

COMMISSION MEETING

before

AD HOC COMMISSION ON LEGISLATIVE ETHICS AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

"To discuss the scope and goals of the Commission, to determine which persons or groups may be invited to testify subsequently, and to establish operating procedure for future meetings"

April 23, 1990
Room 334
State House Annex
Trenton, New Jersey

MEMBERS OF COMMISSION PRESENT:

Alan Rosenthal, Chairman
Albert Burstein
Michael Cole
Patricia Sheehan
Thomas Staton, Jr.
Senator Carmen A. Orechio, Jr.
Senator Donald T. DiFrancesco
Assemblyman Thomas J. Deverin
Assemblyman Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian

ALSO PRESENT:

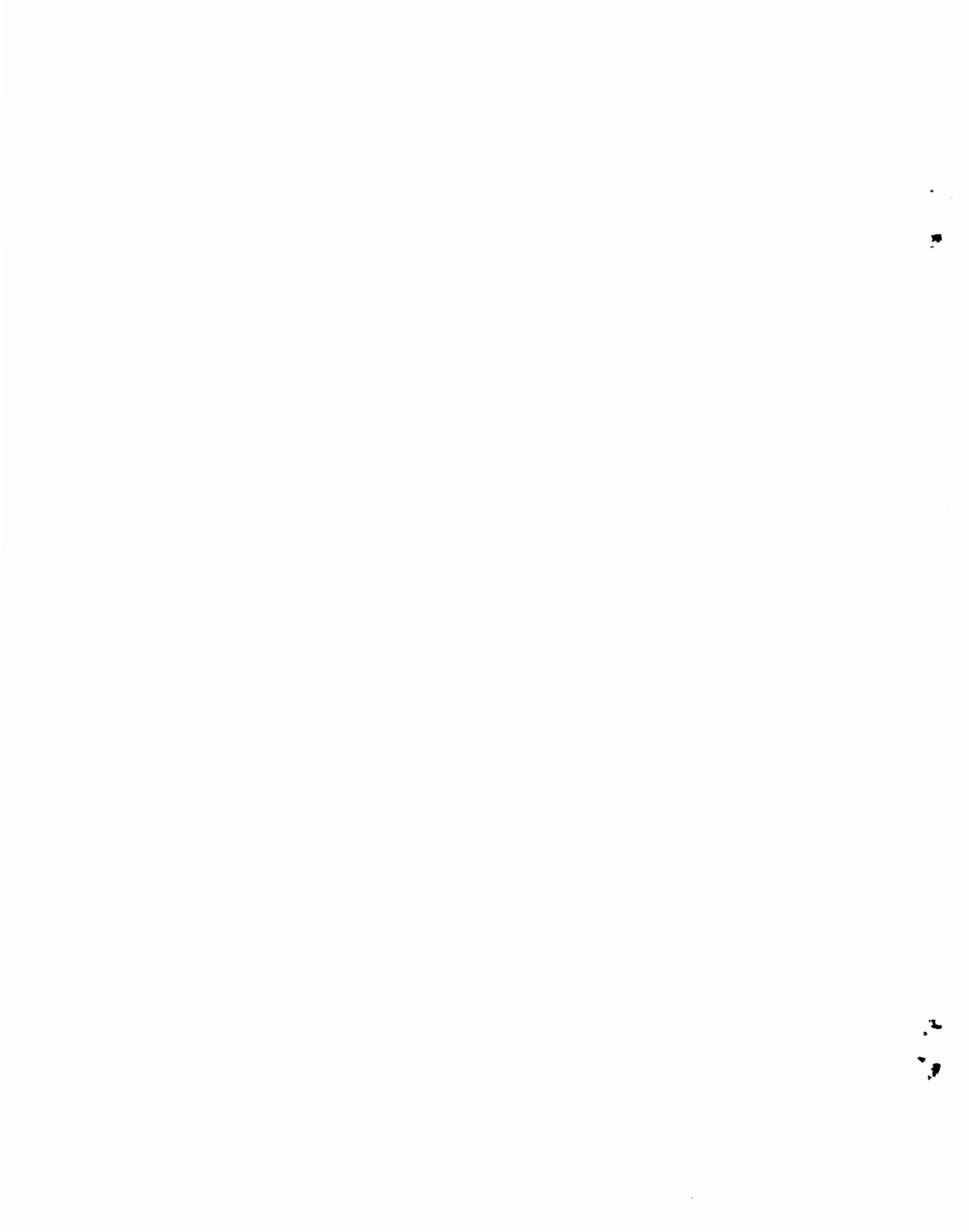
Marci Levin Hochman
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New Jersey State Library

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Office of Legislative Services
Aide, Ad Hoc Commission on Legislative
Ethics and Campaign Finance

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Trenton, New Jersey 08625





New Jersey State Legislature
AD HOC COMMISSION ON LEGISLATIVE ETHICS
AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

Alan Rosenthal
Chairman
Albert Burstein
Michael Cole
Patricia Sheehan
Thomas Stanton, Jr.
Carmen A. Orechio, Jr.
Senator
Donald T. DiFrancesco
Senator
Thomas J. Deverin
Assemblyman
Garabed "Chuck" Haytaian
Assemblyman

State House Annex, CN-068
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John A. Lynch
President of the Senate
Joseph V. Doria, Jr.
Speaker of the
General Assembly

M E E T I N G N O T I C E

TO: MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC COMMISSION ON LEGISLATIVE
ETHICS AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE

FROM: ALAN ROSENTHAL, CHAIRMAN

SUBJECT: COMMISSION MEETING - April 23, 1990

*Anyone who wishes further information on the Commission meeting may
contact Frank J. Parisi, Aide to the Commission, at (609) 292-9106.*

The Ad Hoc Commission on Legislative Ethics and Campaign Finance will
hold its initial organizational meeting on Monday, April 23, 1990 at 9:30 a.m. in
Room 334 of the State House Annex, Trenton, New Jersey.

The purpose of the meeting will be to discuss the scope and goals of the
Commission, to determine which persons or groups may be invited to testify
subsequently and to establish the operating procedure for future meetings.

