

NEWS FROM:

C-SPAN AMERICA'S NETWORK

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Contact: SUSAN SWAIN
(202) 737-3220

AM PAPERS/ MONDAY, AUGUST 26

SENATE TV?

... C-SPAN'S NEW SURVEY ON THE QUESTION OF TELEVISIONING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE....

SPECIAL NOTES: THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE HAS SCHEDULED A HEARING
ON SENATE TELEVISION ON SEPTEMBER 17.

C-SPAN VIEWERS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VOICE
THEIR OPINIONS ON SENATE TV DURING A VIEWER CALL-IN
PROGRAM ON AUGUST 29 AT 9:00 PM, EDT.

CABLE SATELLITE PUBLIC AFFAIRS NETWORK



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A CHRONOLOGY OF HOUSE TV COVERAGE

Television coverage of Congress was discussed for thirty years before it came to the floor for a vote. Serious discussion of the concept lasted for nearly six years. Here's a look at the timeline of the debate and the modifications that continue to occur:

- 1944 -- Senator Claude Pepper (D-FL) proposes that Congressional proceedings be covered by radio.
- 1948 -- Senator Pepper proposes that Congressional proceedings be covered by television cameras; proposal makes little progress.
- 1961-62 -- House Rules Committee members informally discuss broadcast coverage of House sessions. No action taken.
- 1969 -- Broadcast coverage is discussed seriously during House Reorganization Act hearings. The issue became so controversial that it was dropped. However, the act did establish rules for coverage of House Committee hearings.
- 1974 -- House Judiciary Committee televises Nixon impeachment hearings during late summer, attracting much attention and reviving the idea of televising legislative bodies.
- 1974-75 -- Joint Committee on Congressional Operations, co-chaired by Rep. Jack Brooks (D-TX), recommends television coverage of House floor. Resolutions introduced in both Houses of Congress. Brooks' resolution goes to the House Rules Committee.
- 1975 -- An Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the House Rules Committee undertakes an extensive study of broadcasting.
- 1976 -- The subcommittee recommends coverage of House floor using a network pool. The resolution was never voted out of committee.
- March 1977 -- House authorizes a test for the audiovisual broadcast of floor proceedings. Rep. Jack Brooks experiments with covering the House floor through closed-circuit "surveillance" cameras. Results of 90-day trial run are unsatisfactory -- video quality is poor and visibility is restricted to Capitol offices.
- June 1977 -- As a result of the test, Rep. Gillis Long (D-LA) introduces H.Res. 821 in the Rules Committee, providing for in-house coverage of floor proceedings. Rules Committee considers resolution, holds hearings, amends, and reports out a clean bill, H.Res. 866, and orders it sent to the floor for passage.

THE CABLE SATELLITE PUBLIC AFFAIRS NETWORK

(cont.)

October 1977 -- Resolution (H.Res. 866) passes House by a vote of 342-44, permitting broadcast coverage of House proceedings. Speaker given control of type of coverage; clause included prohibiting use of broadcasts for "political and commercial" purposes. Resolution authorizes Rules Committee to report back to House by February of 1978 its recommendations for the broadcast system.

February 1978 -- Rules Committee report determines policy on House tapes and camera operations. They place the cameras under the Speaker's control rather than allowing the networks to control and operate them. Cameras to remain strictly on the person speaking, and during voting periods, the floor activity will not be shown.

June 1978 -- On legislation appropriating funds to implement broadcasting system, House upholds House operated system by a vote of 235-150.

June 1978 -- Speaker authorizes full audio distribution to media.

March 1979 -- House proceedings begin to be televised regularly, gavel-to-gavel, via C-SPAN cable network.

May 1984 -- Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D-MA) orders cameras to pan chamber during "special orders" period, taking camera off debater for the first time in five years of television coverage.

May 1985 -- Resolution introduced by Rep. Trent Lott (R-MS) passes, allowing television cameras to show the floor activity during voting periods.

July 1985 -- House adopts rule to test methods of presenting a more accurate, verbatim account of the day's speeches in the Congressional Record. This change is made as a result of the "factual electronic record" provided by C-SPAN's gavel-to-gavel TV coverage of the House of Representatives.

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Resolutions Introduced in 99th Congress Concerning Senate TV

Currently, two resolutions exist concerning broadcast coverage of Senate proceedings:

1) Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV), the Senate Minority Leader, introduced Senate Resolution 2 on January 3, 1985, calling for selected broadcast coverage of the Senate, to be decided upon by the majority and minority leaders. S.R. 2 has now been reassigned as S. Res. 28/29, incorporating some changes in Senate rules. Currently, Sen. Byrd has two co-sponsors to his resolution. His proposal is scheduled for a hearing before the Senate Rules Committee on Sept. 17.

2) Senator William Armstrong (R-CO) introduced Senate Resolution 81 on February 27, 1985, which would establish regulations to implement full TV and radio coverage of Senate proceedings. This is the same proposal Senator Howard Baker supported, calling for gavel-to-gavel coverage except when a closed door session is ordered. It is a measure similar to the one that initiated House coverage in 1977. At last count, S.R. 81 had 17 co-sponsors -- 4 Democrats and 13 Republicans. The proposal has gone to the Senate Rules Committee, and Sen. Armstrong is expected to testify on the issue during the Sept. 17 Rules Committee hearing.



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QUOTES FROM SENATORS REGARDING THE QUESTION OF TELEVISION IN THE SENATE

ALABAMA

Senator Howell Heflin (D) -- "If you have greater security, less observation from the gallery, then there's more of a reason for having the proceedings televised."
(In light of the Capitol bombing C-SPAN UPDATE, 11/21/83)*

Senator Jeremiah Denton (R) -- "If you could see the Senate floor, granted some of these guys, including myself, might become actors and get out there and act like idiots, but I don't think so. I believe it would give the people the advantage of seeing what's going on."
(Interview with Alabama Information Network reporter Carol Bennett, 7/85)

ALASKA

Senator Ted Stevens (R) -- "Anchorage is closer to Tokyo than it is to Washington D.C.... Our people ought to know what's going on...so, I do support television."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83)*

ARIZONA

Senator Barry Goldwater (R) -- "If you come up with a way to televise the Senate, other than the way you televise the House, I would like to hear it. I don't think it looks good to have a man standing up there speaking with no one else around him....I'm not exactly supportive of Senate televising, but a lot would depend on the technical presentation of how you intend to do it."
(Letter to C-SPAN, 3/20/85)

Senator Dennis DeConcini (D) -- "Well, I happen to be co-sponsor of the legislation that would televise the Senate (S.R. 81) and I hope we could pass that... I think it is in the public interest for a lot of reasons...."
(C-SPAN call-in 1/19/83)

CALIFORNIA

Senator Alan Cranston (D) -- "Senate proceedings should be open to television coverage. I believe in the people's right to know what's going on in their government. And I believe it is the duty of the government officials to tell them. More than that, I believe that the people should, where possible, be allowed to see for themselves. There's altogether too much of a mystery made about government....But...I am adamant that that coverage be fair coverage."
(Congressional Record, 9/21/83)

* Each C-SPAN UPDATE quote came from the Senator's appearance on one of the network's call-in or interview programs.

COLORADO

Senator William Armstrong (R) -- "If the House of Lords, which has been an institution since the 11th Century can take its debates to the homes of British citizens, the U.S. Senate should do likewise."

(Senator's press release, 1/25/85)

CONNECTICUT

Senator Lowell Weicker (R) -- "I support television in the Senate. I think it's the communication of our generation. It's the first-hand dialogue, rather than going through an intermediary - the press...I think everything we do to make government relevant to this day and age rather than to just rely on the past is all to the strengthening of democracy."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 11/21/83)*

Senator Christopher Dodd (D) -- "The rules of the Senate I feel would probably have to be changed to accomodate television..Now while certainly it is important for people to have information about what goes on on the floor of the Senate, I would suggest that today most of the business goes on in committee where television is allowed."

(C-SPAN call-in, 8/3/83)

FLORIDA

Senator Lawton Chiles (D) -- "I support the idea of Senate broadcasts. As a Senator identified with the sunshine law and open committee meetings, I commend any effort to make the process of government more accessible to the public."

(Congressional Record, 9/21/84)

GEORGIA

Senator Mack Mattingly (R) -- "...I am not irrevocably opposed to any and all broadcast of the U.S. Senate. I am opposed to Senate Resolution 66, which would authorize gavel-to-gavel coverage without addressing the almost certain rules changes that would be forced by such coverage."

(Congressional Record, 9/21/84)

HAWAII

Senator Spark Matsunaga (D) -- "Previous to introduction of TV cameras in the House, the Senate was much better known. Now the members of the House are becoming better known than those in the Senate...I think this (TV) would be a good thing."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 3/18/85)*

IDAHO

Senator Steven Symms (R) -- "I personally favor it...I see no reason why it wouldn't be an extension of America's ability to participate in its system."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83)*

Senator James McClure (R) -- "Television cameras are the eyes and ears of the American people...and the time for opening the Senate's doors to the public is long overdue. It's as if the Senate is mired in the horse and buggy days."

(Senator's press release, 9/17/84)

(MORE)

ILLINOIS

Senator Alan Dixon (D) -- "Yes, under the kind of rules where the majority leader and the minority leader would control how it was done."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 11/21/83)*

Senator Paul Simon (D) -- "I think people are entitled to see what we're doing... I think the idea of opening the process up as much as possible was a good one for the politicians and the American public."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 1/21/83) *

INDIANA

Senator Richard Lugar (R) -- "...The principle of openness, the ability of the public to hear what is occurring, is a very important situation and I think we can work through the technical aspects and open the Senate to the public."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 11/21/83)*

IOWA

Senator Tom Harkin (D) -- "I don't think you're going to see the kind of gavel-to-gavel coverage in the Senate that you have in the House, simply because the Senate operates differently, and I think a lot of people get bored watching the way the Senate operatesBut I do believe we'll have television coverage in the Senate of the major debates, like the budget, defense, agriculture, and foreign aid billsI think that will happen in the next couple of years. I hope so -- I'm all in favor of it."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 5/20/85) *

KENTUCKY

Senator Wendell Ford (D) -- "The next thing you will want to do is open the President's cabinet meetings and want TV in there."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83)*

LOUISIANA

Senator Russell Long (D) -- "The Senate is not able to get its work done now. It would be even worse if the Senate were on television."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83)*

MISSISSIPPI

Senator John Stennis (D) -- "It's just not the place for the cameras to be.... The record's there, you know, and it's all spoken...."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83)*

MISSOURI

Senator John Danforth (R) -- "I hope it's not going to be a reality. I think it's a terrible idea...There would be a temptation to more filibuster, not less."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83)*

Senator Thomas Eagleton (D) -- "I have taken a position opposing televising Senate proceedings on the floor....I think my voting record from last session speaks for itself."
(Letter in response to 1985 C-SPAN survey)

(over)

MONTANA

Senator John Melcher (D) -- "It's absolutely pitiful that we haven't made arrangements in the Senate for live filming so that people across the country can view what the activities of the Senate are and the sense of debate and issues as the Senate sees it."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 1/23/84) *

NEBRASKA

Senator Edward Zorinsky (D) -- "...I'm for opening up the Senate for television -- so all the people can see what takes place in a filibuster and how you can read recipes out of a cookbook when it costs \$490.00 a page to print the Congressional Record...I come from the business world, and if I ran my business like this place is run, my, I'd have gone broke a long time ago."

(C-SPAN call-in, 3/18/83)

NORTH CAROLINA

Senator John East (R) -- "I have an open mind on it....Right now I'm not convinced that it's a good idea."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

OKLAHOMA

Senator Don Nickles (R) -- "I'm fairly divided on the issue...but would be somewhat supportive with some modifications in the Senate rules or limitations on coverage...Half the Senate floor is running for President. I'd hate to think they can sit on the floor of the Senate and make a speech and not have to work at it."

(Interview with Tulsa Tribune reporter Brad Phelps, 5/85)

RHODE ISLAND

Senator John Chafee (R) -- "Yes, we will vote on TV in the Senate and I think it will pass...I tilt toward it."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

SOUTH CAROLINA

Senator Ernest Hollings (D) -- "I would favor it on an agreed basis by the leadership for the important issues...Constant televising would deter us from getting our work done."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

TENNESSEE

Senator Albert Gore (D) -- "This must be accomplished. It may take some time, but it's essential to the public interest."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 1/21/83) *

UTAH

Senator Orrin Hatch (R) -- "I intend to vote for open coverage of the Senate floor. I personally believe the public has a right to know."

(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

(MORE)

VIRGINIA

Senator Paul Trible (R) -- "I will vote for it. I served in the House for six years and I think television coverage was important."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

Senator John Warner (R) -- "I shall support the Majority Leader in his effort to bring television in some fashion into the U.S. Senate."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

WEST VIRGINIA

Senator Robert Byrd (D) -- "I'd like to see the Senate move into the 20th Century."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 1/21/85) *

WYOMING

Senator Alan Simpson (R) -- "The one fear that I have is that our effectiveness in committee will be totally destroyed."
(C-SPAN UPDATE, 10/31/83) *

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* Senators' remarks made during a call-in program appearance and reported in C-SPAN UPDATE.

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AM PAPERS, MON., AUGUST 26, 1985

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-- NEW C-SPAN POLL SHOWS SENATE TV GAINING GROUND --
Senate TV Hearing Scheduled for September 17th

WASHINGTON, D.C.-- Sen. Wendell Ford of Kentucky, the ranking Democratic member on the Senate Rules Committee, recently observed that cameras were "soon to be in the Senate, I suspect." A new C-SPAN poll on Senate television indicates that the proposal may indeed be gaining some ground among Senators.

C-SPAN, the non-profit cable network which now carries the televised proceedings of the U.S. House, recently polled all 100 senators on their positions concerning television cameras in the Senate chamber. The results: 62 senators indicated they would support TV in the Senate in some form; 18 responded that they would not support the proposal in any form; 15 "lean against" the proposal; and 5 senators have not yet taken a position on the issue.

These results show a gain of 8 positive votes over the last C-SPAN poll taken in late 1982. In addition, 29 senators listed themselves as "undecided" in 1982; today, only five members of the Senate told C-SPAN they had formed no opinion on the question of Senate broadcasts. C-SPAN conducted one other poll on Senate TV in 1981, shortly after former Sen. Howard Baker proposed the idea.

At the opening of this Congressional session, two senators, Minority Leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia and William Armstrong (R-CO) proposed new resolutions concerning the broadcast of Senate proceedings. The Senate Rules Committee, headed by Sen. Charles Mathias of Maryland, recently announced a September 17 hearing date for the two Senate television proposals.

In 1983, then-C-SPAN Chairman Ed Allen (president of Western Communications) was called before the Senate Rules Committee to testify on C-SPAN's position regarding Senate television. Calling television "an extension of the Senate gallery," Mr. Allen told the committee, "C-SPAN is ready" to carry the signal to its affiliates.

(--MORE--)

CABLE SATELLITE PUBLIC AFFAIRS NETWORK .

The 1985 C-SPAN poll reveals:

- Among the 53 Republicans: 28 indicated "yes"; 5 said "lean yes"; 9 declared "no" 7 replied "lean no" and 4 remained undecided.
- Among the 47 Democrats: 17 indicated yes; 12 said "lean yes"; 9 declared "no" 8 replied "lean no" and 1 remains undecided.
- Those "leaning no" say they might support Senate TV if certain conditions could be met that would retain the Senate's structure as a deliberative body.
- The Senate television proposal must first be voted out of the Senate Rules Committee. Of the committee's fifteen members, 10 responded "yes/leaning yes"; 5 declared themselves as "no/leaning no."
- 16 of the Senators served in the U.S. House when the vote came up for televising that legislative body. Thirteen of them voted in favor of televising the House and all thirteen indicated a "yes" position to C-SPAN's Senate poll. One senator, Charles Grassley, voted against House television and indicates a negative position on Senate TV. Two Senators were in the House in 1977, but did not vote on television: Sen. Dodd (D-CT), who now responds as "leaning no", and Sen. Symms (R-ID), who indicates a "yes" vote.
- One senator -- Phil Gramm (R-TX) started his House term when the proceedings began to be televised (March 1979). He is now a co-sponsor of Sen. Byrd's television resolution.
- Four senators polled by C-SPAN in 1982 have registered a definite change in their positions: Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV) from a "leaning no" to "yes" and authorship of a television resolution; Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) from a "yes" to a "no" position; Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WY) from "yes" to "leans no"; and Sen. Daniel Inouye (D-HI) from a "no" position to a "yes" in 1985.

C-SPAN has carried the live proceedings of the U.S. House since March of 1979 and also offers a variety of other public affairs programming. The Washington, D.C.-based cable network is currently carried on 2,000 cable systems in the continental U.S., Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Canada. Viewers in more than 21.5 million cable households can watch C-SPAN's round-the-clock programming.

C-SPAN'S SENATE TV SURVEY RESULTS



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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202 / 737-3220

During the summer of 1985, C-SPAN polled all 100 senators on the issue of Senate television. Sixty-two indicated that they would support television cameras in the Senate chamber in some form; 18 senators indicated they would not support the proposal in any form; 15 senators indicated they "lean against" the idea of televising the Senate, but may support it if certain conditions were met, such as non-radical changes in the Senate's rules, a guarantee of the retention of the Senate's dignity, or a guarantee that the deliberative nature of the Senate be undisrupted. Five senators are definitely undecided on cameras in the Senate chamber. Here are the results:

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>			
Denton, Jeremiah (R)	YES	YES	
Heflin, Howell (D)	YES	YES	
<u>ALASKA</u>			
Stevens, Ted (R)	YES	LEANS YES	Rules Cmte; co-sponsor SRes 81
Murkowski, Frank (R)	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	
<u>ARIZONA</u>			
DeConcini, Dennis (D)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-sponsor SRes 81
Goldwater, Barry (R)	NO	YES	
<u>ARKANSAS</u>			
Bumpers, Dale (D)	YES	LEANS YES	
Pryor, David (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>			
Cranston, Alan (D)	YES	YES	
Wilson, Pete (R)	YES	--	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>COLORADO</u>			
Armstrong, William (R)	YES	YES	Author S Res; yes- '77 House TV vote
Hart, Gary (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>			
Dodd, Christopher (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	'77 House; didn't vote on TV
Weicker, Lowell (R)	YES	YES	
<u>DELAWARE</u>			
Biden, Joseph (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
Roth, William (R)	YES	YES	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>FLORIDA</u>			
Chiles, Lawton (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
Hawkins, Paula (R)	NO	LEANS YES	
<u>GEORGIA</u>			
Mattingly, Mack (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Nunn, Sam (D)	LEANS NO	NO	
<u>HAWAII</u>			
Inouye, Daniel (D)	YES	NO	Rules Cmte.
Matsunaga, Spark (D)	YES	YES	
<u>IDAHO</u>			
McClure, James (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-spns S Res 81
Symms, Steven (R)	YES	YES	'77 House; didn't vote on TV
<u>ILLINOIS</u>			
Dixon, Alan (D)	YES	LEANS YES	
Simon, Paul (D)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
<u>INDIANA</u>			
Lugar, Richard (R)	YES	YES	
Quayle, Dan (R)	YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote
<u>IOWA</u>			
Grassley, Charles (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	no-'77 House TV vote
Harkin, Tom (D)	YES	--	yes-'77 House TV vote

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>KANSAS</u>			
Kassebaum, Nancy (R)	YES	LEANS YES	
Dole, Robert (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	Majority Leader/ Rules Cmte.
<u>KENTUCKY</u>			
Ford, Wendell (D)	NO	LEANS NO	Rules Cmte.
McConnell, Mitch	UNDECIDED	--	
<u>LOUISIANA</u>			
Johnston, Bennett (D)	NO	NO	
Long, Russell (D)	NO	NO	
<u>MAINE</u>			
Cohen, William (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes-'77 House TV vote
Mitchell, George (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>MARYLAND</u>			
Mathias, Charles (R)	YES	YES	chmn. Rules Cmte
Sarbanes, Paul (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>			
Kennedy, Edward (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Kerry, John (D)	YES	--	
<u>MICHIGAN</u>			
Levin, Carl (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Riegle, Donald (D)	YES	YES	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>MINNESOTA</u>			
Boschwitz, Rudy (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Durenburger, David (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>			
Cochran, Ted (R)	YES	LEANS YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Stennis, John (D)	NO	NO	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>MISSOURI</u>			
Danforth, John (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
Eagleton, Thomas (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>MONTANA</u>			
Baucus, Max (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	yes- '77 House TV vote
Melcher, John (D)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>NEBRASKA</u>			
Exon, James (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
Zorinsky, Edward (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
<u>NEVADA</u>			
Hecht, Chic (R)	NO	--	
Laxalt, Paul (R)	NO	NO	
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>			
Bradley, Bill (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
Lautenberg, Frank (D)	UNDECIDED	--	
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>			
Humphrey, Gordon (R)	YES	YES	
Rudman, Warren (R)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>			
Bingaman, Jeff (D)	LEANS NO	--	
Domenici, Pete (R)	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	
<u>NEW YORK</u>			
D'Amato, Alfonse (R)	YES	LEANS YES	
Moynihan, Daniel (D)	YES	YES	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>			
East, John (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Helms, Jesse (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte.
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>			
Andrews, Mark (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Burdick, Quentin (D)	NO	NO	
<u>OHIO</u>			
Glenn, John (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Metzenbaum, Howard (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>			
Boren, David (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	
Nickles, Don (R)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
<u>OREGON</u>			
Hatfield, Mark (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Packwood, Bob (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-spns S Res 81
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>			
Heinz, John (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
Specter, Arlen (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>			
Chaffee, John (R)	YES	UNDECIDED	
Pell, Claiborne (D)	NO	NO	Rules Cmte.
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>			
Hollings, Ernest (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Thurmond, Strom (R)	YES	LEANS YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>			
Abdnor, James (R)	LEANS YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote
Pressler, Larry (R)	YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>TENNESSEE</u>			
Gore, Albert (D)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 28; Rules Cmte.; yes- '77 House TV vote
Sasser, James (D)	YES	YES	
<u>TEXAS</u>			
Bentsen, Lloyd (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	
Gramm, Phil (R)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 28; served in House while it was on TV
<u>UTAH</u>			
Garn, Jake (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte.
Hatch, Orrin (R)	YES	YES	
<u>VERMONT</u>			
Leahy, Patrick (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Stafford, Robert (R)	NO	NO	
<u>VIRGINIA</u>			
Trible, Paul (R)	YES	--	yes- '77 House TV vote
Warner, John (R)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte.
<u>WASHINGTON</u>			
Evans, Daniel (R)	UNDECIDED	--	
Gorton, Slade (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>			
Byrd, Robert (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte; Author S Res 28
Rockefeller, John (D)	YES	--	
<u>WISCONSIN</u>			
Kasten, Robert (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Proxmire, William (D)	NO	NO	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985</u> <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982</u> <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>WYOMING</u>			
Simpson, Alan (R)	LEANS NO	LEANS YES	
Wallop, Malcolm (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	

###

C-SPAN AMERICA'S NETWORK

THE NETWORK

- **THE PAST** — C-SPAN, a non-profit cooperative of the cable television industry, began cablecasting live coverage of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1979, launching a new era in public affairs programming.
- **THE PRESENT** — Coverage of the House was just the first step in the development of America's Network. C-SPAN currently offers diverse public affairs programming 24-hours a day. From live call-in shows to National Press Club speeches, programs are presented from beginning to end without interruption or editorial comment.
- **THE FUTURE** — C-SPAN is increasing its coverage of issues and events with live on-location programming from around the country. C-SPAN looks forward to covering sessions of the U.S. Senate as soon as television coverage is permitted.

