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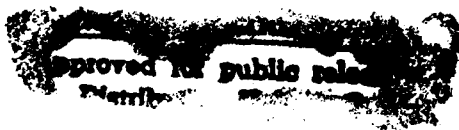
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# America 2029: Time is Limited for the Budget Deficit and Congress

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America 2029: Time is Limited For  
The Budget Deficit and Congress

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to provide an in depth analysis of the positive and negative aspects of congressional term limitations. It also analyzes the effectiveness of the two year term for members of the House of Representatives. The analysis takes the budget deficit into consideration when making a final conclusion as to the proper course of action. The conclusion shows term limitations and a four year term of office for members of the House of Representatives will enhance our democratic institution.

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AMERICA 2029: TIME IS LIMITED FOR  
THE BUDGET DEFICIT AND CONGRESS

AMERICA 2029

It is really hard to believe that America is in another severe depression. Reality finally set in when the stock market crashed last week. It was almost 100 years to the day of the 1929 crash. The stock market which reached a high of 21,209, plummeted to 9,317. Unfortunately, the cause of this crash was in the making for the last fifty years. Deficit spending by Congress pushed the system to the limits. Foreign investors finally lost faith in our ability to pay our \$17 trillion debt. Interest rates soared in response and the whole system collapsed.

The outrage of the American public over excesses by their representatives in Congress has finally boiled over into a hail of civil unrest. Articles in the daily newspapers have detailed the unconscionable spending excesses of Congress since the New Deal of one hundred years ago. The statue of former Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia was one of the first targets. It was located at one of his many lucrative beneficiaries, the Wheeling Jesuit College. Unemployed West Virginians tore the statue down, in "Lenin style." The newspapers detailed how Senator Byrd spent billions of dollars on unnecessary pork barrel projects. In fiscal year 1992 this included a \$21 million "classroom of the future" at the College, which had 1,400 students and a \$14 million annual budget (Will, pg. 62, 1992).

Public Sentiment

The negative feelings towards Congress, although not expressed as violently, are not new. They have existed from the seating of the first Congress. Unfortunately, the professional politicians of the last eighty years have managed to exacerbate the emotions of the public. Forty years ago the check writing and

Post Office scandals had Americans looking for ways to control their representatives. Then too, the budget deficit, campaign funding issues, and legislative gridlock had added to the frustrations. Ultimately, Congress was able to defuse the issue with another watered down campaign finance reform package.

The most vocal answer now, as it was in the 1990's, is to enact term limits for Members of Congress. In 1992, ballot initiatives for term limitations were voted on in 14 states. Every state -- except Washington state's 52% approval for limits -- approved the initiatives by an overwhelming majority of the voters. Colorado passed limits in a voter referendum in 1990. State limits for Representatives ranged from 6 years to 12 years. Limits on Senators was a unanimous 12 years. The 15 States, which included California, Florida, Ohio and Michigan, represented almost 40% of the total U.S. population. In the mid-1990's seven additional States which permitted ballot initiative measures passed term limitations. Nevertheless, Americans never knew the intended effects of their votes. Many of the Congressman in these states touted that these initiatives would be unconstitutional. A subsequent Supreme Court challenge in the late 1990's, proved them correct.

From the birth of the Constitution, Americans have debated the appropriate term length for their representatives. The initial focus was to make the members of the House of Representatives more beholding to their constituents for their job. For this and reasons of compromise, the Framers made the length of these terms two years. It is doubtful the Framers could foresee the complexity of problems and issues handled by Congress on a daily basis. These realities of modern politics are startling to many Americans. Despite the lack of change in the constitutional makeup of the Congress, its structure and function have changed dramatically. Today, Representatives work 12 months for the people and

12 months raising funds for reelection, every two year term. Representatives have effectively used television coverage and frequent mailings to bring them closer to the people than at any time in our history.

### The Tough Decision

The budget deficit has led many to believe that professional politicians are incapable of making the tough decisions needed to effectively run this country. Conversely, a politician may not be reelected if he doesn't bestow federal projects on his district. The two year reelection cycle, therefore, makes it difficult to make the best long run decisions for his district and the country.

The American public has not always been receptive to major changes in government. Nevertheless, the emotionalism of the depression and the revived term limitations initiatives may mean that change is possible. The public needs to take a serious look at the best ways to improve upon our system of government. Any changes should take the U.S. through the next two hundred and forty years. It should be realistic and workable, but not emotional. Considerations should include term limitations as well as term length changes.

### CONSTITUTIONALITY

The Constitution is very explicit. The number of years a House Member may serve before returning to the people for reelection is two. The conclusion of the Framers is also explicit. They found a two year term to be a compromise between the federalist and anti-federalist coalitions. The anti-federalists were very adamant about wanting a one year term of office. They believed elections on a more frequent basis would preserve the rights of the people. They also believed that a Representative who remained at the seat of government would acquire habits of the place. Federalists, such as James Madison, believed that a



three year term would be beneficial for a House Member. He believed that frequent elections made it difficult for Members to travel back and forth between Congress and their home district. He also believed that House Members needed time to learn the interests of other States. Especially if the Members were to represent the interests of the nation (Jones, pg. 4, 1967).

As it is essential to liberty that the government in general should have a common interest with the people, so it is particularly essential that the branch of it under consideration should have immediate dependence on, and an intimate sympathy with, the people. Frequent elections are unquestionably the only policy by which this dependence and sympathy can be effectively secured. But what particular degree of frequency may be absolutely necessary for the purpose does not appear to be susceptible of any precise calculation, and must depend on a variety of circumstances with which it may be connected. Let us consult experience, the guide that ought always to be followed whenever it can be found.

James Madison Federalist #52

This compromise became explicitly etched into the Constitution. Any change will unquestionably require a constitutional amendment.

Term Limitation as Expressed by the Framers

The case for term limitations was not as explicit in the Constitution. The Framers did address the issue. Unfortunately, they felt it would be entering into too much detail for such a short document (Coyne, pg. 7, 1992). The Articles of Confederation, used prior to the Constitution, did provide for rotation in office. It provided that delegates to Congress could serve no more than 3 years in any 6 year period. The anti-federalists felt;

- Rotation would force Members to live among the people.
- It would provide Members with greater knowledge of their country and constituency. They would also have a greater sensitivity to the concerns of their constituents.

- It would prevent corruption and encourage a greater number of citizens to seek public office (Whitaker, pg. CRS-4, 1992).

The Framers ultimately rejected the idea of rotation. They believed that it was the right of the people to freely elect the individual of their choice. It was also important to have legislators with experience in matters of the government.

Despite the notion of the right of the people to choose their representatives, the Framers did place restrictions on the electorate. Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution states:

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

The opponents to term limitations point out that this section of the Constitution provides an exclusive list of qualifications for office. Any change would require a constitutional amendment.

#### Modern Day Term Limitation Strategy

Proponents of term limitations would like to see a constitutional amendment. Nevertheless, the difficulties in getting a constitutional amendment past Congress are recognized. In the 1990's they used a strategy based on the States rights to limit ballot access. The States essentially eliminated the rights of a federal office holder to be on the ballot after serving a certain number of terms in office. They often cited two portions of the Constitution that made this legal. The first was Article I, Section 2, which states:

The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

The second portion was the tenth Amendment which states:

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.

Each side of this debate cited various rulings by the Supreme Court that gave credence to their views on this issue. These included:

- Supreme Court decisions in 1972 Bullock v. Carter and 1982 Clements v. Flashing. In these decisions, the Court determined that a particular candidate has no "fundamental" right to ballot access or to run for office (Mellor, pg. A22, 1991). The limiting factor to this decision was that it applied to state office holders. These decisions did not disqualify a federal office holder who held office a specific period of time (Whitaker, pg. CRS-9, 1992).
- In 1988 the Supreme Court ruled in South Carolina v. Baker. It stated; "extraordinary defects in the national political process might render congressional regulation of state activities invalid under the Tenth Amendment." The Court, however, did not delineate what constitutes an extraordinary defect. Term limitation proponents say lack of competition in House races and reelection rates of 98% qualify (Mellor, pg. A22, 1991).
- In 1974 Storer v. Brown;

The Supreme Court found that the California statute in question, which denied ballot access to independent candidates who had registered party affiliation anytime within one year prior to the immediately preceding primary election, did not impose an additional qualification for the office of Congress. The Court, in upholding this requirement, noted that while Congress under Article I, section 4, clause 1 of the Constitution has the power to regulate the times, places, and manner of holding congressional elections, it has left it to the States the power to develop election codes regulating all other aspects of elections including ballot access issues relating to congressional candidates. (Whitaker, pg. CRS - 7 and 8, 1992)

The Supreme Court term limits decision of the late 1990s did not follow this path. The Court distinguished between the provisions that limit ballot access, as in the Storer case, and the provisions limiting terms for Congress.

Any change in relation to term limits and length will require the tedious process of changing the Constitution. Nevertheless, it is the fairest approach. Placing term limits, one state at a time, would have unduly disadvantaged the representatives of one state over another.

### HISTORICAL PROSPECTIVE

The Framers did not specify a requirement for rotation in office, as they did in the Articles of Confederation. Their intent, nevertheless, was clear. They wanted to establish a citizen legislature that was close to the people. They had no intention of having a legislative body of professional politicians, as was the case in the British House of Lords.

#### The Intent of the Senate

The Framers did have a different idea when it came to the Senate. They saw this body as a check on the House. They also saw the need for legislators with more experience and knowledge in government and world events. Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, at one point, favored life terms for Senators (Jones, pg. 7, 1967). The final decision was to compromise on a six year term. The Framers also extended to the office of Senator more stringent requirements than to that of a member of the House. Article I, Section 3 of the Constitution provides:

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

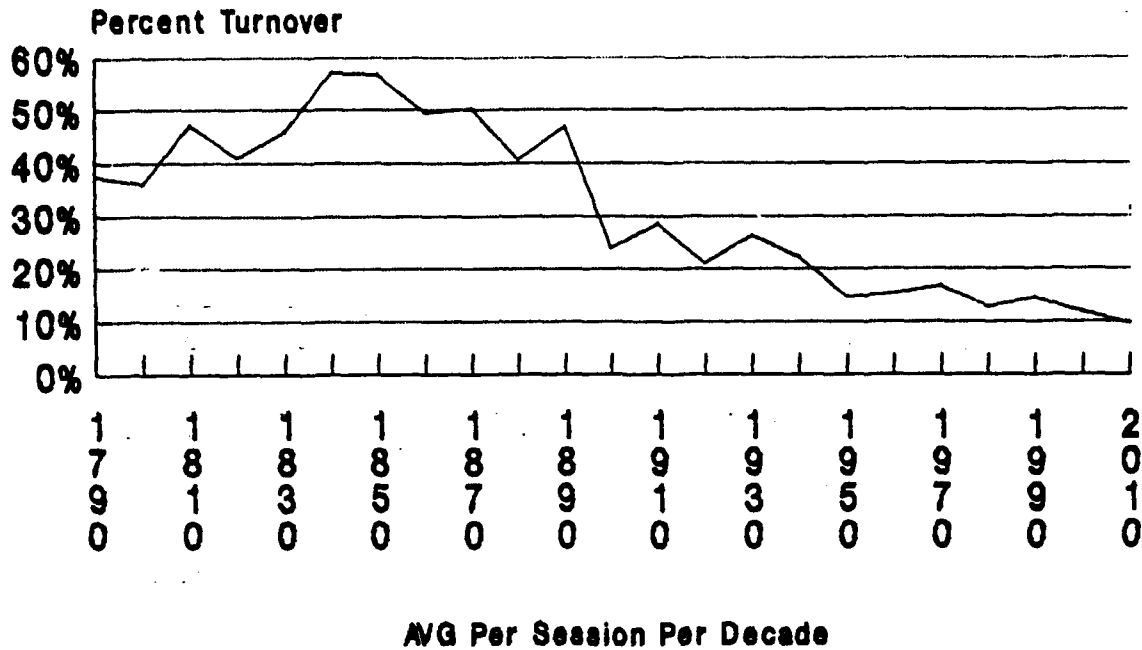
For a Senator it doesn't matter how many citizens inhabit his or her state. Each state gets no more nor no less than two Senators. Even the District of Columbia received two Senators when it joined the Union as the 51st state at the turn of the century.

## Representative Duties

The number of citizens that each member of the House represents does change on a periodic basis. The Constitution stipulates; "the number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each state shall have at Least one Representative." In 1789 there were 35 Representatives, each representing approximately 30,000 citizens. In 1990 there were 435 Representatives, each representing approximately 550,000 citizens. In the 1st Congress 144 bills were introduced and 108 passed into law. In the 97th Congress 10,582 bills were introduced and 389 passed into law (O'Connor and Henze, pg. 9, 1984).

Over the last two hundred and forty years the nature of the legislative body has dramatically changed. As government began to grow in size and the number of federal programs expanded, so did the time representatives spent in Congress. During the first 100 years, Congress met less than 12 months over the two year term. Since the early 1900s, Congress is in session almost 600 days over a two year term (Hinckley, pg. 6, 1983). The graph in figure 1 shows the average turnover rates for members of the House per session during the decades. This graph shows the stark reality of what has happened to the civilian legislature. In the 19th century turnover for reasons of death, retirement, or loss at the polls ranged from a low of 31% to a high of 76%. In the 20th century the low was only 7.6%, while the high, during the great depression was only 37.7%. In the last 70 years (since 1960) the high has been only 21.1% (Will, pg. 73, 1992). What this means is that an increasing number of legislators have made a career of Congress. Almost 46% of the 102nd Congress had served 12 or more years. In the Senate 49% had spent equal time in Congress. Unfortunately, these numbers haven't changed much in the last 40 years. Although these numbers did go down temporarily in the early 1990s, due to numerous political scandals.