Issued 4/18/90

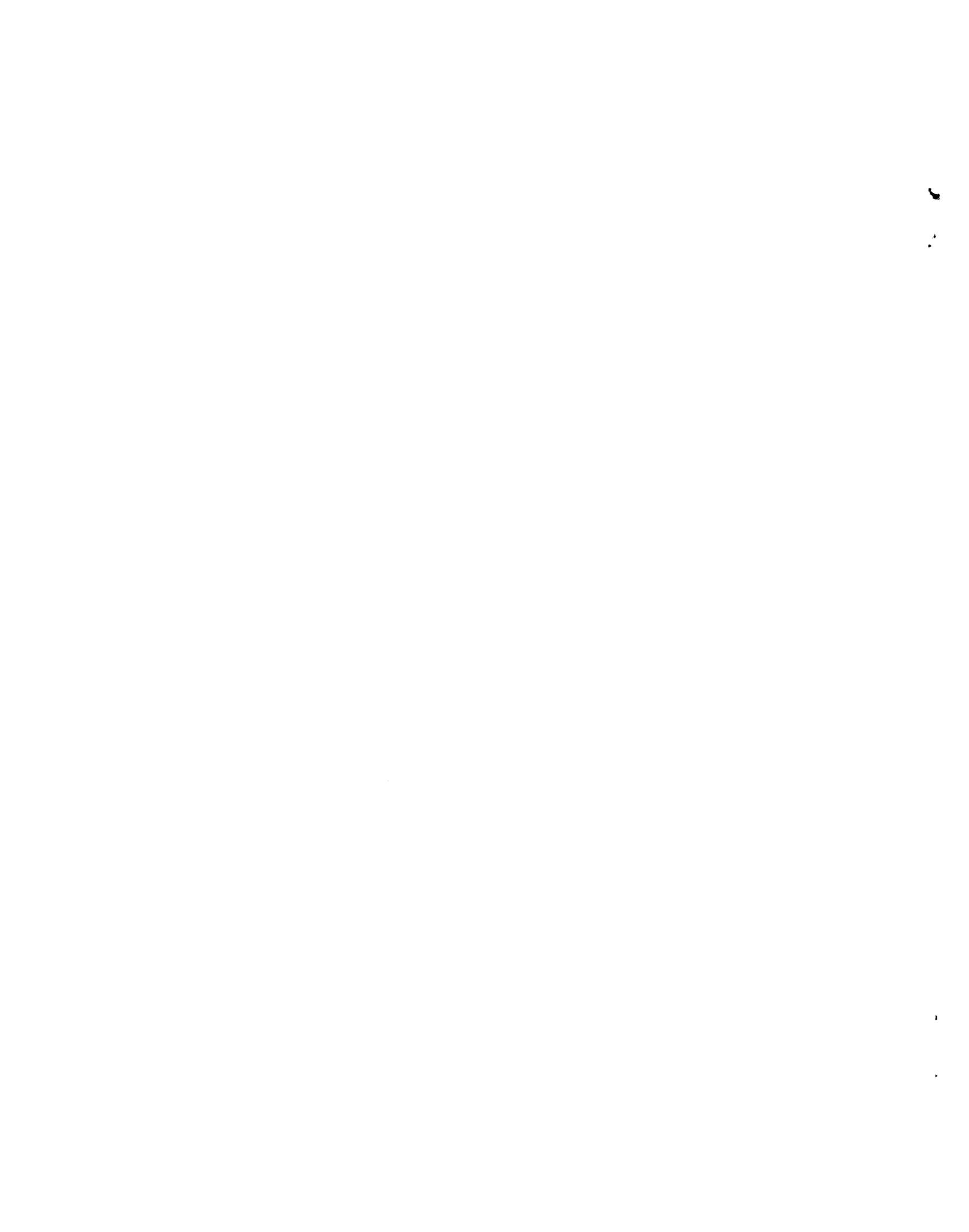


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(MEETING OPENS AT 9:30 a.m.)

DR. ALAN ROSENTHAL (Chairman): This is the first meeting of the Ad Hoc Commission on Legislative Ethics and Campaign Finance, the nine members of which have been appointed by the Speaker of the Assembly and the President of the Senate.

We will be meeting today, primarily, for purposes of organizing, for getting a sense of what the Committee's objectives and scope are, the kind of task we'll engage in, the meeting schedule we'll follow, and who we'll be hearing from. Those are basically the issues that we'll be taking up here.

I think that it's appropriate that we be charged as a Commission by the legislative leadership. Speaker Doria has come here to tell us what the leadership expects the Commission to do and what they're looking to us for. Speaker Doria?

ASSEMBLY SPEAKER J O S E P H V. D O R I A, JR.: Thank you very much, Dr. Rosenthal. It's a pleasure to be here this morning and have the opportunity to address you. I come on behalf of myself and Senate President John Lynch. Unfortunately, Senate President Lynch is away at this time. He's asked me to address you and to emphasize to you how important both of us feel the mandate of this Commission is.

I want to begin by thanking each and every one of you, especially the public members, as well as the legislative members, for agreeing to serve on this -- what we consider to be -- very, very important Commission. We feel that the entire purpose of this Commission is essential to the well-being of the State of New Jersey, to the perception of the general public.

Obviously, I'm not here to dictate what your job is or how to go about it. I simply want a few minutes just to talk about the importance of the task that you're going to undertake, both to the legislators themselves and to the future of the institution of the Legislature, and to the future of State government in the State of New Jersey.

Some people have said that your task is simple and unnecessary, that it's superfluous, and that the Legislature should just approve all of the present legislation that has been introduced on the subject, and the problems will be solved and they would go away. We don't feel that the answers are so simplistic, that there are such simple solutions. I think those people who think that the solutions are simplistic fail to understand that our problems are one of public perception, as well as reality. It requires just more than a surface overhaul. It demands a thorough examination of what the Legislature actually is and how it goes about its business.

Last month, the Eagleton Poll reported that, "Public confidence in the Legislature has dropped to its lowest level of the decade." This, obviously, is not very good for the institution. As a New Jersey legislator myself, and as the Leader of the Assembly, and as an admirer and firm believer in the institution and its capacity for good, this is obviously very troubling. Troubling, but given the climate of the times, not really surprising. I think we've all noticed that fewer and fewer people have been taking an active part in participatory roles in the political process. Lesser and lesser numbers of people have participated in elections, not only in the State of New Jersey, but nationwide.

I hear from my own students at St. Peter's College. Many of them seem to have an ingrained belief that the system doesn't work, that corruption is inherent, and that there is no way they can have an impact on the system as an individual. They feel that very little can be accomplished to bring about the public good. Obviously, we know that's not true, but, unfortunately, we feel many times that we become frustrated, the students become frustrated, and the general public--

These young people -- members of the general public -- have no desire to be involved with public service. They have little interest in becoming involved in a process which appears

on the surface to virtually exclude them, and the point of our democratic system is not to exclude, but to include. It should be an inclusion, rather than a exclusion.

And why is it that they feel excluded? Well, one needs to look no further than the ELEC reports to see how expensive it's become to run for public office in the State of New Jersey, and how expensive it's become to run for public office nationwide. Every year the cost escalates. Every year it becomes more and more absurd.

In our most competitive districts, intelligence, energy, experience, and initiative aren't the prime candidate qualifications anymore. In these districts, only people with personal fortunes, or people with contacts to raise the unusual amount of money, can afford to run for the Legislature.

