

more compelling reason why the 1995 farm bill must not result in business as usual.

I conclude by stating this is a report called *City Slickers*, and we need to read more of it together. Get a copy yourself.

And as we progress on our discussion of the budget and appropriations process here in this Congress, we are going to talk more about where is the real waste, where is that money that is needed to give a tax cut or do anything else? It is not in the school lunch program. It is not in the college loan program. There are billions of dollars that are routinely being wasted, and we should take note of that as taxpayers.

TERM LIMITS

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

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow we will vote on what former Senator Howard Baker has called a bad idea whose time has apparently come. That idea, of course is term limits.

Term limits will pass this body with a very large margin, although maybe not the two-thirds vote necessary. However, I know from private conversations and believe that there are quite a few members of this body who publicly are for this very bad idea but who privately are hoping that the legislation does not receive the two-thirds vote necessary.

□ 2200

I can tell you this, Mr. Speaker, that if ever there was an idea or something that corrects a problem that does not exist, that idea is term limits. Two hundred and three new members have been elected in just the last 2 years. Let me repeat that: 203 Members, almost half of this body, have been elected in just the last 2 years. We had 110 freshmen elected 2 years ago. There were six Members, three of whom left to move into the President's cabinet and three others left for better jobs, and then 87 new Members were elected at the start of this Congress. So that is 203 new Members in just the last 2 years.

This is the greatest turnover in the history of this Congress and in the history of this Nation, and that same turnover, very high rates of turnover, are occurring in elective offices all across this country.

I mentioned Senator Howard Baker a moment ago, a man who is really one of my heroes and for whom I have the greatest respect. If we had had term limits in effect, we would not have had Senator Baker's greatest service to this country. We would not have had his service during the years he was minority leader and then majority leader of the U.S. Senate. We would not have had the service of Senator Everett Dirksen during his greatest service, or our own Speaker of the House, NEWT

GINGRICH, who is in his 17th year. He would not be in the House if we had the term limits we would be talking about tomorrow. Roll Call, the newspaper that covers Capitol Hill, pointed out Great Britain would not had the service of Winston Churchill during World War II. His greatest moments of public service would not have taken place if term limits had been in effect in Great Britain.

Term limits do not make sense. It makes no sense whatsoever to go to a great teacher and say that we know you are a great teacher and you are doing a wonderful job, but you have been here 6 or 8 or 12 years and we feel we should have new blood, or to do that same thing to a great nurse or a great engineer. If term limits should not be applied to other fields, they should not be applied to elected officials either.

We already have term limits, the terms to which we are elected. We are elected to 2 year terms in this body, 6 years in the Senate. The voters can get rid of us very easily. Every other year we face the voters. Term limits are very undemocratic. They take away a little bit more control the people have over their own Government. They take away the right of the people to vote for whomever they want. I think it is part of this trend that these very liberal elitists have said for years "Take the politics out of this, take the politics out of that," and that sounds good on the surface. But if you take the politics out of everything, you take away the control of the people over their own Government, and term limits is just another part of that very dangerous trend.

Term limits will strengthen the power of the unelected in this country. They will strengthen the bureaucracy, the lobbyists, the committee staffs. Already we have a Government of, by and for the bureaucrats, instead of one that is of, by and for the people. We need to reestablish the control of the people over their own Government, and term limits will do just the opposite.

We need to solve the real problems of this country. Mr. Speaker, turnover in the Congress and in other elected offices is not one of those major problems that we face in this country today. I am one of the most conservative Members of this body, but I can tell you that term limits are not a conservative idea. Our Founding Fathers specifically rejected them, and even conservatives like the Libertarian columnist Lewellyn Rockwell and others are now saying term limits are a very, very bad idea. In fact I think they are a very radical idea, and I think they should be rejected, although I know that they are very popular because many people do not realize how much turnover there is and how much change is going on in this place and in other offices around the country.

In no other field do we think that experience is a bad thing. People want an experienced surgeon when they go into have surgery, they want an experienced

lawyer and so forth. So we need experience in public office as well.

