04/07/2022 第八週 線上教室

今天介紹參議院院會程序最主要的特徵

就議會運作而言，多數統治意謂著議會多數黨完全掌握立法議題(agenda)的設定權、議院程序(process)以及實質立法結果(outcome)的控制權，少數權利則是指能對抗前述多數統治的表達異議、程序延遲(以致能影響或變更立法結果)、要求唱名表決(Roll Call Vote)(以明立法責任)等權利。

立法杯葛(legislative obstruction)為議會少數權利的具體表達方式，充分利用立法過程的各階段，操作程序拖延為體制內的「議事性杯葛(parliamentary obstruction)」，参議院的冗長發言(filibuster)為典型的議事性杯葛。

1789年4月第一屆美國國會組成後，當時參眾兩院各自制定的規則中，對議員發言權的規範並無差異。眾院規則僅規定，未經院會同意，同一問題每人發言不得超過兩次；參院規則亦規定，未經議院同意，一日內同一辯論每人發言不得超過兩次，但對於每人每次發言時間長短如何，當時兩院規則並無限制。

限制議員發言時間的主要方法可分為二：以規則(rule)或一致同意協議(unanimous consent agreement)訂定發言時間上限、以動議停止討論。

歷經50年無發言時間限制之後，眾議院在1841年7月制定了一小時規則(one-hour rule)，議員發言時間以一小時為限，稍後數日參議院亦有相似的一小時發言規則嘗試提出，但因缺乏足夠的議員支持，當時並未能順利制定。一般性議案參議員無發言時間限制遂成為參議院的傳統。

現代參眾兩院的停止討論動議並不相同，參院稱為「關閉」動議(‘cloture’ motion)，需「超級多數(super majority)」通過，眾院則為「先決問題」(previous question)，僅需「簡單多數(simple majority)」通過。

超級多數意即贊成票高於表決過半數(majority votes)的門檻，參院「關閉」動議的超級多數門檻曾有若干次修訂。簡單多數即表決過半數。

參議院在1917年制定了可以停止討論的「關閉」動議程序--22號規則(Rule 22)。22號規則制定後，歷經多次修正，主要在「關閉」動議表決通過的「超級多數」門檻升降。1917年原訂為表決2/3 (2/3 of those present and voting)，1949年提高至全院2/3 (2/3 of the full membership)，1959年又再降回原先的表決2/3，1975年再度降至目前的全院3/5 (但參議院規則修訂案的關閉動議仍須表決2/3通過)。自1975年修訂時起，全院參議員人數即為100人，因此目前參議院針對立法案的關閉動議所需超級多數為60票(針對實質問題或程序動議，但規則修訂除外)。

至於總統所送提名案部分，依2013年11月21日所定慣例(precedent)，除最高法院大法官提名案停止討論，仍為全院3/5以外，所有提名案僅需表決過半數即可通過關閉動議。2013的慣例係當時參院民主黨多數主導下為協助民主黨歐巴馬總統各項提名案所作，但2017年4月6日在參院共和黨多數主導下，同樣為協助共和黨總統川普，建立新的慣例，將最高法院大法官提名案停止討論的門檻，亦降至表決過半數即可通過關閉動議。

2013與2017的新慣例，事實上破壞了參議院保障少數(杯葛權)的傳統，此種程序操作，被稱為「核子選擇(Nuclear Option)」，意即形同在參院投下核彈、澈底將參議院的傳統摧毀。

2003年2月3日，美國布希總統(George W. Bush)提名的哥倫比亞區巡迴上訴法院(D.C. Circuit)法官候選人艾斯特拉達(Miguel Estrada)提名案(PN6-108)開始在參議院院會辯論，自3月6日起至6月30日止共和黨先後提出7次停止討論動議，均無法獲得60票通過。停止討論案贊成票始終未能超過55票(當時參議院共和黨僅有52席)，提名案最後於9月4日由白宮撤回。

布希總統第一任內計有10件法官提名案遭民主黨參議員杯葛，艾斯特拉達為其中最明顯的例子。面對提名案的杯葛，共和黨領袖(多數黨領袖)傅力(Bill Frist)開始計畫如何以51票簡單多數突破60票停止討論門檻的程序操作，由於此項設計將使參議院最根本的少數權利傳統遭徹底破壞，傅力前任的共和黨領袖辣得(Trent Lott)遂率先稱此為「核子選擇(Nuclear Option)」。

2005年5月18日，多數黨領袖傅力將聯邦第五巡迴上訴法院法官歐文(Priscilla Owen)提名案(PN194-109)提至參議院院會。為避免因停止討論案否決後傅力啟動「核子選擇」，以亞利桑納州參議員馬侃(John McCain)與前民主黨領袖柏德(Robert Byrd)為首的所謂「14人幫(Gang of 14)」，在5月23日簽署一項備忘錄。

民主黨方面同意投票支持未來的三件停止討論案，三者包含歐文在內均為上訴法院法官提名案，七位共和黨參議員則承諾，不會支持任何以修正或解釋現行停止討論規則(60票才能通過)，以終結司法提名案議事杯葛(簡單多數即可停止討論)的程序操作。也就是說，民主黨七位同意支持體制上的停止討論，共和黨七位同意抵制破壞體制的核子選擇操作。

5月24日歐文提名案以84比18通過停止討論，次日隨即以55比43通過提名案，傅力的「核子選擇」始終沒有機會嘗試。

[14人幫(Gang of 14)：共和黨參議員7人：Lincoln Chafee (R-RI), Susan Collins (R-ME), Mike DeWine (R-OH), Lindsey Graham (R-SC), John McCain (R-AZ), Olympia Snowe (R-ME), John Warner (R-VA)；

民主黨參議員7人：Robert Byrd (D-WV), Daniel Inouye (D-HI), Mary Landrieu (D-LA), Joe Lieberman (D-CT), Ben Nelson (D-NE), Mark Pryor (D-AR), Ken Salazar (D-CO)。]

[**http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gang\_of\_14**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gang_of_14)