The public, if they are paying any attention at all, must wonder why anyone in his right mind -- or, her right mind -- would spend a quarter-of-a-million dollars to get a \$35,000 a year job. It seems to deny common sense, but yet we know it happens. This is the reason why the second part of the charge is important -- in addition to the question of campaign and finance -- the long overdue review of our disclosure laws and ethics regulations. It's equally important to the restoration of public confidence in our institution.

We can't expect the respect and confidence of the people we represent if we operate under a system designed to obfuscate, rather than clarify; a system that by its very nature raises suspicions where no main reality exists or is warranted. The perception, again, rather than the reality, is what we are concerned with and what, unfortunately, the public deals with many times; perception created by media, perception created by rumors, innuendo, and all of those various things that we in public life must live with.

I would like you to use this opportunity to help dispel some of these doubts about the nature and purpose of the

Legislature, to make the people realize that the Legislature is truly a vehicle of the people, that are there to represent the will of the people, that it is a tool of democratic process, rather than a tool of any special interest, to develop a plan to help us put these questions behind us, so that we can get on with the people's business and spend our time dealing with the issues at hand, rather than dealing with innuendo and problems of perception that are created.

The job of safeguarding the integrity and future effectiveness of the Legislature as an institution now rests in your hands. I look forward, with confidence, to working with you. I look forward to the report that you will be presenting to us. Obviously, we will provide you with all of the tools that you need -- the research staff, and all of those things that may be necessary for you to determine what other states are doing and what we should be doing. The important question here is that the system should be open to all. It should not be dependent upon one's own personal wealth or one's personal business contacts, rather upon the ability of an individual to serve, the ability of an individual to participate, and, in the end, to benefit the people of the State of New Jersey.

I want to, again, thank you all for giving me this opportunity to address you. As I said, myself and President of the Senate John Lynch, obviously, are very supportive of the purpose of the Commission. We are here to provide you with any assistance that you need. I know that John Lynch has expressed to me, in many instances, the concerns and the importance that he feels attached to this Commission, and I feel the same. Together, hopefully, we will come up with the best possible legislation for the people of the State of New Jersey.

I thank you. I'll be happy to answer any question that anybody might have at this point.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Does anyone have any questions to address to the Speaker?

MR. BURSTEIN: Yes. Speaker, is there any kind of a time objective with respect to the period or operation of this Commission, by which time you expect a report?

SPEAKER DORIA: Obviously, we would like the Commission to act in an expeditious manner, but at the same time, having enough time to fully review all of the various questions. I would hope that sometime by the early fall, by September at the latest, the Commission would be able to give us at least a preliminary, if not a final, report.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Any other questions?

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: I have one. Mr. Speaker, I'm a legislator. Of course, they put the legislators on one side of the table, and I'm not sure I understand that but-- (laughter) I want to know -- if you're able to say, not knowing what this Commission will do -- whether or not you and Senator Lynch are prepared to put your full weight behind any recommendations of this Commission, in terms of the implementation of the recommendations?

SPEAKER DORIA: My own personal-- I don't want to speak for Senator Lynch, but I feel very positively that he agrees with me. Yes, we are.

Obviously, the purpose of the Commission is to come up with recommendations that will be able to benefit the people of the State. As such, I would put my full personal weight, reputation, and my support behind the recommendations of the Commission, obviously, within the reason that they are reasonable. I expect that with this group here, they will be very reasonable and they will be very effective. So, yes I do, with that one caveat, out of reasonableness.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes, sir?

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman, first of all, forgive me for being late. We had a leadership meeting on the second floor that I had to Chair.

Mr. Speaker, what about your full weight and support for possible constitutional amendments that would change the makeup of the Legislature, for instance, from a part-time to a full-time Legislature? Would you be so inclined to put the full weight and support of the Legislature behind that?

SPEAKER DORIA: Again, I would think, Assemblyman Haytaian, that if there was significant proof, significant research and testimony behind, and supporting that concept, I would have to seriously look at it. I, myself, have many questions about the need for a full-time Legislature. But if this Commission came back with that recommendation and had the backing and the support of testimony or research that they've done, that it would be beneficial to the State of New Jersey, I would seriously consider it, yes.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: To put in on the ballot, so that we could get it through?

SPEAKER DORIA: To put in on the ballot, sure.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Put it on the Legislature to get it on the ballot?

SPEAKER DORIA: To give it to the people to have a choice, sure.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Good.

SPEAKER DORIA: I have no problem with providing a choice to the people of the State.

MR. STANTON: Just one question on that: That's a very broad agenda. I would say, when I first agreed to be on the Commission, I just didn't look upon anything quite that grandiose, when we're called Legislative Ethics and Campaign Finance. Talking about a full-time Legislature is a very, very major step.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Well, there may be in implication--

MR. STANTON: Seems part of outside of the scope of this Commission.

DR. ROSENTHAL: --in dealing with conflicts of interest--

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: That would require--

DR. ROSENTHAL: --of going to a full-time Legislature.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Sure. Absolutely.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I think it's conceivable that we'll be dealing with broad issues as we get into the narrow issues, and they're unavoidable.

MR. STANTON: I have no objections to dealing with that, but it just seems like it's something that would be difficult to study in this time frame.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: If the Speaker is asking for a timetable of September-- Something of that magnitude, changing the whole Legislature from part-time to full-time, is not going to be done over a couple of summer months. I agree with you. There's no way you can bypass one without the other, but I'm not sure that we would ever come out with a recommendation.

MR. STANTON: Mr. Chairman, we might not.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman, that's correct. The reason I asked the question is because this question has come before me many times: "What's your opinion of a full-time Legislature?" And, quite frankly, I'm in favor of a full-time Legislature, just so you know it as the Chairman. I think in order to get to the root problems that are associated and have been associated with the Legislature, that absolutely has to be discussed by this Commission. Otherwise, we will not fulfill our charge, in my estimation.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Senator?

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Chuck, certainly I expected, when discussing the idea of ethics and finance, that we would have discussions about part-time versus full-time legislators and what the part-time Legislature lends itself to. With regard to solutions to the problem, I would suspect that there will be a number of options available to legislators as a

result of the discussions we have, that would implement any potential recommendations. But to focus on the idea of a full-time Legislature -- and I've come to that conclusion already, before we've even discussed it-- I didn't look at that as part of the charge that the Speaker and Senate President were looking towards.

We have a part-time Legislature. What are the problems associated with being a part-time legislator in the area of campaign finance and legislative ethics? Now, if you conclude, as a result of all of our discussions, that we should put in a bill to create a full-time Legislature, that's terrific, but I don't think that's the role of this Commission--

SPEAKER DORIA: Let me just--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: --to make that recommendation.

