

Mr. LINDER. Mr. Speaker, congratulations America. Today you begin to work for yourself. Tuesday was tax freedom day. For the previous 4 months and 7 days, Americans have worked solely to pay local, State, and Federal taxes. At last, working Americans are earning money to pay the mortgage and clothe the kids.

For too long, taxes have been piled on the American people because liberal politicians believe that they can make better choices with our money than we can. The Federal bureaucrats have never trusted our citizens to decide what is best for their families and communities. No one spends someone else's money as carefully as he spends his own. Washington has proven that.

Americans should be allowed to keep more and do more with their hard-earned money. The Government must stop taxing them into longer hours and second jobs. Not only is the Government taking Americans' money, it is essentially taking the precious time they would normally spend playing with their children, going to PTA or church functions, or volunteering in their communities. Higher taxes have become a tax on free time and family too.

DO NOT CUT EDUCATION

(Mr. DOGGETT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, last year our Republican colleagues sought to place a \$5,000 burden on young people who want a 4-year college education. At the same time, they came along and proposed to give thousands of our youngest Americans a wrong start instead of a head start by defunding much of the program needed for early childhood education.

Fortunately, Americans spoke out against this extremism. In the early part of this year, our Republican colleagues yielded and we got an appropriations process approved for this year that protects education and the hopes and dreams of so many American families. But hardly had that victory been won than Sunday on television we had the gentleman from Texas [Mr. ARMEY], the majority leader, saying that he was willing to fund a tax break in order to do that through cuts in education.

Mr. Speaker, education is not the place to cut. Though our Republican colleagues suffered from shutdown fever last year and this year they are having sinking spells that the American people understand their agenda, please do not provide this gimmick that you feel you need in order to get a rise in the polls. Do not fund it by cutting education.

OIL PROFITS ARE UP

(Mr. KLINK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. KLINK. Mr. Speaker, here they go again. Snake oil salesmen looking for a magic cure. The Republicans have come up with this idea that the 4.3-cents-a-gallon tax that was put on back in 1993 somehow did not cause the price of gas to go up in 1993, did not cause it to go up in 1994, did not cause it to go up in 1995. But all of a sudden, in 1996, this pent-up tax caused it to go up 30 cents a gallon.

Well, we are not really buying that. We know that they are really reaching for straws. We heard Philip K. Verleger, Jr., who is an oil economist, say, if you cut taxes, the incremental difference is going to go to big oil, not to the motoring public. In fact, an analysis by the Democrats in the Committee on Commerce has shown that, while this gas price was going up, just during April and March of this year, that the value of the stock options by oil company executives rose by \$32.8 million.

GAS TAX REPEAL

(Mr. STUPAK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. STUPAK. Mr. Speaker, we continue to debate how to deal with a sudden hike in gas prices.

This is an important issue in my district. The First Congressional District of Michigan sprawls across hundreds of miles of the upper Midwest.

With extensive forests and beautiful rivers, with shoreline on three of the Great Lakes, tourism is an essential industry in my district. It is the second biggest industry in Michigan.

But my district is also full of hard-working Americans who value education.

Title I, Head Start, drug-free schools, and student loan programs are essential investments in the future for families in my district and the rest of America.

But the majority leader has suggested education be cut to make up for lost revenue, if part of the Federal gas tax is repealed.

Mr. Speaker, through shutdowns and budget gridlock we have fought and won battles to protect education.

Now, in an effort to deal with an unrelated problem, we have to fight another Republican assault on education.

Let's not penalize American schoolchildren to help their parents at the gas pump. It makes no sense for my district or the Nation.

PERMISSION FOR SUNDRY COMMITTEES AND THEIR SUBCOMMITTEES 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 tomorrow while the House is meeting in the Committee of the Whole House under the 5-minute rule: Committee on Agriculture, Com-

mittee on Commerce, Committee on Economic and Educational Opportunities, Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, Committee on International Relations, Committee on Resources, Committee on Science, Committee on Small Business, and Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Mr. Speaker, it is my understanding that the minority has been consulted and there is no objection to these requests.

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

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, my ear heard "tomorrow." I believe it is to be today.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will yield, be permitted to sit tomorrow.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I believe it is today.

Mr. SOLOMON. It is today; is that correct?

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for calling my attention to it. We would not want to include tomorrow, just today. In that case, let me renew my unanimous-consent request to ask unanimous consent that these committees be allowed to sit just today.

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

There was no objection.

ESTABLISHING SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UNITED STATES ROLE IN IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS TO CROATIA AND BOSNIA

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 416 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 416

Resolved, That (a) there is established a Select Subcommittee on the United States Role in Iranian Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia (hereinafter referred to as the "select subcommittee") of the Committee on International Relations. The select subcommittee is authorized to sit and act during this Congress at such times and places within the United States, including any commonwealth or possession thereof, or in any other country, whether the House is in session or has adjourned.

(b) The select subcommittee shall be composed of 8 members of the Committee on International Relations appointed by the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, 5 of whom shall be members of the majority party and 3 of whom shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the ranking minority party member of the committee. The chairman of the Committee on International Relations shall designate one of the majority party members as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the select subcommittee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) The select subcommittee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation, and to make such findings and recommendations to the Committee on

International Relations as the select subcommittee deems appropriate relating to the following matters:

(1) The policy of the United States Government with respect to the transfer of arms and other assistance from Iran or any other country to countries or entities within the territory of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during any period that an international arms embargo of the former Yugoslavia was in effect.

(2) The nature and extent of the transfer of arms or other assistance from Iran or any other country to countries or entities within the territory of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the period that an international arms embargo of the former Yugoslavia was in effect.

(3) Any actions taken by the United States Government to facilitate or to impede transfers described in paragraphs (1) and (2).

(4) Any communications or representations made to the Congress of the United States or the American people with respect to the matters described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3), with respect to the international arms embargo of the former Yugoslavia, or with respect to efforts to modify and terminate United States participation in that embargo.

(5) Any implication of the matters described in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) for the safety of United States Armed Forces deployed in and around Bosnia, for the prompt withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from Bosnia, for relations between the United States and its allies, and for United States efforts to isolate Iran.

(6) Any actions taken to review, analyze, or investigate any of the matters described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), or (5), or to keep such matters from being revealed.

(7) All deliberations, discussions, or communications within the United States Government relating to the matters described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6), and all communications between the United States Government (or any of its officers or employees) and other governments, organizations, or individuals relating to such matters.

(d) The select subcommittee shall be deemed to be a subcommittee of a standing committee of the House of Representatives for all purposes of the Rules of the House, including clause 2(m) of rule XI, but not for purposes of clause 6(d) of rule X. The select subcommittee may sit while the House is reading for amendment under the five-minute rule.

(e)(1) The chairman of the select subcommittee, for purposes of its investigation, may, upon consultation with the ranking minority party member of the select subcommittee, authorize the taking of affidavits and dispositions pursuant to notice or subpoena, by a member of the select subcommittee or of the staff of the Committee on International Relations designated by the chairman of the select subcommittee, or require the furnishing of information by interrogatory, under oath administered by a person otherwise authorized by law to administer oaths.

(2) The select subcommittee shall provide other committees and Members of the House with access to information and proceedings, under procedures adopted by the select subcommittee consistent with clause 7(c) of rule XLVIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives. However, the select subcommittee may direct that particular matters or classes of matter shall not be made available to any person by its members, staff, or others, or may impose any other restriction. The select subcommittee shall, as appropriate, provide access to information and proceedings to the Speaker, the majority leader, the minority leader, and their appropriate cleared and designated staff.

(3) Authorized subpoenas may be signed by the chairman of the select subcommittee.

(f) The select subcommittee shall transmit a report to the Committee on International Relations not later than 6 months after the date on which this resolution is agreed to. The report shall contain a detailed statement of the findings of the select subcommittee, together with its recommendations.

(g) The select subcommittee shall cease to exist 6 months after the date on which this resolution is agreed to.

□ 1130

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). 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 Texas [Mr. FROST], pending which I yield myself such time as I might consume. Mr. Speaker, during consideration of this resolution, all time yielded is for the purpose of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 416 was introduced on April 29 by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], and referred exclusively to the Committee on Rules as a matter of original jurisdiction. It was considered by the Rules Committee on May 2 and reported to the floor that day.

This resolution establishes a select committee of the Committee on International Relations to investigate the United States role in Iranian arms transfers to Croatia and Bosnia. The purpose of the resolution is to permit the Committee on International Relations to create a select committee, select subcommittee, for the exclusive purposes of investigating what role, if any, the United States played in the shipment of arms from Iran to Croatia and Bosnia, notwithstanding the 1991 United Nations embargo against such shipments to the former Nation of Yugoslavia.

The resolution is designed to focus in a single unit of this House the primary responsibility for investigating this matter while permitting cooperation with other committees of jurisdiction, particularly the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Mr. Speaker.

The resolution is also needed to provide certain additional authorities to the subcommittee to permit it to conduct a thorough, yet expeditious, investigation, and these would include the authority to sit and act both within and without the United States, the ability to sit while the House is considering legislation under the 5-minute rule, the authority for the chairman of the subcommittee, in consultation with the ranking minority member, to designate a single member of the subcommittee, or staff of the committee, to take depositions and affidavits.

The select committee would be limited in both time and scope, as it should be, as the resolution specifically outlines its parameters and contains a 6-month sunset clause.

Mr. Speaker, I do not want to go to great lengths in describing the events leading up to the need for this investigation. Needless to say, if the administration had adopted the policy that this Congress has recommended on at least two different occasions to unilaterally lift the embargo on Bosnia, then we might have avoided such a back-door approach by a country we have attempted to isolate, a terrorist Nation called Iran. What we know is that while the Clinton administration was vigorously opposing congressional attempts to lift this ill-advised, immoral arms embargo, it was simultaneously winking at one of the world's worst rogue regimes as it violated the arms embargo.

Mr. Speaker, that not only makes no sense, it is simply outrageous. Only this administration, which has proven itself so completely incompetent in the field of foreign policy, could conclude that it was better for Iran to give arms to Bosnia than for the American Government or the American private sector to give arms to Bosnia.

But even more fundamental questions arise, Mr. Speaker, as to the operations of our foreign policy and the administration's obligation to keep the Congress fully informed, which in this case it absolutely did not.

Beyond that there are serious questions as to whether the administration even attempted to keep those parts of its own executive branch charged by law with overseeing such policies fully informed. They did not. It appears that not even the CIA was aware of this policy. Can my colleagues imagine that? In addition to the Defense Department and several U.S. Embassies in the Balkan region not even knowing what was going on, I mean they are an integral part of the administration and they were not even bothered to be told.

Mr. Speaker, no one questions the need for secrecy regarding certain foreign policy initiatives or actions, certainly not this Member, but enough serious questions remain to warrant us getting to the bottom of this, and that is what this subcommittee will do, I am sure. I think we can have the greatest confidence in the leadership abilities and the fairness of the person designated to head this select committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE]. I served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs with him for many, many years. In addition, he is the chairman of the Committee on the Judiciary, highly respected by every Member of this body on both sides of the aisle. His foreign policy expertise, his intelligence and his integrity are certainly beyond reproach.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to point out that this resolution does not go as far as some previous select committees or task forces have done because this is not a select committee and it is not a task force. It is a select subcommittee of a standing committee.

For instance, a chairman of the subcommittee has not been delegated the

authority to authorize subpoenas. That must be voted on by the whole subcommittee with the majority being present, just like it would be in any other standing committee.

So I want to take this opportunity to commend the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] on taking this necessary but very balanced approach to this disturbing set of circumstances that have to be cleared up in order to find out and to set a precedent for what kind of foreign policy we will have in the future.

