

campaign. I was too busy chasing bucks." I had a similar experience in 1992.

I remember Senator Richard Russell saying: "They give you a 6-year term in this U.S. Senate 2 years to be a statesman, the next 2 years to be a politician, and the last 2 years to be a demagogue." Regrettably, we are no longer afforded even 2 years as statesmen. We proceed straight to politics and demagoguery right after the election because of the imperatives of raising money.

My proposed constitutional amendment would change all this. It would empower Congress to impose reasonable spending limits on Federal campaigns. For instance, we could impose a limit of, say, \$800,000 per Senate candidate in a small State like South Carolina—a far cry from the millions spent by my opponent and me in 1992. And bear in mind that direct expenditures account for only a portion of total spending. For instance, my 1992 opponent's direct expenditures were supplemented by hundreds of thousands of dollars in expenditures by independent organizations and by the State and local Republican Party. When you total up spending from all sources, my challenger and I spent roughly the same amount in 1992.

And incidentally, Mr. President, let's be done with the canard that spending limits would be a boon to incumbents, who supposedly already have name recognition and standing with the public and therefore begin with a built-in advantage over challengers. Nonsense. I hardly need to remind my Senate colleagues of the high rate of mortality in upper Chamber elections. And as to the alleged invulnerability of incumbents in the House, I would simply note that more than 50 percent of the House membership has been replaced since the 1990 elections.

I can tell you from experience that any advantages of incumbency are more than counterbalanced by the obvious disadvantages of incumbency, specifically the disadvantage of defending hundreds of controversial votes in Congress.

I also agree with University of Virginia political scientist Larry Sabato, who has suggested a doctrine of sufficiency with regard to campaign spending. Professor Sabato puts it this way: "While challengers tend to be underfunded, they can compete effectively if they are capable and have sufficient money to present themselves and their messages."

Moreover, Mr. President, I submit that once we have overall spending limits, it will matter little whether a candidate gets money from industry groups, or from PAC's, or from individuals. It is still a reasonable—"sufficient," to use Professor Sabato's term—amount any way you cut it. Spending will be under control, and we will be able to account for every dollar going out.

On the issue of PAC's, Mr. President, let me say that I have never believed that PAC's per se are an evil in the current system. On the contrary, PAC's are a very healthy instrumentality of politics. PAC's have brought people into the political process: nurses, educators, small businesspeople, senior citizens, unionists, you name it. They permit people of modest means and limited individual influence to band together with others of mutual interest so their message is heard and known.

For years we have encouraged these people to get involved, to participate. Yet now that they are participating, we turn around and say, "Oh, no, your influence is corrupting, your money is tainted." This is wrong. The evil to be corrected is not the abundance of participation but the superabundance of money. The culprit is runaway campaign spending.

To a distressing degree, elections are determined not in the political marketplace but in the financial marketplace. Our elections are supposed to be contests of ideas, but too often they degenerate into megadollar derbies, paper chases through the board rooms of corporations and special interests.

Mr. President, I repeat, campaign spending must be brought under control. The constitutional amendment I have proposed would permit Congress to impose fair, responsible, workable limits on Federal campaign expenditures.

Such a reform would have four important impacts. First, it would end the mindless pursuits of ever-fatter campaign war chests. Second, it would free candidates from their current obsession with fundraising and allow them to focus more on issues and ideas; once elected to office, we would not have to spend 20 percent of our time raising money to keep our seats. Third, it would curb the influence of special interests. And fourth, it would create a more level playing field for our Federal campaigns—a competitive environment where personal wealth does not give candidates an insurmountable advantage.

Finally, Mr. President, a word about the advantages of the amend-the-Constitution approach that I propose. Recent history amply demonstrates the practicality and viability of this constitutional route. Certainly, it is not coincidence that all five of the most recent amendments to the Constitution have dealt with Federal election issues. In elections, the process drives and shapes the end result. Election laws can skew election results, whether you are talking about a poll tax depriving minorities of their right to vote, or the absence of campaign spending limits giving an unfair advantage to wealthy candidates. These are profound issues which go to the heart of our democracy, and it is entirely appropriate that they be addressed through constitutional amendment.