Some people had the mistaken impression that Dan Rostenkowski was a typical Member. He was not typical. I realize that term limits are popular and they are going to pass, but I think, as I said, that they correct a problem that does not exist, and I do not think they will solve the real problems that face this country.

WELFARE REFORM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 4, 1995, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. FIELDS] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I rise tonight to talk about two issues. One, I wanted to talk a little bit about what took place in the House of Representatives on last week and the week before last. On last week, we passed legislation, in a real sense an insult and also is an assault on young children, on babies, on kids, on infants, and we passed that legislation in a spirit of welfare reform. But I just wanted to talk about some of the impact that this legislation will have on children and infants all across this country.

The cash assistance block grants that provides that no Federal funds for children of mothers under the age of 18 or less unless certain requirements are met, it is very easy and very popular to talk about how we should make parents more responsible, and I do not think there is a Member of this body who does not wish to make parents responsible or would not like to have responsible parents in our society. But the real impact will not be on parents. The real impact of these cuts will be on children. Nationwide, 70,000 children will be denied benefits. In my own State, about 600 children will be denied benefits because of this legislation that was passed. Now, I would hope that parents are responsible.

I would hope that no parent or no woman, young lady who is not married, would not even have a child. I mean, that is a perfect world, a perfect idea, but it is not happening today. And since there are women who have children out of wedlock, I think the Government has an interest and should have an interest in children and should, to the degree that we can, make sure that not a baby in America goes to bed hungry at night.

The other point of this legislation that we passed provides that no benefits will go to anybody after 5 years. Now, that sounds very good. That is a very popular statement to make, but the benefits are really not for the mother. If we want to call it irresponsible, then so do it. But the benefits are not designed for the mother, the so-called irresponsible mothers. Those benefits are for the children. They are

for the infants who cannot get up in the morning and go to work. And we cannot chastise innocent kids in our country because of some faults or some mistakes of their parents. I would hate that this country get to the point that we not take care of those who can do very little for themselves, like infants and children, and those kids with handicaps.

Well, 4.8 million children would be denied benefits as a result of this 5 years and you are off. In Louisiana, about 100,000 children. No Federal benefits for additional children born while a parent is on welfare. Well, parents ought to be responsible. But whose fault is it if a kid is brought into this world while his parent is on welfare? And who do we penalize in this piece of legislation? We penalize 2.2 million children across this country, and in Louisiana we penalize about 46,000 children.

Now, my idea of welfare reform is the thought of giving parents, giving mothers, the opportunity to learn a skill, so that they can be productive, so that they can do for themselves. But in this legislation, we do not require job training. We do not have funds available to the extent that is necessary for real job training, so that we can teach mothers skills and parents skills, and then put them to work and provide them with a job so that they can provide for themselves. But we do have a provision in the bill that says 2 years and you are off.

Well, 2 years and you are off is popular. It makes a good 30-second sound bite, but is it fair? You do not require the parent to learn any job skills or work, but if she is on welfare and does not have a job after 2 years, she is automatically off of the welfare rolls.

Well, who really suffers as a result of that? Are we teaching the parent a lesson or are we really teaching the children a lesson? I mean, children cannot be responsible. Many of them are infants. These infants, all they know how to do is cry when they are hungry and want to be changed when they are wet. Many of them cannot even speak, they are toddlers. You know, they are 1 month old, 2 months old, 6 months old. They need somebody to take care of their self. And if the mother, because of whatever reason, be it irresponsible or be it because she does not have the wherewithal to do so, somebody ought to step in and have an interest in that child. And I just think that our Federal Government should have a compelling interest in children.

So I just wanted to express that interest and that concern tonight, because I do think that this Congress has taken a step in the wrong direction when we penalize children simply because their parents are not responsible or because their parents do not have a job skill or because their parents are unemployed. I think we need to have more thought, a little bit more thought put into this welfare reform debate. I would hope when this legisla-

tion arrives in the Senate, that the Senate puts much, much more thought into it.

