

vote this week will join the 1995 House vote to produce first-ever votes in both Houses. The vote in the House was held in March 1995 and received a majority of 227 votes. Passage, however, of a constitutional amendment would have required a two-thirds majority, or 290 votes.

For the first time in history, the Senate will vote on term limits. While the measure is not currently expected to receive the necessary 67 votes required for passage, this vote is an important beginning to what I believe is an inevitable outcome. While approval by two-thirds of the House and Senate will not be easy, the support of 75 percent of the American people will make a difference as we continue this important effort.

When I campaigned for the Senate in 1994 in my State, I heard from one end of Michigan to the other a consistent and very, very responsive, positive public outpouring of support for term limits. People felt that the Congress, in particular, and Washington as an institution was out of touch. They felt that a lot of factors were at play, but, most importantly, they felt that too many people ran for Congress or for the U.S. Senate, went to Washington, and ultimately stayed so long that they lost sight of the reasons that they ran for in the first place.

Promises in campaigns were seldom, if ever, kept. Indeed, by the end of a term the promises of the previous campaign had often been totally forgotten. People felt that this lack of contact and communication, this out-of-touch, Washington, inside-the-beltway mentality was the reason that Washington had not been able to deal with important problems confronting America and, in particular, the problems of the Federal budget deficit and runaway Federal spending.

People in my State believe that they have sent too many of their hard-earned earnings to Washington. They would like to keep more of what they earn. They feel the Federal tax burden is too high. They cannot understand why they have to balance their family budget, but we in Washington have not been able for 25 years to balance the Federal budget.

The reason, they feel, more than any other that has led to this problem, this lack of responsiveness, is that too many Federal officials have been away from home too long, too many Federal officials have lost touch with voters back home and do not understand the things that motivate the average working families in Michigan.

Mr. President, I do not think Michigan is atypical. I suspect that virtually every Member of this body hears the same thing in their State. I suspect Members of the House of Representatives, likewise, hear the same sentiments expressed to them when they are in their constituency.

Now, this Congress has begun to move, I believe, in the right direction to address some of these concerns. Last

year, for the first time we voted in the very first action taken by the Congress, to apply the laws that apply to the rest of the country to Members of Congress themselves. We put an end, in the Congressional Accountability Act, to the double standard that said that things we adopted here as Federal law were fine for the rest of America but not fine for ourselves. That has begun to change the way we do things here in the U.S. Senate.

I have been intrigued by the fact that so many of my colleagues and I have found that meeting the various labor and other laws, requirements that we now are required to follow, have changed the way we operate our office and made us more mindful and concerned about labor relations and other issues that come on a day-to-day basis before us in our Senate offices. In the same way that has put us more in touch, I think nothing will put Congress more in touch with people back home than a frequent and regular turnover in the composition of the House and Senate of the United States.

Mr. President, I believe that the term limits movement is a movement that will only grow. If 75 percent favor term limits today, I believe it will be even a higher percentage in the years to come. That is why whether or not we are able to succeed this year in passing term limits, it is only a matter of time, I believe, before we will have term limits as part of our Constitution.

To that, I want to commend the majority leader, Senator DOLE, for scheduling the vote on term limits here in the Senate. For all the talk about bringing reform to Congress, I believe our best approach to make Congress better is through term limits. I urge all of my colleagues to support this much-needed reform of our political system. I urge them to support it because it is the right direction to take. I urge them to support it because it has such strong popular support. I also urge them to support it because I think it is only right that the citizens of the various States have the chance to set the limits on terms of Federal officials.

To conclude, that the citizens of Michigan do not have the constitutional authority to determine how long their Members of Congress and their U.S. Senators may serve, is, in my judgment, a strong repudiation of the rights of people in a free democracy to make decisions for themselves.

Mr. President, I close on this note, by urging my colleagues to support the term limit efforts we are undertaking this week.

Before I yield the floor, I will ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 2 minutes to make a brief statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SYMPATHY TO MICHIGAN FAMILY

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to express my deep condolences

to the entire Bitar family of Dearborn, MI, who lost their two sons due to the most recent violence in Lebanon that occurred last Thursday. Hadi, who was age 8, and his brother, Abdul Mohsin, age 9, were visiting their grandmother in their home village of Qana during their spring break from school when the fighting broke out last week. They sought refuge in the United Nations shelter, which was tragically bombed.

The loss of civilian lives, Mr. President, no matter where it occurs, is always devastating, but it is especially tragic when children, in this case, 8- and 9-year-old children, are killed senselessly. When a loss such as this occurs so close to home, as it did in an important city in my State, many individuals in the Michigan community were affected. They feel this very deeply. I am here today to speak on their behalf.

This occurrence highlights both the urgency and the necessity of bringing peace to the Middle East. I strongly urge the administration to persist in trying to negotiate a cease-fire in Lebanon and to bring an end to the hostilities immediately. I sincerely hope that no more tragedies such as this occur and that no more innocent lives are lost while these negotiations persist. Yesterday, I attended a special prayer service for the two boys who were killed last week. The ribbon I am wearing today, Mr. President, was given to me at that service as a tribute to the lives that have been lost. All I can say, Mr. President, is I intend to be on the floor every day to talk about what is going on, and these tragedies, until, hopefully, we will see a cease-fire and an end to the senseless killing and the bloodshed.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO LIMIT CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

The Senate continued with consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment before the body is amendment 3698.

Is there further debate?

Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, thank you for the recognition. I want to thank my friend, the Senator from Michigan, for his outstanding analysis. I also want to express my sympathy to him and to those citizens of Michigan whose children were victims of the latest bombings. I commend him for his work in this area and thank him for bringing our attention to this matter.

Mr. President, I want to talk about term limits. I want to mention some important reasons why I think it is essential that Members of this body support the opportunity of the States to ratify a constitutional amendment.

The Senate does not have the authority to amend the Constitution. We merely have the authority to extend to the States the right to ratify a proposed amendment to the Constitution. To vote against this proposal is basically to say that the wisdom of the

Congress is so superior to that of the States that we should not even entrust them with decisionmaking power on limited tenure.

Why, then, should we have congressional term limits? Why should we send to the States this opportunity for ratification? I believe we ought to because that potential for ratification is consistent with the central values of this Republic, the central political themes and understandings of our democracy. The first of those is that we are representatives of the people. We come here to provide the people a voice. And while we are to exercise our own judgment, we are to represent the people of the State or district from which we hail.

What do the people of America think about term limits? Well, the polling data indicates that 74 percent of them favor term limits. And 41 States have imposed term limits on their Governors. As it relates to city councils, many cities—from New York to Los Angeles—have imposed term limits on their own city councils.

As you look at the political map, you find out that there is a glaring hole in the term limits net: the U.S. Congress. It exists for the President, not the Congress; it exists for Governors, for State legislatures, for cities, counties, and towns, all kinds of things across America. But there is one place where it has not existed.

There is another fundamental value of American culture that term limits respects and reinforces. It is the value of access and participation. When a few people believe they are the only people that have the capacity to do a particular job, they tend to shut others out of the process. The unfortunate effect of incumbency is that it has closed down the system even further.

The American people are understanding folks. They have watched as 91 percent of the incumbents who run for office win reelection. That means that a challenger has a 1-in-10 chance to defeat a sitting Member. Now, you do not have to be a math wizard to understand that, in an open seat situation, the two challengers have a 50 percent chance of winning. Furthermore, the data suggests that when there is the prospect of an open seat, the number of candidates increases exponentially. In other words, there is a substantial broadening of the variety of choices that the American people have from which to choose.

I think we ought to make sure that happens more and more frequently. Those who study political science indicate that as you approach an open seat race there are increasing numbers of individuals who prepare themselves for the vacancy by offering themselves as candidates.

That is one of the reasons why I think the 6-year limit in the House is so valuable. It would virtually guarantee that we would have enhanced levels of choice for the American people in every elections.

It is also important to look at the history of term limits. I think the word "history" is important here. So often people debate term limits as if this were some theory that needs to be hashed out in the think tanks before the American people could understand it. This is not a decision made in a vacuum of facts or experience. It is a decision made in an arena with which the American people are fully familiar.

The American people have a history of term limits. It is not the passion of the moment. It is not the whim of a particular time. It is an understanding about the way government works. And they have said, yes, we want it for the Presidency of the United States. So you have term limits for the Presidency of the United States.

Let me also say that I believe that those who indicate that there are not enough qualified people in the country to replace qualified Members of the Congress have a view of a talent pool in America which is unduly shallow.

When George Washington walked away from the Presidency after his first two terms in office he understood that America was a place filled with knowledgeable citizens whose judgment and capacity would sustain this Republic, and he did not allow himself to be swayed by the arrogant nonsense that there are just a few people in America who are bright enough, or capable enough, or sound enough to make decisions. He understood that the tree of liberty would be nourished by an influx of creativity that would be found as individuals stepped aside to return to citizenship and as citizens stepped in to accept the responsibilities of government.

It is high time that we had the same understanding of the talent pool in the United States. The pool of available talent in this country is incredibly deep. We have great resources. We have tremendous citizens. There are outstanding persons, and we ought to tap them and call them into the process. Then we ought to send ourselves home to live under the very laws for which we vote.

I do not want to be a part of those who underestimate the strength and the capacity of the people of this great land. We have a tremendous capacity in America. We should open the door of self-government to those individuals so that they can participate in government by virtue of coming in and being a part of the U.S. Congress.

What would the United States look like if we were to have had term limits? What kind of changes would there be? Mind you that I am prepared to say that I believe we ought to make the decision about term limits based on the fundamental values of this country, based on the sense that we ought to have open access and that we ought to have more participation based on the fact that we represent the people.

But what would America look like? When Stephen Moore of the Cato Institute conducted a study, he indicated

that we would have had a balanced budget amendment, something we have yet to get. In 1990, 1992, and in 1994, we would have approved the balanced budget amendment.

Not surprisingly, the line-item veto, which we only passed this month, would have been enacted more than 10 years ago, in 1985. Think of the thousands, tens of thousands, think of the millions of dollars that might well have been saved had we had the capacity to knock pork out of Federal budgets as early as 1985. I believe that newcomers do reflect something special about the process.

Let me make another point. Some people have said that we need experienced people in Washington. I could not agree more. But I have to say that I do not believe that the only experience we need in Washington is government experience. Some of the very best Members of this body are individuals who have brought a wealth of experience from the private sector. To suggest that we need people who have years and years of experience in government is a bankrupt idea which fails to understand that experience happens in places outside the public sector.

A couple of other things that are significant to me about the Cato study.

And what are the things which would have failed? You guessed it. The last two tax increases and the last two congressional pay increases would not have passed the Congress. Interesting. All of the things that would restrain Government would have passed, and the things which fund Government would not have.

It comes down to this fundamental set of values as to whether government exists for the benefit of government or whether government exists for the benefit of the people. In "The Federalist Papers," Madison wrote of a Congress with a "habitual recollection of its dependence on the people." Unfortunately, we find ourselves in a democracy where the citizens all too frequently have a constant recollection of their dependence on government.

Just think of the agriculture bill we passed early this month. Farmers were waiting to find out what they could plant. It was a country dependent upon government, instead of a government that was dependent upon, and cognizant of, the citizens.

The principal value here is that we recognize what it is the people want. In this case, it is a constitutional amendment on term limits. I believe we should reinforce a reform which would promote access and participation, and which would level the playing field so that individuals who offer themselves for service have a fair shot.