SPEAKER DORIA: Can I just-- Obviously, the discussion is a good one, but I don't think I should be part of it, because I'm not a member of the Commission. Let me just end by saying, that from the point of view of myself -- I hesitate to speak for the Senate President, but I will -- the purview of the Commission is to discuss all areas, but then in the end to make recommendations based upon specific decisions of the Commission.

We don't want to prevent you -- that's what I'm trying to say here -- from getting involved in any of these issues, but, obviously, we would hope that what you present to us in the end is reasonable, doable, and can be accomplished by the Legislature within a reasonable period of time. I don't think that we're asking for a total restructure of the system, but we are looking at any ability that you have to make recommendations that will deal directly with the issues of campaign finance, ethics, and disclosure. Obviously, they may go far afield, but that's what your discussions are for, and that's what you will be doing. I commend you for doing that.

At this point, I want to thank you, and I will leave you to your discussions. Thank you.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Senator, do you have a question for the Speaker?

SENATOR ORECHIO: Mr. Chairman, no. I don't have a question, just a comment.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Thank you, Speaker Doria.

SENATOR ORECHIO: There are many people in this State that think we meet too often, for example, as part-time legislators. It could cause a lot of havoc down here. On the other hand, I also think that New Jersey is not unique when it comes to ethics and campaign financing, with respect to full-time service. I think basically, as was pointed out before, to evaluate whether we should be part-time or full-time is probably a charge that we're really not, I don't think, able to pursue, because of the time constraint; I think because of the importance of getting a report from this Commission that would focus on these two issues -- legislative ethics and campaign financing.

And I also don't think that by the fall, this report is going to be able to be compiled with all of the nuances involved in this whole process and in our objective.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Well, I would think that our scope is campaign finance, money in political campaigns, the area of ethics, conflicts of interest, lobbying, disclosure, and probably gifts and honorariums. And, there may be something that I haven't thought of, but those would seem to be the major focuses of the Commission.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: But within the framework of the way we are today, and that's a part-time legislator.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes. It is conceivable, and I'm not recommending it--

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Absolutely.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: But as a result?

DR. ROSENTHAL: It is conceivable that we'll say the only solution for conflicts is to go to a full-time Legislature, and then I think it's a matter for the Commission to decide whether it will recommend or not recommend, or pass on that issue. I think we've got to get in-- We may get into it, that's all. We may get into it as the only way to deal with conflicts. I don't think it's the only way, personally, but a case certainly can be made.

Let me just say, I am very delighted to be serving with this group of people. I think this is an excellent body, even though the legislators have been segregated from the public members. I hope that by the end of our meetings we will have a different seating arrangement.

The legislators, as the ranking members of the Ethics Committee, I think are in an excellent position to comment and deliberate on ethical issues. They have experience. They have experience from the inside, obviously, with campaign finance. Having worked with legislatures and studied them for almost 25 years, I think experience is important. I think that kind of sensitivity is very important.

The public members -- Tom Stanton, Pat Sheehan, Michael Cole, and Al Burstein -- are also sensitive and experienced people. They come at these problems with different kinds of backgrounds, but I think all of them are sensitive. I don't know why I'm on the Commission. I don't have that kind of experience. I may have a national perspective from having worked with legislatures for years.

Let me say that the issues that we'll be dealing with are by no means unique. These are the issues that the national legislature is dealing with, and the United States Senate is currently debating campaign finance reform. These are issues that are hitting in most of the states, and certainly the larger states, or states the size of New Jersey, and even hitting in places like Wyoming and Vermont.

Conflicts of interest is not a new issue. It was an issue when I got started in this business in 1966. I think we're much more sensitive to the issue now. I think there's more at stake. I think legislatures have become professionalized. I think the State House press corps is more attentive than it used to be. I think the public has higher expectations, and properly so. But conflicts of interest is an issue, and has been.

Campaign finance has grown as an issue. Money didn't count 20 or 25 years ago, the way it counts today. The professionalization of political campaigns statewide, and even legislative races, has gone on at a tremendous rate. In California, Ohio, Florida, it doesn't matter where, campaign finance is an issue. It's almost as if the development of the New Jersey Legislature, like the development of other legislatures, kind of runs along with the development of the environment.

We've had to develop. We've had to industrialize. We've done a lot of things and there's been some damage as a result of development and pollution in the environment. I think that we've got to deal with any problems of pollution -- in terms of a major political institution -- any ethical breaches, and problems of money in politics, both because those problems exist and because the appearance of a problem is very important as far as the public is concerned. So I think that the Commission -- and I'm sure I speak for all of us -- would want to deliberate and discuss these issues and really come up with some proposals that will advance things.

We may not solve everything, and I don't think everything will ever be solved. I think you have to keep working on this stuff. But I hope we can advance things in a manner that is responsible to the public and is sympathetic to the political institution; that we don't want to mess up in advancing any campaign finance or ethics reforms.

I think we can do both. I think the Legislature-- The leadership is quite serious about this, and quite committed to doing something. We are being staffed here out of the Office of Legislative Services. Frank Parisi, to my right, will take care of most of the administrative details and provide the backup on the campaign finance part of the charge. Marci Hochman, to Frank's right, also from OLS, will be providing the ethics backup. Both of them are experienced in the area.

We are also being supported by members of the partisan staff: Fred Butler for the Assembly Majority party, and Steve DeMicco for the Senate Majority party. I assume Gregg Edwards is for the Assembly Minority party. Is there anybody here from the Senate Minority party?

MR. EDWARDS (Assembly Minority staff): No, I'll help Senator DiFrancesco also.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Okay. That's very kind of you.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: I don't need any backup.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Not from Gregg.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: I don't need any backup, Gregg.
(laughter)

DR. ROSENTHAL: Okay, not from Gregg.

My suggestion for the rest of this meeting is for the Commission members to discuss what tasks they feel we ought to engage in by way of examining these problems: hearings, bringing in experts from out-of-state, obviously, examining the current state of the law, and state of regulation and code, what procedures we ought to follow, whether the meetings should all be public, or what have you, and what our schedule should be. So I throw that out for the consideration of the Commission. I think we ought to come out of this meeting with an agenda, with a schedule, and knowing what we're going to be doing at the next meeting.

MR. BURSTEIN: Alan, just to establish the parameters of work we have to do, the focus is on -- or the title at least -- legislative ethics and campaign finance. On the subject of campaign finance, you've described us all as being very sensitive, which I appreciate.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I was taking some liberties.

MR. BURSTEIN: I think it's a lot a baloney, but nonetheless it's-- But I have a sensitivity, too; the issue of gubernatorial campaign finance, because I think it's interwoven with everything else. Although I didn't have a chance to ask the Speaker the question, it would appear, to me at least, to be a fact that this Commission can look at the question of gubernatorial finance along with whatever the finance problems are on the legislative side. Is that a fair statement?