School nutrition program. I mean, we have talked about that so much I am tired of talking about school nutrition, because every time you talk about school nutrition, there are folks who stand up and argue with you as relates to whether or not it is a cut, whether or not school nutrition will be sacrificed as a result of the block granting, and it almost makes me sick in the stomach, because the numbers are very real. I mention the numbers, many students in this country will not have the benefit of a balanced meal because there is no national standard for nutrition in this legislation that was passed, and many of my colleagues will argue that students will not be jeopardized.

The reason why we took this program in the first place is because States were not doing a good job. When we get to the point that this Congress should not have an interest in the nutrition, school nutrition, that is the point we ought not have a Congress. That is just one of the interests we should have, we ought to have an interest in child nutrition, we ought to have an interest in making sure that every child who goes to school receives a balanced meal.

I would feel a little bit better about this rescission package as well as the welfare reform legislation, and I do not want to get into the summer jobs debate again, if we would cut money that goes to other places in this world. You know, we cut domestic programs on one hand, and then we increase money to go overseas. I do not understand the rationale and logic. How do we say to our children that we cannot give them a summer job, but we can give them somewhere in the neighborhood of about \$30 billion in jail cells and build more prisons, but we cannot give them a job this summer, and we expect our streets to be safer this summer?

Of course not. We cannot expect our streets to be safer in this summer by taking some 1.2 million kids off of the payrolls. We are taking their parents off the welfare rolls, then taking their children, you know, taking their mother off the welfare rolls and taking the child off of the payrolls. To me, I mean, how inconsistent can we get? I mean, we are consistently inconsistent in this Congress when we do those kinds of things. And to me I think we need to really, when this legislation gets back to this House in the way of a conference committee, I would hope that we just stop for a second and really put more thought into it, and not jeopardize and not penalize poor innocent children in this country. That is one of the reasons why I wanted to stand here tonight, Mr. Speaker.

Also, I want to talk about another subject, but I see my very good friend from Texas is on the floor, and it is always good to have her, because she is an eloquent person who cares about children in this country.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to yield very briefly to my very good friend from Texas, Ms. SHEILA JACKSON-LEE.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. I appreciate the gentleman yielding, and I could not help, listening to your eloquence, to just come over and not only share in your concerns as you have expressed them considerably and articulately throughout this session.

But I was reminded of a story that you told just a couple of weeks or so ago relaying your own personal experience. It made it very real for many of us who likewise experienced what you experienced, and that is that you were, if you will, a participant in these programs, the school lunch program and the school breakfast program, and as a youngster, you, if you will, benefitted from the fact not of a handout, but simply of an opportunity to come and get a meal. And a meal is not a partisan issue. A meal simply is reflective of the concern of this country. I had in my office today a representative from the teachers association, National Education Association, out of the Houston area, and that teacher, with a great compassion, spoke about seeing elementary school children come to school to get a breakfast or get a lunch and how they took the last grain of food off the plate because it might have been the only meal that they would have had.

I had some other ladies come from the National Council of Jewish Women who indicated that they were themselves concerned about some of the very cuts that you have already mentioned, and indicated how ridiculous it is when we are talking about welfare reform, and in fact we are talking about suggesting that the parent, whether it be a mother or father, get out and work. And we know very often in this very busy society how many of us have time to sit down with our families to eat. So some cavalier comment was made, let them eat with their families, meaning their children that get the school breakfasts and lunches. This very insightful lady said, "I live in different conditions. I didn't eat with my children." She noted the fact we live in different times. But how insensitive to suggest that you now want the welfare mothers or welfare parents to find work and to be independent, but yet you are not going to give them the kind of supportive services like a school lunch program, a school breakfast program, like a job training program or transitional child care. You are simply going to, if you will, throw them to the wolves.

□ 2215

It simply does not make sense. And none of us, as we have come from State government, I know that you have a very fine record in the State of Louisiana, you had to make hard decisions about where we cut and how we reduce government, none of us ignored those concerns. But what we are asking for is

a simple understanding of the compassion upon which we thought this Nation was founded.