Figure 1: Turnover Rates in the House



(Will, pg. 73, 1992)

THE POLITICS OF SENIORITY

Congressional careerism has its roots in the nature of our government. The government's role in the life of every individual has grown at a tremendous pace during the last 100 years. The "New Deal" presented the federal government with a bonanza of social welfare programs. This has included Social Security. Expansion of subsidies for federal programs, such as agriculture and foreign assistance, have added to the areas of responsibility of each representative. With this expansion came the power to spend millions, if not billions, on projects Members didn't have to pay for personally. It subsequently enhanced their prestige within their inner circle of constituents. The expansion within the Department of Agriculture is particularly noteworthy. When established in 1860, there was one employee per 227,000 farms. In 1900, the number was one per 1,694 farms. In 1992, it was one employee per 16 farms (Will, pg. 26, 1992). Today it is even worse.

The seniority system took hold at the beginning of the 20th century. It provides Members who stayed the longest with a tremendous amount of legislative power. A candidate's abilities as a legislator have less to do with his position of power than does his ability to be reelected. The constituent, subsequently, would reelect their representative because increased power meant more pork barrel projects for the district or state.

The issue of seniority is the most undemocratic system of our government. Its structure allows the electorate in one of 437 districts (including two from the new state created by Washington, D.C.) to control a disproportionate percentage of government spending. Although seniority rules were modified in 1971, few seniority challenges have successfully taken place.

Sometimes the aging process itself works against a particular member: the longer he stays here [Congress] the less crisp his mind is, and yet the more powerful he becomes. To allow some person to continue up the seniority ladder and hold positions of great power and responsibility in this country when he has indicated time and time again that he has no appreciation for history and has very little qualification for the position he holds is a bad system. (Tobin, pg. 37, 1986)

Senator Dale Bumpers (D-Arkansas)

### Pork Barrel Seniority

A rage for paper money, for an abolition of debts, for an equal division of property, or for any other improper or wicked project, will be less apt to pervade the whole body of the Union than a particular member of it, in the same proportion as such a malady is more likely to taint a particular county or district than an entire state.

James Madison Federalist #10

With the current system of seniority, one individual can negatively impact the national debt. In most cases it is the Chairman of a committee.

The career of Congressman Jamie Whitten, of Mississippi, is just one of many examples of the undue power of the seniority system. Elected in 1941, he joined the Appropriations Committee in his first term. In 1949 he became the senior

member of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture and Rural Development. He held the post through the 102nd Congress (1993), except 1953-1955 when the Republicans last controlled the House. During his tenure he was able to block all efforts to reduce the huge agricultural subsidy programs of the "New Deal." "At his insistence, his own district and other rural areas continued to be showered with subsidy payments, soil preservation and reclamation programs, water projects, rural electrification, and highways." In 27 elections he faced an opponent only 8 times. He never received less than 60% of the vote. Despite his frail and incoherent condition in 1992, due to age and a heart condition, he refused to relinquish his chairmanship. His committee also failed to vote him out (Coyne and Fund, pg. 4, 1992). It was not until the following term that the Democratic leadership replaced him as chairman.

Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia (population 1.8 million), from 1989 through the turn of the century, was the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee. In the early 1990s he was best known for his persistent hijacking of government activities from the Washington, D.C. area. This included portions of the IRS and the FBI fingerprinting center — not to mention his attempt at the CIA. In fiscal year 1992, he injected various "pork barrel" projects worth over a half billion dollars into the appropriations bill. Some of his projects have included:

- \$182 million of the \$387 million in the 1992 transportation budget for demonstration projects going to West Virginia. The other 49 States divided the remaining \$205 million.
- \$80,000 to plan a boat access at Teays Landing, West Virginia.



- \$80 Million for a new courthouse in Charleston, West Virginia.

- \$4.5 Million to restore a theater in Huntington, West Virginia (Will, pg. 31, 1992).

"When Byrd became Appropriations Chairman, he vowed to slosh \$1 billion into West Virginia in his first six years. He did it in less than three years" (Will, pg. 30, 1992).

Representative John Dingell of Michigan was able to take the Chairman position of the Energy and Commerce Committee in 1981. During his tenure he was able to grab enough power so that 43% of all legislation went through his committee (Coyne and Fund, pg. 6, 1992). It's hard to believe his desires were all for the good of the Nation. More likely, they were for the good of one small area of the country.

Sadly, accounts of abuses based on the seniority system are endless. Unfortunately, Congress' attempts at reform are as successful as growing bananas in West Virginia. Oh no! I better not give anyone more ideas for a subsidy. Initiatives in the early 20th century, mid-1940s and 1970s, either exacerbated the problem or provided little relief.

#### TERM LENGTH

Anti-federalists felt that frequent elections would protect the liberty of the people. After all, the nation had just fought a long war for freedom from tyranny. Now they were placing their new rights in the hands of one individual. These men were right to worry about a new government. It was new and untested. Today, Americans can base their decisions on the historical facts of the last 240 years. If they still believe their freedoms are in jeopardy, they can stay the

course. Conversely, if they feel a change would establish a more efficient legislature, they can pressure their Members of Congress to make a change.

The present two year term requires most Members of Congress to divert enormous energies to an almost constant process of campaigning, depriving this Nation of the fullest measure of both their skill and their wisdom. Today, too, the work of Government is far more complex than in our early years, requiring more time to learn and more time to master the technical tasks of legislating. And a longer term will serve to attract more men of the highest quality to political life. (Jones, pg. 1, 1967)

President Lyndon B. Johnson: 1966 State of the Union address

#### Attempts at Term Length Change

Johnson's attempt to change the length of terms in the House was not the first. Since 1885, there have been over 123 proposals to change the length of House terms. Most have proposed a four year term, while there have been a few three year proposals. Of these proposals only three have reported from committee. There has been only one vote ever taken on the House floor. That was in 1906. The House voted in favor of the measure 89 to 86 -- far short of the two-thirds vote required (Jones, pg. 14, 1967).

#### Why Change?

As President Johnson had inferred, the requirement and the energies expended to run for election every two years has become counterproductive. Society has changed dramatically in the last 240 years. The problems and size of government are far more complex than they were at the Nation's infancy. Americans are no longer afraid that the legislature will take over the Nation or unduly impose its will on the citizens. Foreign and domestic issues surround everyday events. An ever-changing and competitive world requires the U.S. to be more efficient. That includes government! The two year term has become an inefficient mechanism for operation of an efficient government.

When a Member is sworn into office in January, after his November election, he is then within 12 months of another campaign and a great deal of his time and money is spent on and wasted in an almost around-the-clock campaign for reelection under the 2 year term provision. (Jones, pg. 21, 1967)

Representative Ray J. Madden (D-Indiana) in 1945

Today's House member must also deal with;

- A much larger constituent base than his predecessor. This enhances both constituent concerns and issues.
- A significantly increased number of legislative bills.
- Longer legislative sessions.
- Higher campaign costs. The increase in Political Action Committee (PAC) contributions have exacerbated this problem.

Attendance at any session of Congress is not mandatory for any representative. Nevertheless, the attendance record of a House member is a reflection of the representation afforded his or her constituents. With the constant requirement of a House member to face the electorate, he or she is constantly courting votes and campaign funds. Ultimately, the attendance record of the average House member decreases during the second year. This reduces their effectiveness in both legislative and constituent affairs (O'Connor and Henze, pg. 16, 1984).

#### Benefits of a Four Year Term

Can you imagine a business reaction to increasing productivity 25% while decreasing costs? Changing term lengths from two to four years would accomplish this feat. Instead of working two years out of four on an election campaign, they can work just one. The Representative can then use the remaining time to concentrate on government affairs.

I would agree that having a four year term length as opposed to the current two year term would be an improvement. Too often, members feel compelled to spend a good deal of time raising [funds] and campaigning

in hopes of another term. Longer terms would allow representatives time to deal more thoroughly with legislation. This would make for a much more productive and effective Congress.

Representative Herbert H. Bateman (R-Virginia)

Running for election every two years takes much time, resources, and energy. These are necessarily diverted from the real work of Member of Congress, which is representing his or her constituency in the national capital. Extending the term for House Members to four years would give them more to represent their constituencies without focusing constantly on their own re-election...

Representative Leon E. Panetta (D-California)

Fewer elections will not necessarily translate into decreased cost of conducting an election campaign. Matter of fact, without campaign reforms it may increase. Hopefully, a Representative can significantly reduce the time spent soliciting reelection funds with a four year term.

From a constitutional perspective the Legislative branch is an equal partner with the Executive and Judicial branches. Nevertheless, the focus of the American media seems to suggest Executive dominance. The advent of radio and television made it easier for the media and public to focus on one individual. A four year term would elevate the status of the House. This in return should make service in the House more appealing to a wider cross section of Americans.

Additional benefits of a four year term includes;

- Reducing the number of bills introduced in the House for purposes of reelection politics (O'Connor and Henze, pg. 13, 1984). This will allow a Representative to concentrate his or her time on nationally pertinent legislation.
- Reducing reliance on Congressional staffs. Reductions in campaigning will mean a Representative has more time to do his or her own work.
- Giving the Congress a chance to test the policies and laws they enact into law (Jones, pg. 15, 1967).

- Allowing for the possibility of a two year budget. This is something many agencies within the government are striving to enact. This includes the Department of Defense. A two year budget will;
  - \* Allow agencies to plan long run expenditures more effectively.
  - \* Allow agencies to reduce the administrative burdens of preparing yearly budgets and concentrate on agency operations.
  - \* Allow for better prices for required products through longer run contracts and economies of scale.
  - \* Allow Congress to reduce its legislative workload and concentrate on effective ways to control the debt.
- Allowing Representatives to face more controversial issues, without worrying about the election being one year away.
- Decreasing costs of holding elections for localities. Holding an election can be very expensive. Although this cost is secondary in relation to the maintenance of freedom, it would be a plus.

### Why Not?

Americans, citing the sanctity of the two year term, often refer to the Framers for leverage.

For 18 years I taught history and government at Yorkville High School in Illinois. I used to tell my students that the founding fathers knew what they were doing when they established a House of Representatives that would be elected every two years.

Representative J. Dennis Hastert (R-Illinois)

They will say this is what the Framers wanted, and it has worked for 240 years (1789 - 2029). Unfortunately, it hasn't worked as well as it can. It is now part of a system that has leveraged the future of our children for the privilege of retaining power. Parochial attitudes weren't as detrimental when the U.S. could rely on itself for economic stability. Today the U.S. government must keep

pace with a highly competitive, high speed and technologically advanced world. The two year term was a compromise that was best suited for a young Nation. It is not the best system for the next 240 years.

The dramatic improvement in our communications technology has brought the views of each Representative instantaneously to the public. The ability of each constituent to contact their Representative has also improved dramatically. Despite these advancements, many Representatives feel that technology is not a replacement for Members maintaining their close responsibility to the public.

I think that this issue of accountability is so important that I am reluctant to support a four year term for members of the House of Representatives. The idea does appeal to myself and many of my colleagues in that more time could be spent on legislative matters instead of campaigning. However, I do not anticipate that the public would support this idea which would require amending the Constitution.

Representative Bill Archer (R-Texas)

The issue of accountability in relation to a two year term is a sham when reelection rates are 90-98%. It is not uncommon for an incumbent to run without opposition. Today's term is really ten or twelve years or the number of times a Representative wishes to seek reelection. Public opinion, despite Representative Archer's assertion, is on the side of a four year term. In April 1981 and December 1982, a Gallup poll showed 51% and 58% in favor, 37% and 36% opposed and 12% and 6% no opinion, respectively. Gallup polls in 1960's and 1970's show similar results.

### Election Cycle

Apathy over the need to vote has permeated the democratic institution across the Nation. Voter turnout has ranged from 45-60% in Presidential election years to 35-45% in alternate election years (Hinckley, pg. 19, 1983). In alternate election years where there are no other major candidates (i.e. Governor or Senator) or major ballot issues this figure often falls below 30%. It is no

wonder that the death of a Representative often doesn't hurt his or her chances for reelection.

Implementation of a four year term would have a dramatic effect on the operations of the House of Representatives. Election timing would affect the relationship between the Executive and Legislative branches of government. There are two main options under consideration;

- Terms coinciding with that of the President.
- Staggered terms with half the Representatives being elected every two years.

### Staggered Elections

The current non-Presidential election year gives the voters a chance to show their content or discontent for the President's policies. Historically, the few Americans who do vote, have helped the party in opposition to the President. The opposition party usually picks up several House and Senate seats during these election cycles. It also keeps the Executive branch from dominating the Congress.

A major drawback to the staggered election system is redistricting every ten years, due to the census. If a member is in the middle of a four year term, and redistricting eliminated his or her district, what would happen? Basically, those affected Representatives would have to resign after two years in office and campaign for election in a new district. This would defeat the purpose of a four year term. Gerrymandering by the party in power would become a way of removing a duly elected Representative without a vote by the electorate. It would also create a great deal of confusion among the public as to who is up for election.

### Elections with the President

Gridlock has become a dirty word in American politics. Contrary philosophies on government operations, dominated by a Democratic party

legislature and a Republican party executive, can stymie America's changing needs. From a democratic perspective this is not necessarily a bad situation. The Framers did intend for there to be a checks and balances system within the government. The intent, however, was not stagnation, which is often the case.

A President who had the Representatives elected with him would certainly enhance his chances of leading the Nation in the direction of choice. Statistics support this theory. A President has more of a chance to have a majority of his party in the legislature if they are elected during his election (Jones, pg. 73, 1967). Although this might make a Representative more beholding to the ideas of the President, it doesn't negate the checks and balances role of the House. In fact, it may allow Representatives to campaign on more national than parochial issues. From the perspective of the average American it may provide a better understanding of the issues their Representative supports. In a survey, 50-65% of the people didn't know what issues their candidate supported (Hinckley, pg. 54, 1983). This is the type of situation that creates voter apathy. If the Nation is to move forward, this situation must change.

#### What About our Liberties?

With the propensity for Americans to reelect the incumbent, a four year term would hardly diminish our liberties. The U.S. is not the same nation it was in 1789. Americans are more secure in the nature of their democratic institutions. It is only natural that our democracy change with maturity.

