rule would have also allowed us to deal with the problem of illegal foreign money and illegal foreign voting. In short, this rule would have allowed us to debate a whole host of issues dealing with so-called reform.

Mr. Speaker, Shays-Meehan is not synonymous with reform. It is synonymous with suppression. Now they want a new rule, written on their terms, allowing only them to debate what they want to debate. I do not think this House is going to stand for this kind of inconsistency.

Last week we defeated a constitutional amendment authored by the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), the minority leader, that would have allowed Congress to limit spending for the first time. The gentleman from Missouri, the author, told us a constitutional amendment was necessary, because, in his words, ''Neither Congress nor the States have any constitutional authority to limit expenditures, independent issue advocacy or uncoordinated expenditures. The current explosion in third-party spending is simply beyond our reach to legislate.''

Yet Shays-Meehan does just that. It attempts to legislate control of public spending and speech. We should debate

this bill in an open process. We should be able to amend this bill in a manner that the rule allows. We should not let the Democrats cover up the Clinton-Gore scandals. We should support this rule and the previous question that allows Members of this House to do their job, to bring to this floor amendments and substitutes that reflect their position on campaign reform, whether it be the position of the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HUTCHINSON), who has taken a very constructive approach in the freshman bill being carried by the gentleman from Arkansas, or any other piece, the substitute of the gentleman from Colorado (Mr. BOB SCHAFFER). We should have open and honest debate. That is what we wanted to do. But now all of a sudden, in the 11th hour, when we were about to start 20 hours of debate, tonight until midnight, tomorrow from 1 in the afternoon until midnight and all day Friday, all of a sudden we cannot pass a rule because it does not fit in somebody's little box. I just think it is really unfortunate that we had an opportunity to start this debate and now we are stymied by it.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH).

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Colorado for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased the distinguished majority whip from Texas and my friend from Arkansas and others of us are here on the floor.

Mr. Speaker, just to underscore the point, and I think this photograph says it all. Mr. Speaker, there are three words that would bring about genuine campaign finance reform. Mr. Speaker, those three words are these: Obey existing laws.

I marvel at the cynicism of the punditocracy, to coin a new phrase in this town, so intent on changing the subject, so intent on saying, and I really hate to use this analogy, given my affection for cookies, but saying to those with their hands caught in the cookie jar, ''Oh, look over here, there's a broken glass elsewhere in the kitchen.'' Or to say, in case of emergency, break the glass for the standard rhetoric that everybody does it.

Mr. Speaker, nothing could be further from the truth, for everyone does not do it. Most of those who serve in this body attempt to adhere to existing law. But, as has been chronicled by my colleague from Colorado, what is very interesting, a very curious thing happened on the way to campaign finance reform a quarter of a century ago. You have to hand it to the left for being pretty crafty politically.

''Let's ensure,'' said members of the left, ''that organized labor and the Washington bosses are never held accountable.''

I would commend to my colleagues and those, Mr. Speaker, who join us electronically from coast to coast and beyond, a study from Rutgers University, which pointed out that the widely reported figure of $35 million used by Boss Sweeney and others of his ilk to try and influence the congressional elections of 1996 was a grossly underreported number. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, the Rutgers study pointed out that the Washington bosses spent between $300 million and $500 million to try and buy Congress in 1996.

Now, Mr. Speaker, it is fair to ask how on earth could they do that. Two reasons, Mr. Speaker, one alluded to by my colleague from Colorado.

Understand full well, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, that through compulsory dues, working men and women supply the union bosses here in Washington, D.C. with vast moneys on an annual basis. How much? Well, according to these studies, I have seen anywhere between 8 and $11 billion.

So indeed, Mr. Speaker, one-half billion dollars is pocket change to those who really attempt to buy the Congress. Yet some people, well-meaning in their intent, and others cynically looking for political cover, would have you believe that this most fundamental reform, restoring the constitutional rights of workers and for once making those who claim to be friends of the working man adhere to this basic notion of keeping their dirty hands out of the working man's pocket, to take money from the working man to give to causes with which that working person may fundamentally disagree, sadly those minions of the status quo are given cover to claim campaign finance reform.