And let us not be distracted by the argument that the amend-the-Con-

stitution approach will take too long. Take too long? We have been dithering on this campaign finance issue since the early 1970's, and we haven't advanced the ball a single yard. It has been a quarter of a century, and no legislative solution has done the job.

The last five constitutional amendments took an average of 17 months to be adopted. There is no reason why we cannot pass this joint resolution, submit it to the States for a vote, and ratify the amendment in time for it to govern the 1996 election. Indeed, the amend-the-Constitution approach could prove more expeditious than the alternative legislative approach. Bear in mind that the various public financing bills that have been proposed would all be vulnerable to a Presidential veto. In contrast, this joint resolution, once passed by the Congress, goes directly to the States for ratification. Once ratified, it becomes the law of the land, and it is not subject to veto or Supreme Court challenge.

And, by the way, I reject the argument that if we were to pass and ratify this amendment, Democrats and Republicans would be unable to hammer out a mutually acceptable formula of campaign expenditure limits. A Democratic Congress and Republican President did exactly that in 1974, and we can certainly do it again.

Mr. President, this joint resolution will address the campaign finance mess directly, decisively, and with finality. The Supreme Court has chosen to ignore the overwhelming importance of media advertising in today's campaigns. In the Buckley decision, it prescribed a bogus if-you-have-the-money-you-can-talk version of free speech. In its place, I urge passage of this joint resolution, the freedom of speech in political campaigns amendment. Let us ensure equal freedom of expression for all who seek Federal office.

By Mr. BROWN:

S.J. Res. 19. A joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to limiting congressional terms; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TERM LIMITS CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

• Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, today I rise to offer a joint resolution calling for the adoption of a constitutional amendment limiting congressional terms.

Congress is considering several measures that will change the way Congress does business. Congressional accountability will apply the laws to Congress. Unfunded mandate reform will reduce burdens on the States. The balanced budget amendment will fundamentally alter our budget process, and the line-item veto will end an era of midnight pork-barrel spending.

My amendment offers change of a different sort. Instead of changing our procedures, term limitations will change the way we think.

Following ratification of term limits, politicians would no longer view Congress as a lifetime career. The era of constant campaigning and the short-sighted policy making that comes with it would come to an end. Incumbent advantages would be limited. Elections would become more competitive. Voters would have a wider electoral choice as more and more people run for office. Instead of making political choices to preserve their seats, Members would be more likely to make the tough choices necessary to preserve our Nation.

When our Founding Fathers wrote the Constitution, they limited Government by disbursing power between the branches of Government. Checks and balances were created to provide oversight amongst the branches, and to ensure that Government remained loyal to the people, all other powers were specifically reserved for the people.

Over 80 percent of Americans favor limiting congressional terms; 22 of 23 initiative States have passed term limits for their Federal delegations and the 23d State should pass term limits this year.

Despite this overwhelming support, this body has voted on term limits only three times this century. Even worse, term limits has never made it to the floor of the House of Representatives. I was responsible for initiating two of the three votes in the Senate. The first time we received 30 votes, the second time 39 voted with us.

It is now time for the whole of Congress to answer the call of the people. The success of grass roots groups is impressive but incomplete. Congress must act to bring term limits to the millions of Americans whose wishes for a citizen legislature have been ignored at the State level.

My amendment would impose term limits on all Members of Congress. Senators would be limited to serving no more than two consecutive 6-year terms and Representatives would be limited to six consecutive 2-year terms.

Only elections following the amendment's ratification would be counted, and appointments and special elections would be excluded from the limits.

Mr. President, it is time we return to the fundamental belief of our Founders—that holding public office is a public service, not a lifetime career.