One last footnote. A term-limited Senate would be a different Senate because it would require the Chamber to operate on the basis of merit, rather than seniority. While I respect the individuals whose dedication to their country has allowed them to serve this body, I do not concede that they are,

by virtue of their service, the most qualified to lead committees or determine policy. I believe we should think about developing, and would develop if we had term limits, a leadership framework based on merit, not rank seniority. Incidentally, the 3-2 constitutional amendment I proposed would do just that.

Mr. President, it is time for us to respect the values of the American people; 70 percent of them would like to consider a term limits constitutional amendment. The time for us to extend them that opportunity is now.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. THOMPSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

(Mr. ASHCROFT assumed the chair.)

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I thank my colleague from Missouri. He has been a leader in this fight for a long time. His points are so well made. He mentioned the precedent set by George Washington, that after serving two terms, purportedly got on his horse and rode out of town never to return to Washington. People asked him to stay, but he knew better. He knew there were other people who were qualified to serve, and because he left when he did, other people were able to serve. He set a good example.

The same example was set by Thomas Jefferson. He served two terms back when a President could serve for as long as they could continue getting elected. So this is the example that was set for us. And, of course, the people who were in the Congress at that time would not have thought of serving many, many years in Congress. They were citizen legislators who came to town to interrupt their career and not make a career. So I think that the Senator's point is very well made.

I see my colleague from Colorado is in the Chamber. I yield the floor.

Mr. BROWN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Colorado.

Mr. BROWN. I thank the distinguished Senator from Tennessee for his leadership on this issue, as well as the distinguished Senator from Missouri. Both of these first-term Senators have made an enormous difference in the body, and I think their service speaks volumes about the talent that is available in this Nation.

Mr. President, this is a hotly debated item, and while opinion in this country overwhelmingly supports term limits, it is not a secret that it is not the most popular item ever presented in this Chamber. We have had difficulty getting votes. The first vote on this was in 1947 by a Senator from Texas. He succeeded in getting one vote—his own—and it was a long time before it was raised again.

In the last several years, we have been able to get several votes, but they have never been clear and on the point.

I think we should note at least that Senator DOLE's leadership provides the first opportunity in the history of our country to have this issue aired in this Chamber in a clear fashion. He is the first majority leader of the Senate to bring it to the floor and hopefully provide us with the opportunity for a vote. It is a courageous thing to do because there is enormous pressure in this body and outside this body not to allow it to come forward.

Over 200 years ago, Thomas Jefferson wrote a friend and he suggested some interesting things. He said three things were missing in the American Constitution: a Bill of Rights, of course, which was passed later on; limits on the tenure of the chief executive—he was about 150 years too early, but he got that right, because, as all the Senators are well aware, that was eventually passed and added to our Constitution—and lastly, the third item Thomas Jefferson mentioned was rotation in office for Members of Congress.

What prophetic words. Two of the three have come to pass. Mr. President, I believe with all my heart the third will come to pass as well.

Many Members for whom I have deep respect have spoken on this subject and expressed real regret about this issue. To some, they have taken the issue personally, as a question of the value of their service or a question of the value of their continued effort to serve this country.

Speaking for myself, but I believe speaking for others as well, no such intent or castigation of their service is intended at all. As a matter of fact, there could be nothing more American than putting a limit on power. That is really what this is all about. It is not just about the example of Cincinnatus returning to his farm after serving his country. It goes to the very core and very heart of what Americans believe about government. We are unique. We are not simply the longest surviving democracy in the history of mankind, but we are a shining example to the rest of the world of what can blossom forth when people are free, what can happen when the power of the Nation is primarily centered in the individual and not in those who govern.

The world's history, recorded for some 4,000 to 5,000 years, is replete with examples of people who performed great service. It is also replete with examples of countries where power corrupted. Americans, when we drafted our Constitution, were more aware than any people in the history of mankind of the value of governments in the past. The writings of Polybius, Montesquieu, and Cicero were on the minds and words and lips of the drafters of the Constitution.

They understood the cycle of government that Polybius had observed, so many, many centuries ago; the tendency of power to corrupt. The tendency of democracy to turn into an aristocracy, ruling by the few; and the tendency of an aristocracy to devolve into

a dictatorship, and the corruption that comes from dictatorship; followed by anarchy and then the process starting all over again.

Those evils were on the minds and in the hearts of the people who drafted our Constitution. They sought for something different and greater than anything in the history of mankind, any government in the history of mankind. They sought to find a government that would last. They sought to find a government that would provide the blessings of tranquility and order and liberty; that would not be simply temporary, as every government had been in the past, but that would be as close to permanent as we could achieve.

They believed that reliance on the individual and a stable form of government could bring about blessings to mankind that had never before been seen. This great experiment in democracy, in republican democracy, has shown exactly what they had hoped for. The very essence of what American government is all about is an understanding that power corrupts and a firm belief that, to have a stable, lasting government, we need to limit power. We need to limit power because power can corrupt and destroy and harm the stability and the freedom that we so highly prize.

For those who think that term limits is out of touch with the American experience, who have not read the words of Jefferson, who have not looked at the history of this country, where the pattern was for a turnover in Congress—for those who have not focused on that and somehow doubt that term limits is in the tradition of the American experience, think about the limits we put on power. It is the very essence and the very genius of what the American experience is. We designed a Government where the House is able to check the Senate and the Senate check the House. We do not allow a rush to judgment. We think a longer view, a more thorough analysis, can be beneficial. Is it slower? Yes. Does it limit one body's power? Yes. Would the Senate be more efficient without a House? I suspect you could get an argument on that. But our founders thought the essence was to limit power to cause good deliberation and also prevent corruption.

It is not just the House and the Senate that balance each other. It is an executive that has the power of a veto. And it is not just the executive and the Congress that face limitations, we have a Supreme Court and a court system that limits our power as well. The founders thought long and hard and they set up a system of government whose very essence, whose very core is a limitation on power.

They were concerned, some would say obsessed, with preventing the corruption that comes with too much power so they set up a system that puts its primary focus on individuals and not in government, not in the

hands of a few but in the hands of many. And what power we gave to the Federal Government we limited.

It is not just the checks and balances in the Federal system that exist, but a separation of powers between the Federal and the State level. Specific provisions, article X, the Bill of Rights, leaves those powers to individuals and States not specifically given to the Federal Government. All Members know this. They are familiar with it. But to say or to think for one moment that term limits is not the very essence of the spirit of the American experience of government is to miss the point. Our whole approach has been an understanding of the corruption power can bring about, and the need to make sure—the need to make absolutely sure—that no one can rule without limitations. This is not an aberration. This is not a change of the spirit of the American government. This term limit is the embodiment of it.

Some will say wait a minute, we have gotten along pretty well without it. For those, I suggest they look at the history of this Nation. For one, term limits was not included in the Constitution because people never thought Congress would turn into a lifetime career. Service in the U.S. Congress was thought to be just that, a service. One of the big issues early on was raising of the pay to \$6. For that they threw out most of the Congress, for that huge pay increase. Service in the House and the Senate was thought to be a time where you would serve your country, not gain financially. That has changed. Some will say Members of Congress are overpaid. Others, many here, think they are underpaid. But whether you believe we are overpaid or underpaid, there is no question that the salary for a Member of Congress is much different than what it once was.

There is no question that it is a good living compared to any standard in America today. Are there people here who could earn more? Yes, I hope so. There are some who could earn less on the outside. But the point is this. Serving in Congress has changed from a period of service that costs people money to serve, where the remuneration was much less than what they could get on the outside, to a compensation that, even by the most meager description, is fairly adequate; something quite good.

The phenomenon of people serving a long period in Congress has accompanied a number of things. One, a dramatic increase in compensation, and a dramatic increase in the power that is here. Service now is different than it was in the 1800's. There are financial motives that did not exist.

Do we want to go back to those days where Members of Congress received little or nothing? No, perhaps not. But neither should we close our eyes to the impact of that change. The simple fact is, this country has changed. Because of the power and because of the rewards, people now wish to serve long periods of time.

There are three areas that I believe will change dramatically if we pass term limits. Here they are.

First of all, I believe the background of the people who serve in this body in both the House and the Senate will change if we have term limits. One need only look at the lengthy service of time that some Members have. But even more significant, I think, is that when we debate legislation we debate without the benefit of people having fresh experiences in the real world with regard to that legislation. I cannot tell you how many times I have come and listened to millionaires discuss the minimum wage, when they never held a minimum wage job in their life. Let me tell you, if you got through school by working and paying your own way with a series of minimum wage jobs, you have a different view of minimum wage jobs than if you inherited your money.

If spring break meant you had a chance to get a second job to make your tuition payment instead of taking a yacht tour on your daddy's yacht, you have a different view of what that issue is.

If you are concerned about welfare, I can tell you, if you have had to work for a living, if you have had to scratch for a living, you have a different view of what welfare is and ought to be than if you have been wealthy all your life.

If you are talking about regulating businesses and jobs, you have a different view if you have been subject to that regulation. Members of Congress for the first time—and I think it is of great benefit to this Nation—are now being subjected to the same laws, or almost the same laws—we are not quite there but we are close—almost the same laws that working men and women in this country are. Does that make a difference? You bet it makes a difference. I see, day after day, thoughtful, reasonable, intelligent people on this floor talk about imposing regulations on the working men and women of this country.

Mr. President, with due respect, I cannot help but think if they had actually had those jobs, if they had actually done that work, they would have a much different view. I believe term limits will change some of that. Term limits will mean some turnover in the people who serve. I think it is much more likely we will have people serve here who have actually had working experiences in the areas they attempt to regulate.

I see the distinguished Senator from Tennessee here, a physician, in our midst. All of us have grown to respect and admire him greatly as we have gotten to know him and seen the integrity that he brings to his job. But he brings something more than just a bright mind and great integrity. He brings firsthand experience of his profession as a physician. It is not a secret that when Members have questions about that, they turn to the Senator from Tennessee for a practical view. Do they always agree with him? No. But they at

least have access to someone who has actually done it, who understands it, who has been there firsthand. How much more effective this body could be if we had more Members who had real lifetime experiences like the Senator from Tennessee.

I believe, as I listen to these issues debated, if we had that, we would have much more effective laws. One thing else I would suggest. If we had people who worked for a living and a real turnover, I do not believe we would have had 65,000 pages of new regulations put in the Federal Register last year.

For Members who are not aware of it, that is what it was—over 65,000 pages of new regulations were added last year. That is not the total regulations that Americans are subjected to; that is just what we added last year.

If you sat down today to read the regulations to which you are subjected and for which you can go to prison if you violate them or at the very minimum face heavy fines, if you simply wanted to find out what it is you are required to do, and you read 300 words a minute, which is pretty good for regulations, and you read all day long, 8 hours a day, with no coffee breaks, 5 days a week with no holidays and 52 weeks a year with no vacations, you would barely get halfway through. You literally could not read them if you devoted yourself full time, and those are what we expect the American people to follow. That is just the new ones; that is not the ones that are already on the books.

(Mr. THOMPSON assumed the chair.)

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, one of the great benefits of term limits is to bring into this body a group of people who have a broader wealth of practical experience. By that turnover, I think what we will find is that we have become better legislators.

There are a few subjects, no matter the most liberal Democrat or conservative Republican who, if they sit down and get their facts right, cannot come to agreement on. Yes, there are differences; yes, there is a different philosophy. But generally when men and women have the same basis of facts, they are able to come to a similar logical conclusion.

I believe one of the great advantages of term limits is it will give our Members broader background, a greater basis of personal facts and, as a consequence, they will be able to work better together. I think you are going to find them able to do a much better job.

There is no society in the history of mankind that has ever produced 65,000 pages of new regulations every year, not Hammurabi, not Napoleon with his code, nobody ever came close.

If we think we can continue to be effective and competitive in a world market when we have committed to tying ourselves in redtape and regulations, we are dreaming. That is not going to change until we have legislators who have had real-life experiences. That is

one reason I think term limits will be a great blessing for this Nation.

Second, it is my observation, from having spent 10 years in the House and 6 years in the Senate, that unlimited terms has led to a corruption of the process. Mr. President, I do not make that charge lightly. Let me be specific about it.

One of the political action committees or groups that supported me when I ran for an open seat for the Senate was very frank. They said, "If we had an incumbent that had a decent record, we would never have supported you, no matter how much we like you, no matter how you would vote, no matter what you would do. Our policy is to support incumbents."

Is it a good policy on their part? I do not think it is good for the country, but it is probably good for their narrow issues. I do not mean to give short-change to those issues. I agree with this particular group and many of the things they do, but not with their announced policy to only support incumbents. Is that unusual? Tragically, it is not. The reality is many of our political action committees support incumbents if they have a voting record that is close to what they want.

Instead of being viable competitive races, what we have seen is a system where the funding for campaigns has become huge and incumbents have had an enormous advantage. Let us not kid ourselves. Anyone who says, "Look, we don't need term limits because democracy will take care of the process," has not looked at the facts.

In 1 year in the House, we had more people indicted than we had incumbents defeated. Let me repeat that. One of the years in the House, we had more Members of Congress indicted than we had incumbents defeated. Does that mean some people who were indicted got reelected? Yes, that is exactly what that means.

Mr. President, this is not a fair fight; this is not a fair process. Incumbents have an incredible advantage. Those who say, "We don't need term limits because the voters will take care of it," overlook the fact of what happens when one candidate is on the air and can outspend the other candidate 3 and 4 to 1. They are closing their eyes to the reality. The simple fact is, as long as you have long-term incumbency, you are going to have an enormous advantage for incumbents in this Congress. We have corrupted the process.

In the House of Representatives, even in years when you have huge turnovers, you have had more than 90 percent of incumbents reelected. The Senate incumbency is of little less value, I suspect, because there are slightly more competitive races. But make no mistake about it, incumbents in the Senate have a huge advantage in terms of fundraising.

If you believe in viable, competitive races, you are going to want term limits. The process has been corrupted and it is not going to change until we put

a limit on the number of terms a Member of Congress may serve.

Third, Mr. President, I think there will be an advantage to this Nation with term limits with regard to the pork-barrel spending. Let me put it as succinctly as I can.

This Nation, in 1945, was the greatest creditor nation in the history of the world. More people owed us more money than any in the history of mankind. We produced 50 percent of the world's GNP. One nation, 6 percent of the world's population, produced half the world's products and services, and we were the greatest creditor nation on the face of the Earth.

Today, we are the biggest debtor nation on the face of the Earth. We owe more money than any nation in the history of mankind.

How does that happen? How could thoughtful, reasonable people spend themselves into potential insolvency? How could we set up trust funds that promise benefits, require people to pay in for their whole life on a chain-letter financing scheme? If private insurance companies did what the Federal Government does, we would put them in jail for fraud.

How could this happen? All of us know how it has happened. All of us know how this spending went wild. It happened because we set up a system where people would be in place for long periods of time, and the way to get along was to go along.

Members have heard this on the floor. This does not shock or surprise anyone. Perhaps someone will come down and say, Hank, that's not true, but, Mr. President, it is true.

I cannot mention how many times I have been in debate on farm bills and we will offer an amendment to eliminate the honey program. Some Members sincerely believe, if we did not have a subsidy program for honey, that bees would lose interest in flowers. Perhaps their parents did not give them a talk about the birds and the bees. But, they either believed that or they voted for the honey program for another reason, and that reason, if you review the debate, is pretty clear.

People said, "Look, this may not be the best program in the world, but if you do not vote for the honey program, I will not vote for your cotton program." And, "If you don't vote for the cotton program, I won't vote for the tobacco program." And "If you don't vote for the tobacco program, we won't vote for the peanut program."

Mr. President, how does this happen? Everybody here knows that is what happened. Everybody knows and understands how we got into these silly programs. We got into these silly programs because people said, "I can get what I want for my State if I will simply support these programs for other States."

Term limits make a big difference in that. Are you going to go against the chairman of the Appropriations Committee who you know is going to be

there for another 20 years and you know that if you ever want anything out of that Appropriations Committee, that person, that man or woman, is going to remember you and is going to penalize you?

The simple fact is, the majority of Members of Congress over the last quarter century, and perhaps the last 50 years, have not done it. It is part of how we got into this circumstance. The pork-barrel spending, spending not on what each of us felt in our heart was a good program—we have passed programs that are nonsensical.

How do you defend a subsidy program for tobacco, for heaven's sake? I do not think anybody comes here thinking that makes sense—maybe there are some—but it gets passed and it stays in law. And it does, not because people think it is such a great idea, but because they know to get along you have to go along.

Mr. President, if you have term limits the world changes. Suddenly the person who could retaliate against you, if you did not support every one of his appropriations or her appropriations is not there permanently. Yes, you may not get what you want this year, but next year or the year after there will be a new chairman, there will be a rotation, there will be fresh ideas, there will be new people, there will be a turnover in thoughts and ideas and personnel and the ability to enforce the go-along, get-along rule will be dramatically reduced. Will it be ended? No. I wish there was a way to end it. But this will dramatically reduce the ability of people to enforce a go-along, get-along policy. It will dramatically cut back on pork barrel spending.

Mr. President, I am persuaded that all three of these things will happen if we have term limits. We will have much more knowledgeable people. We will eliminate some of the corruption in the process by having a turnover rather than having the built-in advantage for incumbents. We will strike a blow at pork barrel spending in a way that will be more effective than anything that is currently being done.

But, Mr. President, I am persuaded not just by these three things, but by something much more important. There are people who can come to this body and serve and keep their confidence and keep their independence and keep their integrity. I salute them. Many serve in this body right now, and America is a better place for it. But we must decide whether or not it is better to have a rotation of those who serve in public office. It is better to have a turnover. Will some great talent be lost? Of course there will. But, Mr. President, some great talent will be found. This is not a zero-sum game. For every person who retires we bring in someone new with fresh, new vibrant ideas and new experiences.

This Nation was founded on the precept that we will reflect the will of the people. Almost 80 percent of the American people in every survey that is

found support this idea. Some surveys go as low as 75, others to 85 and 90. But the reality is the American people support term limits. They support that because they do not believe that anyone in American Government should be that powerful or that this should be a lifetime job.

I believe, Mr. President, we will find an enormous benefit to the American public with term limits. Is it going to pass this time? I do not know. The vote count seems to indicate that we are short. But, Mr. President, I do believe it will pass. I do believe Thomas Jefferson's third suggestion for the Republic will be enacted. I believe we will be a stronger, greater, more productive and creative people because of it. I yield back, Mr. President.

Mr. GRAMS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I associate myself with the remarks of Senator BROWN. He has outlined the issue very, very well, as has the Presiding Officer, and as others.

Mr. President, as Americans from across this great Nation demand true congressional reform and greater accountability from their elected officials, I rise today to strongly support this resolution which would impose term limits on Congress.

When I ran for the U.S. House of Representatives in 1992, I made a firm commitment to the voters of Minnesota's Sixth District that I would support Federal term limits. When I ran for the Senate in 1994, I made that same commitment. And amidst a political climate of voter distrust and disgust with the system, I firmly believe that my strong support for term limits is one of the reasons I won both of those elections.

On January 5, 1993, after I was sworn into public office for the first time, the very first thing I did was cosponsor a bill to establish term limits for Members of Congress: two 6-year terms for Senators, and six 2-year terms for Members of the House.

After 2 years in the House, and now into my second year of serving in the Senate, my enthusiasm for term limits has not wavered. If anything, I am even more convinced that congressional term limits would be the single most important reform measure Congress could pass this session.

When we look at the problems facing our Nation today, and the inability of Congress to deal with our skyrocketing budget deficit and national debt, much of the responsibility rests upon career politicians, because studies have shown, the longer elected officials are in Washington, the more they come to believe that government has all the answers. More spending will solve the problems.

The longer they serve in Congress, the more likely they are to support even larger spending programs which means they believe—maybe they have been here too long—that Congress or

Government has all the answers, not the individual.

Congress is no longer the body of the people that was envisioned by our Founding Fathers. Instead of citizen legislators, it has become a body of professional politicians whose ultimate goal, again, is to spend the entire balance of their careers in public office. Public service has become the basis of their way of life. Again, I would like to add, public service in itself is not bad. But, again, too much power or control in the hands of too few for too long is bad.

But when individuals have a vested interest in maintaining their elected positions, they are hardly the people you should entrust to reduce the size of Government and reform the institution that keeps them fed.

Career politicians too often put their own short-term personal interest in seeking reelection ahead of the long-term good of the country.

Too often, they are the first to cave in to special interests and too often, career politicians are the last people in Washington who really want to cut spending.

And again, statistics show, the longer a person serves in Congress, the more spending he or she supports, because they believe Washington has all the answers.

During the 1980's, it was easier to remove a member of the Soviet Politburo than it was to remove a Member of the U.S. Congress.

The arrogance of power exhibited by these career politicians has led many voters to become disenchanted, frustrated with Congress' inability or unwillingness to put aside personal motives of protecting political careers and honestly deal with the Federal Government's budget problems.

Fortunately, Mr. President, times have changed. Some of the most ardent opponents of term limits are no longer among us. I believe one of the reasons for this change is the commitment of so many of our new Senators and Representatives to the concept of term limits. And it is a message that resonates mightily across this country. National polls have shown time and time again that the American public overwhelmingly supports term limits.

Throughout my campaign in 1994, I spoke with voters across my great State—Minnesotans young and old, Republican and Democrat, from factory workers to corporate executives. And these individuals impressed upon me the importance of term limits.

Opponents of term limits claim that Congress will lose effective leaders, which it will. I will say there are many who have served many years and served well, but, at the same time, Congress will gain effective new Members, who will take up where others have left off. In the private sector, many corporations and factories replace their CEO's, every 5 to 10 years, mainly to get new life, new ideas, and new enthusiasm, new direction for their business, times change and needs change.

In the words of former Minnesota Congressman Bill Frenzel, "All the titans of Congress were pea-green freshmen once. They were good when they got there. Experience did not make them smarter. It just gave them more staff and made them harder to say no to." Like Congressman Frenzel, I, too, believe that "Congressional term limits would restore balance to our system by extending to the legislative branch the noble precedent of term limits applied by the 22d amendment to the executive branch only. Both branches need limits."

The 1994 elections were a mandate for change. Establishing term limits will deliver on a promise we made to the American people. It was a promise, I can assure you, from which this Minnesota Senator will not back down. Because service in this institution should be exactly what our forefathers intended it to be—that is, a temporary period of service to the Nation, followed by a return to our jobs, to the family business or to other careers, a return home, to live under the laws he or she helped to enact.

We talk about the lack of faith Americans have in Congress and those who serve here. We joke about those polls which show Members of Congress at the lowest levels when it comes to the public trust. But, Mr. President, it is not a joke. We have got to restore the public confidence which has been stripped away by years of abuse by powerful, lifelong politicians.

Mr. President, let me conclude by saying that term limits are a first step toward restoring that trust. I believe that is a vital step. I urge my colleagues to support the passage of this resolution which will go a long way toward restoring the faith of the American people in their elected representatives here in Washington.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWN). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I want to thank our friend and colleague, Senator FRED THOMPSON of Tennessee, for what he is doing and the way he is doing it. He does it out of the utmost sincerity, the utmost authenticity. I have known him a long time, since back in the days when he worked with our leader, Howard Baker, in a different role. He ran on this issue. A lot of people did. This was just one of many issues that he laid himself out to the voters on. He said, "I believe in this." And they said, "We believe in you." So that is why he is here.