□ 2030

Those protesting the loudest are headquartered at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. Not only ironically, Mr. Speaker, the Chief Executive of this Nation, but the Vice President of the United States, who has been heard within recent months to offer this buzz phrase when asked about his direct violation of Federal law, and do not take my word for it, Mr. Speaker, take a look at the memo from former White House counsel Judge Abner Mikva who sought to forbid those types of campaign phone calls from the White House.

The Vice President of the United States told the press corps in this town and the American people, and I quote:

''My legal counsel informs me there is no controlling legal authority.''

How cynical, Mr. Speaker. How tragic, and how fundamentally wrong because, Mr. Speaker, I would say to the Vice President and to the American people, yes, there is a controlling legal authority. It is called the Constitution of the United States which gives this body oversight of the executive branch.

And indeed, Mr. Speaker, how much more constructive it would be if we did not have so many colleagues fall for the siren song of the pundits who often find themselves affiliated with the left to throw up this mud and this dust under the guise of reform. How honorable it would be if we moved toward a system that would rid us of these Orwellian definitions of reform that do more to repress the constitutional rights of American citizens than anything dreamt of. How interesting it is, Mr. Speaker, that many on the left would say, if we move to protect the rights of workers through a paycheck protection act, that would mean any type of agreement on campaign finance reform. To use their words, Mr. Speaker, it would be dead on arrival.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. Doolittle) and want to make sure we save time here for the gentleman from Arkansas who is leading the freshman effort on campaign finance reform.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. I just wondered if I can get the gentleman's comment on the Minority Leader's statement as reprinted in Time Magazine last year:

> What we have is two important values in direct conflict, freedom of speech and our desire for healthy campaigns and a healthy democracy. You can't have both.

Is that true? I ask the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. HAYWORTH) does he agree with that?

Mr. HAYWORTH. That is as false as false can be.

The Minority Leader demonstrates in that statement why he will remain the Minority Leader if, in fact, he remains in this Chamber because I believe exactly the opposite is true.

Mr. Speaker, we should trust the American people, and that may shock my colleagues here, Mr. Speaker, having been the No. 1 target of the Washington union bosses, having had $2.1 million pumped into my campaign for my adversary to falsely characterize my record. But you see in America, Mr. Speaker, I believe that people even have the right to disagree with me to the point that they can choose to mischaracterize the record because I believe as Abraham Lincoln said:

The American people, once fully informed, will make the right decision, and fully informing them is up to me in my role as a candidate and as a Member of Congress and as a citizen of the United States.

So what we have here, Mr. Speaker and the gentleman from California, is a cynical, sadly misguided attempt to explain to us how we should abridge constitutional freedoms.

Now I guess it should come as no surprise since we have already seen these supposed champions of the working man thrust their hands into the pockets of working people across the country uninvited to take coercive dues to go to political campaigns with which those working people disagree. I say how sad and how cynical and how important it is, Mr. Speaker, to shine the light of truth on that hypocrisy and that wrongheaded notion which may be popular in the editorial reams of certain liberal eastern dailies but is just plain wrong in the shipyards and the construction yards of America.

Mr. DELAY. If the gentleman from Colorado would yield, I just say everything the gentleman says I totally

agree with, but the problem here is that the corrective action that the gentleman might want to take, and there are other Members of this House who want to take the kinds of corrective actions that the gentleman claims are abuses, we cannot do because the openness of the minority has been thwarted. They are thwarting open rules because they will not allow us to pass a rule that allows the amendments that the gentleman might be able to offer in order to correct these abuses.

Mr. HAYWORTH. To simply respond, it should come as no surprise my two friends in the well preceded those of us here in the Congress of the United States, and we realize for 40 years, and it eventually caught up with the left, the notion of saying one thing and doing another led to the change in this Chamber. And what was the first thing that was passed by a new commonsense conservative Congress on the first day of the 104th Congress? This notion: that Congress people should live under the laws every other American lives under.

So it should come as no surprise that the tired, discredited architects of cynicism on the left would come to this Chamber and under the guise of openness seek to abridge the debate, the debate which should go on in the people's House. It is the ultimate irony, and though we will have the predictable cacophony of support from those allied in the left and the editorial rooms of the major eastern dailies, the American people, Mr. Speaker, will see that for what it is, a crass, cynical attempt to change the subject when again.