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

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

(Mr. FROST asked and was given permission to include extraneous material.)

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, this select committee is not only completely unnecessary but also completely political.

It is being created to investigate a policy issue and nobody is claiming wrongdoing. Make no mistake about it, the rule we are discussing is pure politics and nothing else.

The creation of this committee and the subsequent expenditure will amount to \$1 million of work for the Dole campaign.

The issue my Republican colleagues claim needs investigating, the issue of Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia and Croatia, has been common knowledge to every single Member of this House since early 1994 and absolutely no one objected to those shipments. In fact, in October of that same year, Congress voted to look the other way on enforcing the arms embargo. Furthermore, the Intelligence Oversight Board determines that there was no covert action and no violation of laws whatsoever.

Mr. Speaker, here are the facts: Everyone knew these arms transfers were taking place; nobody objected; a majority of the House voted not to enforce sanctions; and absolutely no one is accusing the White House of any wrongdoing.

So why on earth, Mr. Speaker, do my Republican colleagues want to spend \$1 million to investigate nothing at all?

Frankly, I don't see how anyone can stand here and tell me this ridiculous, trumped up charade which is scheduled to end the week before election day is anything more than a cheap political stunt.

And, may I remind the House, Mr. Speaker, that the creation of this committee is being dictated by the same leadership that is asking congressional committees to perform opposition research for the Dole campaign.

Mr. Speaker, I think the Republican leadership ought to be ashamed.

They are creating a whole new congressional committee just because they can and it is wrong. They are actually trying to spend \$1 million to investigate something no one objected to 2 years ago, and, on top of that, they are demanding the committee finish its work a week before election day.

I don't think the creation of this committee could be any more transparent, Mr. Speaker.

If this issue really needs to be investigated, which I doubt, and if it is not a political move, then why can't it take place in the existing structure of one of the standing congressional committees?

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to defeat the previous question in order to conduct this investigation within the existing structure of the Foreign Affairs Committee and using the existing resources instead of an additional \$1 million.

If the previous question is not defeated, I urge my colleagues to vote against the resolution to keep our legislative branch out of presidential politics: It's a waste of money; it's a waste of time; and it's insulting to the American people.

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

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Sanibel, FL [Mr. GOSS], a very valuable member of the Committee on Rules and also a very valuable member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence.

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

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] for yielding this time to me.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution provides a measured and appropriate response to recent disturbing disclosures about secret administration policy with respect to Iranian arms shipments during the Bosnian conflict. I think most Members would agree that there remain many serious questions about this policy, the circumstances surrounding its formulation and the lack of information provided to the Congress regarding its execution. These questions are particularly important given the presence of thousands of United States troops in Bosnia and the serious national security consequences of encouraging an Iranian foothold in Europe. It is not only the clear right, but also the obligation of Congress, to conduct a careful review in search of more thorough answers to these questions, a point made eloquently at the Rules Committee by the distinguished ranking member of the International Relations Committee, Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. HAMILTON advised that he believes this is undoubtedly an issue for Congress to investigate. As stewards of the management of this House, the majority has determined that the most effective means for conducting this review is to create a special purpose, temporary, select subcommittee within the International Relations Committee, and that is precisely what House resolution 416 proposes to do. It is our judgment, and the judgment of such respected foreign policy experts in this House as Mr. GILMAN and Mr. HYDE, that this matter

requires the focus, expanded resources, and clearly defined authority to gather information of a special select subcommittee. Given Mr. HAMILTON's reasoned words and his candid assessment of the complexity of the issues involved in this matter, I am dismayed that some of his Democratic colleagues in the House are still resisting this investigation. This resistance is even more puzzling given news reports that the minority leader in the other body has publicly expressed no opposition to it. Although other committees, including Select Intelligence, on which I serve, will be exploring certain points of jurisdictional interest, it is sensible and practical for one body to accept the primary, exclusive and comprehensive responsibility for this task. In addition, through this resolution we are clearly defining the job description of this select subcommittee, while providing a clear and decisive end-date for the investigation.

Mr. Speaker, Members of this House and the American people have a right to know how it was that, at a time when the administration was publicly opposing bipartisan efforts in this Congress to lift the Bosnian arms embargo, the President and a few others working for him pursued a policy of tacit approval for Iranian arms shipments through Croatia to the Bosnian Government. Apparently we had Americans working against Americans in our Croatian country team—the White House reportedly working against itself and Congress. In addition to the troubling gap between the public exhortations of the Clinton administration about preserving the arms embargo and the apparent private decision to allow Iran to supply arms in contravention of the embargo—I am troubled at the apparently calculated lack of congressional notification about these events. This was not CIA; ironically they were the whistleblowers, according to the press. This was a small band of the President's men, it seems. And, perhaps most troubling of all, I am deeply concerned about the long-term impact of allowing an outlaw terrorist nation, Iran, to establish a presence in Bosnia. This goes beyond foolish policy to increased national security risks and it is not a matter to be taken lightly by this Congress. We need the truth from the White House, the whole truth. This resolution starts us in that direction. I support this resolution and urge my colleagues to do the same.

□ 1145

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. DOGGETT].

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, this resolution is designed to implement the oft-repeated trademark of the self-styled Gingrich revolutionaries: Promises made, promises broken. They came to the floor of this Congress last January and told us they were interested in reforming the committee process and

cutting the amount of taxpayer money spent in this Congress.

As a new Member, I joined with them in that effort. How do they proposed to fulfill that promise today? By adding a \$1 million subcommittee, \$1 million paid by the taxpayers of America; another subcommittee that is five times more expensive than the average subcommittee in this House. That is promises made, promises broken.

Who says the Republicans do not want to raise the minimum wage? They proposed to pay four of their political backers over \$100,000 each to man this expensive subcommittee. They want to raise the minimum wage. They just want to do it for a handful of their political friends, instead of for the hardworking people of this country.

This subcommittee should rightfully be called the rabbit trail subcommittee, because they are down there chasing another rabbit. They have not got the slightest idea how to solve the real problems of the American people, so instead of focusing on those problems, they head off to Bosnia. Instead of focusing on solving our problems here at home, in dealing with the real troubles that hardworking families across this country have, they want to chase off to Bosnia.

Mr. Speaker, last year they caught shutdown fever and they could not seem to get rid of it. This year they are suffering another malady. It is the same malady, but there are other symptoms. They are called sinking spells. They just keep sinking right on down into the ground in the polls, because the American people understand that all they have given us is promises made, promises broken. As a solution for this sinking spell that they are now suffering, they proposed gimmicks like this subcommittee.

Mr. Speaker, I would say to my Republican colleagues, heal thyself. Stop wasting taxpayer money on this kind of frivolity.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 brief minute to call attention to a report that was put out by the Democratic leadership back in 1992. It is "Management of the Federal Government: A Decade of Decline."

As the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CLINGER] says in his letter to the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. GINGRICH]:

I have enclosed for your information and your use a staff report from the former Committee on Government Operations entitled "Managing the Federal Government: A Decade of Decline." This report chronicles mismanagement and ethical lapses which occurred throughout the Reagan and Bush administrations.

I could go on, but it is strange to hear them come here now and complain, when they went to considerable time and expense using committee staff to put out this report. I just do not understand this kind of logic.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Claremont, CA [Mr. DREIER], a valuable member of the Committee on Rules.

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

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I think some very important questions have to be addressed here. That is the reason that we are strongly supporting establishment of this subcommittee. It seems to me that as we look at these questions, to have my friends on the other side of the aisle saying this is totally unnecessary, one must ask: Was the administration telling the American people, Congress, our allies, and even most of the executive branch one thing while it was doing another? Did any of the administration's actions violate U.S. law? Was the U.S. Government's role in these arms transfers simply passive, or was it, as the Los Angeles Times stated on April 17, more hands on? Which Government officials knew about these arms transfers and when?

How extensive was the effort to keep Congress uninformed of the Iranian operations? Why did the Clinton administration allow Iran to extend its influence into Europe after the administration had announced a policy of isolating Iran? Why would the Clinton administration allow Iran, a State Department terrorist nation, as it is designated, to unilaterally violate the arms embargo, after repeatedly ignoring U.S. congressional pleas and directives for the United States to do so? Did the administration's action increase the risk to United States Armed Forces deployed in Bosnia, or decrease the likelihood of a timely withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from Bosnia?

Mr. Speaker, these are among the many questions that must be answered. For my friends on the other side of the aisle to claim that this is totally unnecessary is preposterous. These need to be answered because of our constitutional responsibility, and the fact that we are accountable to the American people and to those who are courageously standing and serving on behalf of our country.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. GEJDENSON]

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I think it is important to look at the history here. We had 4 years of the Bush administration where they did nothing while mass murder continued in Yugoslavia. President Clinton came along and, with tremendous effort, was able to get a peace process that is now holding.

Why are we here today? The gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. WALKER] and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. NUSSLE], two of the gentlemen who are the gentleman from Georgia, Mr. GINGRICH's, closest associates, sent out a message to committee chairmen: Use taxpayer money to get the President. What are they trying to get the President on?

Let us take a look at it. The Iranians were shipping arms to the Muslims in

the former Yugoslavian area from the beginning, but in April 1994 the administration did not stop the Iranians from sending arms into Bosnia.

Mr. Speaker, there was no law, no U.N. resolution that mandated they do that. But that is what happened in April. In May, the Washington Post publishes a report of Iranian arms shipments into the former Yugoslavian Republics. That was in April 1994.

Now we are in May 1994. Everybody who reads the Washington Post now knows it is going on, or they ought to have a pretty good suspicion. What happens in June? Congress passes an amendment calling for a unilateral lifting of the arms embargo, violating our U.N. agreement, maybe putting our embargo of Libya in danger. But we are all concerned about what is happening with the slaughter there.

Just in case Members think Republicans missed the Post article, here we have on June 24 a Washington Times story: "Iranian Weapons Sent. Aid Gets U.S. Wink." It is included in the Senate RECORD by Mr. MCCAIN, who is leading the effort for Senator DOLE's reelection.

Now, just in case you think Congress knew about it and wanted to stop it after it was in the papers, what did Congress do, with the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] and the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE] voting in favor of the resolution? It passed a resolution in the defense authorization bill which said that the President should be prohibited from interfering with arms shipments into the former Yugoslavian Republics; the President should be prohibited. It did not say the President should be prohibited except for the Iranians who have been shipping arms there to the Muslims from the beginning. It simply said, across the board, the President ought to be prohibited from interfering with arms shipments.

The U.N. resolution did not call on us to take this action. There was no congressional action to have the President interfere with Iranian arms shipments. To the contrary, this Congress passed a resolution that told the President he was not to interfere with arms shipments from other countries.

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

Mr. Speaker, it seems odd to see the gentleman from Connecticut, whose name has appeared on the National Taxpayers Union's list of biggest spenders since the year he came here, complaining about wasting taxpayers' money.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to my good friend, the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. COX], the chairman of the Republican Policy Committee.

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

Mr. Speaker, during his recent circumnavigation of the planet, President Clinton stopped at the G-7 summit to

hector our allies about leaning harder on the Iranian mullahs who are shipping arms to the Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon. But while he was publicly condemning Iran, and while the administration and the President were calling Iran the main source of international terrorism, we find that President Clinton was in fact conniving for even larger Iranian shipments into the Balkans.

Mr. Speaker, let us take a look at the history of this. It was May 1992 that the United Nations imposed an arms embargo on the former Yugoslavia. The United States supported this arms embargo, but Bill Clinton, who was running for President, opposed it. He said it was a cruel arms embargo, and that we ought to lift it. He became President and completely changed his policy, and broke that promise and said, "No, we are going to have an arms embargo, because it would be wrong now for anyone to ship arms into the Balkans."

The Congress, for its part, agreed with candidate Clinton, not President Clinton, and supported lifting the arms embargo with a view not to letting Iran into Europe but, rather, our allies such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey supply the Bosnian Muslims with arms. But the President of the United States opposed even that, and in particular, of course, he opposed the United States in any way being involved in arms shipments into the Balkans.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, we discover that the President concealed not just from the American people, not just from the Congress, but from the CIA and from the Joint Chiefs of Staff the United States' complicity, through our American Ambassador, in these direct Iranian shipments into the Balkans.

What is wrong with this? First, it is wrong to structure an operation of this type for the express purpose of concealing something from the Congress. All that has gone before about whether or not these shipments were taking place, whether or not people knew about them, elides over the fact that what we did not know and what the CIA station chief did not know and what the Joint Chiefs did not know was about the administration's and the President's and the Ambassador's own involvement, all of this structured for the purpose of concealing this from the Congress.

What about the policy? It is insane. It is absolutely insane to give Iran a toehold into Europe. That is the policy that was being concealed here. One can understand why.

Is it worthwhile for us to have a very time-limited and financially limited committee to take a look at this? Of course it is.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Colorado [Mrs. SCHROEDER].

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, there is more misinformation going on around here, and

especially by people who call themselves great budget hawks. Let us talk about what is going on. They want \$1 million, that is five times more than the average subcommittee has in this Congress, \$1 million for a short-term subcommittee. They are going to take care of these people, too. Four are going to make over \$100,000 apiece.

They have a line item in here for bottled water. This is the bottled water subcommittee. They have another line item that they get new RCA color TV's. That makes you wonder a bit, too. But the real issue is this House is already spending \$37.2 million for 132 staff people to look at foreign affairs issues. There are supposedly three Bosnia investigations going on right now in those standing committees, so this will be investigation No. 4.

The only way I can read this is the three are not turning up what they want, or they figure if you have four and you keep having enough committees out there, maybe somebody will finally find something on President Clinton. This is desperation politics, I think, at its very worst.

Let us think about what else they did. We have done away with the committee on drugs, we have done away with the committee for seniors, we have even done away with the committee on hunger, children, youth, and families. Apparently those are not issues anymore. We do not have enough money to spend on those issues. But we can now have the fourth investigation on Bosnia, the fourth.

Mr. Speaker, that does not make any sense to me. I think if we do not think the other three are doing well, then fire the people who are in charge of them, put the right people in, but you do not keep piling on more. That is why we are so suspicious. Having this follow the political memo, this looks like a political subcommittee.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. HAMILTON].

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding time to me.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to the resolution. I think it is overkill. This is really not the way to handle a dispute on American foreign policy.

□ 1200

The select committee is unnecessary. There are no compelling reasons for it. There really are no disputes about the facts. There are no allegations of violation of the law. It is a simple dispute over policy.

The fact is that in the spring of 1994, the President had some very tough judgments to make. Does he try to stop the arms shipment and watch the Bosnian Government go down the tubes? Does he lift the arms embargo unilaterally, and that would fracture the NATO allies? Or does he do nothing, and thereby allow shipments of arms from Iran to go through Croatia to Bosnia?

He chose the third alternative. Some people may disagree with that. Some may believe it is bad policy, but three things about it I think can be said: First, the policy worked. It produced peace, and through this peace the Iranian presence in Bosnia has been reduced practically to zero. Second, many Members knew about the arms shipment at the time and they did not protest. And third, Congress, just 3 months after the administration decision, codified into law where it directed that no funds be used to enforce the arms embargo.

The second point I would make is that creating this subcommittee is a mistake because it duplicates the efforts of a lot of other committees at a cost of about \$1 million. There are already three committees in the House, I do not know how many in the Senate, looking into this matter and will continue looking into it.

Just a few minutes ago, the Committee on International Relations, the full committee, not a subcommittee, under the very able leadership of my friend from New York, Mr. GILMAN, voted to subpoena the testimony of two State Department officials. That is a clear indication that the committee is conducting an investigation, and that investigation of policy is proper and reasonable, but there is no reason to set up a separate subcommittee to do this.

Finally, may I say that I think it is a mistake to establish this subcommittee simply because it falls far short in ensuring the rights of the minority. We were not consulted in drafting this resolution. The resolution gives the minority almost no role in the establishment or the operation of the subcommittee.

I want to say that I have confidence in the chairman of this select committee to be established, I assume the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE]. I think we will work well together. But it is not an unreasonable request to insist that the resolution adequately protect minority rights.

Therefore, I urge my colleagues to defeat the resolution. We need instead to let the standing committees of the House do their work and report back to the House on the question. We do not need a select committee with a very large payroll to examine the wisdom of the administration's policies.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the very distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. THOMAS].

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me the time.

Mr. Speaker, I would respond to my friend and colleague from Indiana that he knows full well we just went through a committee funding procedure in which the chairman of the select subcommittee made a number of statements on the record.

But before I talk about a comparison between the October Surprise Task Force, which was chaired by the gentleman from Indiana, and the current

select subcommittee, I just think we need to revisit the statements made by the chairman of the October Surprise Task Force as to the rationale for the Democrats, who were then in the majority, to conduct a task force which for 8 months ran without any funding whatsoever and wound up spending five times as much, open-ended funding. This is what the gentleman from Indiana said when asked about the task force in front of the then-Committee on House Administration.

Representative LEE HAMILTON said, quote, "There was no clear pervasive evidence of wrongdoing, but we ought to go forward." He said he did not know if the allegations were true or false, but we ought to spend \$4.5 million.

He then went on and said he did not know, quote, "how to get to the bottom of it unless you have a formal investigation with a body with some kind of empowerment to issue subpoenas and to take statements under oath." He said the objective of the task force that the Democrats put in when they were in the majority was a simple one: "The objective is to simply find out what happened."

If you heard the gentleman from California [Mr. COX], about how this President, even within the secret inner sanctums of the national security structure, did not talk about letting Iran into Europe, I think the Congress of the United States ought to at least know what was happening.

Now, let us talk about the funding and the ratios. As I said, the October Surprise Task Force operated for over 8 months and spent virtually the entire amount of this select subcommittee before ever coming before a committee to be authorized to spend money.

Let us talk about relationships. The gentleman from Indiana said he did not know what the relationships were. Hogwash. During the hearing in front of the Committee on House Oversight, it was clearly spelled out by the chairman of the full committee and the chairman of the select subcommittee what those ratios were going to be, and guess what? In terms of the consultants, it is a 50-50 split.

In no use of staff is the now-minority being treated in any way worse than the old minority, which is the majority. As a matter of fact, the new majority is treating the old majority in a fairer way.

So there are some differences. We are putting the money up front. We have a time limit on it. But the questions, the reason for creating of the October Surprise Task Force and this one are the same. We want to get to the bottom of what could be a very smelly situation.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. MORAN].

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, it is immoral to stand by while a quarter of a million people are massacred as victims of genocide. Maybe that is why for the last 2 years the Congress has not

done anything about the information that it had in June 1994. The Congress reads the papers. It listens to its colleagues on the floor of the House and Senate.

In June 1994, Senator MCCAIN said clearly, unequivocally:

Croatia has become a major transit point for covert Iranian arms shipments to Bosnia with the tacit approval of the Clinton administration, which publicly remains opposed to a unilateral lifting of the international arms embargo.

Senator MCCAIN said that to all the Senate. The House was aware of that information, and yet for 2 years no Member of the House or the Senate has asked for a hearing. No Member of the House or the Senate objected to what they knew the administration was doing. We said nothing. We are the ones who kept quiet about it.

I think that there is good reason why we kept quiet about it. For one thing, the majority would have as a reason that they might be embarrassed that it was the Bush administration that lost Yugoslavia, and it was the Bush administration that supported the U.N. Security Council resolution that imposed the arms embargo in the first place.

That arms embargo was supposed to apply to Serbia and Croatia, who were the aggressors in the conflict, who had plenty of arms, who had access to plenty of arms. But in effect the arms embargo only applied to Bosnia, who did not have sufficient arms to protect itself, who did not have access to arms, so it was an unfair policy.

Because it was such an unfair policy, this House of Representatives put itself on record 3 months after the Clinton administration was aware that the arms might go into Bosnia, we put ourselves on record demanding that the Clinton administration do just what we are today accusing them of doing. We told the President not to use any appropriated funds to enforce the arms embargo, and 3 months later it became law. We legally required the Clinton administration to do exactly what we are now accusing them of doing, and it was an overwhelming vote in both the House and Senate.

I think that we should also be careful, and I do not want to offer any advice to the other side, but to bring up the Iran-Contra situation in this context I think is a serious mistake, because the Iran-Contra situation was clearly illegal. This was not illegal. The Clinton administration did not supply any arms to Bosnia. It did not take any overt activity. But it was illegal for the Reagan administration to sell arms to Iran and then to use the money subsequently for another illegal operation.

We should not waste the taxpayers' money on this politically inspired witch hunt.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I would inquire of the time remaining on each side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). The gentleman from New

York has 11½ minutes, and the gentleman from Texas has 13½ minutes.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4½ minutes to the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. HOYER].

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

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, it is with a certain degree of sadness that I rise. I think frankly that the specter of election-year politics raises its head very high in this instance.

I am one who consistently opposed the Clinton administration's policies and without exception supported the unilateral, immediate lifting of the arms embargo. I did that so that peoples under siege, peoples being raped, pillaged, children being killed, ethnic cleansing occurring, yes; genocide occurring could be stopped. I believed that it was immoral and wrong for the United States and its Western allies to keep from the Bosnian people the means for self-defense. But the West as a joint policy, with the British and the French leading the argument, "Do not arm. It will put our troops at risk that are on the ground."

Contrary to the representations of the gentleman from California [Mr. COX], the President did not lie. He said he wanted a unilateral withdrawal, but he thought it would undermine our alliance and therefore would not support it.

But the fact of the matter is we, as the gentleman from Virginia pointed out, by law, and I do not know how the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE] or the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] or the gentleman from New York [Mr. SOLOMON] or the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS] or the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] or the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH], who are on the floor, voted on that, but we said, "Mr. President, you must stop arms coming to these defenseless people."

We said that. We directed them in the defense authorization bill of 1994. Now, as the Presidential campaign is about to get underway, we lament the fact that the President of the United States followed the law and allowed them to get from whichever source they could the arms to defend their homes, their freedom, the democracy that they wanted to establish, the multicultural society which had been a fact of life in Sarajevo and in Bosnia.

What a tragedy, Mr. Speaker, that we now found ourselves driven solely by politics to this point where we raise the issue that a President of the United States, any President of the United States, and I will tell my friend from Virginia, I thought the Bush policy initially was correct in Bosnia, which was to leave it to the Europeans. It turned out we were all wrong. The Europeans did not engage it and solve it. Ultimately the United States had to do that.

But I regret my friend from New York, who is a very close friend for

whom I have great respect, and the gentleman from Illinois, for whom I have very great respect, are at this time looking at what I believe to be a very short time frame, not the long time frame where history will judge America not only by what it does, but if we had stopped the Bosnians from getting arms from whomever they could, we would have been wrong.

A gentlewoman on your side of the aisle, one of your most conservative Members walking with me yesterday said, "Well, good for the Iranians getting them arms. They needed arms, and I was for them getting arms."

That was an honest, nonpolitical response.

□ 1215

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I cannot imagine any conservative Republican woman in this body saying such a thing, but I will have to take the gentleman's word for it.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], the very distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

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

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time. Mr. Speaker, I regret the gentleman from Maryland has characterized this as a political action.

Mr. Speaker, in April 1994, the Clinton administration secretly decided to permit Iran to ship weapons to Bosnia in violation of an international arms embargo.

The administration took this action even as it strongly opposed the efforts of many of us in the Congress to terminate that unjust embargo against Bosnia.

The administration argued that our allies feared that terminating the embargo would endanger their troops on the ground.

The result of this foolish and deceitful policy has been to give the terrorist state of Iran a sizeable foothold in Europe, endangered our troops in Bosnia, as well as peace and security there.

The administration has argued that this is no big deal, stating that Congress forced them to stop enforcing the arms embargo in November 1994.

According to the Los Angeles Times, the idea of not enforcing the embargo was proposed by Senator SAM NUNN at a meeting in August 1994 with Ambassador Charles Redmond—then our chief negotiator in the Balkans.

The article states that Redmond discussed at length the legislative language the administration would accept.

But he never disclosed that the administration had already given Iran a go-ahead to smuggle arms into Bosnia.

This is the same Iran that the administration's own annual report on terrorism, issued just last week, states that it is a major supporter of such terrorist groups as Hizbollah and Hamas.

The report also states, and I quote: "Because of Tehran's and Hizbollah's deep antipathy towards the United States, U.S. missions and personnel abroad continue to be at risk." Close quote.

A select subcommittee of our International Relations Committee is needed to find out just how and why the Clinton administration made this major change in policy without telling Congress, the American people, or even our NATO Allies.

A select committee is needed to find out why—if the administration did want the Bosnians to have arms, it allowed a terrorist state like Iran to provide the arms and secure a beachhead in the Balkans.

Accordingly, I urge our colleagues to support the resolution.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. BERMAN].

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

Mr. BERMAN. Mr. Speaker, my friend from New York claims this is not political. Forty-five minutes ago he, under the direction of his leadership, with the passionate support of his Republican members of the Committee on International Relations egging him on, pushed through that committee a subpoena of two of our Ambassadors, not to the select committee that we are creating for \$1 million now, but to the committee on International Relations, notwithstanding the fact that the Secretary of State this very morning had called him and told him he would make these people available at any mutually agreeable time and wanted to do anything he could to cooperate with the committee's efforts.

This is purely political.

We talk about Iran and we hear these comments. I do remember a time when we gave lend-lease to the Stalinist thugs who had committed the purges and killed millions of people because we thought a national interest required us to do that. The country of Bosnia was about to go down. I remember my friend from Illinois speaking in the committee about article 51, the compelling moral and legal right to help somebody defend themselves from extinction. That was what was at stake in this particular issue.

Mr. Speaker, I have not heard one word of any question of either the legality or the morality of this particular decision. Our options were not good, we had to make a decision based on the circumstances at the time. The administration made that decision. A country was saved. To now, for what I believe are truly political motivations as I watched what happened this morning in the Committee on International Relations, go back to the people who most passionately spoke in favor of helping this country get arms to defend itself, now wanting to make political hay out of it, I think is quite a tragedy for this House.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN], another very distinguished member of this body who has served on the Committee on Foreign Affairs with me, served on the Committee on National Security and the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. He is a very outstanding member of this body.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I guess it is every man for himself on both sides of the aisle, whether or not their heart is pure and they think it is political. If anybody wants to tell me that my feelings on this issue are political, I'll just laugh in your face. I have been over there in that area more than any other Member of the House or Senate, except for staffers on both sides, and administration staffers, and I am a bit offended that my good friend from Texas would get up and say that it is ridiculous, trumped up, a charade, cheap political stunts, he is ashamed of us.

I am on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence in my eighth year. What was wrong with the schizophrenic Clinton policy is that the leaders of all of our committees, Intelligence, Foreign Affairs, Defense, everybody was shut out of this policy. It came down to a handful, as I predicted it would 3½ years ago, to the Strobe Talbot team, figuring out how they could have their cake and eat it too.

It looked like they were licking the boots of the countries that wanted no Muslim state on European soil, the leaders of England and France, Great Britain and France principally, and then to allow the infrastructure of a terrorist state to win the hearts of the people who were being genocided was a nightmare policy.

I read the NID, the National Intelligence Daily, as assiduously as any member of our Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. I cannot speak for the Senate. And I can feel the pressure building. I can feel the similarities to Lebanon, which occurred under my hero, President Ronald Reagan, where one suicide terrorist bomber was able to destroy 241 Navy, Army, and of them 221 young Marines. Now we have got a pressure cooker building because we did not have the guts, as I wanted to do, to go against the Bush policy and put a helicopter attack raid on the Auschwitz type camps that the Serbians were running in Bosnia. Remember with the four times more expensive, politicized Gary Sick affair, you had to accept that George Bush got on a SR-71 Blackbird, ditching his Secret Service at an Air Force base in New Jersey, flew to Spain, special refueling tankers, met with Iranian terrorists and come back from Spain. Absurd. But my friend who I hold in high esteem said let us get the facts. I am talking about Mr. HAMILTON.

All I am saying is let us try to keep politics out of it. Not easy in an election year. But let us get the facts and stop the nightmarish schizophrenia of

the Iranian terrorists who hate our guts and call us the great Satan and making their new friends in Bosnia. What a nightmare Clinton has created. I predicted it right here.

Mr. Speaker, here are several reasons why Congress must investigate the United States role in Iranian arms transfers to Bosnia:

First, in response to the overwhelming and horrific evidence of atrocities committed against the Bosnians, Members of this House during eight different legislative occasions either indicated, authorized, or directed the President to lift the arms embargo—unilaterally if necessary—and provide arms to the Bosnian Government and treat the Croats fairly.

Second, at the same time that the Clinton administration was working so stridently to prevent Congress from allowing the Bosnians to arm and thus defend themselves, it connived to allow the Iranians to gain a position of influence through backdoor arms transfers.

Third, according to the administration's own assessment, the Bosnians would have needed at least 1 billion dollars' worth of arms to defend themselves—so no one can argue that Iran's program was a suitable alternative to United States support.

Fourth, President Clinton's policy of don't pursue the truth on the Iranian arms supply operation was unnecessary and dangerous in the extreme. Clinton's small inexperienced Strobe Talbot team withheld from Congress, our allies, the CIA and the American people, information about Iran's dangerous involvement because they knew it could not withstand public scrutiny.

Fifth, the Clinton administration has been claiming that Congress supported their policy of acquiescence toward Iranian arms transfers by enacting the Nunn legislation which prohibited United States enforcement of the international arms embargo.

Sixth, according to the May 2 Los Angeles Times, Senator SAM NUNN acknowledged that the Clinton administration had encouraged him to offer language to terminate United States participation in efforts to enforce the embargo—subsequently viewed by the Clinton administration as in effect ratifying their policy of inviting Iran into Bosnia. This legislation was also political cover for those who were unwilling to fight to lift the arms embargo.

Here are six more facts to consider:

First, Clinton and other key officials knew about Iranian involvement in Bosnia and the approximate scope of their presence from 1993 onward.

Second, as we learned from the tragedy in Beirut on October 23, 1983, it only takes one determined suicide terrorist to slaughter our troops.

Third, the capture of two Iranian passport holders at a terrorist training center in Bosnia by NATO troops last February should cause sufficient alarm about Iranian involvement and intentions.

Fourth, Iran's large diplomatic presence conflicts with the mission of IFOR.

Fifth, Iran has been classified by the United States State Department as a terrorist state.

Sixth, it is characteristic of Clinton's schizophrenic policies and leadership that he can sign an antiterrorism bill and at the same time introduce a terrorist infrastructure into southern Europe.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. SKAGGS].

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, I have three ideas that come to mind in this debate right now: footholds; duplication; and the legitimate interests of my Republican colleagues.

There has been, I think, fairly casual use of language and logic in suggesting that the President's "no instructions" instruction in the spring of 1994 occasioned the Iranians gaining a foothold in Bosnia. Unclassified intelligence makes it very, very clear that there were hundreds of Iranian revolutionary guards and others, unfortunately, in Bosnia in 1993, way before any of the events in question here took place.

Second point, the question of duplication. Are we going to learn anything new from creating this select subcommittee that we are not already going to learn?

Mr. Speaker, this matter is already under investigation by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on National Security on Government Reform and Oversight has jurisdiction. The Committee on International Relations can have plenty of jurisdiction, too, without spending one million bucks to create another select committee. We have so many people looking at this they are going to be stepping all over each other trying to schedule witnesses and everything else during the next few months.

Finally, the question, and it is a very legitimate one, should not the opposition in the Government; that is, the Republican majority here in Congress, in the opposition as to the administration, have a right to have their own look at this?

Of course they should. But let us also keep in mind that the distinguished former Senator from New Hampshire, Warren Rudman, a Republican who serves on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, who used to serve on the Senate Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, has reviewed the Intelligence Oversight Board investigation of this matter and found nothing illegal, no violation of U.S. law. This already has the blessing, if you will, of a distinguished Republican overseer of the matter. I think that is terribly important.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentleman from Florida [Mr. GOSS].

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, I think the distinguished gentleman from Colorado

would agree that the comments and the allegations he made about Senator Rudman go to a very narrow issue with regard to covert action findings, and do not go the broad comprehensive policy we are talking about.

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

Mr. GOSS. I yield to the gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, the point is that Senator Rudman said no illegality, no covert action. What is left, as he put it in his words, is a matter of politics.

Mr. GOSS. Mr. Speaker, reclaiming my time, to a very narrow point that they were looking into, which we cannot talk about, regrettably, too much in the open, I agree that was a correct finding, but it is not the whole story.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BUYER], a member of the Committee on National Security.

Mr. BUYER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Speaker, with quite a bit of interest I listened to the debate, because I was not here in the Congress back during the Bush administration, but I recognize that in 1991, the United Nations, with the full support of the United States Government imposed the arms embargo on the entire former Yugoslavia. Then, as outgunned, the Bosnian military suffered repeated defeats and the Bosnian civilian casualties mounted, many people came to see the embargo as unfair to the Bosnians.

In January 1993, when President Clinton took office, he attempted to persuade our allies to multilaterally lift the embargo. This attempt was not successful, but President Clinton would not support a unilateral lifting of the embargo. They continued to support the embargo and enforced it with U.S. Naval forces. The Clinton administration has always opposed the unilateral lifting of the embargo, until the Dayton peace accords were signed in late 1995.

Now the Undersecretary of State has confirmed the United States officially, by this alleged secret agreement with Croatia, turned a blind eye to covert arms shipments by Iran into Croatia and Bosnia. This leads to the potential of a terrorist state such as Iran claiming a foothold into Europe.

I think that there are many important questions to be asked. What prompted the President to enter into a secret agreement with Croatia to allow the shipments of large quantities of arms into Bosnia and Iran, in violation of the U.N. arms embargo, at the time he was lobbying Congress not to lift the arms embargo? Did the administration officials initiate this deal, and did it involve them directly or indirectly with Iranian officials? Why did the President not notify Congress of the secret agreement when it was made at that time? Has the administration been honest with the public and private statements on the issue during its testimony before Congress, in statements

to the American people that it is diplomatic dialog with our European allies? And were any laws violated?

We do not know the answers to those questions, and I think it is very, very appropriate to ask.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. WISE].

□ 1230

Mr. WISE. Mr. Speaker, now I just want to get this straight, myself and a lot of taxpayers. This Congress is about to approve a million-dollar select committee to hold hearings into matters that three other subcommittees are already holding hearings into.

The complaint apparently is that the United States knew that Iran was sending arms to the Bosnian Muslims. Now, this is the same Congress that voted overwhelmingly to lift the arms embargo so that the Bosnian Muslims could get arms from wherever to defend themselves.

Was not this the same Congress, headed by Senate Majority Leader DOLE, who led the effort to lift the arms embargo so the Bosnian Muslims could get arms from wherever to defend themselves? Mr. Speaker, the most open secret around here, if indeed published news reports are secret, was that the Bosnian Muslims were getting arms to defend themselves from the Iranians, which was what everybody said they wanted to happen, that they have arms from somewhere to defend themselves.

Now that requires a million-dollar select subcommittee, in addition to the three subcommittees already investigating it?

Mr. Speaker, this is a group that likes hearings. I have sat in on a bunch of them myself on the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight. The record so far is that this million-dollar subcommittee will be added to the 44 days of hearings and \$30 million that has so far been spent on Whitewater; 14 days of hearings on Ruby Ridge; 10 days of hearings on Waco, that certainly changed national policy; and countless wasted hours and taxpayer dollars on other types of politically motivated investigations.

We have three committees already looking into this. Mr. Speaker, there is no need to spend a million dollars, add more staff, add more fluff, to do what those three committees are already charged with doing and are doing.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2½ minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. HYDE], someone very important in this debate. He will be the chairman of this new select subcommittee. He is one of the most respected Members of this body.

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

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, you will miss my tirade about October Surprise. How soon we forget the greatest wild goose chase in history which spent \$1.3

million. I have quotations about how important that quest was for the Emerald City that my friends on the other side of the aisle led us on. Oh, it was not political; it was just 10 years old in an election year. But my friends do not know anything about politics, and I will not raise the issue.

Mr. Speaker, we are not talking about the wisdom of the embargo. Everybody agreed, except the Clinton administration while they lived under it, that the embargo was wrong and immoral. We agree with that. But what we are concerned about is the wisdom, the propriety, the common sense of standing by while the most terrorist nation on Earth comes into the bosom of the most volatile place on Earth. The wisdom of that is a legitimate inquiry of the Committee on International Relations. It is legitimate.

We want to know the genesis of this brainstorm, because we need to know if there were options? Was Iran the only country that could supply training and arms? Is not Turkey nearby? Is not Egypt nearby? Is not Pakistan nearby?

What about the countries that were on our side, the Muslim countries in Operation Desert Storm? Why, of all the countries in the world, do we turn a blind eye to terrorist Iran? That is a legitimate inquiry.

Politics? We did not learn about this until April 5, until the Los Angeles Times did what the administration should have done: Let us in on it. Oh, my Democrat colleagues say we had notices that arms were trickling in. Sure. We never knew that we had a policy of looking the other way while the most terrorist nation on Earth was getting a foothold in the most volatile place on Earth.

Well, the timing is yours; it is not ours. Politics? Listen, I cannot help it if it is an election year. We are not going to abandon our responsibility to find out who dreamed up this policy, what is our role, what are the options, and most significantly, what are the consequences for our troops there? Our credibility as a country, saying one thing and doing another, those are important issues. We have a responsibility to get at the bottom of them. I wish it was last year, but it is not.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

First, Mr. Speaker, I urge a "no" vote on the previous question. If the previous question is defeated, I will offer an amendment to the rule which would make in order a substitute amendment. My substitute simply directs the International Relations Committee—using existing resources—to do the very same investigation the Republicans would have their new subcommittee do.

There is no dispute that the appropriate committees ought to review and investigate the foreign policy decision of this or any other President. But before you can say we need to create a new subcommittee, you have to establish that the existing committees

aren't capable of doing their job. No one has made that case. Frankly, the only difference between the Republican resolution and our substitute is whether to create a million dollar subcommittee or whether to carry out the investigation within the current committees using funding already available.

Vote "no" on the previous question. The text of the proposed amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

That (a) the Committee on International Relations is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation (using existing committee resources), and to make such findings and recommendations to the House as it deems appropriate relating to the following matters:

(1) The policy of the United States Government with respect to the transfer of arms and other assistance from Iran or any other country to countries or entities within the territory of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during any period that an international arms embargo of the former Yugoslavia was in effect.

(2) The nature and extent of the transfer of arms or other assistance from Iran or any other country to countries or entities within the territory of the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia during the period that an international arms embargo of the former Yugoslavia was in effect.

(3) Any actions taken by the United States Government to facilitate or to impede transfers described in paragraphs (1) and (2).

(4) Any communications or representations made to the Congress of the United States or the American people with respect to the matters described in paragraph (1), (2), or (3), with respect to the international arms embargo of the former Yugoslavia, or with respect to efforts to modify or terminate United States participation in that embargo.

(5) Any implication of the matters described in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) for the safety of United States Armed Forces deployed in and around Bosnia, for the prompt withdrawal of United States Armed Forces from Bosnia, for relations between the United States and its allies, and for United States efforts to isolate Iran.

(6) Any actions taken to review, analyze, or investigate any of the matters described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), or (5), or to keep such matters from being revealed.

(7) All deliberations, discussions, or communications within the United States Government relating to the matters described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (6), and all communications between the United States Government (or any of its officers or employees) and other governments, organizations, or individuals relating to such matters.

(b)(1) The chairman of the Committee on International Relations, for purposes of its investigation, may, upon consultation with the ranking minority party member of that committee, authorize the taking of affidavits and depositions pursuant to notice or subpoena, by a member or staff of the committee designated by the chairman, or require the furnishing of information by interrogatory, under oath administered by a person otherwise authorized by law to administer oaths.

(2) The Committee on International Relations shall provide other committees and Members of the House with access to information and proceedings, under procedures adopted by the committee consistent with clause 7(c) of rule XLVIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives. However, the committee may direct that particular classified

materials shall not be made available to any person by its members, staff, or others, or may impose any other restriction. The committee shall, as appropriate, provide access to information and proceedings to the Speaker, the majority leader, the minority leader, and their appropriately cleared and designated staff.

THE VOTE ON THE PREVIOUS QUESTION: WHAT IT REALLY MEANS

This vote, the vote on whether to order the previous question on a special rule, is not merely a procedural vote. A vote against ordering the previous question is a vote against the Republican majority agenda and a vote to allow the opposition, at least for the moment, to offer an alternative plan. It is a vote about what the House should be debating.

Mr. Clarence Cannon's Precedents of the House of Representatives, (VI, 308-311) describes the vote on the previous question on the rule as "a motion to direct or control the consideration of the subject before the House being made by the Member in charge." To defeat the previous question is to give the opposition a chance to decide the subject before the House. Cannon cites the Speaker's ruling of January 13, 1920, to the effect that "the refusal of the House to sustain the de-

mand for the previous question passes the control of the resolution to the opposition" in order to offer an amendment. On March 15, 1909, a member of the majority party offered a rule resolution. The House defeated the previous question and a member of the opposition rose to a parliamentary inquiry, asking who was entitled to recognition. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon (R-Illinois) said: "The previous question having been refused, the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fitzgerald, who had asked the gentleman to yield to him for an amendment, is entitled to the first recognition."

Because the vote today may look bad for the Republican majority they will say "the vote on the previous question is simply a vote on whether to proceed to an immediate vote on adopting the resolution . . . [and] has no substantive legislative or policy implications whatsoever." But that is not what they have always said. Listen to the Republican Leadership Manual on the Legislative Process in the United States House of Representatives, (6th edition, page 135). Here's how the Republicans describe the previous question vote in their own manual:

"Although it is generally not possible to amend the rule because the majority Member controlling the time will not yield for the purpose of offering an amendment, the same result may be achieved by voting down

the previous question on the rule. When the motion for the previous question is defeated, control of the time passes to the Member who led the opposition to ordering the previous question. That Member, because he then controls the time, may offer an amendment to the rule, or yield for the purpose of amendment."

Deschler's Procedure in the U.S. House of Representatives, the subchapter titled "Amending Special Rules" states: "a refusal to order the previous question on such a rule [a special rule reported from the Committee on Rules] opens the resolution to amendment and further debate." (Chapter 21, section 21.2) Section 21.3 continues: Upon rejection of the motion for the previous question on a resolution reported from the Committee on Rules, control shifts to the Member leading the opposition to the previous question, who may offer a proper amendment or motion and who controls the time for debate thereon."

The vote on the previous question on a rule does have substantive policy implications. It is the one of the only available tools for those who oppose the Republican majority's agenda to offer an alternative plan.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following material for the RECORD:

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 1*	Compliance	H. Res. 6	Closed	None.
H. Res. 6	Opening Day Rules Package	H. Res. 5	Closed; contained a closed rule on H.R. 1 within the closed rule	None.
H.R. 5*	Unfunded Mandates	H. Res. 38	Restrictive; Motion adopted over Democratic objection in the Committee of the Whole to limit debate on section 4; Pre-printing gets preference.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 2*	Balanced Budget	H. Res. 44	Restrictive; only certain substitutes; PQ	2R; 4D.
H. Res. 43	Committee Hearings Scheduling	H. Res. 43 (OJ)	Restrictive; considered in House no amendments	N/A.
H.R. 101	To transfer a parcel of land to the Taos Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.	H. Res. 51	Open	N/A.
H.R. 400	To provide for the exchange of lands within Gates of the Arctic National Park Preserve.	H. Res. 52	Open	N/A.
H.R. 440	To provide for the conveyance of lands to certain individuals in Butte County, California.	H. Res. 53	Open	N/A.
H.R. 2*	Line Item Veto	H. Res. 55	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 665*	Victim Restitution Act of 1995	H. Res. 61	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 666*	Exclusionary Rule Reform Act of 1995	H. Res. 60	Open; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 667*	Violent Criminal Incarceration Act of 1995	H. Res. 63	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 668*	The Criminal Alien Deportation Improvement Act	H. Res. 69	Open; Pre-printing gets preference; Contains self-executing provision	N/A.
H.R. 728*	Local Government Law Enforcement Block Grants	H. Res. 79	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 7*	National Security Revitalization Act	H. Res. 83	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference; PQ	N/A.
H.R. 729*	Death Penalty/Habeas	N/A	Restrictive; brought up under UC with a 6 hr. time cap on amendments	N/A.
S. 2	Senate Compliance	N/A	Closed; Put on Suspension Calendar over Democratic objection	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; PQ.	1D.
H.R. 830*	The Paperwork Reduction Act	H. Res. 91	Open	N/A.
H.R. 889	Emergency Supplemental/Rescinding Certain Budget Authority	H. Res. 92	Restrictive; makes in order only the Obey substitute	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	H. Res. 96	Restrictive; 10 hr. Time Cap on amendments	N/A.
H.R. 926*	Regulatory Flexibility	H. Res. 100	Open	N/A.
H.R. 925*	Private Property Protection Act	H. Res. 101	Restrictive; 12 hr. time cap on amendments; Requires Members to pre-print their amendments in the Record prior to the bill's consideration for amendment, waives 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*	The Attorney Accountability Act of 1995	H. Res. 104	Restrictive; 7 hr. time cap on amendments; Pre-printing gets preference	N/A.
H.R. 956*	Product Liability and Legal Reform Act	H. Res. 109	Restrictive; makes in order only 15 germane amendments and denies 64 germane amendments from being considered; PQ.	8D; 7R.
H.R. 1158	Making Emergency Supplemental Appropriations and Rescissions	H. Res. 115	Restrictive; Combines 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); waives points of order against three amendments; waives cl 2 of rule XXI against the bill, cl 2, XXI and cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; waives cl 2(g) of rule XXI against the amendments in the Record; 10 hr time cap on amendments. 30 minutes debate on each amendment.	N/A.
H.J. Res. 73*	Term Limits	H. Res. 116	Restrictive; Makes in order only 4 amendments considered under a "Queen of the Hill" procedure and denies 21 germane amendments from being considered.	1D; 3R
H.R. 4*	Welfare Reform	H. Res. 119	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 a "Queen of the Hill" procedure; All points of order are waived against the amendments.	5D; 26R.
H.R. 1271*	Family Privacy Act	H. Res. 125	Open	N/A.
H.R. 660*	Housing for Older Persons Act	H. Res. 126	Open	N/A.
H.R. 1215*	The Contract With America Tax Relief Act of 1995	H. Res. 129	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 Gephardt substitute.	1D.
H.R. 483	Medicare Select Extension	H. Res. 130	Restrictive; waives 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. 655	Hydrogen Future Act	H. Res. 136	Open	N/A.
H.R. 1361	Coast Guard Authorization	H. Res. 139	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 committee substitute.	N/A.
H.R. 961	Clean Water Act	H. Res. 140	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.
H.R. 584	Conveyance of the Fairport National Fish Hatchery to the State of Iowa.	H. Res. 145	Open	N/A.

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 614	Conveyance of the New London National Fish Hatchery Production Facility.	H. Res. 146	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 with respect to the resolution; self-executes Agriculture language; PQ.	3D: 1R.
H.R. 1561	American Overseas Interests Act of 1995	H. Res. 155	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 of the Budget Committee.	N/A
H.R. 1530	National Defense Authorization Act; FY 1996	H. Res. 164	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 to offer a modification of his amendment with the concurrence of Ms. Collins; PQ.	36R: 18D: 2 Bipartisan.
H.R. 1817	Military Construction Appropriations; FY 1996	H. Res. 167	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against the bill; 1 hr. general debate; Uses House passed budget numbers as threshold for spending amounts pending passage of Budget; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1854	Legislative Branch Appropriations	H. Res. 169	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 order are waived against the amendments; PQ.	5R: 4D: 2 Bipartisan.
H.R. 1868	Foreign Operations Appropriations	H. Res. 170	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); PQ.	N/A
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 the Physical Desecration of the American Flag.	H. Res. 173	Closed; provides one hour of general debate and one motion to recommit with or without instructions; if there are instructions, the MO is debatable for 1 hr; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1944	Recissions Bill	H. Res. 175	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 points of order against the amendment; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1868 (2nd rule)	Foreign Operations Appropriations	H. Res. 177	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; Provides for an automatic rise and report following the disposition of the amendments; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1977 *Rule Defeated*	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 185	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 against amendments to the bill; Pre-printing gets priority; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1977	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 187	Open; waives sections 302(f), 306 and 308(a) of the Budget Act; waives clauses 2 and 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; waives all points of order against the Tauzin amendment; provides that the bill be read by title; self-executes Budget Committee amendment and makes NEA funding subject to House passed authorization; waives cl 2(e) of rule XXI against the amendments to the bill; Pre-printing gets priority; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1976	Agriculture Appropriations	H. Res. 188	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; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1977 (3rd rule)	Interior Appropriations	H. Res. 189	Restrictive: provides for the further consideration of the bill; allows only amendments pre-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 read by title; Pre-printing gets priority; PQ.	N/A
H.J. Res. 96	Disapproving MFN for China	H. Res. 193	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 Item Veto); provides the bill be read by title; Pre-printing gets priority; PQ. *RULE AMENDED*	N/A
H.R. 70	Exports of Alaskan North Slope Oil	H. Res. 197	Open; Makes in order the Resources Committee amendment in the nature of a substitute as original text; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides a Senate hook-up with S. 395.	N/A
H.R. 2076	Commerce, Justice Appropriations	H. Res. 198	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Pre-printing gets priority; provides the bill be read by title.	N/A
H.R. 2099	VA/HUD Appropriations	H. Res. 201	Open; waives cl. 2 and cl. 6 of rule XXI against provisions in the bill; Provides that the 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 amendments; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides that the bill be read by title.	N/A
S. 21	Termination of U.S. Arms Embargo on Bosnia	H. Res. 204	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 cl. 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 Committee; Pre-printing gets priority; Provides the bill be read by title.	N/A
H.R. 1555	Communications Act of 1995	H. Res. 207	Restrictive: waives sec. 302(f) of the Budget Act against consideration of the bill; Makes in order the Commerce Committee amendment as original text and waives sec. 302(f) of the Budget Act and cl. 5(a) of rule XXI against the amendment; Makes in order the Billey 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 waives all points of order against the amendments; provides a Senate hook-up with S. 652.	2R/3D/3 Bi-partisan.
H.R. 2127	Labor/HHS Appropriations Act	H. Res. 208	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; PQ.	N/A
H.R. 1594	Economically Targeted Investments	H. Res. 215	Open; 2 hr of gen. debate; makes in order the committee substitute as original text	N/A
H.R. 1655	Intelligence Authorization	H. Res. 216	Restrictive: waives sections 302(f), 308(a) and 401(b) of the Budget Act. Makes in order the committee substitute as modified by Govt. Reform amend (striking sec. 505) and an amendment striking title VII. Cl 7 of rule XVII and cl 5(a) of rule XXI are waived against the substitute. Sections 302(f) and 401(b) of the CBA are also waived against the substitute. Amendments must also be pre-printed in the Congressional record.	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 text; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1670	Federal Acquisition Reform Act of 1995	H. Res. 219	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 Act against the committee substitute. Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1617	To Consolidate and Reform Workforce Development and Literacy Programs Act (CAREERS).	H. Res. 222	Open; waives sections 302(f) and 401(b) of the Budget Act against the substitute made in order as original text (H.R. 2332), cl. 5(a) of rule XXI is also waived against the substitute. Provides for consideration of the managers amendment (10 min.) if adopted, it is considered as base text.	N/A
H.R. 2274	National Highway System Designation Act of 1995	H. Res. 224	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 as well as cl. 5(a) of rule XXI and cl. 1(q)(10) of rule X against the substitute; provides for the consideration of a managers amendment (10 min.). If adopted, it is considered as base text; Pre-printing gets priority; PQ.	N/A

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 927	Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act of 1995	H. Res. 225	Restrictive: waives cl 2(1)(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 amendments 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 gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1170	3-Judge Court for Certain Injunctions	H. Res. 227	Open; makes in order a committee amendment as original text; Pre-printing gets priority	N/A
H.R. 1601	International Space Station Authorization Act of 1995	H. Res. 228	Open; makes in order a committee amendment as original text; pre-printing gets priority	N/A
H.J. Res. 108	Making Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 230	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.	
H.R. 2405	Omnibus Civilian Science Authorization Act of 1995	H. Res. 234	Open; self-executes a provision striking section 304(b)(3) of the bill (Commerce Committee request); Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 2259	To Disapprove Certain Sentencing Guideline Amendments	H. Res. 237	Restrictive: waives cl 2(1)(2)(B) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; makes in order the text of the Senate bill S. 1254 as original text; Makes in order only a Conyers substitute; provides a senate hook-up after adoption.	1D
H.R. 2425	Medicare Preservation Act	H. Res. 238	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(c) of rule XXI (% requirement on votes raising taxes); PO.	1D
H.R. 2492	Legislative Branch Appropriations Bill	H. Res. 239	Restrictive: provides for consideration of the bill in the House	N/A
H.R. 2491	7 Year Balanced Budget Reconciliation Social Security Earnings Test Reform.	H. Res. 245	Restrictive: makes in order H.R. 2517 as original text; waives all points 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(c) of rule XXI (% requirement on votes raising taxes); PO.	1D
H.R. 1833	Partial Birth Abortion Ban Act of 1995	H. Res. 251	Closed	N/A
H.R. 2546	D.C. Appropriations FY 1996	H. Res. 252	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, 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.	N/A
H.J. Res. 115	Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 257	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
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.	5R
H.R. 2539	ICC Termination	H. Res. 259	Open; waives section 302(f) and section 308(a)	
H.J. Res. 115	Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 261	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.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(1)(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	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 Transportation 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 order against the amendment; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 1350	Maritime Security Act of 1995	H. Res. 287	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; PO.	N/A
H.R. 1745	Utah Public Lands Management Act of 1995	H. Res. 303	Open; waives cl 2(1)(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 waives 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 (Dornan), 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; PO	N/A
H.R. 558	Texas Low-Level Radioactive Waste Disposal Compact Consent Act	H. Res. 313	Open; pre-printing gets priority	N/A
H.R. 2677	The National Parks and National Wildlife Refuge Systems Freedom Act of 1995.	H. Res. 323	Closed; consideration in the House; self-executes Young amendment	N/A
PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS 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. ** NR; PO.	N/A
H.J. Res. 134	Making continuing appropriations/establishing procedures making the transmission of the continuing resolution H.J. Res. 134.	H. Res. 336	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. ** NR; PO.	N/A
H.R. 1358	Conveyance of National Marine Fisheries Service Laboratory at Gloucester, Massachusetts.	H. Res. 338	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. ** NR; PO.	N/A
H.R. 2924	Social Security Guarantee Act	H. Res. 355	Closed; ** NR; PO	N/A
H.R. 2854	The Agricultural Market Transition Program	H. Res. 366	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; PO.	5D; 9R; 2 Bipartisan.
H.R. 994	Regulatory Sunset & Review Act of 1995	H. Res. 368	Open rule; makes in order the Hyde substitute printed in the Record as original text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; Pre-printing gets priority; vacates the House action on S. 219 and provides to take the bill from the Speaker's table and consider the Senate bill; allows Chrm. Clinger a motion to strike all after the enacting clause of the Senate bill and insert the text of H.R. 994 as passed by the House (1 hr) debate; waives germaneness against the motion; provides if the motion is adopted that it is in order for the House to insist on its amendments and request a conference.	N/A
H.R. 3021	To Guarantee the Continuing Full Investment of Social security and Other Federal Funds in Obligations of the United States.	H. Res. 371	Closed rule; gives one motion to recommit, which if it contains instructions, may only if offered by the Minority Leader or his designee. ** NR.	N/A
H.R. 3019	A Further Downpayment Toward a Balanced Budget	H. Res. 372	Restrictive: self-executes CBO language regarding contingency funds in section 2 of the rule; makes in order only the amendments printed in the report; Lowey (20 min), Istook (20 min), Crapo (20 min), Obey (1 hr); waives all points of order against the amendments; give one motion to recommit, which if contains instructions, may only if offered by the Minority Leader or his designee. ** NR.	2D/2R.
H.R. 2703	The Effective Death Penalty and Public Safety Act of 1996	H. Res. 380	Restrictive: makes in order only the amendments printed in the report; waives all points of order against the amendments; gives Judiciary Chairman en bloc authority (20 min.) on en blocs; provides a Senate hook-up with S. 735. ** NR.	6D; 7R; 4 Bipartisan.

FLOOR PROCEDURE IN THE 104TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION; COMPILED BY THE RULES COMMITTEE DEMOCRATS—Continued

Bill No.	Title	Resolution No.	Process used for floor consideration	Amendments in order
H.R. 2202	The Immigration and National Interest Act of 1995	H. Res. 384	Restrictive: waives all points of order against the bill and amendments in the report except for those arising under sec. 425(a) of the Budget Act (unfunded mandates); 2 hrs. of general debate on the bill; makes in order the committee substitute as base text; makes in order only the amends in the report; gives the Judiciary Chairman en bloc authority (20 min.) of debate on the en blocs; self-executes the Smith (TX) amendment re: employee verification program; PO.	12D; 19R; 1 Bipartisan.
H.J. Res. 165	Making further continuing appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 386	Closed: provides for the consideration of the CR in the House and gives one motion to recommit which may contain instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader; the rule also waives cl 4(b) of rule XI against the following: an omnibus appropriations bill, another CR, a bill extending the debt limit. **NR.	N/A.
H.R. 125	The Gun Crime Enforcement and Second Amendment Restoration Act of 1996.	H. Res. 388	Closed: self-executes an amendment; provides one motion to recommit which may contain instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or his designee. **NR.	N/A
H.R. 3136	The Contract With America Advancement Act of 1996	H. Res. 391	Closed: provides for the consideration of the bill in the House; self-executes an amendment in the Rules report; waives all points of order, except sec. 425(a) (unfunded mandates) of the CBA, against the bill's consideration; orders the PO except 1 hr. of general debate between the Chairman and Ranking Member of Ways and Means; one Archer amendment (10 min.); one motion to recommit which may contain instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or his designee; Provides a Senate hookup if the Senate passes S. 4 by March 30, 1996. **NR.	N/A
H.R. 3103	The Health Coverage Availability and Affordability Act of 1996	H. Res. 392	Restrictive: 2 hrs. of general debate (45 min. split by Ways and Means) (45 split by Commerce) (30 split by Economic and Educational Opportunities); self-executes H.R. 3160 as modified by the amendment in the Rules report as original text; waives all points of order, except sec. 425(a) (unfunded mandates) of the CBA; makes in order a Democratic substitute (1 hr.) waives all points of order, except sec. 425(a) (unfunded mandates) of the CBA, against the amendment; one motion to recommit which may contain instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or his designee; waives cl 5(c) of Rule XXI (requiring 3/5 vote on any tax increase) on votes on the bill, amendments or conference reports.	N/A
H.J. Res. 159	Tax Limitation Constitutional Amendment	H. Res. 395	Restrictive: provides for consideration of the bill in the House; 3 hrs of general debate; Makes in order H.J. Res. 169 as original text; allows for an amendment to be offered by the Minority Leader or his designee (1 hr) **NR; PO.	1D
H.R. 842	Truth in Budgeting Act	H. Res. 396	Open; 2 hrs. of general debate; Pre-printing gets priority	N/A
H.R. 2715	Paperwork Elimination Act of 1996	H. Res. 409	Open; Preprinting get priority	N/A
H.R. 1675	National Wildlife Refuge Improvement Act of 1995	H. Res. 410	Open; Makes the Young amendment printed in the 4/16/96 Record in order as original text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the amendment; Preprinting gets priority; **NR.	N/A
H.J. Res. 175	Further Continuing Appropriations for FY 1996	H. Res. 411	Closed: provides for consideration of the bill in the House; one motion to recommit which, if containing instructions, may be offered by the Minority Leader or his designee. **NR.	N/A
H.R. 2641	United States Marshals Service Improvement Act of 1996	H. Res. 418	Open; Pre-printing gets priority; Senate hook-up. **PO	N/A
H.R. 2149	The Ocean Shipping Reform Act	H. Res. 419	Open; Makes in order a managers amendment as the first order of business (10 min.); if adopted it is considered as base text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the managers amendment; Pre-printing gets priority; makes in order an Obstar en bloc amendment.	N/A
H.R. 2974	To amend the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 to provide enhanced penalties for crimes against elderly and child victims.	H. Res. 421	Open; waives cl 7 of rule XIII against consideration of the bill; makes in order the Judiciary substitute printed in the bill as original text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 3120	To amend Title 18, United States Code, with respect to witness retaliation, witness tampering and jury tampering.	H. Res. 422	Open; waives cl 7 of rule XIII against consideration of the bill; makes in order the Judiciary substitute printed in the bill as original text; waives cl 7 of rule XVI against the substitute; Pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 2406	The United States Housing Act of 1996	H. Res. 426	Open; makes in order the committee substitute printed in the bill as original text; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI against the substitute; makes in order a managers amendment as the first order of business (10 min); if adopted it is considered as base text; Pre-printing gets priority; provides a Senate hook-up.	N/A
H.R. 3322	Omnibus Civilian Science Authorization Act of 1996	H. Res. 427	Open; waives cl 2(1)(2) of rule XI against the bill's consideration; makes in order a managers amendment as the first order of business (10 min); if adopted it is considered as base text; waives cl 5(a) of rule XXI against the bill; pre-printing gets priority.	N/A
H.R. 3286	The Adoption Promotion and Stability Act of 1996	H. Res. 428	Restrictive: provides consideration of the bill in the House; makes in order the Ways & Means substitute printed in the bill as original text; makes in order a Gibbons amendment to title II (30 min) and a Young amendment (30 min); provides one motion to recommit which may contain instructions only if offered by the Minority Leader or his designee.	

* Contract Bills, 67% restrictive; 33% open. ** All legislation 1st Session, 53% restrictive; 47% open. *** All legislation 2d Session, 86% restrictive; 14% open. **** All legislation 104th Congress, 57% restrictive; 43% open. ***** NR indicates that the legislation being considered by the House for amendment has circumvented standard procedure and was never reported from any House committee. **** PO Indicates that previous question was ordered on the resolution. ***** 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. N/A means not available.

LEGISLATION IN THE 104TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

To date 13 out of 23, or 57 percent of the bills considered under rules in the 2d session of the 104th Congress have been considered under an irregular procedure which circumvents the standard committee procedure. They have been brought to the floor without any committee reporting them. They are as follows:

H.R. 1643, to authorize the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (MFN) to the products of Bulgaria.

H.J. Res. 134, making continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1996.

H.R. 1358, conveyance of National Marine Fisheries Service Laboratory at Gloucester, MA.

H.R. 2924, the Social Security Guarantee Act.

H.R. 3021, to guarantee the continuing full investment of Social Security and other Federal funds in obligations of the United States.

H.R. 3019, a further downpayment toward a balanced budget.

H.R. 2703, the Effective Death Penalty and Public Safety Act of 1996.

H.J. Res. 165, making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1996.

H.R. 125, the Crime Enforcement and Second Amendment Restoration Act of 1996.

H.R. 3136, the Contract With America Advancement Act of 1996.

H.J. Res. 159, tax limitation constitutional amendment.

H.R. 1675, National Wildlife Refuge Improvement Act of 1995.

H.J. Res. 175, making further continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1996.

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Mr. Speaker, I say to my colleagues, particularly on this side of the aisle, look what I have in my hand. It is the United States Department of State's April 1996, Patterns of Global Terrorism Report from 1 month ago. Let me read what it says.

It says, "Iran: Iran remains the premier state sponsor of international terrorism and is deeply involved in the planning and execution of terrorist acts, both by its own agents and by surrogate groups." Surrogate groups that were placed in Bosnia to do their dirty work.

The report goes on to say, "Iran gives varying degrees of assistance to an assortment of radical Islamic and secular groups. Iran continues to view the United States of America as its principal foreign adversary, supporting

groups such as Hezbollah that pose a threat to United States citizens."

Mr. Speaker, that is what this is all about. To my colleagues who will attempt to defeat the previous question in order to force the Committee on International Relations to accomplish this same thing without the addition of one additional subcommittee, I say we cannot do that because on opening day a year and a half ago we cut one-third of the employees of this Congress. We have cut them out by one-third. We eliminated two subcommittees in the Committee on International Relations. They cannot do it without this amendment, without this report, without this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I urge Members to please defeat the previous question and let us get on with our business.

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

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

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

Mr. SOLOMON. 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.

Pursuant to the provisions of clause 5 of rule XV, the Chair announces that he will reduce to a minimum of 5 minutes the period of time within which a vote by electronic device, if ordered, will be taken on the question of agreeing to the resolution.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 227, nays 187, not voting 19, as follows:

[Roll No. 150]

YEAS—227

Allard	Forbes	McHugh
Archer	Fowler	McInnis
Armey	Fox	McKeon
Bachus	Franks (CT)	Metcalf
Baker (CA)	Franks (NJ)	Meyers
Baker (LA)	Frelinghuysen	Mica
Ballenger	Frisa	Miller (FL)
Barr	Funderburk	Moorhead
Barrett (NE)	Galleghy	Morella
Bartlett	Ganske	Myers
Barton	Gekas	Myrick
Bass	Gilchrest	Nethercutt
Bateman	Gillmor	Neumann
Bereuter	Gilman	Ney
Bilbray	Goodlatte	Norwood
Bilirakis	Goodling	Nussle
Bliley	Goss	Oxley
Blute	Graham	Packard
Boehlert	Greenwood	Parker
Boehner	Gunderson	Paxon
Bonilla	Gutknecht	Petri
Bono	Hancock	Pombo
Brownback	Hansen	Porter
Bryant (TN)	Hastert	Portman
Bunn	Hastings (WA)	Pryce
Bunning	Hayworth	Quillen
Burr	Hefley	Quinn
Burton	Heineman	Radanovich
Buyer	Herger	Ramstad
Callahan	Hilleary	Regula
Calvert	Hobson	Roberts
Camp	Hoekstra	Rogers
Campbell	Hoke	Rohrabacher
Canady	Horn	Ros-Lehtinen
Castle	Houghton	Roukema
Chabot	Hunter	Royce
Chambliss	Hutchinson	Salmon
Chenoweth	Hyde	Sanford
Christensen	Inglis	Saxton
Chrysler	Istook	Scarborough
Clinger	Johnson (CT)	Schaefer
Coble	Johnson, Sam	Schiff
Coburn	Jones	Seastrand
Collins (GA)	Kasich	Sensenbrenner
Combest	Kelly	Shadegg
Cooley	Kim	Shaw
Crane	King	Shays
Crapo	Kingston	Shuster
Creameans	Klug	Skeen
Cubin	Knollenberg	Smith (MI)
Cunningham	Kolbe	Smith (NJ)
Davis	LaHood	Smith (TX)
Deal	Largent	Smith (WA)
DeLay	Latham	Solomon
Diaz-Balart	LaTourette	Souder
Dickey	Laughlin	Spence
Doolittle	Lazio	Stearns
Dornan	Leach	Stockman
Dreier	Lewis (CA)	Stump
Duncan	Lewis (KY)	Talent
Dunn	Lightfoot	Tate
Ehlers	Linder	Taylor (NC)
Ehrlich	Livingston	Thomas
Emerson	LoBiondo	Thornberry
English	Longley	Tiahrt
Ensign	Lucas	Torkildsen
Everett	Manzullo	Upton
Ewing	Martinez	Vucanovich
Fawell	Martini	Walker
Fields (TX)	McCollum	Walsh
Flanagan	McCrery	Wamp
Foley	McDade	Watts (OK)

Weldon (FL)
Weldon (PA)
Weller
White

Whitfield
Wicker
Wolf
Young (AK)

Young (FL)
Zeliff
Zimmer

NAYS—187

Abercrombie
Ackerman
Andrews
Baesler
Baldacci
Barcia
Barrett (WI)
Becerra
Beilenson
Bentsen
Berman
Bevill
Bishop
Bonior
Borski
Boucher
Brewster
Browder
Brown (CA)
Brown (FL)
Brown (OH)
Bryant (TX)
Cardin
Chapman
Clay
Clayton
Clement
Clyburn
Coleman
Collins (IL)
Collins (MI)
Condit
Conyers
Costello
Cramer
Cummings
Danner
DeFazio
DeLauro
Dellums
Deutsch
Dicks
Dingell
Dixon
Doggett
Dooley
Doyle
Durbin
Edwards
Engel
Eshoo
Evans
Farr
Fattah
Fazio
Fields (LA)
Filner
Flake
Foglietta
Frank (MA)
Frost
Furse
Gejdenson

Gephardt
Geren
Gibbons
Gonzalez
Gordon
Green (TX)
Gutierrez
Hall (OH)
Hall (TX)
Hamilton
Harman
Hastings (FL)
Hefner
Hilliard
Hinchey
Holden
Hoyer
Jackson (IL)
Jackson-Lee
(TX)
Jacobs
Jefferson
Johnson (SD)
Johnson, E. B.
Johnston
Kanjorski
Kaptur
Kennedy (MA)
Kennedy (RI)
Kennelly
Kildee
Kleczka
Klink
LaFalco
Lantos
Levin
Lewis (GA)
Lincoln
Lipinski
Lofgren
Lowey
Luther
Maloney
Manton
Markey
Mascara
Matsui
McCarthy
McDermott
McHale
McKinney
McNulty
Meehan
Meek
Menendez
Millender-
McDonald
Miller (CA)
Minge
Mink
Moakley
Mollohan
Moran

Murtha
Nadler
Neal
Oberstar
Obey
Olver
Ortiz
Orton
Pallone
Pastor
Payne (NJ)
Pelosi
Peterson (FL)
Peterson (MN)
Pickett
Pomeroy
Poshard
Rahall
Rangel
Reed
Richardson
Rivers
Rose
Roybal-Allard
Rush
Sabo
Sanders
Sawyer
Schroeder
Schumer
Scott
Serrano
Sisisky
Skaggs
Skelton
Slaughter
Spratt
Stark
Stenholm
Stokes
Studds
Stupak
Tanner
Taylor (MS)
Tejeda
Thompson
Thornton
Thurman
Torres
Torricelli
Towns
Traficant
Velazquez
Vento
Volkmer
Ward
Waters
Watt (NC)
Waxman
Williams
Wise
Wynn
Yates

NOT VOTING—19

Cox
Coyne
de la Garza
Ford
Greene (UT)
Hayes
Hostettler

McIntosh
Molinari
Montgomery
Owens
Payne (VA)
Riggs
Roemer

Roth
Tauzin
Visclosky
Wilson
Woolsey

□ 1256

The Clerk announced the following pair:

On this vote:
Mr. McIntosh for, with Mr. Roemer against.

Mr. CRAMER changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

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

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). The question is on the resolution.

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

RECORDED VOTE

Mr. FROST. Mr. Speaker, I demand a recorded vote.

A recorded vote was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—ayes 224, noes 187, not voting 22, as follows:

[Roll No 151]

AYES—224

Allard	Franks (NJ)	Miller (FL)
Archer	Frelinghuysen	Moorhead
Armey	Frisa	Morella
Bachus	Funderburk	Myers
Baker (CA)	Galleghy	Myrick
Baker (LA)	Ganske	Nethercutt
Ballenger	Gekas	Neumann
Barr	Gilchrest	Ney
Barrett (NE)	Gillmor	Norwood
Bartlett	Gillum	Nussle
Barton	Goodlatte	Oxley
Bateman	Goodling	Packard
Bereuter	Goss	Parker
Bilbray	Graham	Paxon
Bilirakis	Greenwood	Petri
Bliley	Gunderson	Pombo
Blute	Gutknecht	Porter
Boehlert	Hall (TX)	Portman
Boehner	Hancock	Quillen
Bonilla	Hansen	Radanovich
Bono	Hastert	Ramstad
Brownback	Hastings (WA)	Regula
Bryant (TN)	Hayworth	Roberts
Bunn	Hefley	Rogers
Bunning	Heineman	Rohrabacher
Burr	Herger	Ros-Lehtinen
Burton	Hilleary	Roukema
Buyer	Hobson	Royce
Callahan	Hoekstra	Salmon
Calvert	Hoke	Sanford
Camp	Horn	Saxton
Campbell	Houghton	Scarborough
Canady	Hunter	Schaefer
Castle	Hutchinson	Schiff
Chabot	Hyde	Schafer
Chambliss	Inglis	Sensenbrenner
Chenoweth	Istook	Shadegg
Christensen	Johnson (CT)	Shaw
Chrysler	Johnson, Sam	Shays
Clinger	Jones	Shuster
Coble	Kasich	Skeen
Coburn	Kelly	Smith (MI)
Collins (GA)	Kim	Smith (NJ)
Combest	King	Smith (TX)
Cooley	Kingston	Smith (WA)
Crane	Klug	Solomon
Crapo	Knollenberg	Souder
Creameans	Kolbe	Spence
Cubin	LaHood	Stearns
Cunningham	Largent	Stump
Davis	Latham	Stockman
Deal	LaTourette	Tate
DeLay	Laughlin	Taylor (MS)
Diaz-Balart	Lazio	Taylor (NC)
Doolittle	Lewis (CA)	Thomas
Dornan	Lewis (KY)	Thornberry
Dreier	Lightfoot	Tiahrt
Duncan	Linder	Torkildsen
Dunn	Livingston	Upton
Ehlers	LoBiondo	Vucanovich
Ehrlich	Longley	Walker
Emerson	Lucas	Walsh
English	Manzullo	Wamp
Ensign	Martinez	Watts (OK)
Everett	Martini	Weldon (FL)
Ewing	McCollum	Weldon (PA)
Fawell	McCrery	Weller
Fields (TX)	McDade	White
Flanagan	McHugh	Wicker
Foley	McInnis	Wolf
	McIntosh	Young (AK)
	McKeon	Young (FL)
	Metcalf	Zeliff
	Meyers	Zimmer
	Mica	

NOES—187

Abercrombie	Baesler	Barrett (WI)
Ackerman	Baldacci	Becerra
Andrews	Barcia	Beilenson

Bentsen	Gutierrez	Olver
Berman	Hall (OH)	Ortiz
Bevill	Hamilton	Orton
Bishop	Harman	Pallone
Bonior	Hastings (FL)	Pastor
Borski	Hefner	Payne (NJ)
Boucher	Hilliard	Payne (VA)
Brewster	Hinchev	Pelosi
Browder	Holden	Peterson (FL)
Brown (CA)	Hoyer	Peterson (MN)
Brown (FL)	Jackson (IL)	Pickett
Brown (OH)	Jackson-Lee	Pomeroy
Bryant (TX)	(TX)	Poshard
Cardin	Jacobs	Rahall
Chapman	Jefferson	Rangel
Clay	Johnson (SD)	Reed
Clayton	Johnson, E. B.	Richardson
Clement	Kanjorski	Rivers
Clyburn	Kaptur	Roemer
Coleman	Kennedy (MA)	Rose
Collins (IL)	Kennedy (RI)	Roybal-Allard
Collins (MI)	Kennelly	Rush
Condit	Kildee	Sabo
Conyers	Klecicka	Sanders
Costello	Klink	Sawyer
Cramer	LaFalce	Schroeder
Cummings	Lantos	Schumer
Danner	Levin	Scott
DeFazio	Lewis (GA)	Serrano
DeLauro	Lincoln	Sisisky
Dellums	Lipinski	Skaggs
Deusch	Lofgren	Skelton
Dicks	Lowey	Slaughter
Dingell	Luther	Spratt
Dixon	Maloney	Stark
Doggett	Manton	Stenholm
Dooley	Markey	Stokes
Doyle	Mascara	Studds
Durbin	Matsui	Stupak
Edwards	McCarthy	Tanner
Engel	McDermott	Tejeda
Eshoo	McHale	Thompson
Evans	McKinney	Thornton
Farr	McNulty	Thurman
Fattah	Meehan	Torres
Fazio	Meek	Torricelli
Fields (LA)	Menendez	Towns
Filner	Millender-	Traficant
Flake	McDonald	Velazquez
Foglietta	Miller (CA)	Vento
Frank (MA)	Minge	Volkmer
Frost	Mink	Ward
Furse	Moakley	Waters
Gejdenson	Mollohan	Watt (NC)
Gephardt	Moran	Waxman
Geren	Murtha	Williams
Gibbons	Nadler	Wise
Gonzalez	Neal	Woolsey
Gordon	Oberstar	Wynn
Green (TX)	Obey	Yates

NOT VOTING—22

Cox	Johnston	Roth
Coyne	Leach	Talent
de la Garza	Molinari	Tauzin
Dickey	Montgomery	Visclosky
Ford	Owens	Whitfield
Greene (UT)	Pryce	Wilson
Hayes	Quinn	
Hostettler	Riggs	

□ 1305

Mr. NEUMANN changed his vote from "no" to "aye."

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.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. RIGGS. Mr. Speaker, on rollcall No. 150, the previous question on House Resolution 416, and 151, adoption of House Resolution 416, I was unavoidably absent from the Capitol on personal family matters—a conference at my son's school. Had I been present, I would have voted "yes" on both issues.

PROVIDING FOR EXPENSES OF SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON UNITED STATES ROLE IN IRANIAN ARMS TRANSFERS TO CROATIA AND BOSNIA

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on House Oversight, I call up a privileged resolution (H. Res. 417) providing amounts for the expenses of the Select Subcommittee on the United States Role in Iranian Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia of the Committee on International Relations in the second session of the One Hundred Fourth Congress, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 417

Resolved, That (a) there shall be paid out of the applicable accounts of the House of Representatives not more than \$1,200,000 for the expenses of the Select Subcommittee on the United States Role in Iranian Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia (hereinafter in this resolution referred to as the "select subcommittee") of the Committee on International Relations, any part of which sum may be used for procurement of consultant services under section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

(b) Payments under this resolution shall be made on vouchers authorized by the select subcommittee, signed by the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, and approved in the manner directed by the Committee on House Oversight.

(c) Amounts shall be available under this resolution for expenses incurred during the period beginning on the date on which this resolution is agreed to and ending on the date on which the select subcommittee ceases to exist or ending immediately before noon on January 3, 1997, whichever first occurs.

(d) Amounts made available under this resolution shall be expended in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Committee on House Oversight.

(e) The Committee on House Oversight shall have authority to make adjustments in the amount under subsection (a), if necessary to comply with an order of the President issued under section 254 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 or to conform to any reduction in appropriations for the purposes of such subsection.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HANSEN). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute.

The Clerk read as follows:

Committee amendment in the nature of a substitute:

Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert:

Resolved, That (a) there shall be paid out of the applicable accounts of the House of Representatives not more than \$995,000 for the expenses of the Select Subcommittee on the United States Role in Iranian Arms Trans-

fers to Croatia and Bosnia (hereinafter in this resolution referred to as the "select subcommittee") of the Committee on International Relations, any part of which sum may be used for procurement of consultant services under section 202(i) of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946.

(b) Payments under this resolution shall be made on vouchers authorized by the select subcommittee, signed by the chairman of the Committee on International Relations, and approved in the manner directed by the Committee on House Oversight.

(c) Amounts shall be available under this resolution for expenses incurred during the period beginning on the date on which this resolution is agreed to and ending on the date on which the select subcommittee ceases to exist or ending immediately before noon on January 3, 1997, whichever first occurs.

(d) Amounts made available under this resolution shall be expended in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Committee on House Oversight.

(e) The Committee on House Oversight shall have authority to make adjustments in the amount under subsection (a), if necessary to comply with an order of the President issued under section 254 of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 or to conform to any reduction in appropriations for the purposes of such subsection.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the committee amendment in the nature of a substitute be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request to the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Florida [Mr. DIAZ-BALART] is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. DIAZ-BALART. Mr. Speaker, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from California [Mr. FAZIO] for purposes of debate only, pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume, with the understanding that any additional time which I may yield will be subject to the specific limitation for purposes of debate only.

Mr. Speaker, did the White House permit a mortal enemy of the United States to establish a military presence in Europe, or did the White House inspire a mortal enemy of the United States to establish a military presence in Europe? That is the essence of the question that this Congress will be investigating in the next months and that we at this time are authorizing funding for, the select subcommittee of the Committee on International Relations.

The House has just approved House Resolution 416 authorizing the creation of a select subcommittee. We will now be considering the resolution to provide \$995,000 for the expenses of the select subcommittee.

There is ample justification for the creation and the funding of the select subcommittee. The chairman of the Committee on International Relations, the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN], articulated these reasons