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<sup>69</sup>(...continued)

a floor amendment. No motion to waive germaneness on reconciliation bills shall be agreed to unless supported by three-fifths of the Senators duly chosen and sworn, which super majority shall be required to successfully appeal the ruling of the Chair on these matters.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the amendment speaks for itself. I would just say that we are in the process now of seeing, if we have not seen earlier, the Pandora's box which has been opened to the abuse of the reconciliation process. That process was never meant to be used as it is being used. There are 122 items in the reconciliation bill that are extraneous. Henceforth, if the majority on a committee should wish to include in reconciliation recommendations to the Budget Committee any measure, no matter how controversial, it can be brought to the Senate under an ironclad built-in time agreement that limits debate, plus time on amendments and motions, to no more than 20 hours.

It was never foreseen that the [Congressional Budget] Act would be used in that way.

So if the budget reform process is going to be preserved, and more importantly if we are going to preserve the deliberative process in this U.S. Senate — which is the outstanding, unique element with respect to the U.S. Senate, action must be taken now to stop this abuse of the budget process.

....

Mr. President, the Senate is a deliberative body, and the reconciliation process is not a deliberative process. It [is] not a deliberative process. Such an extraordinary process, if abused, could destroy the Senate's deliberative nature. Senate committees are creatures of the Senate, and, as such, should not be in the position of dictating to the Senate as is being done here. By including mater[ial] not in their jurisdiction or matter which they choose not to report as separate legislation to avail themselves of the nondeliberative reconciliation process, Senate committees violate the compact which created both them and the reconciliation process.

....

The Senate must protect itself from this attack by its own committees, and, if necessary, the reconciliation bill will be amended to the extent necessary to achieve a preponderance of nonreconciliation matters and thus return this bill to a nonprivileged status.

Under the [Congressional Budget] Act, other committees are mandated to make recommendations to the Budget Committee — those committees make their recommendations to the Budget Committee, and the Budget Committee cannot add to or subtract from those instructions. It cannot amend the instructions. It cannot take from those instructions. It cannot add its own. It merely is to perform an administrative function — and that is, to put all such recommendations into a single package which, when sent to the floor and taken up, is covered by an overall 20-hour time limit.

Normal cloture is but an infinite speck on the horizon as compared to this kind of cloture. Under normal cloture, we have 100 hours. Each Senator has 1 hour, theoretically. But under the restrictions of the Budget Act, 20 hours is all there is on a reconciliation bill.

(continued...)