And I think it bears repeating, if the American people desire a campaign finance reform, it comes in three simple words:

Obey existing law.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. With that in mind I yield the floor over here to the gentleman from Arkansas who has led the effort on bringing the base bill on campaign finance to the floor, and hopefully we will have a chance to eventually consider it.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Colorado, and I want to express my appreciation to you for your leadership in our class as well as on the issue that you believe in that I have supported which is paycheck protection. And I also want to compliment my good friend from Texas who has really fought hard for an open and fair debate. And as I have gone through this procedure in a short fashion, I guess I have come to appreciate the importance of debate, and my friend and I both had a good debate on the floor of the House earlier this week on campaign finance reform coming from two different standpoints, and as we stand here, my friend from Arizona, we all have different viewpoints on campaign finance reform in how we deal with this important subject, and so we need a fair and open debate.

And I think, as we debate this subject, it is good for the American public and it is good for the Members of Congress that we share our ideas, and ideas will ultimately triumph, and so even though I would like to move this process along, and I am extraordinarily disappointed that we are not here tonight debating this important subject as a full body, I do hope that we can pass this rule, that we can move on to the debate.

And I know that with the disagreement that we have a number of amendments that have been offered to the base bill. This will increase the debate, but we can complete this in regular order if we pass the rule and we move along with it.

And the amendments that have been offered have been from both sides. My friend from Texas offered a number of substantive amendments to the legislation, but the Democrats also on the other side of the aisle have offered 74 amendments, have gone to the Committee on Rules and asked for 74 amendments to be made in order, and you look, from even the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MEEHAN), one of the lead sponsors of a bill has offered 22 amendments to the base text and to the different substitutes that have been offered.

And so I think it is important that we simply pass the rule, let us move the debate. I hope that many of these are withdrawn as time goes on. I think that reason triumphs, and I think it will, but we all need to show the American people that we, as a Congress, can debate it, can make a decision and that we can move on.

As my friend mentioned, I support campaign finance reform, the freshman bill, the Hutchinson-Allen bill that has broad support on both sides of the aisle. I hope that it can ultimately pass because I believe it meets the test of constitutionality. I believe that it is reasonable reform but is significant reform the American public will respond to and still protect the First Amendment which we all believe in.

So I thank the gentleman for yielding, I thank the friend from Texas for his work on this, and I hope that we can pass the rule tomorrow, that we can move on to debate and by Independence Day we will have done something on campaign finance reform that is good for the American public.

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman would yield, I appreciate the gentleman from Arkansas being here and talking about this because he is being honest and forthright about his position. And I have complimented him in the past even though he and I do not agree on his bill. He has been very honest about the fact that we need to move forward and open up this debate.

I think it is very cynical, and I know what is going to happen. You are going to have my friend from Connecticut and others go to the press and say, Oh, my goodness, it's not moving as fast as we think it was. There's so many amendments. We know what they're trying to do. They're trying to bring dilatory amendments to the floor and trying to stretch out the process.

The point here is that the process that they demanded, open and honest debate, forced us, not just us that are against the Shays-Meehan bill, but as the gentleman from Arkansas says, other Democrats and everyone to protect ourselves, making sure that we bring every amendment that we can think of to the floor because the process said you had to put it in the RECORD, your amendment in the RECORD, so that the Committee on Rules could look at it and give you a waiver from a point of order on germaneness.

So of course there are going to be a lot of amendments. No one says that every amendment is going to be offered. But Members will protect their rights to offer amendments by putting them into the RECORD.

So to hide behind this notion that there is 200 amendments, so many, and then they do not want those amendments to be brought to the floor because they want a new process, a whole new rule, they want it their way, is hiding behind the fact that they do not want an open process because they are scared to death about standing up in the light of day. You know, when we called their bluff, their turning tail and running, that is what is happening here. They are running from an open and honest process, a process that they have demanded, and I think it is really sad that we have come to this point in this whole process.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Arizona.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Colorado, and I appreciate the input of my good friend from Arkansas and our friend, the distinguished Majority Whip. But again I think we need to come back to this point again and again so that everyone understands this, Mr. Speaker, so there can be no doubt real campaign reform means obeying existing law.

And, Mr. Speaker, I note with interest an article which appeared in the Washington Post on Tuesday, July 9 of this year. The banner headline: ''Campaign Finance Probe, 94 Who Aren't Talking.''