THE PROGRAMMING

- **U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES** — C-SPAN transports its viewers from across the country to our nation's capital, to see government in action through live gavel-to-gavel coverage.
- **CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS** — Most of the business of Congress is conducted in committee. C-SPAN's cameras record full proceedings where America's public policy is made.
- **NATIONAL CALL-IN SHOWS** — Founded on an overriding respect for its audience, C-SPAN devotes at least 3 hours of each day's programming to live call-in shows. Viewers participate by talking directly with journalists and politically prominent guests.
- **NATIONAL PRESS CLUB SPEECHES** — C-SPAN provides coverage of the National Press Club speeches, where newsmakers address issues critical to our nation.
- **"DAY IN THE LIFE OF..."** — From the beginning of the workday until the end, viewers are given an in-depth look at the daily activities of media institutions and members of Congress.
- **CLOSE UP** — Designed to provide a deeper understanding of the government, the Close Up Foundation brings high school students and teachers together with Congressmen, federal officials, and other prominent figures, to discuss current issues.
- **SPECIAL EVENTS** — In addition to a wide array of speeches, debates, conferences and seminars, C-SPAN offers the most comprehensive election coverage available today.

THE PRESS

- **THE WASHINGTON POST** — "America is seeing more than a good show. This is the driving of the golden spike that unites the people with their government through television." — Tom Shales
- **THE LOS ANGELES TIMES** — "C-SPAN still does one terrific job showing democracy in action. And that, to me, is what a free press is all about." — David Crook
- **THE NEW YORK TIMES** — "C-SPAN presents a feast for political junkies and a masterly civics lesson as well. It shows us what keeps government intact, as much as what divides it. In an age of distrust this is no small matter." — John Corry
- **THE DES MOINES REGISTER** — "In a city that is brimming with television cameras...none runs longer or shows its viewers more than cable television's C-SPAN." — Nick Lamberto
- **THE MANCHESTER UNION LEADER** — "You're doing a great job - what you're doing is saying that your individual listener is important." — Nackey Loeb
- **THE WASHINGTON POST** — "More and more people every day are tuning in to the country's most unusual—and in many ways most daring—broadcasting venture, the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, or C-SPAN." — T. R. Reid

THE VIEWER

- **SAN DIEGO, CA** — "I watch C-SPAN because it gives voice to a nation." — James Crosswhite
- **APPLEGATE, OR** — "No soap opera script, no HBO plot compares to the action C-SPAN has got." — Nelda Thompson, Mike Kellington
- **BONITA SPRINGS, FL** — "C-SPAN provides me with a front row seat in the audience of viewers observing history in the making." — Vilius Brazenus
- **CHAMPAIGN, IL** — "C-SPAN brings us as close to pure democracy as anything we have known." — Earl W. Porter
- **TUCSON, AZ** — "...it helped me choose my 1984 presidential candidate. I will vote, for I do count, I can bring about change, when change is necessary. Thank you C-SPAN — you are America's Network!" — Donna L. Unfried



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SPECIAL NOTE:

After our survey had gone to print, C-SPAN received the following statement from the office of Sen.

Wendell Ford of Kentucky:

"Sen. Ford has always supported informational programming (i.e. radio coverage) from the Senate and is currently re-evaluating his position on televised coverage of the Senate."

8/14/85

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NETWORK**

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*

SPECIAL NOTES: THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE IS HOLDING A HEARING
ON SENATE TELEVISION ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1985.

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SENATE TV?

... C-SPAN'S NEW SURVEY ON THE QUESTION OF TELEVISIONING THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE UNITED STATES SENATE....

SPECIAL NOTES: THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE HAS SCHEDULED A HEARING
ON SENATE TELEVISION ON SEPTEMBER 17,

C-SPAN VIEWERS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO VOICE
THEIR OPINIONS ON SENATE TV DURING A VIEWER CALL-IN
PROGRAM ON AUGUST 29 AT 9:00 PM, EDT.

C-SPAN'S SENATE TV SURVEY RESULTS



SUITE 155
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202/737-3220

During the summer of 1985, C-SPAN polled all 100 senators on the issue of Senate television. Sixty-two indicated that they would support television cameras in the Senate chamber in some form; 18 senators indicated they would not support the proposal in any form; 15 senators indicated they "lean against" the idea of televising the Senate, but may support it if certain conditions were met, such as non-radical changes in the Senate's rules, a guarantee of the retention of the Senate's dignity, or a guarantee that the deliberative nature of the Senate be undisrupted. Five senators are definitely undecided on cameras in the Senate chamber. Here are the results:

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>			
Denton, Jeremiah (R)	YES	YES	
Heflin, Howell (D)	YES	YES	
<u>ALASKA</u>			
Stevens, Ted (R)	YES	LEANS YES	Rules Cmte; co-sponsor SRes 81
Murkowski, Frank (R)	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	
<u>ARIZONA</u>			
DeConcini, Dennis (D)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-sponsor SRes 81
Goldwater, Barry (R)	NO	YES	
<u>ARKANSAS</u>			
Bumpers, Dale (D)	YES	LEANS YES	
Pryor, David (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>			
Cranston, Alan (D)	YES	YES	
Wilson, Pete (R)	YES	--	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>COLORADO</u>			
Armstrong, William (R)	YES	YES	Author S Res; yes- '77 House TV vote
Hart, Gary (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>			
Dodd, Christopher (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	'77 House; didn't vote on TV
Weicker, Lowell (R)	YES	YES	
<u>DELAWARE</u>			
Biden, Joseph (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
Roth, William (R)	YES	YES	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>FLORIDA</u>			
Chiles, Lawton (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
Hawkins, Paula (R)	NO	LEANS YES	
<u>GEORGIA</u>			
Mattingly, Mack (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Nunn, Sam (D)	LEANS NO	NO	
<u>HAWAII</u>			
Inouye, Daniel (D)	YES	NO	Rules Cmte.
Matsunaga, Spark (D)	YES	YES	
<u>IDAHO</u>			
McClure, James (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-spns S Res 81
Symms, Steven (R)	YES	YES	'77 House; didn't vote on TV
<u>ILLINOIS</u>			
Dixon, Alan (D)	YES	LEANS YES	
Simon, Paul (D)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
<u>INDIANA</u>			
Lugar, Richard (R)	YES	YES	
Quayle, Dan (R)	YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote
<u>IOWA</u>			
Grassley, Charles (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	no-'77 House TV vote
Harkin, Tom (D)	YES	--	yes-'77 House TV vote

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985</u> <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982</u> <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>KANSAS</u>			
Kassebaum, Nancy (R)	YES	LEANS YES	Majority Leader/ Rules Cmte.
Dole, Robert (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>KENTUCKY</u>			
Ford, Wendell (D)	UNDECIDED	LEANS NO	Rules Cmte.
McConnell, Mitch (R)	UNDECIDED	--	
<u>LOUISIANA</u>			
Johnston, Bennett (D)	NO	NO	
Long, Russell (D)	NO	NO	
<u>MAINE</u>			
Cohen, William (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes-'77 House TV vote
Mitchell, George (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>MARYLAND</u>			
Mathias, Charles (R)	YES	YES	chmn. Rules Cmte
Sarbanes, Paul (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>			
Kennedy, Edward (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Kerry, John (D)	YES	--	
<u>MICHIGAN</u>			
Levin, Carl (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Riegle, Donald (D)	YES	YES	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>MINNESOTA</u>			
Boschwitz, Rudy (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Durenberger, David (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>			
Cochran, Thad (R)	YES	LEANS YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Stennis, John (D)	NO	NO	

(more)

STATE/SENATOR	1985 C-SPAN SURVEY	1982 C-SPAN SURVEY	COMMENTS
<u>MISSOURI</u>			
Danforth, John (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	
Eagleton, Thomas (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>MONTANA</u>			
Baucus, Max (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	yes- '77 House TV vote
Melcher, John (D)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>NEBRASKA</u>			
Exon, James (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
Zorinsky, Edward (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
<u>NEVADA</u>			
Hecht, Chic (R)	NO	---	
Laxalt, Paul (R)	NO	NO	
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>			
Humphrey, Gordon (R)	YES	YES	
Rudman, Warren (R)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>			
Bradley, Bill (D)	YES	YES	
Lautenberg, Frank (D)	UNDECIDED	--	
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>			
Bingaman, Jeff (D)	LEANS NO	--	
Domenici, Pete (R)	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	
<u>NEW YORK</u>			
D'Amato, Alfonse (R)	YES	LEANS YES	
Moynihan, Daniel (D)	YES	YES	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>			
East, John (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Helms, Jesse (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte.
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>			
Andrews, Mark (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Burdick, Quentin (D)	NO	NO	
<u>OHIO</u>			
Glenn, John (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Metzenbaum, Howard (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>			
Boren, David (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	
Nickles, Don (R)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
<u>OREGON</u>			
Hatfield, Mark (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Packwood, Bob (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-spns S Res 81
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>			
Heinz, John (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
Specter, Arlen (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>			
Chaffee, John (R)	YES	UNDECIDED	
Pell, Claiborne (D)	NO	NO	Rules Cmte.
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>			
Hollings, Ernest (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Thurmond, Strom (R)	YES	LEANS YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>			
Abdnor, James (R)	LEANS YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote
Pressler, Larry (R)	YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>TENNESSEE</u>			
Gore, Albert (D)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 28; Rules Cmte.; yes- '77 House TV vote
Sasser, James (D)	YES	YES	
<u>TEXAS</u>			
Bentsen, Lloyd (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	
Gramm, Phil (R)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 28; served in House while it was on TV
<u>UTAH</u>			
Garn, Jake (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte.
Hatch, Orrin (R)	YES	YES	
<u>VERMONT</u>			
Leahy, Patrick (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Stafford, Robert (R)	NO	NO	
<u>VIRGINIA</u>			
Trible, Paul (R)	YES	--	yes- '77 House TV vote
Warner, John (R)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte.
<u>WASHINGTON</u>			
Evans, Daniel (R)	UNDECIDED	--	
Gorton, Slade (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>			
Byrd, Robert (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte; Author S Res 28
Rockefeller, John D. (D)	YES	--	
<u>WISCONSIN</u>			
Kasten, Robert (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Proxmire, William (D)	NO	NO	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	1985 <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	1982 <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>WYOMING</u>			
Simpson, Alan (R)	LEANS NO	LEANS YES	
Wallop, Malcolm (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	

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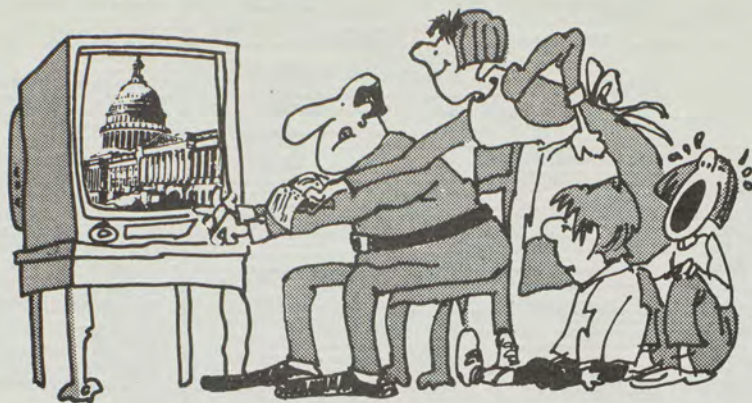
C-SPAN

THE CABLE SATELLITE
PUBLIC AFFAIRS NETWORK



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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202/737-3220

**A recent C-Span
poll found 67
senators in favor of
letting the cameras
roll.**



Put the senators on television

Stephen Chapman

When the flier for cable service arrived in the mail, I knew I shouldn't look. Life is too short for watching TV. And most of the programming would be wasted. Just \$9.95 a month would bring into my home countless things I would never watch, except during a blizzard — rock videos, round-the-clock sports, continuous weather, country music. The cable firm could have thrown in free installation and an all-Bogart channel and it still wouldn't sell me.

But in this offer, the cable operator had played his ace: the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, known as C-Span. For the modest monthly fee, I could ignore everything else and watch my Congress in action nearly every day. Committee hearings and floor debates on everything from offshore fishing rights to ambient air quality standards could be mine at the touch of a button.

There's just one hitch. Though the House of Representatives has allowed TV cameras into its chamber since 1979, the world's greatest deliberative body still conducts the public's business shielded from view. Anyone who wants to watch the Senate perform has to go to Washington. To the average citizen, its proceedings are no more accessible than the Politburo's.

But that may change. The chief obstacle to a televised Senate, Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana, will be removed at the end of next year by voluntary retirement. And a recent C-Span poll found 67 members in favor of letting the cameras roll.

Still, there are doubts. Democratic Sen. James Exon of Nebraska told the Wall

Street Journal that if the cameras show what really takes place during most floor debates — which is two or three members alternating at delivering monologues to an otherwise empty chamber — “we’d be exposing ourselves to unnecessary ridicule.”

David Boren, an Oklahoma Democrat, scoffs that “most of what the Senate is doing is not on the Senate floor. It’s in the committees or in Bob Dole’s office.” Others fear that senators, never inclined to shun the limelight, will behave even more insufferably on television than they do now. Majority Leader Dole is willing to admit cameras but demands rule changes to head off that threat.

Of course, many senators will probably conduct themselves abominably in front of the cameras, seeking to impress credulous constituents who mistake grandiloquent oratory for concrete achievements. But the sum total of obnoxious behavior isn’t likely to rise.

The cameras will merely reallocate it.

The Senate’s existing privacy provides a cover for all sorts of dilatory and obstructive tactics. Putting it on TV will discourage these somewhat, since nobody wants to look like a jerk in front of the folks at home. That could speed the Senate’s often glacial pace.

At the same time, the coverage will encourage those members who love publicity. It was said of one member that there is no more dangerous place on Capitol Hill than the one between him and a TV camera. He and any number of his colleagues will not be rendered more modest by additional opportunities to preen.

Still, publicity-hungry politicians are one of the bearable costs of our system. It may underestimate the judgment of the nation’s C-Span addicts to presume that they can’t separate the show horses from the work horses. Senators who get carried away by being beamed coast-to-coast may not do themselves any good at home.

Bismarck said no one should see how sausages or laws are made. But the operating assumption of a democracy is that exposing either to public view is bound to improve the ingredients. If the public is permitted to view the Senate through the foggy lens of the Congressional Record, it ought to be allowed the better look provided by modern technology.

Letting cameras on the Senate floor is a modest concession to the legitimate interest of the public in matters of government. Once that’s done, we can figure out how to televise what goes on in Bob Dole’s office.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

POLITICS AND POLICY

Senate Edges Closer to Letting In the Cameras As TV's Advocates in the Chamber Gain Ground

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Senate blackout may be about to end.

For more than four decades, the Senate, whose character and customs are steeped in the values of the 18th century, has resisted the intrusive eye of the television camera. The Senate's traditions are too peculiar, its procedures too complicated, the lawmakers argued, for the public to appreciate how the Senate works its will.

But now, a half-dozen years after the House began gavel-to-gavel television coverage, second thoughts are beginning to emerge in the cloakrooms just off the Senate floor. Before long—perhaps as soon as next year—the cameras may roll in the Senate, too.

House's 'Advantage'

"It's coming very quickly," says Sen. Charles Mathias (R., Md.). "It's coming because it can't be held back, but also because there's a growing sense the House is getting an inordinate advantage over us. People are complaining that the House can appeal to the public in a way that we can't."

But television has been held at bay for so long because many members worry that the Senate's appeal won't be so appealing.

This year, for example, the Senate has spent the equivalent of six weeks in quorum calls, a parliamentary maneuver designed in large measure to keep the body in session even though it is doing nothing. The Senate has spent the equivalent of nearly three weeks in roll-call votes. It is not exactly the stuff of gripping television.

"If the people saw some of these guys in action," says Sen. Orrin Hatch (R., Utah), "there might be some big changes around here."

In fact, in recent months, as the Senate Rules Committee completed its deliberations on the issue, there was increasing agreement not only that televised sessions

would prompt big changes in how the Senate operates but also that significant rule changes might have to be made, in part to make the Senate more presentable to television viewers.

"We'd be exposing ourselves to unnecessary ridicule," says Sen. James Exon (D., Neb.), "if we go on television talking, as we sometimes do now, to an empty room."

The result might be to hasten the changes—such as shorter debates and fewer roll-call votes or amendments—that some senators have long advocated. Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R., Kan.), for example, wants to couple televised sessions with rule changes to prevent senators, who already tend to be long-winded, from grandstanding for the cameras.

Others share Sen. Dole's reservations. "I don't want to have us stand up there and do little speeches for TV," says Sen. Patrick Leahy (D., Vt.). "I'd like to have television coverage, but I don't want it to change the nature of the Senate or prevent us from having real debate."

Although House sessions have been televised routinely since March 19, 1979, cameras have been permitted only once during a Senate session, for the swearing-in of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in 1974. The Senate permitted radio broadcast coverage of the Panama Canal treaty debates in 1978, but full television coverage, long a priority of former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R., Tenn.) has twice been put off by filibusters led by Sen. Russell Long (D., La.).

"I'm not opposed to it for ceremonial occasions," Mr. Long, the principal opponent of Senate television, says now, "but that's it."

Retirement Planned

However, Mr. Long has announced he will retire at the end of next year, and even he acknowledges that television cameras cannot be banned from the chamber forever. In fact, a poll taken last month by the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network, or C-Span, which broadcasts House sessions into 22 million homes, found that 67 senators favored TV coverage of the Senate.

"We can't hold back the tide anymore," says Sen. George Mitchell (D., Maine). "Whether you like it or not, Americans increasingly derive their information from television. You can't deny them access to the public processes of the Senate."

Sometime this month, the Senate is expected to vote on a proposed test period of live radio coverage of its deliberations plus a test of television coverage on a closed circuit, to Senate offices only. In the proposed test, six cameras would be installed

in the Senate galleries and would focus only on the senator who is speaking. The cameras wouldn't pan the chamber.

O'Neill's Gambit Recalled

That question of camera action, in fact, figured in a contretemps over television coverage in the House last year. When a group of junior House Republicans undertook a series of speeches and maneuvers designed to embarrass the House Democratic leadership on television, Speaker Thomas O'Neill (D., Mass.) characterized the GOP action as a "sham." He ordered that cameras pan the chamber to show that it was often empty when these young conservatives spoke on free air time.

Not all of the Senate's television advocates believe that the coverage ought to be as comprehensive as the House's. Minority Leader Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) and others, for example, say cameras should be permitted only when leaders of both parties agree.

"Most of what the Senate is doing is not on the Senate floor," says Sen. David Boren (D., Okla.). "It's in the committees or in Bob Dole's office. . . . Gavel-to-gavel coverage may make people neglect the important things in committees. There will always be the temptation to go over to the floor and become a big TV star."

But for all their worries, many senators say television coverage might prompt lawmakers to deal with legislation more efficiently—and that television attention might even prompt the Senate to give up some of its more annoying eccentricities.

"I wonder," says Sen. Warren Rudman (R., N.H.), "if some of the people who do some of the outrageous things they do would be less apt to behave that way if they were on television."

DECEMBER 2, 1985

AIR SPAN

BY DAVE PETTINARI

The actors don't seem to be well-rehearsed, and they sometimes lose their tempers and depart from their lines to scold a fellow actor or to call the script into question.

Their costumes — penguin-like suits — seem drably alike, and the backdrops are less than scenic.

But still, in the chambers of the U.S. House of Representatives, there is high drama to be had every day of the week, if you're into the histrionics that characterize the give-and-take of government.

When the television network called C-Span, which televises live and unedited from the U.S. House of Representatives, first came on the scene, my first reaction was this could very well be television's dullest hour.

I thought, "Who in their right mind would shun a brisk and lively situation comedy to tune in the plodding, ever-so-slow machinations of our national government in action, or inaction, as the case may be?"

Apparently, C-Span — which also carries local government forums and call-in shows — is enjoying good fortunes. It is now beamed 24 hours a day into 21 million homes nationwide.



Dave
Pettinari

A recent federal appeals court decision might mean it will extend its influence even further.

Previously, the Federal Communications Commission required cable companies to carry, without charge, all TV signals produced in their areas. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia last July struck down that requirement, leaving cable operators free to carry whatever they wanted. Of course, these business people would rather carry the more popular, profitable programs.

Now, why would this decision be good for a channel that is less than wildly stimulating? Well, because it freed local operators from having to air other "must carry" local public-service stations. Which opened one or more channels for the ever-more-popular C-Span to inhabit.

When some cable companies tried to cancel the service, citizens' groups from New Jersey to California organized to keep them from doing so, and succeeded.

The C-Span board is now urging cable operators to carry its broadcasts as a basic service.

Weighty public affairs might not be your cup of tea, especially if you already have a good inkling of how our government operates and you keep up with the country's burning issues by reading newspapers. But remember there are millions of your fellow Americans who aren't as politically sophisticated as you are.

And perhaps you ought to encourage your children to watch occasionally. C-Span

gives civics lessons they'll not get in similar measure in any formal school course. Scattered among the interminable talking and parliamentary maneuvering are gems of insight about how our laws are made through pressure, pleading and compromise.

You can take your child to hear your local congressman speak in his own district, but are his carefully chosen words really indicative of what he does when he's back in the capital city? His unvarnished remarks and wrangling for constituents back home while on the floor of the House tell more than he can ever explain about how he does his job.

Following a bill through the labyrinthian channels it must go through to become law is made more clear when the climactic moments on the floor of the House, with real actors in all their fluency and frustrated bluster, come so conveniently into our living rooms.

Let's hope local cable companies continue to see the worth of this special offering that has broken all the conventions of broadcasting format and content. And why not extend this eye on the seat of government to the Senate, an august body that deserves every bit as much surveillance as does the lower house.