The greater the power is, the shorter ought to be its duration; and conversely the smaller the power, the more safely may its duration be protracted.

James Madison Federalist #52

There certainly is a lot more safety with power spread over the 437 Representatives today vice the 35 Representatives in 1789. The maturity of the



Executive branch and the media also makes a four year term a realistic alternative. For the purposes of reducing gridlock, the best alternative is to have elections coinciding with that of the President.

#### THE NEED FOR TERM LIMITATIONS

- Runaway budget deficits.
- The inability to pass a budget without continuing resolutions or massive pork barrel spending.
- Liberal pensions and nighttime votes for huge personal pay raises.
- Enormous incumbent reelection benefits.
- Post Office and check writing/House banking scandals.
- Out of control campaign funding problems (i.e. Keating Five)

The aim of every political constitution is, or ought to be, first to obtain for rulers men who possess most wisdom to discern, and most virtue to pursue, the common good of the society; and in the next place, to take the most effectual precautions for keeping them virtuous whilst they continue to hold their public trust. The elective mode of obtaining rulers is the characteristic policy of republican government. The means relied on in this form of government for preventing this degeneracy are numerous and various. The most effectual one is such a limitation of the term of appointment as will maintain a proper responsibility to the people.

James Madison, Federalist #57

Madison may have been referring to the length of terms more than the number of terms. Nevertheless, his assertions regarding the common good of society and public trust apply to term limit initiatives. The continuing scandals and the inability of Congress to effectively control the excesses of its members has severely diminished the public trust. Pork barrel spending has so permeated the foundation of Congress that budgets are not in line with the common good. Almost every Congress since 1869 has introduced a term limitation initiative. In the 1990s, however, it took on a life all its own.

## Incumbency

The former Soviet Union could not have devised a better system for reelection. In the three decades from 1960 through 1989 only 327 incumbents lost their reelection bids in a total of 2,175 races. This means that a challenger had only a 15% chance of winning an election. It should be noted that most incumbents who lost were involved in some personal scandal (Coyne, pg. 22, 1992).

The voting records for incumbents show a distinct pattern of a challenger's inability to overcome incumbency advantages. Almost 85% of incumbents who win reelection garner over 60% of the vote (Coyne, pg. 27, 1992). Basically, no contest! Some of these advantages include;

- Having a staff paid for by the government to help with the administration of the congressional office. This staff is also used to help with reelection initiatives. This includes publicity managers, speech writers and administrators who frequently mail constituents information on the candidate.
- Being able to raise money sooner than a potential adversary. By flaunting reelection coffers an incumbent can scare away those wishing to challenge him or her in the next election (Goldenberg and Traugott, pg. 187, 1984).
- Free franking privileges. In 1991, 185 House members spent more on free mailing (free to the House member, but not the government) than the average challenger spent for election (Will, pg. 93, 1992).
- A disproportionate number of PAC dollars going to incumbent candidates. This enables the incumbent to advertise on television and radio far beyond the capabilities of most challengers.

## Term Limitations Benefits

I firmly believe that fundamental Congressional reform is necessary in order to restore the American people's trust in their elected representatives. I believe true reform must include term limits. By limiting public servants' terms in office, we will no longer retain career politicians but, instead, create a competitive electoral process which encourages the emergence of citizen legislators who expect to return to their communities and live under the laws they pass.

Senator Dan Coats (R-Indiana)

Today's Congress is far from the ideal of the citizen legislature expounded upon by the Framers. Instead they are professionals who have insulated themselves from the realities of what it takes to live under the laws they enact. Congress often exempts itself from certain laws. In this insulated world they spend trillions of dollars they don't have to spend. They do this by borrowing on the future. They are afraid that taxing the American public or cutting back the billions in pork barrel spending will cost them the next election. Term limitations would require representatives to live under the laws they prescribe and help pay for the excessive expenditures they create. This may lead a representative to think of the good of the Nation vice what is good for reelection. If they still maintain their parochial viewpoints, then we're no worse off than we are today.

America is a very dynamic nation. More women and minorities are entering the work force. Technology is rapidly changing the way Americans think and process information. Unfortunately, the congressional leadership charged with helping America keep pace was first elected twenty to forty years ago. Their agendas differ from the American mainstream. The chairman of any committee can virtually hold legislation desired by the majority of Congress hostage to his or her own will. Often this member's agenda is twenty to forty years behind the times. Term limits would force these members back to society, where they can experience the effects of their actions. Without chairmen who rule committees

for decades, the direction of Congressional legislation will resemble the desires of the public. Chairmanship of committees will have a balanced state representation. Seniority will have to give way to skills, since there will be many representatives with equal time in office. In a survey conducted in November 1992, several Senators and Representatives of small States cited opposition to term limits. As representatives of a small state, seniority allowed them to attain greater power than possible under a purely democratic system.

The loss of the seniority system would prevent small states such as North Dakota from getting and keeping clout in Congress. Large state delegations would dominate the leadership and become even more powerful, and small states would be hurt as a result.

Senator Kent Conrad (D-North Dakota)

The result is the States with a small population controlling the laws and regulations of a larger percentage of the population. The Framers did not intend for the small States to maintain the controls they have acquired through seniority. Having a third or half of the transportation demonstration dollars being spent in California or New York would be more justifiable than if spent in West Virginia. The idea was to have the States equally represented in the Senate and the populace equally represented in the House of Representatives.

Many groups claim that the power of the lobbyist and bureaucrats would increase with an inexperienced Congress. This includes most House Members opposed to term limits. Unfortunately, they haven't considered that the new Members are better educated than their predecessors were prior to the 1960s. Many come from management or prior public service. Therefore, consideration of their abilities to work with these groups on an equal basis is pertinent. It also doesn't consider that PACs will have to consider a fairer distribution of

their funds. Today, they can concentrate their funds at the source of power. This should diminish their influence, although not enough.

Additional benefits of term limits include:

- Representatives introducing fewer amendments or laws for the sake of reelection politics. This should help the overall legislative process. It should also help representatives concentrate on meaningful legislation.
- It would reduce the campaign requirements of the representatives. Thus, enhancing time spent on productive legislative issues.
- With new candidates, voter interest may be stimulated. Americans may also start to participate in the Democratic process.

#### The Merits of the Current Democratic Process

I am very concerned that limiting terms would seriously erode the voters' power to make the kinds of choices they should be able to make about their representation in Congress. If Congressional terms were limited, the individual's power to vote — to decide whether a member should leave after one term, a few terms, or whether a valued member should be retained for several terms — this power would also be limited. The foundation of democracy is the people's right to vote, and that right should not be curbed or restrained or infringed upon in any way.

Senator William V. Roth (R-Delaware)

Americans certainly have the right to vote any Congressional representative out of office. Nevertheless, the current process has skewed the incumbent advantage to the point that elections are not entirely fair. A reflection of voter disenchantment with the power of their own vote shows up in the abysmal voter turnouts. The assertion that the right to vote should not be restrained or infringed upon is not valid. The Constitution already establishes a series of constraints on the rights of a citizen for whom they may vote. For example, a Representative must be 25 years old, and a Senator 30 years old. For the House, they must be a citizen for seven years; for the Senate, nine years. The

representative nature of our democracy requires there be restraints on our legislators to preserve the rights and freedom of the people.

### Experience

The loss of experience in any industry can be detrimental to efficient operations. The question becomes: when does the level of experience needed to operate efficiently conflict with the need for new operating perspectives? The U.S. auto industry has learned the hard way that a fresh new approach to business is essential in today's competitive environment. Government also has a balance of requirements. In Congress, there have been many representatives who served more than 12 years and made significant contributions to this Nation.

Sam Rayburn, one of the most famous Speakers of the House, served from 1913 until 1961, 24 consecutive terms (48 years). Morris Udall, who has recently resigned from the House, was elected 30 years ago and has made innumerable contributions to our Nation. He helped guide us through the social unrest of the 1960s, the political turbulence of the 1970s and the budget-busting Reagan-Bush 1980s. His wisdom, experience, and historical perspectives were invaluable as the Congress faced and dealt with the challenges of civil rights, Vietnam, major economic swings, and all of the other issues that faced us over the past three decades.

Representative Gary L. Ackerman (D-New York)

The issue of term limitations does not restrict the abilities of the Nation to solicit the experience of any individual. In fact, it would encourage our best who wish to stay in public office, to apply their expertise in other areas of government. The best Representatives could choose to be candidates for the Senate or President. They can even go to work within the Executive branch of government as many did in the Clinton administration. It is unlikely that the experience gained by those leaving Congress due to term limitations will disappear. These individuals will use this experience in a capacity that earns them the greatest reward (i.e. money or recognition). Within a free market

society this translates into placing the best person in the best job at the best price. Thus, society as a whole will benefit from their experience.

There are still many questions that are relevant to the issue of experience that remain unanswered.

- Why does a Congress with the most experience in the Nation's history need the largest support staff in history?
- As exemplified in Addendum One, many Congressman believe that legislative experience is essential to the efficient operation of Congress. Although experience has its place it was not able to solve the budget and education problems during the 102nd Congress, which was one of the most experienced Congress' in history. Would a Congress with less experience been less effective in dealing with these problems?

#### Congressional Self-Reform

Congressional self-reform is often touted as the best alternative to a term limitations amendment. These include campaign finance reform and a balanced budget amendment. Both are desperately needed. Nevertheless, Congress has made several unsuccessful attempts at reforming itself this past century. The only thing they managed to accomplish was to make it more difficult for challengers to win at the polls. It is evident that Congress does not possess the will to restrict itself through legislative measures. It must be constitutionally explicit!

#### Additional Arguments Against Term Limits

- Elimination of reelection pressures would be detrimental. Lame duck representatives would be at a disadvantage. Fortunately, this situation wouldn't be relevant in a Congress where 25% of its members would be leaving at the same time.

- Limitations would be harmful in time of crisis. In 1809 Thomas Jefferson felt there was no crisis worth prolonging terms in office. Subsequently, he did not seek a third term despite the crisis created by the British subjugation of U.S. sailors (Will, pg. 162, 1992).
- Limitations will be a temptation for representatives to put their office to personal use sooner (Kesler, pg. 24, 1990). Federalists expressed this view during the Constitutional Convention. The presumption is that limits will tempt a Congressman to use the office for personal gain. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to stop this attitude with or without limitations.
- Term limits are a Republican conspiracy to control Congress. The facts are that Democrats win open seats more often than Republicans. The November 1992 elections were a perfect example. It had the largest number of open seats in recent history. The Democrats won most of these seats.

### Analysis

The voters in this country want term limitations for their representatives. The latest polls show almost 70% of Americans in favor. Frustrations over an "Imperial Congress" spending their future for their own personal gains is a key reason.

Every man who has been in office a few years believes he has a life estate in it, a vested right. This is not the principle of our government. It is a rotation in office that will perpetuate our liberty. (Coyne, pg. 24, 1992)

Andrew Jackson

To change our electoral process for the sake of change would only hurt the democratic process. But America has matured. It is time to adjust to these changes and make our system of government more secure.



### How Long?

There is no magic formula for the number of terms one should serve under limitations. Nevertheless, most initiatives have centered on 12 years. For the House of Representatives this would probably be the correct formula. The average Representative spends about 11 to 12 years in the House. Therefore, 12 year limits would restrict those seeking the extraordinary gains available under the seniority system.

Limitations for the Senate should be different. The Senate's structure requires a more experienced legislative body. It is also designed to handle more of the complex international issues. Nevertheless, the excesses of seniority are pervasive. With this in mind I would recommend that 18 years or three terms be the limit. This would represent the balanced needed between experience, seniority imbalance, and legislative issues and requirements.

### BUDGET PROSPECTIVE

The theory is that election to Congress is tantamount to being dispatched to Washington on a looting raid for the enrichment of your state or district, and no other ethic need inhibit the feeding frenzy. (Will, pg. 31, 1992)

When a Member of Congress is first elected there are many ideas of doing great things for the country. Many even run against Congress or Washington politics in their campaigns. "But, something happens on the way to the dance." They get indoctrinated into the mind set of spending. There is even a rationale that goes along with the spending. When the government spends money on domestic programs Americans get jobs! These Americans then pay taxes, which generate revenue for the government. They also buy goods which help employ other Americans who also pay taxes that generate revenue. Therefore, Congressmen can spend even more on domestic programs.

The 103rd Congress is an excellent example of lost direction. The scandals of the late 20th century, and frustrations with Congress, culminated in a huge number of retirements after the 102nd Congress. Almost 25% of the new 103rd Congress consisted of freshman. Most of this class ran against the Washington establishment. The ideals were great but these convictions were short lived. In selecting committees to work on in the new Congress a majority of these new Representatives vied for committees such as the Public Works Committee, which is one of the best for pork barrel spending.

Another way that Congressmen are influenced is through the hearings process. Very rarely do citizens come to Congress to tell them not to spend. A study has shown that 145 citizens testify in favor of spending for every one who testifies against spending (Will, pg. 59, 1992). Congressmen must consciously provide for more equitable testimonies, both for and against projects.

The number of pork barrel projects is too numerous to list. They extend from research on asparagus yields, to subsidies for air service to a plush resort in Hot Springs, Virginia, to angora wool production (Will, pg. 18, 1992). Many even have excellent intentions. Many are projects that provide a significant benefit to the local population. Unfortunately, with deficit spending in the trillions of dollars they are unjustified in relation to the national good. If these projects are so essential, then the state or local governments should provide funding. Subsidy spending on non-profit groups that lobby Congress also goes beyond reason. There are a number of groups that have received federal government financing through grants (Payne, pg. 16, 1991). I'm sure these are all well-intentioned and worthy programs. Unfortunately, the relationship of these grants to the good of the nation is unclear.

As always, you have those that are truly blatant about their spending habits. Senator Robert Byrd (D-West Virginia), who was named by the Citizens

Against Government Waste as the 1992 "Pork King," claimed to be West Virginia's billion dollar industry. Former Congressman Kenneth J. Gray (D-Illinois) bragged about getting pork barrel projects for his district. He has stated his offense to being called the "Prince of Pork" because he would rather be called the "King of Pork" (Payne, pg. 52, 1992).

### Relationship of Seniority to Spending

It is ironic that the national debt has climbed as the average level of Congressional experience climbs, too. In the 102nd Congress (1991) there were 198 Representatives with 12 or more years of consecutive service. This correlates to the 153 in the 87th Congress (1961), 121 in the 72nd Congress (1931) and 19 in the 57th Congress (1901). What happened to the national debt during the 20th century is obvious. As the century progressed, the debt ballooned. As tenure increased, the Washington syndrome of having great ideas for spending America's money infected Congress like the plague. This plague has reached phenomenal proportions. Congress now considers spending a few extra billion dollars insignificant when you relate its individual importance to the national debt.

Examples of fiscal abuses by senior Congressmen, such as Senator Byrd and Representatives Whitten and Dingell, are common. Since 1973, the National Taxpayers Union has published reports on the pro-spending voting records of Congressmen. This report provides a combined score based on both military and nonmilitary spending. James L. Payne in The Culture of Spending did a comparative study that separated the military and nonmilitary spending habits. The conclusions of both studies came out about the same when looking at various Congressmen's pro-spending habits.

A congressman who is inclined to vote for more spending in one area will vote for spending in another: If he votes for antipoverty spending he will also vote for pro-business spending, foreign aid spending, agricultural subsidies, and so on. (Payne, pg. 79-81, 1991)

The results of the studies were very conclusive. They showed that the longer a representative stays in Congress the more he or she votes for pro-spending legislation. The studies also showed a dramatic difference in spending habits between Democrats and Republicans. The Democrats were way out in front of the Republicans when it came to voting on spending programs. Nevertheless, the relationship of pro-spending voting, in relation to time in Congress, held for both parties (Payne, pg. 82, 1991). The culture that spending is good becomes a distinct part of a Congressman the longer he stays in Washington. The correlation of pro-spending voting also holds true for those who have held some prior governmental office (this could be state or local office). Representatives without prior governmental office had decreased records of pro-spending votes than their counterparts with prior government office (Payne, pg. 84-85, 1991).

#### WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

The American public is clearly tired of business as usual. The overwhelming support given state term limitation initiatives was one major indicator. But, if that is the case, why do they keep reelecting their representative? The answer is simple. If the other districts are getting some (pork barrel dollars) they want their fair share. Additionally, if the incumbent is seeking reelection it makes it virtually impossible for another member of his or her party to gain access to the ballot.

An Associated Press poll in 1992 found:

- 1% of Americans trust Congress to do what is right "just about all the time."

- One-third said they almost never trust Congress to do the right thing (Will, pg. 3, 1992).

The issue, that complexity of government requires more experienced legislators, is only true to a degree. It is the experienced legislators who have increased the complexity of the laws that govern our society. For a representative to be effective, his or her experience does not always have to be in government. Having legislators with financial backgrounds vice legal backgrounds could be a good first step.

When the President gets into his second and last term he is always referred to as a Lamé Duck. The assumption is that he has nothing to lose when it comes to legislative affairs. Additionally, he has less influence on other legislators. There is absolutely no evidence that a President has not done his best for the Nation in his last term. There are suppositions that a Congressman in his last term would be more corruptible. Again, they would have to go a long way to be any more corruptible than they are now. Just take a look at the myriad of scandals the last several decades. Many of the Congressman caught in the scandals from Abscam to the Post Office weren't even considering retiring from public office.

#### Congressional Term Limitations Survey

A survey on term limitations, distributed in November 1992 through January 1993, included 468 Senators and Representatives. The survey included outgoing and returning Members of the 102nd Congress, and the new Members of the 103rd Congress. Of those surveyed 116 replied, for a 25% return. Appendix One contains the results of those respondents. The basic question was whether or not they supported term limitations. Of those who answered the survey, 63 -- or 54%

— said they did not support term limits. The support among the Senators who responded was the most telling, as 24 of 38 responded with a no.

Although the survey didn't request information on other solutions, many respondents offered additional information on their views. Over 30% commented that campaign reform would be essential to repairing the inequities of the election process. Over 19% mentioned the problem in loss of experience with term limits and 12% feared the increased power of lobbyists.

### Is There Another Way?

Many political analysts would concur that getting a constitutional amendment for term limitations is going to be very difficult. They feel there are easier ways to fix Congress. Campaign reform is foremost on their minds. Unfortunately, campaign reform has been tried and it just hasn't worked. A balanced budget amendment is also referred to as the best way to reform Congress.

Despite the potential benefits of term limits, I would regret enacting such restrictions as the primary means of ensuring accountability from members of Congress. This approach avoids addressing the real problem within Congress. I believe the most effective way to improve our government is to adopt a constitutional amendment requiring Congress to balance the budget. I have advocated such an amendment every year since coming to Congress and can assure you that such a requirement would change the American political system virtually overnight, in part because it would impose on members of Congress the necessity of making many extremely difficult budget decisions.

Senator Phil Gramm (R-Texas)

Although, it is a major problem, the problems with Congress don't lie with just the budget. Problems with Congress also center on the democratic system of choosing a representative, and having an equal voice in Congress with an equal vote. A 15% chance for a challenger to win an election is not democratic. The powers conferred with the system of seniority also make a mockery of the democratic system. The voters in one district or state can elect a representative who maintains a disproportionate amount of legislative power. A

staff member of a minority (African-American) Representative did express the opinion that minorities would attain leadership positions only with seniority. In reviewing this troubling opinion I found the opposite to be true. Although Congress is not a totally unbiased organization, the legacy of seniority and incumbency keep minorities and women from being equally represented in Congress. The election for the 103rd Congress bears out this assertion. The large number of open seats, due to scandals and retirements opened the doors for the largest group of minorities and women to ever enter Congress. There definitely are ways to improve the system, however, term limits are the only true way to reform Congress.

### The Solution

The interests of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection on human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government. But what is government itself but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

James Madison Federalist #51

Replacing a few Members of Congress each election will not change the "culture of spending." The way Congress is structured and managed must change if parochial institutional thinking is to change. The best solution is for a constitutional amendment. This amendment should change the length of terms for the House of Representatives from two to four years. The terms should coincide with that of the President. Terms for the House should be three, or 12 years. Terms for the Senate should be three, or 18 years.

## The Constitutional Amendment

Section 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every fourth year by the People of the several States. Elections for the House of Representatives will coincide with the election for the President. The first election for a four year term will take place during the next election for the President following ratification of this amendment.

Section 2. No person who has been elected to the House of Representatives three times shall be eligible for election or appointment to the House of Representatives. A person may not be elected to a third term if total consecutive number of years in the House of Representatives will exceed fourteen years at the end of the elected term of office.

Section 3. No person who has been elected to the Senate three times shall be eligible for election or appointment to the Senate. A person may not be elected to a third term if total consecutive number of years in the Senate will exceed Twenty-one years at the end of the elected term of office.

Section 4. For purposes of determining eligibility for election, no election occurring before the date this article is ratified shall be taken into account.



## Appendix One

The results of a survey taken of Congress is contained herein. Of the 462 surveyed 112 provided their thoughts. Most Congressmen answered via letter and these are denoted in the "ANS" block with a Y. Many answers were taken verbally from staffers representing the Congressman. These are denoted with a YX. Other symbol meanings are as follows:

- R: Returning Member from the 102nd Congress
- L: Lost reelection from the 102nd Congress
- O: Retired from the 102nd Congress
- N: New Member of the 103rd Congress
- Con: Against term limits or a length of 4 years for a House term.
- Pro: For term limits or a length of 4 years for a House term.
- Unk: Members opinion was not discernible from the answer provided.
- Mention CPN-FIN: The Member mentioned campaign finance as a problem with the system or as a solution in his answer.
- Mention CONST'N: The Member mentioned the requirement for a Constitutional amendment if there is to be term limits.
- Mention LOBY PWR: The Member mentioned the power of lobbyists if term limits are passed.
- Mention EXPER LOSS: The Member mentioned the loss of congressional experience if term limits are passed.
- Y: Was mentioned or answered.
- N: Didn't address the issue in answer.

Unfortunately, very few new representatives answered the survey. Therefore, a comparison of thoughts from outgoing and incoming could not be compared. A slight majority of outgoing Members did feel that there should not be term limits. Other information on the survey is contained in pages 31 and 32.

REPRESENTATIVE	SEN:	HOR:	STATE:	PARTY:	ANS:	NEW/OUT:	PRO/CON:	PRO/CON:	MENTION:	MENTION:	MENTION:	MENTION:
	HOR:	STATE:	PARTY:	ANS:	RETURN:	LIMITS:	LENGTH:	CPN-FIN:	CONST'N:	LOBY PWR:	EXPER:	LOSS:
ABERCROMBIE	HOR:	HI	DEM	Y	R	CON	UNK	Y	Y	N	N	
ACKERMAN	HOR:	NY	DEM	Y	R	CON	UNK	N	N	N	Y	
ARCHER	HOR:	TX	REP	Y	R	CON	CON	Y	N	N	N	
ATKINS	HOR:	WI	DEM	YX	O	CON	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
BAKER	HOR:	LA	REP	Y	R	CON	CON	N	Y	N	N	
BALLENGER	HOR:	NC	REP	Y	R	PRO	PRO	N	N	N	N	
BARRETT	HOR:	NE	REP	Y	R	PRO	UNK	Y	Y	Y	Y	
BATEMAN	HOR:	VA	REP	Y	R	CON	PRO	N	N	Y	N	
BENTLEY	HOR:	MD	REP	Y	R	CON	UNK	N	N	Y	N	
BILBRAY	HOR:	NV	DEM	Y	R	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
BOEHLERT	HOR:	NY	REP	Y	R	CON	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
BOEHNER	HOR:	OH	REP	Y	R	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
BROWDER	HOR:	LA	DEM	Y	R	MAYBE	CON	N	N	N	N	
BROWN, GEORGE	HOR:	CA	DEM	Y	R	PRO	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
CAMP	HOR:	MI	REP	Y	R	PRO	CON	N	N	N	N	
CAMPBELL, T	HOR:	CA	REP	YX	O	PRO	PRO	N	N	N	N	
CARDIN	HOR:	MD	DEM	Y	R	CON	CON	Y	N	N	N	
CHANDLER	HOR:	WA	REP	YX	O	PRO	PRO	N	N	N	N	
CONYERS	HOR:	MI	DEM	YX	R	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
COX, J.	HOR:	IL	DEM	YX	L	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
CRANE	HOR:	IL	REP	Y	R	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
DAVIS	HOR:	MI	REP	YX	O	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
DE LA GARZA	HOR:	TX	DEM	Y	R	CON	CON	N	N	N	N	
DeFAZIO	HOR:	OR	DEM	Y	R	PRO	PRO	N	N	N	N	
DIAZ-BALART	HOR:	FL	REP	Y	N	PRO	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
DICKS	HOR:	WA	DEM	YX	R	CON	UNK	Y	N	N	Y	
DIXON	HOR:	CA	DEM	Y	R	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
DORGAN	HOR:	ND	DEM	YX	O	MAYBE	UNK	N	N	N	N	
DORNAN	HOR:	CA	REP	Y	R	PRO	MAYBE	N	N	N	N	
DYMALLY	HOR:	CA	DEM	YX	O	CON	CON	N	N	Y	Y	
ERDREICH	HOR:	AL	DEM	YX	L	PRO	PRO	Y	N	N	N	
ESPY	HOR:	MS	DEM	Y	R	CON	PRO	Y	N	N	N	
FAWELL	HOR:	IL	REP	Y	R	CON	CON	Y	Y	Y	Y	
GAYDOS	HOR:	PA	DEM	YX	O	UNK	UNK	N	N	N	N	
GOSS	HOR:	FL	REP	Y	R	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
GREEN, G	HOR:	TX	DEM	Y	N	CON	CON	N	N	N	N	
HAMMERSCHMIDT	HOR:	AR	REP	YX	O	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
HANCOCK	HOR:	MO	REP	Y	R	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
HASTERT	HOR:	IL	REP	Y	R	CON	CON	N	N	N	N	
HAYES, J	HOR:	LA	DEM	Y	R	PRO	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
HENRY	HOR:	MI	REP	Y	R	CON	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
HOLDEN	HOR:	PA	DEM	Y	N	CON	PRO	Y	N	Y	Y	
HUGHES	HOR:	NJ	DEM	Y	R	CON	UNK	N	N	Y	Y	
IRELAND	HOR:	FL	REP	Y	O	PRO	UNK	N	N	Y	N	
JAMES	HOR:	FL	REP	YX	O	PRO	PRO	N	N	N	N	
JONES, B	HOR:	GA	DEM	YX	O	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
KYL	HOR:	AZ	REP	Y	R	PRO	UNK	Y	N	N	N	
LENT	HOR:	NY	REP	YX	O	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
LEVINE	HOR:	CA	DEM	YX	O	CON	UNK	N	N	N	N	
McCOLLUM	HOR:	FL	REP	YX	R	PRO	PRO	Y	N	N	N	
McCRERY	HOR:	LA	REP	Y	R	PRO	CON	N	N	N	N	
McEWEN	HOR:	OH	REP	YX	L	PRO	UNK	N	N	N	N	
McHUGH	HOR:	NY	DEM	YX	O	CON	CON	N	Y	N	N	

REPRESENTATIVE	SEN:	HOR:	STATE:	PARTY:	ANS:	NEW/OUT:	PRO/CON:	PRO/CON:	MENTION:	MENTION:	MENTION:	MENTION:									
						RETURN	LIMITS	LENGTH	CPN-FIN:	CONST'N:	LOBY PWR:	EXPER LOSS									
McMILLEN	:	HOR:	MD	:	DEM	:	YX	:	L	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
MILLER, C	:	HOR:	OH	:	REP	:	Y	:	O	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
MILLER, J	:	HOR:	WA	:	REP	:	YX	:	O	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
NAGLE	:	HOR:	IA	:	DEM	:	YX	:	L	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
OLIN	:	HOR:	VA	:	DEM	:	YX	:	O	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
OWENS, W	:	HOR:	UT	:	DEM	:	YX	:	O	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
OXLEY	:	HOR:	OH	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	CON	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
PACKARD	:	HOR:	CA	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
PANETTA	:	HOR:	CA	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
PERKINS	:	HOR:	KY	:	DEM	:	Y	:	O	:	CON	:	CON	:	Y	:	Y	:	N	:	N
RAMSTED	:	HOR:	MN	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
RAY	:	HOR:	GA	:	DEM	:	YX	:	L	:	CON	:	CON	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
RIGGS	:	HOR:	CA	:	REP	:	YX	:	L	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
RITTER	:	HOR:	PA	:	REP	:	YX	:	L	:	CON	:	CON	:	Y	:	N	:	Y	:	N
ROYBAL	:	HOR:	CA	:	DEM	:	YX	:	O	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
SCHULZE	:	HOR:	PA	:	REP	:	YX	:	O	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
SMITH, LAMAR	:	HOR:	TX	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	Y	:	Y	:	Y	:	N
SMITH, NICK	:	HOR:	MI	:	REP	:	YX	:	N	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
SUNDQUIST	:	HOR:	TN	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
TAYLOR, C	:	HOR:	NC	:	REP	:	YX	:	R	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
THOMAS, L	:	HOR:	GA	:	DEM	:	Y	:	O	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
TRAXLER	:	HOR:	MI	:	DEM	:	YX	:	O	:	CON	:	CON	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
WEBER	:	HOR:	MN	:	REP	:	YX	:	O	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
WELDON	:	HOR:	PA	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	MAYBE	:	CON	:	N	:	Y	:	Y	:	Y
ZELIFF	:	HOR:	NH	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	CON	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
AKAKA	:	SEN:	HI	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	Y
BENTSEN	:	SEN:	TX	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	MAYBE	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
BOREN	:	SEN:	OK	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	Y	:	Y
BRADLEY	:	SEN:	NJ	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
BRYAN	:	SEN:	NV	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	Y	:	Y	:	N
CHAFEE	:	SEN:	RI	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	Y
COATS	:	SEN:	IN	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	Y
COCHRAN	:	SEN:	MS	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	MAYBE	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
CONRAD	:	SEN:	ND	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	Y
CRANSTON	:	SEN:	CA	:	DEM	:	Y	:	O	:	UNK	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
DeCONCINI	:	SEN:	AZ	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	Y	:	Y	:	N	:	Y
DOLE	:	SEN:	KS	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	Y
GARN	:	SEN:	UT	:	REP	:	Y	:	O	:	PRO	:	PRO	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
GLENN	:	SEN:	OH	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
GORTON	:	SEN:	WA	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
GRAMM	:	SEN:	TX	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	Y	:	Y
HATFIELD	:	SEN:	OR	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
JEFFORDS	:	SEN:	VT	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	UNK	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
KASSEBAUM	:	SEN:	KS	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	MAYBE	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	Y	:	N
KENNEDY	:	SEN:	MA	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	Y	:	N	:	Y
LEVIN	:	SEN:	MI	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	Y
LUGAR	:	SEN:	IN	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
METZENBAUM	:	SEN:	OH	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
MITCHELL	:	SEN:	ME	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	Y	:	N	:	N	:	N
NUNN	:	SEN:	GA	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
PACKWOOD	:	SEN:	OR	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N
PELL	:	SEN:	RI	:	DEM	:	Y	:	R	:	CON	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	Y	:	Y
PRESSLER	:	SEN:	SD	:	REP	:	Y	:	R	:	PRO	:	UNK	:	N	:	N	:	N	:	N

TERM LIMITATIONS SURVEY

REPRESENTATIVE	SEN	HOR	STATE	PARTY	ANS	NEW/OUT	RETURN	PRO/CON	LIMITS	PRO/CON	LENGTH	CPN-FIN	MENTION	CONST'N	MENTION	MENTION	MENTION	EXPER LOSS
PRYOR	SEN	AR	DEM	Y	R			CON	UNK				N	N	N			Y
REID	SEN	NV	DEM	YX	R			CON	UNK				N	N	N			N
ROBB	SEN	VA	DEM	Y	R			CON	UNK				Y	N	N			N
ROTH	SEN	DE	REP	Y	R			CON	UNK				Y	N	N			Y
SIMON	SEN	IL	DEM	Y	R			CON	UNK				Y	N	N			Y
SMITH, B	SEN	NH	REP	Y	R			CON	UNK				Y	Y	N			N
SYMMS	SEN	ID	REP	YX	O			PRO	UNK				N	N	N			N
WALLOP	SEN	WY	REP	Y	R			CON	UNK				Y	N	Y			Y
WARNER	SEN	VA	REP	Y	R			MAYBE	UNK				N	N	N			N
WOFFORD	SEN	PA	DEM	Y	R			MAYBE	UNK				Y	N	N			N

## Appendix Two

Various letters used as reference material or as quotes are caintained in this section. The letters include Representatives and Senators that are for and against term limitations. The following is a list of letters from Congress by name.

- Representative Neil Abercrombie (D-Hawaii)
- Representative Gary L. Ackerman (D-New York)
- Representative Bill Archer (R-Texas)
- Representative Cass Ballenger (R-North Carolina)
- Representative Bill Barrett (R-Nebraska)
- Representative Herbert H. Bateman (R-Virginia)
- Representative James H. Bilbray (D-Nevada)
- Representative John A. Boehner (R-Ohio)
- Senator David Boren (D-Oklahoma)
- Senator Dan Coats (R-Indiana)
- Senator Kent Conrad (D-North Dakota)
- Representative Harris W. Fawell (R-Illinois)
- Senator E.J. (Jake) Garn (R-Utah)
- Senator Phil Gramm (R-Texas)
- Representative J. Dennis Hastert (R-Illinois)
- Representative Jim McCrery (R-Louisiana)
- Senator Sam Nunn (D-Georgia)
- Representative Leon E. Panetta (D-California)
- Senator William V. Roth, Jr. (R-Delaware)
- Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyoming)

NEIL ABERCROMBIE  
1ST DISTRICT, HAWAII



COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES  
COMMITTEE ON  
INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON AGING

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C. 20515**

December 3, 1992

Mr. Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for contacting me to share your perspective on the issue of term limitations. I appreciate having the benefit of your opinion.

My own view of the matter is that voters already possess the ultimate power to limit the terms of office holders. They can- and frequently do- vote against elected officials who prove unsatisfactory or disappointing.


When the matter was considered by the framers of the Constitution, they concluded that it was better to let the people make the decision as to whether a member of Congress should be retired than to impose an arbitrary limit on terms. It should be emphasized that this conclusion was based not on the principle of protecting incumbents, but of giving voters the widest possible range of choice.

On the practical level, term limitations would work against the interests of small states like Hawaii. Populous states like California carry great weight in Congress by virtue of their large delegations. But Hawaii, with only four members, must rely on the persuasive powers of the individuals it elects to Congress and the respect they enjoy among their colleagues. To cite an example at hand, the senior member of our Hawaii delegation, Senator Dan Inouye, has become one of the most respected and influential members of Congress over the course of his thirty-plus years of service. If term limits were imposed and he were denied the opportunity for further service, Hawaii's voice in Washington would be greatly diminished.

The strongest case to be made in favor of term limits is the argument that incumbents enjoy an unfair advantage because it is generally easier for them than for challengers to raise campaign funds. This, in my opinion, is really more of an argument against the role of money in the political process than against incumbency per se. It is a valid point and it needs to be addressed. The only meaningful way to deal with this issue is to re-impose limits on how much candidates are allowed to spend. To achieve that goal, I supported the Congressional Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act, which would greatly reduce the role of money in political campaigns. President Bush, unfortunately, vetoed the measure, but I am optimistic that President Clinton will support campaign reform. This will be a long struggle, but you can count on my continuing commitment to meaningful reform of the campaign funding process.

Again, Mahalo for taking the time to contact me. Your input is important and you can be assured that I will take your views into consideration.

Sincerely,

  
Neil Abercrombie  
Member of Congress

NA/mfs

COMMITTEE ON  
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SUBCOMMITTEES:

EUROPE AND THE MIDDLE EAST  
ARMS CONTROL INTERNATIONAL  
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ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS  
TASK FORCE ON POW/MIAs

CO-CHAIRMAN,  
TASK FORCE ON  
INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL

COMMITTEE ON  
STANDARDS OF OFFICIAL CONDUCT

Gary L. Ackerman

Congress of the United States

7th District, New York

December 16, 1992

COMMITTEE ON  
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SUBCOMMITTEE:

CHAIRMAN,  
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BENEFITS

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AND URBAN AFFAIRS

SUBCOMMITTEE:

GENERAL OVERSIGHT AND INVESTIGATIONS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

REGIONAL WHIP

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS

TASK FORCE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, VA 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for contacting my office to express your support for limiting the number of terms Members of Congress can serve. I appreciate your taking the time to share your thoughts with me.

I do not believe that term limits are necessary or desirable. Many of this Nation's most honored and respected statesman served in the US Congress for far longer than the twelve-year limit that is currently being discussed. Term limits would have limited the contribution that some of our most venerated Members of Congress gave to their Nation. As you probably know, President John Quincy Adams ran for, and served in, the House of Representatives from 1831 until 1848 (17 years) after having served as President of the United States. He recognized the need for experience to serve effectively in the House. Claude Pepper, one of the most vigorous and outspoken advocates of the rights of older Americans, served as a United States Senator from 1936 until 1951 (15 years) and then returned to Congress as a Member of the House of Representatives in 1963, serving until his death in 1989 (26 years.)

Sam Rayburn, one of the most famous Speakers of the House, served from 1913 until 1961, 24 consecutive terms (48 years.) Morris Udall, who has recently resigned from the House, was elected 30 years ago and has made innumerable contributions to our Nation. He helped guide us through the social unrest of the 1960s, the political turbulence of the 1970s and the budget-busting Reagan-Bush 1980s. His wisdom, experience, and historical perspectives were invaluable as the Congress faced and dealt with the challenges of civil rights, Vietnam, major economic swings, and all of the other issues that faced us over the past three decades.

Imagine what the Watergate Hearings would have been like without the leadership of an experienced Member like Peter Rodino, who served in the House from 1949-1989 (40 years). His experience and leadership were indispensable in bringing to justice those who would have trashed the Constitution.



The people of Queens were proud to return the late Congressman Joseph Addabbo to Washington over and over again from 1961 until his death in 1986. His legendary strict scrutiny of Defense Department contracts and his tireless fights on behalf of the underprivileged in Queens, and throughout our Nation and the world, were a shining example of how best to serve in the House. Indeed, my predecessor, Benjamin S. Rosenthal, who was a Member of the House from 1962 until his death in 1983, is yet another excellent example of the kind of spirit and dedication to public service that is rewarded by continuing reelection. Consumers everywhere have benefitted from Ben's staunch and uncompromising support of their rights. His tireless battles with industry and big business made him no friend to big-money contributors. But he remained undefeated term after term because the people of Queens recognized and rewarded his hard work on their behalf.

Although the list of important US statesmen who have devoted themselves for many years to the service of their country goes on and on, their contributions to this Nation cannot be measured. Longer still is the list of people who, after having lost the confidence of their constituents, were defeated in reelection bids. The voters have the ultimate power to limit Congressional terms by rewarding effectiveness or replacing incompetence.

I appreciate your strong concern on this issue. Of course, if my office can be of any assistance to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,



GARY L. ACKERMAN  
Member of Congress

GLA/lz

BILL ARCHER  
7th DISTRICT, TEXAS

RANKING MINORITY  
MEMBER  
WAYS AND MEANS  
COMMITTEE

JOINT COMMITTEE  
ON TAXATION

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives

WASHINGTON OFFICE  
1236 LONGWORTH  
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FAX (202) 225-4381

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HOUSTON, TX 77055-6832  
(713) 487-7493  
FAX (713) 461-6289

December 16, 1992

Mr. Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Howard:

Thank you very much for your November 30th letter.

I appreciate knowing of your interest in my position on limiting the number of terms that Members of Congress can serve. I've got to frankly admit that I have mixed feelings about term limitations. Having been in the minority during my entire service in the House, there's nothing I'd like more than to see an exit of the entrenched Democratic majority that has controlled Congress for the past 38 years. On the other hand, such a requirement would also force very qualified individuals out of public office at a time when they may have reached their highest degree of effectiveness, and expand the already formidable amount of power held by the permanent unelected Congressional staff. I'm just not sure that this tradeoff would really result in a net benefit to the American people.

I recognize that the movement toward term limitations is a sign of the public's total frustration with the current political system. Given Congress's inability to come to grips with the very real problems facing our nation, I understand that sense of frustration. But it's important to remember that voters already have the power to limit the terms of their representatives -- by voting them out of office. It seems to me that a limitation on Congressional terms would infringe on the fundamental right of the people to choose their own representatives.

However, one thing I'm convinced we do desperately need in this country is campaign reform to reduce the power of incumbency and level the playing field so that Congressional candidates have a fair chance of being elected. The first thing I'd do is completely eliminate political action committees (PACs). I personally do not accept campaign contributions from any organized groups -- only individuals -- nor have I ever held a fundraiser in Washington, contrary to common practice. I recently introduced H.R. 1845, a bill to eliminate PAC contributions and require Congressional candidates to raise at least 80% of their campaign funds from their home state. While these two measures aren't the total solution to the problem, they

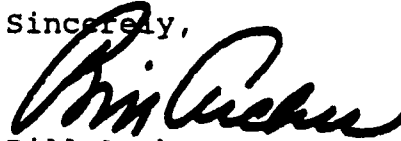
Mr. Howard E. Glassman  
December 16, 1992  
Page 2

would go a long way toward reducing the influence of special interests and making Members of Congress more accountable to their constituents.

I think that this issue of accountability is so important that I am reluctant to support a four year term for members of the House of Representatives. The idea does appeal to myself and many of my colleagues in that more time could be spent on legislative matters instead of campaigning. However, I do not anticipate that the public would support this idea which would require amending the Constitution.

Again, thank you for getting in touch with me.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Archer".

Bill Archer  
Member of Congress

BA/nm

CASS BALLENGER  
10TH DISTRICT, NORTH CAROLINA

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HEALTH AND SAFETY  
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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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P.O. Box 1830  
361-10TH AVENUE DRIVE NE  
HICKORY, NC 28603  
704-327-6100

P.O. Box 976  
418 SOUTH STREET  
GASTONIA, NC 28053  
704-864-9922

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515-3310

December 9, 1992

Mr. Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for contacting my office to express your interest in the operation of the Congress, particularly term limitation initiatives.

Currently, there is no limit on the number of terms in Congress one can serve. In the 1700's, during the Continental Congress, there was a required mandatory rotation of members of Congress. A Member could serve only three years' service in any six. However, upon establishment of our present government under the U.S. Constitution, this requirement was scrapped.

Since 1945, more and more incumbents have been seeking re-election. The average time served in the House of Representatives is 11.6 years or 5.8 terms (a House term is two years). In the U.S. Senate, the average number of years served is 9.8 (a Senate term is for six years).

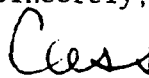
I support limiting the number of terms Members of the House of Representatives could serve to six consecutive two-year terms. If the terms were to be lengthened to four years, I would favor a limit of 3 consecutive terms. I favor limiting the number of terms of Senators to two consecutive six-year terms.

During the 102nd Congress, I cosponsored legislation (H.J.Res. 22), introduced by Rep. Bill McCollum (R-FL), that would amend the constitution to place a limit on the number of terms anyone could serve. The amendment would maintain the current two and six year terms for Members of the House and the Senate respectively, and limit each to a total of six years of service. H.J.Res. 22 was not passed before the 102nd Congress adjourned; however, I will again support similar legislation when the 103rd Congress convenes in January, 1993.

Placing limits on the number of terms would bring new talent to Congress and would take us a step closer to the idea of a citizen-legislature. That coupled with a limit on the length of congressional sessions would make Congress more "representative" of the American people.

Please feel free to contact me on any matter of concern to you.

Sincerely,

  
CASS BALLENGER  
Member of Congress

CB:dm

BILL BARRETT  
3d DISTRICT, NEBRASKA

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SCOTTSBLUFF OFFICE  
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SUITE 2

SCOTTSBLUFF, NE 68381  
(308) 837-3333

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-2703

December 10, 1992

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POSTSECONDARY EDUCATION  
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION  
RANKING, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
LIBRARIES AND MEMORIALS  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN,  
YOUTH, AND FAMILIES

Howard Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Howard:

Thank you for your letter regarding term limits. I appreciate hearing from you.

I have stated publicly that I will support limiting the terms of Members of Congress if that is, indeed, the majority's preference, and if the same limit for years of consecutive service is proposed for Senators and Representatives from all 50 states. I don't think congressional term limits should be, or constitutionally can be, imposed by individual state initiative on a state-by-state basis.

I agree with the constitutional experts who conclude that limiting congressional terms would require an amendment to the US Constitution. The Supreme Court would likely hold that term limits would impose an additional qualification on candidates beyond those now specified in the Constitution. Since the power to determine those qualifications is given by the Constitution to Congress, not to the states, an attempt by a state to impose congressional term limits would be found invalid by the Court.

Should the Supreme Court rule otherwise, I would still only support congressional term limits if imposed on all Members of Congress. It would be unwise and detrimental to Nebraska's representation in Congress to impose term limits on its small five-member congressional delegation when other states, especially those more populous, have no limits.

At this point in my life, I can realistically say that should congressional term limits as now discussed be imposed in the near future, they won't have an impact on me. Therefore, with no self-interest in mind I can say that there are serious drawbacks to term limits. I think it does a disservice to the electorate if these drawbacks aren't thoroughly understood and part of public debate.

Specifically, since I believe the voters are in the best position to decide whom should represent them in Congress, there's a real concern that term limits express a lack of confidence in the good sense and judgment of the voters and would take away their right to choose their representation. Term limits assume that new is always better and, unlike other vocations, that experience doesn't make for a better legislator. Also, term limits would undoubtedly put more power into the hands of unelected congressional staff, bureaucrats, and special interest lobbyists.

Howard Glassman  
December 10, 1992  
Page 2

Understandably, voters are frustrated and dissatisfied with the performance of Congress. Legislative gridlock that has delayed action on pressing issues, the recent House bank and post office scandals, and the Senate's handling of the Clarence Thomas nomination epitomize what the public sees wrong with Congress. But it is, at best, a toss up whether term limits would have avoided these and other problems. Operational and procedural reforms in the institution of Congress itself and campaign finance reforms are just two areas where directing our efforts could make for more certain and better change.

Thank you for your letter, good luck with your research!

Sincerely,



BILL BARRETT  
Member of Congress

BB/jm\*

HERBERT H. BATEMAN

1ST DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

COMMITTEES

ARMED SERVICES

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

CO-CHAIRMAN, CONGRESSIONAL SPACE CAUCUS

1030 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4801  
(202) 225-4261



DISTRICT OFFICES

739 THIMBLE SHOALS BLVD  
NEWPORT NEWS, VA 23606-2545  
(804) 673-1132

BOX 880  
TAPPANNOCK, VA 22560-0880  
(804) 443-4740

BOX 447  
ACCOMAC, VA 23001-0447  
(804) 787-7836

# Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-4601

December 30, 1992

CDR Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, VA 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

Thank you for your letter regarding Congressional term limitations. Indeed, this issue was at the forefront of many campaigns this fall and several states successfully passed initiatives to limit the duration of their representatives' terms in office.

I do not believe in an arbitrary limit on the number of terms for which the people are allowed to elect their representatives. If a representative is too old, too dumb, too unresponsive -- or for any other reason is unacceptable to a majority of the people -- they can and should defeat that representative at the polls.

Why should a majority be denied the right to elect whomever it prefers? In legislative bodies that adhere to the seniority system, why should a district be denied the value it may place on the seniority of its representative?

I see a distinct danger in the adoption of Congressional term limits. The increased turnover sought by proponents of this idea would in fact result in vastly expanding the powers of the unelected bureaucracy of the federal government. This is a development that is hazardous to the health of our democracy. Let the people in free elections determine whom they wish to represent them. This was good enough for the Founding Fathers, and in my opinion it is good enough today.

I would agree that having a four-year term length as opposed to the current two-year term would be an improvement. Too often, members feel compelled to spend a good deal of time raising and campaigning in hopes of another term. Longer terms would allow representatives time to deal more thoroughly with legislation. This would make for a much more productive and effective Congress.

Once again, thank you for your letter. Please contact me if I can be of further assistance.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Herbert H. Bateman  
Member of Congress

HHB/kba

JAMES H. BILBRAY  
1ST DISTRICT, NEVADA

COMMITTEE ON  
ARMED SERVICES

COMMITTEE ON  
SMALL BUSINESS

SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON AGING



319 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-2801  
(202) 225-5965

DISTRICT OFFICE  
1785 E. SARAGA #445  
LAS VEGAS, NV 89104  
(702) 792-2424

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, DC 20515-2801**

January 22, 1993

Mr. Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, VA 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for your letter concerning your views on legislation to limit the consecutive terms of Members of Congress to 12 years.

I appreciate your views on this issue that is not just being considered in the Congress but throughout the state legislatures across the country.

I have some reservation over such a proposal to limit terms of an elected official. I believe that term limits attack the very foundation of democracy by arbitrarily denying the options to voters to determine who will be their representative. While several states have already adopted limits for various state offices, voters in these states also overwhelmingly returned incumbents to office.

Additionally, sparsely populated states such as Nevada are at a disadvantage if their federal elected representatives are not allowed to gain seniority and gain influence. Through the seniority system, the Nevada congressional delegation in the upcoming Congress will be able to exercise its power in our fight against the proposed Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository and improve our highway infrastructure.

While I can understand the concerns of those who support a limit, I firmly believe that the voters should exercise their fundamental right to determine their elected officials.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "James H. Bilbray".

James H. Bilbray  
Member of Congress

JHB:fm



JOHN A. BOEHNER  
OHIO

COMMITTEES  
AGRICULTURE

EDUCATION AND  
LABOR

SMALL BUSINESS



**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

December 9, 1992

WASHINGTON OFFICE

1020 LONGWORTH HOUSE OFFICE BLDG.  
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3508  
(202) 225-6205

DISTRICT OFFICES  
5617 LIBERTY FAIRFIELD ROAD  
HAMILTON, OH 45011  
(513) 894-6003

12 SOUTH PLUM STREET  
TROY, OH 45373  
(513) 339-1524

DISTRICT TOLL FREE NUMBER  
1-800-582-1001

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

Thank you for contacting the office and asking what my position is on limiting the number of terms a Member of Congress can serve. It's good to hear from you.

I understand the frustration the American public has with the present state of the U.S. Congress. Indeed, certain events over this past year have been troubling and the Thomas hearings came as the culmination of embarrassing events for Congress - overdrafts at the House bank, unpaid bills at the House restaurant, free prescriptions from the House physician, fixed parking tickets, and junkets abroad to name a few. Not surprisingly, a New York Times/CBS News Poll revealed that a sizable number of Americans see their legislators as generally pampered, arrogant, and crooked.

Everyone is mad at Congress and the remedy of choice these days is term limitation. A number of states have already adopted term limitation for their own legislatures and according to the Gallup Poll, 70% of American voters wish to limit congressional terms.

The argument is that limitation to a maximum 12 years of service in either house would end the seniority system, shift Congress from constituent service to policy-making, revitalize party competition, ensure a constant influx of new legislators with new ideas, and force legislators to pay attention to the national interest rather than to their own re-election.

Maybe that would be the result in an ideal world, but I think the result of term limits would be a legislature filled with legislators who couldn't care less about the people they serve. It assumes that the quest for re-election corrupts legislators and that they will better serve the national interest when they ignore the wishes of their constituents.

The Founding Fathers considered and rejected proposals of term limitations. The desire to be re-elected, as Alexander Hamilton wrote in the 72nd Federalist, gives the elected official "the inclination and the resolution to act his part well" and gives voters opportunity to assess his performance. When they approve his conduct, they can "continue him in his office in order to prolong the utility of his talents and virtues, and to secure to the government the advantage of permanency in a wise system of administration." Term limitation, Hamilton said, "would be a diminution of the inducements to good behavior." It would increase "the temptation to sordid views, to speculation, and, in some instances, to usurpation."

If democratic government is about anything, it is about the right of the voters to choose those who govern them. Every two years, you have the ability to vote me or any

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
December 9, 1992  
Page 2

other elected official out of office if you are unsatisfied with our performance. By artificially limiting terms, are we not admitting that the voting public is unable - or worse, unwilling - to make an informed choice about who they wish to represent them? It's as if we are saying, "Stop me before I vote again."

"The people are the best judges who ought to represent them. To dictate and control them, to tell them who they shall not elect, is to abridge their natural rights." Those words were spoken more than 200 years ago by Robert Livingston during a Constitutional debate on term limits. I believe they are no less true today and fully concur with them.

Moreover, in my mind, the limitation of terms attacks the symptom of the disease rather than the cause. I believe the public's frustration with Congress has grown over the years by the realization that our present day Congress doesn't work - that in a sense, the U.S. Congress is broken and in need of repair.

In poll after poll, Americans describe Congress as inefficient, wasteful and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns. I would go on further to say that it has become an imperial Congress, run by entrenched incumbents, who have become corrupted by the system they helped create. The check bouncing scandal is simply an example of the imperial nature of the Congress and its membership.

In this critical decade, when America must make major changes if it is to maintain its world leadership in the next century, Congress is bogged down in detail, missing the big picture and slow to respond to our real problems. It has become so bureaucratic itself that it can't legislate effectively or even begin to oversee the federal bureaucracy it has created by past actions.

Almost 50 years ago, as World War II was ending and the Cold War was beginning, Congress realized that it needed to reform itself if it was to deal with the challenges it faced. The Monroney-LaFollette Committee was formed solely to deal with congressional reform and in 1947 Congress moved to adopt several of their proposals.

I support Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN) and Rep. Bill Gradison's (R-OH) bipartisan effort to get Congress to make a major effort to put itself in order once again. They have proposed that a special committee, along the lines of the Monroney-Follette Committee, be named to recommend substantial reforms to the next Congress. Like the original committee, this committee would be bipartisan, of limited duration and staffed largely by nonpaid volunteers lent by academic and other nonpartisan institutions.

Institutional reform, rather than term limitation, is the better course to set.

Sincerely,



John A. Boehner

JAB/kc

DAVID BOREN

OKLAHOMA

RUSSELL BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

821 NORTH ROBINSON  
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73102

440 SOUTH MONTEFENE  
TULSA, OK 74127

MUNICIPAL BUILDING  
SEWELL, OK 74868

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3601

December 11, 1992

CHAIRMAN,  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE  
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON FINANCE  
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
ENERGY AND AGRICULTURAL TAXATION  
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,  
NUTRITION, AND FORESTRY  
CHAIRMAN, SUBCOMMITTEE ON  
AGRICULTURAL CREDIT  
MEMBER, COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

Thank you for contacting me. I appreciate your interest in my position on congressional term limits.