Count them, Mr. Speaker, 94. Ninety-four individuals have either fled or pled. That is to say they have either left the country or they have claimed their Fifth Amendment rights against self-incrimination. No controlling legal authority indeed. This cynicism, which betrays the rule of law from those who are supposed to be the stewards of our Constitution from those who are charged, Mr. Speaker, with being the chief magistrate or the chief executive or occupying a position of trust secondary only to that position of Chief Executive is absolutely cynical, hypocritical and just plain wrong.

Mr. Speaker, the American people and this great Nation have been endowed with many blessings, but chief

among them I would say this evening in addition to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is a good solid dose of common sense, and while there are those who try to fool most of the people most of the time, Mr. Speaker, in this they will not prevail. So even as this Chamber attempts to seek an open rule for a full, fair, complete, comprehensive honest debate on campaign finance reform, so too is it incumbent upon this body to exercise its legitimate rights of oversight.

□ 2045

Because indeed, the ultimate irony, Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, are charges that have appeared in the press in recent days involving the curious timing of transfers of missile defense technologies to the People's Republic of China; the end result, Mr. Speaker, being that over one dozen American cities are now targeted by Chinese nuclear missiles.

This is a disturbing fact which should shake our freedom-loving people to their very core, because, Mr. Speaker, it transcends politics as usual and what Drew Pearson and later Jack Anderson called the Washington merry-go-round.

Mr. Speaker, this is no game. This is no debating competition to win points. This goes to the heart of our national survival providing for the common defense, and I look forward to the day when a select committee will examine these, as Senator SHELBY and others have done in the other body, to get to the bottom of this. Goodness knows, the headlines are as relevant today when the outlaw nation of North Korea attempts to deliver an ultimatum to the United States of America saying that, Mr. Speaker, yeah, we sold missiles to other countries. What are you going to do about it? Oh, and if you want us to stop, we want to extort some money from the American people. How shameful.

But again, Mr. Speaker, sadly, we have seen that the burdens of deliberation and leadership and providing for the common defense rests uneasily upon the collective shoulders of this administration and their apologists in the press, and those who would enter this Chamber. How we need a clear, consistent policy which says extortion, either by foreign governments such as the North Koreans, or by other foreign governments attempting to subvert our political process, will not be tolerated by the United States of America, and this body fulfilling its constitutional responsibilities will stand and deliver in the clear light of day to get to the bottom of this, no matter how incredible the findings may become, no matter how shocking the truth may be.

Let me state for the Record, Mr. Speaker, it is my fervent hope that there is nothing to these allegations, because they are almost unspeakable. And those who would greet these with cynicism or cat calls from the press do this Nation a disservice, for constitutionally it is our responsibility as the citizens of the United States to form a more perfect union and to provide for the common defense that we stand as sentinels at the gates of our constitutional republic, and that we get to the bottom of these disturbing malodorous, troubling allegations.

Yes, we believe, Mr. Speaker, in that unique American notion of jurisprudence and fairness, that all are innocent until guilt is proven, and yet, Mr. Speaker, the headlines scream to us, and mercurial actions of timing compel us to say, what on earth has gone on here? What has transpired with those who are to be the custodians of our national defense? What has happened to the veracity of the act of raising your right hand and taking an oath, whether an oath of office, Mr. Speaker, or an oath before a jury to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Forbid it, Mr. Speaker, that in this Nation there are actually those who would suggest that those who perhaps have lied under oath should have the right to do so in civil litigation concerning personal conduct, and, Mr. Speaker, we wonder what transpires in terms of respect of the rule of law. And we wonder why we see troubles in the schools and in the streets and with the breakdown of the family unit.

Mr. Speaker, our constitutional republic offers a representative form of government, and I would suggest that oftentimes this form of government is as a mirror to the citizenry. And if we allow the rule of law to fall into such disrespect, then history will show that on our heads will rest the shame for the unraveling of the rule of law and the pursuit of justice.

We dare not allow that to happen, Mr. Speaker. We must answer these questions, and those who serve the executive branch, Mr. Speaker, would be well served to, quoting now, offer those answers sooner rather than later and recognize the fact that we are entitled to the full story.