It was founded on opportunity and founded because people were hungry for jobs and for work. And it was founded on freedom of religion. But most of all, people coming here, certainly many of our ancestors and most of our ancestors did not have that luxury, but the whole thrust of the Nation was to come here for opportunity. And yet we throw it back into the faces of the American people who we are telling to get up, stand on your own two feet, be independent, unshackle yourself from welfare.

Yet we take, if you will, the slash and burn attack and we cut off programs like you have been speaking of. I could not help but come here to simply share with you.

Let me just mention these points and I would certainly want to dialog with you about this and ask you how it is impacting your area, because I have gone home to my community and heard nothing but screeching, shrill screams of outrage, not of violent outrage that they would act violently, but pained outrage, shock and wondering what are we telling our children. What examples are we setting? Again, as we begin to look at the tax cuts we have already gone through rescissions, many people are in shock because they said, We thought those dollars were authorized.

Summer jobs cut out, you were mentioning that. Safe and drug free schools, cut out. This is in the State of Texas. I can quote the dollars, \$780 million, \$40 million. Youth job training, very effective programs to get our youth moving from school to work. The Goals 2000 program that in fact this teacher was mentioning to me, a very effective program that helps establish greater educational goals, the title 1 education program, \$9.2 million, and in the vocational education tech prep program. I wanted to share with you those because all of those are programs based upon our children.

I would like to ask you this question, this is what is puzzling me. Take, for example, a gentleman who is going into business. He is in the exotic bird business, and he wants to go into a store that offers to the public exotic birds. Not being able to get many investors, he goes out and gets a very, very large loan, but he is able to employ some 6 to 10 employees because, as he sees his way clear, this exotic bird business is taking off. And he is doing well.

Would you think that he would immediately then, as his meager profits are coming in, seek to, if you will, provide an opportunity to bring down that debt, meaning that large debt that he has gotten from a bank, say like the deficit, or would he be seeking to take that money and maybe spend it foolishly, something like a tax cut, or would he be looking to make sure that he puts his business on sound footing, because he had an exotic business now

and he could not find any investors and so his loan was extremely huge.

And so, rather than taking these profits, maybe I could take it to even a more visible or visual type example. Would he run off to some luxurious vacation with the dollars or, if he is a sound business person, who he seek in order to ensure the viability of his business, to go and reduce that deficit or to reduce that huge debt that he has outstanding on this business.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. Any reasonable man or any reasonable woman of ordinary prudence would use that money to pay the debt. That is just something that reasonable people would do. Any irresponsible person would probably do just the opposite, use the money to do everything but to pay the debt. And I think that is one of the problems that we have here in this Congress.

We take money from the poorest Americans in the world, I mean the country, in our country, the poorest Americans in the United States of America, and we give it to those who have. We take from the have nots and we give to the haves.

I think that is not only unconscionable but unbelievable and unfair. For us to take infant formula, for example, from a baby because her mother so happens to be 17 years of age, we want to teach that mother a lesson because she should not have had this baby when she was 17, we are not going to give her baby any milk. We are going to teach her a lesson.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Then we are asking her to be independent.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. That is right. We want her to pull herself up by the bootstraps. We are not going to teach you any job skills but we want to set an example.

What happens, if the gentlewoman would answer this question, what happens if that baby, while we big Americans, Members of Congress, I do not know, I do not think any of us have to worry about eating at night, we make a pretty decent salary, what happens if that baby dies of infant mortality? Does that make us big Members of Congress? We are talking about maybe 1.7 percent of the whole budget goes to welfare programs, and we are going to solve the deficit problem by taking money out of this person's, this baby's mouth. And we are going to teach the parent to be responsible and, at the same time, we are going to give to big business over there or the individual who makes \$200,000 a tax break.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. If the gentleman would yield, you raise a very striking question. Just a couple of days ago I was here on the House floor and had in fact a chart that answered your very question dealing with women and infant and children nutrition. That is the program, the WIC Program, that has been so effective in not only helping with care of that new infant but it also helps monitor the young infant's progress and also it brings in mothers

in the prenatal stages to ensure that they know about good health care, good nutrition for their babies.