2013年冗言冗語

Rand Paul近13小時冗言

2013年元月歐巴馬總統提名白宮反恐怖主義顧問(counterterrorism adviser)柏潤(John O. Brennan)為中央情報局局長(CIA Director)，接替因緋聞去職的皮特瑞(David Petraeus)將軍。柏潤的新職與美國政府運用「無人攻擊機(drone)」的政策關係密切。「無人機空襲(drone strike)」計畫始於布希總統時期，歐巴馬總統任內在柏潤主持下大幅擴充。此外，美國空軍及中央情報局在中東、北非、巴基斯坦等地布署的無人攻擊機約四分之一係由中情局控管。

2012年4月柏潤並曾公開為歐巴馬政府在阿富汗、巴基斯坦、葉門等地使用無人攻擊機(drone)空襲「基地(Al Qaeda)」組織恐怖分子的合法性、道德性及其效能辯護。柏潤出任中情局局長，自然引起關切無人攻擊機爭議的參議員注意。

3月5日柏潤提名案經參院情報委員會通過，多數黨領袖瑞德(Harry Reid)預定6日提至參院院會。肯德基州共和黨參議員包練(Rand Paul)，在提名案正式提出前，即取得發言權，以政府能否在美國土地對美國公民進行無人機空襲為主題，進行冗長發言。

包練的發言自6日上午11時47分開始，持續至7日清晨0時38分，將近13小時。包練的冗長發言並非一人唱獨角戲，3小時10分鐘起，陸續有9位共和黨參議員 (包括Mike Lee of Utah, Ted Cruz of Texas, Jerry Moran of Kansas, Marco Rubio of Florida, Saxby Chambliss of Georgia, John Cornyn of Texas, John Barrasso of Wyoming, John Thune of South Dakota, and Pat Toomey of Pennsylvania等)。以發問及論述的形式協助包練消耗發言時間，大約4小時之後，民主黨參議員魏登(Ron Wyden)也來到議場協助包練，顯示無人攻擊機的爭議係左右兩派共同關切的議題。

進行到第5小時左右，多數黨領袖瑞德(Harry Reid)到達議場，評估是否能在90分鐘後結束冗長發言，但包練表示他要等司法部長侯德(Eric Holder)答覆，瑞德因而作罷。晚上共和黨議員陸續來到議場協助，包練利用其他人發言時在議場中來回踱步，並與到場的眾院議員聊天。大約晚間11時左右，少數黨領袖麥康納(Mitch McConnell)也來到議場表達支持，兩院共和黨議員紛紛聚集在參院議場，接近午夜時，共和黨全國委員會主席裴瑞八思(Reince Priebus)發簡訊給全體共和黨參議員，要求到大家到議場支持包練。儘管共和黨人在深夜益發團結，但包練因長時間未如廁，最終只能在午夜結束12小時51分鐘的發言。

由於司法部長侯德已致函包練表示，總統無權運用武裝無人機(weaponized drone)在美國土地上殺死非戰鬥人員的美國人。柏潤提名案因此順利在7日星期三下午以81比16通過停止討論(Record Vote Number: 31)，隨即以63比34通過提名案(Record Vote Number: 32)。包練本人在停止討論案投下贊成票，但提名案投下反對票。

以下播放無人攻擊機(drone)介紹及Rand Paul冗長發言的新聞報導。請自行點閱。字幕檔見最後。

8a 20130208 CNN Explains: Drones 2:16 world/2013/02/08/pkg-eitm-orig-cnn-explains-drones.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( CNN's Nic Robertson gives you the ins and outs of drones from their military to civilian uses. )本片暫無字幕檔

8b 20130307 Paul launches old-fashioned filibuster \* 3:27 bestoftv/2013/03/07/exp-erin-rand-pauls-old-fashion-filibuster-against-brennan-and-drones.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY) launches an old-fashioned filibuster against CIA nominee John Brennan. Erin Burnett reports. )

8c 20130307 Senate confirms Brennan as CIA director \* 2:55 politics/2013/03/07/tsr-senate-confirms-brennan-cia-director.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Sen. Rand Paul ends his filibuster of John Brennan as the next CIA director, and he gets an answer to his drone question.

8d 20130307 Sen. Paul dishes on historic filibuster \* 11:47 politics/2013/03/07/sot-nr-rand-paul-bash-filibuster-intvu-1146.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Dana Bash talks to Kentucky Sen. Rand Paul about his nearly 13-hour filibuster in protest of the U.S. drone program.

• Rand Paul's #filiblizzard filibuster http://politicalticker.blogs.cnn.com/2013/03/06/rand-pauls-filiblizzard-filibuster/?hpt=po\_c2 )

Ted Cruz 21小時冗言

包練是肯德基州參議員，其父為德州眾議員包朗(Ron Paul)，因此包練在3月6日冗長發言時，德州共和黨參議員克魯茲(Ted Cruz)到議場發言協助，便以「德州人的驕傲(Texans are proud)」讚許包練。包練係2010年在茶黨(Tea Party)運動支持下當選，克魯茲則為2012年選舉茶黨支持的新進參議員。9月24日，克魯茲擔任參議員尚未滿九個月，迅即利用當時平價醫療法(ObamaCare)即將上路，10月1日開始接受購買醫療保險者線上登錄的氛圍，利用當時必須通過的繼續撥款決議案(H.J.Res.59)(否則10月1日起政府部分部門將被迫關閉)，以「停撥歐巴馬醫療法經費(Defund ObamaCare )」為訴求，進行冗長發言。

基於半年前包練的經驗，克魯茲有充分準備，他在議場的發言自9月24日下午2時41分開始至25日中午12時為止，總計21小時19分鐘，超過包練8小時多。雖然發言時間長，但他對繼續撥款決議案的杯葛動作，事實上不可能使平價醫療法經費停撥，因此即使共和黨領袖麥康納也不認同他的杯葛操作。25日中午他結束發言以後，停止討論案竟以100比0通過，顯然連他自己在內也無人贊同先前的杯葛。

繼續撥款決議案與柏潤提名案不同，當時參眾兩院分別由兩黨掌握多數，兩黨對赤字與政府舉債上限問題的歧見，直接反應在兩院對繼續決議案的歧見上。10月1日繼續決議案未能達成協議，於是政府關閉，10月16日兩黨達成協議，舉債法定上限調高，繼續撥款法順利通過，於是政府關閉僅持續短短16日。

以下播放Ted Cruz冗長發言的新聞報導。請自行點閱。

8e 21030925 Ted Cruz's crusade against Obamacare 2:12

bestoftv/2013/09/25/cruz-speaks-in-senate-acosta-earlystart.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Texas Republican Senator Ted Cruz's crusade against Obamacare continues. )

8f 21030925 See some of Ted Cruz's marathon remarks 2:16

politics/2013/09/25/nat-pkg-ted-cruz-obamacare.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Republican Sen. Ted Cruz spent hours making remarks on the shutdown debate designed to block Obamacare.