Campaign finance reform indeed, Mr. Speaker. The American people and those who would serve the American people in seats of government should obey existing laws.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, is it not interesting that the investigations that are taking place where we have individuals who are refusing to testify unless they are granted immunity are being prevented from telling their story here in Congress by those who know that there is a story to be exposed, that there is something to be shown by exposing the light of truth upon these terrible allegations that the gentleman referred to. And like the gentleman, I am hopeful that there is no foundation to these allegations.

But the gentleman is absolutely right when we see the continual stories that are being uncovered by the press, by the media, that are being admitted to by the White House and other places, that these same individuals who are trying to constrain the rights of individuals in America, free American citizens to speak freely at election time and participate in the election process, are also the same ones who are willing to build a stonewall, to do nothing in the face of the allegations that are very serious that seem to suggest just in terms of the timeliness of waivers being signed on U.S. satellite and targeting technology making its way to the Chinese military government, at the same time as these contributions made their way to the Clinton-Gore campaign, that these allegations should not go investigated.

That is the position of our opponents on the other side, over on the Democrat side. They would love to stall these investigations. They would love to prevent us in the Republican Party and the Republican majority from moving forward on creating laws that would prevent those kinds of occasions to occur, or even the suggestion of those events to occur again. Instead, their answer is to constrain the participation of freedom-loving Americans. It is just appalling.

But that is the debate that is before us. That is what is here for us to win or to lose if we are not tenacious enough to stand our ground and to win this debate and to keep coming back night after night after night and talk about the real scandals that have been alleged over in the White House and the real opportunities before us here on the floor of this Chamber to construct a campaign finance law that really does restore integrity and encourages more full participation in the political process by average rank and file Americans.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I concur wholeheartedly with my colleague from Colorado and again would just note that sadly, there are those who draw the wrong lessons from history, those who believe that somehow, to use the words of my dear friend from Colorado, that by erecting the great Stone Wall of China down Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House to this hallowed Chamber that somehow, by placing partisan concerns over patriotism, somehow the people are well served.

Indeed, cynics from the Watergate era a quarter of a century ago seemed to draw the lesson that if anyone steps forward on the other side of the aisle, if they step forward collectively to adhere to the rule of law, somehow they will suffer losses at the ballot box.

So, Mr. Speaker, tonight I again renew my call. At long last, is there not one, is there not one to step forward from the other side, to say, let us adhere to the rule of law and these allegations are so disturbing that we owe it to the citizenry, not as Republicans or Democrats, but as Americans, to get to the bottom of this. Is there not even one who will stand for this?

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I want to go back to this chart that the gentleman from California who joined us earlier let us in on.

This is a quote from the Democrat leader, the floor leader for the Democrat Party here on the House floor on the notion of campaign finance reform back in February. This was reported in Time Magazine on February 3rd, and the quote is as follows: ''What we have is two important values in direct conflict: Freedom of speech and our desire for healthy campaigns in a healthy democracy. You can't have both.''

What are they talking about? Freedom of speech refers to the desire by the left wing of the United States Congress to impose laws under their sick version of campaign finance, which restricts the ability of free citizens, American citizens, business owners, school teachers, union Members, to speak freely and contribute as much as they want to the political process, whether it is cash or whether it is any other activity. Usually it is cash that they are talking about, those folks who think that we ought to place a cap on what somebody can contribute and participate in the political process, and the second part of this, our desire for healthy campaigns.

Well, we know from the Democrat side of the aisle what constitutes healthy campaigns for them is suppressing the ability of entrepreneurs, of capitalists, of business owners, of hard-working Americans to participate to the fullest extent in the political process and instead, allow for labor union bosses, for political operatives, sometimes from other countries in the case of the previous example from China, to participate to whatever extent they want, and to go unimpeded, to go unimpeded by the Paycheck Protection Act, which guarantees voluntary political contributions, to go unimpeded by a serious level of investigation here in the United States Congress as to whether Chinese campaign contributions have contributed to the signing of waivers that allowed U.S. targeting and satellite technology to make its way into the hands of Chinese Communist military leaders. Those folks have no restrictions under the Democrat ideas. Only freedom-loving Americans, rank and file citizens, taxpaying citizens, those are the individuals that they would propose to constrict the free speech.

