Budget Act, we are going to pass the line-item veto, we are going to pass all of these issues that the American people have wanted so far.

Is the Gingrich revolution over? Do not kid yourself. It is just beginning.

#### □ 1130

PERMISSION FOR SUNDRY COM-MITTEES AND THEIR SUB-COMMITTEES TO SIT TODAY DURING THE 5-MINUTE RULE

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the following committees and their subcommittees be permitted to sit today while the House is meeting in the Committee of the Whole House under the 5-minute rule:

Committee on Banking and Financial Services, Committee on Commerce, Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, Committee on International Relations, Committee on the Judiciary, Committee on National Security, Committee on Resources, Committee on Science, Committee on Small Business, Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, and Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

It is my understanding that the minority has been consulted and that there is no objection to these requests.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

LAYING ON TABLE HOUSE RESO-LUTION 352, AUTHORIZING SPEAKER TO DECLARE RE-CESSES SUBJECT TO THE CALL OF THE CHAIR

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that House Resolution 352, authorizing the Speaker to declare recesses subject to the call of the Chair from February 2, 1996, through February 26, 1996, be laid on the table, because it is no longer relevant.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

LAYING ON TABLE HOUSE RESO-LUTION 323, PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2677, THE NATIONAL PARKS AND NA-TIONAL WILDLIFE REFUGE SYS-TEMS FREEDOM ACT OF 1995

Mr. SOLOMON. I ask unanimous consent that House Resolution 323, providing for consideration of H.R. 2677, the National Parks and National Wildlife Refuge Systems Freedom Act of 1995, be laid on the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF H.R. 2859, AGRICULTURAL MARKET TRANSITION ACT

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 366 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

#### H. RES. 366

Resolved, That at any time after the adoption of this resolution the Speaker may, pursuant to clause 1(b) of rule XXIII, declare the House resolved into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the bill (H.R. 2854) to modify the operation of certain agricultural programs. The first reading of the bill shall be dispensed with. All points of order against consideration of the bill are waived. General debate shall be confined to the bill and the amendments made in order by this resolution and shall not exceed two hours equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture. After general debate the bill shall be considered for amendment under the five-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider as an original bill for the purpose of amendment under the five-minute rule the amendment in the nature of a substitute recommended by the Committee on Agriculture now printed in the bill. The committee amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be considered as read. All points of order against the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute are waived. Notwithstanding clause 5(c) of rule XXIII, no amendment to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute shall be in order except the amendments specified in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution and amendments en bloc described in section 2 of this resolution. Each amendment specified in the report may be considered only in the order specified in

the report, may be offered only by a Member designated in the report, shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for the time specified in the report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question in the House or in the Committee of the Whole. All points of order against the amendments made in order to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute are waived. At the conclusion of consideration of the bill for amendment the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendment as may have been adopted. Any Member may demand a separate vote in the House on any amendment adopted in the Committee of the Whole to the bill or to the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit with or without instructions.

SEC. 2. It shall be in order at any time for the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture or his designee to offer amendments en bloc consisting of amendments specified in the report of the Committee on Rules accompanying this resolution not earlier disposed of or germane modifications of any such amendments. Amendments en bloc offered pursuant to this section shall be considered as read (except that modifications shall be reported), shall be debatable for twenty minutes equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture or their designees, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question in the House or in the Committee of the Whole. For the purpose of inclusion in such amendments en bloc, an amendment printed in the form of a motion to strike may be modified to the form of a germane perfecting amendment to the text originally proposed to be stricken. The original proponent of an amendment included in such amendments en bloc may insert a statement in the Congressional Record immediately before the disposition of the amendments en bloc.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of debate only, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. HALL], my good friend, pending which I yield myself such time as I might consume. During consideration of this resolution, all time yielded, of course, is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, I insert for the RECORD the following extraneous material:

THE AMENDMENT PROCESS UNDER SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE, 1 103D CONGRESS V. 104TH CONGRESS

[As of February 27, 1996]

Pula tima	103d Co	ongress	104th Congress	
Rule type	Number of rules	Percent of total	Number of rules	Percent of total
Open/Modified-open <sup>2</sup>	46 49 9	44 47 9	58 21 12	64 23 13
Total	104	100	91	100

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This table applies only to rules which provide for the original consideration of bills, joint resolutions or budget resolutions and which provide for an amendment process. It does not apply to special rules which only waive points of order against appropriations bills which are already privileged and are considered under an open amendment process under House rules.

<sup>2</sup> An open rule is one under which any Member may offer a germane amendment under the five-minute rule. A modified open rule is one under which any Member may offer a germane amendment under the five-minute rule subject only to an overall time limit on the amendment process and/or a requirement that the amendment be preprinted in the Congressional Record.
3 A modified closed rule is one under which the Rules Committee limits the amendments that may be offered only to those amendments designated in the special rule or the Rules Committee report to accompany it, or which preclude

amendments to a particular portion of a bill, even though the rest of the bill may be completely open to amendment.

4 A closed rule is one under which no amendments may be offered (other than amendments recommended by the committee in reporting the bill).

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

SPECIAL RULES REPORTED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE, 104TH CONGRESS [As of February 27, 1996]