There are those in both parties who would hope to avoid this measure, obviously. I want to indicate my strongest

support for this measure which is offered by our friend, to limit the terms of service in the U.S. Congress—contentious, a bitter pill for some, difficult to grasp for others, but seen pretty clearly by the people of the United States, especially in my own State, where 77 percent of the people voted for term limits. Of course, they did not do that when I was running for my third term. But I was always very, very much in favor of limitation of terms, as I say, until I got to my third one. Then I had a lapse, just a light lapse, and now I am restored. I am back. Of course, not running again, but I will get to that in proper context.

Let me tell you why I am here to support Senator THOMPSON. I did not come quickly or early to this position. I came painfully to this position about term limits. I really thought they were a mistake at first. I say facetiously—obviously, when I ran for my third term, but I cannot help but notice now there is a certain strain in some editorial commentary about this measure, implying that it is some kind of “feel-good”, toothless symbolic action, a way of diverting us from our real challenges. Saying if we would only do our work, “if you would just do your work, you would not need all these remarkable dodges and sophistries.”

I cannot disagree with those charges any more strongly than I do right now. I will briefly describe for my colleagues the real-world road which I took to my current opinion—book, page, and hymn number, with no musical accompaniment. Here it is. My interest come only when I first served this party in this Senate as the Republican whip—I hope you hear this—when I became the whip, the second in my party serving under this remarkable man, Senator BOB DOLE, who I have the richest admiration and regard for, in every respect. I served him loyally and will continue to do that in any capacity that he would request of me—here or whatever the endeavors of his life take him. It was when I was the Republican whip that I began to appreciate the severe need for some kind of term limitation.

Let me tell you how that work went on, even though many of my colleagues know exactly what that work is, the work of the whip. We would have a very tough vote ready on this floor. The troops would be out, the deputy whips, and the leader would say, “This is a critical national issue,” and I and my colleagues would go to each Senator and say, “This is a tough bill, but this is a critical national issue. This is bigger than you, bigger than me, bigger than any individual item. Are you with us?” About once every 2 months, sometimes even once a month, one of my colleagues would say, “You know, I would love to do that, but I can’t, because if I do that, I’ll be history. I’ll be out of here. I’ve got a tough campaign and you are asking me to cast this vote—forget it. I’m gone if I vote that way. They will just use it against me, and I’m out of here. I’ll be history.”

So we would go down the list. Both parties do this—do not miss this. I hope the American people do not miss it. OK, you go down the list and say, “This Senator is up for reelection. So we cannot ask too much of him or her, that would be terrible. We cannot put the heat on them. But this other Senator was just reelected. We can get him or her to go with us,” and so on, down the list. Everyone around here knows how very solicitous we become of our colleagues on our own side of the aisle when they have a tough reelection fight. That is the way this remarkable arena works. Help so-and-so, he is coming up, get the heat off of him, put it on this fellow who has 5 more years, and they will forget his vote by the time it is time for his reelection. On and on it goes. That is the way it is played.

On every even-numbered year, one-third of the Senate and the entirety of the House is quaking in its political skin, afraid to cast any of the really, really tough votes, because they dare not do anything but cast the really political vote, the one, if it is called political, for which there is only one reason, and that is to get reelected.

That is what I found. It was very clear to me what was happening. There is this large number, every even-numbered year, all of the House Members, a third of the Senate, a large number of legislators in Washington, thinking too much about politics and not sufficiently about principle and about the best interests of their Nation. It is no wonder that it is terribly hard around here to take action against the challenges that so vex this country.

That is what I observed. What I felt then and now, if we do term limits, then after it kicks in—I shall tell you what you have after it kicks in. You will have one-third of the U.S. Senate voting right. That is what you will have. Then you go find 18 other people, and that will give you 51. You can always find those other 18 people because they are in that pool of about 40 Democrats and Republicans in this body who are “always right there.” They are always there. They are steady, thoughtful, they watch, they sometimes do their partisan strut—often, and we are all good at that—and they are always there. They are the ones from whom you would draw 18 and then with the 33 you have voting right with no pressure, you find the 18 out of the pool of 40 and move on with the Nation’s business.

The astonishing and truly regrettable aspect about all of this is, even when there is a broad consensus about the nature of the problem, pure politics will keep us from addressing it.

If you want a few examples, well, I just happened to drag a few in. Case in point. This year, the Consumer Price Index—this is a pure “no-brainer,” and there was not a shred of substantive controversy here until the senior citizens groups got worked up. Every economist who testified before the Finance Committee said that it is overstated.

Every single one of them. Every budget analyst agrees that so long as the Government indexes inflation at too high a rate, we will overspend on COLA’s—and in everything from Social Security to Federal retirement, to military retirement. And we will also collect too little in tax revenues as a consequence of improper indexing. That, my friends, results in larger and larger deficits. This is no secret. We all know this is the case.

There is not a thing that I will relate in these remaining minutes that is not consistent with the facts. We all know this is the case. The economists who have testified know it to be true. That CPI overstates inflation by 0.7 to 2.2 percent. CBO knows it is true. OMB knows it is true. And that is why neither of them is using CPI to index our discretionary appropriations caps. I hope you heard that. No, they both use a “chain-weighted GDP index.” I am going to try that one on the floor. I know that is a mouthful. But if it is good enough for OMB and CBO, surely it should be good enough for us, as we wander through the wilderness here. So we will try that chain-weighted GDP index, which will knock off about 0.4, and that will be a lot better progress than what we are getting right now.

But the politics have been diagnosed as the problem. The President does not want to offend anyone who might be receiving a COLA. I understand that. Even if the COLA they are now getting is certifiably too large and even though it has nothing to do with your net worth or your income. Try that one. That is the way it works. It does not matter what your net worth or your income is. CPI, Consumer Price Index—oh, is that a COLA? They are not the same. Heed the words of our able friend from New York, Senator PAT MOYNIHAN, about how the distortion has come about with the cost-of-living allowance and CPI. They do not fit. But they have been fitted.

So even if the COLA is now certifiably too large, we do nothing. And so the President, being the very savvy political person he is, in a political year, intends to use this as a political weapon. A Republican-controlled Congress will refuse to jump off the cliff, then, because of that effect, not wanting to give him any political benefit. As a consequence—both parties playing what is called partisan politics—nothing gets done, even when we all agree that it is a must and could be done without really setting back this country in any sense. And a 1-percent reduction in the CPI—and nobody is suggesting that—in 10 years lops \$680 billion off the pile. It is a lot smaller in 7 years, about \$68 billion. So that shows you the exponential growth, if 1 percent of the CPI would save \$68 or \$70 billion in 7 years in 10 years it will save you \$680 billion. You are saying that is impossible, but it is not. That is what is happening here, and that is what we should address—and we do nothing.

When we did this and discussed it in the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform, we actually, naively, thought that it would be like falling off a log, to simply do something with the CPI, which is so overstated at every turn. But, no, the AARP did not like that idea at all. No, indeed. And the Commission for the Preservation of Medicare and Medicaid thought that was an ugly trick. And so they will help us administer it on into bankruptcy.

I am grateful to my colleagues for hearing me out, because I deal with these issues regularly, and I have been talking about these things all of my political life. This is not something new or some swan song caper in the middle of the night. I am grateful for those who come up and say, "You are right, AL, we need to do something about CPI." I wish I could count all of my colleagues who have said that; yet, nothing gets done. How can that be?

The answer lies wholly in the area of political fear. That is a word I want to use. The word is "fear." Forget all the rest of it. "Fear."

So there is an example just right off the bat—and that is the meat part of the bat, not the end—how term limits might immediately save future taxpayers untold billions in deficit spending. One percent in 10 years would be \$680 billion. And we are not even asking that.

So, as I say, in 1994, I served on the President's Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform. And like that movie, "The Man Who Knew Too Much," I almost wish I had not been appointed to do it. I have shown you a copy of our report. This is the interim report. This was approved by a vote of 30 to 1. Who was on this Commission? Who were these dastardly people that were pointing out these things with regard to Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, bankruptcy in the system? I will tell you who they were. Let me read the names: Chairman BOB KERREY and Vice Chairman John Danforth, two very fine men that I have come to enjoy. Who was on the Commission? I am not going to read the titles because the names will be so familiar: BILL ARCHER; DALE BUMPERS; MIKE CASTLE; EVA CLAYTON; THAD COCHRAN; CHRIS COX; KIKI DE LA GARZA; Robert Denham; JOHN DINGELL; PETE DOMENICI; Tom Downey; Sandra Freedman; PORTER GOSS; William Gray, former Congressman; Robert Greenstein; JUDD GREGG; Karen Horn; Tom Kean; ALEX McMILLAN; CAROL MOSELEY-BRAUN; DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN; PETE PETERSON; HARRY REID; Roy Romer; Dan Rostenkowski; MARTIN SABO; Jim Sasser; Myself; Richard Trumka, and Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming. Those are the Members who served on the Commission. Some did not attend any meetings. I think you might be able to pick out one or two.

There we were. That is the work we did and we put out this statement. It was signed by all but one of these people. I have shown you the remarkable cross-pollination of the issue with

those people that I just described and some of them we enjoy and work with every day. Then why did we sign this—30 of 31 of us? It was because it is a report of a statement of fact. It is not about ideas, not about ideology, not about partisanship. These are facts.

One fact is very evident—and remember we were appointed by our President—and that one fact is that we are on an unsustainable course. We have locked into the law a huge promise of benefits that far exceed our country's ability ever to pay. The unfunded mandates for these programs will simply wipe us away. We all know this to be the case. Largely due to the growth of Social Security, Medicare, Medicaid, and Federal retirement, this country stands, by the year 2012—now here is what the report disclosed: That with no increase in revenues—that means no more taxes, no more, never, never, ever no taxes—and having done a perfect health care bill, which we know would—as we see in our votes with regard to the Kassebaum-Kennedy proposal—be tough to do, and ours is presently an incremental approach and has to be—but if we were to do a "perfect health care bill" and no further taxes now, and of course that would please all of our constituents. Then hear this scenario;

Were this the case then in the year 2012, there will then be only sufficient revenue—that is, money—to pay for Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, Federal retirement, and interest on the national debt. There will be not one penny for transportation, education, defense, WIC, WIN, Head Start, NEA, NIH, the National Institutes of Health, or anything else in this Government. Remember too—I do so hope the people of America can remember that those of us in this body do not even vote on 67 percent of the national budget. Those of us in the Congress of the United States do not cast a single vote on 67 percent of the national budget. It goes right on out the window, period Automatic pilot. In 7 years we will not be even casting a vote on 73 percent of the national budget. It will just be going out, being paid out and it goes out regardless. It goes out without regard to means testing or "affluence testing." It just gets paid out. It goes to people regardless of their net worth or their income. Every year that we are here—you have seen it, and I have seen it—we spend our time hacking around on the Appropriations Committee on the only things we can find that we can cut, which is defense, education, transportation, WIC, WIN, Head Start, and we don't lay a hand on all the things we call "mandatory spending."

So we are trapped. We are trapping ourselves daily ever more deeply. These things cannot be sustained. That is the situation which is impervious to ideology, or philosophy. It really does not matter whether your highest priority as an elected Senator is placed on a strong national defense, or on the children, or on vaccinating our kids, or the NIH, or the NEA, or roads, or whatever, or veterans, or seniors, or what-

ever it is we most want to do ourselves—or on keeping the size of the Federal Government within reasonable bounds.

It is a reality that we cannot escape unless we radically reduce the growth of the largest entitlement programs.

What has been our response? The first response was to leave Social Security "off the table". That is a remarkable thing to do—to leave off the table an item that is \$360 billion a year, and it is now "off the table." Both Republicans and Democrats did that. If one single Senator can demonstrate to me that this was the result of substantive critical analysis rather than political positioning, I would be most intrigued to hear the rationale. The truth is we all know better—as we admit in a jocular way to each other when the cameras are not rolling.

Let me show you Social Security, the one we left off the table, which we are never supposed to talk about. I do like to talk about it. I take these charts to my town meetings to ward off the gray-haired cat in the back of the room. When I ask for a final question, I will often say, "I will take a final question from the gray-haired gentleman in the back." Then the fellow will respond, "I'd rather have my hair turn gray than turn loose," which is disturbing, when you look at my hairline, that I have to take that kind of terrible abuse.

So then he will say, "I put in it from the beginning. SIMPSON, I want it all out, every bit of it. That is the contract." I say, "By George, you are right. I agree with you. You put in from the beginning, did you?" "Yes, I did." "Great. Let us then review for everybody here in the town meeting how much you put in because, if you put it in it from the beginning"—and any 64-year-old, gray-haired cat like me cannot escape this because we all put in the same. "So, if you put it in from the beginning, you never put in over 30 bucks a year for the first 8 years. And then you never put in over 174 bucks a year for the next 18 years, ladies and gentleman." Not one of them did.

Then, finally you got stuck 300 bucks a year, 800 bucks a year, \$1,000 a year, \$1,500 a year, \$2,000 a year, \$3,000 a year, and in the 1980's, \$4,000. Now I think I am putting in \$5,000 a year, which is my Medicare and Social Security.

So when I am all finished up with contributions of payroll tax" if I retire next year at 65, I will have put into the Social Security system about \$55,000 in an entire lifetime. I will get it all back in 6½ years. Everybody knows that. Everybody knows that. And if you retired in the 1980's, the early 1980's, you got everything back you put in, plus interest, in only 2½ years. And those are people who still show up at your town meeting.

There is no means test of benefits, no affluence test of their COLA, and that

is the way that is. But take a look at this.

This is a chart about me, ALAN K. SIMPSON. This is a blow-up of my Social Security earnings record for a lifetime. It started between 1937 and 1950. I went to work at the Cody Bakery at the age of 14; got the Social Security card that year. My particular role in that particular confectionery was to place the pink glob in the midst of that white, crusty sugary business on top of the mushy sweet roll. I have never touched one of those since; never will eat another one of those because that was my job—plop, plop, plop. I was paid \$583, to which I coughed up a real chunk into Social Security—5 bucks that year. The next year he paid me less—for they found what I had been doing with the confectioneries.

Then I went off to the University of Wyoming and paid nothing because I never earned over \$3,600 in a summer. I worked every summer, but I never earned \$3,600. Remember, ladies and gentleman, you could make a million bucks, but you never paid anything over this lid here. So, if you made 40,000 bucks this year, you never paid any Social Security over \$4,800 in this year. Then they slowly raised that through the years.

So, anyway, I finished the Army, finished college, went on to practice law, and in the first year of practice when my father took all the money and I did all the work, I put in 42 bucks—42 bucks. I made a little over \$1,600.

Then, in the most productive years of my life to that point, for 18 years of practicing law, I never put in over 816 bucks a year. Nobody else did either. Not one person in this country put in any more in those years as a self-employed person than 816 bucks a year.

That is where we are. And you are telling us that this is sustainable? How absurd. But it is "off the table." The biggest gorilla in the jungle is now off the table.

So, then, finally I came here in 1979, and put 615 bucks into Social Security that first year. Then the next year, 951. Then, you know. There it is—in 1989. My total contribution was \$2,980. So was it for everybody else in America; period. So, if you total it all up, over a lifetime it is about \$55,000.

Now here is the slot machine handle. Here is what I will get, and so will anybody else my age. This is my estimate of benefits. This is a photocopy of the document directly from the Social Security Administration. Thank Heaven they are sending this to people now. It is going out automatically to people. Millions of copies are going out thanks again to Senator MOYNIHAN. We owe him a great deal.

We owe him a great deal because, do not forget, he was very involved in the blue ribbon commission that met in the early 1980's and said to us all: We can save Social Security with a deft blend of payroll taxes and some other changes, and if we do—and we all voted on it—if we do, it will save the Social Security System until the year 2063.

Do you remember that? I hope you all do. Because now we are told by the trustees of the system that Social Security can only now be saved until the year 2029. So from 1983 to 1996, we have compressed the drop dead date from 2063 to 2029, and everybody knows it. Everybody knows it.

So if I were to retire at age 65, I will receive \$1,170 a month. But if I wait until age 70, I will get \$1,555 per month, with a life expectancy of—well, it is cheerful news. My father lived to be 95, my mother 94, my grandmother 100. I will be rolling and rolling over in it, and it will not matter what my net worth or income is. Then also add to it a COLA every year.

Does anybody within the range of my voice believe this is a sustainable system? It is not. Senator KERREY and I are trying to restore long-term solvency to this system, because it will be broke in the year 2029, and will begin to go broke in the year 2012 when we start cashing in the bonds and Treasury securities.

Remember, ladies and gentlemen—and please do not lob anything—there is no Social Security trust fund. There is no such fund. You know it. I know it. All we have is what Franklin Delano Roosevelt as President and the Congress set for us, which is this: That if there is any surplus, any surplus at all in the Social Security funds, it must be invested in securities of the United States, backed by the full faith and credit of the U.S. Treasury. So when there are reserves, the Treasury purchases T bills, savings bonds, whatever. Some of those are purchased by those of us in this body. They are purchased by banks. By other Americans. The interest on those securities is not paid out of some kitty called the Social Security trust fund. It is paid out by the General Treasury, ladies and gentlemen. We all know that. Everybody knows that. We do not "steal" from the Social Security trust fund and in profligate ways just poof it on down the street. We do not do that. But we go back to the town meeting and they will say, "Now, that's what you did. You stole from the Social Security trust fund and blew it. You never put it back." I said, "My friend, there was nothing there to blow." It is a series of IOU's that would stack to the top of this Chamber.

It is all good stuff. It is good financial paper, but it is not—it is not—some kind of separate fund. If it was a separate fund, it would be, right now, over \$220 billion. Do you think we would leave that untouched if we could find our way into it? Of course not.

The thing about it is that those reserves could reach \$2 trillion before the year 2012, but then when we get to the year 2012, that is it. That is it, because there will not be enough revenue coming in to take care of the monthly payments going out—period, nothing.

This is a pay-as-you-go system. It has nothing to do with a rolling trust fund or anything else. The people who

are paying their Social Security payroll tax in today, that tax is going right out this month to senior citizens regardless of their net worth or their income.

Now, that is the way it is, and the sooner we get to dealing quite honestly with what this system is, I think we might have some semblance of ability to get out of it.

Then came the proposal to reduce the growth in Medicare below catastrophic rates—not "cut" it, but to slow the growth in the way that every objective analysis has shown that we must. The President was suggesting slowing the rate of growth when he dealt with his very controversial health care plan which was defeated. The President then later talked about letting Medicare go up 7.6 percent or 7.8.

I admired that. I said that at the time. Republicans are trying to let it to go up 6.4. The President might be at 7 now. We are not that far apart. That gap could be closed very well. We could close that gap because both the President and the Congress know that we must slow the growth in Medicare. Because why? Who is telling us all this bizarre business? The people telling us this bizarre business are the trustees of the Social Security and Medicare Programs. Slowing the growth in the way that every objective analysis has shown us that we must.

Are we going to get a severe political lesson from that one, an example of what the Washington Post had called "Medagoguing?" President Clinton and too many others of us, Republicans and Democrats, have decided to run for office this November on the assertion that we are saving America from "cuts" in Medicare while at the same time "behind the scenes" every single one of us agrees somewhat on what kind of target needs to be hit to bring Medicare within reasonable bounds. We all know that. As a consequence, what have we accomplished? Not much on the Medicare front. That spending continues to spiral upwards unabated.

Get this one. A few weeks ago what were we told? A little miscalculation there. Instead of a surplus of \$4.2 billion that month in Medicare, we found a \$37 million deficit. That is the trustees telling us this too. It was startling to them. So maybe Medicare will not go broke in 2002; it will only go broke in 2001.

But do not forget this. If the Republicans get away with all these terrible tricks and do everything that we have proposed to do to balance the budget in 7 years, and do it, Medicare will not go broke in 2002; it will go broke in 2010. What a deal. What a deal that we have "balanced the budget" and Medicare will not go broke in 2002; it will go broke in 2010. Everybody knows that. Everybody.

So as the spending continues to spiral upwards unabated, the only real accomplishment of the exercise possibly will be to elect some new legislators who have pledged on their highest

honor to stop any cruel efforts to ever deal with that silly problem again. Oh no, we will not do that one again, because obviously too many people got beat when they tried to do that.

Then I do have this other document here which is worth everyone's attention. It is a little yellow booklet entitled, "Status of the Social Security and Medicare Programs." It comes to us from the Board of Trustees of Social Security, and those persons are three of the President's Cabinet, Robert Rubin, Robert Reich, Donna Shalala; and Shirley Chater, Stanford Ross, and David Walker.

Then let me read this from page 11 in the section entitled "Need For Action." Remember, these are the trustees of the system, the stewards of the system telling us this:

During the past 5 years, there has been a trend of deterioration in the long-range conditions of the Social Security and Medicare Programs and an acceleration in the projected dates of exhaustion in the related trust funds.

I paraphrase what the words "projected dates of exhaustion" mean—that is, going flat broke is what that means.

And further then:

To some extent, the increasingly adverse projections have come from unforeseen events and from the absence of prompt action in response to clear warnings that changes are necessary. These adverse trends can be expected to continue and indicate the possibility of a future retirement crisis. We urge that concerted action be taken promptly to address the critical public policy issues raised by the financing projection for these programs.

To repeat the line I found most interesting: This situation arises "from the absence of prompt action in response to clear warnings that changes are necessary."

In other words, we know fully that we must act, and yet we refuse, out of political fear, to do so. That, to my mind, is well defined as irresponsibility, or as akin to chickens, as I have patterned upon my tie here. I wore this appropriately today. These are chickens that I try to show to people between 18 and 40, so that they know that they will be picking grit with the chickens when they are 65 and that they must get in this game and figure out what is going to happen to them. That is why I wear this beautifully patterned haberdashery.

I could go on, but I can see my colleagues rising and heaving at their desks. My colleagues have heard me speak on this issue before. Perhaps somewhat tiring is the message. But remember this. It will not work to say SIMPSON is off the rail, or easy for him to say, he is not running, because I have said these things back in time immemorial, every time I ran. But I assure you I, too, am tiring of the inaction. If we want to be spared the alarm bells that will be coming in this area, all we need do is meet our responsibility to our citizenry and cast the tough votes to correct these problems. I have heard that one, too. Do not

think I have not cast these politically correct votes, too, as a chicken. I have done that. But we will not get there by enacting tax cuts. That was something the President wanted, something we wanted. I was ready to go for capital gains. I will still go over the cliff, but we will not get there by doing that.

We will not get there by increasing the minimum wage. We will not get there with line-item veto. We will not get there by getting rid of fraud and abuse. That will not get you there. More of it. The only way you get there is to deal with Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security, Federal retirement—period. All other is true fiction.

And we will not get there by saying we are going to slavishly posture to protect Social Security from the balanced budget amendment and thus let it go bankrupt on its own. We will not get there by giving out more money to employed seniors with no affluence test, and I voted for that one, too. We will get there only by slowing the growth of spending to the point where revenues can keep the pace, and that is it, substantively. That is very difficult politically. That is, alone, why it does not happen.

Finally, I just could not let this go by. I have a new missive from the remarkable group, the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare. These people are something, they really are, not quite as slick as the AARP, but nearly. Do not forget the AARP is simply a group of 33 million Americans bound tightly together by a common love of airline discounts and automobile discounts and pharmacy discounts, and they are really a rugged and remarkable group. They are. They live in poverty downtown here in a building they lease for \$17 million a year—\$17 million a year. They have about \$345 million in T-bills in the bank and rake in about \$106 million a year from Prudential Insurance Co., getting 3 percent of the premiums on the MediGap policies.

And guess who helped kill off any reform and helped stall the Government? Do not miss this one. You remember why we shut down the Government? One of the reasons is because part B—a totally voluntary program—premiums in Medicare were going to go up \$7 a month. Some said, "We cannot have that." So the AARP rose in high indignation, then helped kill that off, and, at the same time, they watched the increase in the MediGap monthly insurance policies they placed with Prudential go up 31 bucks a month—all while they killed off the ability for us to say that those who have more should pay more for part B premiums—like \$7 a month.

You have a current situation in America about which every thoughtful American must scratch his or her head. Part B premiums are paid, 25 percent by the beneficiary and 75 percent by the people working here in the Senate kitchen. Those folks pay 75 percent of the premium for us, or for anyone else,

regardless of their net worth or their income. And we cannot even change that.

So here is AARP, through Prudential raising their own premiums \$31 a month while they are killing off a program in America to raise it \$7 a month on something which is totally voluntary. You do not want anything to do with a group like that. Yes, I know people stay in AARP because you can get a room at Westin Hotel for \$80 instead of \$140—I know those things—and the senior discounts here and there and at the movies. I know those things. I do not want to detract. I am a member. I am using some of those.

But here is this new one, just this little one from this remarkable group, regarding the type of political pressure I am talking about. This is the most recent mailing from one of our most intriguing senior citizen organizations, the National Committee to Preserve Social Security and Medicare. It is labeled as "The 1996 Benefit Cut Impact Survey." Very interesting stuff.

Question 1: "After promising never to touch Social Security, many political leaders in Washington are discussing proposals that will result in smaller Social Security COLA's, making it impossible for your benefits to keep pace with the real inflation you experience." This is best described—in the West, we would have a different term, a different, perhaps, appellation for it—it is a lie right off the bat. Because no one is talking about taking COLA's below the true size of inflation—nobody, not a soul.

Next question, "Should your congressional representatives pose any measure that would result in lower Social Security COLA's?"

Oh, that one should not be too difficult to answer for the citizen that receives it. It is a rather brazen appeal to the recipient's financial self-interest without any accompanying discussion about the country as a whole and it skillfully say the seeds for wrath to be expressed subsequently at the ballot box. That is very important, that you do that when these mailings go out.

Question 2: "If such COLA legislation goes through, would you support your national committee in an all-out campaign to repeal it?"

That is pretty easy to understand, I think, pretty easy. Another way of saying it is: "Will this committee be able to bilk you out of more contributed bucks to our organization as compensation for raining political threats down upon the bald or hirsute domes of those in Washington and environs?"

Question 4: "If a balanced budget amendment, one that did not protect the Social Security trust funds, came to a vote in Congress this session, would you urge your elected representatives in Congress to oppose it?" How nice. We have seen that campaign brought to the floor of the Senate several times, the use of the Social Security "hot button" as a means of derailing the balanced budget amendment.

And it worked. It was also marvelously done when we repealed catastrophic health care. If we had done that 1 year ago, we would not be in this box today. And the AARP, although they say they never did have any official fingerprints on that, I mean, it looked like the Abominable Snowman footprint when you got right down underneath it all—much more than a fingerprint, a giant track, a gaping hole, a crevasse in the ice. And there they were, then, and it worked, and it continues to be a source of political agitation to this day and on into the future.

So this—and I conclude my remarks—this mailing is but one example of the cottage industries which have sprung up all over this country which aim to drain the Treasury of everything they can get by whipping credulous Americans and senior citizen into a frenzy and scaring elected representatives half to death. It matters not that these mailings are filled with sophistry and distortion and emotion and obfuscation. What matters is that they have a political impact and raise big bucks, and too many here are afraid to buck the tide which they produce.

By the way, I should note that the final request on page 6 of this missive is for additional bucks, for the poor, ragged committee, a curious way to protect the meager finances of the poor senior citizens, is it not? Asking them to give up \$10 of their hard-earned Social Security money for this committee's sake? And one effect of term limits, in its most succinct form, is the one effect it would hopefully have on organizations like this, who are dedicated, apparently, to the bankruptcy of our country, is that it is very likely such groups would vanish without a trace. And no one would miss them.

Then lacking any substantive basis for their position and lacking any further clout stemming from political fear, what reason would still persist for their existence? I can bet you that the national committee here is not too excited about term limits legislation. They would find it far more effective to frighten legislators, simply continue to do it, to do their bidding. What a bunch. Martha and Max should be ashamed, but I can tell you they are not.

So, I am very pleased to support my colleague, Senator THOMPSON, with his initiative.

I, of course, have been forcing my own brand of term limitations this year by retiring from Washington and going on to other work. But it is extremely refreshing and like a splash of mountain spring water not to have concerns about November mixed in with one's vote recommendations. I can say to you, it is a rare tonic which I recommend in large doses to the entirety of the House and the Senate, and I believe if we enact this measure, we will have taken one significant step toward resolving some of the largest, greatest and most serious challenges facing this country.

We all know it, we like these jobs; we want to continue. None of these critical things I describe will be done without a term limit. None. After it kicks in, I can only say one-third of the U.S. Senate will be voting right every time, and the Democrats or Republicans who are leading this body at that time will be able to find those other 18 to get the 51 votes to do the Nation's business. I think that is a very important thing to do, is to be about the Nation's business and not just continue to be assailed and hammered flat by the groups who are so skilled at peddling fear, but ever more skilled at raising bucks, as they terrify the American senior citizens.

I thank the Chair.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KYL). The Senator from Arkansas.

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I think that I may be the first person today to speak against this resolution, but let me say, first of all, I am delighted to do so. It is, admittedly, a freebie. You can vote for it in the absolute certainty that it is going nowhere, and you can send out your newsletters and press releases and tell your constituents that you did your best.

I have heard a lot of speakers this afternoon say, "Well, this is popular with the American people." Slavery was once popular also, but I don't hear any of my colleagues arguing that slavery was a good idea.

Prohibition was also once popular. Do you know what we got out of prohibition because it was popular? Organized crime, and that is all we got out of prohibition. Organized crime is still ensconced as part of our society because we voted for a constitutional amendment because it was popular.

In my State of Arkansas in 1992 the voters approved term limits, by a 60-40 margin, for both State and Federal officers. As you know, the Supreme Court, by a very narrow vote of 5 to 4, ruled that the people of Arkansas did not have the right to limit the terms of Federal officials which had been set by the Constitution. It is still in effect.

Interestingly, while 60 percent of the voters of Arkansas were voting by a 60-percent margin for term limits, they reelected me to a fourth term by a margin of 60 percent. You can only conclude that it is all those other guys who they are wanting to get rid of. I do not quarrel with the popularity of this proposition with the American people. They have a right to favor it. But I also want to say that one of the biggest responsibilities Members of Congress have is to be an educator as well as a legislator, and I have never passed up the opportunity at a Rotary Club or a chamber of commerce banquet to express my unalterable opposition to term limits. It is not meant to demean, it is meant to give people a side that they never hear at the coffee shop and why I think it is a bad idea, why Alexander Hamilton thought it was a bad idea, and why the Founding Fathers dismissed it almost summarily.

People have a right to believe something is a good idea, but I have an obligation, if I happen to disagree with that, to try my very best to educate them, at least to an alternative view.

This whole idea is based on the assumption that every man and woman who seeks public office does so, not to serve the public good, not to promote a national agenda, which is good for our people, but to feather his own nest, to pursue a personal agenda. "You just cannot trust those people in the U.S. Senate for more than 12 years, because you give them 13 years and they lose all of their integrity, all of their interest in the national good."

Unhappily, occasionally somebody around here proves that to be true. Somebody proves himself to be dishonest or unethical or just a lousy Member of Congress. But I tell you, Mr. President, the vast majority of the 535 Members of Congress are honest, they are ethical, they are hard working and they are fighting for what they believe is in our national interest.

Ethics has become a very big issue around here. Most secretaries and office managers keep the Ethics Committee on autodial. So intent are they in complying with arcane rules that a lot of people around here do not understand, and the ethics manual gets thicker and thicker each year.

In 1960, 70 percent of the people in this country said they had quite a bit of confidence in Congress. In 1960, while 70 percent of the people were saying they had quite a bit of confidence in Congress, Members of Congress could take a \$100,000 contribution in \$100 bills and did not have to report it to anybody.

Members of Congress could make a speech and take \$5,000 in honoraria and did not have to report it to anybody. They could practice law. They could take the people who came into their offices soliciting their favors, lobbyists and could refer them to their law firms back home and then share in the profits of that law firm that fall. And 70 percent of the people in this country thought things in Washington were just hunky-dory, because they did not know it.

Today, the ethics manual grows thicker and thicker, to the point that people are afraid to take an insulated coffee mug from the Rotary Club, and you dare not risk allowing anybody to buy you a dinner for fear that it might exceed \$50, if you are a Senator, or any amount if you are a House Member.

Every Member must file an ethics report of what stock he owns, the value of it, where his income came from last year. It is all there, and the press microscopically examines it every year, and it is appropriate. That is the way it ought to be.

So today, you have to report every significant contribution made to your campaign and lay bare your own personal net worth. And you cannot receive honoraria for any speeches that you give. And today, 1996, 23 percent of

the people of this country have quite a bit of confidence in Congress.

Can you imagine the people in this Chamber voting aye on this resolution, and essentially saying, "You're right." I will be a good, decent, ethical, honest Senator for 12 years. But if you elect me to a third term, look out, I'm going to be uncontrollable. If you allow me 6 more years, don't count on anything."

That is what we are saying here. I cannot be trusted with more than 12 years in this body. What we are engaged in here is the height of pandering. This is not a serious debate. If it were, why would the manager of the resolution offer immediately seven amendments which are identical to the resolution to make sure that no Senator can offer an amendment to improve the resolution?

That is right. We are going to talk about this resolution until 2:15 tomorrow afternoon. We are going to have a cloture vote, and cloture is going to fail miserably. Everybody here knows it is going to fail miserably. Everybody knows this is a freebie.

Do you know something else? Of the 45 Senators that voted for Senator ASHCROFT's resolution in support of term limits last year, 25 of them have been here longer than two terms, which is what this resolution would deal with. Do you know why else they filled the tree? To keep anybody from offering an amendment to it, because they knew that Senator LEAHY or I would offer an amendment to make the term-limits resolution apply to terms already served.

They did not want any of that retroactive stuff. You have been here five terms, and you are hot for term limits? Of course you do not want it to be retroactive so you cannot even run again.

I do not mean this personally because I admire him and I like him and I consider him my friend. The senior Senator from South Carolina will be eligible for four more terms if this resolution were to pass and it took 7 years for the people of this country to adopt it—four more. He would be 117. I would be eligible for three more terms.