Term limits will restore the competition, responsiveness, and diversity intended by the Framers of the Constitution and demanded by our constituents.●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 15

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the names of the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM] and the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER] were added as cosponsors of S. 15, a bill to provide that professional baseball teams and leagues composed of such teams shall be subject to the antitrust laws.

S. 38

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] was added as a cosponsor of S. 38, a bill to amend the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, and for other purposes.

S. 194

At the request of Mr. MCCAIN, the name of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. BROWN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 194, a bill to repeal the Medicare and Medicaid Coverage Data Bank, and for other purposes.

SENATE RESOLUTION 31

At the request of Mrs. BOXER, the name of the Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 31, a resolution to express the sense of the Senate that the Attorney General should act immediately to protect reproductive health care clinics.

SENATE RESOLUTION 54—ORIGINAL RESOLUTION REPORTED AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURES BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. HATCH, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported the following original resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 54

Resolved, That, in carrying out its powers, duties and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Committee on the Judiciary is authorized from March 1, 1995, through February 29, 1996, and March 1, 1996, through February 28, 1997, in its discretion (1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate, (2) to employ personnel, and (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable or non-reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

SEC. 2. The expenses of the committee for the period March 1, 1995, through February 29, 1996, under this resolution shall not exceed \$4,343,438.00 of which amount (1) not to exceed \$40,000 may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended), and not to exceed \$1,000.00 may be expended for the training of the professional staff of such committee (under procedures specified by section 202(j) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946).

(b) For the period of March 1, 1996, through February 28, 1997, expenses of the committee under this resolution shall not exceed \$4,444,627.00 of which amount (1) not to exceed \$40,000 may be expended for the procurement of the services of individual consultants, or organizations thereof (as authorized by section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, as amended), and not to exceed \$1,000.00 may be expended for the training of the professional staff of such committee (under procedures specified by

section 202(j) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946).

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 29, 1996, and February 28, 1997, respectively.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee, except that vouchers shall not be required for the disbursement of salaries of employees paid at an annual rate, the payment of stationery supplies purchased through the Keeper of Stationery, U.S. Senate.

SEC. 5. There are authorized such sums as may be necessary for agency contributions related to the compensation of employees of the committee from March 1, 1995, through February 29, 1996, and March 1, 1996, through February 28, 1997, to be paid from Appropriations account for "Expenses of Inquiries and Investigations."

SENATE RESOLUTION 55—AUTHORIZING EXPENDITURES BY THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON AGING

Mr. COHEN (for himself and Mr. PRYOR) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration:

S. RES. 55

Resolved, That, in carrying out its powers, duties, and functions under the Standing Rules of the Senate, in accordance with its jurisdiction under rule XXV of such rules, including holding hearings, reporting such hearings, and making investigations as authorized by paragraphs 1 and 8 of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the Special Committee on Aging is authorized from March 1, 1995, through February 29, 1996, and March 1, 1996, through February 28, 1997, in its discretion—

(1) to make expenditures from the contingent fund of the Senate,

(2) to employ personnel, and

(3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable or nonreimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency.

SEC. 2. (a) The expenses of the committee for the period March 1, 1995, through February 29, 1996, under this resolution shall not exceed \$1,046,685.

(b) For the period March 1, 1996, through February 28, 1997, expenses of the committee under this resolution shall not exceed \$1,070,031.

SEC. 3. The committee shall report its findings, together with such recommendations for legislation as it deems advisable, to the Senate at the earliest practicable date, but not later than February 29, 1996, and February 28, 1997, respectively.

SEC. 4. Expenses of the committee under this resolution shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate upon vouchers approved by the chairman of the committee, except that vouchers shall not be required—

(1) for the disbursement of salaries of employees paid at an annual rate,

(2) for the payment of telecommunications provided by the Office of the Sergeant at Arms and Doorkeeper, United States Senate,

(3) for the payment of stationery supplies purchased through the Keeper of the Stationery, United States Senate,

(4) for payments to the Postmaster, United States Senate,