DR. ROSENTHAL: I open that up to other members of the Commission.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: If we are going to solve the problem of campaign finance, I think there might have to be some direction from somebody, or this Commission, as to whether we want to advance public financing into the legislative races. Two of the problems that I understand are the amount of money spent and the amount of contributions made by certain people. Correct me if I'm wrong. I understand to limit that or to do that, you must have some public financing in order to set that in motion. I think he's right. We ought to follow from the gubernatorial financing as to whether the Legislature financing to some degree would be of the same idea.

MR. BURSTEIN: First time you ever said I was right, as far back as I can remember. (laughter)

DR. ROSENTHAL: Senator DiFrancesco?

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: It's been a long time, Al.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: I think it might be appropriate, having watched now since '77, I guess it was--

MR. BURSTEIN: That was the first campaign, right, Don.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: It seems that it's perhaps gone beyond the original scope. For example, the various political parties seem to spend a ton of money outside of the purview of the actual candidate's campaign. I'm not sure that was true in '77.

MR. BURSTEIN: No, it was not. And that's perceptually why I raised--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Maybe that's why you brought it up.

MR. BURSTEIN: Yes.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: That certainly is something that I personally would like to take a look at, because I think it needs to be.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I think that if you consider campaign finance for the Legislature, you've got to consider -- at least in the context -- the campaign financing of gubernatorial elections, because if you cap gubernatorial finance, it's going to go into legislative campaigns or into soft money party expenditures. So, I think that's one ball of wax that we can't possibly ignore. Although we may not be able to make any proposals directly for gubernatorial campaign financing, I think what we suggest has got to be within that context. Is that sort of--

MR. BURSTEIN: Yes. Although, I'm not so sure that we can't make recommendations. After all, it's legislation that we're going to be talking about.

DR. ROSENTHAL: That's true. You're right.

MR. BURSTEIN: The campaign finance on the gubernatorial side can be legislatively addressed. The very thing that Don was talking about is the thing that concerns me. From my perspective, frankly, what our original intention was and having that law adopted has been largely subverted by the developments and outside sources of income. For the tons of money that have been spent for the--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: And I think ELEC has been crying out for changes, also.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: Mr. Chairman, if I remember right, I was here in '77. I've been here so goddamned long I know all of you. It's true the original financing law had a cap as to how much a candidate could spend. I think it was 50 cents for the vote cast. The reason that the court threw it out as unconstitutional, is because there was no public input into the money.

If we're going to cap it-- That's one of the things I hope we talk about here.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Well, if you're going to cap expenditures, you've got to have some sort of public financing system to make it constitutional. That's a possible area of discussion on public financing, sure.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes, sir?

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: You asked the question about procedures -- excuse me. I think all of our meetings should be open to the public. I think we should have as many meetings as are necessary to provide a report by September, at the latest. Or, if in fact we can't do that, we ought to ask the Speaker and the Senate President for an increase in time to present a report.

I believe we should touch on all aspects of campaign financing, ethics -- legislative ethics -- gubernatorial ethics, and campaign financing on the gubernatorial level. I believe we should touch on all of those issues because, quite frankly, as a legislator we have a lot more at stake -- as legislators -- in this whole process and procedure than anyone else. The public is very involved, and should be involved, but it's our reputations that are on the line on a daily basis.

I'll be quite frank with you: I'd like to have the best laws possible so that our reputations are not out on the

line, and everything is definite, and we know the standards that are out there, and we can follow those processes and procedures that are necessary.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Right. Assemblyman Haytaian made a suggestion that all of the meetings should be public meetings. Is there any objection to that?

UNIDENTIFIED COMMISSION MEMBER: No.

DR. ROSENTHAL: There's no objection. Therefore, we will proceed on that basis, that all of the meetings, including the final deliberations of this Commission, will be open to the public.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: May I also ask if we could have-- I would hope that we agree -- on a majority basis -- that there will be no need for a minority report, but if, in fact, that is not the case, that you hold open the possibility for a minority report, if that's necessary.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Any objection to that? I have absolutely none.

SENATOR ORECHIO: Are you talking about true minority, or what?

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: You know, I may be in the majority, and there may be others in the minority, but I think that should be held open.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Absolutely, but I'm sure we'll be unanimous. These are simple issues to reach an enmity on. (laughter)

MR. BURSTEIN: That's why we made Rosenthal the Chairman.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: That's right. That's why you're the Chairman.

DR. ROSENTHAL: No differences of opinion, no partisan considerations, or anything else--

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: Mr. Chairman, you know what can happen with commissions; it's happened to so many commissions

through the years that we've had them. What is said here will long be remembered here, but if we don't send something out of here that they will except -- the 120 other people -- we're just spinning our wheels. You're right, we need a minority report. Whatever we do, we ought to do it with some strength behind it.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: That's right.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Any other feelings about how we ought to proceed? (no response) What about hearings as part of the procedure whereby we would listen to witnesses from within the State? We would invite people. We would make a forum available. How do you feel about that? Yes, Mike?

MR. COLE: I think we ought to avail ourselves of whatever resources we can. I certainly would like to hear from members of the Legislature who have shown an abiding interest in these topics. Assemblyman Schluter is here. I know Paul Contillo has processed a number of ethics bills. They've devoted long hours, and I think we ought to certainly use them as a resource, as well as others, for this Commission.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: Mr. Chairman, are we going to set an agenda for, say, campaign finance first, and then ethics? Or, are we just going to make it all one?

DR. ROSENTHAL: I think it may be -- and again this is up to the members of the Commission -- a little more practicable if we separate campaign finance from the other areas of ethics, just to kind of make it a little more manageable for us to think about issues. That will give us a broad swath under ethics and a hell of a lot of issues under campaign finance.

So, what we might do, in inviting people to come in and testify, is to have-- I mean, we may have two separate days of testimony: one on campaign finance, another one on ethics. I think they're somewhat separable. There's an

overlap, but they're somewhat separable. So if there's no objection, we probably would run in that matter, yes.

MR. COLE: Well, depending on what you conclude on campaign finance, you may eliminate a number of ethical considerations. If we do, for example, go to a public system of campaign financing, some of the concerns about major contributors having an influence on the actions of particular legislators or presiding officers may be somewhat dissipated. I would say, probably, attack on campaign finance first, and leaving ethics second will give us a little better focus.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Then as we're reaching a stage of deliberating we're going to be dealing with them both simultaneously.

MR. STANTON: Alan, you were talking about talking to other people. You're not restricting us to the State of New Jersey, are you?

DR. ROSENTHAL: No. I was talking about hearings in which we would invite testimony from members of the public, organizations, or legislators.

MR. STANTON: I know when we did the Financing Commission for Rutgers, some of the best testimony were people who we got through other states, who had already distilled an awful lot of information, put it all together, had it in writing and in format.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I take it then that you would be happy to receive testimony or suggestions from experts from out-of-state, whether they be legislators, people, academic experts, or other people who have special knowledge and experience in these fields? Is that correct?