H. Res. No. (Date rept.)	Rule type	Bill No.	Subject	Disposition of rule
H. Res. 38 (1/18/95)		. H.R. 5	Unfunded Mandate Reform	
H. Res. 44 (1/24/95)	MC	. H. Con. Res. 17 H.J. Res. 1	Delevered Destruct Asset	* *
H. Res. 51 (1/31/95) H. Res. 52 (1/31/95)		. H.R. 101	Land Transfer, Taos Pueblo Indians	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 52 (1/31/95) H. Res. 53 (1/31/95)		. H.R. 400	Balancea Budget Amot Land Transfer, Taos Pueblo Indians Land Exchange, Arctic Nat'l. Park and Preserve Land Conveyance, Butte County, Calif Line Item Velo	A: voice vote (2/1/95).
H. Res. 53 (1/31/95) H. Res. 55 (2/1/95) H. Res. 60 (2/6/95) H. Res. 61 (2/6/95) H. Res. 63 (2/8/95) H. Res. 69 (2/9/95) H. Res. 83 (2/13/95) H. Res. 88 (2/16/95) H. Res. 88 (2/16/95) H. Res. 88 (2/16/95) H. Res. 91 (2/21/95) H. Res. 92 (2/21/95) H. Res. 93 (2/22/95) H. Res. 96 (2/24/95) H. Res. 96 (2/27/95)	0	. H.R. 440 H.R. 2	Land Conveyance, Butte County, Calif	A: voice vote (2/1/95). A: voice vote (2/2/95).
H. Res. 60 (2/6/95)	o	. H.R. 665	VICIIII NGSIIIUIOII	A: voice vote (2/7/95).
H. Res. 61 (2/6/95)	0	. H.R. 666 . H.R. 667	Exclusionary Rule Reform	A: voice vote (2/7/95).
H. Res. 69 (2/9/95)	0	. H.R. 668	Criminal Alien Deportation	A: voice vote (2/10/95).
H. Res. 79 (2/10/95)	M0	. H.R. 728	. Law Enforcement Block Grants	A: voice vote (2/13/95).
H. Res. 83 (2/13/95)	MO	. H.R. 7 . H.R. 831	National Security Revitalization	PU: 229−100; A: 221−121 (2/15/95). PO: 230−191: Δ: 229−188 (2/21/95)
H. Res. 91 (2/21/95)	0	. H.R. 830	Paperwork Reduction Act	A: voice vote (2/22/95).
H. Res. 92 (2/21/95)	MC		Defense Supplemental	A: 282–144 (2/22/95).
H. Res. 96 (2/24/95)	MO	. H.R. 1022	Risk Assessment	A: 252–175 (2/23/95). A: 253–165 (2/27/95).
H. Res. 100 (2/27/95)		. H.R. 926	. Regulatory Reform and Relief Act	A: voice vote (2/28/95).
H. Res. 101 (2/28/95) H. Res. 103 (3/3/95)			Private Property Protection Act	A: 271–151 (3/2/95).
H. Res. 104 (3/3/95)		. H.R. 988	Attorney Accountability Act	A: voice vote (3/6/95).
H Res 105 (3/6/95)	MO			A: 257=155 (3/7/95)
H. Res. 108 (3/7/95) H. Res. 109 (3/8/95)				A: voice vote (3/8/95).
H. Res. 115 (3/14/95)			Making Emergency Supp. Approps	A: 242–190 (3/15/95).
H. Res. 116 (3/15/95)	MC	. H.J. Res. 73		A: voice vote (3/28/95).
H. Res. 117 (3/16/95) H. Res. 119 (3/21/95)				
H. Res. 125 (4/3/95)	0	. H.R. 1271	. Family Privacy Protection Act	A: 423–1 (4/4/95).
H. Res. 126 (4/3/95)	0	. H.R. 660	Older Persons Housing Act	A: voice vote (4/6/95).
H. Res. 128 (4/4/95) H. Res. 130 (4/5/95)	MC		Contract with America Tax Relief Act of 1995	A: 228–204 (4/5/95). A: 252–172 (4/6/05)
H. Res. 136 (5/1/95)	0	. H.R. 655	Hydrogen Future Act of 1995	A: voice vote (5/2/95).
	0		. Coast Guard Auth. FY 1996	A: voice vote (5/9/95).
H. Res. 140 (5/9/95) H. Res. 144 (5/11/95)		. H.R. 961 H.R. 535	Clean Water Amendments	A: 414–4 (5/10/95). A: voice vote (5/15/95)
H. Res. 145 (5/11/95)	0	. H.R. 584	Fish Hatchery—lowa	A: voice vote (5/15/95).
H. Res. 146 (5/11/95) H. Res. 149 (5/16/95)			Fish Hatchery—Minnesota	A: voice vote (5/15/95).
H. Res. 149 (5/16/95) H. Res. 155 (5/22/95)		. H. Con. Res. 67 . H.R. 1561	American Overseas Interests Act	PU: 252-170 A: 255-168 (5/17/95). A: 233-176 (5/23/95)
H. Res. 164 (6/8/95)	MC	. H.R. 1530	Nat. Defense Auth. FY 1996	PQ: 225–191 A: 233–183 (6/13/95).
H. Res. 167 (6/15/95) H. Res. 169 (6/19/95)		. H.R. 1817 . H.R. 1854	MilCon Appropriations FY 1996	PO: 223–180 A: 245–155 (6/16/95).
II D 170 (/ /20/05)			For Ops. Approps. FY 1996	PU: 232-196 A: 236-191 (6/20/95). PO: 221-178 A: 217-175 (6/22/95).
H. Res. 171 (6/22/95)	0	. H.R. 1905	Energy & Water Approps. FY 1996	A: voice vote (7/12/95).
H. Res. 171 (6/20/95) H. Res. 171 (6/22/95) H. Res. 173 (6/27/95) H. Res. 176 (6/28/95) H. Res. 187 (7/12/95) H. Res. 187 (7/12/95)			Flag Constitutional Amendment	PO: 258–170 A: 271–152 (6/28/95).
H. Res. 185 (7/11/95)		. H.R. 1977	Interior Approps. FY 1996	PG: 235–194 A: 234–192 (6/29/93). PO: 235–193 D: 192–238 (7/12/95).
H. Res. 187 (7/12/95)	0	. H.R. 1977	Interior Approps. FY 1996 #2	PO: 230-194 A: 229-195 (7/13/95).
П. RES. 100 (1/12/93)	0		Agriculture Approps. FY 1996	PO: 242–185 A: voice vote (7/18/95).
H. Res. 193 (7/19/95)	C	. H.J. Res. 96	Disapproval of MFN to China	A: voice vote (7/20/95).
H. Res. 194 (7/19/95)		. H.R. 2002	Transportation Approps. FY 1996	PO: 217–202 (7/21/95).
H. Res. 197 (7/21/95) H. Res. 198 (7/21/95) H. Res. 201 (7/25/95) H. Res. 204 (7/28/95)			Exports of Alaskan Crude Oil	A: voice vote (//24/95). A: voice vote (7/25/95)
H. Res. 201 (7/25/95)	0	. H.R. 2099	VA/HUD Approps. FY 1996	A: 230–189 (7/25/95).
H. Res. 204 (7/28/95)		. S. 21	Terminating U.S. Arms Embargo on Bosnia	A: voice vote (8/1/95).
H. Res. 205 (7/28/95) H. Res. 207 (8/1/95)		. H.R. 2126 . H.R. 1555	Communications Act of 1995	A: 409-1 (7/31/95). A: 255-156 (8/2/95)
H. Res. 208 (8/1/95)	0	. H.R. 2127	Labor, HHS Approps. FY 1996	A: 323–104 (8/2/95).
H. Res. 215 (9/7/95) H. Res. 216 (9/7/95)			Economically Targeted Investments	A: voice vote (9/12/95).
H. Res. 218 (9/1/95)		. н.к. 1000 . Н.R. 1162	Deficit Reduction Lockbox	A: voice vote (9/12/95). A: voice vote (9/13/95).
H Res 219 (9/12/95)	0	. H.R. 1670	Federal Acquisition Reform Act	A: 414–0 (9/13/95).
H. Res. 222 (9/18/95) H. Res. 224 (9/19/95)			Côast Guard Auth. FY 1996 Clean Water Amendments Fish Hatchery—Waransas Fish Hatchery—Waransas Fish Hatchery—Waransas Fish Hatchery—Waransas Fish Hatchery—Waransas Fish Hatchery—Waransas Budget Resolution FY 1996 American Overseas Interests Act Nat. Defense Auth. FY 1996 MilCon Appropriations FY 1996 Leg. Branch Approps. FY 1996 For. Ops. Approps. FY 1996 For. Ops. Approps. FY 1996 Finergy & Water Approps. FY 1996 Interior Approps. FY 1996 Frasury/Postal Approps. FY 1996 Transportation Approps. FY 1996 Transportation Approps. FY 1996 Exports of Alaskan Crude Oil Commerce, State Approps. FY 1996 VA/HUD Approps. FY 1996 Communications Act of 1995 Labor, HHS Approps. FY 1996 Communications Act of 1995 Labor, HHS Approps. FY 1996 Economications Act of 1995 Labor, HHS Approps. FY 1996 Deficit Reduction Lockbox Federal Acquisition Reform Act CAREERS Act Nat. Highway System	A: 388–2 (9/19/95). PQ: 241–173 A: 375–39–1 (9/20/95).
H. Res. 225 (9/19/95)	MC	. H.R. 927	. Cuban Liberty & Dem. Solidarity	A: 304–118 (9/20/95).
H. Res. 226 (9/21/95)	0	. H.R. 743	Team Act	A: 344–66–1 (9/27/95).
H. Res. 227 (9/21/95) H. Res. 228 (9/21/95)			. 3-Judge Court	A: VOICE VOIE (9/28/95).  A: Voice vote (9/27/95)
H. Res. 230 (9/27/95)	C	. H.J. Res. 108		A: voice vote (9/28/95).
H. Res. 234 (9/29/95)		. H.R. 2405	Omnibus Science Auth	A: voice vote (10/11/95).
H. Res. 237 (10/17/95) H. Res. 238 (10/18/95)				A: VOICE VOTE (10/18/95). PO: 231–194 A: 227–192 (10/19/95)
H. Res. 239 (10/19/95)	C	. H.R. 2492	. Leg. Branch Approps	PQ: 235-184 A: voice vote (10/31/95).
H. Res. 245 (10/25/95)	MC			PQ: 228–191 A: 235–185 (10/26/95).
H. Res. 251 (10/31/95)	C	H.R. 2491 H.R. 1833		A: 237–190 (11/1/95).
H. Res. 252 (10/31/95)	MO	. H.R. 2546	. D.C. Approps	A: 241–181 (11/1/95).
H. Res. 257 (11/7/95) H. Res. 258 (11/8/95)	C			
	MC			
H. Res. 261 (11/9/95)	C	. H.J. Res. 115	. Cont. Resolution	A: 223–182 (11/10/95).
H. Res. 262 (11/9/95) H. Res. 269 (11/15/95)				
H. Res. 269 (11/15/95) H. Res. 270 (11/15/95)				
H. Res. 273 (11/16/95)	MC	. H.R. 2606	. Prohibition on Funds for Bosnia	A: 239–181 (11/17/95).
H. Res. 284 (11/29/95)	0	. H.R. 1788		
H. Res. 287 (11/30/95) H. Res. 293 (12/7/95)	C	. H.R. 1350 . H.R. 2621		
H. Res. 303 (12/13/95)	0	. H.R. 1745	Utah Public Lands.	
H. Res. 309 (12/18/95)	C			
H. Res. 313 (12/19/95) H. Res. 323 (12/21/95) H. Res. 366 (2/27/96)	C	. H.R. 558 . H.R. 2677		A: VOICE VOIE (12/20/95)
		H.R. 2854		

Codes: O-open rule; MO-modified open rule; MC-modified closed rule; C-closed rule; A-adoption vote; D-defeated; PO-previous question vote. Source: Notices of Action Taken, Committee on Rules, 104th Congress.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, the bill made in order by this rule, the Agriculture Market Transition Act; in other words, the farm bill, was taken largely from the agricultural title of the Balanced Budget Act. If the President had signed that bill, the farmers

of America would have had a farm pol- of the country, the need to move this icy in place with plenty of time to plan bill promptly is very, very important. for their 1996 crops. Unfortunately, President Clinton vetoed the Balanced Budget Act, so now that the time for planting is coming close in many parts

Therefore, it is necessary to have a rule which places some limits on the number of amendments which may be offered on the House floor today. The Committee on Rules tried to be as fair as possible to all who would like to offer amendments on all of the controversial issues. Amendments have been made in order on every single one of those.

On February 16, about 12 days ago, I sent a "Dear Colleague" letter to every Member of the House, all committee offices, and all leadership offices on both sides of the aisle, notifying them that any Member desiring to offer an amendment to this bill should file it with the Committee on Rules by 3 p.m. on Monday, February 26. That was the day before yesterday. An announcement of this process was then made on the floor of the House at the next available opportunity by the gentleman from Florida [Mr. Goss]. A total of 75 amendments were filed in response to that announcement, so evidently Members have had more than enough time to file their amendments. I am very pleased about that.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules has been as fair as possible in producing this rule on the floor today. The rule provides 2 hours of general debate, equally divided, followed by the consideration of a total of 16 amendments which are specified in the report accompanying this rule. Amendments are made in order dealing with the major areas of controversy; namely, the dairy program, the sugar program, the peanut program, the cotton program, and a conservation program, and each of these major issue amendments have bipartisan sponsorship from both sides of the aisle. It is important to make that notation.

Of the remaining amendments, five are offered by Democrats and two of those have bipartisan sponsorship as well. There are amendments dealing with the environmental concerns, such as the Conservation Reserve Program and environmental restoration in the Everglades. While not every possible amendment is in order, the areas of greatest concern will have an opportunity to be debated fully, and if the House can work its will on this legislation, we will immediately appoint conferees, go to conference with the Senate, and get a farm bill that the farmers of this country can depend on and we can do it right away.

The rule waives all points of order to allow consideration of the bill and the amendments specified in the report accompanying this rule. The amendments will be considered in the order printed in the report and will not be subject to further amendment. The debate time for each amendment is set forth in that report based on the time that was requested from both sides of the aisle. We have allocated as much time as was requested. So here again we have been as fair as we could.

In order to expedite consideration of the amendments where agreements can

be worked out, the rule also provides that the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture may offer amendments en bloc. That means he may join them together, consisting of amendments printed in the Committee on Rules report or germane modifications of those amendments. If the proponent of the original amendments does not agree with what is being offered by the chairman, he or she may still offer the original amendment. So nobody is being gagged. If you do not want your amendment considered en bloc, it will not be, and you will have a separate vote on it.

Mr. Speaker, the rule provides a very fair way to consider a complex piece of legislation, and it merits the support of this House. Mr. Speaker, the bill made in order by this rule is designed to move the Government out of the farming business and let farmers start producing to meet market needs, rather than producing to meet the requirements of Government programs. That is what this is all about. That is what this debate is all about today.

In the long run, this will result in lower costs to the taxpayers and more efficient production of food for consumers by the farmers of this Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I ask for a "yes" vote on the previous question, a "yes" vote on the rule, and a "yes" vote on final passage of this bill. We need to get it to the President for his signature.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. HALL of Ohio asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous material.)

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 366 is a modified closed rule to consider H.R. 2854, the Agriculture Market Transition Program. As my colleague, Mr. SOLOMON, has described, this rule provides 2 hours of general debate, equally divided between the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture.

Under this rule, only those amendments included in the Rules Committee report may be offered. It also permits a motion to recommit, with or without instructions.

Mr. Speaker, I am generally opposed to rules such as this which restrict the rights of Members to freely amend pending legislation. There is a long tradition of the House considering farm legislation under an open rule and I am reluctant to break with that tradition.

This week, the Rules Committee received requests to make in order more than 70 separate amendments. This modified closed rule makes in order only 16. Many worthwhile amendments important to Members of both sides of the aisle were denied.

H.R. 2854, in its present form, does not adequately address a number of basic requirements that should be in

farm legislation. It is my understanding that, without modification, the President would veto it. Some of the amendments that would be made in order by this rule, if passed, would improve the bill.

One of these amendments is a bipartisan effort sponsored by Mr. ROTH, Mr. HAMILTON, Mr. BEREUTER, and me. This amendment reauthorizes key export and food assistance programs and improves flexibility in the delivery and development of food aid programs.

Because the authority for food aid programs has expired, the United States has lost much of its ability to respond to new demands and food crises overseas. If these programs are not reauthorized, many people in places like Rwanda, Bosnia, and Angola, will go hungry. In these countries of crises, American food assistance is the difference between life and death. In countries recovering from a recent emergency, such as Ethiopia, Mozambique, and Haiti, the lack of food aid could cause severe food shortages.