• What's Ted Cruz's deal? http://us.cnn.com/2013/09/25/politics/ted-cruz-government-shutdown/index.html )

8g 21030925 Cruz ends 21-hr speech, votes with Dems 4:44

bestoftv/2013/09/25/exp-erin-dnt-bash-cruz-ends-21-hour-speech-then-votes-with-dems.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Sen. Ted Cruz spent 21 hours railing against funding Obamacare. Then he joined the Democrats in moving the bill forward. )

8h 21030925 Cruz control swerves right and left \* 2:11

bestoftv/2013/09/25/exp-erin-outtake-cruz-control-swerves-right-and-left.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Sen. Ted Cruz spoke for 21 hours during his faux filibuster. But there was one thing that caught our attention. )

8i 21030925 Wackiest Ted Cruz talk-a-thon moments 2:38

politics/2013/09/25/dnt-moos-top-eight-cruz-moments.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( See the top eight wackiest moments of the Ted Cruz talk-a-thon. CNN's Jeanne Moos counts them down. )

8j 21030925 Who is Ted Cruz? \* 2:25

politics/2013/09/25/ted-cruz-profile-yellin-pkg.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

( Jessica Yellin takes a look at the career of Sen. Ted Cruz, the conservative senator behind the Obamacare talk-a-thon. )

以下為字幕檔

8b 20130307 Paul launches old-fashioned filibuster \* 3:27

exp-erin-rand-pauls-old-fashion-filibuster-against-brennan-and-drones.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

ERIN BURNETT, CNN HOST, OUTFRONT: OUTFRONT

Good evening, everyone. I'm Erin Burnett.  
  
OUTFRONT tonight, senator Paul drones on and on and on and yes, he's droning about drones. Here is a live picture of Republican senator rand Paul right now on the floor, the first old fashioned Senate filibuster since 2010. Look at him. Does he look tired to you? We are at hour eight. He still has a voice. I think all he has had is a snicker bar for fortification today. It is all an effort to stall John Brennan nomination from the CIA.  
  
Now, we were hoping that he would have stopped droning on by now, not to interfere with the civic process, but because he was supposed to be our guest from Capitol Hill tonight. That's where he was supposed to be standing. See how lonely it is? Senator Paul, we need you there. We are hoping you're going to wrap this up soon and join us. At the least, I would like to know how you went all day without using the restroom. But, it sounds like Senator Paul is also hoping to wrap it up and join our shot.  
  
(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)  
  
SEN. RAND PAUL (R), KENTUCKY: I can be done anytime if I could just get a response from the administration or from attorney general saying that they do not believe they have the authority to kill noncombatants in America. The reason it has to be answered is because our foreign drone strike program does kill noncombatants. They may argue that they're conspiring or may someday be combatant combatants, but if that's the same standard you're going to use in the United States, it's a far different country than I know about.  
  
(END VIDEO CLIP) BURNETT: OUTFRONT tonight, former national Security Council spokesman Tommy Vietor and Mike Riggs, columnist of "Reason" magazine.  
  
Great to have both of you with us.  
  
Tommy, let me start with you. What's the answer to Senator Paul's question? Could a drone ever be used in the United States?  
  
TOMMY VIETOR, FORMER NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL SPOKESMAN: Sure. I think the answer is pretty simple. The attorney general said in the letter, the president has not and would not use a drone to take action in the United States. John Brennan has been cleared that as CIA director, he wouldn't have the authority to do so.  
  
So, the bottom line on the practical and a policy level is that we would not do this. The president's ruled it out. And that if we needed to deal with the terrorist threat in the United States, we would use local law enforcement or the FBI or other means to deal with the threat.  
  
BURNETT: All right. So, let me play what the attorney general had to say because this is important. And Mike, you know, obviously, Senator Paul said I'm not going to halt the nomination if I get a detect answer. As Tommy said, Eric Holder sent him a letter in respond and spoke about it. Eric Holder did during a Senate hearing this morning. Here is what the attorney general said.  
  
(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)  
  
ERIC HOLDER, U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL: What I said in the letter was that the government has no intention to carry out any drone strikes in the United States. It's hard for me to imagine a situation in which that would occur. We have within the United States, the ability to use our law enforcement capacity. The use of drones is from my perspective, something that is entirely, entirely hypothetical.  
  
(END VIDEO CLIP)  
  
BURNETT: And Mike, entirely hypothetical and hard for me to imagine. I understand Tommy's point that those seem to say no, but it's not a one word answer, no.  
  
MIKE RIGGS, COLUMNIST, REASON MAGAZINE: Yes. I mean, I'm glad to hear from Tommy that the president has ruled this out. And I was, you know, almost relieved to hear from Attorney General Holder that he said - he said later in that hearing that he thought the use of a drone would be inappropriate.  
  
But the question on the table is whether or not it is constitutional. We don't know if the Obama administration thinks this is constitutional or not because they have already said as we saw in the department of justice's white paper last month, or should I say leaked last month, that the Obama administration doesn't feel any court in this United States including the Supreme Court is qualified to rule on the constitutionality of its killing program.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ebo/date/2013-03-06/segment/01>

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8c 20130307 Senate confirms Brennan as CIA director \* 2:55

tsr-senate-confirms-brennan-cia-director.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

WOLF BLITZER, CNN ANCHOR:

The U.S. Senate now has confirmed John Brennan to be the next CIA director. The final vote is 63 in favor, 34 opposed. Brennan is a former White House counterterrorism adviser, a former CIA deputy director, certainly a top architect of the Obama administration's drone program as well. He will replace the retired U.S. General David Petraeus who resigned in November amid revelations of an extramarital affair.  
  