But it said that if we did not invest in the Women and Infant and Children's Nutrition Program, we would have a bill of some \$15,000 per infant with the kind of illnesses, for example, that that baby would have when it was born and, ultimately, the kinds of problems that it might face in early childhood education and as it grew up to be an adult.

Clearly, the data suggests that when you invest in that young child, whether it is a school lunch, whether it is a school breakfast, whether it is the Women and Infants and Children Nutrition Program, that you are truly making an investment.

Let me say this, because there is something about us here on the House floor believing that this is such an important issue, wanting to communicate with the American people, the great citizens in the great State of Louisiana and the great citizens of my great State, Texas, for us to be branded as speaking the words of only a few Americans, but let me say, knowing that you have got certainly a State that is well endowed with energy leadership, energy corporations, I face the business community.

I have not heard a hue and cry for the need for the kinds of tax cuts that are not really bringing in all of us to discuss what best way to energize, if you will, if you can use that term, the economy. I have not seen individuals with incomes at a certain level standing in the highways and byways screaming for a tax cut. I have heard them speak eloquently and forcefully, as good business men and women, about bringing down the deficit to create the kind of economy that would be the most, if you will, energized and forceful in stabilizing this Nation.

Let me share with you on this point, because I think we have had some discussions on this, there is something about having a job, being able to go to work. We know that we are facing some hard decisions. I just simply want to acknowledge that we have got a headline that says, "NASA cuts 55,000 jobs." We know we are going to have to make some hard decisions. But I would imagine that in the course of these cutting of jobs, potentially in this reinventing government that we all have to do, you might be able to go up to any citizen and say, what do you think is most important in this nation? Allowing people to work, stabilizing the economy to allow them to work, making sure that if you have welfare mothers who are seeking independence, that they have jobs? Or is it to have this big balloon tax cut that seems to go nowhere and you are talking about thousands of people in the streets with no jobs?

I raise that question to you because it is puzzling to me how we can make decisions with no data, no hearings of crowds pouring in saying, tax cut, tax

cut. And yet we are having to put people out of work.

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. The gentlewoman makes a very good point. I think one of the problems we have in this country is we are blaming the wrong people. When we had the S&I crisis, for example, that hit the TV screen for a few days, a few weeks. And we developed the RTC, and we are now getting to the point we are resolving that whole issue, multimillion dollars.

And when a person who has food stamps, for example, walks into a store. I had the occasion of walking into a grocery store in my own district, purchasing food and standing in line. And then a lady in front of me with maybe one or two kids, who is about to purchase her food with food stamps, she turns around and sees me. And then, all of sudden, she forgot something. And she said, Go ahead, Mr. Fields, I forgot something.

And in a real sense, she did not forget anything. But she was embarrassed because the whole nation is blaming her for the problems, blaming her for the deficit. Blaming her for everything that is wrong with America. And she did not want her congressman to see her purchase her food with food stamps. And it is a shame and a disgrace that we have poor people in America who are being blamed for every ill that we have in this country.

For example, it is amazing that we would take \$30,000 and we would put it in jails and persons, and it takes \$60,000 to build a jail cell in this country. And it takes about anywhere from \$28,000 to about \$30,000 a year to maintain a prisoner in that jail. And we are spending all of that money to put kids in jail who violate the law.

And we find out, we look at all the statistics and all the statistics reveal that 86 percent of the people who are incarcerated, who are behind jail cells, are high school dropouts.

Now, it takes very little discussion and very little debate to pass that kind of appropriation. But if we tried to put more money in schools, we just cut \$100 million out of infrastructure. Prisons and jails in this country are in better condition than our schools. But it would take a literally an act of Congress, not really knowing what the cliché of an act of Congress really means, to pass any appropriation to put more money in education.

It is a clear correlation between education and incarceration, but the problem is, the question is whether or not we really want to address these real meaningful problems.

I feel, and I may be wrong, but I feel the way we address these problems is not by pointing our finger at poor people but by lifting them up, by making sure that every parent receives job training and then provide a job so she can go to work.

