

to Federal formulas for everything from cradle to grave.

What I expect to hear the President say later today will not make that happen. His message will speak of a lofty reinvention of government, when what we need is restructuring of government—from the bottom up.

A State of the Union Message is called for by the Constitution. So is the concept of limited powers to be exercised by the Federal Government, and a federation of States to exercise the bulk of government powers. The 10th amendment in the Bill of Rights says all those powers not allowed to Uncle Sam belong to the States or the people.

Our message to the administration must be "before you get another taxpayer penny for the programs you propose, you must first satisfy us in Congress that you have constitutional authority to conduct it in the first place."

#### SPEAKER'S BOOK DEAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN, is recognized during morning business for 2 minutes.

Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, later in this session the House will consider the Personal Responsibility Act. Is it not time for the Speaker and all of us to take some personal responsibility for our own actions?

When the flap came up over what the Speaker's mother said to Connie Chung concerning the First Lady of our Nation, he turned the issue to Connie Chung and not what was said. When the issue came up on the \$4.5 million book deal that was negotiated, the debate in the House was censored last week. And then over the weekend, our Speaker lashed out at the First Lady again and at a former Speaker. He repeated the charge that made him famous when he called former Speaker Jim Wright a crook. Never mind the fact that the former Speaker's book deal was worth \$12,000 versus our current Speaker's \$4.5 million deal. Even our most successful writer in this country does not command \$4.5 million of up-front money. Or the fact that it was simply unprofessional, undignified, and impugned the character of a former Speaker when he is retired and gone and cannot defend himself.

Much has been written about our Speaker's book deal, particularly the meeting with Mr. Murdoch and political apparatus, GOPAC, The Progress and Freedom Foundation, et cetera.

The Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call has written in the Speaker's eloquent words from 1988 about another book deal, an outside counsel on ethics should be brought in for a "complete and thorough" investigation. We have a saying in Texas, what goes around comes around.

I ask today as Representative GINGRICH did in 1988 that the outside counsel investigate these ethical matters and clear up these questions once and for all, because just like the Energizer bunny, this issue will keep on going and going until we put it to rest.

Mr. Speaker, I include the following for the RECORD:

#### AN OUTSIDE COUNSEL

Much has been made in the last week of Members' speech. Consider this choice of words: "The rules normally applied by the Ethics Committee to an investigation of a typical Member are insufficient in an investigation of the Speaker of the House, a position which is third in line of succession to the Presidency and the second most powerful elected position in America. Clearly, this investigation has to meet a higher standard of public accountability and integrity." So wrote Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga) in a July 28, 1988, press release calling for an outside counsel in the House ethics probe of then-Speaker Jim Wright (D-Texas).

Now, the shoe is on the other foot, and Democrats are clamoring for (in Gingrich's nearly decade-old words) a "complete and thorough" investigation of a variety of allegations against the new Speaker. Unfortunately but predictably, the situation has grown ugly. And, as witnesses on the House floor for two days last week, it is now creating a spectacle before the American public. Which is perhaps the best reason for an outside counsel.

But there are others. The charges against Gingrich range from conflicts of interest and use of office for personal gain in connection with his HarperCollins book deal to improper use of funds from his tax-exempt outside groups.

Ironically, the book deal, which has drawn the most attention both from the media and Democrats, raises the less serious ethical questions. The facts: Gingrich agreed to and then canceled a \$4.5 million advance for two books to be published by HarperCollins, the company owned by Rupert Murdoch, who is currently lobbying to alter laws restricting foreign ownership of broadcast properties such as his Fox TV network. Despite urging from fellow Republicans to abandon the book deal, Gingrich holds onto it. Even though he's rejected the advance, he still could make millions from the book—partly depending upon how heavily HarperCollins promotes it, a decision ultimately in Murdoch's hands.

More serious are the allegations of the funding of Gingrich's college course, "Renewing American Civilization," and the extensive connections between Gingrich's political action committee, GOPAC; his Congressional office; and his outside educational arm, the Progress & Freedom Foundation. It is these charges that are the subject of the ethics case now pending against him. The Speaker's elaborate political dynasty appears to be constructed in a manner in which he can conduct political activities while skirting contribution limits and disclosure laws. The entire structure must be probed.

We do not fully agree with what Gingrich said in 1988; an investigation of the Speaker should not be held to any higher standard than one of any other Member. Whether a Speaker should be held to a higher standard of conduct is a separate question. At the very least, he should set that standard, and as Gingrich himself said so eloquently in 1988, an outside counsel would offer the most "complete and thorough" investigation.

#### THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT REAL ISSUES DISCUSSED

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

Mr. SCARBOROUGH. Mr. Speaker, I look forward to the President's speech tonight. Not because he is going to deliver a great speech, because he always does, and not because of the excitement I am going to feel as an average citizen who 1 year ago was knocking door to door in a grassroots campaign to get here, because I will be excited, and not because his speech will reflect undoubtedly the conservative revolution of the 1994 election, because it will.

I look forward to the President's speech tonight because I am really curious and genuinely want to know if there is a member of the old guard out there that actually has a new idea on where to take this country.

For the past 3 weeks, since I have been here, I have been hearing speeches about Connie Chung and book deals and Nazi historians and now Energizer bunnies, when the fact of the matter is all of those things are nothing more than a smokescreen to deflect attention away from the fact that we as Republicans are putting forward an aggressive agenda that America wants.

I am curious. What does the Connie Chung debate do for children in inner cities that are hungry? What is the Speaker's book deal going to do for the average citizen, middle-class citizen that is having trouble going from paycheck to paycheck paying their bills, trying to put aside a few dollars for their children's education, trying to put aside a few dollars for retirement? What does it do? It does absolutely nothing.

What does it do to answer the difficult questions that are going to be facing us on how we balance our budget, how we make this Federal Government do what average middle-class citizens have had to do forever, and, that is, balance their checkbooks. It does absolutely nothing.

I cannot believe that the party of F.D.R. and the party of Harry Truman and of J.F.K. and of Bobby Kennedy, I cannot believe they cannot come up here and speak to the issues that will affect this country and this land.

I understand about partisan politics. I understand that it certainly happened on both sides of the aisle. But I would ask Members of the Democratic Party to follow the example of the gentlewoman from Connecticut, who came up a few short minutes ago and actually discussed welfare reform and talked about why she believed the Republicans' version of welfare reform did not make sense. Did I agree with her? No. Did I get something out of her discussion, though? Yes. It is a starting point for us to debate the issues.