35

⁶⁹(...continued)

propriations process would be forced to bear a disproportionate burden of deficit reduction.

On the other hand, reconciliation is one of the few exceptions to the general rule in the Senate of unlimited debate. It is extremely difficult to amend the reconciliation bill. The Senate should be somewhat circumspect about what it allows itself to consider under these kinds of restrictions.

This tension between the good purposes of the reconciliation bill and the strict procedures governing it has led to efforts to prohibit what has been come to be known as "extraneous" matter on the bill.

Origins of the Byrd Rule

For example, as early as June 22, 1981, the bipartisan leadership offered an amendment to strike extraneous matter from the bill. On that day, during consideration of S. 1377, the Omnibus Reconciliation Act of 1981, Majority Leader Baker offered the amendment for himself and Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd, Budget Committee Chairman Domenici, and the Ranking Minority Member of that committee, Senator Hollings. The debate that day included the following:

Mr. BAKER....

Aside from its salutary impact on the budget, reconciliation also has implications for the Senate as an institution. So long as a preponderance of its subject matter has a budgetary impact, a reconciliation bill could contain nonbudgetary amendments to substantive law, and still be protected under the Budget Act. That notwithstanding, I believe that including such extraneous provisions in a reconciliation bill would be harmful to the character of the U.S. Senate. It would cause such material to be considered under time and germaneness provisions that impede the full exercise of minority rights. It would evade the letter and spirit of rule XXII [regarding precedence of motions, including the procedures for cloture]. It would create an unacceptable degree of tension between the Budget Act and the remainder of Senate procedures and practice. Reconciliation was never meant to be a vehicle for an omnibus authorization bill. To permit it to be treated as such is to break faith with the Senate's historical uniqueness as a forum for the exercise of minority and individual rights. For principally these reasons, I have labored with distinguished minority leader, with the chairmen and ranking minority member of the Budget Committee, and with other committee chairmen to develop a bipartisan leadership amendment. This amendment will strike from the bill subject matter which all these parties can agree is extraneous to the reconciliation instructions set forth last month in House Concurrent Resolution 115. What will remain in the bill is directly responsive to these instructions, has a budgetary savings impact, and plainly belongs in a reconciliation measure.

. . . .

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if the reconciliation bill is adopted in its present form, it will do violence to the budget reform process. The reconciliation measure contains many items which are unrelated to budget savings. This development must be viewed in the most critical light, to preserve the principle of free and unfettered debate that is the hallmark of the U.S. Senate.

. . . .