Oh, it has all been carefully crafted to take care of those who have. We have a saying in Arkansas "them what has, gets." Oh, it is very popular. You know, when you are standing before an audience and there is a question: "Senator, how do you feel about an amendment to the Constitution to balance the budget?"

"I'm for that."

"How do you feel about flag burning?"

"You bet. Count me in."

"Well, how about term limits?"

"You bet. I'm for term limits."

It is so easy to agree with what you know is popular among the group you happen to be speaking to.

I saw a story the other day in the Hill newspaper discussing how the Republicans requested that term limit supporters not punish the junior Senator from Kentucky because he is adamantly

opposed to this resolution. I guess only the Democrat opponents of term limits are worthy of criticism.

You think about even considering punishing somebody for the courage of their convictions. The proponents of term limits say that is the reason they want it, so people will be courageous and stand up for what they believe.

Mr. President, do you know what a courageous vote is? It is an unpopular vote. If it were not unpopular, it would not be courageous. So the people say, "If we limit them to 12 years, they will be courageous knowing they cannot run again. If we won't let them run again after 12 years, they are going to be statesmen. They will say what they really believe. And they are going to say courageous things. They are going to be men of principle."

Here is what Alexander Hamilton said about that in Federalist paper No. 72:

There are few men who would not feel much less zeal in the discharge of a duty when they were conscious that the advantage of the station with which it was connected must be relinquished at a determinate period, than when they were permitted to entertain a hope of obtaining, by meriting, a continuation of them.

That is right. Let them stand for reelection on the merits of their past 6 years' performance. Do not pass some kind of undemocratic nonsense saying the people do not have enough sense to know who they want to vote for.

I daresay, my colleague, Senator PRYOR, would probably have run without opposition this time if he chose to run again. But if he had an opponent, I can tell you he would have won overwhelmingly. Do you know why? Because he has been a man of conviction, he has been a man of courage, he has not jumped under his desk every time the National Rifle Association issued a press release. He has talked sense to his people. And they love him for it. And Alexander Hamilton says that is what Members of Congress are supposed to do. Why take away that right of the people to elect whomever they choose?

What was the origin of term limits? Let me tell you, I have so many friends on the other side, I do not like to describe them in terms of partisanship a lot of times—but I think organizations, many times ultraconservative organizations, have made up their minds that the Democrats were never, never going to lose control of Congress if we did not have term limits. So it became fashionable.

Congress was losing credibility and respect and prestige with the people all along. As I said, down to 23 percent. So they said, "We believe we can sell this constitutional amendment to limit people to 12 years in the Senate and 6 or 12 years in the House." So what happened? The American people said, we will decide for ourselves. The two Senators—one from Tennessee and one from Arizona—are sitting here and are the beneficiaries of the American people

saying, "We're tired of the Democrats. We're going to give the Republicans a chance." That is the reason those Senators were elected in 1994. That is what is called term limits, allowing the people to vote. They just did it. I personally hope the American people are not happy with their decision, but in any event that is their call, not mine.

Mr. President, I think about some of the greatest Senators this body has ever had, who would not even be an asterisk in the history books if they had been limited to 12 years. When I came to the U.S. Senate, Abe Ribicoff, Jack Javits, Cliff Case, Jim Pearson, Scoop Jackson, Ed Muskie, Hubert Humphrey, on and on the list goes of truly great Senators, Republican and Democrat, that would be a footnote in the history books if this thing had been on the books.

Finally, let me just close by expressing my utter contempt for trying to solve every single problem from whether drinking water ought to be on the Senator's desk, to term limits, by an amendment to the Constitution. There are a few people in this body who apparently feel the Constitution is just a rough draft for them to finish up. I am one of those people who believe that Hamilton, Adams, Ben Franklin, James Madison, and the other Framers was the greatest assemblage of minds ever under one roof in the history of the world, who produced the document second only in its powerfulness to the Holy Bible.

I do not vote often for constitutional amendments. I am not saying I never would. All this nonsense that comes through this place—"Let's amend the Constitution," think about it. Over 17,000 efforts to amend the Constitution since 1789—17,000, count them. Taking the Bill of Rights out, the first 10 amendments which were adopted almost as part of the Constitution, and the American people, out of those 17,000 efforts, have chosen to amend the Constitution 18 times. You take prohibition which was ratified in the late 1920's, and the repeal of prohibition, take those two out, and the people of this country have tinkered with the Constitution 16 times out of 17,000 to 18,000 resolutions offered since 1789. There have been 83 amendments introduced in this Congress, and 2,000 since I came to the Senate. How can we conclude that Members of the Congress do not think the Constitution is just a rough draft, when they treat it with such contempt?

As I said a moment ago, who likes flag burning? I do not. But it is presented in political terms. It is not presented the way things were presented in Philadelphia 206 years ago. It is always politics.

Let me digress just a moment to say I have been reading a book by James Fallows called "Breaking the News: How the Media is Undermining American Democracy," and he makes this point, that if you watch "Face the Nation," "Meet the Press," and David

Brinkley on Sunday morning, you hear how well Medicare or Medicaid is working. Do you hear anything about the environment and how it is working and the new regulations coming out of EPA? No, those are policy decisions. For a writer to write about a policy, that writer has to go to the stacks and do some work, find out the history of them. Why do we have Medicaid? Because we do not want elderly people laying in the streets, we do not want children without health care—a policy decision that was debated a very long time here before we adopted Medicaid policy. Why do we have school lunches? So children are not hungry. Why do we have food stamps? So nobody is hungry. We did not do that willy-nilly. That was debated in the Senate. We adopted it as a policy, as a great nation who believes in trying to help people.

So when you hear all the gurus on the Sunday morning talk shows: "What do you think about block grants? Do you think that will help Bill Clinton or hurt him? Do you think that will help BOB DOLE or hurt him?" Not a question of whether the States can do a better job administering it. Will they comply with the policy we made that we do not want children to go without health care, we do not want the elderly to be lying on the streets, we want them taken care of in nursing homes? No, you do not hear that. It is the politics of this issue. So it is with this.

What is the politics of it? Well, you do not have to be brilliant to know what the politics of this is. If you want to go home and tell the townhall meeting and the chamber of commerce and Rotary Club, if you want them to stand up and clap, you vote "aye." If you took your oath when you came here to perfect and defend the Constitution of the United States against all kinds of assaults on it, vote "no."

I promise you, when the people of this country voted the way they did in 1994, they were not saying they wanted to turn their back on the environment. They were saying they did want the budget balanced, but they did not say they wanted to cut educational funds, because the one thing people in this country would still vote taxes for is for the education of their children. They did not say they wanted Medicare whacked, though everybody knows Medicare is going to have to be reformed. Be honest about it and talk sense about it.

Mr. President, this will be the last time we will address term limits for some time to come and get it off the agenda. Everybody knows it is going nowhere, but everybody can go home and say they did their best. But they did not. They did their worst. I yield the floor.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. President, I am sorry that my friend from Arkansas thinks that this is such a partisan debate. This is my second day in the midst of this debate, and until a few minutes ago I had not known it was.

If my colleague had been following closely, he would have heard a discus-

sion by several Members of this body, some of whom are new to the body, some of whom have been here for a while, who are greatly concerned about the future of their country and are struggling for means and methods to do something about it. He would have heard that the bipartisan commission, which my friend from Arkansas is a member of, reported that in 2030 to bring the deficit down to its current level, either all Federal taxes would have to be increased by 85 percent or all Federal spending programs would have to be cut in half. That by 2012, mandatory spending and interest and entitlements will exceed all Federal revenues, leaving no money for the Federal Government to spend on programs like education, law enforcement, research and development, national defense, health research and all the other programs he mentioned. By 2030, entitlement spending alone is expected to exceed all Federal revenue.

That is what this debate is about. I find it unfortunate that certain Members who choose this particular occasion to exhibit courage to stand against the overwhelming will of the people will not address the true nature of this debate and what is happening to this country. It is equated with slavery. Term limits, I heard just a few minutes ago on this floor, being equated with slavery. That is how much some Members want to cling to their profession, as professional politicians.

I heard that no amendment, no amendment ever is a good idea. I assume that would include the 13th amendment which abolished slavery. I hope we would have all been for that. I wish the strong stands on principle had resulted over the past few decades and some hope for the next generation, instead of bankruptcy and total loss by the American people in the confidence of the legislative branch of Government, which is exactly what we have today. It may not go anywhere because everybody is hunkered down in their offices, feeling confident that their colleagues, when it comes right down to it, will not vote for term limits.

Yes, they can stand in the face of the will of 75 percent of the American people, because at a time when we rush to get the American people's opinion on everything and anything that comes across the horizon, in this particular case, we will stand firm against it as a matter of principle. Yes, we can be confident when it comes right down to it. We may not have the votes, because there is only one thing worse than risking the wrath of the American people on term limits. It is just one issue. That thing is actually putting your career in jeopardy. That is what it is. That is not what our Founding Fathers envisioned. We can quote Alexander Hamilton, but Alexander Hamilton, that aristocrat, that Federalist, wanted lifetime tenure for Senators. So I can see why some of my colleagues might want to line up with him.

This is not based on the assumption that Members of Congress and Mem-

bers of the Senate are only interested in feathering their own nests. This is not a get-even strategy, and not something that is mean spirited to get at people. We all have Members whom we admire. As I said earlier, I sat in the lobby and watched, as a boy, what went on in this body. I had the opportunity to serve with Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina and Senator Howard Baker of Tennessee as I was counsel on the Watergate committee many years ago. I did not go through what it took to get here to become a member of a body that I had no respect for. What I am trying to do is to try to help get that body back to the level of esteem with the American people that the American people once had for that body.

When my colleague points out that, once upon a time, we had no ethics rules, we could take money and do lectures and all these things; yet, 70 percent of the people approved of Congress. Now we have all these ethics rules and nobody approves of Congress. To me, that demonstrates that it is not matters of ethics rules that are concerning the American people. The low esteem they have for us has to do with other things. Those other things have to do with the fact that just like Senator SIMPSON said, we are bankrupting the Nation, Mr. President. We are bankrupting the Nation, and just because we get used to hearing it makes it no less true.

Yet, we hear on and on and on again about these favorite programs that we cannot touch. No, I agree; this is the reason for the abysmal decline of confidence of the American people, barely above, according to some surveys, 12 percent approval—only law firms had lower at 11 percent approval—by the American people. We want to stand up and be proud of these last few decades and all the people who have served, proud of what we have done as an institution, and all the people who would not have been able to serve if we had not had the system that we have now.

What about those 250 million people who have no hope of serving under the system that we have now? To my colleague, it may be inconsistent for his State to pass term limits and reelect him. To me, it is not. We have a closed system, whereby, regardless of the disgust the American people have with the Congress of the United States, or the distrust they have, or the feeling of revulsion, even, according to some of these surveys, we get reelected at a 90 percent rate. Does that have to do with some schizophrenia in the American people, or does it have to do with the fact that the incumbents get all the money? Most people with good judgment do not even try to break into a system like that. He mentioned my colleague from Arizona and myself as being a part of the system. I believe those were both open seats. If those seats had not been open and we knew we were going to have to go against a

well-entrenched incumbent, the decision might have been different because the odds are not good.

In the 1950's, a vote was taken on who the best five Senators in history were. Five Members were voted the best, and their portraits adorn the reception room of the Senate. These are Webster, Calhoun, Clay, La Follette, and Taft. Only one of these great Senators served more than two full terms—Senator La Follette.

So let us not worry too much about the proposition that it takes 20 years in order to make an impact in this body. We know different. We know different. We heard yesterday from the Senator from Vermont and today from the Senator from Arkansas. The basic criticism, as I understand it, of this constitutional amendment—which they vigorously oppose—is that it does not go far enough. They would be for retroactivity; that this is not real term limits. They want real term limits, and they are concerned they are not going to get a vote on that. The reason we filled up the tree, of course, was the fact that the Senator from Arkansas and his colleagues wanted to add amendments totally unrelated to term limits so we would never get a true vote on term limits. Everybody knows that.

Mr. President, I just urge, as this debate goes on, hopefully, we can shed a little more light on the subject than heat. Hopefully, we can keep it from being a partisan issue. It should not be a partisan issue. Those young kids coming up today, and those yet to be born, are going to be Democrats and Republicans. It does not matter what party we are a member of or what party they are going to be members of. They are going to bear the consequences of the system we have now. We do not have the political will to do the things that we know we have to do to save this Nation from bankruptcy. We do not have the political will because, as Senator SIMPSON said, it is fear. It is stark fear of having to do something else for a living. We are willing to put our own professional careers ahead of the welfare of the next generation.

I yield the floor.

Mr. FRIST addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, I rise today to continue our discussion of Senate Resolution 21, a constitutional amendment providing for a limit of six terms in the House and two in the Senate. As a freshman Senator who came directly from the private practice of medicine, I believe strongly that Washington would not be out of touch with average Americans if Members of Congress were not permitted to make a career out of serving in Congress, and instead came to Washington to serve only for a time, and then return to live under the laws they passed.

More than 200 years ago, the Founders of this great Nation fought and won

a war that replaced a tyrannical, permanent government in London with a democratic Republic where the people, not an aristocracy, rule. James Madison wrote in Federalist 10 of his concern about the influence special interests—he called them factions would have if Members of Congress were permitted to remain in office for too long. He argued that without the regular rotation of citizens into and out of elected office, those elected would put the interests of the well-connected ahead of the interests of the country.

Mr. President, Madison was right. Unfortunately, the Constitutional Convention in 1787 did not adopt Madison's approach. Why? Not because the Convention attendees believed in political careerism—they had just fought a war against a permanent government back in England. They did not include term limits on Congress because they felt it was unnecessary. Who would want to stay in Congress for year after year, traveling back and forth on horseback to this city, which was literally in the middle of a swamp, WITHOUT a staff, without air conditioning, without an office, for a tiny salary, with no pension? Very few, Mr. President. And for more than 150 years, the Founders were right. Citizens would often come to Congress, serve a single term, and then leave voluntarily. Others would leave after serving only two or three terms, either voluntarily or after having been defeated at the ballot box. The era of career politics is a relatively new one in our Nation's history.

Our Founding Fathers believed in a citizen legislature. They believed, as I do, that for the Congress to accurately reflect the will of the people, rather than the factions Madison feared, it must have the frequent and regular rotation of its Members into and out of private life.

Yet today, Mr. President, we have drifted from that principle. No longer do citizens from every walk of life come to Washington to lend their expertise to the Nation, then return home to live and work under the laws they passed. Over the last 40 years, we have seen the ideal of the citizen legislator displaced by the career politician—and the American people are not happy about it.

Mr. President, since the end of World War II, the Federal Government has swollen to a point where it now consumes more than \$1.6 trillion every single year. We have incurred a total debt of nearly \$5 trillion, a debt that we will shamefully pass on to our children and grandchildren, a debt that threatens the ability of every child born today to achieve the American dream.

In fact, by the year 2012—16 years from now—our entitlement programs Medicare, Medicaid, welfare, retirement, and Social Security plus interest, will be greater than all Federal receipts, leaving no funds for spending on other priorities such as our Nation's defense, roads and bridges, education, national parks, or the environment.

And worse yet, last year's debate over the Balanced Budget Act of 1995 showed that reelection politics will continue to thwart any serious debate regarding how to solve the entitlement situation. Unfortunately, demagoguery and scare tactics rendered true reform of unbridled entitlement spending impossible.

When politicians have careers to protect, there will be politics to play. Washington is a 2-year town, focused on the next election—short-term thinking. It should be a 20-year town, focused on long-term thinking and on the true problems facing America. Two weeks ago, one of my constituents told me that he thinks America lacks statesmen. He said, "Senator Frist, what we really want are statesmen. People who will put the interest of the country ahead of party and politics and self-interest. People who will make the tough calls." Mr. President, he's right. I think a vast majority of Americans would like to see so much more of that in Washington, and term limits is the way to accomplish it.

Mr. President, we must ask ourselves how we've ended up in this position. And more importantly, what's the solution?

The problem lies not with the individual men and women who are elected to Congress, but with a system of perpetual incumbency that has become so entrenched that it shields the Governors from the governed, and creates a culture that separates Washington from the rest of America. The longer Members serve in Congress the more removed they become from the rich blend of experience of American life. More importantly, career legislators become ever more risk averse, avoiding tough but necessary decisions because of consideration for political constituencies needed for reelection. A true citizen legislature would suffer from neither of these problems.

Still, the American people know that Members of Congress have a tough time with the issue of term limits. It is, after all, our own jobs that are at stake. That's why, beginning in Colorado in 1990, the American people took matters into their own hands and began voting, at the State level, to enact term limits on their Federal delegations. Twenty-two States followed, Mr. President. From Alaska to California to Florida to Massachusetts, and several States in between, more than 25,000,000 people voted for term limits.

Mr. President, I think the American people have made their point. Unfortunately, in May of last year, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated the term limits laws of 23 States and made it clear that the only remaining course to impose term limits is to enact a constitutional amendment.

So here we are. And the question is what we will do. Will we swallow self-interest and career protectionism and do the will of the people? Or will we stonewall the will of the people and tell them we know better here in Washington?

There are some who argue that the American people can already decide when they want new representation by simply voting us out of office at the next election. That claim, Mr. President, assumes that incumbents and challengers compete on a relatively level playing field. They don't. Look at the 1994 elections. In 1994, a year of radical political change in America, 92 percent of all Members of the Senate and 90 percent of the House Members who sought reelection were returned to office. The power of incumbency is vast.

Mr. President, I was the only Member of this body elected in 1994 to have defeated a full-term incumbent Senator. Now, some have said that my election proves it's possible to defeat an incumbent, and they're right. But I believe, as do the American people, that it should be more than merely possible for ordinary citizens to be elected to Congress. What of the ordinary citizens who never even come forward to challenge incumbents because of extraordinary odds against them? Surely the current system, which gives so much power to incumbents, discourages some of our finest citizens from ever running in the first place, clearly depriving the electorate of the widest possible choice of candidates. Every Member of each body should know that there is a date-certain when they will return home to make room for another citizen to serve in Congress. That is not a radical idea; it's an idea that is embraced by over 80 percent of the American people.

And to those who argue that the American public is served well by legislators who have years of experience in Congress, I say that the Federal Government should not be so large and complicated that only a professional class of politicians can possibly understand or oversee it. We should restructure, streamline and downsize the Federal Government so that Americans from all walks of life can serve in Congress without having to become professional politicians to master its inner workings.

President Andrew Jackson who occupied the seat I hold in the Senate said it well, nearly 170 years ago: "I can not but believe that more is lost by the long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience." Later Presidents agreed. A former Member of this body from Missouri by the name of Harry Truman said in a way that only Harry Truman could, that term limits would "cure both senility and seniority, both terrible legislative diseases."

Mr. President, I do not believe the Constitution should be amended any time there is another way of reaching the same legislative goal. That's why the first bill I introduced in this body was the Electoral Rights Enforcement Act of 1995, a statute that would have given the States and the people additional authority to enact limits on the terms of their delegations in Congress. I also believe, as Justice Thomas ar-

gued in his dissenting opinion in *U.S. Term Limits* versus *Thornton*, that the States already have the right to enact term limits under the 10th amendment to the Constitution, which states that:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

Nevertheless, Mr. President, the Supreme Court of the United States has ruled that the only way to implement the American people's demand for term limits on Members of Congress is through a constitutional amendment. If Tuesday's vote is unsuccessful, I intend to support the grass roots term limits movement that grows ever stronger outside the beltway. This movement will not be quelled with the Senate's failure to enact a constitutional amendment this week. In fact, this vote may well fuel an even stronger groundswell in favor of a term limits constitutional amendment.

For those who oppose the reforms which I consider to be of seminal importance, a term limits constitutional amendment and a balanced budget constitutional amendment, they should take note of article V of the Constitution, which would allow the calling of a Constitutional Convention upon a vote of two-thirds of the States. That is only 34 States, Mr. President, and 23 States have already voted in favor of term limits. Term limits activists approach their cause seriously and tenaciously, and I support their efforts to enact a term limits constitutional amendment in whatever way is possible. I look forward to Tuesday's vote, and I hope that each Member of this body will consider his or her vote carefully, with the knowledge that a vote against this measure is a vote against the will of the people.

I thank the chair and yield the floor.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

THE VOID IN MORAL LEADERSHIP—PART 5

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, on March 19, I began a series of speeches on this floor. The subject—the common thread in these speeches—has been the void in moral leadership at the White House. What this means is simply this: The President and the First Lady are failing to set a good example for the American people.

These are failures of the most basic principles that Americans expect from their leaders: Failures like accountability; taking responsibility for one's actions; straightforwardness and candor; the public trust. The breakdown of these principles has eroded the President's ability to show strong leadership. It has undercut his moral authority to lead. The best way to lead is by example. If this is true, then White House leadership is truly lacking.

In my previous speeches, I gave illustrations of my observations. I identi-

fied specific actions from each of Whitewatergate, Travelgate, and Cattelgate. And I showed how these illustrations are of great significance to the average citizen.

In my March 22 speech, I referred to a familiar quote from John Mitchell. He was an Attorney General in the Nixon administration. He's remembered as saying, "You will be better advised to watch what we do instead of what we say."

People all across America now are discovering the secret of politicians who give the profession a bad name. People in this town have known this little secret for a long time. The secret is this: Say what the public wants to hear, but then do whatever you want. By the time they figure out what you did, you can point the finger at someone else.

The governing-industry in Washington has mastered this game.

It has created a process designed to avoid accountability. It is designed to avoid taking responsibility for one's actions. Most data are presented in a way that avoids measuring performance. They are designed to show that everything is always rosy under their watch.

Think of how a used car dealer often buffs up a lemon of a car until it gleams—to gloss over all the defects. Unless you know about cars and what to look for, you might be tempted to buy that pile of junk because it looks so pretty. A few months later, you suddenly discover that the parts are falling off right there on the highway.

This is what our Government is like. They tell the taxpayers all the great things they are getting in this budget, or that bill. What a deal. And the people buy it. But after a while, all they see are piles of debt, a rising tax burden, growing job insecurity, serious social pathologies, and rampant crime and drug use. Do you see the analogy, Mr. President?

The question is, How can we be told everything is going to be rosy, and yet it turns out so bad? The answer is, We listened to what they said, not what they did. We made the mistake of falling for the ol' political soft shoe routine, the ol' used car pitch. They did a bait and switch on us, and we took the bait. Many of us here in Congress have worked hard to shine a big spotlight on this racket. We have tried to expose some of the games played that create the illusions—just like Dorothy exposed the Wizard of Oz.

For instance, by showing systematic bias in budget estimating, we were able to cause the Congressional Budget Office to produce more realistic estimates of Congress' budget decisions. For the lay person, all this means is, we can now better estimate how much our income and outgo will be. Before that, we were always unjustifiably optimistic. We always assumed we would have a flood of revenues pouring into the Treasury.

Why? Because that way we could keep the spending faucets on full blast.