The Roth-Hamilton-Bereuter-Hall amendment reauthorizes these food aid programs for 7 years and renews America's pledge that we will not abandon the hungry and the needy of the world.

An estimated 800 million people around the world suffer from early death, disease, and stunted growth because they don't have enough to eat. I feel strongly that as we move forward with farm legislation, we must not abandon America's longstanding commitment to fighting starvation and helping needy people around the world.

Another amendment which would also improve the bill and which was made in order is sponsored by Mr. SOL-OMON and Mr. DOOLEY and is a substitute to the dairy title of H.R. 2854. The existing dairy title would increase the cost of dairy products to consumers. It would also increase the cost to taxpayers for certain hunger assistance programs, such as the program helping women, infants, and children.

Therefore, it is my hope that the amending process on the House floor and the subsequent conference with the Senate will result in a bill that the President can sign and that will help farmers, consumers, and needy people here and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Sanibel, FL [Mr. Goss], a very valuable member of the Committee on Rules, like a right arm to me.

### □ 1145

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Glens Falls, the distinguished chairman of the Rules Committee, for yielding me this time. Mr. Speaker, I'm pleased to rise in support of this very fair and comprehensive rule for the consideration of H.R. 2854, the Agricultural Market Transition Program. There are two critical factors that went into the creation of this rule.

Time is of the essence—the President's veto of the Balanced Budget Act has left farmers in the lurch, forcing us to expedite the process here on the House floor at this late February date.

The second principle that went into forging the rule is that a debate about the fundamental principles behind our farm programs is desirable and healthy at this point. We are on the verge of approving a 7-year authorization for most major commodity programs, to-bacco being a notable exception. We need to be sure we know where American farmers and consumers are headed. As any guide traversing the Everglades will tell you, it is far better to consult the map and plot a course before setting out across the territory, rather than after you have gotten lost.

Personally, I believe that the time for deep Government involvement in agricultural markets ended long ago. I would like to see this country move away from this last bastion of central economic planning and into a true freemarket system that will reward farmers and consumers alike. The rule before us allows the House to consider important amendments in all the major commodity areas, including rice, cotton, wheat, peanuts, dairy, and more. I look forward to supporting my colleague from Florida, DAN MILLER, on his amendment to gradually phase out the sugar price support programthis is an issue of some consequence to southwest Floridians. From the jobs point of view and consumers point of view and quality of life. The rule also allows for amendments dealing with the issue of conservation. In Florida. we have learned a lesson about conservation that should be noted nationwide—without proper environmental stewardship and protection, national treasures like the Everglades could literally disappear. An amendment to be offered later will provide some muchneeded funding for Everglades restoration—this is a necessary and responsible step that Congress can take on a major environmental issue and I would urge my colleagues to support the Foley amendment. While the Rules Committee could not possibly make in order all the amendments filed—there were 74 of them—I am confident that this fair and balanced rule allows for a full debate of American farm policy.

If my colleagues doubt that, I ask them to stay tuned for the next 2 days because they are going to hear it and see it. It certainly says that this rule is worthy of Members' support, and I urge Members' support for the rule.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. Moakley], the very distinguished former chairman of the Committee on Rules.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague from Ohio for yielding time to me. I appreciate his participation on this bill.

Mr. Speaker, this bill is late. This bill is bad. This bill will cost American families a lot of money.

It's also being brought up under a modified closed rule. So there's going to be just about nothing we can do to fix it.

Mr. Speaker, restrictive rules are starting to be pretty regular events these days.

In fact, during the 2d session of the 104th Congress, my Republican colleagues have brought up 100-percent restrictive rules. In other words, they haven't allowed the House of Representatives to fix a single one of their bills this year—and many of them badly needed fixing.

Mr. Speaker, today we have a bill that gives handouts to large corporations while it takes away the safety net for family farmers. It's welfare for the rich and fertilizer for the rest.

Mr. Speaker, I want to point out to my colleagues a very serious problem with this rule that will hurt American consumers, especially families with children. This rule contains a nonfat milk solid unfunded mandate on American consumers to the tune of \$400 million a year.

Under this bill, milk prices will go up, possibly as high as 40 cents a gallon. This huge increase in milk prices will raise costs for families with children, it will mean that food stamps are worth less, it will mean that WIC does less for expectant mothers, and that school lunch programs have to pay more to get less.

I don't believe we were sent to Washington to do that.

Many of my colleagues may remember the 8 days last January my Republican colleagues promised an end to unfunded mandates which tell businesses what to do but don't give them the money to pay for it.

Now, given what my Republican colleagues promised last January, we should be able to do something about this. We should be able to strike this milk solid mandate and save American families the 40 cents a gallon they'll soon be paying at the cash register.

But this rule says no. This rule says—remember that issue that was so important last year? Well, it's not so important anymore. This rule takes the much-ballyhooed rules change giving Members the right to strike unfunded mandates and throws it out the window.

Specifically it prevents Members from offering motions to strike Federal unfunded mandates which CBO says will cost American consumers \$3.6 billion over the next 7 years.

So if my colleagues like the idea of the American people anteing up at the grocery store to pay for this ridiculous milk solid idea; if my colleagues have changed their opposition to unfunded mandates; they should support this rule. If not, I urge them to oppose this rule. Let's break the 100-percent restrictive rules record and help American consumers while we're at it.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, the previous speaker is one of my best friends, but one could sure tell he does not

know much about cows. Maybe there are not any in downtown Boston. They have some other good things over in Boston, though.

The next speaker I am going to recognize came to this Congress with me 18 years ago, and I just cannot understand why he has not changed a bit. It must be something to do with the milk he drinks up at Fond du Lac, WI, but he is a great Member of this body. He and I agree on 99.44 percent of everything except maybe milk.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. PETRI].
Mr. PETRI. Mr. Speaker, the only thing is that both of our heads of hair

are getting to look a little bit more like a nice white glass of milk.

Mr. Speaker, in all the years the Democrats controlled the House, every farm bill came up under an open rule. A year ago my party took over with grand promises of greater openness. And now we are presented with the first-ever closed rule on a farm bill.

Seventy-odd amendments were submitted to Rules and only 16 are allowed.

I sought, together with several of my colleagues, to offer an amendment to phase out the Federal dairy program, of which my own district is probably the third largest beneficiary in the country.

The dairy program is the most byzantine Soviet style price fixing scheme in the entire Federal Government. Even many of my dairy farmer constituents are prepared to kill this monstrosity because they know it is completely unnecessary and even harmful to their industry.

If we cannot kill this program with leadership from the heart of dairy country, what can we kill?

I have been working on this effort for the past year, and my amendment is supported by a wide array of pro-freemarket, pro-taxpayer, pro-consumer, and industry groups running clear across the political spectrum. And now this rule tells me I cannot offer it.

Don't we Republicans believe in openness? Don't we believe in free markets? Don't we believe in deregulation? Don't we believe in smaller government? Don't we believe in balancing the budget?

Whatever happened to all these principles? I will tell you what happened. They are all being trampled under the heel of this rule.

I urge all my colleagues to vote against this profoundly embarrassing closed rule.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. OBEY], the once and future chairman of the Committee on Appropriations.

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, I would urge Members to vote against this rule and against this bill. This is probably the worst farm bill to have hit the floor of the House in the last 25 years.

I especially want to address myself to dairy. I do not know if Members are

aware of it, but under the rules which have applied in this country since roughly 1934, if you are a dairy farmer and live in Florida, you are paid, courtesy of the Government milk marketing order system, about \$3 more for 100 pounds of milk than you are paid if you live in Wisconsin. I do not think that makes any sense. Yet this bill today is going to see to it that that system continues far longer than it ought to.

My friend, the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. GUNDERSON] tried to provide a compromise approach to the dairy milk marketing order situation, which tried to end that ridiculous milk marketing order system within 2 years. Unfortunately, it did not accomplish its goal. So, in my view, the Gunderson amendment is well-intentioned but ineffective. But now, to make matters worse, the Committee on Rules has allowed the amendment to be offered by the gentleman from New York, [Mr. SOLOMON], the chairman of the Committee on Rules, which will retain that existing, ridiculously stupid milk marketing order system for 4 years. And there is virtually no mechanism in the bill by which we can end that outrage.

There is absolutely no reasonable public policy reason why a farmer from one part of the country should get \$3 more for 100 pounds of milk than they get in another part of the country. And in my view, the amendment that Mr. SOLOMON offers is going to make the situation worse.

It seems to me that this bill, with

the limited number of amendments that are being allowed, this bill amounts to nothing more than a rip-off of taxpayers and a kiss-off for most upper Midwest dairy farmers. I am not going to have any choice but to vote against the rule, to vote against the Solomon amendment, to vote against the entire bill, because, frankly, this farm bill is a turkey. And what ought to happen to it is what happens to most turkeys on Thanksgiving. It ought to be devoured. It should not be passed by a respectable legislative body.

I would urge Members to vote against the bill. If the Committee on Agriculture cannot do better than this, it ought to be disbanded.

Mr. SOLOMON, Mr. Speaker, I vield myself such time as I may consume.

Let me just say to the previous speaker that if we do not end up with a farm bill, we are not going to have any corn to feed the turkeys and there will not be any Thanksgiving. So on behalf of Thanksgiving, come over here and vote for this bill and let us get it passed into law.

Let me also take exception to my two good friends that just spoke, one is a Republican from Wisconsin and another is a Democrat from Wisconsin. Let me just tell them that I would assume that the chairman of the Subcommittee on Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry, who is also from Wisconsin, wrote the dairy title that is in this bill. I would assume it has been written to their satisfaction. But now I hear a lot of opposition to it, and the opposition to my attempt to change it.

Let me tell my colleagues how I attempt to change it. All of the organizations that I know, whether they be conservative people that want government off the backs and out of the pockets of the American people or whether they are consumer groups that want to make sure that prices do not skyrocket from legislation passed by this Congress, they all support the Solomon amendment. Members will see that later on this evening when the Solomon amendment comes up.

Why is that? It is because the Solomon amendment takes a commodity called dairy and phases government subsidies out of it completely. If the Solomon amendment is adopted, it is the only commodity that will be to-tally phased out of government subsidies no longer supported by the taxpayer. That is what the Solomon amendment does.

Second, the Solomon amendment changes the language in the current dairy title which Secretary Glickman, on the other side of the aisle, Secretary of Agriculture, told me in a letter yesterday, and which all of the consumer groups are telling me today, that if the dairy title stays as it is, it will increase the cost of school lunches and food stamps by \$1 billion. That means the taxpayers have got to come up with an additional \$1 billion to pay for school lunches and food stamps. That is if the dairy title stays the same.

If the Solomon amendment is adopted, it does not raise it one nickel.