The Brennan vote follows an almost 13-hour filibuster by Senator Rand Paul. The Tea Party-backed Kentucky Republican blocked the vote while demanding an answer about those drone strikes, potential drone strikes on American citizens on U.S. soil. That answer came in a letter from the attorney general just a little while ago. Eric Holder writing to Senator Paul.  
  
And while Senator Paul was talking to our own chief congressional correspondent, Dana Bash, he got to read the letter.  
  
(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)  
  
DANA BASH, CNN SENIOR CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENT: It is literally three sentences long. And he says that the answer to your question about can Americans be killed on U.S. soil, and the answer is no. Are you satisfied?  
  
SEN. RAND PAUL (R), KENTUCKY: I'm quite happy with the answer and I'm disappointed it took a month-and-a-half and a root canal to get it, but we did get the answer. And that's what I have been asking all along.  
  
And it really is what the Senate should be about, advise and consent and find out what policies are. I have a feeling since this was so difficult that I never would have gotten this with routine letters to the White House.  
  
(END VIDEO CLIP)  
  
BLITZER: Let's bring back Senator Wyden. He was the only Democrat to join Senator Paul's filibuster of John Brennan.  
  
Quick question, Senator. Are you satisfied with the letter, the explanation from the attorney general, these three sentences?  
SENATOR RON WYDEN (D-Oregon. Intelligence Committee)  
WYDEN: I think it's helpful, Wolf.  
  
And what he said is really consistent with what I went into on the floor of the Senate yesterday. In effect, the Holder letter now makes it clear, if you're talking about a noncombatant in the United States, you cannot use lethal force. You cannot strike with a drone.  
  
What the earlier letter said -- and it was what I went in to yesterday -- is that if you're talking about our country having to repel a foreign power, such as in the instance of 9/11 or something of that nature, you have to use military force. So we're continuing to root out more of the details about our policies.  
  
And I can tell you, Wolf, that this debate about drones, both in Washington, D.C., and in our country, is just beginning. There is a lot more work yet to be done. And I think you're going to see Democrats and Republicans here in the United States Senate -- we kind of call ourselves the checks and balances caucus -- spending a lot of time trying to bring to light consistent with national security more details about the drone program.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/sitroom/date/2013-03-07/segment/01>

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8d 20130307 Sen. Paul dishes on historic filibuster \* 11:47

sot-nr-rand-paul-bash-filibuster-intvu-1146.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

DANA BASH, CNN CHIEF CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENT:

BASH: people want to know how you stood there for 12 hours plus, almost 13 hours.

SEN. RAND PAUL, (R), KENTUCKY:  
PAUL: Well, it's not easy. My feet were hurting by the end of the day. You can't leave the floor and you can't sit down. So you can't use the restroom or do anything like that.  
  
BASH: And you were told that. Did your staff or did the parliamentary say --   
  
PAUL: It just sort of is the rule that's kind of known, and the staff snows the rules better a lot of the times than the senators do, so they gave me advice on what we can do. And there are staff in there that works for the Republican side and the Democrat's side. They inform you what you can and can't do. And then you have to ask a question, people can ask a question to you, but there's a certain protocol or you lose the floor. And Democrats will leave someone down there to see if you make a mistake on the floor to take it back from you. And it doesn't happen very often because, one, it's hard to get floor and hard to get recognized when it's not a designated time. Most times the floor is controlled by the leadership. This just happened to be a time it wasn't.  
  
BASH: And you snuck up on both leaders, right? Is that fair to say? Did they know you were going to do this?  
  
PAUL: No. In fact we didn't know we were going to do it that day. We had gotten a lot of information because it's an issue we're really interested in that we think it should be easy for the president to say, you know what, Americans not engaged in combat in America cannot be targeted for killing.  
  
BASH: And again I'll get to the substance in one second, but one of the things that was so fascinating was how organic it was and how it took on a life of its own. I'm not even sure if you realized that because you were there. On the internet. I was watching it for the first two, three hours. You were alone. And then suddenly you had some of your more conservative compatriots like Ted Cruz and Mike Lee come and then by midnight, you had a lot of people there. There was a hash tag "stand with Rand" and more and more people were tweeting, even the RNC chair, get down there and help him. Were you surprised?  
  
PAUL: It is sort of a fascinating phenomenon. And when you're on the floor, you're not allowed to use electronics and I also didn't have time because I had to keep talking. If you stop for more than a minute, they can say you no longer speaking, you don't hold the floor. So you have to keep going. I didn't have time to look at my phone which you're not supposed to do anyway.  
  
But then when Senator Cruz came to the floor and started reading those tweets, I got a feeling that maybe this was bigger than -- all we knew is we believed in an issue, we wanted to talk about it, and that it's important that the president realize that he's restrained by the constitution, also. So we got talking about something we were interested in and you never know whether people are watching or not, but you want the issue to be big because we want the president to respond. And what we're hearing from the White House this morning is they may respond to my question. And if they do, we're willing to let the Brennan nomination to go forward.  
  
BASH: And talk more about that. You said you heard from the White House. Who and what did they say?  
  
PAUL: I don't have the name of who, but somebody on my staff and other Republican staff are talking to the White House. And I'm hoping there will be a response. I never really doubted that maybe the president and I are on the same page, but some things need to be explicit. And the one thing that I think needs to be explicit is that this drone killing or targeting program, that you can't target Americans who aren't engaged in combat.  
  
We've never questioned that if you have a grenade launcher on your back and you're attacking the capital, you can be killed without due process. I'm not against that. What I'm against is that if they think maybe for my political beliefs that I might be an anti- government person and I'm having dinner with somebody or maybe I e- mail a cousin of mine who lives in the Middle East, that's not enough to be killed. That's enough to say let's make an accusation and you have a trial. That's the way our country works. I think the president believes in that, but he needs to be explicit. And we've asked the attorney general and they haven't been explicit, they have just talked about exceptions to the rule. We want to know what the rule is. Are you going to kill Americans in America who are not engaged in combat.  
  
BASH: Right, because they have argued that they have given you an answer, but perhaps it's not the answer that you've been looking for. So when you say explicit, how explicit -- what's the answer you're looking for?  
  
PAUL: The very specific question we're asking is does the president believe he has the authority to kill Americans who are not engaged in combat in America with targeted drone strikes? And I think the answer is no. But they haven't given us that answer. They've given us things like if planes are attacking the twin towers. We all believe that the military, Republicans and Democrats, that the military or anyone can repulse an active attack by an individual or military or plane or anything whether it's an American or not. What we're talking about is the drone program overseas now, often targets people who aren't engaged in combat. They're sitting at home in their house. And that's another debate for another day. But that's the kind of standard we're using overseas. And the president won't answer. He says, well, I might use it a standard that inside the country different than outside. Which alarms us because it means he's already thinking of a standard for killing Americans in the U.S.  
  
BASH: One of the things about this issue is it's made for strange bedfellows. You had a Democrat, Ron Wyden, standing with you, but you also don't have all conservatives with you. "The Wall Street Journal," which is known as a very prominent conservative editorial page, really took after you this morning saying that you had great theater, but you're wrong on the issue that the U.S. government cannot randomly target American citizens on U.S. soil or anywhere else, what it can do under the laws of war is target an enemy combatant anywhere at any time including U.S. soil.  
  
PAUL: "The Wall Street Journal" is right on a lot of issues and they're wrong on this issue. The problem is if I call you an enemy combatant, how do we know if you are or aren't? That's just me calling you and accusing you of a crime. Should there be enough power by any politician, Republican or Democrat, to just say you're an enemy combatant and a hell fire missile drops on your house? That's what they're saying. With every fiber of my body, I believe that is unjust and unconstitutional. If you're an American on our soil, people can't just accuse you and call you a name. They're just assuming the person calling your name is omniscient and knows you're guilty of that.  
  
But the way I see it is we have a lot of Arab-Americans who live in Dearborn, Michigan. And I think the vast majority, if not almost all of them are good American people. But let's say they have a cousin in the Middle East and they e-mail them. Let's say somebody thinks their cousin in the Middle East is a terrorist. Well, for goodness sakes, would you just drop bombs on people in Dearborn and say we think he's associated with terrorism, he's an enemy combatant? That's a lot different than someone from a grenade launcher on their shoulder attacking someone. That's an enemy combatant.  
  
But the people that they've been targeting overseas aren't always using weapons. So I don't want that standard in our country.  
  
BASH: What do you think (ph) about imminent threat (ph)?  
  
PAUL: Imminent threat, no problem. If you're attacking -- but it has to be an imminent threat. And this is part of the problem. The president said imminent doesn't have to mean immediate. That's very troublesome to me. If someone is attacking the Capitol with a grenade launcher, that's an imminent threat. If someone is carrying a bomb into to a building and getting ready to set it off, that's it. IF someone's assembling a bomb could be an imminent threat too. But if you're sitting in a cafe and you're e-mailing a friend in the Middle East, that's not an imminent threat.  
  
And the other thing, in our country is, if you're not involved actively in combat, wouldn't you rather capture them and ask them questions about who they are talking to and investigate it? Really it's about the belief that justice, innocence or guilt should be determined by a jury of your peers.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/cnr/date/2013-03-07/segment/05>

SEN. RAND PAUL, (R) KENTUCKY: That's what we fought for. That's what our soldiers are fighting for. And to me, it's disappointing to think they would be overseas risking their lives to fight for something that we're willing to give up on so easily.  
  
BASH: You talked for a long time and had a lot of things to say yesterday, into last night. One of the things that you said was you were talking about 9/11 and you were using the example of the hijackers. And you said that you thought maybe the hijackers were citizens. Did you mean U.S. citizens?  
  
PAUL: There were 19 hijackers, a lot were here on student visas. I'm almost positive I read somewhere, and it's hard to be authoritative when I'm not positive, but I thought I read somewhere that some of them had voting cards. And if you have a voting card, you would have to be a citizen. And I had never read that they were citizens, but I read somewhere the other day, so I may have misspoke, but I thought I read somewhere that some of them had voting cards. And I don't know how they would have voting cards if they weren't citizens.  
  
BASH: Let me more of the personal questions here. We talked a little bit about the fact that you were eating on TV. Eating in front of the senators. You ended it saying effectively that nature was calling. Is that why you ended it?  
  
PAUL: That and --  
  
BASH: When you got to go, you got to go.  
  
PAUL: Yes, 12 hours is a long time not to go to the restroom. So, yes, it does limit you. And I asked how did Strom Thurman go 24 hours and apparently there are stories that he was bending the rules a little bit.  
  
BASH: How?  
  
PAUL: By leaving the floor very briefly.  
  
BASH: But, did you go -- when you went in at 11:47 a.m., did you say I'm going to be here until after midnight? What was your plan?  
  
PAUL: No. As I drove up in the morning, I was with a staff member and I said if we have a chance, why don't we maybe try to capture the floor to make our point. We had no plan and I had the wrong shoes on, my feet were hurting the whole day. And we really didn't plan it out. We had thought about if this issue is important enough that we would like to do it sometime, but the floor is controlled by the leadership and not often left open where someone can sort of capture the floor and begin to speak. So one of the reasons filibusters don't occur is because they carefully guard the floor from letting it happen. And it was left unguarded, and so I decided to speak.  
  
BASH: I did notice that you had water there. I don't know if it was intentional. You were trying not drink it. That was intentional?  
  
PAUL: Yes, I decided to drink very little water and have no caffeine.  
  
BASH: You clearly didn't need it. What happened when you left, did you go have a good meal?  
  
PAUL: It was almost 2:00 in the morning. I went home. But it was nice. There were a lot of supporters. My staff stayed through the evening. A lot of them were in the gallery, a lot of other staff was. And really one of the most complimentary things I found was about 15 members from the U.S. House of Representatives came over. I've never seen that happen before, it energized me and a lot of them said that it energized the movement of people who really believe strongly in the constitution.  
BASH: And when you were on the floor and you were talking about the fact that Strom Thurman had the longest filibuster in history, but you didn't have in your mind I'm going to try to be competitive, I'm going to try to beat that?  
  
PAUL: No, not really. And I didn't really know how long it would go on when I started. In some ways I had said early on if the president will respond, I'll stop now. And that's all we've been looking for is a clarification.  
  
We really think the president may not be too far away from us on this. But we're troubled by the fact that it's been hard to get the information and that when Senator Cruz asked Eric Holder questions, he had to ask him repeatedly is it constitutional or not. Are you saying you have the authority? And he kept using words like it's not appropriate. And the president used words like I don't intend to.  
  