Well, those are interesting ideas. They are awful ideas, if someone asks me, but nonetheless they are important to raise here on the House floor because they do draw a distinction in the vast difference, the huge conflicted vision of what freedom and liberty means in America, their vision of repression for American citizens, restriction on the ability to speak freely and our vision of full and honest and open political participation by Americans, by American citizens, by individuals who have earned the right under the status of citizenship to participate fully in the political process, and I am sorry if that does not involve Communist Chinese military leaders, or that does not involve union bosses stealing cash from unsuspecting wage-earners.

Mr. HAYWORTH. Mr. Speaker, indeed, this is a phenomenon where those who would claim to champion the rights of working Americans can do more for those working Americans by getting their uninvited hands out of their pockets. If that is done and if, Mr. Speaker, we as a people and those of us who would serve in public office at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue would obey existing laws, we would see genuine campaign finance reform.

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Arizona for joining me tonight. The others that were here, the gentleman from Texas, the gentleman from Arkansas, and the gentleman from California. Mr. Speaker, thank you for indulging the freshman class. We will be back one week from tonight.

HEALTH CARE REFORM AND THE PATIENTS' BILL OF RIGHTS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PALLONE) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, tonight, once again, I want to talk about the issue of managed care reform, and particularly the Democrats' proposal called the Patients' Bill of Rights.

Before I do so, though, I would like to mention that my colleague from Texas (Mr. GREEN) is here to join me in this debate about managed care reform or patient protections.

□ 2100

But I would like to yield to the gentleman at this point, because I know he would like to address some of the comments that were made by the previous speakers.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for yielding, and the gentleman from New Jersey understands, we have waited here for our hour to be able to talk about managed care, and I think that is much more important. But I need to respond after listening to some of the debate.

We are in a long-term debate, I guess, on campaign finance reform. We call it ''death by amendment,'' because the seriousness of the campaign reform issue is so important, and yet our colleagues on the Republican side are the ones that have 300 amendments they want to bring up and they are really delaying it.

In real life out there, Republicans outspend Democrats two, three, four and five to one in campaigns. We need campaign finance reform to get the money out of politics. They are too busy attacking working people and not really talking about campaign finance reform.

But I want to talk about managed care and how important it is to the people that we represent. Maybe they will be serious about managed care reform, because that is something that affects people every day. I will be glad to work with the gentleman from New Jersey for the next 30 minutes or hour to talk about how important health care reform and managed care reform are to our constituents and all Americans.

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, let me just say, because I came in at the tail end of the comments by our Republican colleagues, and I am just frustrated, as I know the gentleman from Texas is, because the Republican leadership continues to stall on this issue of campaign finance reform.

There is no doubt in my mind that the Democrats have been appealing to the Republican leadership for months now to simply allow an up-or-down vote on what we consider the most significant campaign finance reform that is likely to come up this session, and that is the Meehan-Shays bill.

I believe very strongly that if the Republican leadership allowed us to bring the Meehan-Shays bill to the floor today or tomorrow, any day, it would overwhelmingly pass, and we would have some significant campaign finance reform. But as the gentleman knows and mentioned, they do not want to do that. They just want to keep bringing up amendments, making it impossible for us to get to the Meehan-Shays bill.

My understanding is that today they were talking about a rule, which I guess ultimately they did not bring up, that would have allowed something like between 200 and 300 amendments, what we call nongermane amendments, to the campaign finance reform. Amendments that were not even relevant to the issue in an effort to try to stall a final vote on the Meehan-Shays bill.

So we are getting from the other side this constant effort by the Republican leadership to stall and stall and bring up amendments, as the gentleman mentioned, ''death by amendment'' on this issue; and I think they are going to try to let the clock run so that we never get to the Meehan-Shays bill and have some real campaign finance reform. We will have to hope that is not the case and keep at it and make it clear that we want this bill to come forward.

Mr. Speaker, the same is true for the issue that I would like to address now, and that is managed care reform. We know that this issue, without question, is one of the most important issues, I would say the most important issue, on the minds of Americans today.

I keep saying that when I have a town meeting or a forum, or when I see my constituents on the street, the most common concern that they have is about the quality of care or the lack of proper care that they may have because they are in an HMO or some kind of managed care system that limits their ability to receive quality care.