

Republicans. We are working with senior Members, working with freshman Members, trying to get that passed.

Now, the Hilleary amendment, what is so good about it and why I think it is important that this House support it is because it does two things. It says that you will have a 12-year limit, but also if States have individual term limits, 8 years, 6 years, 10 years or whatever, they can keep their own State law in place to self-impose term limits that are different as long as they do not go over the 12 limit. Now, I am going to support that.

I am also going to support the McCollum bill. Mr. MCCOLLUM of Florida has a bill that sets a 12-year term limit, and it is a uniform bill. The thing that I believe is important about that is that Congressman MCCOLLUM has introduced term limits, I believe, every year since he personally has been a member of this body and has been out there as a lone wolf crying in the wind for term limits far before it was popular.

I think that it is great that finally, after all these years of him coming up, and there were others along with him who supported term limits, finally he is going to get a vote on it. And I plan to support both these bills and both these versions, and I hope we do get 290 votes on one of them so that we can move the legislation for him.

Now another key element of the Contract With America that is going to be coming up is the tax stimulus. This tax stimulus, unlike the Clinton stimulus 2 years ago which was a tax increase, this is a tax decrease. You know, this gets a lot of people nervous because the American Federal system of government has been robbing taxpayers for so many years now.

You know, in the 1950's the average American family paid 2 percent Federal income tax. Today that same American family pays 24 percent Federal income tax. Now that, along with all your intangible tax, your sales tax, your local option sales tax, insurance premium tax, utility tax, State income tax, in some cases municipal income taxes, these have been going up.

The average American family right now is paying 40 to 50 percent of their income in taxes. I believe it is time to return that money back to their pockets, and I would rather trust my constituents to spend their own money than some of the bureaucrats that I have seen up here. Because the bureaucrats, when they get their money, they overspend. They sit around and come up with new regulations, new ways to take freedom away from Americans.

But I promise you, as we know it with a study of economics, that lowering taxes will stimulate the economy because people will have more disposable income. They will buy more shoes, more clothes, more hamburgers, more cars, ultimately more houses. When they do that, jobs are created because businesses have to expand to create the new demand. When that happens, more

people are working; and revenues go up.

This was proven in 1980 with the Reagan tax cuts, 1982 actually, but 1980 the revenues to the Federal Government were \$500 million and in 1990 they were over a trillion dollars. Unfortunately, the spending outpaced revenues so we still had runaway deficits during that time period.

I would certainly say that that is a bipartisan problem. You had the Democrats controlling the House, but part of the time the Republicans controlled the Senate and the White House, so it is a bipartisan problem.

But these tax cuts are designed to create jobs which will increase revenues. And when that happens, Mr. Speaker, with all the reductions that we are doing we will be able to pay down the debt, reduce the deficit and turn this country around, which I think is extremely important for us to do.

So I am proud to be here tonight, and I am proud to support both term limits and a tax decrease that will stimulate the economy.

TERM LIMITS

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

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, I rise to speak in favor of term limits. You know, term limits is in fact part of our heritage from colonial legislatures. There were some colonial legislatures that had a rotation in office concept. Besides that, in the Continental Congress during the Revolutionary War there was a 3-year term limit. No one could serve for more than 3 years.

In fact, rotation in office was the unwritten rule in the House of Representatives for many years after the founding of this country and after the Constitution went into effect. It was almost a hundred years, after the war between the States, when the average term became 4 years. It was the 1920's when the average term became eight years. This tells you something.

Today, over 90 percent, over 90 percent of incumbents win reelection if they run for reelection, and term limits is the most important political reform that we can make at this time.

The concept of term limits, of course, is that a Member goes and serves in a legislative body and then returns home to live under the laws that they have made.

Washington State had a term limit initiative. It was a 6-year term limit initiative, and it passed overwhelmingly there. And I pledged, and I said when I ran for Congress, I said I will pledge to serve no more than 6 years. The people passed it. I will obey it, regardless if it is held constitutional or not. If the people pass it, that is what I would consider my duty.