But he did this on indefinite detention, too. The president signed in to law that says you can detain a citizen of the United States without a trial. Now he's arguing you can kill an American citizen without a trial. And it's like just saying you don't intend to, that I'm a good person, I'm not questioning his motive, but the reason we have laws is some day we may get somebody who won't respect and will use that law for bad purposes.  
  
BASH: And let's go back to where we started, to you saying that you -- giving us the news. You have heard from the White House and you think that they might give you an answer that could satisfy you.  
  
PAUL: I'm very hopeful. And I said I will get out of the way, let them vote, compress the votes, and we won't have to stay here until Saturday. All I'm looking for is clarification and I think Eric Holder's comments in the committee under a little bit of duress, but I think those comments were getting closer to our position. But I also don't think they will have to change their position. I just want them to clarify and make sure that Americans know that when you're sitting in a cafe or sitting in a restaurant, you will not be targeted by the American government.  
<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/cnr/date/2013-03-07/segment/06>

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8e 21030925 Ted Cruz's crusade against Obamacare 2:12

cruz-speaks-in-senate-acosta-earlystart.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

JIM ACOSTA, CNN SENIOR WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): From Washington, it was the late show with Ted Cruz, as the Republican senator seized control of the Senate floor --  
  
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE: The senator from Texas.  
  
ACOSTA: -- to deliver a marathon speech. Hour --  
  
CRUZ: I intend to speak in support of defunding Obamacare until I am no longer able to stand.  
  
ACOSTA: After hour.  
  
CRUZ: All right. So, let me read some tweets.  
  
ACOSTA: Tearing into Obamacare, a law he wants to take down once and for all in exchange for funding the government.  
  
CRUZ: The American people are frustrated because their elected officials don't listen.  
  
ACOSTA: At times --  
  
CRUZ: I love this story, so I'm going to read it to you.  
  
ACOSTA: -- veering off the subject.  
  
CRUZ: I do like green eggs and ham, I do not like them, Sam I am.  
  
HILLARY CLINTON, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE: Bill Clinton and President Barack Obama.  
  
ACOSTA: But up in New York, President Obama was putting on a show of his own, appearing with Bill and Hillary Clinton to make on in a series of upcoming sale pitches on his health care law.  
  
BARACK OBAMA, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES: Those who have opposed the idea of universal health care in the first place and have fought this thing tooth and nail through Congress and through the courts and so forth have been trying to scare and discourage people from getting a good deal.  
  
ACOSTA: But Obamacare faces a key test -- in less than one week, on October 1st, new online marketplaces opened for business across the country, giving the uninsured their first shot at buying into health care plans.  
  
OBAMA: What we want to make sure of is that everybody in every category, every age group, understands why health insurance is important. Understands why they should sign up.  
  
ACOSTA: But Cruz and some other Republicans say they'll only vote for a measure that averts a government shutdown if it also defunds Obamacare. CRUZ: Defund Obamacare!  
  
(CHEERS)  
  
ACOSTA: The problem for the Tea Party Texan -- Senate Republican leaders have all but abandoned Cruz's failing quest.  
  
SEN. MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY), MINORITY LEADER: I just don't happen to think filibustering a bill that defunds Obamacare is the best route to defunding Obamacare. All it does is shut down the government and keep Obamacare funded. And none of us want that.  
  
ACOSTA: Jim Acosta, CNN, New York.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/es/date/2013-09-25/segment/01>

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8f 21030925 See some of Ted Cruz's marathon remarks 2:16

nat-pkg-ted-cruz-obamacare.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

SEN. TED CRUZ (R), TEXAS: I intend to speak in support of defunding Obamacare until I am no longer able to stand.

Most Americans could not give a flying flip about a bunch of politicians in Washington. Who cares? What the American people care about is their own lives.

On a Saturday or Sunday morning, when your dad's making pancake, it is very cool when he can like flip them and make them - you know, make them do a flip high in the air and catch him. He also, I will credit my father, he invented, this wasn't for the restaurant but he did it anyway, he invented green eggs and ham.

I don't believe there's been a day on this Senate floor that I haven't worn my argument boots. I took the coward's way out. And so went and purchased some black tennis shoes.

I am not in my argument boots and I'll confess, I really do feel embarrassed by that.

Some people dismiss, oh, single payer, this is designed to go there. You know, that's just crazy, tinfoil hat-wearing stuff. You know, there's an old saying, just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they're not out to get you.

If you will forgive me, I want to take the opportunity to read two bedtime story to my girls.

I do so like green eggs and ham. Thank you, thank you, Sam I am.

Note folks in the gallery who just waved. I'm not sure if they have their -- they do have their electronics. Well, if you tweet, it may end up here and I may have the chance to read it.

I want to point out just a few words of wisdom from "Duck Dynasty." Red neck rule number one, most things can be fixed with duct tape and extension cords.

I will say standing here after 14 hour, standing on your own feet, there's sometimes some pain, sometimes some fatigue that is involved. But you know what? There's far more pain involved in rolling over. (END VIDEO CLIP)

以下暫無字幕，依國會紀錄所載，對照影片檔音訊如下：

I ask my friends on the Democratic side of the aisle to listen to this plea.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. the hour of 12 noon having arrived, Pursuant to the order of (February 29, 1960) the Senate will be in order.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/atw/date/2013-09-25/segment/01>

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/cnr/date/2013-09-25/segment/07>

S6838 CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE September 24, 2013

<https://www.congress.gov/113/crec/2013/09/24/CREC-2013-09-24-senate.pdf>

<https://www.congress.gov/113/crec/2013/09/24/CREC-2013-09-24-senate-bk2.pdf>

以上國會紀錄的鏈結此處有 Ted Cruz 所有22小時發言的完整紀錄

Cruz 的發言自S6701頁開始，至S6838頁止。

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8g 21030925 Cruz ends 21-hr speech, votes with Dems 4:44

exp-erin-dnt-bash-cruz-ends-21-hour-speech-then-votes-with-dems.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

DANA BASH, CNN CHIEF CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): After 21:19, standing on his feet, Ted Cruz finally sat down. Much of his talkathon was against Obamacare.  
  
SENATOR TED CRUZ (R), TEXAS: It is a red herring being used to move the country to single payer system.  
  
BASH: But the memorable moments were those that veered off topic.  
  
CRUZ: I wanted to take an opportunity, an opportunity that I don't usually have when I'm in D.C. to read them a couple bedtime stories. I do so like green eggs and ham.  
  
BASH: He tried his own Dr. Seuss.  
  
CRUZ: They did not like Obamacare in a box with a fox and houser with a mouse.  
  
BASH: This was all about firing up the grassroots. He encouraged supporters to tweet him.  
  
CRUZ: Obamacare, isn't nobody got time for that? All caps and three exclamation marks. Make D.C. listen.  
  
BASH: Most Republicans oppose Cruz' mission, trying to defund Obamacare on a must-pass spending bill. They worry it could cause a government shutdown and they get the blame. And they worry it is mired in the process that's hard to explain. Case in point, in the end, he joined all senators in voting for a procedural measure he seemed to argue against. By 1:00 a.m., he got punchy.  
  
CRUZ: A few words of wisdom from Duck Dynasty. Red neck rule number one, most things can be fix with duct tape, extension cords. BASH: When the sun came up, even more so.  
  
CRUZ: Will confess phrase of rebellion, the rebel alliance fighting against the empire. Mike Lee, I am your father.  
  
BASH (on camera): How do you feel standing there so long?  
  
CRUZ: To be honest, I feel terrific. I feel energized that the American people had an opportunity I hope to engage in this debate and to have their voice heard.  
  
BASH: But back on the floor, Cruz was scorched from all sides. Democrats --  
  
SENATOR HARRY REID (D), MAJORITY LEADER: For lack of a better way of describing this, it has been a big waste of time.  
  
BASH: And Republicans. John McCain was furious that Cruz likened GOP detractors to Britain's Neville Chamberlain in World War II, who argued for appeasement of Adolph Hitler.  
  
CRUZ: Let's appease them, why? We can't possibly stand against them. In America there were voices that listened to them.  
  
BASH: McCain said that insulted Americans who fought.  
  
SENATOR JOHN MCCAIN (R), ARIZONA: Amongst them were my father and grandfather. I do not agree with that comparison. I think it is wrong and I think it is a disservice to those who stood up and shouted at the top of their lungs that we cannot appease.  
  
(END VIDEOTAPE)  
ERIN BURNETT, CNN HOST:  
BURNETT: Dissension within the party so seriousness and also abviously a lot of humor. As you said he felt energized. I'm sure he hit a wall soon after saying that when the truth hit him. Dana, what happens now?  
  
BASH: What happens now is the process has to finish in the Senate. Now you saw that the vote was 100-0 today so Senator Cruz voted for something he was saying for 21 hours he was against. Presumably he will vote against and it the next procedural measure, again, if this is confusing, that's exactly why Republican leaders hate this strategy.  
  
So at the end of the day, we expect this to finish up in the Senate probably on Friday. That puts the shutdown hot potato back in the House's plate for about three days before the deadline. I'm hearing from there that they plan to change it a little bit, send it back to the Senate. It will go right down to the wire.  
  
BURNETT: I mean, right down to the wire and obviously an embarrassment for everybody involved on all sides. I mean, Dana, as you know, we've been counting the days since America lost that AAA rating, 781 days for those of you who are keeping track. But I mean, Dana, after the showdown fiasco or shutdown fiasco, the risk of a major crisis actually gets bigger, shutdown or not, right?  
  
BASH: Absolutely. The treasury secretary said today that the United States will reach that debt ceiling October 17th. That is just around the corner. And Erin, even as early as this Saturday, the House is likely to work on some kind of bill that would raise the debt ceiling for a year. Guess what? They are going to attach all kinds of things on it.  
  
Obamacare, delaying that for a year is a possibility. Passing that Keystone pipeline is a possibility, dealing with tax reform, at least putting instructions on there and even today at the White House, the spokesman there, Jay Carney said, you know what? We're not negotiating on the debt ceiling.  
  
So right there you are already going to have a collision course on, just as you said, something that is perhaps even more problematic, dire for the economy than the government shutdown.  
  
BURNETT: Absolutely. All right, our Dana Bash, the only one who understands all of this and puts it into English for us. Thank you, Dana.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ebo/date/2013-09-25/segment/01>

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8h 21030925 Cruz control swerves right and left \* 2:11

exp-erin-outtake-cruz-control-swerves-right-and-left.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

ERIN BURNETT, CNN HOST:

BURNETT: It's time for the OUTFRONT "Outtake".  
  
What Ted Cruz did last night was epic. But it only actually ranks us the fourth longest talk on the Senate floor. Can you believe it? You might wonder how is it possible for someone to speak that long, not only physically because I can resolve your concerns on that. Apparently, in history, they have used bags and buckets for those that.  
  
Now, what I mean, is how do you think of things to say and keep enough saliva in your mouth. The secret it turns out is the books. During the 1930s, Huey long recited Shakespeare and read from cookbooks.  
  
Strom Thurmond, read from the Declaration of Independence. And in 1986, Al D'Amato read from the District of Columbia's phonebook because he really wanted people to go to sleep.  
  
And earlier this year, Rand Paul read from dozens of texts, including magazine articles and books like "Alice in Wonderland." During Paul's filibuster, he was joined by a couple of his friends to help him out, Marco Rubio read rap lyrics and Senator Ted Cruz showed up, reading Shakespeare -- which is why it is strange that this time Ted Cruz was inspired by this.  
  
(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)  
  
SEN. TED CRUZ (R), TEXAS: I would like to provide a little more detail in something I reference earlier, which is the speech that Ashton Kutcher gave. Words of wisdom from "Duck Dynasty" -- you put three rednecks on a mower, it's going to be epic.  
  
A tall gentleman in a mechanical breathing apparatus come forward and say, Mike Lee, I am your father. You know, Senator Lee, Latins love white suits.  
  
Eight white castle restaurants a year. I like their little burgers.  
  
But the law is not a breast that fills itself with milk. Do you like green eggs and ham? I do not like them, Sam I am. I do not like green eggs and ham.  
  
(END VIDEO CLIP)  
  
BURNETT: "Green Eggs and Ham." the strangest part of the whole thing, if that's possible. Not just because it signals a departure from more titles, no, but because of left-wing choice it is. Dr. Seuss was a liberal Democrat who supported FDR and the New Deal, many books contain references to things like environmentalism, anti-consumerism, perhaps not the thing a Tea Party leader would support, not to mention irony since "Green Eggs and Ham" is about someone giving in and accepting the inevitable.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/ebo/date/2013-09-25/segment/01>

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8i 21030925 Wackiest Ted Cruz talk-a-thon moments 2:38

dnt-moos-top-eight-cruz-moments.cnn\_640x360\_dl.flv

JEANNE MOOS, CNN SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): While the networks clocked him with their Cruz counters, he sighed.

SENATOR TED CRUZ : High!

MOOS : He beat his chest.

CRUZ : I tell you,

MOOS : talking for over 21 hours,

CRUZ : almost all of us are in cheap shoots with bad haircuts. Who cares?

MOOS : We care enough to present the top A Ted Cruz wackiest moments.

#8 is plug for White Castle.

CRUZ : So yeah, I like their little burgers

MOOS : #7 the hairiest moment. Quoting words of wisdom from Duck Dynasty

CRUZ : faith. family and facial hair. If we continue doing this long enough, we may have facial hair on the floor of the Senate.

MOOS : # 6 Senator Cruz not singing instead of performing Toby Keith Song courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue.

CRUZ : we'll put a boot in your posterior.

MOOS : Senator Cruz spoke the song

CRUZ : 'cause we'll put a boot in your posterior.

MOOS : Why didn't he sing

CRUZ : would violate rules of musical harmony, human decency, and possibly even the Geneva Conventions

MOOS : #5 playing jeopardy with a fellow Republican senator asking the questions to give Senator Cruz a break.

Do you know what color the black boxes,

CRUZ : perhaps airplane manufacturers think like Congress? Because the black box on an airplane is arch

MOOS : #4 the corner guy down here, the mysterious corner guy had to endure the glare reflected from Senator Cruz stifling a yawn, eyes darting from side to side the senator's hand in his face. Does hashtag corner guy? He's famous, yet probably since he's legislative council John Ellis handing his boss notes

MOOS : #3 the best reaction when Senator Cruz read from Doctor Seuss.

He even changed the words to green eggs and ham.

CRUZ : They did not like Obamacare in a box with a fox in a house or with a mouse.

MOOS : Senator Cruz's daughter seemed delighted to get their bedtime story from Daddy on TV

# 2. Senator Cruz is best imitation of a famous movie line.

He suggested Darth Vader represents Obamacare.

I am your father

CRUZ : I am your father

MOOS : and finally our aptly titled

#1 the Senators enviable bladder control.

How did he do it then? We also didn't drink much. Check out how he looked at the beginning compared to the end. At least he survived ignoring his own advice.

CRUZ : You will say the wrong thing if you talk too much

MOOS : Jeanne Moos

CRUZ : Bad Bad Bad

MOOS : CNN.

CRUZ : Happy Happy Happy

MOOS : New York.

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8j 21030925 Who is Ted Cruz? \* 2:25

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JESSICA YELLIN, CNN CHIEF DOMESTIC AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT:   
He's representing Texas in the Senate for just nine months. He's come from behind victory to win that seat. It was so surprising in Texas. They now have a saying in the state to Ted Cruz someone. It means running as a Tea Party outsider to defeat the establishment candidate. So, could he Ted Cruz, the Republican, field in the upcoming presidential election? Some people think that's his next goal.  
  
(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)  
  
CRUZ: Do you like green eggs and ham?  
  
YELLIN (voice-over): Senator Ted Cruz, love him or hate him, he's got you talking. Check the headlines. They're calling him unpopular, "the distinguished wacko bird from Texas." That was McCain's phrase. Wait, here's a nice one, "the GOP's Barack Obama." I think that's nice. His mission, defeat Obamacare. His larger cause --  
  
EVAN SMITH, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, THE TEXAS TRIBUNE: I think all of us in Texas assumed that his ambitions are limitless and that most immediately, he's looking hard at a 2016 presidential campaign, although, he's been kind of coy about that.  
  
YELLIN: A Tea Party darling, Cruz has ticked off large swaths of Washington.  
  
REP. PETER KING, (R) NEW YORK: Ted Cruz is a fraud and no onger have any influence in the Republican Party.  
  
YELLIN: They're worried he's risking an unpopular government shutdown for which the GOP will be blamed. Karl Rove called it an ill- conceived and self-defeating strategy. Guess what? Cruz loves the hate. He told Rush Limbaugh --  
  
CRUZ: The single biggest surprise on arriving to the Senate is the defeatist attitude here.  
  
YELLIN: You know who else does? Conservatives in a crucial primary state, Iowa.  
  
BOB VANDER PLAATS, THE FAMILY LEADER: What they are doing is they're elevating Senator Ted Cruz to an unprecedented level after only nine months of being a U.S. senator and is making the American people, I believe, Republican independent Democrats, take notice.  
  
YELLIN: The Texas senator has already made several trips to the early voting states. A princeton and Harvard graduate, former Supreme Court clerk, and one-time Texas solicitor general, Cruz is used to framing the arguments in his favor.  
  
ANNOUNCER: Ted Cruz, a proven conservative fighter who delivers.  
  
YELLIN: His current case, he is a principled fighter in a universe of weak politicians who surrender.  
  
SMITH: There's almost nothing he can't do under the right circumstances, politically. His ambition is enormous.  
  
(END VIDEOTAPE)  
YELLIN (on-camera): Wolf, Cruz will be back in Iowa a month from tonight. He is giving the keynote speech at the Annual GOP Reagan Dinner in Des Moines.

<https://transcripts.cnn.com/show/sitroom/date/2013-09-25/segment/01>

Ted Cruz 是2016年總統選舉共和黨初選時，川普的最主要對手。7月20日川普在共和黨全代會獲得提名後，21日Cruz上台發言，但他當時並不支持川普，反而說：11月(大選日)不要待在家裡，把票投給你的良心 (please don’t stay home in November, if you love our country, and love your children as much as I know that you do, stand and speak and vote your conscience, vote for candidates up and down the ticket who you trust to defend our freedom and be faithful to the constitution)。這一部分下週再介紹。