WIC. If the dairy title stays in effect the way it is, it will deprive 80,000 people of the services of WIC, 80,000. The Solomon amendment will not deprive

I am not going to get into it further; we will discuss it when we take up the amendment itself. But those are the differences between the Solomon amendment and between the existing dairy title.

Now, why was the Solomon amendment made in order? You might say, well, because he was the chairman of the Committee on Rules and has a little weight up there, and that might have something to do with it. But the truth of the matter is that whether you are talking about sugar or peanuts or cotton or dairy or conservation, what we have done is make in order one amendment on each of those that would be an opposite views of what is in the bill. Those that want to abolish all sugar subsidies have their right on the floor. So we have been as fair as we possibly can. Certainly, we are not going to make in order two Wisconsin amendments to an already Wisconsin dairy bill; we just could not do that, because that would not be fair then to the rest of the country.

So let us be fair about it. We have been fair about it. I urge you to support the rule and the bill itself.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. FRANK].

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I rise in a moment of some solemnity because it is always tragic when something dies young, and the one piece of legislation from the Contract With America, the unfunded mandates bill, it had a very short life because one of the things we heard last year that was very important was to prevent Congress from imposing unfunded mandates on the private sector. This legislation, according to the Congressional Budget Office, and let me read what the Congressional Budget office says:

CBO has determined that enacting this bill would impose private sector mandates, as defined in Public Law 104-4, an attachment to proviso analysis. According to CBO, over the life of this bill, \$3.6 billion in unfunded mandates are imposed on the private sector.

The CBO says some of this increase will be passed on to users of sugar and sugar-containing products in the United States, most of us believe.

Another point: "The bulk of such costs will be passed on to consumers in higher prices for fluid milk." So we have a bill that is going to raise sugar products, raise milk prices. It is an unfunded mandate, and the Contract With America that was alluded to, the gentleman from New York said this was just a continuation of the Reagan revolution, which was interpreted, apparently, by George Bush, as I got the chronology. We had the Reagan revolution. George Bush came around, and it got kind of sidetracked, but Mr. GING-RICH came out and put it back in. But what did he say? He said that there would be, under the rule, if the Congress passed an unfunded mandate bill on the private sector, as this bill is, according to CBO, then under this scheme any Member could get up on the floor and demand a separate vote on those unfunded mandates.

Now CBO says this bill has many unfunded mandates. The unfunded mandate bill we passed last year says if such a bill comes forward, any Member can get up and demand a separate vote. But the Committee on Rules waived it.

So the first time the unfunded mandates bill was relevant to legislation, the Committee on Rules made it go away. So the poor Contract With America barely is 2 months old, and out it goes. Apparently, the most important part of the Contract With America was the escape clause because the Republicans have just escaped the rules.

It reminds me, actually, the Contract of America, apparently this unfunded mandate business, of Groucho and Chico Marx in "Coconuts," I think it was, where they were going over the contract, where they were going over this clause and that clause, and Chico says to Groucho, "What's this clause?" Groucho says that is the sanity

clause, and Chico throws it out and

says, "You cannot fool me, there ain't no sanity clause."

Apparently, there "ain't" no unfunded mandates provision either. But there is a sanity clause.

As my friend, the once and future chairman of the Committee on Rules, pointed out, this bill has got a lot of sanity clause provisions for farmers. One of the things that continues to impress me is the fact that my conservative colleagues, the believers in the free market, stand on their own two feet, get the government off of people's backs, get the government's hands out of our pockets, let the market govern; somewhere they have found a footnote in all those conservative texts that say, "But not for agriculture, not for peanuts, not for sugar, not for milk, not for tobacco." But that we will get into with the bill.

The key point that has to be stressed is this: The one substantive piece of legislation affecting the general public that went through under the Contract of America was the unfunded mandates bill. Under the unfunded mandates bill, which I voted for, we should be having automatically separate votes on the billions of dollars of unfunded mandates this agricultural bill imposes on the private sector of America. And we will not have any such votes because the Committee on Rules waived the provision.

So people should understand that the Contract With America, the first time anything was relevant to the Contract With America came before us, the Republican Party decided to break the contract. Maybe the American people ought to respond next November.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DE LA GARZA].

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, I rise in opposition to the rule. Regardless of the amendments and regardless of the pros and the cons, I am concerned with the process, and I have, throughout these meetings, have disagreed with the process that no bill came out of the Committee on Agriculture in the beginning. It was taken, picked from the air and put into the reconciliation bill, the one that was vetoed by the President.

Let me mention here a lot of colleagues on the other side are saying the President vetoed a farm bill. He did not. He vetoed that whole mess that was a reconciliation bill. But let me say that I am not satisfied that we have followed a fair process-all of my tenure here in this Congress, 32 years, we have had bipartisanship, we have come out of the committee, disagreement here, disagreement there, but we have come out of the committee with a product from the committee. This is not a product from the committee. It has come from other sources for other reasons that is not a product of the committee.

The rule does not provide for openness. We have always had open rules or the farm bill so that everyone, regard-

less of how we feel or how they feel, has had an opportunity to address the issues in which they would be involved or which mattered to them. This has not been done, and as a former chairman of the committee, I know there will be amendments that I would be opposed to, but I cannot in good conscience agree to a rule that limits this Member or that Member.

This is not a committee bill, this is not a consensus bill, and I must oppose the rule.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Gunderson], one of the long-time Members of this body, who is the chairman of the Subcommittee on Livestock, Dairy, and Poultry of the Committee on Agriculture. He and I sometimes disagree on the dairy issue, but I would yield him 2 minutes of time

(Mr. GUNDERSON asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GUNDERSON. Mr. Speaker, I was going to withhold my discussions on the dairy title until we got into general debate on the amendments later today or tomorrow, but as I listened to the rule debate, I think there are some things that need to be fully understood.

The committee proposal on dairy is not the Wisconsin proposal, it is not the Midwest proposal, it is certainly not the Steve Gunderson proposal. Many of you are well aware that we did try to move toward a free market as a part of balanced budget one. Our leadership came to us and they said can you find the maximum amount of reform that is politically acceptable? And so we did that. We have spent the last 2 months working with literally every region of the country to bring about as close to a national consensus as you will ever get the dairy industry to have in terms of reform. That is what is in the committee bill.

And I think it is also important to understand when we talk about all these charges about what this bill is going to do to consumers, let us ask USDA. USDA does not talk about a billion-dollar impact on feeding programs; USDA says someplace between \$4 to \$500 million if we keep the California standards and mandate them for the entire country.

Now, everybody knows there has to be modification in the California standards in conference. The Senate has nothing. We know we have got to modify that area. Frankly, we have pledged, we have pledged to certain people we will make some modifications in that area. They know that, but they do not want to tell the truth, and that is not the gentleman from New York I am referring to. I am referring to the large manufacturing side of this industry, which has one goal: They want to keep the price support program in effect, they want to keep butter and powder on support for at least 5 years so we cannot use GATT and get into the world dairy market and become a market-oriented dairy economy so that prices depress, farmers produce more milk trying to survive, and then all of a sudden they can buy cheap milk.

This is not something being done out of the benevolent hearts of the large corporations for the poor farmers or poor consumers. Let us understand their motive in this one, my colleagues. Look at the committee bill. It is a delicate compromise which responds to every region of the country.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLKMER].

(Mr. VOLKMER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. VOLKMER. Mr. Speaker, I too rise in strong opposition to this rule.

I know the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON], the chairman of the committee, gave me one of my eight amendments, but it is not the one that I asked for; well, it is not the one I asked for, but that is all right. But the point is, and I think you go back to historical significance, this is a first time since I have been in this Congress, and I am now in my 20th year, that we have ever had a modified rule or semiclosed rule or closed rule on any farm bill. I was here in 1977, 1981, 1985, and 1990. Every year was an open rule. That is under Democrats, not under Republicans. The Republicans say, no, you cannot have all those amendments.

There were 74, if I remember right, 74 or 75, that were noticed to the Committee on Rules. I have looked at most of those amendments, and, to be honest with you, many of them are very important. Those are ideas that a Member of this Congress came here about agriculture, and he wanted to be able to bring it up, or he or she, on this floor when we had the farm bill.

But the great wisdom of the Committee on Rules, the chairman of the Committee on Rules says, no, that idea just is not any good, we are not going to accept it. You do not have the right to come to this floor and offer your amendment.

That is what the Committee on Rules is telling Members of this Congress: They no longer have a right to offer legitimate amendments, and I think that is terrible.

What is that doing to the House of Representatives? It is no longer a democracy in this House of Representatives. The U.S. House of Representatives is now under autocratic rule, more like a dictatorship. We are not going to have the full debate on legislation on this floor. We are only going to debate the things we want to be debated. We are going to let them do a few things, but they cannot have full time to debate.

Now in the past it has taken over a week to do a farm bill. They are going to do it in less than 2 days because

they are not going to let Members fully debate their amendments.

I strongly oppose the rule, and I strongly oppose the bill.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BOEHNER], the chairman of the Republican conference and member of the Committee on Agriculture, one of the most respected Members of this body.

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman of the Rules Committee for yielding this time to me, and suggest to the Members that we have coming before us today the most sweeping change in ag policy that we have seen in 60 years. We make real reforms in ag policy to try to move agriculture in this country from a government-run supply control supply management program to more market orientation than we have seen again in 60 years.

Now, we tried to bring this bill up about 3 weeks ago, and the gentleman who just spoke and preceded me, the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. VOLK-MER], did everything he could to prevent the bill from coming to the floor. Now the gentleman from Missouri and all of us understand in ag country the farmers and bankers need to understand what the program is going to be because the Government ag program died last September 30, and so it is of utmost urgency that we move this bill through this House.

Now, the Committee on Rules, and working with Members from both sides of the aisle, have allowed some 15 or 16 amendments to be brought to the floor for debate. I believe there is ample time over the next 2 days to debate this fully and to represent all of the interests and concerns of all of the Members, and so I think that we have before us a good rule, and I would urge my colleagues to support it.

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Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. POMEROY].

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I want to begin my remarks by responding directly to the comments of the preceding speaker. He talks about the sweeping reforms contained in this farm bill. He is right, there are sweeping reforms. All the more important that we fully debate, that we consider alternatives.

This new majority has taken another tack. They say "No, we have to do it our way, or you have to do it no way." That is no way to develop policy regarding a very fundamentally important policy for agriculture in this country.

Second, he suggests that here we are at the end of February 1996, without a farm bill, and that is because the minority somehow prevented this body from developing a new farm bill. What bull that is. Come on. They failed to meet the demand of getting a new farm bill in place in 1995, they failed to bring it up in a timely manner in January 1996; they took February off, for gosh sakes, against the opposition of vir-

tually every Member on this side of the aisle. And to have the temerity to suggest that somehow this debacle is the fault of the minority is a bit much.

Mr. Speaker, there is a real problem with this rule. It does not allow alternatives to be considered, and the fatal flaw of the freedom to farm legislation is that it eliminates the safety net for farmers. Farmers have two risks they cannot control, Mr. Speaker. They cannot control falling prices and they cannot control production losses. The Freedom-To-Farm Act addresses neither of those risks. In fact, it phases out the protections that have kept family farmers in the business of farming for decades.