MR. STANTON: Yes. No sense in trying to reinvent the wheel, if somebody else has come up with a good idea.

DR. ROSENTHAL: All right. We will arrange for those visits, and work them into a schedule as best we can. I guess at the outset then-- At the outset, for awhile, we will be

taking testimony and visiting with experts, and then narrowing down later on.

Let me just suggest tentatively -- we can change this along the way-- Let me say in reference to that, if any of you have any suggestions as to people from elsewhere who should be called in or invited in to visit with the Commission, please let me know. I'd like to know. We may have some budget limitations. I think the Speaker has offered to pay travel expenses for some people. I don't know what the extent of our budget is, yet. Do you know Fred?

MR. BUTLER (Assembly Majority staff): No, not at this point.

DR. ROSENTHAL: No. So, I think that within budgetary limitations, we will be inviting people from other states.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes, sir?

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Could I make a suggestion--

DR. ROSENTHAL: Sure.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: --that we get out all of the names and addresses of Commission members, as well as phone numbers, so that we have that available?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Right. Frank will do that.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Is it in our package?

DR. ROSENTHAL: No.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Fine, thank you.

DR. ROSENTHAL: All we have is legislation in our package. If anyone has any question between meetings, you can call me, or one another, or call Frank. I'm sure we can handle it very quickly. I'll be around, generally.

MR. STANTON: Could you also, briefly, tell us what we have here? There's a whole group of prefiled bills here. This is a great deal to wade through. What's happening with these right now? Are they in your Committee hearing, or are these just filed and nobody's dealt with them yet?

DR. ROSENTHAL: You've got two stacks of information, apparently. You've got one statutory law, or rule regulation, regarding campaign finance and ethics. Secondly, you have a number of bills that are currently filed, having to do with the subject. Now, the legislators are used to reading bills, and Al Burstein, having been in the-- And Mike Cole is used to reading bills.

MR. BURSTEIN: Now we have our aides do that.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I mean, does anybody-- Does anyone feel it would be helpful to have an analysis of these bills so that they're put into some general fashion as to--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Why do you need them? Was that part of our purpose, to review all pending legislation?

MR. STANTON: I don't know, that's part of my question.

DR. ROSENTHAL: No. I think that the information available is some of the proposals that are currently around. I think knowing what people have been talking about--

If Assemblyman Schluter testifies, he'll obviously be making suggestions that are, you know--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Right, that's what I meant. If he wanted to testify, I assume that--

DR. ROSENTHAL: Well, there's no need to look at the bills now. I think it's useful to have them available because that is what has been proposed.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Is the answer, it's not for him to worry too much about the details, at this point, of these bills?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes. I would say yes.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: If he wants some further input into it, each one of those bills is assigned to a certain committee. That committee has a file and staff.

DR. ROSENTHAL: With an analysis.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: You can contact the staff--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: We're going to send you the other 6000 bills that we have in the file.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: --for whatever they have in the file.

MR. STANTON: Well, you get a good -- somewhat of an idea of a statement about these.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I think maybe we can get some sort of an analysis to make it a little easier for laymen, such as Tom and myself, to look through these bills. If they were academic journal articles, I could do it, but bills I'm not used to. (laughter)

SENATOR ORECHIO: Mr. Chairman?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Do we have any academic journal articles?

MR. STANTON: Donald Trump's financial statement. (laughter)

SENATOR ORECHIO: Mr. Chairman, two points: I think some bills may be similar. I think a good analysis to a bill is showing what the balances are. And secondly, I would imagine that if the charge is the fall, then it's the question of trying to establish a number of meetings, and I guess, when and what would be appropriate for the convenience of the members.

DR. ROSENTHAL: It seems to me that if the Speaker wants a report by late September, let's say, we will have to -- working backwards -- spend several days in September, after Labor Day, getting together for purposes of reaching decisions, and for purposes of reviewing the draft report before it goes out. And we won't be able to do that, I don't think, in the summer months when different people are on vacation. So I would say that in the first couple of weeks in September, which we'll schedule later on, we ought to figure on several meetings of the Commission.

My recommendation would be, at this point, to set aside two days a month -- that's May, June, July, and August -- to meet and to hear testimony, or to hear witnesses, deliberate, or whatever. Now, if we do not have an agenda, we can cancel the meeting. But I think it isn't too many. To have eight meetings to review the issue and to listen to people may not be too many. And I think, naturally, over the summer months people will be on vacation, so different members will be missing meetings. We will be transcribing the sessions, so that any members who miss a meeting can catch up on that meeting at some point. Is that correct, Frank?

MR. PARISI (Commission aide): Yes.

DR. ROSENTHAL: We will have the transcript available.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes?

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: I would suggest that the meetings be held on non-legislative days, because we have other responsibilities, at least those that are in the Legislature. Let me also say that members of the Legislature don't generally take vacations, so June, July, and August are great times to have Commission meetings.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Well, when this Commission gets through, you will be taking a vacation. (laughter)

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: And third of all, when you discuss the bills-- Being in the Minority, there are times that we can't get bills discussed in committee, so we welcome the opportunity to take some of our bills here and discuss them in this Commission meeting. I have no problem with that at all.

DR. ROSENTHAL: I don't think we can discuss Minority bills, Assemblyman Haytaian.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Oh, is that right. (laughter)

DR. ROSENTHAL: The Speaker didn't state that--

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: I know that.

DR. ROSENTHAL: --but he let me know that. Does that seem reasonable to--

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: You will pick days that aren't legislative days?

DR. ROSENTHAL: We'll pick them right now. We'll get the second Friday of each month, or the second whatever we pick, and we'll schedule it now and attend as best we can. But, do two meetings a month seem reasonable? (affirmative responses from Commission members)

And then we may have to schedule another meeting in May, or cancel a meeting. We'll play it by ear. What are the best days for meeting, for people? Not Mondays and not Thursdays.

UNIDENTIFIED COMMISSION MEMBERS: Wednesdays.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Al, do you play golf on Wednesdays?

MR. BURSTEIN: I ain't no golfer. I play tennis, and it's anytime.

DR. ROSENTHAL: What about Wednesdays? (affirmative response from Commission members)

Okay, Wednesdays, generally in the morning -- 9:30 to, let's say, 12:00 or 12:30.

UNIDENTIFIED COMMISSION MEMBER: Are you going to do it down here?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Well, we could obviously hold the meetings here. That probably would be the best idea. Occasionally, we could hold them at Eagleton, which is a central point. I think we should hold them here, unless there is a particular reason to hold them somewhere else. If it's much more convenient for the membership to hold them in the New Brunswick area, we can hold some of them in Eagleton.

I think it's a better idea, if we are going to open it to the public, to let the public know where we're going to have it all the time.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: You're better off here, I think.

DR. ROSENTHAL: So the meetings then will be the first and third Wednesdays of each month, from 9:30 to 12:30, here at the State House Annex.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman? Mr. Chairman, may I suggest, in May you have a fifth Wednesday, and generally that fifth day of a month is the best for a lot of people.

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: That's Memorial Day, though.

DR. ROSENTHAL: All right, let's--

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: No. Wednesday the 30th is a Wednesday in May, it's the fifth. I'm not quite sure, but just take a look at the calendar. The first to the third are fine, but possibly in May, that may be a good one.

DR. ROSENTHAL: All right, well, let's go over the date. The next meeting of the Commission will be May 2. Then the following Commission will be May 5 -- May 16. Then you're saying the 30th-- I won't be here the 30th. It's not a good day.

MR. BURSTEIN: Nobody is going to make all of these, it's impossible.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Then the next is June 6, June 20. And no one will make all of them.

MR. BURSTEIN: June 20?

DR. ROSENTHAL: June 20. July 4th is Independence Day. Is that--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: It's a good day.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: It may be a good day.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Okay, let's do July 11, instead of the 4th.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: Someone has to cook my granddaughters' hot dogs. I have to be there.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Then we're at July 25. August 8-- We have the 25th, and now we're just going two weeks -- August 22. And then we'll set up the September meetings later on, after Labor Day. We'll see.

What we may have to do, at some point, is to hold a Friday meeting to have some people from out-of-state -- particularly, if they're coming from a distance -- in order to reduce the costs of air travel. Because everybody from out-of-state will save half the costs by staying over on Saturday night. So we might do that for out-of-state people.

MS. SHEEHAN: It may be, Alan, if we can't bring in some of those speakers, that we can get their published material. Many of them have written a great deal on ethics or campaign finance.

DR. ROSENTHAL: We will put together, as we go along, some of the published materials on this. And there's quite a bit of material. You could be overloaded. But we'll try to select what seems to be the most appropriate stuff.

MR. STANTON: In dealing with the Ethics Committee, as you two gentlemen have, is there any state which is considered to be a leader in this field?

UNIDENTIFIED MEMBER OF COMMISSION: What state?

MR. STANTON: Is there any state that's considered the leader?

I was just going to suggest that we probably ought to get the assistance of NCSO and CSG. Those are the legislative bodies nationally. They would have a background and also give an indication of where we have, maybe, the most resource.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Frank, will you get in touch with NCSO and CSG?

MR. PARISI: Yes.

MS. SHEEHAN: Didn't that Federal Commission just issue a report as well?

DR. ROSENTHAL: I don't know. There's also the experience of New York City, with public financing. There's New York State, which had an Ethics Commission going on for some time. We'll try to figure out -- unless you have particular ideas, which you should communicate to me -- what are the best states to be looking at for different things.

I know-- We had a conference recently on Public Financing of Legislative Elections. Public financing is only really done in Wisconsin and Minnesota. We've got a transcript of that conference, and the testimony of Tom Loftus (phonetic spelling); the speaker from Minnesota, and Bob Vanasack (phonetic spelling), the speaker from Minnesota, about the impact of public financing. So some of those materials could be made available, too.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: Mr. Chairman?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes?

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: May I be excused? I just got word that I have to go to acCommittee meeting.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes, you may be excused, Assemblyman.

ASSEMBLYMAN DEVERIN: The environment gets very upset if you don't show up. Thank you.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Thank you. Yes?

MR. BURSTEIN: From the standpoint of the process to be followed, Alan, shouldn't we, as the first step, be engaged in an effort to define what the problems are, rather than a confused public hearing, where a lot of people will be talking about many different things? Shouldn't we, as a first step, either through staff or otherwise, set out some sort of an outline of what our objectives are and where we're going to focus our attention?

What are the problems that have been faced by the Legislature? We read bits and pieces in the newspapers, but I think it ought to be put into one cohesive poll so that we have some sense of where we want to go.

DR. ROSENTHAL: You want to start with the problems, rather than with the solutions?

MR. BURSTEIN: I would ordinarily think that way, but I may be wrong. (laughter)

DR. ROSENTHAL: I think that's a great idea. Why not, at our next meeting, start discussing the particular problems

that exist as we see them -- in both areas, campaign finance and ethics -- among ourselves, without any input from the public? But as we see these problems, see how that helps us focus in terms of where we might want to go to solve these problems. And let's do that for the next meeting, and maybe even for two meetings. Do you think that will be the way to go?

MR. BURSTEIN: Well, I think that you could probably do it in one meeting, easily enough. I think you could find the problems easily enough. The solutions ought to be a few more meetings than one.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Okay. The next meeting then will be a discussion of the problems, and we'll try to focus that discussion. Yes?

MS. SHEEHAN: I would add to that the notion that it include what the actual situation is now. I'm sure that the legislators all know it a lot better than we do. But I think, at least for the public members, we're a little bit hazy on precisely what is the law and what does the current situation call for, both in the way money is raised and the way it's reported; what disclosures are required, and so on. I'm not sure -- certainly for myself -- what currently is the total package.

DR. ROSENTHAL: All right.

MS. SHEEHAN: I would supplement Al's suggestion, with that.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Okay. That will be the focus of the next meeting.

MR. BURSTEIN: Alan, I'd also suggest that maybe we should throw in a resource of ELEC. Didn't they do a report recently? Some recommendations?

DR. ROSENTHAL: We will invite Fred Herrmann, I think, to be here as a resource for the next meeting on campaign finance. We may invite another person as a resource if there is an appropriate person, but it will mainly be our discussion.

Any other suggestions? (no response) Then I think in three weeks-- We'll be meeting in a week to discuss the problem. Two weeks after that, I think we ought to have hearings, if no one objects, and we'll invite people to testify at those hearings and accept volunteered testimony as well. Is that agreeable to the members of the Commission? Pat?

MS. SHEEHAN: Could we, perhaps, add or allow a little time after that for general discussion, as a result of the hearing, rather than just sit here and receive public commentary and then disperse? It seems to me it would be helpful if we had any comments ourselves, that maybe the last 20 minutes of the scheduled time could be for the Commission to chat, as opposed to the total time being just testimony.

DR. ROSENTHAL: That's fine with me. Why don't we-- If we have three-and-a-half hours scheduled, why don't we leave at least 45 minutes for discussion?

MR. BURSTEIN: Is that still open?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Everything's open. Everything's open. So we'll leave about 45 minutes for chatting. Let's also, if you'd be willing, Frank, distribute to members of the Commission the kind of agreements we've made, the schedule, and the kind of agreements as to procedure. We don't need a transcript, but just the major points.

