

The foundation of American thought with regard to Government goes as far back as the Athenian democracy, but I think it owes a good deal to the British political philosopher John Locke, who described government as a necessary nuisance to cope with inconveniences. Locke's view was we didn't need a powerful government to overcome the inability of Americans to deal with each other.

As with George Will, I have changed my mind on term limits. I now believe they are necessary to restore the faith of our Government. Alexander Hamilton, in the Federalist Paper No. 68, wrote: "The true test of a good government is its aptitude and tendency."

As we look over the last 30 years, what has been the aptitude and tendency of this Government? The aptitude and tendency is to borrow, to tax, to spend, and to perpetuate ourselves in office.

For example, this Government has now spent \$5 trillion coping with our welfare problem. We have resulted in a permanent underclass. We have got a Social Security system that is teetering on the brink of bankruptcy.

What have we done for future generations? We have gone into debt \$5 trillion, thinking that what we do now is more important than giving them a responsibility to pay for our overindulgences. Is this it, or can we do better? I have come to believe in term limits only after examining our Government from the inside.

The Founding Fathers were aware of term limits. Mr. Speaker, I wonder how many Members of Congress know that term limits existed in the Articles of Confederation. While recognizing the inherent problem of perpetuating oneself in office, the Founding Fathers did not include term limits in our Constitution because at that time it wasn't a very fun job. It wasn't pleasant to be in Congress.

At that time, and they were to a great extent correct, the living wasn't good, and it was hot in Washington. It wasn't until after the Civil War that we saw the advent of the career politician in Washington.

Today, as we look at the modern Federal Government, it is obvious that things have changed. We do not have the citizen legislator that the Founders envisioned. We have failed to heed Jefferson's warning about public office. He said "Whenever a man casts a longing eye upon them, a rottenness begins in his conduct."

The Congress and the rest of the Federal Government has become a system of career politicians.

□ 1945

It is a problem where we now depend on this career for our livelihood. Can you imagine the career politician that wants this good-paying job when it comes to the tough leadership decisions that are often asked of Members of Congress? When it becomes a conflict between that career and a good-

paying job and making the tough decisions, too often we see too many taking the easy road to perpetuate their own job in office.

Some people argue that we have term limits now. It is in the ballot box. But the reality evident to anyone who takes a look at this system, it is heavily weighted towards incumbents.

Let us look at this last election, which is such a good example, some people say, of the power of the people to exercise their own term limits. It didn't happen. Most incumbents won. Most of the PAC money went to incumbents.

And it is important, Mr. Speaker, that we do something to make this Government better, more responsive to the people. I suggest that something is to exercise term limits and our votes to include it in the Constitution.

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

(Mr. MFUME addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

#### THE NEED FOR TERM LIMITS

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

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I thought the remarks of the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SMITH] on term limits were excellent.

I am not a convert on this. I came to this Congress in 1976 and declared in January of 1976 to campaign all that year. And in my declaration of candidacy remarks on January 27, 1976, one of the principal things I mentioned was the importance of term limits.

I had gotten out of the Air Force at 24 years of age and hoped to be a younger Member of Congress in my 30's to serve, at that time, I thought 10 years was a good figure, and leave.

I watched the person in my congressional district never get on what we would consider a middle level committee, let alone one of the serious committees like Ways and Means or Appropriations, Armed Services, Foreign Affairs, Judiciary. Just wasted 18 years, burned him up, did nothing. But he was tall, handsome and the son of a multimillionaire and wasted 18 years doing nothing, accomplishing nothing.

But he had the money to defend his seat and voting as a moderate Republican which staved off any challenge from the left in the general election, it was basically a Republican seat, and always having the money to block a conservative challenger or even a radical activist moderate who might want to do something with the seat.

So I have been for term limits all of my adult life. And I hope, although the odds are diminishing, that we are going to pass it. I hope that our Speaker is right, and that NEWT GINGRICH says Congress after Congress, if we leave

this place in the majority control of the GOP for the next several Congresses, we will get it passed sooner or later.

#### ROMAN CATHOLIC REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, what I have come to the floor to talk about is something very uncomfortable. I think it is a very good reason for term limits and the end of careerism, and that is that people of my Christian denomination come to this House, Roman Catholics so enamored with hanging on to this \$133,600 a year job that they will waffle on moral issues of principle, sell their souls almost literally, reject the admonition in the Scripture, "What does it profit a man to gain the world or a lousy seat in the House or the Senate and endanger his soul."

They come here and reject Mother Teresa's words about the importance of abortion as a terrible blight upon civilization, one that can literally cause the decline of civilization around the world, and is.

They reject the teaching of the Pope in Rome and the new encyclical coming out the day after tomorrow called *Evangelium Vitae*, the gospel of life. The hammer is coming down from the boss in Rome for those who are loyal to the teaching authority of the church.