I had an amendment which would have allowed the freedom-to-farm payments in the first 2 years, but moved in a strong marketing loan program providing some protection against falling prices for farmers over the second 5 years of the program. I am bitterly disappointed that that was not made in order. I think it was an extraordinarily important alternative to be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I want to quote the chairman of the Committee on Rules on preceding comments he has made about closed rules. He says: Speaker, sometimes it is hard to convey to the average citizen what the fuss about restricted rules is all about, but when you are telling them they are being robbed of their full right to representation in the House of Representatives because a committee says their Congressman cannot offer amendments, they begin to see things in a different light;" the gentleman from New York, JERRY SOLOMON, April 28, 1993. Then in closing he says, in a debate in March 1993, JERRY SOLOMON, chairman of the Committee on Rules. he says: "To paraphrase the real One Book, by your gag rules, you shall be known and reviled." That applies to the new majority in this instance with crystal clarity.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I just am compelled to respond a little bit. As I look at this bill before us, this is the farm bill that was in the Balanced Budget Act. Who vetoed the Balanced Budget Act? President Clinton. If he has signed it, this bill would become law today.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to set the record straight about the glorious past the Democrats are attempting to paint here, based on the gentleman's previous comments. We have been told that the last farm rule in 1990 was an open rule. In fact, it was what I would call modified open in that it required preprinting of amendments. However, the rule closed title 20 of the farm bill to any amendments.

Moreover, after the amendment process had gone on for 2 weeks, the Rules Committee produced a second, modified closed rule, to limit debate on the remaining amendments that had been printed in the RECORD.

So, we do learn from the past, even if some would attempt to paint a rosier picture of it than existed.

Finally, for those who yearn for those glorious days of open rules under the Democrats, let me point out that so far in this Congress 64 percent of our rules have been open or modified open compared to just 44 percent under the Democrats in the last Congress.

So you have it much better in the Congress today than you have ever had it before. That is because I am going to see to it, we are going to try to make these as fair and open as we can. Watch what happens in the next several weeks as far as open rules are concerned.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD a summary of the amendment process on the 1990 farm bill (H.R. 3950). The material referred to is as follows:

Summary of the Amendment Process on the 1990 Farm Bill (H.R. 3950)

On July 20, 1990, the Rules Committee reported a modified open rule (H. Res. 439) for consideration of the "Food and Agricultural Resources Act of 1990," H.R. 3950, requiring only that amendments must be pre-printed in the Congressional Record on or before July 20th.

The rule provided for three and one-half hours of general debate—two hours to the Ag Committee, and 30 minutes each to the Ways and Means, Foreign Affairs and Education and Labor committees. The rule made in order the Ag Committee substitute as base text for amendment purposes, as modified by amendments printed in the Rules Committee's report. The rule also permitted the Ag Committee chairman to offer en bloc amendments consisting of pre-printed amendments or germane modifications thereof. The rule permitted Rep. Gejdenson to offer an amendment to title XII (not printed in the report) and waived all points of order against it. The rule made in order an amendment printed in section 3 of the report on the rule that was not subject to amendment except by Rep. Panetta. Finally, the rule prohibited any amendments to title XIX of the bill.

On July 23rd, the rule was adopted, 293 to 80, and the House completed general debate. The rule was then considered for amendment over an additional six day period: July 24, 25, 27, 30, 31, and August 1. On August 1st the House passed the bill by a vote of 327–91.

All told, some 49 amendments were offered and voted—14 on rollcall votes and 35 on voice votes. Of the 49 amendments offered, 37 were offered by Democrats and just 12 were offered by Republicans. In addition, one Democrat and two Republican amendments were withdrawn, and points of order were sustained against two other Republican amendments. A total of 38 of the 49 amendments offered were adopted—most by voice vote. Of the 11 amendments not adopted, 7 were defeated on recorded votes. (The Madigan motion to recommit with instructions to limit certain benefits were rejected on a division vote of 38 to 92.)

Note.—It should be noted that on July 31st the Rules Committee reported a second rule (H. Res. 444) on the bill that limited debate time on four specified amendments (Conte, 20 minutes; Conte 60 minutes; Stenholm, 20 minutes and a De Fazio amendment to Stenholm, 20 minutes; and Frenzel, 40 minutes. Moreover, the rule limited debate time on any further en bloc amendments by the chairman and any other amendments preprinted in the Record to not more than 10 minutes each.

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I yield to the gentleman from North Dakota.

Mr. POMEROY. I thank the chairman for yielding. He is a man I respect, and I think he has made excellent points while he was a minority Member

about opening up this place.

Mr. SOLOMON. I am going to.

Mr. POMEROY. Mr. Speaker, I have in my hand the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the consideration of the rules from the preceding farm bills back to 1965. By my reading, none has been consid-

ered under a rule as restrictive as the one considered today.

Second, your statistics about whatever number of rules are open versus closed is of no consequences to North Dakota, when the farm bill is up under a closed rule. Agriculture in North Dakota is better than half of our economy. This is the big kahuna. This is the most important legislation that this body will consider relative to my State, and you have not allowed me to

offer an important alternative to the freedom to farm bill. We deserve better, Mr. Speaker. I hope my colleagues vote down this rule.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I include certain extraneous material at this point in the RECORD. This has to do with the various rules that have come to the floor in this past session relative to closed rules. As a matter of fact, it affects all rules.

The material referred to is as follows:

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1* H. Res. 6 H.R. 5*	Opening Day Rules Package	H. Res. 6 H. Res. 5 H. Res. 38	Closed Closed: contained a closed rule on H.R. 1 within the closed rule Restrictive; Motion adopted over Democratic objection in the Committee of the Whole to limit debate on section 4; Pre-printing gets preference.	None. None. N/A.
H.J. Res. 2*	Balanced Budget Committee Hearings Scheduling	H. Res. 44	Restrictive; only certain substitutes	2R; 4D.
H. Res. 43 H.R. 2*	Line Item Veto	H. Res. 55	Restrictive; considered in House no amendments	N/A. N/A.
H.R. 665*	Victim Restitution Act of 1995	H. Res. 61	Open: Pre-printing gets preference	N/A. N/A.
H.R. 666* H.R. 667*	Violent Criminal Incarceration Act of 1995	H. Res. 63	Open; Pre-printing gets preference Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 668* H.R. 728*	The Criminal Alien Deportation Improvement Act	H. Res. 69	Open; Pre-printing gets preference; Contains self-executing provision	N/A N/A
H.R. 7*	National Security Revitalization Act	H. Res. 83	Restrictive: 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference Restrictive: brought up under UC with a 6 hr. time cap on amendments.	N/A
H.R. 729* S. 2	Death Penalty/Habeas		Restrictive; brought up under UC with a 6 hr. time cap on amendments	N/A. None.
H.R. 831	To Permanently Extend the Health Insurance Deduction for the Self- Employed.	H. Res. 88	Restrictive; makes in order only the Gibbons amendment; Waives all points of order; Contains self-executing provision.	1D.
H.R. 830* H.R. 889	The Paperwork Reduction Act	H. Res. 91 H. Res. 92	Open	N/A. 1D.
H.R. 450*	Regulatory Moratorium	H. Res. 93	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 1022*	Risk Assessment Regulatory Flexibility	H. Res. 96 H. Res. 100	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A. N/A.
H.R. 926* H.R. 925*		H. Res. 101	Restrictive; 12 hr. time cap on amendments; Requires Members to pre-print their amend- ments in the Record prior to the bill's consideration for amendment, walves germaneness and budget act points of order as well as points of order concerning appropriating on a legislative bill against the committee substitute used as base text.	1D.
H.R. 1058*	Securities Litigation Reform Act	H. Res. 105	Restrictive; 8 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference; Makes in order the Wyden amendment and waives germaneness against it.	1D.
H.R. 988* H.R. 956*	The Attorney Accountability Act of 1995 Product Liability and Legal Reform Act	H. Res. 104 H. Res. 109	Restrictive; 7 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference. Restrictive; makes in order only 15 germane amendments and denies 64 germane amendments from being considered.	N/A. 8D; 7R.
H.R. 1158	Making Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions	H. Res. 115	Restrictive: Combinés emergency H.R. 1158 & nonemergency 1159 and strikes the abortion provision; makes in order only pre-printed amendments that include offsets within the same chapter (deeper cuts in programs already cut); walves points of order against three amendments; walves cl 2 of rule XXI against the bill, cl 2, XXI and cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; walves cl 2c) of rule XXI against the amendments in the Record;	N/A.
H.J. Res. 73*	Term Limits	H. Res. 116	10 hr time cap on amendments. 30 minutes debate on each amendment.  Restrictive; Makes in order only 4 amendments considered under a "Queen of the Hill" pro-	1D; 3R
	Welfare Reform		cedure and denies 21 germane amendments from being considered. Restrictive: Makes in order only 31 perfecting amendments and two substitutes; Denies 130 germane amendments from being considered; The substitutes are to be considered under	5D; 26R.
U.D. 1371*	Family Drivacy Act	U Doc 12E	ă "Queen of the Hill" procedure; All points of order are waived against the amendments.  Open	N/A.
H.R. 660* H.R. 1215*	Family Privacy Act Housing for Older Persons Act The Contract With America Tax Relief Act of 1995	H. Res. 126 H. Res. 129	Open Restrictive; Self Executes language that makes tax cuts contingent on the adoption of a balanced budget plan and strikes section 3006. Makes in order only one substitute. Waives all points of order against the bill, substitute made in order as original text and	N/A. 1D.
	Medicare Select Extension		Gephardt substitute. Restrictive; walves cl 2(1)(6) of rule XI against the bill; makes H.R. 1391 in order as original text; makes in order only the Dingell substitute; allows Commerce Committee to file a report on the bill at any time.	1D.
H.R. 1361	Hydrogen Future Act	H. Res. 136 H. Res. 139	Open: Open: waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Congressional Budget Act against the bill's consideration and the committee substitute; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI against the com-	N/A. N/A.
H.R. 961	Clean Water Act	H. Res. 140	mittee substitute.  Open: pre-printing gets preference: waives sections 302(f) and 602(b) of the Budget Act against the bill's consideration; waives cl 7 of rule XVI, cl 5(a) of rule XXI and section 302(f) of the Budget Act against the committee substitute. Makes in order Shuster substitute as first order of business.	N/A.
H.R. 535	Corning National Fish Hatchery Conveyance Act	H. Res. 144	Open	N/A.
	Conveyance of the Fairport National Fish Hatchery to the State of lowa.     Conveyance of the New London National Fish Hatchery Production Fa-		Open	N/A.
	cility		Open	N/A.
H. Con. Res. 67	Budget Resolution	H. Res. 149	Restrictive; Makes in order 4 substitutes under regular order; Gephardt, Neumann/Solomon, Payne/Owens, President's Budget if printed in Record on 5/17/95; waives all points of order against substitutes and concurrent resolution; suspends application of Rule XLIX	3D; 1R.
H.R. 1561	American Overseas Interests Act of 1995	H. Res. 155	with respect to the resolution; self-executes Agriculture language."  Restrictive; Requires amendments to be printed in the Record prior to their consideration;  10 hr. time cap; waives cl 2(1)(6) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; Also waives sections 302(f), 303(a), 308(a) and 402(a) against the bill's consideration and the committee amendment in order as original text; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI against the amendment; amendment consideration is closed at 2:30 p.m. on May 25, 1995. Self-executes provision which removes section 2210 from the bill. This was done at the request	N/A.
H.R. 1530	National Defense Authorization Act FY 1996	H. Res. 164	of the Budget Committee.  Restrictive; Makes in order only the amendments printed in the report; waives all points of order against the bill, substitute and amendments printed in the report. Gives the Chairman en bloc authority. Self-executes a provision which strikes section 807 of the bill; provides for an additional 30 min. of debate on Nunn-Lugar section; Allows Mr. Clinger	36R; 18D; 2 Bipartisan.
H.R. 1817	Military Construction Appropriations; FY 1996	H. Res. 167	to offer a modification of his amendment with the concurrence of Ms. Collins.  Onen: waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the hill: 1 hr, general debate: Uses House	N/A.
	Legislative Branch Appropriations		passed budget numbers as threshold for spending amounts pending passage of Budget. Restrictive, Makes in order only 11 amendments; waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act against the bill and cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill. All points of	5R; 4D; 2
			Budget Act against the bill and cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill. All points of order are waived against the amendments.	Bipartisan.
н.к. 1868	Foreign Operations Appropriations	н. кеѕ. 1/0	order are waived against the amendments.  Open: waives cl. 2, cl. 5(b), and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill; makes in order the Gilman amendments as first order of business; waives all points of order against the amendments; if adopted they will be considered as original text; waives cl. 2 of rule XXI against the amendments printed in the report. Pre-printing gets priority (Hall) (Menendez) (Goss) (Smith, NJ).	N/A.