I am not against workfare. I am for workfare and making sure that dead-beat dads be responsible dads and make them pay child support for the kids

that they bring into this world. I am for that. And I am also for a kid having a summer job.

That hurts me the most because I know what it feels like to be a part of a summer jobs program during the summertime. And I have been taking this mike now almost every night because these are programs, maybe I am one of the few Members of Congress who has been through most of the programs that were cut, but I know what it felt like to have a summer job during the summertime.

I mean it gave me self-esteem. It gave me pride. It gave me dignity. I was getting up and I was going to work. I went to work, Monday through Friday. And I made a salary. I got a check with my name on it. And I was able to buy my school clothes, and I was able to help my mother pay her rent. And that made me feel good. And that really taught me job skills; taught me responsibility.

And now even the thought that this summer kids will not have the opportunity that I had when I was growing up in Baton Rouge, they will not be able to go into a summer job this summer because this Congress had the gall to cut 1.2 million kids off of the program in the spirit of fiscal reform and personal responsibility, and then talk about how we need to get kids off the streets, my God, where would I be today if I did not have a summer job, many of my friends, when we were growing up?

□ 2230

Mr. FIELDS of Louisiana. I do not understand the rationale and I will yield to the gentlewoman and then I want to talk about something else, I certainly hope the gentlewoman would stay, a little bit about term limits because I have heard some very interesting discussions tonight about that issue.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Well, I thank the gentleman and I could not help but just be absorbed by your recounting of your life's history because I wonder whether or not because of the missing life experiences maybe of some who would argue differently than what we would argue whether this is why we are where we are today.

I certainly was a beneficiary of a summer job and took as much pride as you have articulated in working in the city's parks during the summer, having that check, but most importantly the responsibility, the uniform, the self-esteem. Let me say a great big thanks to all the parks workers throughout this Nation.

The important thing is that we are speaking in essence out of two sides of our mouth and that is that we ask on one side, stand up and be counted and be independent and then we tell our children and I have been on the local box station if you will, meaning I have gone to where the youngsters listen and talk to them in between their

music to tell them that this is something they need to take up.

The outcry that I have gotten from a parent who is a single parent who says Johnny has been off the streets now for 4 years straight because he has had a summer job, and you know what is even better than that, you know what is even better than that is Johnny's younger brother is aspiring to get the summer job like Johnny, not aspiring to hit the streets to join the gang that is right next door but aspiring like Johnny.

As I conclude, let me simply say what the misnomer is. We go back to welfare. I think we all have seen this documentary about hoops and basketball, a true story about youngsters off the street and aspiring to be basketball players and there were some good endings for those youngsters in there. The one point that really got me is when the mother said, "Do you know we live off of \$300 a month?" Because there is some myth about how much people are living off of.

Then just to reflect on the State of Texas where an AFDC recipient with one child gets \$184 a month, so let us not fool ourselves to think that these folks are rolling in dollars. All of these people would far benefit from cutting the deficit.

Then when we talk about some sense of independence, we have got the other side of the coin. Say you pulled yourself up by the bootstraps, you got out of high school, how would you get to college? Summer jobs as well as student loans. Do you know what is going to be cut with these tax cuts? We are talking about cutting an enormous amount, half of all of the students attending college would be cut in terms of their student loans or their opportunities to go to college.

I do not know about you because I understand that we have come from different States, but I can assure you how much that will hurt the community that I come from and how important it is to our students who are seeking independence, some of whom have come from homes where they were dependent upon welfare and are now seeking an opportunity through education and look what is happening to them.

So I thank the gentleman for yielding but I had to come and join you and certainly you are raising another issue that I hope I will briefly be able to share with you on that because I think that impacts, if you will, how we run government.

I also have not heard the reasoned hue and cry on the other issue you just mentioned about what we do about people who are in office when I believe truly in the process of voting people in and voting people out. But I will say it is important for people to have a history of what has been done previously by government, people who can bring insight to these issues and reflect upon their life experiences to share.