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March 1979

Senator

224- Press Secretary

Senator	224- Press Secretary	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF AIR	RTNDA-1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Abdnor, James (R-SD) (1980)	David Eno	LEANS YES		LEANED YES	YES	UNDECIDED
Andrews, Mark (R-ND) (1980)	Karen Hoffman	YES		YES	YES	YES
Armstrong, William (R-CO) (1978)	Lee Stillwell	YES		YES	YES	YES
Baucus, Max (D-MT) (1978)	John Flink	LEANS YES		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Bentsen, Lloyd (D-TX) (1978)	Jack Devore	LEANS NO	LEANED NO	LEANED NO	LEANED NO	UNDECIDED
Biden, Joseph, Jr. (D-DE) (1972)	Peter Smith	LEANS YES		NO RESPONSE	LEANED YES	UNDECIDED
Bingaman, Jeff (D-NM) (1982)	Jack Waugh	LEANS NO	NO	NOT IN SEN.		
Boren, David (D-OK) (1978)	Barbara Webb	LEANS NO		LEANS FOR	LEANS NO	LEANS NO
Boschwitz, Rudy (R-MN) (1978)	Mary Lahr	LEANS NO		LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Bradley, Bill (D-NJ) (1978)	D.C. Pettersly	NO		NO	UNDECIDED	
Bumpers, Dale (D-AR) (1974)	Tim Hackler	YES	YES	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	LEANS YES
Burdick, Quentin (D-ND) (1974)	Lori Boeder	NO		LEANS NO	NO	NO

ORANGE DENOTES "DEFINITE CHANGE"

NEW MEMBER

Senator	224- Secretary	Press	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Byrd, Robert (D-WV) ⁴⁻¹¹⁻⁵³⁻¹⁵⁴ (1958)	3954	Tina Evans	Supports selected use		LEANED NO	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Chafee, John (R-RI) (1976)	2921	Cleve Corlett	YES		LEANED YES	UNDECIDED	LEANED NO
Chiles, Lawton (D-FL) (1976)	5274	Jack Pridgen	LEANS YES		LEANED YES	UNDECIDED	LEANED YES
Cochran, Thad (R-MS) ¹¹⁻¹³⁻⁷⁹ (1978)	5054	Beverly Ward	YES		LEANED YES	LEANED YES	LEANED YES
Cohen, William (R-ME) ¹¹⁻¹³⁻⁷⁹ (1978)	2523	Mary Beth Carozza	YES		LEANED YES	YES	YES
Cranston, Alan (D-CA) (1968)	3553	Murray Flander	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
D'Amato, Alfonse (R-NY) (1980)	6542	Edward Martin	YES		YES	LEANED YES	YES
Danforth, John (R-MO) (1976)	6154	Steve Hilton	NO	NO	NO	UNDECIDED	LEANED YES
DeConcini, Dennis (D-AZ) (1976)	4521	Bob Maynes	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Denton, Jeremiah (R-AL) (1980)	5744	Bob Hardy	YES		UNDECIDED	YES	UNDECIDED
Dixon, Alan (D-IL) ¹¹⁻¹³⁻⁷⁹ (1980)	2854	Wade Nelson	YES		LEANED YES	LEANED YES	LEANED YES
Dodd, Christopher (D-CT) ¹¹⁻¹³⁻⁷⁹ (1980)	2823	Chip Partner	LEANS NO	NO	LEANED YES	LEANED NO	LEANED YES

DENOTES DEFINITE CHANGE

NEW SENATOR

Senator	224- Press Secretary	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Dole, Robert (R-KA) (1968)	6521 Walt Riker	NO		LEANED NO	UNDECIDED	LEANED YES
Domenici, Pete (R-NM) (1972)	6621 Martin Janowski	UNDECIDED	LEANED YES	LEANED NO	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Durenberger, David (R-MN) (1978)	3244 Karen Doyme	NO		LEANED NO	UNDECIDED	LEANED YES
Eagleton, Thomas (D-MO) (1978)	5721 Rindy O'Brien	NO		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
East, John (R-NC) (1980)	3154 Jerry Woodruff	LEANS NO		LEANED YES	UNDECIDED	LEANED YES
Evans, Daniel (R-WA) (1980)	3441 Sally Heat	UNDECIDED	NEW SENATOR			LEANED YES
Exon, James (D-NE) (1978)	4224 Mark Bowen	LEANS YES		LEANED YES	UNDECIDED	
Ford, Wendell (D-KY) (1974)	4343 Ruth Mattingly	NO	RADIO ONLY NO TV	NO	LEANED NO	LEANED NO
Garn, Jake (R-UT) (1974)	5444 Bill Hendrix	YES		YES	YES	YES
Glenn, John, Jr. (D-OH) (1974)	3353 Dale Butland	LEANS NO		LEANED YES	UNDECIDED	LEANED NO
Goldwater, Barry (R-AZ) (1952)	2235 Jim Ferguson	NO		NO	YES	NO
Gore, Albert, Jr. (D-TN) (1984)	4944 Mike Kopp	YES	NEW SENATOR			

DENOTES DEFINITE CHANGE

NEW SENATOR

Senator	224- Secretary	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Gorton, Slade (R-WA) (1980)	2621 David Endicott	YES		YES	YES	UNDECIDED
Gramm, Phil H. 11/19/83 (R-TX) (1984)	2934 Larry Neal	LEANS YES	NEW MEMBER			
Grassley, Charles (R-IA) (1980)	3744 Beverly Hubble	LEANS NO		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	YES
Harkin, Tom 1/25 to 1/85 (D-IA) (1984)	3254 Dale Liebach	YES	NEW MEMBER			
Hart, Gary (D-CO) (1974)	5852 Beth Smith Dawn Alexand	LEANS YES		DID NOT RESPOND	LEANED YES	LEANED YES
Hatch, Orrin (R-UT) (1976)	5251 Paul Smith	YES		YES	YES	YES
Hatfield, Mark (R-OR) (1984)	3753 Richard Rolf	LEANS NO		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	YES
Hawkins, Paula (R-FL) (1980)	3041 Michael Sheehan	NO		NO RESPONSE	LEANED ? YES	LEANED ? YES
Hecht, Chic (R-NV) (1983)	6244 Mike Miller	NO	NEW MEMBER			
Heflin, Howell (D-AL) (1978)	4124 Jerry Ray	YES		YES	YES	YES
Heinz, John 7/1 to 7/1 (R-PA) (1976)	6324 Richard Bryers	YES		YES	YES	YES
Helms, Jesse (R-NC) (1972)	6342 Clint Fuller	NO		LEANED YES	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED

NEW SENATOR

DEFINITELY CHANGE IN POSITION

Senator	224- Press Secretary	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF-AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Hollings, Ernest (D-SC) (1966)	6121 Michael Fernandez	LEANS YES (Selective)	LEANS NO (For select)	LEANS YES	YES	YES
Humphrey, Gordon (R-NH) (1978)	2841 Reggie Bashur	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES
Inouye, Daniel (D-HI) (1962)	3934 Greg Takayama	YES		DID NOT RESPOND	NO	LEANED NO
Johnston, Bennett (D-LA) (1972)	5824 Tony Garrett	NO		NO	NO	NO
Kassebaum, Nancy (R-KA) (1978)	4774 Robert Stoddard	YES		YES	LEANED YES	LEANED YES
Kasten, Robert (R-WI) (1980)	5323 Joelle Pochop	YES		YES	YES	YES
Kennedy, Edward (D-MA) (1962)	4543 Nick Allard	LEANING YES		YES	YES	YES
Kerry, John (D-MA) (1984)	2742 Lawrence Carpman	YES	NEW MEMBER			
Lautenberg, Frank (D-NJ) (1982)	4744 Chris Walsh	UNDECIDED	NEW MEMBER			
Laxalt, Paul (R-NV) (1974)	3542 Tom Loranger	NO		LEANS NO	NO	YES
Leahy, Patrick (D-VT) (1974)	4242 Joe Jamele	LEANS YES		UNDECIDED	YES	YES
Levin, Carl (D-MI) (1978)	6221 Steve Serkatan	LEANS NO		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	LEANS NO

DEFINITE CHANGE

NEW SENATOR

Senator	224--	Press Secretary	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF-AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Long, Russell (D-LA) (1948)	4623	Bob Mann	NO		NO	NO	NO
Lugar, Richard (R-IN) (1976)	4814	Mark Helmke	YES		YES	YES	YES
McClure, James (R-ID) 11-14-77 to 11-13 (1973)	2752	H. D. Palmer	YES		YES	YES	YES
McConnell, Mitch (R-KY) (1984)	2541	Kim Russell	UNDECIDED	NEW MEMBER			
Mathias, Charles (R-MD) 11-14-77 to 11-13 (1968)	4654	Ann Pincus	YES		YES	YES	YES
Matsunaga, Spark (D-HI) 11-14-77 to 11-13 (1976)	6361	Ed Greaney	YES		YES	YES	YES
Mattlingly, Mack (R-GA) (1980)	3643	Richard Moore	LEANS NO		LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	LEANS YES
Melcher, John (D-MT) (1976)	2644	Carla Beck	YES	YES	DID NOT RESPOND	YES	UNDECIDED
Metzenbaum, Howard (D-OH) (1976)	2315	Drew Van Bergen	LEANS YES		YES	YES	UNDECIDED
Mitchell, George (D-ME) (1982)	5344	Marsha LaRoche	YES		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Moyrhan, Daniel (D-NY) (1976)	4451	Lance Morgan	YES		NO ???	YES	YES
Murkowski, Frank (R-AK) (1980)	6665	Steve Hanson	UNDECIDED		LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED

DENOTES DEFINITE CHANGE

NEW SENATOR

Senator

224-

Press
Secretary

C-SPAN/1985

C-SPAN/1983
OFF- AIR

RTNDA/1983

C-SPAN/1982

C-SPAN/1981

Senator	224-	Press Secretary	C-SPAN/1985	C-SPAN/1983 OFF- AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Nickels, Don (R-OK)	5754	Paul Lee	LEANS YES		LEANED YES	LEANED YES	UNDECIDED
Nunn, Sam (D-GA)	3521	Ed Nagy	LEANS NO		UNDECIDED	NO	LEANED YES
Packwood, Bob (R-OR)	5244	Etta Fielek	YES		LEANED YES	YES	YES
Pell, Clatborne (D-RI)	4642	William Bryant	NO		DID NOT RESPOND	NO	NO
Pressler, Larry (R-SD)	5842	Eleanor Rhodes	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Proxmire, William (D-MI)	5653	Robert Mauney	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Pryor, David (D-AK)	2353	Ann Pride	LEANS NO	YES	DID NOT RESPOND	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Quayle, Dan (R-IN)	5623	Peter Lincoln	YES		YES	YES	YES
Riegle, Donald (D-MI)	4822	Michael Russell	LEANS YES		LEANED YES	YES	LEANED YES
Rockefeller, John, IV (D-WV)	4822	Tim Gay	YES	NOT MEMBER			
Roth, William (R-DE)	2441	Verna Wilkins	YES		LEANED YES	YES	YES
Rudman, Warren (R-NH)	3324	Robert Stevenson	LEANS YES		YES	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED

DENOTES DEFINITE CHANGE

NEW SENATOR

Senator	Press Secretary	224-	C-SPAN/1985	G-SPAN/1983 OFF AIR	RTNDA/1983	C-SPAN/1982	C-SPAN/1981
Sarbanes, Paul (D-MD)	Bruce Frame	4524	YES		DID NOT RESPOND	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED
Sasser, James (D-TN)	Douglas Hall	3344	YES		YES	YES	YES
Simon, Paul (D-IL)	Joel Lockhart	2152	YES	NEW MEMBER		LEANED YES	YES
Simpson, Alan (R-WY)	Mary Kay Hill	3424	LEANS NO		YES		
Specter, Arlen (R-PA)	Daniel McKenna	4254	YES		YES	YES	YES
Stafford, Robert (R-VT)	Thomas Calcagni	5141	NO		NO	NO	NO
Stennis, John (D-MI)	Rex Buffington	6253	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Stevens, Ted (R-AK)	Carol White	3004	YES	YES	YES	LEANS YES	LEANS YES
Symms, Steven (R-ID)	Rusty Butler	6142	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Thurmond, Strom (R-SC)	Terry Hill	5972	YES		YES	LEANED YES	LEANED YES
Trible, Paul, Jr. (R-VA)	John Miller	4024	YES	YES	NOT IN SENATE		
Wallop, Malcolm (R-WY)	Janis Budge	6441	LEANS NO		UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	NO

DENOTES DECIDED CHANGE

NEW MEMBER

[illegible]

DENOTES. DEFINITE CHANGE

NEW MEMBER SENATE

RULES

U.S. SENATE

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

SR-305..... 224-6352

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✕ Wendell H. Ford, Ky.
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 Cochrane, William M MIN ST DIR SR-305 40275
 Como, Joseph A MIN ST ASST SR-280 41182
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 Shunk, Christopher D ASST AUDITOR SR-307 40277
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 Dotchin, Robert
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 Hudson, Stewart
 Linden, Lisa PRE
 Mayo, John MIN
 Merendino, Fran

SUBCON

X - NO - (or) LEARNING NO (No Subcommittees)

— - YES (or) LEARNING YES

15 - MEMBERS

10 - YES / LEARNING YES

5 - NO / LEARNING NO

(Signature of Member)

H. Res. 150

April 30, 1985

A resolution raising a question of privilege of the House.

Offered by: Mr. Lott

1 Whereas, clause 9(b)(1) of Rule I of the Rules of the House of
2 Representatives requires that the Speaker "devise and implement
3 a system subject to his direction and control for complete and
4 unedited audio and visual broadcasting of the proceedings of
5 the House of Representatives."; and

6 Whereas, voting in the House is an integral part of the
7 proceedings of the House; and

8 Whereas, the audio and visual broadcast coverage of House
9 proceedings is currently being discontinued while Members are
10 voting; and

11 Whereas, the interruption of audio and visual broadcast cover-
12 age of House proceedings while Members are voting affects the
13 integrity of the proceedings of the House and thus raises a
14 question of privilege of the House; Now, therefore, be it

15 Resolved, That the Speaker is hereby authorized and
16 directed, pursuant to his responsibilities under clause 9(b)
17 (1) of Rule I of the House, to provide for the audio and
18 visual broadcast coverage of the Chamber while Members are
19 voting.

TV SENATE - 1985
COMMENTS AND QUOTES FROM SENATORS

ALAN SIMPSON (R-WY) - WHIP - Senator Simpson has had a record in the past in support of TV in the Senate. In the past year he has swung over to a negative position based on his belief that the Senate is really not suited for TV. According to his press aide, he will keep an open mind, however, and if a suitable compromise comes along, he might support it.

MARY KAY HILL - PRESS AIDE
7/9/85

MISSISSIPPI
TRENT LOTT

DON WOLFENBERGER
MINORITY COUNSEL

421 CANNON BUILDING
(202) 225-7985

U.S. House of Representatives
Committee on Rules

Subcommittee on the Legislative Process

Washington, D.C. 20515

March 14, 1985

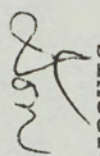
Mr. Mike Michaelson
Executive Vice President
C-SPAN
400 N. Capitol St., Suite 155
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mike:

Here are the Lott special orders I mentioned on the House broadcast system. Part I deals with the history of the House broadcast system; Part II the response of the Democrats to Lott's request for a Rules Committee inquiry into the Speaker's panning policy, and letters relating to the Speaker's advisory committee; and Part III discusses in depth the Speaker's Broadcast Advisory Committee.

I hope you enjoy this little walk through history.

Sincerely,


Don Wolfensberger

on the plight of the Sakharovs, and others similarly situated.

Dr. Sakharov began a hunger strike on May 2, to protest the fact that Elena Bonner had been denied permission to leave the Soviet Union in order to seek the medical treatment she so desperately needs. Since Gorky is a closed city, there is no word as to his condition. We can only hope that the Soviets will respond to the action we took in the House today, and permit Elena to travel outside the Soviet Union to obtain the treatment she so desperately needs. Dr. Bonner has left the Soviet Union three times for medical treatment, and three times she has returned. They are both extremely ill. What danger, what threat could there be in granting her permission to leave for medical treatment? What benefit can be gained by denying her this right? She has proven that she will not leave her husband. This paranoia on the part of the Soviets demonstrates their fear of elemental freedom.

Last week Dr. Bonner was threatened with criminal proceedings for slander against the Soviet Union, and, even more serious, with treason for consorting with named officials at the U.S. Embassy. The State Department retaliated immediately last Tuesday with a strong statement refuting these charges and demanding the release of both Dr. Bonner and Dr. Sakharov. It is an odd coincidence that the publication of this statement was overshadowed by the welltimed announcement of the Soviet withdrawal from the Olympics.

The fact that these noted scientists and humanitarians should be exiled and cut off from communication and needed medical treatment is an outrage and an offense to human decency. The position the Soviets are taking is obvious. They are trying to minimize the importance of these two individuals. Last week some of my colleagues met with Soviet officials at the Embassy in Washington. The message was loud and clear. They professed no knowledge of the Sakharovs' situation; after all, they cannot keep track of all the dissidents exiled within the Soviet Union. It makes one wonder how many dissidents the Soviets have that they are unable to keep track of two such eminent individuals. And their inference was clear; my colleagues felt that the Soviets were implying that if anything did happen, it would be the fault of the United States for causing so much trouble, not the Soviets' for denying them access to proper medical facilities. This type of reasoning is beyond comprehension.

In the United States we believe in human rights and human dignity, and we believed that when the Soviets became party to the Helsinki accords that the situation in the Soviet Union would change for the better. I urge my colleagues and the people of the United States to continue to press this case. I agree with my friend, Ed Lo-

zansky, that the best way to get the Soviets to act is to focus attention on their activities and censure them worldwide. Ed knows from experience. he was reunited here with his beautiful wife, Tatyana, and his lovely young daughter, after a massive publicity campaign. And it worked. Let us make that effort for Dr. Sakharov and Dr. Bonner, and for all other oppressed people.

We in the United States honor Dr. Sakharov with receptions and concerts, and even a Sakharov Day, while the Soviet Union honors him with silence and exile. The Soviet Union has an odd way of showing its appreciation for its Nobel Laureates and its heroes. Dr. Sakharov was already in confinement for his humanitarian activities when he was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1975, and has remained there. Dr. Bonner was a Russian soldier in World War II and was wounded three times and decorated for her activities. Now she too is in confinement.

We must do all that is in our power to take action on behalf of these two individuals, and all others like them. There are numerous victims of civil rights violations in the Soviet Union, and although all are not Nobel Laureates or heroes of World War II, they are each entitled to be accorded the rights guaranteed to them by the Helsinki accords, and by the common human decency which goes beyond any formal agreement. ●

CAMSCAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) is recognized for 30 minutes.

● Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this special order to elaborate on what Washington Post staff writer T. R. Reid has referred to as "official Washington's latest political scandal: Camscam."

In my 1-minute speech yesterday I charged that the Speaker's new policy of selectively panning the House floor with the TV cameras only during special orders, without prior announcement or consultation with the minority, is blatantly political and partisan. The Speaker confirmed this in his own 1-minute response yesterday when he indicated that the policy was taken in retaliation to certain special orders taken by Members on this side of the aisle. The Speaker also confirmed that this new panning policy would only be undertaken during special orders, and not during the normal legislative business and voting of the House, further supporting our charge that this is a selective and arbitrary policy, aimed primarily at the minority party.

Mr. Speaker, in my earlier remarks I made reference to the Rules Committee's report in February 1978 which gave the Speaker final authorization to make our broadcast feed available to the media. The Rules Committee's majority report recommended that the

Speaker establish a House-owned and operated system subject to the Speaker's control. I also made reference to my minority views to that report objecting to a House system in part because of the expense, and in part because I felt "an in-House system will appear to be politically motivated." The Speaker's new policy switch on camera directions is beginning to confirm our worst fears about the House covering itself with its own cameras.

Mr. Speaker, in this special order today, which I am inserting in the RECORD and which will therefore not be subject to the Speaker's new panning policy, I want to review in more depth the historical development of the House broadcast system with special emphasis on the issues of who should control the cameras and what should be shown. I served as the ranking Republican on the Rules Subcommittee which made the final recommendations to the Speaker in 1978, and was the author of the resolution (H. Res. 866) which authorized the Speaker to begin developing the system in the previous year, and am now a member of the Rules Subcommittee which retains oversight jurisdiction over the House broadcast rule.

JOINT COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS IN 1974

Mr. Speaker, back on October 10, 1974, the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations issued a report entitled, "Broadcasting House and Senate Proceedings," in which it recommended that both Houses broadcast their floor proceedings, and, after a 60-day initial test, make the audio and video feed available to the media for a 1-year experimental project. The joint committee recommended that the test be conducted by the joint committee or by existing House and Senate committees or special broadcast committees to be created for that purpose. While the committee would promulgate general policy and procedures, the joint committee suggested that PBS be invited to provide the equipment and personnel for the test.

The joint committee made clear that what it ultimately had in mind, should the test prove successful, was a permanent system along the lines of the United Nations which owns and operates its own broadcast facilities and makes the feeds available to radio and TV stations.

On the question of what the cameras should show, the joint committee said sufficient cameras should be installed "to provide coverage of the entire floor of each Chamber, so that those intending to speak need not move to designated locations." The report went on:

As a general rule, the cameras should remain with those who are speaking, and "panning" for reactions while a presentation is in progress should be held to a minimum. This should not preclude variation of the camera angle or "wide" shots, however, particularly during the opening of each day's proceedings, so that viewers may get an accurate picture of the Chamber.

The joint committee went on to recommend that coverage be carried out "in a nonpartisan manner and is fair and equitable in recording the views of Members participating in floor proceedings. Also, the committee or committees involved should provide for receiving and acting expeditiously on any objections by Members pertaining to such coverage."

BROADCAST RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

The vice chairman of the joint committee, Representative BROOKS of Texas, introduced a House resolution in 1974 to implement the joint committee's recommendations for House broadcast coverage. No action was taken on that resolution in the 93rd Congress.

The resolution was reintroduced by Representative BROOKS at the beginning of the 94th Congress on March 3, 1975, and collected over 100 cosponsors. Another broadcast resolution was introduced by Representative Anderson of Illinois and gathered more than 60 cosponsors.

Under the terms of the Brooks resolution (H. Res. 269) the House broadcast system would be operated by the House Commission on Information and Facilities. The Rules Committee held two hearings on the proposal in April and June 1975, and, shortly after the second hearing, the Rules Committee created an Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting, chaired by Representative Sisk of California.

RULES SUBCOMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS

In February 1976, the Sisk subcommittee reported House Resolution 875 which authorized gavel-to-gavel TV coverage of House proceedings to be carried by a network pool. In its February 26 report on the resolution, the subcommittee had this to say about its choice of a network pool to carry House proceedings:

The broadcast media should provide such broadcast coverage because this approach is the least expensive and burdensome for the House, will best protect the House from charges of censoring or otherwise attempting to control the media, and will ensure the most technically professional coverage of House proceedings.

Although the subcommittee further amended the resolution on March 4 in response to concerns raised by the Speaker, and gave the Speaker more supervision over the implementation of the broadcast system and deleted all references to the network pool, the full Rules Committee recommended the resolution to subcommittee on a 9-to-6 vote on March 24, in part to enable it to provide more information on the other alternatives: an in-House broadcast system and one to permit coverage by the public broadcasting service. On May 27 the subcommittee reported a new resolution to the full committee, House Resolution 1502, replying to the concerns raised in the previous markup but reasserting its preference for the network pool arrangement. In rejecting the in-House system, the

subcommittee report stated the following:

Even if the House should exercise minimal control over the manner in which coverage is provided, the public perception would still be that it was not getting a true picture if the House operated the cameras. The House broadcast system would be viewed as one more government propaganda organ designed to show its creator in the best possible lights.

No further action was taken on that revised resolution in the 94th Congress.

ACTIONS IN THE 95TH CONGRESS

On March 2, 1977, the Speaker of the House authorized a 90-day test of live coverage of House floor proceedings, to be conducted by the Select Committee on Congressional Operations and the Architect. The actual test began on March 15. On that same day, Representative Anderson of Illinois offered a resolution, as a question of privilege of the House, authorizing and directing the Rules Committee to evaluate the test and report back to the House its findings and recommendations, including whether such broadcast coverage should be made available to the public. The resolution was adopted by the House on a vote of 398 to 10.

In announcing the initiation of the test on March 15, the Speaker indicated in a letter to all House Members that it would be closed-circuit, carried to the Rayburn Building, that it would cover proceedings from the opening of a day's session to the beginning of special orders, and that it was his "intention to seek . . . approval from the Members before beginning permanent broadcast-media coverage or permitting use of video or live coverage of the House by the news media."

The test was completed in September 1977, at which time the Select Committee on Congressional Operations issued a report to the Speaker announcing the results: "Televising the House," House Document 95-231.

In its report, the select committee recommended that the Speaker devise a permanent system for broadcasting the proceedings of the House gavel-to-gavel; that such coverage eventually be made available to the public and media; that the Speaker be responsible for implementing the system and delegate all or any of the responsibility to such officer, committee or other entity as he deems appropriate; that the appropriate provisions of the suggested resolution be incorporated into the Rules of the House; and that the Architect develop a master plan for broadcasting and purchase the necessary equipment.

On the question of what the cameras should show, the select committee recommended that—

Permanent broadcast coverage of the House be conducted in such a way as to assure uninterrupted focusing of cameras on those Members and officials of the House actively participating in the debates or other official action in the House Chamber

and to obtain a complete and accurate record of the official proceedings.

On October 6, 1977, Representative LONG of Louisiana, together with Representatives Sisk and Brooks, introduced House Resolution 821, authorizing the Speaker to devise and implement a system subject to his direction and control for the complete and unedited broadcast coverage of the "legislation proceedings" of the House, and to make such coverage available to the public and news media.

The Rules Committee conducted hearings on House Resolution 821 on October 13 and 19, and on October 25 adopted an amendment in the nature of a substitute which was reported as House Resolution 866, which I authored. Instead of amending House Rules, that resolution simply authorized the Speaker to devise and implement a system for the closed circuit viewing of floor proceedings and directed the Rules Committee to conduct a study of alternative methods of providing complete and unedited audio and visual broadcasting of the proceedings of the House, and to report its findings and recommendations not later than February 15, 1978. After receipt of that report, the Speaker was then authorized to develop a system subject to his direction and control "for complete and unedited audio and visual broadcasting and recording of the proceedings of the House . . . (and) provide for the distribution of such broadcasts and recordings thereof to news media. . . ." The Rules Committee adopted an amendment deleting the confinement of such coverage merely to the "legislative proceedings," thus insuring that it would be gavel-to-gavel, and would not exclude special orders. The resolution was adopted on the House floor on October 27, 1977, by a vote of 342 to 44.