Members in this House and Senate will make light of abortion. They will go against every single bishop, no matter how flaky or liberal a bishop on the left might be. There is not a single bishop, 300-plus in the United States, who wavers on what Vatican Council Number II called an unspeakable crime, what the church carefully delineates as intrinsically, inherently evil. They will waffle all over the place on this issue. Others will stay steadfast even if it jeopardizes their seat election after election.

That is why I am going to put in the RECORD tonight the list of all of the Catholics by name in this House and then do no follow-up on it, probably not. But ask everyone who is proud enough of his faith to put Catholic in their biographies and all of our major directories here to tell the press they are a Catholic.

If they are proud enough to do that, then they have an opportunity before we have our first abortion vote in this chamber or in the U.S. Senate to come home to renew themselves, to think about that little boy or girl they were at their First Communion, to think about their Confirmation when they became a soldier for Jesus Christ, to put their soul first, to put not giving a bad example to young people all across this country first, and to come home on that first vote.

We know how difficult it is in this Chamber and the other when you vote against your conscience and you have flipped, flipped out morally and voted against the teaching of your church. We know how difficult it is to flop back. Nobody wants to be a flip-flopper.

But I would say here it is a new day, a new Congress. The GOP is in control, at least for another year and 7 months. Come home. Vote with Mother Teresa. Recognize abortion for the intrinsic evil and the unspeakable crime that it is. And you are going to feel good because careerism has made cowards out of at least a third of Catholics in this House and out of the majority of Catholics in the other body.

The figures are there. We are at an all-time high: 128 in the House, 21 in the Senate; 74 Democrats, 54 Republicans in this Chamber.

I repeat for the fifth time, come home before we have that vote in the next 2 months. And, with that, Mr. Speaker, I submit the list of all those proud enough to call themselves Roman Catholics in their biography for the official record.

The list referred to follows:

[From the Southern Cross, Feb. 9, 1995]

TOTAL CATHOLICS IN CONGRESS SETS RECORD;  
MORE GOP CATHOLICS, TOO

(By Patricia Zapor)

WASHINGTON.—At a record 149, there are seven more Catholics in the 104th Congress than two years ago, and a greater percentage of them are Republican than in previous sessions.

According to *Congressional Quarterly*, Catholics constitute the largest single denomination, as they have for decades, although Protestants dominate as a group with 344.

The Senate has 21 Catholics, the House 128—a shift since 1992 from the 23 Catholic senators and 119 Catholic members of the House when the 103rd Congress began.

Of this session's Catholics, nine senators and 54 members of the House are in the GOP, the most Catholic Republicans ever in Congress.

The next-largest single denomination is Baptist, with 67. There are 62 Methodists, 56 Presbyterians, 49 Episcopalians, 20 Lutherans and 14 Mormons, according to biographical questionnaires compiled by *Congressional Quarterly*. Another three senators and three representatives belong to Eastern Christian churches, including Greek and Eastern Orthodox.

The remainder of members listing Christian churches were in an assortment of denominations including Christian Scientist, Seventh-day Adventists, Unitarian and Church of Christ.

Thirty-four members are Jewish and seven were listed as "unspecified or other."

By state and party affiliation, the Catholic members of the 104th Congress are:

#### SENATE

Alaska: Frank H. Murkowski (R).  
Connecticut: Christopher J. Dodd (D).  
Delaware: Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D).  
Florida: Connie Mack (R).  
Illinois: Carol Moseley-Braun (D).  
Iowa: Tom Harkin (D).  
Louisiana: John B. Breaux (D).  
Maryland: Barbara A. Mikulski (D).  
Massachusetts: Edward M. Kennedy (D) and John Kerry (D).  
New Hampshire: Robert C. Smith (R).  
New Mexico: Pete V. Domenici (R).  
New York: Alfonse M. D'Amato (R), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).  
Ohio: Mike DeWine (R).  
Oklahoma: Don Nickles (R).  
Pennsylvania: Rick Santorum (R).  
South Dakota: Tom Daschle (D), and Larry Pressler (R).

Vermont: Patrick J. Leahy (D).  
Washington: Patty Murray (D).

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Alabama: Sonny Callahan (R).  
Arizona: Ed Pastor (D).  
California: Bill Baker (R); Xavier Becerra (D); Brian P. Bilbray (R); Sonny Bono (R); Christopher Cox (R); Robert K. Dornan (R); Anna G. Eshoo (D); Matthew G. Martinez (D); George Miller (D); Nancy Pelosi (D); Richard W. Pombo (R); George P. Radanovich (R); Lucille Roybal-Allard (D); Ed Royce (R); Andrea Seastrand (R).

Colorado: Scott McInnis (R); Dan Schaefer (R).

Connecticut: Rosa DeLauro (D); Barbara B. Kennelly (D).

Delaware: Michael N. Castle (R).