# ${\tt CONGRESSIONAL\ RECORD-HOUSE}$

## FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1905	Energy & Water Appropriations	H. Res. 171	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill; makes in order the Shuster amendment as the first order of business; waives all points of order against the amendment; if adopted it will be considered as original text. Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 79	Constitutional Amendment to Permit Congress and States to Prohibit	H. Res. 173	Closed; provides one hour of general debate and one motion to recommit with or without in-	N/A.
H.R. 1944	the Physical Desecration of the American Flag. Recissions Bill	H. Res. 175	structions: If there are instructions, the MO is debatable for 1 hr. Restrictive; Provides for consideration of the bill in the House; Permits the Chairman of the Appropriations Committee to offer one amendment which is unamendable; waives all	N/A.
H.R. 1868 (2nd rule)	Foreign Operations Appropriations	H. Res. 177	points of order against the amendment. Restrictive; Provides for further consideration of the bill; makes in order only the four amendments printed in the rules report (20 min. each). Waives all points of order against the amendments; Prohibits intervening motions in the Committee of the Whole;	N/A.
H.R. 1977 *Rule Defeated*	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 185	Provides for an automatic rise and report following the disposition of the amendments.  Open; waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act and cl 2 and cl 6 of rule XXI; provides that the bill be read by title; waives all points of order against the Tauzin amendment; self-executes Budget Committee amendment; waives cl 2(e) of rule XXI	N/A.
H.R. 1977	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 187	against amendments to the bill; Pre-printing gets priority.  Open: walves sections 302(f), 306 and 308(a) of the Budget Act; walves clauses 2 and 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; walves all points of order against the Tauzin amendment provision but the bill be said by tiltle said events after Compitto.	N/A.
H.R. 1976	Agriculture Appropriations	H. Res. 188	amendment and makes NEA funding subject to House passed authorization; waives of 2(e) of rule XXI against the amendments to the bill; Pre-printing gets priority, Open; waives clauses 2 and 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; provides that the bill be read by title; Makes Skeen amendment first order of business, if adopted the amendment will be considered as base text (10 min.); Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A.
	Interior Appropriations		printed before July 14th to be considered; limits motions to rise.	N/A.
H.R. 2020	Treasury Postal Appropriations	H. Res. 190	Open: waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; provides the bill be	N/A.
H.J. Res. 96	Disapproving MFN for China	H. Res. 193	read by title; Pre-printing gets priority. Restrictive; provides for consideration in the House of H.R. 2058 (90 min.) And H.J. Res. 96 (1 hr). Waives certain provisions of the Trade Act.	N/A.
H.R. 2002	Transportation Appropriations	H. Res. 194	Open; waives cl. 3 of rule XIII and section 401 (a) of the CBA against consideration of the bill; waives cl. 6 and cl. 2 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Makes in order the Clinger/Solomon amendment waives all points of order against the amendment (Line	N/A.
H.R. 70	Exports of Alaskan North Slope Oil	H. Res. 197	Item Veto); provides the bill be read by title: Pre-printing gets priority. *RULE AMENDED*.  Open; Makes in order the Resources Committee amendment in the nature of a substitute as	N/A.
H.R. 2076	Commerce, Justice Appropriations	H. Res. 198	original text; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides a Senate hook-up with S. 395.	N/A.
	VA/HUD Appropriations		ority; provides the bill be read by title.  Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Provides that the	N/A.
			amendment in part 1 of the report is the first business, if adopted it will be considered as base text (30 min.); waives all points of order against the Klug and Davis amend- ments; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides that the bill be read by title.	
	Termination of U.S. Arms Embargo on Bosnia		Restrictive; 3 hours of general debate; Makes in order an amendment to be offered by the Minority Leader or a designee (1 hr); If motion to recommit has instructions it can only be offered by the Minority Leader or a designee.	ID.
H.R. 2126	Defense Appropriations	H. Res. 205	Open; waives ci. 2(1)(6) of rule XI and section 306 of the Congressional Budget Act against consideration of the bill; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; self-executes a strike of sections 8021 and 8024 of the bill as requested by the Budget	N/A.
H.R. 1555	Communications Act of 1995	H. Res. 207	Committee; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides the bill be read by title.  Restrictive; walves sec. 302(f) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; Makes in order the Commerce Committee amendment as original text and walves sec. 302(f) of the Budget Act and cl. 5(a) of rule XXI against the amendment; Makes in order the Bliety amendment (30 min.) as the first order of business, if adopted it will be original text; makes in order only the amendments printed in the report and walves all points of order	2R/3D/3 Bi- partisan.
H.R. 2127	Labor/HHS Appropriations Act	H. Res. 208	against the amendments: provides a Senate hook-up with S. 652. Open: Provides that the first order of business will be the managers amendments (10 min.), if adopted they will be considered as base text; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; waives all points of order against certain amendments printed in the report; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides the bill be read by title.	N/A.
H.R. 1594 H.R. 1655	Economically Targeted Investments	H. Res. 215 H. Res. 216	Open: 2 hr of gen. debate. makes in order the committee substitute as original text	N/A. N/A.
H.R. 1162	Deficit Reduction Lock Box	H. Res. 218	Open: waives cl. 7 of rule XVI against the committee substitute made in order as original	N/A.
H.R. 1670	Federal Acquisition Reform Act of 1995	H. Res. 219	text; Pre-printing gets priority.  Open: waives sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; bill will be read by title; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI and section 302(f) of the Budget	N/A.
H.R. 1617	To Consolidate and Reform Workforce Development and Literacy Programs Act (CAREERS).	H. Res. 222	Act against the committee substitute. Pre-printing gets priority.  Open: walves section 302(f) and 401(b) of the Budget Act against the substitute made in order as original text (H.R. 2332), c.l. 5(a) of rule XXI is also walved against the substitute, provides for consideration of the managers amendment (10 min.) If adopted, it is	N/A.
H.R. 2274	National Highway System Designation Act of 1995	H. Res. 224	considered as base text.  Open: waives section 302(f) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; Makes H.R. 2349 in order as original text; waives section 302(f) of the Budget Act against the substitute; provides for the consideration of a managers amendment (10 min.) If adopted, it	N/A.
H.R. 927	Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995	H. Res. 225	is considered as base text: Pre-printing gets priority.  Restrictive: waives cl 2()(2)(B) of rule XI against consideration of the bill; makes in order  H.R. 2347 as base text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; Makes Hamilton  amendment the first amendment to be considered (1 hr). Makes in order only amend- ments printed in the report.	2R/2D
H.R. 743	The Teamwork for Employees and managers Act of 1995	H. Res. 226	Open; waives cl 2(1)(2)(b) of rule XI against consideration of the bill; makes in order the committee amendment as original text; Pre-printing get priority.	N/A.
H.R. 1601	3-Judge Court for Certain Injunctions International Space Station Authorization Act of 1995	H. Res. 228	committee amendment as original text; Pre-printing get priority.  Open; makes in order a committee amendment as original text; Pre-printing gets priority  Open; makes in order a committee amendment as original text; pre-printing gets priority  Closed; Provides for the immediate consideration of the CR; one motion to recommit which	N/A. N/A.
	Making Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996		may have instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee.	A1/A
	Omnibus Civilian Science Authorization Act of 1995		Open; self-executes a provision striking section 304(b)(3) of the bill (Commerce Committee request); Pre-printing gets priority.  Restrictive; waives cl 2(i)(2)(B) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; makes in order	N/A.
	To Disapprove Certain Sentencing Guideline Amendments		the text of the Senate bill S. 1254 as original text; Makes in order only a Conyers sub- stitute; provides a senate hook-up after adoption.	1D
	Medicare Preservation Act		Restrictive: waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; makes in order the text of H.R. 2485 as original text; waives all points of order against H.R. 2485; makes in order only an amendment offered by the Minority Leader or a designee; waives all points of order against the amendment; waives cl 5⊚ of rule XXI (¾ requirement on votes raising taxes).	1D
H.R. 2492 H.R. 2491 H. Con. Res. 109	Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill	H. Res. 239 H. Res. 245	Restrictive; provides for consideration of the bill in the House.  Restrictive; makes in order H.R. 2517 as original text; waives all pints of order against the bill; Makes in order only H.R. 2530 as an amendment only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee; waives all points of order against the amendment; waives cl 5⊚ of rule XXI (% requirement on votes raising taxes.	N/A. 1D
H.R. 1833 H.R. 2546	Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995 D.C. Appropriations FY 1996	H. Res. 251 H. Res. 252	Closed Restrictive; waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; Makes in order the Walsh amendment as the first order of business (10 min.); if adopted it is considered as base text; waives cl 2 and 6 of rule XXI against the bill; makes in order the Bonilla,	N/A. N/A
H.J. Res. 115	Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 257	Gunderson and Hostettler amendments (30 min.); waives all points of order against the amendments; debate on any further amendments is limited to 30 min. each. Closed: Provides for the immediate consideration of the CR; one motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee.	N/A