THE FINAL REPORT

On February 15, 1978, the Rules Committee issued its final recommendations as required by House Resolution 866 before the Speaker could make the coverage available to the news media. The committee recommended that, "The House should operate its own broadcast coverage system" the Speaker should delegate to a new or existing committee the responsibility for implementing and coordinating the actions recommended in the report and for management, oversight, and improvement of all activities and policies connected with broadcasting; and that the broadcasting should begin only after the committee has tested the new system and has determined it is of sufficient broadcast quality for use by the media.

The majority report went on to explain why it had recommended to the Speaker a House-operated system as opposed to the alternatives of a network pool or public broadcasting operated system. The report said the principal purpose of the TV coverage was

to "provide for a complete, uninterrupted, and accurate record of the official proceedings and business of the House, a kind of visual and audio parallel to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

The network pool, on the other hand, was not simply interested in showing the official proceedings of the House, according to the report, but was insisting "on the right to point the cameras as their news judgment dictates." The report goes on:

Certainly visual variety in television coverage is desirable, and the demand for it is understandable. But the networks want more. They want an absolute right to determine when and where the cameras should point at any spot on the floor, and also in the galleries if the House agrees.

And, to quote further from the report:

It is because the commercial networks look upon the House solely as a news event that they demand the right to move the cameras away from the principal and official action of the proceedings. . . . To permit that kind of control is subject all the broadcast journalists, and our posterity as well . . . to a single point of view. No print journalist would ever consent to such a situation.

In other words, the Rules Committee majority felt that a House-operated system was necessary to insure an official record of House proceedings and avoid the showing of extraneous shots of the Chamber, be they reaction shots or panning. And it was on the basis of this recommendation that the Speaker has, until last Thursday, directed that the cameras focus only on the person speaking, be it during debate on bills or during special orders.

Ironically, the Speaker's new policy of "wide-angle shots" of the House Chamber during special orders flies in the face of the recommendations made to the Speaker by the Rules Committee majority's report. In reversing that policy, the Speaker is now subject to the same criticisms which the committee leveled at the networks—that is that they wanted to show more than just the person speaking; that they wanted to pan the Chamber at will and impose their editorial judgment on those receiving the feed as to what was worth showing and not showing.

In applying this new panning policy arbitrarily and selectively to only special orders, the Speaker is opening himself to the charge that the Rules Committee made of the proposed network pool—that it would "produce coverage that is unbalance, biased, deliberately, or accidentally unfair to individual Members, and damaging to the dignity of the House."

Finally, the new policy confirms the fears expressed by some that House control of its own cameras would lead to a form of censorship. Our Democratic colleague on the Rules Committee, Representative Sisk, who fought so valiantly for the network pool arrangement in the 94th Congress, offered the following observation in his

supplemental views to the February 15, 1978, Rules Committee report:

We are told that the House must operate its own broadcast system in order to protect the dignity and decorum of its proceedings. I, too, want to protect the dignity and decorum of the House. But, more importantly, I wish to protect its integrity. I fear the public's reaction to a House-owned and House-controlled broadcast system. Will the public, the people we represent, view this as some form of censorship. Will the public believe the House is trying to hide something. Will the public accept the explanation that the House must have its own crews and technicians to prevent broadcasters from turning the House into a circus?

WHAT KIND OF POLICY

Mr. Speaker, I dissented from that February 1978 report of the Rules Committee in part of the expense of a House broadcast system, and in part because I feared the public would perceive our coverage as politically motivated and suspect. I think we managed to avoid such perceptions so long as there was a uniform policy of showing only the persons speaking, and there was no selective manipulation of the cameras. As I have mentioned earlier, I would have no objection to long shots of the Chamber from time-to-time so long as it is applied uniformly throughout the day's session and was done in such a way as not to seem to be done for the purpose of embarrassing any Member, detracting from their remarks, or adversely affecting the dignity and decorum of our proceedings. I think the public should have an idea of what the full Chamber looks like as the day proceeds. Moreover, I think the present House rule now requires that the Chamber be shown while Members are voting, since this is part of the complete proceedings which are required to be shown, unedited. It would probably be preferable to provide for such wide-angle shots of the Chamber in between Members' speeches, rather than pulling back in the middle of them.

But, the present, selective policy, which was admitted by the Speaker to have been initiated to discourage special orders on this side, raises serious questions about the political control of the cameras and possible censorship: it is being undertaken with the intent of curtailing such speeches by embarrassing Members, and is therefore subject to the charge of censorship because it is designed to have a chilling effect on free speech in this Chamber.

For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I have today written to the chairman of the Rules Subcommittee on Legislative Process asking for hearings on House broadcast-related issues such as this. I am the ranking Republican on that subcommittee. We do retain legislative oversight over the House broadcast rule and that is one item in our subcommittee's oversight plans submitted to the House Government Operations Committee on March 1, 1983 (H. Rept. 98-17, p. 204). I think it is far preferable to look at these problems in a responsible, bipartisan fashion,

than to turn this over to a partisan task force, as the Speaker has suggested, or his one-man, Democratic Broadcast Advisory Committee which until the 97th Congress at least had a minority party representative.

The integrity of the House and its proceedings are at stake in these broadcast-related issues, and it will not help things by further politicizing this most valuable tool of our democratic system in informing the American people about the operations and issues confronting the Congress. I sincerely hope that some serious hearings and recommendations will emerge from a duly elected committee of this House which does have jurisdiction under our rules over the House broadcast system.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include my letter to Chairman LONG, two articles, and an editorial from the Washington Post. The items follow:

COMMITTEE ON RULES, SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1984.

HON. GILLIS W. LONG,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Legislative
Process, Longworth House Office Bldg.,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR GILLIS: I am writing to ask that you schedule at the earliest possible time a hearing of our subcommittee on the matter of current problems connected with the operation of the House broadcasting system.

As you know, considerable furor has been raised about the Speaker's recent policy switch on camera directions during special orders. While I do not question the Speaker's right under House Rules to make such changes, I think legitimate questions have been raised about its selective application and possible effects.

Our subcommittee does retain oversight jurisdiction over the House broadcast rule and indeed has listed it as one of our possible areas for further study in this Congress in its March 1, 1983, oversight plan submitted to the Committee on Government Operations. I think the time has come for us to take this responsibility seriously, and on a bipartisan basis. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely yours,

TRENT LOTT.

[From The Washington Post, May 12, 1984]

CHANGE OF FOCUS IN HOUSE—O'NEILL PANS REPUBLICANS (By T. R. Reid)

Move over, Abscam! Step aside, Debategate! Make room for official Washington's latest political scandal: Camscam.

Skulduggery is afoot around the television cameras that cover the House of Representatives in its daily sessions. According to a group of Republican legislators, someone in high office—to wit, House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.)—has engaged in foul play designed to make Republicans look ridiculous.

What O'Neill did was to order the cameramen to pan the House chamber so that the TV audience can see that no other members are present during a daily period when the Republicans deliver some of their most impassioned speeches. Previously, the cameras focused only on the speaker.

"A cheap political trick," said Rep. Robert S. Walker (R-Pa.), one of the Republicans victimized when O'Neill launched the proce-

dure, without warning, Thursday night. "Underhanded, sneaky and politically motivated," agreed Rep. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), House Republican deputy leader.

O'Neill's gambit is the latest move in an escalating political war centering on a group of conservative House Republicans who have acquired a national following by giving daily floor speeches—addresses aimed not at their colleagues but at the national audience watching Congress over C-SPAN, the Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network.

C-SPAN currently reaches 17 million homes, and its audience is growing weekly as new communities are wired for cable.

House Democrats have been increasingly agitated about the right-wing Republicans, who spend hours before the cameras denouncing O'Neill and other Democrats. The Democratic leadership has retained a media consultant to help the party fight back; about 100 Democrats held a closed-door meeting this week to discuss tactics.

And then O'Neill stages a solo strike.

The speaker realized that the Republican oratorical forays generally occur under "Special Orders"—a daily speaking time after legislative business is over, when almost all members have left.

Members of Congress speaking under "Special Orders" are usually declaiming to an empty chamber. This was not evident to the TV audience, however, because the cameramen were under orders to show only the speaker.

Thursday night, O'Neill changed the orders. In the midst of a long Walker speech charging the Democrats with "arrogance," someone handed Walker a note.

"It is my understanding," he declared in shocked tones, "that . . . the cameras are panning this chamber, demonstrating that there is no one here in the chamber to listen to these remarks."

The abrupt change was immediately evident to the loyal C-SPAN audience. "Our callers have just been going crazy about it," said the network's Susan Swain. She said audience reaction has been about evenly divided.

Yesterday morning, O'Neill's Republican counterpart, Majority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.), fired off an angry letter criticizing O'Neill's "act of dictatorial retribution."

O'Neill said he would stick with his new policy. "People have been making charges when there's nobody in the hall to refute it," he said. "It's terribly unfair." With the panning procedure, he said, the audience will get "more perspective" on what really happens on the floor.

However, O'Neill said he had no plans to allow cameras to pan the floor during regular legislative sessions. Few members come to the floor then, either.

[From the Washington Post, May 15, 1984]
O'NEILL, COLLEAGUES TRADE STATIC; SPEAKER
DEFENDS PANNING CAMERAS
(By T. R. Reid)

Capitol Hill's newest situation comedy took a serious turn yesterday as Republican and Democratic leaders lectured one another on the House floor about television coverage of Congress and the "Camscam" affair.

House Speaker Thomas P. (Tip) O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.), in one of his rare floor speeches, angrily declared that Republican speakers have been "totally unfair" and "totally disgusting" when they attacked House Democrats in a series of long floor speeches this spring.

But Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) and other GOP members charged again that the Speaker displayed "arrogance" and

"dictatorial pressure" last week when he unilaterally changed the five-year-old rules governing television coverage of the House's sessions.

O'Neill has ordered the TV cameramen, who work directly for him, to pan the House chamber to show that it is virtually empty during a period when the Republicans deliver some of their toughest speeches. Until O'Neill's new order was issued last Thursday, the cameras had been required to focus on the member who was speaking.

But the Democrats are also concerned about a group of aggressive conservative Republicans who have decided that their party's traditional posture of friendly relations with O'Neill is ineffective. These Republicans argue that their party would be better served by a policy of constant attack on the Democrats.

Aiming their words at the growing television audience that watches House sessions on C-SPAN (the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network), these Republicans began reserving large blocks of floor time this spring for speeches denouncing O'Neill and other Democrats.

For the most part, these Republican speeches come under "special orders"—a period at the end of the legislative day, after most members have gone home. House members talking under special order are usually declaiming to an empty chamber—but this was not evident to the TV audience, which saw only the person speaking.

To get back at the Republicans, O'Neill last Thursday ordered the cameras to move away from the Speaker occasionally to pan the chamber. Yesterday, he unveiled a new gambit—a caption running along the bottom of the screen every two minutes, informing viewers that "The House has completed its scheduled legislative program . . . and is now proceeding with special orders."

Despite an angry GOP outcry, the Speaker said he would stick with the new rules. O'Neill said, though, that he will not allow the cameras to show the full chamber during regular floor debates, when the floor commonly is almost empty.

Accordingly, one of the Republican attackers, Rep. Robert S. Walker (R-Pa.), announced that he will stand up regularly during legislative debates to tell the TV audience how many members are present.

It is rare for the Speaker to take the floor to explain one of his decisions. In his speech yesterday, O'Neill said he had responded to complaints from "many, many of my [Democratic] people."

The Speaker said he was angered by a special-order speech last week in which Republicans quoted remarks by two dozen House Democrats and then attacked those Democrats. "I have never seen anything so low, to attack a man when he is not in the hall," O'Neill said.

The Republican speakers said they had written the two dozen Democrats a day ahead of time to tell them of the forthcoming speech.

[From the Washington Post, May 15, 1984]
CAMERASCAM

Surely no one was more surprised last Thursday than Rep. Robert Walker (R-Pa.) when, speaking from the well of the House, he was handed a note that said that the C-SPAN cameras were going to pan out and show the entire floor. And not pleasantly surprised. For Mr. Walker had been orating furiously, and he realized in an instant that the cameras were going to show that he was orating to an empty House. The C-SPAN audience that had been watching him and other Republicans of the Conservative Opportunity Group speaking extensively under

the House's special order at the end of the legislative day was going to be awakened suddenly to the awful truth: that no one else was watching. It's as if the camera panned below the coat-and-tie-clad shoulders of the TV reporter to disclose that he was wearing shorts and tennis shoes.

"Our callers have just been going crazy about it," reported an official of C-SPAN, which has been televising sessions of the House gavel-to-gavel for six years now. In the past the cameras always remained fixed on the well, the podium and the microphones; the House members who voted to allow television did so only grudgingly, and on the understanding that the shenanigans—or the empty seats—on the floor would not be shown to the folks back home. But that was just an understanding; the House rules give sole control of the TV cameras to the speaker. And Speaker O'Neill, incensed at what he considered unfair and misleading attacks on Democratic members by the Republicans speaking in the special order period, ordered the cameras to swing around and, for the first time, show the viewing public the emperor's lack of clothes.

This is just an early shot in what we trust will be a continuing video war on the Hill. The speaker has won some points: C-SPAN viewers who thought Mr. Walker et al. were attacking the Democrats so scintillatingly as to render them speechless will understand that they're so ineffective the Democrats don't bother to attend. But Mr. Walker and his friends make the sensible point that the House chamber is often empty, even when legislative business is being conducted. Why shouldn't the cameras pan around the floor then? A good question. Another good question: why shouldn't the cameras show members voting—including those who switch their votes?

Speaker O'Neill has, we hope, started something he won't be able to stop. Some will complain that this kind of television will change the way the House works. We fervently hope it will. As things change, some members will be embarrassed, as Mr. Walker was last Thursday. But they'll recover and the republic will still stand. The difference will be that more people will be able to see how their representatives do business. Is there something wrong with that?

THE DANGEROUS DRUG DIVERSION CONTROL ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. HUGHES) is recognized for 5 minutes.

• Mr. HUGHES. Mr. Speaker, the purpose of this legislation is to help curb the diversion of legitimate drugs from the channels of legitimate commerce into the hands of drug abusers.

Last June the Subcommittee on Crime examined the serious problem of the diversion of dangerous prescription drugs. The health consequences of the use of prescription controlled substances are staggering. These drugs dominate the statistics on deaths and emergency room admissions for drug use.

As long ago as March 1978, the Comptroller General observed that DEA's efforts to control diversion were severely restricted by inadequate statutory authority.

priations bill. H.R. 5713 contained \$2.3 billion above the 1984 level. HUD appropriations bill was \$3.8 billion over the administration's request. In light of our Nation's budget deficits, we can hardly afford these kinds of spending increases. It is bad enough to be spending billions of dollars over last year's levels in many of these appropriations bills, but it is equally wrong to be in violation of the Budget Act. I urge the House of Representatives to subject itself to the law and to honor the rules we have to govern an otherwise unruly budget process.

For the above reasons, I believe it is clear that if I had been present for the vote on the HUD appropriations bill, I would have voted "nay."

CAMSCAM II

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. LOTT) is recognized for 10 minutes.

● Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House was prevented by the new Democrat Caucus-imposed rule restriction on appropriations amendments, from voting on an amendment by the gentleman from California (Mr. Lewis) to require uniform TV camera coverage of our debates, gavel-to-gavel. As my colleagues are well aware, this whole controversy was precipitated on May 10 when the Speaker gave instructions to his control room operators of the remote control cameras in the galleries, to begin using wide-angle shots of the Chamber during special orders. As has been pointed out on previous occasions, this was done without prior notice or consultation with the minority.

Mr. Speaker, yesterday was but one more indication that the Democratic leadership is not willing to permit the House a chance to decide on the wisdom or fairness of this new policy or consider the alternative which we have suggested which is to permit the viewing public to see the entire Chamber on a periodic and uniform basis throughout each day's proceedings.

I have met with similar resistance to hearings and deliberations on this matter in the Rules Committee which has direct jurisdiction over the broadcast rule—House Rule I, clause 9. I have written to both Chairman PEPPER and Subcommittee Chairman LONG requesting such hearings so that we might responsibly exercise our jurisdictional duties and defuse this partisan panning controversy.

In both instances my requests were rejected on the grounds that a Democratic Caucus task force or committee is looking into this matter, as is the alleged bipartisan Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting. While I have no objection to having various ad hoc party groups make their recommendations, indeed, our own Republican conference has already endorsed a uniform panning policy, I do think this must be handled ultimately by a

duly constituted committee of the House, and the sooner the better.

The caucus study committee is not likely to bring any rules changes forward until the first day of the next Congress, and then ask that it be included in the new rules of the 99th Congress, without opportunity for Rules Committee consideration. The Speaker's Advisory Committee presents even more difficult problems. In the first place, it has been defunct since the 96th Congress, despite efforts by the Speaker and Chairmen PEPPER and LONG to claim its existence. Moreover, even if it is reactivated and reappointed, it has a ratio of 4 Democrats to 1 Republican—hardly a confidence building ratio in terms of a fair and bipartisan solution.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include my exchange of correspondence with Chairmen PEPPER and LONG. In future special orders I intend to further discuss the history of the Speaker's Broadcast Advisory Committee. The items follow:

COMMITTEE ON RULES, SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS, Washington, D.C., May 15, 1984.

Hon. GILLIS W. LONG,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Legislative Process, Longworth Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GILLIS: I am writing to ask that you schedule at the earliest possible time a hearing of our subcommittee on the matter of current problems connected with the operation of the House broadcasting system.

As you know, considerable furor has been raised about the Speaker's recent policy switch on camera directions during special orders. While I do not question the Speaker's right under House Rules to make such changes, I think legitimate questions have been raised about its selective application and possible effects.

Our subcommittee does retain oversight jurisdiction over the House broadcast rule and indeed has listed it as one of our possible areas for further study in this Congress in its March 1, 1983, oversight plan submitted to the Committee on Government Operations. I think the time has come for us to take this responsibility seriously, and on a bipartisan basis. I look forward to your response.

Sincerely yours,

TRENT LOTT.

DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS,
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 16, 1984.

Hon. TRENT LOTT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR TRENT: Thank you for your letter of May 15.

As I'm sure you are aware, there currently exists a bi-partisan committee, charged with the responsibility of reviewing the operations of the House Broadcast System. That is the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting of which I am a Member. David Stockman held the Republican seat on that committee until he resigned from Congress, and it is my understanding that his vacancy has never been filled.

That bi-partisan committee is the appropriate vehicle to make recommendations concerning the rules governing the televising of House proceedings. Under the normal procedures of our Caucus, its recommenda-

tions would be examined by our Caucus Committee on Organization, Study and Review and by our full Democratic Caucus before being introduced for action in the House.

With very best wishes, I am
Sincerely,

GILLIS W. LONG.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 22, 1984.

Hon. GILLIS W. LONG,
Chairman, Subcommittee on the Legislative Process, House Committee on Rules, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR GILLIS: Thank you for your letter of May 16 in response to my request for a subcommittee hearing on House broadcast-related problems.

I appreciate the fact that the Rules Committee had originally recommended that some existing or new committee assist the Speaker in the "management, oversight, and improvement of all activities and policies connected with audio and visual coverage and broadcasting of House floor proceedings," and that the Speaker initially appointed the "Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting" in the 96th Congress for that purpose.

However, in reviewing our leadership files, I have found that the Advisory Committee has been defunct in the 97th and 98th Congresses. On March 12, 1981, our Republican Leader, Mr. Michel, transmitted to the Speaker the name of Congressman Bill Thomas to replace Dave Stockman on the Advisory Committee. Some six weeks later our ranking Republican on the House Administration Committee, Mr. Frenzel, in response to an inquiry on the Advisory Committee, had his staff check with the Speaker's Office and was informed that the committee had not been reappointed by the Speaker. It is true that Representative Rose has continued to assist the Speaker in an advisory capacity in the 97th and 98th Congresses, but, in neither Congress was the committee reappointed, nor was our leadership approached on filling any vacancy.

Moreover, even if the Advisory Committee is now reactivated, I think you will agree with me that the ultimate authority for any revisions in the broadcast rule is solely within our jurisdiction. Republican Leader Michel, for instance, introduced H. Res. 500 on May 17th, requiring uniform coverage of the Chamber throughout each day's proceedings, and that resolution has been referred to our committee.

Because the House broadcast-related problems are of some immediate consequence and urgency, I think it would be best to approach this in a responsible, bipartisan fashion in our committee right now, rather than to wait for the recommendations of either the Advisory Committee or the Caucus Committee studying possible rules revisions. I have therefore written to Chairman Pepper, who also shares my concern about the future of House broadcast coverage, and asked that this matter be taken up by the Rules Committee. I am enclosing a copy of that letter for your information.

Thank you again for taking the time to respond so expeditiously to my request. I do hope you will reconsider my suggestion in light of the urgency of the problem and our committee's prerogatives and jurisdiction over this issue.

With warm personal regards, I am
Very truly yours,

TRENT LOTT.

Enclosure.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., May 18, 1984.

Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER,
Chairman, House Committee on Rules,
H-312 Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I read with interest your one-minute speech in the May 16 Congressional Record in which you indicated that, "whoever perverts the use of television endangers the continuity of that practice." You went on: "It is just a question of time, if that continues, until it will be discontinued."

As one who served with you on the Rules Subcommittee in 1977-78 that helped to develop the current House broadcast rule and procedures, I share your concern that television coverage not be allowed to dominate or distort our proceedings. You were the pioneer in Congress who as long ago as 1944 introduced the first broadcast resolution in the Congress as a means of bringing our government closer to the people, and I think your continued efforts over the years to bring this dream to fruition have realized that goal.

Because I share your concern about the future of the House broadcast system given the current politicization and emotionalism surrounding that issue, I think you can play an important role, as both the founding father of congressional broadcasting and chairman of the Rules Committee, in helping to resolve some of the problems which currently surround House broadcasting. I would respectfully ask that you convene either a hearing or meeting of the Rules Committee and some of the principals involved to lay the bipartisan ground work for some uniform rules of procedure for the operation of the broadcast system in a manner that will not be construed by either Members or the public to involve political manipulation or control by either party. I think some excesses in this regard have been committed on both sides of the aisle, but I am not suggesting our committee rehash the details of those incidents. Instead, I think we can play a constructive role in depoliticizing the issue and insuring the future survivability of the House broadcast system.

As you know, our committee retains primary jurisdiction over the House broadcast rule (Rule 1, clause 9), as well as oversight jurisdiction over the broadcast system. In fact, our committee's oversight agenda submitted to the Government Operations Committee for this Congress on March 1, 1983, listed "broadcasting of House floor proceedings" as one of the possible areas for oversight in the 98th Congress, as did the Subcommittee on Legislative Process (H. Rept. 98-17, pp. 203 & 204). As such, I think we do have a legitimate responsibility and obligation to the House to look into this matter.

On May 5, 1984, as the ranking minority member on the Subcommittee on Legislative Process, I wrote to Subcommittee Chairman Gillis Long making the same suggestion, and he responded on May 16 that the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting "is the appropriate vehicle to make recommendations concerning the rules governing the televising of House proceedings." Their recommendations in turn, he went on, would be reviewed by the Democratic Caucus Committee on Organization Study and Review "before being introduced for action in the House."

While the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting was nominally bipartisan in the 96th Congress, with three Democrats (Representatives Rose, Brooks, and Long) and one Republican (Representative Stockman), it has not been officially reappointed in either the 97th or 98th Congress, and today only Representative Rose serves in an advisory capacity to the Speaker. Chairman

Long has erroneously indicated that the Advisory Committee still exists and that the Republicans have simply not filled the Stockman vacancy. The fact is that a replacement was presented to the Speaker on March 12, 1981, by the Republican Leader, but no appointments were made by the Speaker.

Even if a working, bipartisan Advisory Committee still existed, which it does not, it would have no authority to directly recommend any rules changes to the House. That is our function under Rule X, and I know you jealously guard our committee's prerogatives. Moreover, the Rules Committee now has pending before it H. Res. 500, introduced by Representatives Michel, myself and others, on May 17th, amending the broadcast rule "to provide for the periodic visual broadcast coverage of the entire House Chamber on a uniform basis throughout each day's proceedings." I think this resolution could serve as a useful starting point for our committee in attempting to defuse the issue of selective panning of the Chamber during only part of the day's proceedings.

I hope that you will take the above suggestions in the serious vein in which they are intended. As a member of both the Republican leadership and the Rules Committee, I share your concerns about the institution of the House and the future of our broadcast system. I strongly feel we should act now as the duly elected committee of the House having jurisdiction over this matter before the situation deteriorates further. I do not think we have the luxury of waiting for the recommendations of a one-man Democratic advisory committee or a Democratic Caucus task force, nor do I think it advisable to proceed with this on a partisan basis as both approaches suggest. The results, no matter how well-intentioned, can hardly be expected to gain the confidence or acceptance of our party if we are not a part of the formulation process. I think the Rules Committee, on the other hand, as the leadership committee of both parties, can proceed to address the problem in a bipartisan, responsible, and dispassionate manner that will have the best interests of the institution in mind. I hope you will agree.

With warm personal regards, I am
Very truly yours,

TRENT LOTT.

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON RULES,
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1984.

Hon. TRENT LOTT,
2400 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR TRENT: I am in receipt of your letter dated May 18, 1984, concerning the subject of the House broadcasting system.

I know you are aware of the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, a bipartisan group dedicated to reviewing the operation of the broadcast system. Additionally, the Speaker has referred the matter to the Democratic Caucus Committee on Organization, Study, and Review, which is chaired by our able Rules Committee colleague, Martin Frost.

In light of this, I think it is better that we do not consider the question of the House broadcast system at this time. The Committee, of course, retains jurisdiction over the matter and we may wish to undertake some study in the future.

Kindest regards, and
Always sincerely,

CLAUDE PEPPER, Chairman.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. McDADE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. McDADE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ANNUNZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. ANNUNZIO addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

SODIUM LABELING

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SMITH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the effort that some of us have been making to alert the public to the vital health need to have more information regarding the sodium content of processed foods is continuing.

In 1981, Congressman ALBERT GORE, Jr., joined me in sponsoring legislation amending the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to require the labels of processed foods subject to the act to show the sodium content per serving when it was in excess of 35 milligrams. Soon thereafter, hearings by the Subcommittee on Investigations and Oversight of the House Science and Technology Committee, showed the close relationship between sodium intake and high blood pressure for the sizable segment of the American public who are most subject to the danger of stroke and death from heart failure.

High blood pressure is the worst secret and silent killer in our society. Every year, tens of millions of Americans are afflicted with a condition that may be the single largest contributor to heart disease, the No. 1 cause of death. It is also a significant cause of stroke, and a major factor in kidney failure. High blood pressure is a condition that strikes particularly hard at black Americans. In addition, 40 percent of all our citizens over the age of 65 suffer from this menace. It is particularly insidious because it often produces no outward symptoms until its real damage has already been done. The cost in health care dollars has been estimated by the National Institutes of Health at over \$8 billion per year.

The publicity which surrounded this congressional sodium-labeling effort, as well as efforts by the American Medical Association, the American Heart Association, and about 20 other national health and consumer organizations soon brought forth over 100 members who joined us as cosponsors to the bill.

Although the law establishing exact sodium-labeling standards has not been completed, the publicity sur-

We join together today for the sake of Ida Nudel and all the other brave men and women in the Soviet Union who have long suffered under the Kremlin's officially sanctioned policies of abuse, harassment, and persecution of the cruelest sort. We in the West who are blessed with freedom and who enjoy legal protection of our basic human rights must never forget those who are denied the same rights and freedoms. We must help in their struggle for freedom.

We pray that our vigil will increase awareness to their plight and marshal increasingly vigorous support for Soviet Jewry.

• Mr. FLORIO. Mr. Speaker, on this day, as we commemorate the 14th anniversary of the arrests of the Leningrad Eleven by the Soviet Government, I would like to join my colleagues in reflecting upon the plight of Soviet Jewry. It is only with the constant reminder of cases such as the Leningrad trials that we can have any hope of pressuring the Soviet Government to improve human rights conditions.

The plight of the Leningrad Eleven, a group of nine Soviet Jews and two non-Jews, is symbolic of the fate of many Soviet people that find themselves so disillusioned and frustrated with the repression of the Soviet regime that they can no longer bear to live there. For this reason, they risk their well-being and their livelihoods in publicly declaring their desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union to lands free of persecution and repression. They seek basic human rights—the freedom to practice their religious and cultural traditions, to speak their conscience, and to exercise the fundamental human rights accorded to every individual. Their wish to flee the Soviet Union for countries that are free of this sort of repression is so fervent that they have the courage to face the ostracism that inevitably follows once an individual declares his frustration with the Soviet regime and requests permission to leave.

Fourteen years ago, 11 such individuals whose lives had become so intolerable they could no longer bear to live under such conditions, made plans to commandeer a small plane. They were arrested by the KGB before they could carry out this desperate plan and they were tried and sentenced. Nine were sentenced to prison terms which they subsequently served. Two, however, whose only actual crime was to plan this action, were sentenced to death. Because of the large volume of public and international protest at the unjust sentence, the Soviet Government "relented" and sentenced the two to 15 years of "special regime"—the harshest punishment. All but 2 of the 11 prisoners have been released due to international pressure. One of the two remaining prisoners is scheduled to be released tomorrow.

Despite their release, Mr. Speaker, the battle for human rights for Soviet

Jewry has not been won. To the contrary, we have a long road ahead of us as we continue to struggle for the fundamental rights that the Soviet Jews have long been denied. Today, a large number of my colleagues will be participating in the Congressional Prayer and Fast Vigil for Soviet Jewry. I would like to join with them in bringing attention to the plight of nearly 500,000 Soviet Jews who have expressed a desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union only to be flatly denied. I urge my colleagues to never allow the memory of the Leningrad trials to fade nor the courage of the Leningrad Eleven to be forgotten.

• Mr. DAUB. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to have this opportunity to join my colleagues in this special order on behalf of Soviet Jews and in particular to publicly call attention to the plight of Ilya Katz and his family.

I consider it a privilege, yet a responsibility, to speak on behalf of the Katz family, knowing that they cannot speak for themselves.

Refuseniks since 1979, the Katz family was denied permission to emigrate to Israel on grounds of insufficient kinship. Like so many refuseniks, since permission to emigrate was denied, Ilya Katz, his wife, and their two daughters have been unable to secure employment in their fields of training and thus have been deprived of sufficient means to support themselves.

While the present situation for the Katz family and other Jews in the Soviet Union is bleak, our continued outcry will help to demonstrate to Soviet leaders that we will not let their treatment of Soviet Jews to silently continue, unprotected.

I would like to applaud my colleagues who have joined me today in this effort; I do not believe our efforts go unnoticed by Soviet leaders. Our united voices can keep this issue before the world and the plights of those like the Katz family before the eyes of those who choose to ignore their cries for freedom.

• Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of this special order and I would like to commend my distinguished colleague Congressman KEMP for his effort in bringing this order to the floor.

The injustices that are occurring today in the Soviet Union are increasing in scope and intensity. Not since the days of Stalin has the human rights situation in that country been so serious. As I speak, one of the Soviet Union's most distinguished scientists, Andrei Sakharov, is being held in an unknown place and under unknown conditions simply because he dared to fight for one of the most basic human rights of all—competent medical care for his wife, Elena Bonner.

Minorities, and especially Jews, have been the subject of discrimination throughout Russian history. However, this discrimination has become worse

since the Communists came to power. Today, Jewish emigration has been virtually halted. In 1984 only 303 Jews were allowed to emigrate from the U.S.S.R., and those that remain are subjected to ever increasing repression. For example, receiving material from a foreign source is treated as "anti-Soviet agitation" and can result in the persons being sentenced to 10 years or more in a labor camp.

For those Jews still in the U.S.S.R., communications with their friends and relatives has become more important as the repression has increased. Yet, the Soviets are increasing their harassment of the international mail system—the most important link that dissident groups have with the outside world. The Soviets are consistently "unable" to deliver mail to certain groups and as of August 1, 1984, will refuse to accept parcels on which duty has been prepaid. As I said in a statement submitted to the hearing of the Subcommittee on Postal Operations held on June 11, 1984, in New York on this matter, the Soviets are violating the international postal regulations and the Helsinki accords in their refusal to deliver the mail.

Mr. Speaker, what can we do as Members of Congress and as human rights advocates to help those Jews still trapped in the Soviet Union? First, I think it is important that we speak out. We must let Soviet Jews know that they are not forgotten. Second, we can all write to the Soviet authorities expressing our concern and outrage about specific cases of abuse. Third, as the "adoptee" of two political prisoners, Seymour Gluzman and Ida Nudel, I urge all Members to "adopt" an individual prisoner and fight for his or her case.

Mr. Speaker, as beneficiaries of a free society we all have the duty to fight a system that denies medical care to its citizens simply because they dare to speak their minds and treats individuals as mere pawns to be used at will by the authorities.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. CONTE] is recognized for 15 minutes.

[Mr. CONTE addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

CAMSCAM III

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] is recognized for 60 minutes.

• Mr. LOTT. Mr. Speaker, on May 15 and June 7 I took two special orders on the Speaker's new TV panning policy of the House Chamber during special orders which was instituted without notice or consultation with the minority on May 10. In the first special order I trace the historical development of the House broadcast

system with emphasis on who should control the cameras and what they should show. The House ultimately voted to support the Speaker's desire for a House owned and operated broadcast system over a network pool operated system, mainly due to concerns that the broadcasters would distort our proceedings by panning the empty seats or showing reaction shots rather than focusing on the Member speaking at all times. Opponents of a House owned and operated system feared it would be viewed as subject to political manipulation and censorship. As one of our colleagues succinctly put it at the time: "Those who make the news should not manage the news," or man the TV cameras, for that matter.

In my second special order I discussed my attempts to have this issue aired before the Committee on Rules which has jurisdiction over the House broadcast rule, and the rejection by our committee chairman and subcommittee chairman of this request on grounds that this was being looked at by the Democratic Caucus Committee on Organization, Study and Review, and the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting.

The problem with the former review is that any recommendations are more likely to be presented to the caucus in January as part of the recommended House rules for the 96th Congress, and thus would not have the benefit of hearings, deliberation or amendment by the Rules Committee, nor of any minority participation. The problem with the latter review is that the Speaker's Advisory Committee has been defunct since the 96th Congress. The committee was appointed in the 95th Congress and consisted of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. ROSE], the gentleman from Texas [Mr. BROOKS], the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. LONG], and one Republican, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. STOCKMAN]. However, the advisory committee was not reappointed in the 97th or 98th Congress, even though the Republican leader submitted a nominee to replace Mr. Stockman at the beginning of the 97th Congress. I am attaching to this special order an exchange of correspondence to document this point.

Nevertheless, the Speaker and the two Rules Committee members, Chairman PEPPER and Chairman LONG, with whom I corresponded, have all referred to this advisory committee as if it has been in existence all along. The fact is, only Mr. ROSE has continued to operate on an advisory basis to the Speaker on the operation of the broadcast system.

In this special order I would like to discuss the evolutionary development of the broadcast advisory committee concept. In the 94th Congress, the Rules Committee's Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting reported House Resolution 875, recommending that broadcasting of House proceedings be provided by a network pool,

gavel to gavel. In its initial report, the subcommittee also recommended the appointment by the chairman of the Rules Committee of a broadcast advisory board to assist the committee in its responsibilities to supervise, review, study, and coordinate, on a continuing basis, the broadcast coverage of our proceedings. The Board would be comprised of Rules Committee members, and the majority and minority leaders would serve as ex officio, nonvoting members.

Prior to going to the full Rules Committee with its resolution, the subcommittee was prevailed upon by then Majority Leader O'NEIL, acting as an agent of Speaker ALBERT, to make further changes in the resolution, one of which dealt with the Broadcast Advisory Board. Under that change, the Board would be appointed by the Speaker and placed under him to assist him with his broadcast responsibilities. However, the Board would be completely bipartisan, consisting of the majority and minority leaders, and four Members appointed by the Speaker, two from the majority party and two from the minority party. According to the subcommittee's supplemental report on House Resolution 875:

The bipartisan composition of the Board is intended to reflect the institutional rather than political interests in permitting broadcast coverage of House floor proceedings.

The report went on:

Moreover, the bipartisan makeup of the Board should help to allay any public suspicion of manipulation or control over the broadcast operation for political or partisan purposes. Finally, it must be emphasized that the Board will only be acting in an advisory capacity to the Speaker, and that ultimately the final decision-making powers rest solely with the Speaker.

Despite various changes made in the resolution at the further request of the majority leader, the Rules Committee recommitted the resolution to subcommittee on March 24, 1976, for further study, on a 9-to-6 rollcall vote.

The Ad Hoc Subcommittee on Broadcasting subsequently drafted a new resolution, House Resolution 1502, which included a sense of the House provision that coverage be provided by a network pool. The subcommittee print on the resolution discussed the other options for coverage as well. The resolution left intact the language establishing the bipartisan Broadcast Advisory Board under the Speaker. No further action was taken on the resolution by the Rules Committee in the 94th Congress.

In the 95th Congress, the Speaker instituted a 90-day, closed-circuit test of live television coverage of House proceedings on March 15, 1977. The test was to be conducted by the Select Committee on Congressional Operations. On that same day the House voted 398-10 for a question of privilege resolution offered by Representative Anderson of Illinois, requiring the Rules Committee to evaluate the test

and report to the House its findings and recommendations. The select committee completed its test on September 15, 1977, and on September 27 issued its report, "Televising the House," in which it recommended that closed-circuit coverage continue through the 95th Congress, and that the Architect proceed to purchase equipment for a permanent system with a view to going public at the beginning of the 96th Congress. The select committee did not specifically recommend the creation of a broadcast advisory group to assist the Speaker, but said the Speaker should be permitted to "delegate any or all or any part of the operating responsibility to such officer, committee or other entity of the Congress as may be appropriate."

On October 6, 1977, Representatives LONG of Louisiana, SISK, and BROOKS, introduced House Resolution 821 to amend House rules to authorize the Speaker to devise and implement a broadcast system for the coverage of the legislative proceedings of the House and to delegate any of his responsibility for the implementation of the system "to such legislative entity as he deems appropriate." The Rules Committee held 2 days of hearing on the resolution in October, and on October 25 reported my substitute resolution (H. Res. 866) which did not amend House rules, but authorized the Speaker to continue with the development of the system, required the Rules Committee to study and report by February 15, 1978, on alternative systems for providing broadcast coverage, and, after the receipt of that report, authorized the Speaker to make such coverage available to the public. The resolution further authorized the Speaker to delegate any of his responsibilities to "such legislative entity as he deems appropriate." That resolution was adopted by the House, 342-44 on October 27, 1977.

The February 15, 1978, Rules Committee report recommended that the House operate its own broadcast system, and that the Speaker delegate to an existing or new committee the responsibility for "implementing and coordinating the actions . . . for management, oversight, and improvement of all activities and policies connected with audio and visual coverage and broadcasting of House floor proceedings."

The report went on to note that while House Resolution 866 gave the Speaker full and complete authority over all decisions concerning the broadcast coverage, "Given the magnitude of the task . . . it is clear that the Speaker has neither the time nor the staff to manage it out of his own office." The report listed the various responsibilities which should be performed by such an entity, including general oversight and coordination of the broadcast system; periodic review of broadcast policies, quality, prob-

lems, and costs; adjudication of any complaints raised by Members, broadcasters or the public concerning any aspect of the broadcast coverage; providing full public disclosure of all broadcast coverage operations; and development and promulgation, with the Speaker's approval, of rules and regulations concerning all matters within its jurisdiction.

If the Speaker should decide on creating a new committee for these purposes, the report went on, it should only be in existence for 2 or 3 years, after which time its functions should be transferred to a permanent committee or entity of the House. And, quoting from the report:

Concerning the relationships between the Speaker and the committee, we recommend that he delegate all administrative, oversight, and managerial responsibility to the panel, subject to his affirmative approval on major decisions and his negative veto on all others.

The Speaker did create his Advisory Committee on Broadcasting in 1978, consisting of three Democrats and one Republican—a far cry from an earlier Rules Committee's subcommittee recommendation that it be bipartisan. The advisory committee apparently focused during the remainder of the 95th Congress and 96th Congress on decisions concerning the establishment of a permanent House broadcast system using the most modern equipment and color TV cameras. The House had voted on June 14, 1978, 133-249, against an amendment to the legislative appropriations bill offered by Representative Anderson to prohibit the use of funds for the purchase of a House broadcast system; it subsequently voted 235-150 for an amendment by Representative Benjamin to prohibit the use of funds for a broadcast system operated by anyone other than House employees—thus finalizing the debate over who should control the cameras.

Mr. Speaker, the point of this special order history on the historical development of the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting is to emphasize that there was strong sentiment on the Rules Committee in both the 95th and 96th Congresses for a permanent, bipartisan advisory body on broadcasting to assist the Speaker. It was not considered either politically or practically appropriate that the broadcast operation be run out of the Speaker's office. The Speaker would still retain ultimate control over the system, but would rely heavily on his advisory group to oversee the operation of the system, handle complaints, and establish rules and procedures for the system's management.

As I have already indicated, even the 3 to 1, Democrat to Republican group has not been in existence for the last two Congresses to assist the Speaker—only its former chairman, Representative Rose, has remained on the job as an adviser to the Speaker on the broadcast system. When the Speaker

instituted his new TV panning policy of the Chamber during special orders on May 10, he did not consult with the nonexistent bipartisan advisory committee. He did not even ask the advice of its one remaining adviser. As the Speaker informed the House during his 1-minute speech on May 14, and I quote:

Three o'clock on that afternoon, I notified Charlie Rose; nothing in the rules says that I have to notify you. Courtesy probably said that I should have . . .

The Speaker went on to indicate that he had no idea who was up first for special order that day, but he instructed Representative Rose that, "Starting today, we are going to show . . . the full, wide screen" during special orders.

The Speaker also informed the House that he "had already talked with my members and I had planned on my side to have an ad hoc committee to look into what has been going on and to look into changing the rules." When the republican leader then asked whether the minority would be represented on that group, the Speaker replied: "Well, we are the majority; it is our responsibility to see that this House is run in a fair and adequate manner and that is what we try to do . . . I am sure if you want to appoint a committee of your members to look into it . . ."

On the following day, the Speaker wrote a more conciliatory letter to the Republican leader in which he said, "I will be happy to consult with you in the future." He made reference to the Democratic Caucus Committee which was "reviewing our rules regarding the televising of floor proceedings." And his letter went on:

Normally, I rely on the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting to provide me with recommendations regarding the House broadcasting. This is a bipartisan committee. However, the Republican seat has been vacant since David Stockman resigned from Congress. You may want to fill that vacancy now.

Mr. Speaker, as the correspondence attached to this special order will show, the Speaker refused to appoint the Republican nominee submitted by our leader to replace Mr. Stockman at the beginning of the 97th Congress, so such bipartisan consultation and advice could not have been available to the Speaker, even if he had asked for it from his defunct advisory committee.

On May 16, Representative MICHEL responded to the Speaker's letter of the previous day in part as follows:

I would also like to express our desire to have representation on any House body that will be charged with considering or actually making further changes in the broadcast system. The other day on the Floor, you seemed to be saying that an ad hoc committee made up exclusively of Democratic members would be formed to look into broadcast coverage issues. Minority members should be equally represented in any such deliberation.

Mr. Speaker, I think the history of the House broadcast rule clearly shows that such bipartisan participation in the operation of the broadcast system was intended from the outset. The lack of such minority party participation due to the termination of the bipartisan advisory committee is what led to the outbreak of partisan furor when the Speaker made his unilateral decision to pan the Chamber only during special orders. I hope we will get back to basics and the original intent of the Rules Committee in restoring bipartisan cooperation in the operation of this system. I continue to believe that the Rules Committee has a legitimate role to play in this restoration process as well.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include the exchange of correspondence on the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, May 18, 1984.

HON. TRENT LOTT,

House of Representatives, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR TRENT: Per our conversation regarding the appointment to the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, I am attaching my March 5, 1981 correspondence to Mr. Michel requesting that Bill Thomas be appointed to this Advisory Committee. Also attached are Mr. Michel's letters to Mr. Thomas and the Speaker.

I assumed that this appointment had been made until my House Administration Committee staff received an inquiry about six months later. My staff director called the Speaker's Office to see if Mr. Thomas had been appointed and was informed that the Speaker had not made any appointments to the Advisory Committee. No one approached me in 1983 about an appointment to this board.

I hope this information is helpful. Please let me know should you require additional details.

Best regards,

BILL FRENZEL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON HOUSE ADMINISTRATION,

Washington, DC, March 5, 1981.

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL,

The Capitol
Washington, DC.

DEAR BOB: Per our recent conversation regarding the appointment to the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, I have talked with Bill Thomas about serving on this advisory board and he is willing to do so.

Your approval of Congressman William M. Thomas to this Advisory Committee will be appreciated.

Best regards,

BILL FRENZEL,

Ranking Minority Member,
Committee on House Administration.

MARCH 12, 1981.

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.,
Speaker of the House of Representatives, The Capitol, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I understand Rep. William Thomas has been suggested for appointment to the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, and I just wanted

to let you know I have no objection to his selection.

Sincerely,

ROBERT H. MICHEL
Republican Leader.

MARCH 12, 1981.
Hon. William M. Thomas,

House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: You recently had a conversation with our good friend Bill Frenzel about the possibility of your serving on the Speaker's Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, and he has advised me of your willingness to serve in this capacity.

I have notified the Speaker of my approval of this decision and hope you will find your service on this Committee worthwhile. Sincerely,

ROBERT H. MICHEL
Republican Leader.

BALTIC STATES FREEDOM DAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ANNUNZIO] is recognized for 5 minutes.

● Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, June 14 marks yet another anniversary of the Soviet occupation of the Baltic States. Forty-four years have passed since 1940 when Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were overrun by the Communists and, subsequently, forcibly annexed into the Soviet Union.

June 14, 1940 was just the sad beginning of years of systematic terror and massive deportation by the Communists. First, the intellectuals and politically active citizens were executed, and then, the peasants and others who desired only to live in peace. Tragically, thousands of people in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were uprooted from their native lands and driven savagely to Siberian labor camps where many more perished of starvation, disease, and exposure. The Soviets imposed harsh restrictions on religious practices, customs, and use of native languages on the remaining citizens. Although the Nazi invasion interrupted these "russification" efforts, when the Communists regained control in 1944, they reoccupied the Baltic States and the deportations continued. Another 445,000, or 10 percent of the entire Baltic population, were deported in 1948 and 1949.

Today, Baltic citizens are struggling within the Soviet Union for their right to freedom, justice, and self-determination. The Soviets are attempting to destroy the identity of these peoples with violence and force. They have ordered that Russian be taught in all kindergartens, day care centers, and secondary schools. Religious activities and beliefs are rigidly supervised. In the middle schools, military training is part of the required curriculum. Communist propaganda and threats are used to influence young people, and their activities are monitored and scrutinized for their "adherence to party objectives."

Although the Soviets have been brutal in their persecution of the people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Esto-

nia, they have been unable to crush the spirits of the proud people of these countries and their desire to live in freedom and human dignity. At this point in the RECORD, I would like to include an excerpt from an article appearing in the March-April 1984 Bulletin of the "Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations" which outlines the barbaric conduct of the Communists against the citizens of the Baltic States.

The article follows:

RUSSIFICATION OF THE BALTIC REPUBLICS
(By Kaja M. Kool, Rima V. Silenas, and Roberts Ineiss)

The topic of concern is the russification of the Baltic Republics, which were illegally incorporated into the Soviet Union during World War II. Throughout this discourse vagaries of the term "russification" will be explored. The main focus will deal with the present state of affairs and future implications in the Baltic Republics.

Russification can be considered a process within sovietization. Whereas sovietization of the ideal "soviet" man is the goal and encompasses all peoples within the Soviet Union, including Russians, russification aims to create Russians out of non-Russians and therefore deals only with independent and unique cultures within the Soviet Union. Sovietization is the production of a new culture using the Russian culture as a foundation. Russians suffer fewer consequences (such as the need to learn another language, etc.) because of this foundation. Other nations and/or cultures that have been incorporated into the Soviet Union are expected to conform to the Russian basis, the result being russification. In the Baltic Republics, russification is implemented through the following:

1. forced relocation of (Baltic) people away from their homelands
2. colonization by Russian immigrants
3. gradual elimination of (Baltic) tongues and all ethnic traditions
4. establishment of Russian as the official language in government employment and in place names
5. prohibition against artistic portrayals of ethnic themes
6. job discrimination against (Baltic)
7. reduced financing of (Baltic) schools
8. erosion of traditional mores and values

The essence, therefore, is forced unification under a Russian umbrella, with the ultimate goal being the "internationalization" of all Russian republics into a modern "soviet" nation. The fact that such a policy exists contradicts the general, official attitude in the Soviet Union that integration has already been completed amongst the republics.

That the regime fosters Russification seems to be an indication of its continued inability to reply on the loyalty of the non-Russian population of the USSR. The mass media have been promoting ideas and practices intended to lead to a transfer of loyalties from the local to a wider Soviet entity. Efforts to wean the Baltic societies away from their relative cultures and traditions and to inculcate "international" meltingpot values—often little more than vulgarized versions of Russian customs, or at least perceived as such by the Baltic population—have been continuous since 1940.

It should be noted that the Baltic Republics are not the only ones affected by this policy; the continuing and intensive russification drive includes all non-Russian republics in the European half of the Soviet Union. The latest wave of russification, begun in the late 1970's, appears to be an

effort designed both to elicit more support for the regime from the Russians and to cope with effects of a population explosion in Central Asia on the Soviet manpower pool."

Touching upon the continued need for a policy of russification, Yuri Andropov, Secretary General of the Communist Party, now deceased, in an address celebrating the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union in December 1982, called the rising national consciousness and self-assertion of "Soviet Multination Polity" a "negative phenomenon."

For the peoples of the Baltic Republics, cultural honor is at stake. Located as a buffer zone between the West and Russia, they are inundated by immigrants from the entire Soviet Union; at the same time they are exposed to a steady stream of Western influence through radio and television broadcasts and ties with relatives in the Western diaspora. Complete russification is not possible as long as native culture and language remain in a growing and competitive position. Yet Communist Party policies "undermine the institutional framework or infrastructure of native language and cultural maintenance and advancement." Ukrainian educator Mrs. Nadia Svitlychan, who left the USSR in the fall of 1978, explains that Soviet authorities imbued the different nations with an "artificial feeling of 'Soviet' patriotism, engendered the fascist myth of the exclusivity and superiority of all things Soviet, and ruthlessly dealt with any and all manifestations of national, i.e. non-Russian, patriotism." August Voss, the First Secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, explains the "need to inculcate in a Latvian the notion that he is not only a Latvian but, first and foremost, a Soviet man, a Soviet patriot, a Soviet internationalist." As a consequence, the Soviet system openly maintains the attitude that there is no neutral media or organization within the Soviet Union. Accordingly, all agencies, from the Party down to the factory and neighborhood, focus a large part of their efforts and activities on political education.

Political socialization appears to be the main means of building the support necessary to stabilize and preserve the socio-economic system. For any nation this includes the transmission of a value system and attitudes. In comparison to the United States, which socializes its youth through childhood and adolescence under the assumption that this is sufficient, the Soviet socialization process continues throughout the entire lifetime. Whereas in the United States a sum of parts, i.e. different cultures, creates the whole fabric of American society, the Soviet system is based upon the assumption that the Soviet culture is homogenous. The Soviet citizen is socialized through an ordered sequence of learning processes, versus the extensive but far more casual information flow in the United States. As a consequence, any problems concerning the nationality issues in the Soviet Union have been officially toned down and "pigeonholed under the label of hooliganism up to the present. It seems to be that within the republics, "the dissent of Soviet citizens leads to repression, which in turn leads to further dissent, in a vicious circle." Yet an underground survives and is a main source of our information regarding the inside story.

The proud people of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are continually being denied personal freedoms, and I was glad to add my name as a cosponsor to House Concurrent Resolution 192, a bill calling for the U.N. Human



NEWS

from the RADIO-TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS ASSOCIATION

1735 DeSales Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 737-8657

Tim Evans
A. Lindorfer

For Immediate Release
March 5, 1985

Contact: Ernie Schultz/
Robert Vaughn

RULES CHANGES KEY TO OPENING SENATE TO ELECTRONIC COVERAGE, BYRD TELLS RTNDA BOARD

The greatest obstacles to permitting radio and television coverage of Senate debates are the intricate rules which govern Senate proceedings, Senate Minority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-WV) told the Radio-Television News Directors Association (RTNDA) Board of Directors at a meeting March 2.

Byrd met with the RTNDA directors to discuss Senate Resolution 2, which Byrd has introduced, proposing several important rules changes which would allow TV and radio broadcast of Senate proceedings.

Byrd pointed out it is essential that Senate rules protect the interests of the minority; any electronic coverage of Senate proceedings must be consistent with that need.

A number of provisions of the resolution are designed to speed up the business of the Senate, while at the same time preserving the rights of the minority members. He told the RTNDA board members he believes the rules changes he has proposed will remove the last real objections to cameras and

-more-

Byrd Tells RTNDA Board
March 5, 1985
Page 2

microphones in the Senate and at last permit "the American people to see and hear the Senate debate the great issues of our time."

"The informing function is as important as its legislative function," Byrd said, quoting Woodrow Wilson. "The Senate is an unknown institution to much of the country. If we don't accept TV and radio coverage of the Senate proceedings, we'll continue to be unable to match the White House -- or hold our own with the House of Representatives in terms of media coverage."

RTNDA praised Byrd for his efforts and promised to support those proposals. In January, RTNDA President Lou Adler had urged members of the Senate to move quickly to implement Senate Resolution 2 and "to end the long and regrettable blackout of what happens in the U. S. Senate."

It was agreed that further meetings would be held among Byrd, his staff and RTNDA's officers and staff to plan ways to secure approval of the resolution.

RTNDA had supported efforts in the last Senate to approve a measure proposed by then Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker (R-TN) to admit cameras and microphones, a proposal which failed in the final days of the session.

JUNE, 1985

SENATE TV

ITEMS OF PERTINENT INTEREST ON ISSUE

RESOLUTIONS INTRODUCED

SENATOR ARMSTRONG - S-RES 81 - (Same as Baker's resolution last session.
Gavel-to-Gavel coverage)

SPONSORS OF ARMSTRONG (16)

ANDREWS (R-ND)
COCHRAN (R-MISS)
COHEN (R-ME)
DECONCINI (D-AZ)

G

GORTON (R-WA)
HEINZ (R-PA)
KASTEN (R-WI)
MCCLURE (R-ID)
MELCHER (D-MT)
PACKWOOD (R-OR)
REIGLE (D-MI)

ROTH (R-DE)
SPECTER (R-PA)
STEVENS (R-AK)
THURMOND (R-SC)
WILSON (R-CA)

SIMON (D-ILL)

3 DEMS --- 13 REPS

SENATOR BYRD'S RES. 2

(Calls for selected coverage to be decided by
the majority and minority leader)

SPONSORS OF BYRD

*GORE (D-TN) & GRAMM (R-TX) SPONSOR
BYRD.*

According to Byrd's office, he has no sponsors at this time and will
not seek any until he has made an appearance before the Senate Rules
Committee.

HEARING: Byrd has written Mathias requesting a hearing by the Senate
Rules Committee on his resolution. To date, no time has
been scheduled but according to committee spokesmen, it is
hoped the committee can address this issue before the Senate
goes on August recess

Rankings by Cable Households

State	C-SPAN Subscribers	State Subscribers	Cable Household Penetration	Total TV Households	TV Household Penetration
1. Rhode Island	143,504	151,452	94.8%	350,380	41.0%
2. Arizona	360,071	408,718	88.1%	1,121,670	32.1%
3. Alaska	51,946	63,508	81.8%	170,000	30.6%
4. Maryland	299,637	405,929	73.8%	1,529,330	19.6%
5. New Jersey	953,683	1,345,212	70.9%	2,664,020	35.8%
6. Michigan	847,674	1,202,604	70.5%	3,211,000	26.4%
7. New York	1,689,620	2,421,022	69.8%	6,443,940	26.2%
8. Colorado	306,499	443,870	69.1%	1,220,170	25.1%
9. Nebraska	193,802	282,317	68.6%	591,850	32.7%
10. New Hampshire	118,657	178,913	66.3%	347,670	34.1%
11. Connecticut	477,750	725,408	65.9%	1,123,700	42.5%
12. Wisconsin	380,145	585,003	65.0%	1,733,930	21.9%
13. Massachusetts	679,261	1,054,012	64.4%	2,101,540	32.3%
14. Missouri	414,563	645,554	64.2%	1,826,500	22.7%
15. California	2,439,739	3,820,238	63.9%	9,339,900	26.1%
16. Montana	95,800	150,924	63.5%	305,750	31.3%
17. Oklahoma	357,611	568,549	62.9%	1,252,390	28.6%
18. Oregon	284,704	464,667	61.3%	1,014,200	28.1%
19. Texas	1,544,723	2,535,379	60.9%	5,647,390	27.4%
20. Virginia	484,058	803,044	60.3%	1,970,300	24.6%
21. Louisiana	462,558	782,929	59.1%	1,573,050	29.4%
22. Iowa	270,784	460,628	58.8%	1,101,750	24.6%
23. Florida	1,254,165	2,156,130	58.2%	4,246,740	29.5%
24. Illinois	833,005	1,434,866	58.1%	4,188,750	19.9%
25. Indiana	459,855	786,209	58.1%	1,941,560	23.7%
26. Minnesota	236,496	407,088	58.1%	1,500,782	15.8%
27. Washington	473,391	821,483	57.6%	1,642,450	28.8%
28. Utah	69,897	121,921	57.3%	506,250	13.8%
29. Alabama	343,702	604,742	56.8%	1,416,740	24.3%
30. Kansas	264,464	472,211	56.0%	920,830	28.7%
31. North Carolina	512,073	921,644	55.6%	2,192,660	23.4%
32. Ohio	1,041,910	1,877,338	55.5%	3,974,690	26.2%
33. South Carolina	243,094	439,169	55.4%	1,141,160	21.3%
34. Vermont	43,785	80,181	54.6%	189,750	23.1%
35. Hawaii	155,000	292,512	53.0%	323,720	47.9%
36. Nevada	68,081	130,023	52.4%	362,210	18.8%
37. South Dakota	54,531	105,085	51.9%	257,380	21.2%
38. New Mexico	115,724	223,847	51.7%	490,640	23.6%
39. Tennessee	358,326	703,364	50.9%	1,680,310	21.3%
40. Kentucky	314,052	622,391	50.5%	1,336,320	23.5%
41. Georgia	435,399	979,905	44.4%	2,014,800	21.6%
42. North Dakota	52,118	117,775	44.3%	244,830	21.3%
43. Idaho	72,007	163,655	44.0%	345,140	20.9%
44. Wyoming	56,412	131,842	43.8%	191,520	29.5%
45. Pennsylvania	848,503	2,260,455	37.5%	4,351,740	19.5%
46. Maine	64,662	197,758	32.7%	419,800	15.4%
47. Mississippi	108,790	379,814	28.6%	865,830	12.6%
48. Arkansas	90,260	376,308	24.0%	828,970	10.9%
49. Delaware	33,473	146,498	22.8%	214,530	15.6%
50. West Virginia	76,318	402,845	18.9%	706,720	10.8%
Dist. of Columbia	★	—	—	239,670	—
TOTAL	21,533,282	36,856,939	58.4%	85,376,760	25.2%

C-SPAN AMERICA
NETWORK

7/30/85

* Several thousand people in the District of Columbia are able to see C-SPAN programming through microwave transmission, SMATV and home dishes.



SUITE 155
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202/737-3220

Rankings by C-SPAN Households

State	C-SPAN Subscribers	State Subscribers	Cable Household Penetration	Total TV Households	TV Household Penetration
1. California	2,439,739	3,820,238	63.9%	9,339,900	26.1%
2. New York	1,689,620	2,421,022	69.8%	6,443,940	26.2%
3. Texas	1,544,723	2,535,379	60.9%	5,647,390	27.4%
4. Florida	1,254,165	2,156,130	58.2%	4,246,740	29.5%
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9. Illinois	833,005	1,434,866	58.1%	4,188,750	19.9%
10. Massachusetts	679,261	1,054,012	64.4%	2,101,540	32.3%
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12. Virginia	484,058	803,044	60.3%	1,970,300	24.6%
13. Connecticut	477,750	725,408	65.9%	1,123,700	42.5%
14. Washington	473,391	821,483	57.6%	1,642,450	28.8%
15. Louisiana	462,558	782,929	59.1%	1,573,050	29.4%
16. Indiana	459,855	786,209	58.1%	1,941,560	23.7%
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C-SPAN AMERICA'S
NETWORK

7/30/85

the first time in postwar Poland. Negotiations on a separate statute specifically governing the church-affiliated agricultural foundation are nearing conclusion.

The Polish church in conjunction with the administration and Chairman Percy have conceived a plan to channel Western assistance to Polish agriculture. Such assistance will strengthen this industry, increase food supplies, and enhance the church's role in the countryside.

Today, private farms occupy about 75 percent of Poland's farmland. Most of the remainder consists of government-owned farms with collective farms occupying 1 percent. Crops account for nearly three-fifths of the value of Poland's agricultural production, and livestock accounts for about two-fifths.

Polish and German agricultural specialists have identified 10 key sectors of Polish agriculture which would benefit from Western assistance. In the July issue of *Polonian*, it is mentioned that Upper Silesia, 1 of 7 land regions in Poland, is an "ecological wasteland."

This particular region has rich farmland and is also the most highly industrialized region in Poland. Its smokestacks emit one-third of the gases and one-fourth of the soot polluting the country's atmosphere. This pollution has caused widespread respiratory and other diseases and only half of the region's farmland can produce food fit for human consumption. Also, butter, meat, sugar, chocolates, and cereal are being rationed.

The pilot project will channel \$28 million into a modest test project in each of the identified key sectors. The U.S. contribution to this endeavor will be \$10 million as announced by the President last month. Other contributors have not been formally announced but it is the understanding of the administration that another \$8,200,000 has been pledged with \$200,000 of that figure donated by Lech Walesa from his Nobel Peace Prize money.

That's quite a sacrifice from one individual, Mr. President, and an affirmation of the necessity of this program as well as a commitment to its success. We, as a country, are committed to the Solidarity movement; let us now make a small sacrifice in helping to insure its success.

TV AND RADIO COVERAGE OF SENATE PROCEEDINGS

Mr. CHILES. Mr. President, I am voting against the cloture motion on Senate Resolution 66 to provide for TV and radio coverage of Senate proceedings. In doing so I am not registering opposition to the concept of televising the Senate. I support the idea of Senate broadcasts. As a Senator identified with the sunshine law and open committee meetings, I commend any

effort to make the processes of Government more accessible to the public.

My concern rather is whether we are giving adequate consideration to this resolution; whether we have fully explored its implications and whether we have sufficiently addressed the problems that will certainly result. Make no mistake, passage of the resolution will have far-reaching effects on the operation and indeed the character of the U.S. Senate. It would well revolutionize the manner in which we conduct our business and perhaps even the nature of the issues that come to the Senate floor. There may well be important benefits for the general public. There may also be serious consequences for the legislative process and the ability of the Senate to conduct its business.

Consequently, this is not a matter to be dealt with in the hectic, closing days of Congress. This is not a pressing or urgent matter but it is important. And its importance warrants a full debate and a full consideration of all options. In the climate of the end of a Congress that is not likely.

I feel we should be considering the option of televising only debates on the more significant legislation the Senate addresses. I question whether gavel-to-gavel coverage will represent a real contribution to the edification of the public. Much of the significant business of the Senate does not take place on the Senate floor. When the Senate is engaged in a full scale debate on a bill or issue of national importance, the public would have a valuable insight into how its business is being conducted. That claim cannot be made for the day in, day out actions of the Senate.

In providing for gavel-to-gavel coverage we may be opening the door to an unneeded and detrimental politicization of the Senate floor. Obviously, politics is part of what we do but the Senate would be ill-served if the floor of the Senate becomes an annex of the recording studio. I do not believe there has been sufficient thought given to how we safeguard against the political misuse of television coverage.

In like manner, I am concerned whether the rights of the minority will be fully protected under the resolution. Televising the proceeding could have drastic impact on operations of the Senate; operations which are controlled by the majority. Control of the floor and of legislative scheduling will take on a whole new importance. The impact on the minority and how the minority is protected must be fully aired and resolved.

Mr. President, I hope the Senate will not act precipitously on this measure. As Senators we have an obligation to the Senate as an institution. It is a unique legislative body. It changes and improves but in its traditions are the seeds of its greatness. The essential adjective for the Senate is "deliberative" and if we enact changes that may fundamentally alter the Senate it

must be done with all due deliberation. Thus, I cannot support this motion.

ELECTION YEAR DEBATES JUST STARTED

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. President, the Presidential campaign swirls around the country, with media coverage of statements involving religion, patriotism, national defense, foreign affairs, deficits, and taxes.

Yet to emerge in the Presidential debates are the basic questions of the disastrous conditions of the U.S. industries that depend upon production from the earth. The President may have fired the initial popgun by announcing Tuesday an obscure procedure of negotiations on imported steel and turning loose long-pent-up Farmers Home Administration farm loans. Hardly anything but election year tactics.

Agriculture, forest products, minerals and energy all come from the earth, and all of these industries are on the brink of economic disaster.

When a candidate in 1980, the classic campaign question of Ronald Reagan was: "Are you better off now than you were 4 years ago?"

That same question should be asked now of those who toil the earth, those that mine or drill the earth, or those that harvest the trees that grow from the earth's forest lands.

For agriculture: Farmers, ranchers, agribusiness, and Main Street;

For minerals: miners, smelter workers, mill workers;

For forest products: Loggers and sawmill workers;

For energy: Oil and gas producers, roughnecks.

Their answer is: "No, no, no, and no."

Agricultural prices are at their lowest level, in relationship to the cost of production, since the dark days of the Great Depression in the 1930's. While it is hard to imagine that farm prices could go lower, there is no question that costs keep rising and more producers go out of business every month.

In the case of minerals, the lower prices have meant closing mines, smelters, and mills.

In the case of copper, the real question is whether any domestic producer will be left in business after this year.

With the forest products industry, prices for dimensional lumber are off 40 percent, and with the further sagging of home construction, there is the prospect of a bleak winter at best—and at the worst, the permanent closure of a significant number of sawmills.

Energy is faring only slightly better, with a very low percentage of rigs drilling wells, and the number of available jobs cut by one-third. The country follows a pied-piper energy policy, in that a higher percentage of oil and gas consumed in the United States is imported; and in the case of natural

gas, the decrease in drilling is like a lighted fuse on a stick of dynamite. So sharp is the decrease in drilling for natural gas that a shortage in 5 years is certain, followed by escalating costs to consumers.

With all of these basic industries, high interest rates and escalating costs during the past 4 years have brought producers to their knees.

Sure, there has been a lower rate of inflation during the past year. We thoroughly understand that. But a great part of that decrease in inflation has come out of the hides of basic commodity and mineral producers as prices for their products have declined. Yet their costs of production have gone up even as the price for their products has gone down. They understand full well why there are lower inflation rates as their pocket-books and bank accounts have declined. Their debts have greatly increased.

In the case of each of these basic industries a floundering trade policy is a part of their demise. The strong dollar has worked to their disadvantage. Our exports are off. Our imports are up. Copper and steel import problems are fresh in the minds of the public. Lumber imports from Canada have captured about one-third of our soft wood market. Rarely discussed is that imported gas from Mexico, Canada, and Algeria receives a much higher price than the conditions allow for domestic producers.

The trade imbalance allowed by this administration has reached the staggering amount of \$120 billion more in merchandise and commodities imported than is sold abroad. And the balance of trade, including services which used to be the backstop for a merchandise and commodity imbalance, is now \$80 billion in the red. With an administration that has established a world-record national debt of \$1.6 trillion, the trade imbalance, while a staggering record itself, seems puny.

It should be noted that the debate on tax matters has left these producing people out. It's simple. No profit—no income tax. No job—no pay check—no income tax. No business—no tax.

For Main Street and the agriculture, mining, and forest towns of America, in all the 50 States, the serious economic collapse of an adequate price for producers to cover costs has meant creeping stagnation and closures of small businesses.

The question for all of these producers and their suppliers is survival. Numbering in the tens of millions, their economic recovery is in jeopardy. Consequently, the heralded economic recovery is spotty and very uneven throughout the country. Without recovery in these basic industries, there is truly no chance of a sound recovery in the United States, despite the ever-increasing amounts of deficit defense spending by this administration or, for that matter, the next administration.

So, on with the debate in this Presidential election campaign.

If farmers and ranchers like it the way it is, then they can cast their votes again for Ronald Reagan for President.

If miners, smelter, and mill workers like it the way it is, then they can cast their votes again for Ronald Reagan for President.

If loggers, sawmill workers, and paper workers like it the way it is, then they can cast their votes for Ronald Reagan for President.

If oil and gas independent wildcaters and roughnecks like it the way it is, then they can cast their votes for Ronald Reagan for President.

But I believe that we can do much better for the basic American industries with trade policy, with monetary policy, and Federal Government policy. I believe that prompt changes can bring prompt reversals in the deepening pit of economic collapse for these industries, and that is absolutely essential for economic recovery in the United States.

To add true dimension to the opportunity for national debate on these critical matters during the weeks ahead, I have asked Walter Mondale to meet with myself and other Democratic Senators to discuss with us what appears to be the dominant issue of 1984: Saving these industries from further collapse and to assure their survival.

President Reagan has either not understood their importance or lacks the necessary leadership to change this course of decline. We deserve better. I am certain that we can do better and that the entire spectrum of the American people will benefit when we do better for these basic industries.

In food aid alone, although we have staggering amounts of Government-owned surplus food in Federal warehouses, this administration failed, faltered, and fumbled in not using them wisely and prudently as U.S. policy for the hungry and malnourished at home and abroad.

Surely ordinary horse sense can become part of the Presidential campaign debates as these issues for the American voters to consider before they cast their votes on November 6.

TV COVERAGE OF SENATE PROCEEDINGS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, for the past couple of weeks—as well as 2 years ago, when the issue first came up—I have listened to or read most of the debate on TV coverage of Senate floor proceedings.

I am aware of the advantages and the possible problems and pitfalls of such coverage.

And I believe I understand the complexities—and appreciate the perplexities—of the issue.

But from the very beginning, there has never been any question in my mind:

Senate proceedings should be open to television coverage.

I believe in the people's right to know what is going on in their Government.

More than that, I believe it is the people's responsibility to know what is going on in their Government.

And I believe it is the duty of Government officials to tell them.

More than that, I believe that the people should, where possible, be allowed to see for themselves.

There's altogether too much mystique, too much of a mystery made about government.

Democratic government is not an exclusive, arcane rite to be kept accessible only to a select few.

It is an open proceeding, with decisions openly arrived at, to be participated in and witnessed by as many people as is practically possible—and still get the job done.

I repeat: I believe there should be TV coverage of the Senate.

But—and no one regrets more deeply than I the necessity for me to utter that "but"—I am adamant that that coverage be fair coverage.

And under the pending proposal, Senators, especially those of us whom are presently—but not forever—in the minority, have no real assurance that coverage will be fair.

Indeed, the way the Senate has been operating of late, we have reason to fear that it won't be.

We have seen the development of new techniques to set up artificial parliamentary situations so as to thwart legitimate debate—techniques like the so-called blockade arrangement under which two majority Members, aided and abetted by the Chair, propose first and second degree amendments and then keep it pending without bringing it to a vote. This tactic effectively blocks consideration of any other amendments for hours—or days—unless the Republican handling the legislation is willing to grant unanimous consent to set aside the blockade amendment.

We have seen too many instances of the Presiding Officer ignoring a Senator on this side of the aisle who is standing and seeking recognition, and recognizing instead a Senator on the other side—in response to head and eye signals but in violation of Senate practice and tradition. This is a tradition so time-honored and essential to comity that it led former Vice President Nelson Rockefeller—in a gracious and historic gesture—to apologize to the then Senator from Alabama, the late James B. Allen, for failing to recognize him though Senator Allen had been on his feet seeking recognition.

To quote the Vice President directly:

Every Senator in this distinguished body has, at all times, the right to be heard and it is the responsibility of the Chair to see that that Senator or those Senators have that opportunity. . . .

I want to assure this body that as Presiding Officer I totally recognize the responsi-

bility, the need, and the essentiality of recognition of any senator, from any State, at any time.

We are all aware of the temptations to which the Chair ordinarily is subject to abuse the power of recognition, especially on highly controversial issues. We Democrats have not been blameless, when we've been the majority. That's without TV.

How much greater will be the temptation—and how much weaker will be the power to resist temptation—when recognition means the bestowal of prime time exposure. And when non-recognition—by one means or another—means no exposure at all.

Mr. President, 2 years ago the Senate rejected a similar proposal for TV and radio coverage.

In summarizing the arguments against the proposal, the Senate Republican Policy Committee—I want to stress that; the Senate Republican Policy Committee—said in part:

The proposed coverage might force the Senate to adopt rules on debate à la the House. In examining the House experience with television, we must remember that the House is preeminently a representative body. Accordingly, its rules have been designed to protect the majority, to insure majority rule. Further, owing to its size, it is a structured institution with limitations on debate. In contrast, the Senate abides by rules and customs which, reflecting its deliberative purpose, place a premium on fairness over efficiency. Indeed, they have the specific function of protecting the rights of a minority, even a minority of one. Yet television coverage would signal the end of the Senate tradition of free, unlimited discussion, as pressures mounted from within and without to constrict debate.

This proposal is objectionable because it turns over to a single committee the total authority to establish whatever rules and requirements of implementation it may deem necessary. The full Senate should have an opportunity to examine these rules.

Finally, too many pertinent questions as to the effect of this proposal remain unanswered. Will the rules for recognition of individual Senators have to be revised to allow a more organized and predictable sequence of speakers? In order to establish legislative history, which will take precedence: the written record, where Senators are permitted to revise their remarks and insert material, or the video recording of what actually transpired? Will the free flow and occasional chaos of rollcall voting have to be replaced by electronic voting, as in the House? Will we have to replace the use of frequent quorum calls with a far more structured order of business in order to accommodate the demands of public television?

In short, this is not simply a matter of extending the public gallery. The rules, customs, and traditions of the Senate will be affected, perhaps profoundly and irrevocably damaged.

Mr. President, 2 years have gone by and those questions and concerns still have not been addressed.

Until they are—until the Senate majority and minority agree on procedures that will guarantee fair play to all and that will enhance rather than demean this great body—I cannot vote for the pending proposal. And for those reasons, I will not support cloture, for cloture would stifle debate,

and could lead to a premature decision that could deprive the present minority Democrats of their rights today and could deprive the future minority Republicans of their rights tomorrow.

TELEVISION IN THE SENATE

Mr. MATTINGLY. Mr. President, as with many issues we face in the U.S. Senate, the question of whether to allow television cameras in this Chamber is not one where the arguments are all on one side. There are legitimate points to be made in favor of allowing the cameras in to broadcast all our deliberations.

If you view the issue narrowly, the arguments in favor of the cameras are persuasive. I have always supported openness in government including letting the public and press in to cover meetings at the State level that had always been closed.

I also want to make it clear that I am not irrevocably opposed to any and all broadcast coverage of the U.S. Senate. I am opposed to Senate Resolution 66, which would authorize gavel to gavel coverage without addressing the almost certain rules changes that would be forced by such coverage.

There is more at stake here than simply allowing television coverage of Senate debates. For the decision we make on this issue could force profound changes on the institution of the U.S. Senate.

I am not speaking here as a traditionalist who opposes all change, who believes the old way is always the best way. As many of my colleagues can testify, I am usually in the forefront of those demanding reform. For example, I recently testified before the panel headed by the Senator from Indiana that is studying the Senate committee system. We do need to make changes in the Senate. We must make changes that will allow this body to operate more efficiently and effectively. But they need to be changes that have been carefully studied for all their possible ramifications.

It is my strong feeling and belief that if we simply open up the galleries to television cameras for gavel to gavel coverage, many profound changes will be forced in the way this 200-year-old institution operates. I confess to you that I do not claim to know what all these changes will be. No one can predict with any certainty. What is disturbing, however, is that the proponents of this resolution do not seem to be concerned about it. They want to force this one change and then let the shock waves of that decision rumble through the system forcing adjustments willy-nilly.

Now there are many reforms that are needed in the Senate. They are the reforms that will help us efficiently govern this country. We need to consider all of these questions and proposals as an overall restructuring of the Senate. We should not pull out one idea and try to institute it without

careful consideration of all of its possible ramifications. We should know before hand, what Senate rules must be changed to accommodate this new development. I do not see how the current rules would long survive gavel-to-gavel television coverage.

At times, the debate over this issue is trivialized, as if the opponents were simply afraid of television or were seeking to keep something from the public. There are no secrets here. The Senate does not suffer from a lack of press and media coverage. We are not holding secret meetings here. Reporters from all over the world attend our sessions. They are free to write or broadcast any information they learn or any opinion they form from watching our deliberations.

I do not think the public suffers greatly from a lack of information about the happenings in this Chamber.

There is no doubt the television reports on our actions would be more lively if the reporters could use video tape of the actual speeches. There might be a few people who would pay more attention to that part of the news.

But I do not believe there is any great popular outcry over the lack of television coverage.

So, what is driving us to make this decision immediately? First of all, the House of Representatives has allowed the cameras in and although the situation there is very much different than what we would face on this side, changes have resulted.

One of the biggest changes is the access to the national networks this has given the Members of the House. It is natural that the reporters and editors focus more on the activities over there than they did in pretelevision days. Having to choose between a reporter reading Senate quotes and tape of the actual House debate and speeches, I would put the House on the evening news myself. I have my doubts that it produces better Government, but it certainly produces better television.

More recently, there was a new development. The House proceedings are broadcast on cable television by C-SPAN. A group of energetic young Republicans led by my good friend and colleague from Georgia NEWT GINGRICH began to make speeches geared toward educating the viewing public on issues that were not being addressed by the House of Representatives leadership. It wasn't too long before the Speaker and the rest of the leadership had to react. As the saying goes, "A hit dog will holler."

All of this received great publicity in the media. Also Members of the Senate began to notice that the access to television was slowly changing the status of some Members of the House. Until television went into the House Chamber, the average Congressman was fairly unknown outside of his dis-

strict. Now as the television stations back home tape speeches off C-SPAN for use on local news, Congressmen are becoming much better known throughout their States. A few have become regular features of the network newscasts and were developing national reputations.

Now this may come as a shock to some of those watching these proceedings from the galleries. But all Senators have egos. There are few of us who believe in hiding our light under a bushel. When we introduce a bill or take a stand on an issue, we do what we can to get the word out to the public. That includes the use of television. There are few things a politician enjoys more than getting on television.

The Members of the Senate have been carefully watching the rapidly developing situation in the House. They have watched nervously as the new stars of Congress have been born. This is especially true of Senators who might harbor an ambition to be on the national ticket of one of the Presidential parties. No one can say for certain, but there might be one or two Senators who have such ambitions. Even those without Presidential dreams have concerns. After all, those suddenly very visible Congressmen and women might be contemplating a race for the Senate.

What the increased coverage from the House has launched is a type of "Star Wars." We hear that term referring to space weaponry. But it also applies here. Some of my colleagues are alarmed that the Senate is being left behind in the "Star Wars" race. Resolution 66 could be called the Senate defense bill. We've fallen behind in the media war and need to counter the House's new weapon.

That is one of the hidden movers behind this proposal. I do not mean to suggest this is the motivation of the prime sponsors. After all, no one has backed this idea more than the majority leader. I know how deeply and sincerely he believes television coverage will be a good thing for the Senate and for the country. As the majority leader is leaving the Senate at the end of the year, he will not be able to participate in the televised debates.

Let me add, that I will greatly miss the gentleman from Tennessee. We will have to get along without him next year and that will not be easy in the best of circumstances. If this resolution passes, we will truly need his wisdom, patience, and leadership. If Resolution 66 passes, I may organize a write-in campaign down in Tennessee to force the majority leader to return to the Senate for another 6 years.

As I said in the beginning, there is a legitimate open Government argument for letting television into this Chamber. But there are other factors at work here too and they should be brought out into the light of day.

There are no votes to be won by voting against this resolution. There

are no constituents that will be made happy by voting no on television. I doubt there will be many made unhappy by a no vote either. But there will be some. And they will surely hear about it, for voting no to television will not be popular with some of our friends in the media galleries who have a special interest in this resolution.

So, why go against the stream? Why oppose this resolution?

There is something called the law of unintentional consequences. That might be best expressed as, "today's solution can become tomorrow's problem." Congress provides regular illustrations of the law of unintentional consequences, but let's look at Senate Resolution 66.

I believe gavel-to-gavel coverage of the U.S. Senate will mean the end of the tradition of unlimited debate. There is no way unlimited debate can be allowed once television cameras are in this Chamber.

Now perhaps, you want to do away with unlimited debate. There are arguments that can be made in favor of that change. I would be interested in hearing them and reading studies on what this would mean to the process.

What I cannot understand is the backhanded, thoughtless way we could be ending something that began with our Founding Fathers. Unlimited debate is one of the crucial differences between the House and the Senate.

Although some argument can be made over how well the House has adjusted to television coverage, I think it has been fairly successful. But the House is not the Senate. There is the critical difference over control of access to the floor.

Some of my colleagues who have served in the House can speak to this better than I. But my understanding is the Members of the House have 1 minute each morning that they can each take, if desired, to discuss whatever issue happens to be on their mind. One minute. That's all. After that, it is the leadership and the managers of legislation who control the floor. When they are debating legislation, the floor manager of a bill might yield 5 minutes or 10 minutes to the Members desiring to speak on the bill. The speeches we have heard so much about in the House are special orders which come at the end of the legislative day.

Could not the Senate do this? Yes, we could. But only if we had iron control over the access to the floor. Currently, if a Member is speaking on a bill and he gets warmed up on the subject, he can go on for quite some time. As long as there is no time agreement on legislation, there is no control on the length of a speech by a Senator. If a Senator wants to speak on a bill, he or she can. This is as it should be.

What would happen if Resolution 66 were passed?

There would have to be a time agreement on every major bill or we would

be forever getting to a vote. Right now, if a Member wants to put his views on record he does not have to read every speech on the floor. The speech can be placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Many of us wanted to say something on the historic occasion of the confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Sandra O'Connor. There were no negative votes that I can remember. Yet, it took the better part of a day to get to that vote because of all the speeches that had to be made. That was under our current rules. With Resolution 66, we might still be trying to get to a vote on her nomination.

Why is that? It is often overlooked in discussing television in the Senate that we are not just talking about the availability of the Senate action going to just the national networks and C-Span. Local television stations will also be regular users. Some, of course, have bureaus here in Washington. But that isn't necessary in order for television stations to obtain tape of its two home State Senators.

These local stations will have access to the C-Span feed. The news departments will be able to tape their State's Senators' comments for use in that evening's newscast.

If you home State colleague goes to the floor to make a statement on the bill, this will be on the television stations back home. The people at home will wonder why their other Senator didn't speak on the issue.

How can you control this problem? It would place an intolerable burden on the majority and minority leaders. They have to move legislation forward as best they can. It is an extremely difficult task coordinating the activities of 100 individuals. I am in my first term in the Senate and I have not served with any leadership other than our current majority and minority leaders. But it is hard to imagine how we could be blessed with any more knowledgeable and accomplished than the gentleman from Tennessee and the gentleman from West Virginia. To my friend from Tennessee, let me say that I think he has performed miracles in the last 4 years. I deeply regret having to oppose him on an issue he feels so strongly about. But I do not believe a majority leader, even one so accomplished as our current leader, could keep the agenda moving forward with a rules change that I am positive will result in far more speech making on the floor of the Senate. We move at a snail's pace now. But if this resolution passes, we may view this as the last of the real action days in the upper Chamber.

Now this problem will go far beyond speeches on the substantive issues being debated and voted on in this body. Resolution 66 will be the greatest boon to press secretaries since the invention of the press release. Most Senators, if not all, want to get on television and their press secretaries

work to make this possible. We make video tapes and send them to stations and now we even have the ability to beam our message back home by satellite.

With Resolution 66, we could cut out the middle man. With gavel-to-gavel coverage of the Senate floor, anything a Senator wanted to get to his television stations at home, he could say on the Senate floor. This is in addition to whatever live viewers would be watching the coverage on C-Span. They would be a bonus. The real prize would be the pick ups made by stations from the cable broadcasts from the Senate floor.

If your press secretary hasn't thought of this yet, he will. And although we might all deny it now, this technique will be used.

Let me give you an example. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD is replete with tributes to individuals and institutions. Anniversaries are recognized, achievements praised, and the dead are eulogized. But for the most part, this is done through inserts in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. We can even have the excerpt from the RECORD printed on parchment and suitable for framing. With Resolution 66, this type of activity will quickly find its way onto the floor of the Senate.

This is how it will happen. A college in your home State is celebrating its 100th anniversary. Your press secretary writes up a nice little speech recalling all the history and achievements of this fine institution of higher learning. He then calls the news directors at the television stations in the city where the college is located. The Senator, he tells them, will be paying tribute to the college on the floor of the Senate this afternoon.

Do you think the stations will use that tape? Of course, they will. After all, this speech has something that no tape made in our studio will have. It's not a canned little talk. This speech has the entire U.S. Senate as a backdrop. It makes for great television. You bet it will get used.

After this type of circumstance has gone on a few times, what do you think your home State colleague is going to do when he sees you on the television extolling the virtues of the 100-year-old college? He might be in the middle of figuring out where to put the MX missile. But I'll tell you what he is going to do. He's going to call in his press secretary and tell him to work up a good 10-minute speech on that college. Maybe I'm wrong. Maybe human nature isn't what I think it is. He might continue to do his real work and not worry about commemorating the college's anniversary. When the voters down there wonder about his silence and ask him, this statesman can explain that he had more important things to do. I am certain they will understand.

I predict that if Resolution 66 is passed and gavel-to-gavel coverage instituted, we will see many of the items

now just printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD read on the floor of the Senate. We will endure this onslaught of rhetoric until we are forced to change our rules and more tightly control access to the floor. To the future Senators who will have to draft these new rules, I would like to wish them good luck and express my sympathy. For how can you craft a rule to cut down on extraneous talk and speed up Senate action, without opening the door for future abuse. Anything you do in that line will eventually be used by a majority seeking to shut off or limit debate.

In addition, who will decide who gets to speak? The leaders? Will Members have to go hat in hand to their leader to get permission to speak on the floor? Who will decide who gets 10 minutes and who gets 5 minutes?

And, of course, there is a world of difference between speaking at 4 in the afternoon and 9 at night. On a normal day, 4 in the afternoon would be a good time. It would give the television correspondents time to edit a portion of that speech into a report scheduled for that night's newscast. But if the debate was hot enough, the networks might carry the debate live. The "plum" time would then be when the maximum television sets would be tuned in to watch.

In recent Presidential election years, we have witnessed the candidates for nomination holding debates throughout the country. If we pass Senate Resolution 66, Presidential candidates from the Senate will be able to save on travel time and expense money. They can conduct the Presidential debates here on the floor of the Senate. They not only can, they will.

The minute Senate Resolution 66 passes, it will become a major factor in the planning for the 1988 race for the White House. More than likely, we will have hot primary contests in both parties. How many Senators will be actively involved? No one can even begin to guess now. But it could easily be in double figures.

What will the Senate be able to accomplish if it has 10 or 12 members straining to get on network television everytime this body debates an issue?

I will grant the proponents of this resolution one point: Attendance during debates, at least in Presidential election years will increase, and there will be moments which will be exciting television.

But I am not certain this will result in good government.

If you think we have grandstanding now, and I certainly do, just wait until we have gavel-to-gavel television coverage in the Senate. You haven't seen anything yet.

Now there are those who say any Senator who becomes known as a showboater will suffer with the voters. As a rule, I doubt that would happen. I don't know of any House Members who have been defeated because of their antics in televised debates. The

minority leader in the House was troubled by his opponent using carefully selected pieces of House debate in negative advertising. The use of the debate tapes in political advertising is another problem area for the proponents of this resolution. Judging from what has happened in the House, unless a Senator became a complete buffoon, I would expect the political positives of television would outweigh the negatives. Let me just say, there are no doubt more ways to exploit television in the Senate than we can possibly can imagine here today. But if we pass this resolution, we will all be experts within a year.

I say let us try and head off some of these problems by devising rules changes and setting some parameters for broadcast coverage. I can't imagine any other piece of legislation that has the potential impact of Senate Resolution 66 that we would pass without first carefully working on the rules that will govern its use.

Each Senator who is considering voting for Senate Resolution 66 should ask himself: Are you for ending the Senate's long tradition of unlimited debate? For there is no way unlimited debate can coexist with gavel-to-gavel television coverage.

To those who say this is nothing more than opening the doors of the Senate to a larger public, I ask why stop at halfway measures? Why stop with just gavel-to-gavel coverage. Why don't we allow reporters here on the floor? They do at political conventions. We could have anchor booths set up on the galleries and when the speeches on the floor were boring they could interview other Senators on the floor or bring in the expert commentators. Why limit the poor souls to just the floor action.

When a Senator lost a bill by a 48-to-47 vote, a reporter would be there to stick a microphone in his face and ask what it feels like to blow a close one. We could bring our wives or husbands down to the galleries and they could be interviewed as well.

As long we are going to have a circus, let's have all three rings.

If television is such a wonderful thing, why don't we let it work its magic on the Senate as it has on our political conventions. The conventions are now organized for and geared to the television coverage. Unfortunately, something may have been lost in the process. It has become a stage show. A rather boring stage show. The television audience for convention coverage has diminished significantly in recent years.

Mr. President, we have many important issues awaiting action in this Senate. We do not have the time to settle all the questions that remain regarding Senate Resolution 66. Let us not rush in the waning moments of this Congress and live to regret our haste.



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Address 400 N. Capitol Street, N.W. Suite 155

City Washington, D.C.

State _____ Zip 20001

Phone 202-737-3220

*California residents add 6% sales tax. U.S. funds only.

June, 1985

SENATE TV

STATISTICAL DATA CONCLUSIONS

NUMBER OF SENATORS POLLED: 100

NUMBER OF SENATORS WHO HAVE INDICATED THEY WOULD SUPPORT TV IN THE SENATE IN SOME FORM:

62

NUMBER OF SENATORS WHO HAVE INDICATED THEY WOULD NOT SUPPORT TV IN THE SENATE IN ANY FORM:

18

NUMBER OF SENATORS WHO LEAN AGAINST TV BUT MIGHT SUPPORT IT IF CERTAIN CONDITIONS ARE MET, SUCH AS RETENTION OF THE DIGNITY OF THE SENATE, RULES CHANGES CONTEMPLATED ARE NOT RADICAL, AND THAT THE SENATE AS A DELIBERATIVE BODY NOT BE RADICALLY TAMPERED WITH.

15

NUMBER OF SENATORS WHO ARE DEFINITELY UNDECIDED ON THE ISSUE AND WILL TAKE A POSITION IF AND WHEN DEBATE BEGINS:

5

<u>PARTY BREAKDOWN</u>	<u>'82</u>	<u>DEMOCRATS</u>	<u>'82</u>	<u>REPUBLICANS</u>	<u>'82</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
FOR TV	12	17	28	28	40	45
LEANING FOR	7	12	7	5	14	17
AGAINST TV	9	9	3	9	12	18
LEANING AGAINST	5	8	0	7	5	15
UNDECIDED	13	1	16	4	29	5
					<u>100</u>	<u>100.</u>

In a 1982 survey, 54 Senators express a favorable attitude toward TV in the Senate. The 1985 survey suggest 62 Senators favor some form of TV, a positive gain of 8.

5-MORE DEMOCRATS SHOW IN YES COLUMN THAN DID IN 1982

The 1985 survey shows a definite reduction in the number of Senators who were undecided (29) down to 5, which translates into more of an awareness of the issue because of the House, growth of C-SPAN, Senator Baker's efforts last year, etc.

Note: The 62 "yes" indications suggest enough votes to cut off a filibuster. However, some Senators, although supporting TV, have misgivings about voting for cloture under most circumstances. (Cloture requires 3/5 those present & voting) $100 = 60$

House
SENATE TV - 1985

HISTORICAL DATA

- 1944 - Rep. Claude Pepper (D-FL) -formerly Senator - introduced resolution in Senate authorizing television and radio of Senate proceedings.
- 1961-2 - House Rules Committee members discuss broadcasting sessions informally. No action taken.
- 1965 - Issue is discussed during Senate Legislative Reorganization Act. Nothing affirmative is done. (Jt. Committee)
- 1969 - Issue is brought up in House Rules Committee as a serious matter during House Reorganization Act hearings and considerations. Rep. Bernie Sisk (D-CA) headed Rules Committee task force. Because TV issue was so controversial, it was dropped in fear it would jeopardize other issues. What came out of Reorganization Act on House side were rules governing coverage of committee hearings.
- 1973-4 - House considers allowing TV cameras in chamber to cover Nixon impeachment hearings had they occurred.
- 1974-5 - Joint Committee on Congressional Operations (Senator Metcalf (D-MT) and Rep. Jack Brooks (D-TX) share chairmanship. Committee recommends televising Congress. Resolutions introduced on both sides of Congress. Brooks Resolution goes to House Rules.
- 1975-6 Ad Hoc Sub Committee undertook comprehensive study of broadcasting. 1976 the sub committee recommened that broadcasting be undertaken by the House utilizing network pool. This resolution was not voted out because of opposition to concept.
- 1977 - With beginning of new Congress the new Speaker (O'Neill) asked Rep. Jack Brooks to undertake pilot test of broadcasting using surveillance cameras. After test completed Mr. Brooks recommended broadcasting be undertaken leaving to discretion of Speaker the system to be used. The system was be in House. H. Res. 821 is introduced in early October providing for broadcasting, leaving signal to Speaker's discretion. H. Res 821 was marked up in committee and a clean resolution is offered as substitute. That clean resolution is ordered reported by the Rules Committee and is numbered H. Res. 866, as a privileged resolution
- 1977 - October 27 House votes to permit broadcasting and televising House of Representatives. Task force makes recommendations 2/15/78



SUITE 155
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202 / 737-3220

August 23, 1985

Mr. Peter Prichard
USA Today
Deputy Editorial Page Editor
P.O. Box 500
Washington, D.C. 20044

Dear Peter:

This is to confirm our conversation of August 19 concerning Senate television.

At your suggestion, USA Today's September 17 editorial page will be devoted to Senate television. It's an especially significant day, because it is one day before the Senate Rules Committee holds hearings on the proposals. It's also the issue being covered in C-SPAN's day-long telecast from your newsroom.

At your request, C-SPAN will provide you with a column (750 words) that outlines our survey findings and what role C-SPAN would play in the transmissions from the Senate floor. If you'd like, we will also be happy to pass along any information we have on the intended committee witnesses, who may make interesting authors of the other viewpoints on your page. You may wish, however, to be in touch with John Swearingen who is working to assemble the witnesses. His number is 224-9078.