Over 80 percent of the Republicans are going to vote for term limits tomorrow, and what we are asking, and

asking very sincerely, just 40 percent of the Democrats, if 40 percent of the Democrats will join the more than 80 percent of the Republicans, we will have the first real chance for term limits in this Nation, and I think we should.

I will work really hard, and I will vote for the 6-year term limit. But if that isn't what passes, I think we should be prepared to vote for whatever passes and has the best chance to attain term limits for this Nation. I think we have a mandate, and the mandate of the last election was, very clearly, pass term limits for Congress as Congress passed term limits for the Presidency.

TERM LIMITS VOTE IS HISTORIC

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

Mr. MCCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, I rise to support term limits and to talk about what is going to happen out here tomorrow in a very historic vote.

I have been involved with the term limits movement for many years now. It was quite lonely when I first came to Congress and introduced the first constitutional amendment for a 12-year term limit of House and Senate Members. We did not have very many supporting it then. In fact, as recently as the 102d Congress, just 3 or 4 years ago, we only had 33 Members of the House willing to say they were for term limits in an open and public fashion.

In the last Congress, even though the now sophomore class had made its mark in the campaigns, many of them by advocating term limits, we only had 107 out of the 435 House Members willing to say they supported term limits.

Tomorrow we are going to have a vote, and we have a shot at getting to the 290, the two-thirds necessary to pass a term limits constitutional amendment. I do not know whether we will get there or not, but we are going to have well over 200 who are going to vote for some version of term limits and, hopefully, for the final passage. I think that is truly remarkable progress.

Whether it succeeds tomorrow or not, it is a big day, the first day in the history of the United States Congress to have such a debate and vote.

In 40 years of Democrat control of this Congress, they never let a vote occur. And only in the last term that they held power did they even allow a hearing on the subject. Now we are going to get that opportunity that the American public by nearly 80 percent in poll after poll say they support.

Interestingly enough, those Americans who are answering those poll questions are roughly divided in an even fashion, at about 50 percent Republicans and 50 percent Democrats. There is not a partisan matter involved in term limits. It is something the

American public has said they want for a long time. It is not a new thing.

I just hope that when the sun sets on this vote tomorrow that we do get the 50 percent or so of the Democrats we need to have on that side of the aisle to vote with the, as the gentleman from Washington says, the better than 80 percent of the Republicans who are going to vote for this. We may get 85 or 90 percent before it is over with.

The point is, we need to have a bipartisan effort in order to pass term limits. Now I have my own personal views on why we need them, and I have my own convictions on which version is preferable. I happen to believe deeply that term limits are important to stop the career orientation of Congress that has developed over the past 50 or 60 years as we have gone to a full-time, year-round job that was never envisioned by the Founding Fathers who saw Members serving only a couple of months a year and going home to their businesses.

We do not do that anymore. We are not likely to. As we have developed this full-time Congress, Members have learned to give up jobs back home. Most Members do not have outside incomes. They are dependent upon this. This is their career today.

That has changed the attitude of Members in a way that is not necessarily desirable. While some Members can stand above that, many Members, I think, consciously or subconsciously try to please virtually every interest group that comes to Washington seeking assistance in their voting pattern in order to get reelected. The idea being, if you do not displease anybody, those who have the squeaky wheel are going to vote for you, you are going to get reelected, and you are going to be able to come back and continue your, quote, career.

I do not think that is healthy. That is not healthy in areas like balanced budgets where we do not get there because every interest that is in a budget is supported by some interest group. It is not the money that is involved. It is the votes and the concerns about reelection.

We need to mitigate that. Term limits would do that, plus it would place a permanent restraint on the opportunity for anybody in the future to ever become a committee chairman and serve 15 or 20 consecutive years as was the case until the Republicans took power this time and put it in the rule to say you can only serve 6 years as a committee chairman, and it would assure fresh blood out here every time when we have an election cycle and a regular turnover.

Now as far as the preference is concerned. I happen to prefer my version, which is 12 years in the House, 12 years in the Senate. I think shorter limits in the House than in the Senate would weaken the body vis-a-vis the Senate.

I also think you need to have about six years here before you have the ex-

perience that is needed to be a committee chairman or to be in leadership.

I also think it would be preferable to have uniformity throughout the Nation instead of, as one of my other brethren offering an amendment would have, an amendment that leaves it to the States. Once we put a 12-year cap, you would wind up then with a hodgepodge of some States 6 years, some states 8, some States 12 for on ad infinitum. I do not think that would be good public policy in the end.

But the Supreme Court under my proposal will ultimately make the decision as regards to the present Constitution and its interpretation when they decide the Arkansas case shortly.

□ 2045

If they decide that the States have this power today, the amendment I am proposing would not disturb that. On the other hand, if they decide that it indeed is unconstitutional for the States to do what they have been doing, there would be established by my 12 and 12 amendment a uniform national standard which I think is preferable.

Then there are those who argue that well, retroactivity would be a good idea. I do not think it is a good idea. Twenty-two of the States that have adopted the term limits limitation around the country have said no to retroactivity, and the one State that had an opportunity to vote on it, Washington State, voted it down. It is like with tax laws or other kind of legislation out there, retroactivity is not a good idea.

There are Members of the other side of the aisle, some well intentioned on this issue, but some very much opposed to term limits, promoting this particular legislation just to create mischief, because they know it would cost votes on final passage.

We need to work very hard on whatever final version comes out here after we finish the amendment process tomorrow, and I am going to do this, to advocate my position ardently among the positions out there. But I am going to vote for whatever is left standing out here, and I urge any Member to do that. If you do not do it, I think the voters back home ought to hold you accountable on the vote you have on final passage of whatever is here tomorrow. It is our chance to get term limits that better than 80 percent of the American public strongly want. So I urge a favorable vote tomorrow on final passage, and, of course, I would prefer it if you vote for my 12-year version.

CONGRESSIONAL TERM LIMITS NEEDED

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

Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, tonight I rise on the eve of a very historic day in this Chamber. To-

morrow, for the first time in the history of this country, we are going to vote on term limits. This is a very exciting moment as we prepare to undertake what I believe to be the most significant reform that this body has ever made for itself. This is an exciting day.

First of all, I want to indicate to all watching here tonight and all of my colleagues here in the House that this rule that makes in order tomorrow these four options is a tremendous opportunity for us to get real accountability on the issue of term limits. Tomorrow there isn't going to be any place for Members of Congress to hide. They are either voting for my 6-year bill, they are voting for a 12-year bill that Mr. McCOLLUM just spoke of, they are voting for a 12-year bill that Mr. HILLEARY spoke of earlier, or they are voting for a fraud that is masquerading as term limits that is really not term limits, it is designed as a poison pill to kill term limits by retroactivity provisions. Those are the options. Tomorrow Members in this Chamber will have to vote yes or no on term limits.

Tonight what I would like to do is begin laying the case that we will make after many hours of debate tomorrow on the need for term limits. I have a couple of charts that I think will demonstrate fairly well why we need term limits.

The first one I have here shows the average tenure of a Member of Congress and members of the general public in their jobs. As you can see here, the average American keeps his or her job 6 years. The average Member of Congress keeps his or her job 8 years. The average member, and this is a critical number, the average member of the leadership of this institution has kept his or her job for 22 years. That is ranking members and committee chairmen, add them all up, take the average, they have been here an average of 22 years.

I think this tells the story of what is wrong with this Congress. This is what the American people seek to change. They want a more fluid body. They do not want a leadership that has been here 22 years on average. They want it more in line with what the average American experiences, a job change on average every 6 years.

Of course, in the 1994 election we had a great deal of talk about change, and there was a tremendous change, because we got a change in the management team here in Congress. I should point out right here what a difference an election can make. The last Congress, the 103d Congress, we were fighting against a Speaker of the House of Representatives who sued the people of his State, arguing that what they had done in a State initiative was unconstitutional. Now we have a Speaker of the House who is helping us to get a good vote on this floor and is pushing Members of this Congress to vote for what the American people want, which is term limits. By 80 percent the American people want term limits. So when