Florida: Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R); Mark Foley (R); Pete Peterson (D); Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R); E. Clay Shaw Jr. (R).

Georgia: Cynthia A. McKinney (D).

Guam: Robert Anacleto Underwood (D).

Illinois: Jerry F. Costello (D); Richard J. Durbin (D); Lane Evans (D); Michael Patrick Flanagan (R); Luis V. Guterrez (D); Henry J. Hyde (R); Ray LaHood (R); William O. Lipinski (D).

Indiana: Andrew Jacobs Jr. (D); Tim Roemer (D); Peter J. Visclosky (D).

Iowa: Greg Ganske (R); Jim Ross Lightfoot (R).

Kentucky: Jim Bunning (R).

Louisiana: W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (D).

Maine: John Baldacci (D); James B. Longley Jr., (R).

Maryland: Constance A. Morella (R).

Massachusetts: Peter I. Blute (R); Joseph P. Kennedy II (D); Edward J. Markey (D); Martin T. Meehan (D); Joe Moakley (D); Richard E. Neal (D); Martin T. Meehan (D); Joe Moakley (D); Richard E. Neal (D); Peter G. Torkildsen (R).

Michigan: James A. Barcia (D); David E. Bonior (D); Dave Camp (R); John D. Dingell (D); Dale E. Kildee (D); Joe Knollenberg (R); Bart Stupak (D).

Minnesota: Gil Gutnecht (R); William P. Luther (D); James L. Oberstar (D); Bruce F. Vento (D).

Mississippi: Gene Taylor (D).

Missouri: William L. Clay (D); Pat Danner (D); Karen McCarthy (D); Harold L. Volkmer (D).

Montana: Pat Williams (D).

Nevada: Barbara F. Vucanovich (D).

New Jersey: Frank A. LoBiondo (R); Bill Martini (R); Robart Menendez (D); Frank Pallone Jr. (D); Christopher H. Smith (R).

New Mexico: Bill Richardson (D); Joe Skeen (R).

New York: Sherwood Boehlert (R); Michael P. Forbes (R); Maurice D. Hinchey (D); Peter T. King (R); John J. LaFalce (D); Rick A. Lazio (R); Thomas J. Manton (D); John M. McHugh (R); Michael R. McNulty (D); Susan Molinari (R); Bill Paxon (R); Jack Quinn (R); Charles B. Rangel (D); Jose E. Serrano (D); Nydia M. Velazquez (D); James T. Walsh (R).  
North Carolina: Walter B. Jones Jr. (R).

Ohio: John A. Boehner (R); Steve Chabot (R); Marcy Kaptur (D); Bob Ney (R); James A. Traficant Jr. (D).

Oregon: Peter A. DeFazio (D).

Pennsylvania: Robert A. Borski (D); William J. Coyne (D); Mike Doyle (D); Phil English (R); Thomas M. Foglietta (D); Tim Holden (D); Paul E. Kanjorski (D); Frank Mascara (D); Joseph M. McDade (R); Paul McHale (D); John P. Murtha (D).

Puerto Rico: Carlos Romero-Barcelo (D).

Rhode Island: Patrick J. Kennedy (D); Jack Reed (D).

Texas: Bill Archer (R); E. "Kika" de la Garza (D); Henry B. Gonzalez (D); Frank Tejeda (D).

Virginia: Thomas J. Bliley Jr. (R); James P. Moran Jr. (D).

Washington: Richard "Doc" Hastings (R).

Wisconsin: Thomas M. Barrett, (D); Gerald D. Kleczka (D); Scott L. Klug (R); David R. Obey (D); Toby Roth (R).

#### RELIGION ON THE HILL

Affiliations for members of the 104th Congress: 344 Protestant, 149 Catholic, 34 Jewish, 6 Orthodox, and 7 Other.

Source: *Congressional Quarterly*.

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

[Mr. DEFAZIO addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

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

[Mr. FORBES addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

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

[Mr. STUPAK addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

#### PRIVATE FUNDING FOR NEA

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

Mr. HANCOCK. Mr. Speaker, Last night multimillionaire Hollywood actors, actresses, and producers—one after another—got up to accept their Oscar during the Academy Awards and ranted on national television about the need to preserve Federal taxpayer funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.

For most people these petty little tirades about the NEA were probably just annoying. But I got angry. Think about those spoiled rich elitists preaching to hard-working, middle-class Americans that America's families should make more sacrifices to fund a Federal Arts bureaucracy in Washington.

Nearly all the people in that room were multimillionaire entertainers. God bless them for being successful. I don't begrudge them their success. But if they really believe the work of the NEA is so important, they should start up a foundation and put their own money where their mouth is.

Steven Spielberg and Quincy Jones could personally fund the Endowment at its present funding levels with a portion of their annual incomes. Half of the proceeds from the movie *Forrest Gump* could fund the Endowment. I didn't hear any such offers from any celebrities. It is an outrage to have