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS: COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 2586	Temporary Increase in the Statutory Debt Limit	H. Res. 258	Restrictive; Provides for the immediate consideration of the CR; one motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or a designee; self-executes 4 amendments in the rule; Solomon, Medicare Coverage of Certain Anti-Cancer Drug Treatments, Habeas Corpus Reform, Chrysler (MI); makes in order the Walker amend (40 min.) on regulatory reform.	56
H.R. 2539	ICC Termination	H. Res. 259	Open; waives section 302(f) and section 308(a)	
H.J. Res. 115	3 11 1		designees to dispose of the Senate amendments (1hr).	N/A.
H.R. 2586	Temporary Increase in the Statutory Limit on the Public Debt	H. Res. 262	Closed; provides for the immediate consideration of a motion by the Majority Leader or his designees to dispose of the Senate amendments (1hr).	N/A
H. Res. 250	House Gift Rule Reform	H. Res. 268	Closed; provides for consideration of the bill in the House; 30 min. of debate; makes in order the Burton amendment and the Gingrich en bloc amendment (30 min. each); waives all points of order against the amendments; Gingrich is only in order if Burton fails or is not offered.	2R
H.R. 2564	Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995	H. Res. 269	Open; waives cl. 2(I)(6) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; waives all points of order against the Istook and McIntosh amendments.	N/A.
H.R. 2606	Prohibition on Funds for Bosnia Deployment	H. Res. 273	against the istook and motimust alterioriests.  Restrictive; waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; provides one motion to amend if offered by the Minority Leader or designee (1 hr non-amendable); motion to recommit which may have instructions only if offered by Minority Leader or his designee; if Minority Leader motion is not offered debate time will be extended by 1 hr.	N/A.
H.R. 1788	Amtrak Reform and Privatization Act of 1995	H. Res. 289	Open; waives all points of order against the bill's consideration; makes in order the Trans- portation substitute modified by the amend in the report; Bill read by title; waives all points of order against the substitute; makes in order a managers amend as the first order of business, if adopted it is considered base text (10 min.); waives all points of	N/A.
H.R. 1350	Maritime Security Act of 1995	H. Res. 287	order against the amendment; Pre-printing gets priority.  Open; makes in order the committee substitute as original text; makes in order a managers amendment which if adopted is considered as original text (20 min.) unamendable; pre-printing gets priority.	N/A.
H.R. 2621	To Protect Federal Trust Funds	H. Res. 293	Closed; provides for the adoption of the Ways & Means amendment printed in the report. 1 hr. of general debate.	N/A.
H.R. 1745	Utah Public Lands Management Act of 1995	H. Res. 303	Open; walves cl 2(I)(6) of rule XI and sections 302(f) and 311(a) of the Budget Act against the bill's consideration. Makes in order the Resources substitute as base text and walves cl 7 of rule XVI and sections 302(f) and 308(a) of the Budget Act; makes in order a managers' amend as the first order of business, if adopted it is considered base text (10 min).	N/A.
H. Res. 304	Providing for Debate and Consideration of Three Measures Relating to U.S. Troop Deployments in Bosnia.	N/A	Closed; makes in order three resolutions; H.R. 2770 (Dorman), H. Res. 302 (Buyer), and H. Res. 306 (Gephardt); 1 hour of debate on each.	1D; 2R
H. Res. 309	Revised Budget Resolution	H. Res. 309	Closed: provides 2 hours of general debate in the House	N/A.
H.R. 558	Texas Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Compact Consent Act The National Parks and National Wildlife Refuge Systems Freedom Act of 1995.	H. Res. 313	Open; pre-printing gets priority	N/A. N/A.
		OURE IN THE 104TH COI	NGRESS 2D SESSION	
H.R. 1643	To authorize the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (MFN) to the products of Bulgaria.	H. Res. 334	Closed: provides to take the bill from the Speaker's table with the Senate amendment, and consider in the House the motion printed in the Rules Committee report; 1 hr. of general debate; previous question is considered as ordered.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 134 H. Con. Res. 131		H. Res. 336	Closed: previous question is considered as of uclerum.  Closed: provides to take from the Speaker's table H.J. Res. 134 with the Senate amendment and concur with the Senate amendment with an amendment (H. Con. Res. 131) which is self-executed in the rule. The rule provides further that the bill shall not be sent back to the Senate until the Senate agrees to the provisions of H. Con. Res. 131.	N/A.
	Conveyance of National Marine Fisheries Service Laboratory at Gloucester, Massachusetts.		Closed; provides to take the bill from the Speakers table with the Senate amendment, and consider in the house the motion printed in the Rules Committee report; 1 hr. of general debate; previous quesetion is considered as ordered.	N/A.
	Social Security Guarantee Act		Closed.  Restrictive; waives all points of order against the bill; 2 hrs. of general debate; makes in order a committee substitute as original text and waives all points of order against the substitute; makes in order only the 16 amends printed in the report and waives all points of order against the amendments; circumvents unfunded mandates law; Chairman has en bloc authority for amends in report (20 min.) on each en bloc.	N/A. 5D; 9R; 2 Bipartisan.

<sup>\*</sup> Contract Bills, 67% restrictive: 33% open. \*\*\* All legislation 1st Session, 56% restrictive; 44% open. \*\*\*\* Restrictive rules are those which limit the number of amendments which can be offered, and include so-called modified open and modified closed rules as well as completely closed rules and rules providing for consideration in the House as opposed to the Committee of the Whole. This definition of restrictive rule is taken from the Republican chart of resolutions reported from the Rules Committee in the 103d Congress. \*\*\*\*\*\* Not included in this chart are three bills which should have been placed on the Suspension Calendar. H.R. 101, H.R. 400, H.R. 440.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. FARR].

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise with great concern about the debate we are about to have. Most people do not understand what this debate is all about. It is about the rules that allow the amendments to come to the floor. It is as simple as that. The issue here is whether you will have an open rule which allows any amendments to be brought up, or will you have a closed rule or a modified closed rule, which allows very few or no amendments.

What alarms me, and I wish the alarms would go off in this building for the people who are sitting here in the gallery, those who are watching, those who are wandering around, it is that this building represents democracy in the United States. It says this is the great hall where people can debate all issues.

But I will tell you, on this farm bill, which is one of the most important bills we have to debate in Congress, because agriculture touches every State, and it touches each differently; some States grow sugar cane, some States grow peanuts, some States grow coffee, some States grow artichokes, some States grow wheat, some States grow corn, some States grow cows, some States grow pigs and sheep, but no State does it all.

So this is the bill that touches America and the greatness of America, and yet the process we are using denies public access. It denies the debate that we ought to have, that says look, there were 74 amendments presented to the Committee on Rules, and only 15 of them were allowed to come to the floor; 15 allowed to come to the floor on a bill that has never had public input. This process is denying people access to their government, and that may be denied on the Senate side, but the Constitution protects this hall and this House. That Constitution says that this is the people's House.

You have to reject rules like this, because what is going to happen is the end product is not going to be trusted by the people. It is not just the laws we make and we put into the books, it is the confidence that we have to build

with the American public that what we are doing here is right and just.

This is a controversial bill. People do not understand commodity programs. This is not a freedom to farm act, this is how we regulate commodities. Indeed, if we are going to have any trust in that, we will have to build that trust by open rules, not closed rules.

It is said about sausages, if we are talking about the farm bill and what goes into sausages, that if you like laws and sausages, you should never watch either of them being made. Mr. Speaker, reject this rule. It is anti-everything this House stands for under our Constitution.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from West Palm Beach, FL [Mr. FOLEY], a new Member of this body, and an outstanding Member.

Mr. FOLEY. Mr. Speaker, let me thank the gentleman for yielding time to me, and commend the Committee on Rules and its chairman for fair consideration of over 70 amendments on this bill. Why is it fair? It makes in order five Democratic amendments. It makes in order five Republican amendments. It makes in order four bipartisan

amendments. I think it has been extremely fair for all sides, both sides of the aisle, and any Member who has interests in agriculture.

We talk about delay. Count up the number of quorum calls, motions to adjourn, motions to rise, and recorded Journal votes required by the minority in the first 100 days of Congress. Talk about why we are waiting until February to consider some important legislation. That will give you a significant answer.

One of the amendments is extremely important to restoring one of this Nation's true environmental treasures, the Florida Everglades. The rule makes in order my amendment, which will provide \$210 million for the purpose of environmental restoration in the Everglades, a provision similar to that which has already passed in the Senate bill.

Let us make one thing perfectly clear. We would not be in a position today where this type of structured rule would be necessary had the President not vetoed the balanced budget bill placed on his desk last year. In addition to putting the future of this country at risk by jeopardizing the financial security for future generations with his veto, the President's actions made planting decisions for farmers in rural America extremely difficult due to the expiration of most of this country's agricultural policies.

This rule that is being debated today will ensure the timely passage of this bill so that farmers and ranchers can make decisions they need to make and provide America with the safest, cheapest, most abundant food supply in the world. I ask my colleagues to support

this very fair rule.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time on this rule. I would urge certainly a "no" vote on the previous question. If the "no" vote prevails, I would offer an amendment immediately to pass an open rule on the agriculture bill that is before us

With that, Mr. Speaker, I yield back

the balance of my time.
Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume. I will close for the majority.

Mr. Speaker, let me respond to my good friend, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. FRANK]. The unfunded mandate law that he is talking about does not prohibit unfunded mandates. It simply requires that such mandates be identified in the committee report, which the committee has done, so that the House can determine whether to support or whether to oppose them. That is the way the law was written.

The committee has complied with the mandate law by identifying the private sector mandates in its report. That is in the report. The law does not provide for a separate vote on such private sector mandates. That is not in the law. That is only public sector. Only the public sector mandates require a separate vote. Certainly if there were any in here, and it has been flagged by CBO, then we would be having those separate votes. Since there are no public sector mandates in the bill, we are not denying any separate votes at all.

The Committee on Agriculture has complied with the unfunded mandate law, and so has the Committee on Rules. If anyone has any question beyond that, they can always ask for votes as they see fit.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOLOMON. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. First, Mr. Speaker, my understanding is that the legislation did say that there should be a separate vote on a private sector unfunded mandate unless the Committee on Rules waived it. I understand the Committee on Rules can waive it. But what the gentleman has now said is people should understand what this great big unfunded mandate bill comes down to.