Although I believe that twelve years is far too long for someone who does not do a good job in office, if good public servants such as Sam Rayburn and Robert Taft had not been allowed to serve for as long as they did, our country would have lost the full benefit of their service and the benefit of their experience. Experience in any form of work usually leads to a greater ability to do the job. In private business, for example, experience is usually recommended. It is also helpful in a crisis to have some "wise old heads" who have the perspective of having worked through similar situations in the past, and can give good advice. I remember John Stennis and Barry Goldwater preventing a panic in Congress during one crisis by sharing their experiences in a similar situation several years before the rest of us came to the Senate. I simply do not believe that we should limit the right of the people to pick their own representatives. The people right now can throw out any official every time there is an election. It doesn't make sense, however, to throw out the good with the bad.

I am also concerned that if term limitations were applied to Congress, we would turn our country over to long-serving non-elected bureaucrats with only inexperienced elected officials to watch them. And, of course, as long as the Congress operates on a seniority system, Oklahoma should not deprive itself by unilaterally surrendering our influence to other states by self-imposed term limits. To do so would only assume that those from other states would chair the committees.

I believe that the best way to make sure that unqualified people do not serve too long is to open up the election process by making changes through campaign reform measures. For far too long, Senate elections have gone to

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
December 11, 1992  
Page 2

the candidate who can raise the most money from special interest groups. At the current rate, members of the Senate must raise \$13,000 a week their entire term in the Senate just to have the average amount of money needed to run a viable race. This not only threatens our system of grassroots democracy, but also compromises the openness of our system to challengers. It also points to the need to return to the American voters the right to have the only voice in deciding on their elected representatives, and take the powerful role of the special interest groups and PACs out of the process.

For example, in the 1990 elections, for example, incumbents in the House were able to outspend challengers eight to one and special interest political action committees gave sixteen times as much to incumbents as to challengers. The best way to open up the system to new blood and to give challengers a chance to get rid of incumbents who deserve to be retired is to reform this system.

Ever since 1983 when Senator Barry Goldwater and I began a bipartisan effort to limit the role of special interests in the political process, I have worked to craft a solution to this American problem which would not benefit either political party.


My campaign finance reform bill, S. 3, passed both Houses of Congress only to be vetoed by the President. The bill as passed would have limited runaway spending on campaigns, banned all PAC and special interest group contributions and would have also stopped the misuse of mailing privileges by those members of Congress who are up for re-election.

Congress is on notice that it must put its own house in order. I believe that if Congress cannot face up to its responsibility and reform the corrupt campaign financing system, the people should do it for them. I will continue to push for passage of reform legislation in order to return to American voters their voice in the election process and would appreciate any help you can give me by writing to other members of Congress to support our efforts and by voicing your views in public forums and through "letters to the editor".

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
December 11, 1992  
Page 3

Again, I appreciated hearing from you. Please let me know whenever there are issues of interest to you in Congress.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "D. Boren". The signature is stylized and cursive.

David L. Boren  
United States Senator

DLB/sgp  
Enclosure

DAN COATS  
INDIANA

COMMITTEES  
ARMED SERVICES  
LABOR AND HUMAN  
RESOURCES

404 RUSSELL SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
(202) 224-5623

INDIANAPOLIS OFFICE:  
SUITE 1180, MARKET TOWER  
10 WEST MARKET  
INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA 46204  
(317) 226-5555

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 11, 1992

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

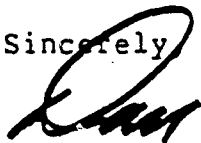
Thank you for contacting me to express your interest in the issue of term limitations. I appreciate hearing from you.

I firmly believe that fundamental Congressional reform is necessary in order to restore the American people's trust in their elected representatives. I believe true reform must include term limits. By limiting public servants' terms in office, we will no longer retain career politicians but, instead, create a competitive electoral process which encourages the emergence of citizen legislators who expect to return to their communities and live under the laws they pass. To this end, I introduced legislation during the 102nd Congress (S.J.Res. 227) to limit representatives to six full two-year terms in office and Senators to two full six-year terms.

Knowing of your interest in this issue, I have enclosed a copy of a floor statement I gave on the subject of term limitations during Senate discussion of a bill to revise federal laws governing the financing of federal election campaigns. I hope you find this material informative.

Again, thank you for getting in touch with me on this matter. Please feel free to do so again as I welcome your input.

Sincerely



Dan Coats  
U. S. Senator

DC/pts  
Enclosure

KENT CONRAD  
NORTH DAKOTA  
202-224-2043

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

COMMITTEES  
AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION  
AND FORESTRY  
ENERGY AND NATURAL  
RESOURCES  
BUDGET  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

December 3, 1992

Howard Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, VA 22015

Dear Howard:

Thank you for your letter requesting information on my views about limiting the terms of elected officials. It was good to hear from you.

I appreciate your interest in this issue. I am concerned that limiting the terms of elected officials might be detrimental rather than beneficial. It takes time to develop real expertise and experience on the wide variety of issues that come before Congress. Term limitations could result in the loss of this experience. In a sense, the voters already have the power of term limits in their hands: they can vote their elected representatives out of office at any election, from their local sheriff to their U.S. Senator.

Additionally, the loss of the seniority system would prevent small states such as North Dakota from getting and keeping clout in Congress. Large state delegations would dominate the leadership and become even more powerful, and small states would be hurt as a result. Next year, California will have 54 seats in Congress; New York will have 33; Pennsylvania will have 23; Florida will have 25; and Texas will have 32. North Dakota will have three.

It is my view that in a democracy like ours, voters should be able to choose whomever they want to represent them. We should not deny voters the Constitutional opportunity to vote for a representative whom they believe best represents their interests simply because that person has been in office for 12 years. You may be interested to know that the average term in the U.S. House of Representatives is about 10 years.

Such a limitation on the terms of elected officials would likely require an amendment to the Constitution, which must be passed by 2/3 of both Houses of Congress and 3/4 of the states. Changes in our Constitution must not be made without the most thorough deliberation. You may be interested to know that the North Dakota State Senate last year rejected, by a 43-10 vote, legislation that would have placed a twelve year limitation on

December 3, 1992

Page Two

the terms of all elected officials in the state, including U.S. Congressmen and Senators. However, during the November elections, 56% of North Dakotans voted in favor of a term limits measure (44% voted against this measure). Many other states also passed term limitations measures, and it is likely that in the coming months, we will see constitutional challenges to these new laws.

I appreciate your interest in term-limits. Thank you again for writing.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Kent Conrad". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent "K" and "C".

KENT CONRAD  
United States Senator

KC:wlmq



HARRIS W. FAWELL  
13TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS

EDUCATION AND LABOR

SUBCOMMITTEES:

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

LABOR STANDARDS

HUMAN RESOURCES

RANKING MINORITY MEMBER

SCIENCE, SPACE, AND

TECHNOLOGY

SUBCOMMITTEES:

ENERGY

SCIENCE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

WASHINGTON OFFICE  
435 CANNON HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING  
(202) 225-3516

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OFFICE

115 W 55TH STREET

SUITE 100

CLARENDON HILLS, IL 60514

(708) 655-2052

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-1313

December 4, 1992

Mr. Howard Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for contacting me in favor of term limitations on Members of Congress. I appreciate your sharing your views with me.

I understand and share your frustration with Congress. Congress' record in handling the nation's problems, most notably the federal budget, has been abysmal. To remedy many of these problems, I have introduced The Comprehensive Congressional Reform Act of 1992. I have enclosed a statement which explains the bill's provisions and how it will make Congress a more responsive and responsible institution.

Beyond such reforms, I have examined whether a 12-year term limitation would be an effective long-term solution to Congress' problems. While at first glance term limits are an appealing "quick and easy" fix, I believe there are many problems with term limitations. Let me share with you some of my thoughts.

First, it is a little known fact that the great majority of Congress already turns over every 12 years. Of the 435 members of the House of Representatives serving 12 years ago, only 136 are serving today. Thus, 60 percent have left, or about 10 percent every two years. There were 30 Republicans in my freshman class entering Congress in 1985. Forty percent of them have left the House within six years. I question whether mandating that those remaining 136 members leave would have any significant positive impact on the performance of Congress. Reelection rates have always been fairly high, something our founding fathers were well aware of. In every election from 1790 to 1810, House members were returned at rates well above 90 percent. In 1792, 100% were re-elected.

We already have a mechanism to "throw the rascals out." All 435 members of the House face election every two years. At these intervals, incumbents must face the voters and win their active approval. Citizens who dislike their incumbent Congressmen already have a powerful tool to remove them -- the vote. Members of the House can be challenged twice every two years (in a primary and general election).

An appealing argument for term limits is that we will get enlightened amateurs -- people who will leave top posts in commerce, industry, and other professions to spend a few years in Washington before returning home. In practice, it is becoming increasingly difficult to attract and keep the "best and the brightest," in part because of term limits.

Moreover, like anyone taking a new job, there is a learning curve. In Congress, it can be a long curve. As much as we desire simplified government and policy, it is impossible to imagine government getting less complicated, given the incredible complexity of the world economy, the enormity of a \$6 trillion domestic economy, and the mind-boggling \$1.5 trillion federal budget and the thousands of programs it entails. As a result, I fear that term-limited members would be more dependent on staff and more influenced by special interests.

Term limitation advocates correctly point out that some incumbent Congressmen use the advantages of their office unfairly -- there are ways to eliminate these unfair advantages without eliminating the fundamental democratic right of Americans to vote for the candidate of their choice. Along with the bill I have introduced, I have cosponsored and/or voted for the following tough Congressional reforms which would attack these advantages:

- \* Sharply curtail unsolicited Congressional Mailings;
- \* Reduce Congressional staff;
- \* Eliminate Congressional "perks" and make Congress subject to its own laws;
- \* Fully enforce Congressional Ethics and Disclosure Rules;
- \* Enact Congressional Finance reform; and
- \* Mandate that Members rotate House Committee membership;

There are also reforms that could be made to the budget process that would be far more effective in controlling spending than term limits. For instance, I am cosponsoring the following reforms:

- \* Legislation amending the Constitution of the United States to require that the federal budget be balanced;
- \* Legislation amending the Constitution which would give the President the authority to "line-item veto" appropriation bills, thereby giving the president the power to veto "porkbarrel" and other wasteful spending projects.

What concerns me most about term limitations is the implicit assumption that people cannot be trusted to make up their own minds about who should represent them. Term limit advocates

presume that people are too easily influenced by incumbency, that they are too readily gulled by "professional politicians." Term limit advocates seem to believe that free citizens are unable to make the changes they feel necessary in the political process.

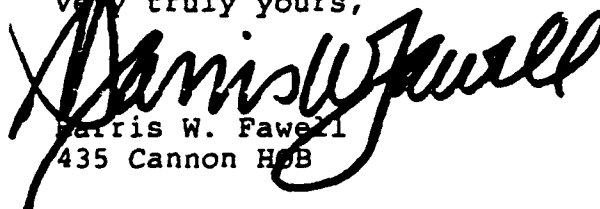
I believe that most Americans know that Democracy is not easy. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," said Thomas Jefferson. Term limits are a false cure to a problem that can only be solved by an electorate willing to hold their representatives accountable. That is why our Founding Fathers twice rejected term limits.

I encourage you to look into my record and hold me accountable. After seven years in the House, I believe my effectiveness in pursuing the objectives of the voters of the 13th District -- cutting billions of dollars in wasteful spending, for instance -- is increasing each year. This effectiveness is in large part due to what I've learned as a Member of Congress -- about the budget process and the rules of the House, to name just two.

In the end, I believe that "we the people" should be the final arbiters of who should represent us. A set limit only curtails our choices.

Once again, thank you for contacting my office. Please feel free to write or call in the future if I can be of assistance on another matter of importance to you.

Very truly yours,



Harris W. Fawell  
435 Cannon HSB

HWF:bs

E. J. (JAKE) GARN  
UTAH

50 505 DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
TELEPHONE 202-224-5444

W. P. (SKIP) GLINES  
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4401

December 4, 1992

COMMITTEES  
APPROPRIATIONS  
BANKING HOUSING AND  
URBAN AFFAIRS  
ENERGY AND NATURAL  
RESOURCES  
RULES AND  
ADMINISTRATION

Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shacle Place  
Burke, VA 22015

Dear Howard:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding term limitation.

I, too, believe there should be a limit placed on the terms of office for both Representatives and Senators. I do not believe the Founding Fathers intended for us to have professional politicians who make their living for virtually their entire adult life serving in the Congress of the United States. Many of the country's early patriots gave part of their lives to public service and then returned to private pursuits. Placing a limit on the number of terms a Member of Congress can serve would be a long-range solution to many problems Congress now faces almost every year.

I do not think Congress is representative of the American people as a whole. Often my colleagues will listen too closely to special interests because they are worried about their reelection and the clout of those groups. It is easy to look too much to the future, and allow future elections to determine our decisions on today's issues. This especially applies to Members of the House of Representatives, who have to run constantly in order to remain in office. I don't believe this is the best system. I suggest Congressional terms should be extended from two years with a limit of three terms, thus allowing House members to concentrate on national problems once elected. For the same reasons, I support a limitation on Senators' terms to two, six-year terms.

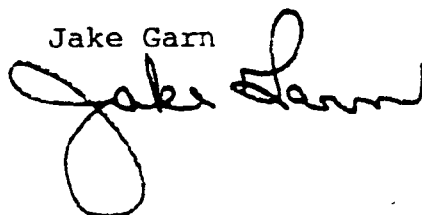
Since, I am retiring I would recommend that you make your position known to the new person that replaces me in the Senate.

It has been my privilege to serve as your Senator for the past eighteen years. It is an opportunity that only a few have enjoyed and one that has been a wonderful and learning experience for me. I now look forward to returning to Utah full time.

Thank you again for your letter.

Sincerely,

Jake Garn



JG/rcs

PHIL GRAMM  
TEXAS

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

September 25, 1992

CDR Howard Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

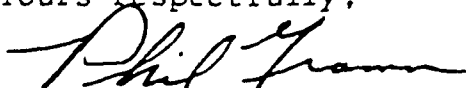
Thank you for contacting me concerning the limitation of terms for members of Congress. I appreciate having the benefit of your views on this issue.

Although term limits are not a cure-all, I believe a well-crafted term limit bill could improve the performance of Congress, and I will support such legislation if it comes before the Senate for a vote. One of the clear advantages of term limitation is the turnover which exposes Congress to the fresh ideas of new members. Conversely, a disadvantage is the fact that the bureaucracy will certainly become more powerful as elected representatives stay for limited periods of time and bureaucrats linger in office, potentially for life.

Despite the potential benefits of term limits, I would regret enacting such restrictions as the primary means of ensuring accountability from members of Congress. This approach avoids addressing the real problems within Congress. I believe the most effective way to improve our government is to adopt a constitutional amendment requiring Congress to balance the budget. I have advocated such an amendment every year since coming to Congress and can assure you that such a requirement would change the American political system virtually overnight, in part because it would impose on members of Congress the necessity of making many extremely difficult budget decisions. You may be sure that I will keep your views in mind should these matters come before the full Senate for consideration.

I appreciate having the opportunity to represent you in the United States Senate. Thank you for taking the time to contact me.

Yours respectfully,



PHIL GRAMM  
United States Senator

PG/mljj

J. DENNIS HASTER  
14TH DISTRICT, ILLINOIS



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888 NORTH LA FOX  
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Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515-1314  
December 7, 1992

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COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT  
OPERATIONS  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON  
COMMITTEES  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON  
HUNGER  
HUMAN RIGHTS CAUCUS

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
Supply Corps  
United States Navy  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

Thank you for inquiring about my position on limiting congressional terms.

For 18 years I taught history and government at Yorkville High School in Illinois. I used to tell my students that the founding fathers knew what they were doing when they established a House of Representatives that would be elected every two years. In my opinion, each and every constituent plays an important role in extending or limiting the term of their Congressman every two years at the ballot box.

Still, if the voters of Illinois want to enact a term limit amendment to our State Constitution, I would be very comfortable with that.

Again, thank you for your interest. Please feel free to contact me anytime I can be of service.

Sincerely,

J. Dennis Hastert  
Member of Congress

JDH:st

JIM MCCRERY  
4TH DISTRICT, LOUISIANA

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# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-1804

December 9, 1992

Commander Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

Thank you for taking the time to contact me requesting my views on Congressional term limitations. I am glad to have this opportunity to tell you about a bill I recently introduced, which proposes a Constitutional amendment to limit the terms of U.S. Representatives and Senators.

Unlike our current situation, our Founding Fathers never intended for government to meddle into all our affairs. Originally, the job of a representative or senator was not meant to be a full-time career. Indeed, members of Congress were supposed to be ordinary citizens who spent only a portion of their time away from their regular vocation to confront important national issues. Unfortunately, the Congress has now become a Washington establishment far removed from the daily problems of ordinary American families. It is an imperious, arrogant institution, which makes laws for the country while exempting itself from those same laws.

I believe it is now time to eliminate the career legislator. I have given the issue of Congressional term limitations serious consideration. In the past, I was hesitant to support such a proposal. However, in light of how this institution is run, special interest politics, and incumbent advantages, I believe term limitations is the best possible alternative. While it may not be the optimal solution, I see no signs of Congress reforming itself effectively enough to eliminate incumbent advantages and making federal elections democratic again.

I have enclosed a copy of the bill I introduced in the House for your review. I am hopeful the 103rd Congress will wake-up to the people's call for true reform and pass this legislation.

Finally, I do not support extending the length of the term for members of the House of Representatives from two to four years. In my opinion, we ought to uphold the original intent of our Founding Fathers to keep the House of Representatives

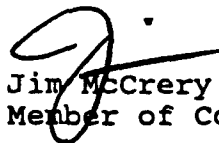
Commander Howard E. Glassman  
Page 2  
December 9, 1992

accountable to the changing will of the people by requiring them to face the voters every two years. I believe the two year term, combined with limitations on the number of terms a member may serve, is the most feasible approach to procuring a responsive and accountable body of Representatives.

Thank you again, Commander Glassman, for taking the time to write. I hope this information is helpful to you and wish you the best of luck in your studies at the National Defense University.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



Jim McCrery  
Member of Congress

JOM:amv

Enclosure



# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

December 18, 1992

CDR Howard E. Glassman  
USN  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Commander Glassman:

Thank you for contacting me about term limits for elected officials. This concept merits sober consideration for two reasons: it represents a fundamental change in our system of democracy and representative government, and its popularity reflects a serious disenchantment with the way government conducts the people's business.

Without term limitations, any citizen can, of course, act individually to limit the terms of incumbents by rejecting them at the polls and by embracing all challengers, statesmen and scoundrels alike. Other citizens prefer to review as much information as possible about the candidates, and determine who would best serve our nation and state on the basis of principles, intelligence, experience and judgment. Term limits, in my view, are anti-democratic because they impose a "choice not to choose" on all voters.

It would be a sad irony if the United States retreated from democratic practices at exactly that time in history when democratic principles are being eagerly pursued in every corner of the globe. There is no question that widespread adoption of term limits in this country would be interpreted by friends and foes alike as a strange and self-destructive act.

The current popularity of term limitations does, however, show how thoroughly frustrated many Americans have become with government at every level and with both political parties.

There are many reasons for this frustration, but in my opinion, the most important is the growing sense that government simply is not doing a very good job at dealing with our most pressing national concerns--that more tax dollars are buying less and less statesmanship.

As a Senator, at times I share the concern that Congress and the President spend too much of their time on marginal, short-term issues while so many serious, long-range problems become chronic. The solution, however, is more voter discrimination among candidates, not less. If incumbents are indeed "rascals,"

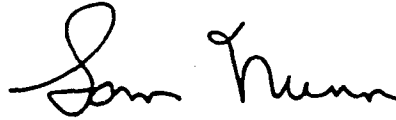
CDR Howard E. Glassman  
December 18, 1992  
Page 2

then voters should throw them out of office. If challengers are less qualified or honorable than incumbents, then "throwing the rascals in" will not likely improve the effectiveness or accountability of government.

As Winston Churchill once wisely observed, "Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the other forms that have been tried."

Thank you again for your participation in the democratic process by writing me on this subject.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Sam Nunn". The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with the first letters of "Sam" and "Nunn" being prominent.

Sam Nunn

SN/mms

LEON E. PANETTA  
18TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

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HOUSE BUDGET COMMITTEE

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AGRICULTURE  
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION  
SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER  
STEERING AND POLICY

MAJORITY WHIP  
FOR THE BUDGET

Mr. Howard Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for stopping by to request my views on legislation to limit the terms members of Congress may serve. I appreciate hearing from you and am happy to respond to your inquiry.

I asserted when I first ran for Congress in 1976 that the Constitution ought to be amended to set House terms at four years rather than two, and to establish a limit of three four-year terms. I still support this approach. Running for election every two years takes much time, resources, and energy. These are necessarily diverted from the real work of Member of Congress, which is representing his or her constituency in the national capital. Extending the term for House Members to four years would give them more to represent their constituencies without focusing constantly on their own re-election, and it is for these reasons that I do not wish to change or limit the number of terms a Senator serves. On the other hand, of course, if we do not expand Members' terms to four years - which does to some extent insulate them from re-election worries - the other part of the formula - limiting them to three terms or twelve years - probably makes little sense.

Of course, passing a Constitutional amendment to limit terms would be extremely difficult. First, some members of the House would oppose limits on their terms in office. Second, unlike the current situation, House members would be able to run for the Senate every other election without giving up their House seats. This would not incline Senators, worried about their own re-election chances, to support a Constitutional amendment. Third, members of state legislature who also would have to approve a Constitutional amendment might want to run for Congress themselves, and therefore might not want to limit the number of opportunities they might have to run. Finally, many people feel that two-year terms are a key linchpin of the Constitution, placing the House of Representatives as close as possible to the views of the people. Certainly, there is some validity to this point of view, although I feel it is outweighed by the other considerations I have mentioned above.

It is my feeling that the democratic process requires constant attention by citizens to the actions of their representatives and constant responsiveness of representatives to their constituents. In the absence of a Constitutional amendment limiting terms, that is the goal and it must be the test, of whether a member continues in office. I believe I continue to be responsive to my District. I return every

## Congress of the United States

House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515-0516

October 13, 1992

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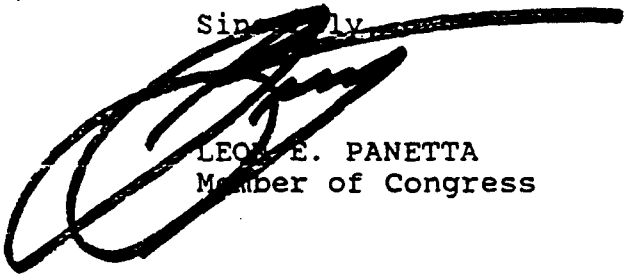
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Mr. Howard Glassman  
Page 2  
October 13, 1992

weekend from Washington. I hold regular constituent hours during which any individual may talk with me personally. I have successfully fought to protect our coast from offshore oil drilling and have been identified as one of the most effective Members of the House. Indeed, I have the distinct honor to have the seat of Chairman of the House Budget Committee. It is that record of effective representation I bring to my District. I am proud of it and am more than willing to let the people decide if they want me to continue my service.

Thank you again for stopping by. Please let me know if I can be of assistance in the future.

Sincerely,

A large, bold, handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be "Leo E. Panetta". The signature is written over the word "Sincerely," and extends across the right side of the page.

LEO E. PANETTA  
Member of Congress

LEP/jmp

WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.  
DELAWARE

104 HART SENATE OFFICE BUILDING  
TELEPHONE 202-224-2441

COMMITTEES  
GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS  
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JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

December 31, 1992

CDR. Howard E. Glassman  
Supply Corp  
United States Navy  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear CDR. Glassman:

Thank you for writing to request my views on term limitations for members of Congress.

I am very concerned that limiting terms would seriously erode the voters' power to make the kinds of choices they should be able to make about their representation in Congress. If Congressional terms were limited, the individual's power to vote -- to decide whether a member should leave after one term, a few terms, or whether a valued member should be retained for several terms -- this power would also be limited. The foundation of democracy is the people's right to vote, and that right should not be curbed or restrained or infringed upon in any way.

We only have to recall a handful of many of our best members of Congress throughout history -- Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Robert Taft, and more recently, Mike Mansfield, to name a few -- to realize what we might lose by limiting terms. These members and so many others were present at decisive moments in America's history; their experience helped steer the nation at critical times.

I am also concerned that limiting terms -- an attempt to solve one problem -- could create new, unforeseen problems. With a constant turnover in Congress, it is likely that the unelected staffs, with the advantage of seniority and experience, would become more powerful than the Members themselves. In the end, not only Congress, but the people, would have lost some of their Constitutionally-granted control over how the nation's problems are addressed.

If incumbency has resulted in corruption or indifference, this situation can be remedied with a large, informed and conscientious voter turnout. If imbalances in our election process contribute to unfair incumbency, then our election process itself should be reformed. I support campaign reform, including limitations on PAC contributions. Voting and reform are the answers, in my view, not a limitation on terms.

I hope this is helpful for your research.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Roth". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent initial "R".

William V. Roth, Jr.  
United States Senate

WVR/sw

MALCOLM WALLOP  
WYOMING

COMMITTEES

ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES  
SMALL BUSINESS  
ARMED SERVICES

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-5001

December 7, 1992

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Howard E. Glassman  
6900 Shackle Place  
Burke, Virginia 22015

Dear Mr. Glassman:

Thank you for your letter requesting my views on term limits.

Like those who support limiting congressional terms, I agree wholeheartedly that members of Congress should not become so complacent as to think that they no longer have to respond to their constituency. We must strive to be more than a body of professional politicians. However, term limitation would not remedy these problems and in fact, the whole term limitation movement has distracted us from the real objective of ensuring that Congress remains responsive and accessible to the people. Let me explain my reasoning.

First, in the Senate there is no real need for term limitation. Unlike the House, about one-third of the seats turn over every Senate term. This is why I've been able to move up in seniority from number 100 to number 30 in just over 2 1/2 terms. I might add that less populated states, like Wyoming, do benefit from the seniority gained by their representatives -- with only three members in our delegation, this is, quite frankly, an important tool to getting things done for our state.

Second, two elements won't change with term limitation -- the entrenched bureaucracy and special interests. In fact, things will be worse because lobbyists and bureaucrats will run everything since they will be the only experts. I fear that Congress will only become more easily influenced and less accountable to the people.

Third, the real reason the House has become so entrenched and, quite frankly, arrogant, is because of gerrymandering. Gerrymandering has made House members more interested in carving out safe districts than in competitive politics.

Finally, the public already has term limitation -- it's called the ballot box. In a democracy, the public's choices shouldn't arbitrarily be made for them -- and term limitation all but takes away the most important component of a democratic form of government -- the right to vote. The fact is that democracy is

Howard Glassman  
Page 2  
December 7, 1992

hurt more by the 50 percent of the public that doesn't vote than by members who stay on in Congress. Perhaps the best hope lies in election reform. Real campaign finance reform -- elimination of soft money and PACs -- would do more than term limitation to ensure that challengers have a shot at gaining a seat in Congress.

Thank you again for contacting me.

Sincerely,



Malcolm Wallop  
United States Senator

MW:mhc



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Letter, Senator David Boren to CDR Howard E. Glassman, December 11, 1992, Original in Possession of the Author

Letter, Senator Dan Coats to CDR Howard E. Glassman, December 11, 1992, Original in Possession of the Author

Letter, Senator Kent Conrad to CDR Howard E. Glassman, December 3, 1992, Original in Possession of the Author

Letter, Representative Harris W. Fawell to CDR Howard E. Glassman, December 4, 1992, Original in Possession of the Author

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Letter, Representative Jim McCrery to CDR Howard E. Glassman, December 9, 1992, Original in Possession of the Author

Letter, Senator Sam Nunn to CDR Howard E. Glassman, December 18, 1992, Original in Possession of the Author

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