All right, so that will be the next meeting then. And the meeting after the next we will hear testimony, and OLS will send out the invitations. Yes, Senator?

MR. COLE: Senator?

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Oh, go ahead Mike, because I don't mind.

MR. COLE: If we can, Alan, people that are going to testify can give us something in advance on what they are going to cover. I think it may help, and we may have more interaction with the witness than simply sitting here and listening to people. So if they're going to give a five- or

10-minute speech, if they give it to us in advance, maybe then they can simply summarize it, and we could use the time more productively, to give and take.

DR. ROSENTHAL: All right. If we let them know about three weeks in advance that they can testify, we can expect them to give us some summary or written testimony in advance, and then it can be mailed out to members of the Commission. We will try to do that and see how we do with it.

MR. BURSTEIN: How are we going to advertise to get witnesses? How are we going to disseminate information about the existence of the Commission's availability for testimony?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Frank?

MR. PARISI: Well, we have a mailing list which we use for the State Government Committees. That was how the notice was sent out this time. We also have the Legislative Information System in place at Legislative Services, which disseminates all notices. I think those have proven to be an effective means of getting people's attention. Of course, publicity through newspapers-- We'll work to that end as well. Is there any other thing that you could suggest that could be held useful?

SENATOR ORECHIO: Alan?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes, Senator?

SENATOR ORECHIO: If you have a cap on how long our sessions are, will there be a cap on speakers? I can visualize some of the public getting up there--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Well, are they going to be members of the general public? Do you anticipate that?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Well, this is for the Commission to decide.

SENATOR ORECHIO: --meanwhile you call somebody from California, and I can see that person's time might be taken away.

MR. COLE: I think you-- Maybe the thing to do is to have scheduled speakers, then reserve a half hour, or some period of time, for members of the public at that particular session.

DR. ROSENTHAL: We will invite, then, people who have made proposals and have been involved in this area, whether they are legislators, representatives of public interest groups, or what have you. We will also take, during a period of that session, testimony from the public.

The first hearings are going to be on campaign finance; the first testimony on campaign finance, and we'll save the ethics testimony for a later date. So we will have a period for the Commission to discuss testimony. We'll have a period for voluntary testimony. We'll have a period for solicited testimony.

The out-of-state experts, legislators, or what have you, will be coming at different times. They will be coming at times when the New Jersey public is not invited to testify. So we won't have people who have come from California waiting around.

MR. BURSTEIN: Alan?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Yes?

MR. BURSTEIN: I'm a little troubled by this bifurcation of the two aspects -- campaign finance and legislative ethics. As we said before, there's a necessary overlap. What we seem to be doing is duplicating our time. In other words, the people who come here and talk about campaign finance, I'm sure have some notions about legislative ethics.

I'm wondering if we're not more time efficient to allow them to speak their piece with regard to both subjects. I think that we'll still learn enough -- at least I think I will -- to be able to pick and choose as to what's said on each separate subject without melding them together.

DR. ROSENTHAL: What do people think of that? I think that is okay. Just meld them together and people can testify on campaign finance and/or ethics?

MR. BURSTEIN: Yes.

DR. ROSENTHAL: The whole ball of wax? (affirmative response from Commission members) And then we'll probably -- maybe have a couple of days of hearings?

MR. BURSTEIN: That's right.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Perhaps at the first hearing we should invite witnesses, and then later on we may open it up to anyone from the public. So I think that maybe the first hearing, and maybe the second hearing, we should invite witnesses.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: The first hearing is our second meeting? Is that what you said?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Our second meeting.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Well, actually our third, including this one?

DR. ROSENTHAL: Right. Yes, sir?

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: I just want to say something before you finish: Being a Republican Senator -- Senator Dorsey didn't necessarily ask me to participate, but submitted my name. I want to assure the public members -- all of whom I know -- that I had no discussions with either Senator Dorsey or any of the Republican Senators about this at all. Nor have I had any discussion with Chuck Haytaian about it. So I don't come here, necessarily, in that kind of a representative capacity.

I'm going to speak what's on my mind based upon my 15 years in the Legislature and years on the Ethics Committee. I want to assure you that I will try vehemently to persuade you to see it my way, just as I expect that you will try to persuade me, in public, to see it your way. And I think that is the way we have to conduct this, or it will not work.

Since I know all of you-- I'm sure you were going to do this anyway, but I think that it should be a no-holds-barred situation. I intend-- I have some very fixed opinions in some of these areas and I intend to pursue my opinions, however, modified by the testimony that there may be. I'm going to put a lot of time into it. I would expect that you will, and that's why I asked the Speaker that question. I don't want to put a lot of time in and then find out that it was wasted. I will try to convince my colleagues in the Senate -- in the Republican Senate -- to follow through on the Commission's recommendations, whatever they may be, as quickly as possible, because I feel that strongly about the charge of this Commission.

SENATOR ORECHIO: Mr. Chairman, did anything happen prior to the meeting that might be an inference that he would have been muzzled?

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: No. No. You know better than that.

MR. STANTON: Well, I would expect that you gentlemen would have some strong opinions, because you have lived with the system for a long time. I mean, it's something that's part of your experience, and your being. Definitely, that should be a very important part of what we hear.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Al?

MR. BURSTEIN: To follow through on what the Senator has said, it seems to me -- now sitting as an elder statesman, as it were, and nonpartisan--

SENATOR DiFRANCESCO: Well, we always thought you were an elder statesman, Al. (laughter)

MR. BURSTEIN: Now you say that. (laughter) It's critical to the ultimate product of this Commission that it be submitted on a bipartisan basis. I don't think it will work any other way. Ramming it through is not going to work. It's got to be something that's acceptable to all parties and is

promoted as a bipartisan effort. I think it will have public credibility in a way that no other system can. I think that that ought to be our common objective.

ASSEMBLYMAN HAYTAIAN: Mr. Chairman, I'd also like to thank the Speaker personally. He didn't ask for any suggestions from the Minority leader as to representation on this Committee. He asked if I would serve, and I truly appreciated that.

As some of you know, I've been the target of some accusations during my tenure here in the Legislature, and I welcome this Commission and this Committee's response to the problems that we, as legislators, have had. I think it's important that the public understand, from a Commission of this type rather than from innuendo and rumor, what generally occurs when financing and ethics are involved.

I think we have an ability to help the State of New Jersey, help the residents, and, quite frankly, help the legislators who are elected to govern and work on legislation, and not have to continually look over their shoulders because there are rumors floating around as to financing and ethics. So I welcome it, personally. And I think the members from my side of the aisle do the same.

DR. ROSENTHAL: Thank you, Assemblyman Haytaian. If there are no further comments or no further discussions, we will adjourn and meet next week at the same time, and I presume in the same place. You'll get a notice specifying the place.

(MEETING CONCLUDED AT 10:45 a.m.)