It does not mean there will not be any unfunded mandates on the private sector, apparently. It does not mean we will even have to automatically vote on each unfunded mandate. The great contract reform on unfunded mandates for the private citizens come down to this: We will not do an unfunded mandate on you for several billion dollars unless we put it in the committee report. I am sure the American people will feel very reassured and protected that they know that there will not be any more unfunded mandates unless they are mentioned in a committee report. Congratulations on a great legislative accomplishment.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, let me just say that the Committee on Agriculture has complied with the unfunded mandate law. So has the Committee on Rules.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time, and I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). The question is on ordering the previous question.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 228, nays 182, not voting 21, as follows:

## [Roll No. 31] YEAS—228

Allard Ballenger Bateman Archer Barr Barrett (NE) Bereuter Bilbray Armey Bachus Bartlett Bilirakis Bliley Barton Baker (CA) Baker (LA) Blute Bass

Boehlert Bonilla Bono Brownback Bunn Bunning Burr Burton Buver Calvert Camp Campbell Canady Castle Chabot Chambliss Chenoweth Christensen Chrysler Clinger Coble Coburn Collins (GA) Combest Cooley Cox Crane Crapo Cremeans Cubin Cunningham Davis Deal DeLav Diaz-Balart Dickey Doolittle Dornan Dreier Duncan Ehlers Ehrlich English Ensign Everett Ewing Fawell Fields (TX) Flanagan Foley Forbes Fowler Fox Franks (CT) Franks (NJ) Frelinghuysen Frisa Funderburk Gallegly Ganske Gekas Gilchrest Gillmor Gilman Goodlatte Goodling

Goss Graham Greenwood Gunderson Gutknecht Hamilton Hancock Hansen Hastert Haves Hayworth Hefley Heineman Herger Hilleary Hobson Hoekstra Hoke Horn Hostettler Houghton Hunter Hutchinson Hyde Inglis Istook Johnson (CT) Johnson, Sam Jones Kasich Kelly Kim King Kingston Klug Knollenberg Kolbe LaHood Largent LaTourette Laughlin Lazio Leach Lewis (CA) Lewis (KY) Lightfoot Linder Livingston LoBiondo Longley Lucas Manzullo Martini McCollum McCrery McHugh McInnis McIntosh McKeon Metcalf Meyers Mica Miller (FL) Molinari Montgomery Moorhead Morella Myrick

Neumann Nev Norwood Nussle Packard Parker Paxon Pombo Porter Portman Pryce Quillen Quinn Radanovich Ramstad Regula Roberts Rogers Rohrabacher Ros-Lehtinen Roth Roukema Royce Salmon Sanford Saxton Scarborough Schaefer Shadegg Shaw Shays Shuster Sisisky Smith (MI) Smith (NJ) Smith (TX) Smith (WA) Solomon Souder Spence Stearns Stockman Stump Talent Tate Tauzin Taylor (NC) Thomas Thornberry Tiahrt Torkildsen Torricelli Traficant. Upton Vucanovich Waldholtz Walker Walsh Wamp Watts (OK) Weldon (FL) Weller White Whitfield Wicker Wolf Young (AK) Young (FL)

## NAYS—182 Collins (MI)

Nethercutt

Condit

Convers

Costello

Covne

Cramer

Danner

DeFazio

DeLauro

Dellums

Deutsch

Dingell

Doggett

Dooley

Dovle

Durbin

Eshoo

Evans

Fattah

Filner

Flake

Fazio Fields (LA)

Farr

Edwards

Dixon

de la Garza

Abercrombie Ackerman Andrews Baesler Baldacci Barcia Barrett (WI) Becerra Beilenson Bentsen Berman Bishop Bonior Borski Boucher Brewster Browder Brown (CA) Brown (FL) Brown (OH) Cardin Clay Clayton Clement Clyburn Coleman

Foglietta Ford Frank (MA) Frost Gejdenson Gephardt Geren Gibbons Gonzalez Gordon Green Gutierrez Hall (OH) Hall (TX) Hastings (FL) Hefner Hilliard Hinchey Holden Hoyer Jackson (IL) Jacobs Jefferson Johnson (SD)

Johnson, E. B.

Johnston

Kanjorski

Zeliff

Zimmer

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—HOUSE

Hastings (WA)

Hansen

Hastert

Hayes Hayworth

Heineman

Hefley

Herger

Hilleary

Hobson

Hoke

Horn

Hoekstra

Hostettler

Houghton

Hutchinson

Johnson (CT)

Johnson, Sam

Kennedy (MA)

Hunter

Hyde

Inglis

Istook

Jones

Kaptur

Kasich

Kelly

Kim

King

Kolbe

LaHood

Largent

Latham

Lazio

Leach

LaTourette

Lewis (CA)

Lewis (KY)

Livingston LoBiondo

Longley

Maloney Manzullo

Martini

McCollum

McCrerv

McDade

McHugh

McInnis

McKeon

Metcalf

Meyers

Mica Miller (FL)

Molinari Montgomery Moorhead

Morella

Murtha

Myrick

Nethercutt

Neumann

McIntosh

Lowey

Lucas

Lightfoot

Linder

Laughlin

Kingston

Klug Knollenberg

Sensenbrenner Kaptur Moran Kennedy (MA) Murtha Serrano Kennedy (RI) Nadler Skaggs Kennelly Oberstan Skeen Obey Skelton Kildee Kleczka Olver Slaughter Klink Ortiz Spratt LaFalce Orton Stark Lantos Owens Stenholm Levin Pallone Studds Lewis (GA) Stupak Pastor Payne (NJ) Lincoln Tanner Taylor (MS) Lipinski Payne (VA) Lofgren Tejeda Peterson (FL) Lowey Thompson Peterson (MN) Luther Thornton Maloney Thurman Manton Pickett Torres Markey Pomeroy Towns Martinez Posharď Velazquez Mascara Rahall Vento Visclosky Matsui Rangel McCarthy Reed Volkmer Richardson McDermott Ward McHale Rivers Waters Roemer McNulty Watt (NC) Rovbal-Allard Meehan Waxman Meek Sabo Williams Menendez Sanders Wilson Miller (CA) Sawver Wise Woolsey Minge Schiff Mink Schroeder Wynn Moakley Schumer Yates Mollohan Scott

## NOT VOTING-21

Hastings (WA) Bryant (TN) Riggs Bryant (TX) Jackson-Lee Chapman Collins (IL) (TX) McDade Rush Seastrand Dicks McKinney Weldon (PA) Engel Myers Neal Furse Harman

#### $\Box$ 1249

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. Riggs for, with Mrs. Collins of Illinois against.

Messrs. OWENS, SCHIFF, and KEN-NEDY of Massachusetts, and Ms. KAP-TUR changed their vote from "yea" to 'nay.

So the previous question was ordered. The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mrs. SEASTRAND, Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 31, due to pressing business, I was not able to vote. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). The question is on the reso-

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

## RECORDED VOTE

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—aves 244, noes 168, not voting 19, as follows:

## [Roll No. 32]

AYES-244 Bartlett Allard Boehner Archer Barton Bonilla Bono Brewster Bass Armey Bateman Bachus Baesler Bereuter Brownback Baker (CA) Bilbray Bilirakis Bryant (TN) Baker (LA) Bunn Ballenger Bliley Bunning Blute Burr Barrett (NE) Boehlert Burton

Callahan Calvert Camp Campbell Canady Castle Chabot Chambliss Chenoweth Christensen Chrysler Clinger Coble Coburn Collins (GA) Combest Condit Cooley Cox Crane Crapo Cremeans Cubin Cunningham Davis Deal DeLay Diaz-Balart Dickey Doolittle Dornan Dreier Duncan Dunn Ehlers Ehrlich Emerson English Ensign Everett Ewing Fawell Fields (TX) Flanagan Foley Forbes Fowler Fox Franks (CT) Franks (NJ) Frelinghuysen Frisa Frost Funderburk Gallegly Ganske Gekas Geren Gilchrest Gillmor Gilman Goodlatte Goodling Graham Greenwood Gunderson Gutknecht Hall (TX) Hamilton Hancock

Abercrombie

Barrett (WI)

Ackerman

Andrews

Baldacci

Barcia

Becerra

Bentsen

Berman

Bevill

Bishop

Bonio

Borski

Boucher

Browder Brown (CA)

Cardin

Clayton

Clement

Clyburn

Coleman

Collins (MI)

Clay

Brown (OH)

Beilenson

## NOES-168

Conyers Flake Costello Foglietta Coyne Ford Frank (MA) Cramer Danner Geidenson de la Garza Gibbons DeFazio Gonzalez Gordon DeLauro Dellums Green Deutsch Gutierrez Dingell Hall (OH) Dixon Hastings (FL) Doggett Hefner Dooley Hilliard Doyle Hinchey Durbin Holden Edwards Hoyer Jackson (IL) Engel Eshoo Jacobs Evans Jefferson Farr Fattah Johnson (SD) Johnson, E.B. Johnston Fazio Fields (LA) Kanjorski Kennedy (RI) Filner

Young (FL)

Zeliff

Norwood Nussle Oxley Packard Parker Paxon Peterson (MN) Pombo Porter Portman Quillen Quinn Ramstad Regula Roberts Rogers Rohrabacher Ros-Lehtinen Roukema Royce Salmon Sanford Saxton Scarborough Schaefer Schiff Schumer Seastrand Shadegg Shaw Shays Shuster Sisisky Smith (MI) Smith (NJ) Smith (TX) Smith (WA) Solomon Souder Spence Stearns Stump Talent Tate Tauzin Taylor (NC) Thomas Thornberry Tiahrt Torricelli Traficant Unton Vucanovich Waldholtz Walker Walsh Wamp Watts (OK) Weldon (FL) Weldon (PA) Weller White Whitfield Wicker Williams Wolf Young (AK)

Kennelly Kildee Kleczka Klink LaFalce Lantos Levin Lewis (GA) Lincoln Lipinski Lofgren Luther Manton Martinez Mascara Matsui McCarthy McDermott McHale McNulty Meehan Meek Menendez Miller (CA) Mink Moakley Mollohan Moran Nadler Brown (FL) Bryant (TX)

Skeen Skelton Oberstan Obey Olver Slaughter Ortiz Spratt Stark Orton Owens Stenholm Pallone Stockman Pastor Studds Payne (NJ) Stupak Payne (VA) Tanner Pelosi Taylor (MS) Peterson (FL) Tejeda Petri Thompson Pickett Thornton Thurman Torkildsen Pomerov Poshard Rahall Torres Rangel Towns Velazquez Reed Richardson Vento Visclosky Rivers Volkmer Roemer Roybal-Allard Ward Saho Waters Sanders Watt (NC) Sawyer Waxman Schroeder Wise Scott Woolsey Sensenbrenner Wynn Serrano Yates Skaggs Zimmer NOT VOTING—19

Harman Riggs Rose Jackson-Lee Chapman Collins (IL) (TX) McKinney Roth Rush Dicks Myers Stokes Furse Gephardt Neal Wilson Radanovich

### □ 1306

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:

Mr. Riggs for, with Mrs. Collins of Illinois against.

So the resolution was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RESIGNATION MEMBER AS COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM AND OVERSIGHT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON) laid before the House the following resignation as a member of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

Washington, DC, February 28, 1996.

Hon. NEWT GINGRICH, Speaker of the House,

The Capitol, Washington DC.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I hereby resign from the House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

Sincerely.

GENE TAYLOR, Member of Congress.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Without objection, the resignation is accepted.

There was no objection.

## RESIGNATION AS MEMBER OF COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following resignation as a member of the Committee on Agriculture: