

Speaker, is to change the motivation of why people come to Washington, DC. I think spending will get better. I think a lot of things will get better up here. They will be less interested in trying to find a pork-barrel project to get us reelected and more interested in trying to make the world better where we are going to go back to, and that is home.

There are going to be four versions to be voted on tomorrow. I think we are going to fall short on all four of them. I am sorry. There is a lot of blame to go around. I tell you, the Republican Party has some share in that blame, and certainly the Democrat Party does, too.

We are probably going to deliver 80 to 85 percent of the Republican Conference on term limits. We need help from the Democratic Party. If you had every Republican voting for term limits, you would still need 60 Democrats. We are going to fall short for a variety of reasons, and I think the blame needs to be bipartisan.

We have got four versions to vote on. One version is by my roommate here, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HILLEARY]. He has a version that says 12 years, and if there is an existing State law more restrictive, it stands. I like that version. That is why I came to Washington, DC, was to improve Congress, not to overshadow the States. That is the best, I think, of the four. I am going to vote for all four.

Because I do not want it to be said the reason it failed was because of LINDSEY GRAHAM. I am going to vote for the Democratic version that says 12 years retroactively applied which simply means this, if you have been here 12 years or longer and the amendment is passed and it is ratified by the States, you lose your job. That is not the best way to implement term limits. I would rather have that than nothing.

I challenge my Democratic colleagues to deliver enough votes to make on version get out of the House. This is probably the most important thing that we will do in the 104th Congress. It is probably the most important vote we will take in my political life, because if you want to change politics, you need to change the reasons people seek the office. That is exactly what term limits does.

I implore my colleagues on the Republican side to deliver the votes to get an amendment out. If the Democrats play a game of chicken, loading up the votes for a retroactive term limits bill, let us meet them. Let us have term limits in some form rather than no form.

I am going to vote for term limits in any fashion, because I believe it fundamentally will change the way we govern in Washington, DC. That is why I think I got elected is to come up here and fundamentally change our government. I believe that is why 80 percent of the American public from Maine to California, from the Deep South to the Far West, support term limits, because they feel their Government does not

serve them. It serves the institution, and if you really are serious about reforming government, it needs to start in this body.

This is the only vote we will take with the Contract With America that applies to us as individuals. It is going to be a gut-check for people in this body.

SUPPORT THE HILLEARY TERM-LIMITS PROPOSAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HILLEARY] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. HILLEARY. Mr. Speaker, I guess it has been about a month ago now that some fellow freshmen and I got involved in this term-limits debate to the extent we are now. People here may remember that the House Committee on the Judiciary reported out a bill that in my opinion, did not really resemble real term limits. It said you could serve 12 years, lay out a couple years, serve 12 more years, lay out a couple more years, serve 12 more, et cetera.

It also specifically had language that preempted the work that people had done in 22 States that had their own term-limits laws. I felt I could not keep my pledge to my constituents that I made during the campaign that I would truly be for real term limits.

So I got involved with some of my fellow freshmen. We came up with a bill, drafted a bill, that simply did this: It said you could serve 12 years in the House, 12 years in the Senate, but also it had the additional language that said the States would be specifically protected in the work they did and the wishes of those people in those 22 States would be protected. I think that is very important.

And people like the gentlewoman from North Carolina [Mrs. MYRICK], the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. MCINTOSH], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. NETHERCUTT], the gentleman from Arizona [Mr. SALMON], the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. BROWNBACK], the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS], the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. GRAHAM], who just spoke, the gentleman from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON], the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON], the gentleman from Washington [Mr. TATE], and many, many others have worked very hard and feel the same way on this.

It is very important to people like Bill Anderson, who lives in Texas County, MO. Mr. Anderson is not a Republican or a Democrat. I do not think he is a liberal or conservative. He is simply a man who has never been involved in politics before. He is simply a man who felt very strongly this country was going in absolutely the wrong direction. He felt he had to do something about it. He got out in parking lots in hot summer days, got thousands of signatures on petitions, got in Mis-

souri this issue put on a referendum for a vote, and it passed.

There are a lot of Bill Andersons all over this country whose hard work and wishes and rights of him and his fellow, people who helped him, will simply be washed away if we do not specifically protect those rights.

There is no other bill that we are going to vote on that will specifically give that protection. There are some that are silent. What that means is that nine black-robed men and women who work in a building very close to us here who are unelected, permanently tenured will decide this issue, not people who are elected representatives like our colleagues and myself.

I think it is important that we vote on the Hilleary amendment. We have had so much support from the grassroots. Every grassroots organization that you can think of is behind our bill that has anything to do with term limits: United We Stand America, American National Taxpayers' Union, American Conservative Union, Citizens Against Government Waste and on and on.

The reason they think this one is the bill is because it gives the most for the most people. It is a sort of middle-of-the-road bill. It has 12 and 12 for people who believe that you ought to be able to serve 12 years, but also says States can do something less if they so choose. It also kind of protects what I think is the most democratic form of legislative process in this country, that is, the referendum process such as in the State of California. It is almost part of the mystique of California. It is part of the legend of California that they have this referendum process. It is very famous.

All the propositions that have become so famous all across the country, and this is the only bill for the Members of those States that have the referendum process. It is the only bill that will specifically protect the wishes of the voters in those States.

So I ask everybody to come on board and support the Hilleary amendment. But no matter which bill comes to final passage, I think term limits, the concept of term limits, must supersede everything else, and I beg my fellow Members on final passage to vote for term limits.

Let me tell you, people say that this concept of term limits has no chance in this Congress. I do not know if I am willing to concede that yet. You know, our former Speaker felt pretty strongly about being against term limits. He is no longer with us. I think this is the first time, because this is the first time we are going to be able to take these little cards, stick them in the slot, and a recorded vote, the first time the people are going to have to actually go on record and think long and hard about are they going to face the voters in 1996 without a yes vote on term limits.

I think we have not seen how many votes we are going to get on this. I

think it is building every day. I think my colleagues would with that.

Finally, I would just say there are a lot of people who have come before me on this term-limits concept. I have been here for the grand total of about 3 months, and people like the gentleman from Florida [Mr. MCCOLLUM], and the gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. INGLIS], the gentlewoman from Florida [Mrs. FOWLER], who is not even going to get to vote on her bill tomorrow, have moved this bill way far down the field way before I got here. They deserve an awful lot of credit.

To the extent we have success tomorrow, my hat is off to them.

The final thing I would like to say is this, that no matter if we get 290 or not, tomorrow should be scored as a victory for the Republican Party. We are going to bring this to the floor for the first time for a recorded vote. It has never happened. If you compare our Speaker with the Speaker last year and how our support has been, I think people must say we have taken a great first step and a great first downpayment on this issue of term limits. It will come back, and the people will speak in 1996.

SUPPORT CONGRESSIONAL TERM LIMITS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. TATE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. TATE. Mr. Speaker, it is, indeed, an honor to be able to address the House tonight in regards to this issue, because just look back, in 1990 in the State of Colorado, it caught on like a prairie fire. The whole issue of term limits, it came out of a frustration of the 22 States that have passed term limits. Twenty-one of them came through a State initiative. Just one State legislature, the State of Utah, has approved that.

In my particular State in 1991, for example, we gathered signatures around the State, over 200,000 signatures, to put a term-limits initiative on the ballot, but it was retroactive that year. It was defeated.

Right after that, the citizens picked that up one more time, and were able to put it on the ballot in 1992, and it passed overwhelmingly at the State ballot, and last September, I, with my fellow freshmen and Republicans alike, we stood on the Capitol steps and signed the Contract With America, pledging for the first time in the history of the United States that we were going to have term limits come up for a vote on the House floor.

And why do we need term limits? One does not have to look any further than 40 long years of Democrat rule. We had a House that was less accountable. It seemed that the longer they served, the more removed they became. The House banking scandals, House post office scandals, runaway spending. We needed

true reform, and term limits ends careerism.

The House of Lords, for example, in Britain, you are appointed forever. That is not what the U.S. Congress was designed to be.

Even with the elections in 1992 and 1994, 9 out of 10 Members were re-elected, 90 percent.

In the 103d Congress, for example, the average length of time for a committee chairman who had served was 28 years. I am 29. So when I was 1 year old they were beginning their political career. Things need to change.

Term limits overwhelmingly is supported by the American people. Over 80 percent of the American people support term limits. It has passed by a 2-to-1 margin in every State it has been on the ballot. Other offices are term-limited around the country. The President, for example, two 4-year terms. Thirty-five States limit Governors' terms, even some States, like the State of Virginia, limits Governors to one term.

It also assists in diversity. Seventy-two percent of the women in the House of Representatives were elected to open seats. Eighty-one percent of the minorities were elected to open seats.

It is time we make Congress look more like America.

And what a difference a year and an election makes. Last year the Speaker of the House, of this House of Representatives, from my State of Washington, sued the citizens of Washington State. This year the Speaker of the House limited his own terms to 8 years. We limited the chairmen and the ranking minorities to nothing more than 6 years.

So tomorrow for the first time in the history, let me say that again, in the history of the United States, we are going to pass it or bring it up for a vote, term limits. We are going to have several proposals. We are going to have one proposal very similar to Washington State, which is 6 years in the House and 12 years in the Senate.

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Then we have, as we just heard, the Van Hilleary amendment that puts a cap of a total of 12 years you can serve in either body but allows States to limit, does not preempt State laws. We have a proposal of 12 years and 12 years.

But then we also have a retroactive proposal, which was defeated in Washington State. I do not like the retroactive taxes that were passed in 1993, and I am not going to like a retroactive proposal because it is being pushed by people that do not even support term limits. It is a sham, and it is a bunch of baloney.

They are going to hear many arguments against term limits tomorrow, that it is somehow going to empower lobbyists. Having served in the State legislature, the people most nervous about term limits are the lobbyists because they build their reputations on

getting to know Members of Congress. So there is lots of changes that need to occur, and you are going to hear lots of arguments, but we will deliver our vote as we promised tomorrow for the first time in history.

And 80 percent of the Republicans are going to vote for it, maybe even more. What we need is at least 50 percent of the Democrats to make this happen. It takes 290 votes, as we all know, to pass a constitutional amendment. We only have 230 Republicans. If every single Republican votes for this, we still need 60 Democrats. So if it fails, which I believe it will not, but if it fails, the defeat will be on the hands of the Democrats, and the public will hold us all accountable, especially those that have voted no.

So I urge my colleagues tomorrow to support term limits and return the power back to the people.

CONTRACT WITH AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ZIMMER). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I wanted to talk a little bit about the Contract With America. I think it is very important that folks understand that the Contract With America was a campaign promise, and it is a promise which, unlike previous campaigns and previous promises, it is a promise that Republican Members of the House are keeping with them. We are looking at it daily. It is the instruction.

You may not agree with Contract With America, but I think what is important is that here is a fundamental contract, a handshake with the American people saying when we say we are going to do something, we are going to do it.

Now, the Senate is going to debate it. They are going to change some things. It is going to come back to the House, and we are going to have some changes. But I think it is very important to remember that the Contract was a campaign pledge and a promise that we are not going to forget, unlike other times in office when many, many members of both parties would make certain campaign warranties or promises and then forget them after they are elected.

This contract is different. One of the key planks of that is that we are going to get these issues on the floor of the House for a vote. It does not necessarily guarantee passage on everything, but getting them to the floor of the House, as the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. HILLEARY] had said just a few minutes ago, is the key element, and that is what we are doing with term limits.

It is going to take 290 votes because it is a constitutional amendment. That is a lot of votes. And we are working with Democrats. We are working with