One senator who has expressed interested in writing such a piece is Tennessee Sen. Al Gore. His office telephoned us upon receipt of our survey to say that they were using the material in speeches and articles on Senate tv and that the senator was "extremely committed" to the concept.

Thank you in advance for your interest, Peter. I'll see you soon when we telecast from your newsroom.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Susan", followed by a long horizontal line.

Susan Swain
Director, Public Relations

C-SPAN / NEWS RELEASE

Suite 155
400 N. Capitol Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

Telephone: 202-737-3220

PRESS ADVISORY
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DECEMBER 2, 1982
CONTACT: MIKE MICHAELSON
737-3220

SENATE SURVEY POSITIVE ON TELEVISION SESSIONS; TELEVISION IN THE SENATE GETS POSITIVE RESPONSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.---A majority of the U.S. Senate is either in favor of or leaning in favor of televising Senate floor debate according to a survey just completed by C-SPAN, the Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network.

However, the same survey indicates 28 Senators have shifted their positions during the past year since C-SPAN previously queried lawmakers.

The total number of Senators reported firmly in favor stands at 40. Those leaning in favor fell from 17 to 14. (Senators favoring or leaning in favor are comprised of 35 Republicans and 19 Democrats for a total of 54). The biggest change from last year's survey was in the undecided column which now totals 29 up from 23. In the leaning against category, the figure remained at 5, all Democrats, and those firmly against dropped from 13 to 12.

Senators shifting positions from previous surveys from being against or leaning against to a favorable response were Senators Goldwater and Bumpers; those who were undecided and now showing a favorable position are Senators Biden, Denton, Gorton, Melcher, Metzenbaum and Nickles. Senators who were either undecided or leaning favorably toward televising and changed to a position of being against were Senators Bensten (supports radio), Dodd, Laxalt and Nunn; Senators who were leaning favorably but changed to undecided included Danforth, Dole, Durenberger, East, Exon, Hatfield and Mattingly; Senators previously against but now undecided are Glenn, Levin and Wallop.

Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker has recently announced his intentions of bringing the issue of televising the Senate to the Senate floor during the lame duck session.

Statistical Box Score of 1982 Survey

	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS	TOTAL
IN FAVOR	12	28	40
LEANING FOR	7	7	14
AGAINST	9	3	12
LEANING AGAINST	5	0	5
UNDECIDED	13	16	29
	46	54	100

1982

SENATE TV

POSITIONS OF NEW MEMBERS COMPARED TO RETIRED OR DEFEATED
FORMER MEMBERS OF THE SENATE

<u>NEW MEMBERS</u>	<u>POSITION</u>	<u>OLD MEMBERS</u>	<u>POSITION</u>
DANIEL EVANS (R-WA)	UNDECIDED	JACKSON (D-WA)	UNDECIDED
ALBERT GORE (D-TN)	YES	BAKER (R-TN)	YES
PHIL GRAMM (R-TX)	L-YES	TOWER (R-TX)	NO
TOM HARKIN (D-IA)	YES	JEPSON (R-IA)	YES
CHIC HECHT (R-NV)	NO	CANNON (D-NV)	L-NO
JOHN KERRY (D-MA)	YES	TSONGAS (D-MA)	YES
FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-NJ)	YES	BRADY (R-NJ)	UNDECIDED
MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY)	UNDECIDED	HUDDLESTON (D-KY)	NO
JOHN ROCKEFELLER (D-W.VA)	YES	RANDOLPH (D-W.VA)	L-NO
PAUL SIMON (D-IL)	YES	PERCY (R-IL)	YES

CHANGE

- (1) Rockefeller is a "yes" whereas Randolph leaned "no" and was an obvious stumbling block based on debate positions.
- (2) Because Senator Lautenberg had never been polled, he shows a change over former Republican Sen. Brady who was undecided.
- (3) Sen. McConnell of KY, although undecided and never polled before, shows a change from his opponent Huddleston who was opposed.

Voted in '77

1985 VOTE

SEN. ABDNOR (R-SID) HOUSE ('73-'81) LEANS YES.
SEN. GORE (D-TN) HOUSE ('77-'85) YES
SEN. HARKIN (D-IA) HOUSE ('77-'85) YES
SEN. SIMON (D-IL) HOUSE ('75-'85) YES
SEN. ANDREWS (R-ND) HOUSE ('63-'81) YES
SEN. TRIBLE (R-VA) HOUSE ('77-'83) YES
SEN. GRASSLEY (R-IA) HOUSE ('75-'81) LEANS NO
SEN. QUAYLE (R-IN) HOUSE ('77-'81) YES.

PERTINENT ITEMS CONTINUED/NEW MEMBERS OF SENATE/HOW THEY INDICATED

DANIEL EVANS (R-WA) -----UNDECIDED
ALBERT GORE (D-TN) ----- YES
PHIL GRAMM (R-TX) ----- YES
TOM HARKIN (D-IA) ----- YES
CHIC HECHT (R-NV) ----- NO
JOHN KERRY (D-MA) ----- YES

FRANK LAUTENBERG (D-NJ) ----- UNDECIDED
MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY) ----- UNDECIDED
JOHN ROCKEFELLER (D-WV) ----- YES
PAUL SIMON (D-ILL) ----- YES

TOTALS: 6-YES (5-DEMS, 1-REP.)

1-NO (1-REP.)

3-UNDECIDED (2-REP: 1-DEM.)

SENATORS WHO SHOW A CHANGE FROM A PREVIOUS POSITION

MAX BAUCUS (D-MT) ----- from an undecided position to definite LEAN YES
ROBERT BYRD (D-WVA) --- from leaning against to definite LEAN YES (His Res)
ALAN SIMPSON (R-WY) ---- from a yes position to a LEANS NO.

SENATORS WHO WERE FORMER HOUSE MEMBERS AND WHO VOTED ON HOUSE TV IN 1977

SENATE TV

SENATORS WHO WERE FORMER HOUSE MEMBERS AND WERE IN THE HOUSE
AT THE TIME THE HOUSE VOTED ON HOUSE RES. 866, AUTHORIZING THE
TELEVISIONING AND BROADCASTING OF ITS FLOOR PROCEEDINGS, OCT.

1977

VOTED IN 1977

POSITION IN 1985

<u>JAMES ABDNOR (R-SD)</u>	YES	LEANS YES
<u>MARK ANDREWS (R-ND)</u>	YES	YES
<u>WILLIAM ARMSTRONG (R-CO)</u>	YES	YES
<u>MAX BAUCUS (R-MT)</u>	YES	LEANS YES
<u>THAD COCHRAN (R-MS)</u>	YES	YES
<u>WILLIAM COHEN (R-ME)</u>	YES	YES
<u>ALBERT GORE (D-TN)</u>	YES	YES
<u>CHARLES GRASSLEY (R-IA)</u>	NO	LEANS NO
<u>TOM HARKIN (D-IA)</u>	YES	YES
<u>BOB KASTEN (R-WIS)</u>	YES	YES
<u>LARRY PRESSLER (R-SD)</u>	YES	YES
<u>DON QUAYLE (R-IN)</u>	YES	YES
<u>PAUL SIMON (D-IL)</u>	YES	YES
<u>PAUL TRIBLE (R-VA)</u>	YES	YES

SENATORS WHO WERE IN THE HOUSE AT THE TIME BUT DID NOT VOTE ON ISSUE
OR WERE PAIRED EITHER FOR OR AGAINST

<u>SYMMS (R-ID)</u>	DID NOT VOTE	YES
<u>DODD (D-CT)</u>	DID NOT VOTE	LEANS NO

10 REP. VOTED "YES."

3 DEMS VOTED "YES" - 1-REP. VOTED "NO"

TV IN THE SENATE

QUOTES AND COMMENTS FROM SENATORS REGARDING THE QUESTION OF TELEVISION IN THE SENATE

- JOSEPH BIDEN (D-DE) - Would support if the Senate could work out the problems (Rules changes, etc.) Concerned about special orders flap in House. (Response to '85 survey)
- ALFONSE D'AMATO (R-NY) - Supports but is concerned about Senators grandstanding before cameras. (From '85 survey)
- JAMES EXON (D-NE) - Concerned about costs. Suggested radio as a first step. Not totally opposed to TV. (From '85 survey)
- MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY) - Open to Senate TV but as a pragmatist he realizes the Senate is a body based on tradition which accepts change very slowly. He is undecided on either S-Res 2 or 81. (from '85 survey)
- THOMAS EAGLETON (D-MO) - Opposes television. Not sure what the strategy for bringing the resolution to the floor will be. (From '85 Survey)
- BOB DOLE (R-KA) - (Television) is not a priority with him, the deficit is. Note: Indication from other sources suggest Dole will not bring issue to the floor this session. (From '85 Survey)
- PAUL LAXALT (R-NV) - Would damage integrity of Senate. (TV) is not healthy to (Senate) atmosphere. ('85 Survey)
- PATRICK LEAHY (D-VT) - Was a supporter but his support of TV has waned because of situation in House. (Special orders) ('85 survey)
- JEREMIAH DENTON (R-AL) - "If you could see the Senate floor, granted some of these guys, including myself, might become actors and get o t there and act like idiots, but I don't think so. I believe it would give the people the advantage of seeing what's going on." (Interview by Reporter Carol Bennett)
- JIM MCCLURE (R-ID) - "Television cameras are the eyes and ears of the American people,.....and the time for opening the Senate's doors to the public is long overdue. It's as if the Senate is mired in the horse-and-buggy days." (From a Sept. 17, 1984 release)
- WILLIAM ARMSTRONG (R-CO) - Sponsor of S. Res 81, Gavel-to-gavel coverage. "If the House of Lords, which has been an institution since the 11th century can take its debates to the homes of British citizens, the U.S. Senate should do likewise" (Release 1/25/85)

SUSAN

2/10/85

SENATOR INOUYE
OF HAWAII - SHOWS

A "CHANGE" - FROM
"NO" - TO "LEAN YES"

IN SUPPORT OF
BYRD RESOLUTION -
Mike

SENATE TV - 1985

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS AND REMARKS FROM SENATORS

SENATOR CHIC HECHT (R-NV) - New Senator: Would be opposed to gavel-to-gavel. Is afraid that there would be a lot of grandstanding by colleagues which would slow down legislative process. Feels Senate, under present rules, drags on too long. TV would only acerbate the problem.

Press aide: Mike Miller 7/9/85

SEN. MITCH MCCONNELL (R-KY) - New Senator - "Although Sen. McConnell is open to the concept of televising sessions in the Senate; as a pragmatist he realizes the Senate is a body based on tradition which accepts change slowly. At this point in time, Sen. McConnell is undecided on either S-Res 2 or S. Res. 81."

From letter in response to our inquiry signed by Kim Russell, press assistant.

3/22/85

SEN. THOMAS EAGLETON (D-MO) - "I have taken a position opposing televising the Senate's proceedings on the floor. [Since I am not sure what the strategy of bringing this resolution to the floor might be, it is inappropriate for me to address your other questions.] I think my voting record from last session speaks for itself."

Letter from Senator in response to survey: 5/6/85

Senator Wendell Ford July 18, 1985 Senate Rules Committee

"...C-SPAN's access is free. It's daily programming, except those that come to be on the thirty-minute program or our program, basically the gavel-to-gavel of the House, soon to be of the Senate I suspect...

Oct 31 1983
BARRY GOLDWATER (R-AZ) - "If you can come up with a way you can televise the Senate, other than the way you televise the House, I would like to hear it. I don't think it looks good to have a man standing up there speaking with no one else around him.

"I'm not exactly supportive of Senate televising, but a lot would depend upon the technical presentation of how you intend to do it. (Letter to Michaelson, 3/20/85)

LAWTON CHILDS (D-FL) - ".....I would be for us covering sort of important debates and questions that come before the Senate.....I think it (Senate) should be covered. I think the question is how you set that up."

(C-SPAN Call-In, 1984)

JOHN DANFORTH (R-MO) - "And I think that quest for getting a spot in the sun and doing something colorful or something a little unusual in order to get publicity would be extenuated if we went to television."

(C-SPAN Call-IN) 1/10/83

SENATOR CHRIS DODD (D-CT) - "The rules of the Senate I feel would probably have to be changed to accomodate television....
..... Now while certainly it is important for people to have information about what goes on on the floor of the Senate, I would suggest that today most of the business goes on in committee where television is allowed."

(C-SPAN Call-IN 8/3/83

DENNIS DECONCINI (D-AZ) - "Well, I happen to be a co-sponsor of the legislation that would televise the Senate and I hope we could pass that..... I think it is in the public interest for a lot of reasons...."

(C-SPAN Call-in 1/19/83)

DeConcini is a co-sponsor of Sen. Armstrong's Res. S.Res 81.) 1985

EDWARD ZORINSKI (D-NE) - ".....I'm for opening (the Senate) it up for television ----so all the people can see what does take place in a filibuster and how you can read recipes out of a cook book and it cost \$490.00 a page to print the Congressional Record..... I come from the business world, and if I ran my business like this place is run, , my, I'd have gone broke a long time ago. (Call-In 3/18/83

HOURS AND DAYS IN SESSION
SENATE AND HOUSE ⁽¹⁾

YEAR	CONGRESS	BODY	DAYS	HOURS	DAILY AVG.	TOTAL HOURS
1975	94/1st	SENATE	178	1,177	6.6	1,177
1975	94/1st	HOUSE	173	941	5.4	941
1976	94/2nd	SENATE	142	1,033	7.2	2,210
1976	94/2nd	HOUSE	138	846	6.1	1,787
1977	95/1st	SENATE	178	1,143	6.4	3,353
1977	95/1st	HOUSE	174	881	5.0	2,668
1978	95/2nd	SENATE	159	1,366	8.6	4,719
1978	95/2nd	HOUSE	149	1,015	6.8	3,683
1979	96/1st	SENATE	167	1,159	6.9	5,878
1979	96/1st	HOUSE ⁽²⁾	173	974	5.6	4,657
1980	96/2nd	SENATE	166	1,165	7.0	7,043
1980	96/2nd	HOUSE	153	901	5.9	5,558
1981	97/1st	SENATE	165	1,079	6.5	8,122
1981	97/1st	HOUSE	161	653	4.1	6,211
1982	97/2nd	SENATE	147	1,079	7.3	9,201
1982	97/2nd	HOUSE	140	767	5.5	6,978

1) Days and hours compiled by House Congressional Digest Office, Clerk of the House.

2) House began televising sessions.

Mike -

Can I get you to help out
with get another item?

One reporter wants those
figures this morning and
I'll be at a shoot -

Can you call the
Clerk's Office

get the tallies
for 1983 & 1984?

Thanks!

S.S.

<u>House</u>	<u>Days</u>	<u>Hours</u>
1983 -	146	890

1984 -	120	853
Election year		

<u>Senate</u>	<u>Days</u>	<u>Hours</u>
1983 =	150	1,010.71

1984 =	131	940.28
--------	-----	--------

* 185

965 HRS HOUSE IN SESSION

Senate to consider televised coverage

Senate Rules Committee hearings begin today on proposals to allow television and radio coverage of Senate proceedings. Forty-eight U.S. senators favor televising Senate proceedings, 17 are opposed, 15 are leaning against, 14 are leaning toward and six are undecided, a C-SPAN survey shows.

ALABAMA		LOUISIANA		OHIO	
Heflin (D)	Yes	Long (D)	No	Glenn (D)	Leans no
Denton (R)	Yes	Johnston (D)	No	Metzenbaum (D)	Leans yes
ALASKA		MAINE		OKLAHOMA	
Stevens (R)	Yes	Cohen (R)	Yes	Boren (D)	Leans no
Murkowski (R)	U	Mitchell (D)	Yes	Nickles (R)	Leans yes
ARIZONA		MARYLAND		OREGON	
Goldwater (R)	No	Mathias (R)	Yes	Hatfield (R)	Leans no
DeConcini (D)	Yes	Sarbanes (D)	Yes	Packwood (R)	Yes
ARKANSAS		MASSACHUSETTS		PENNSYLVANIA	
Bumpers (D)	Yes	Kennedy (D)	Leans yes	Heinz (R)	Yes
Pryor (D)	Leans no	Kerry (D)	Yes	Specter (R)	Yes
CALIFORNIA		MICHIGAN		RHODE ISLAND	
Cranston (D)	Yes	Riegle (D)	Yes	Pell (D)	No
Wilson (R)	Yes	Levin (D)	Leans no	Chafee (R)	Yes
COLORADO		MINNESOTA		SOUTH CAROLINA	
Hart (D)	Leans yes	Durenberger (R)	No	Thurmond (R)	Yes
Armstrong (R)	Yes	Boschwitz (R)	Leans no	Hollings (D)	Leans yes
CONNECTICUT		MISSISSIPPI		SOUTH DAKOTA	
Weicker (R)	Yes	Stennis (D)	No	Pressler (R)	Yes
Dodd (D)	Leans no	Cochran (R)	Yes	Abdnor (R)	Leans yes
DELAWARE		MISSOURI		TENNESSEE	
Roth (R)	Yes	Eagleton (D)	No	Gore (D)	Yes
Biden (D)	Leans yes	Danforth (R)	No	Sasser (D)	Yes
FLORIDA		MONTANA		TEXAS	
Chiles (D)	Leans yes	Melcher (D)	Yes	Bentsen (D)	Leans no
Hawkins (R)	No	Baucus (D)	Leans yes	Gramm (R)	Yes
GEORGIA		NEBRASKA		UTAH	
Nunn (D)	Leans no	Zorinsky (D)	Leans yes	Garn (R)	Yes
Mattingly (R)	Leans no	Exon (D)	Leans yes	Hatch (R)	Yes
HAWAII		NEVADA		VERMONT	
Inouye (D)	Yes	Laxalt (R)	No	Stafford (R)	No
Matsunaga (D)	Yes	Hecht (R)	No	Leahy (D)	Leans yes
IDAHO		NEW HAMPSHIRE		VIRGINIA	
McClure (R)	Yes	Humphrey (R)	Yes	Warner (R)	Leans yes
Symms (R)	Yes	Rudman (R)	Leans yes	Trible (R)	Yes
ILLINOIS		NEW JERSEY		WASHINGTON	
Dixon (D)	Yes	Bradley (D)	No	Gorton (R)	Yes
Simon (D)	Yes	Lautenberg (D)	U	Evans (R)	U
INDIANA		NEW MEXICO		WEST VIRGINIA	
Lugar (R)	Yes	Domenici (R)	U	Byrd (D)	Yes
Quayle (R)	Yes	Bingaman (D)	Leans no	Rockefeller (D)	Yes
IOWA		NEW YORK		WISCONSIN	
Grassley (R)	Leans no	Moynihan (D)	Yes	Proxmire (D)	No
Harkin (D)	Yes	D'Amato (R)	Yes	Kasten Jr. (R)	Yes
KANSAS		NORTH CAROLINA		WYOMING	
Dole (R)	No	Helms (R)	No	Wallop (R)	Leans no
Kassebaum (R)	Yes	East (R)	Leans no	Simpson (R)	Leans no
KENTUCKY		NORTH DAKOTA		U — undecided	
McConnell (R)	U	Burdick (D)	No	Source: C-SPAN	
Ford (D)	U	Andrews (R)	Yes		



Liz- keep in mind that these people already
got a full kit from us; they are probably not
likely to do anything if they opted not to last mailing

Senate TV Op-ed pieces and press paks mailed to: (fed ex)

However:
op-ed editor
is different from
editorial page
editor at
large papers.
if we only sent
to op-ed, we
probably can
now send to
ed pg ed.

1) Jim Wright
Dallas Morning News
Communications Center
Dallas, TX 75265

ran piece

2) Joanna Wragg
Associate Editor
Miami Herald
Herald Plaza
Miami, FL 33101

3) Tom Gagen
Op Ed Page Editor
Boston Globe
135 Morrissey Blvd.
Boston, MA 02107

4) Bob Ewegen
Editorial Writer
The Denver Post
650-15th Street
Denver, CO 80201

ran piece

5) Cynthia Marquand
Christian Science Monitor
One Norway Street
Boston, MA 02115

ran editorial

6) Stephens Broening
Editor, Opinions & Commentary
The Baltimore Sun
P.O. Box 1377
Baltimore, MD 21278

7) Ferrel Gullory
Associate Editor
News & Observer
212 S. McDowell Street
Raleigh, NC

8) Beth Barber
Editorial Writer
Richmond Times Dispatch
333 Grace Street
Richmond, VA 23219

*Charlie
McDowell
column*

9) Karen Spies
Editorial Page Editor
Topeka Capital Journal
6th & Jefferson Street
Topeka, KS 66607

10) Kay Mills
Editorial Page
The Los Angeles Times
Times Mirror Square
Los Angeles, CA 90053

11) Bill Carlile
Arizona Republic
120 E. Van Buren
Phoenix AZ

12) Mary Stephenson
Editorial Page Editor
The Idaho Statesman
1200 N. Curtis
Boise, ID 83707

ran op-ed

13) David Greenfield
Charleston Daily Mail
1001 Virginia Avenue, East
Charleston, WVA

14) Lloyd Armor
Executive Editor
The Tennessean
1100 Broadway
Nashville, TN 37202

15) Virginia Hall
Op=Ed Editor
Kansas City Times
1729 Grand Avenue
Kansas City, MO

16) Fran Gardner
Forum Section
The Oregonian
Portland, OR 97201

17) Harry Fuller
Editorial Writer
Salt Lake Tribune
143 S. Main
Salt Lake City, UT 84110

whole op-ed page!

18) David Hollwerck
Editorial Page Editor
Lexington Herald Leader
Main & Midland Ave
Lexington, KY 40507

Senate TV Op-Ed Piece (Cont._)

19) Brian Dickenson
Editorial Page Editor
Journal Bulletin
71 Fountain Street
Providence, RI 02902

20) Lois Wille
Opinion & Commentary
The Chicago Tribune
435 N. Michigan Ave
Chicago, IL 60611

21) Joan Beck
Editorial Writer
Chicago Tribune
435 N. Michigan Ave
Chicago, IL 60611

C-SPAN'S SENATE TV SURVEY RESULTS



SUITE 155
400 NORTH CAPITOL STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001
202 / 737-3220

During the summer of 1985, C-SPAN polled all 100 senators on the issue of Senate television. Sixty-two indicated that they would support television cameras in the Senate chamber in some form; 18 senators indicated they would not support the proposal in any form; 15 senators indicated they "lean against" the idea of televising the Senate, but may support it if certain conditions were met, such as non-radical changes in the Senate's rules, a guarantee of the retention of the Senate's dignity, or a guarantee that the deliberative nature of the Senate be undisrupted. Five senators are definitely undecided on cameras in the Senate chamber. Here are the results:

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>ALABAMA</u>			
Denton, Jeremiah (R)	YES	YES	
Heflin, Howell (D)	YES	YES	
<u>ALASKA</u>			
Stevens, Ted (R)	YES	LEANS YES	Rules Cmte; co-sponsor SRes 81
Murkowski, Frank (R)	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	
<u>ARIZONA</u>			
DeConcini, Dennis (D)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-sponsor SRes 81
Goldwater, Barry (R)	NO	YES	
<u>ARKANSAS</u>			
Bumpers, Dale (D)	YES	LEANS YES	
Pryor, David (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>CALIFORNIA</u>			
Cranston, Alan (D)	YES	YES	
Wilson, Pete (R)	YES	--	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>COLORADO</u>			
Armstrong, William (R)	YES	YES	Author S Res; yes- '77 House TV vote
Hart, Gary (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>CONNECTICUT</u>			
Dodd, Christopher (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	'77 House; didn't vote on TV
Weicker, Lowell (R)	YES	YES	
<u>DELAWARE</u>			
Biden, Joseph (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
Roth, William (R)	YES	YES	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>FLORIDA</u>			
Chiles, Lawton (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
Hawkins, Paula (R)	NO	LEANS YES	
<u>GEORGIA</u>			
Mattingly, Mack (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Nunn, Sam (D)	LEANS NO	NO	
<u>HAWAII</u>			
Inouye, Daniel (D)	YES	NO	Rules Cmte.
Matsunaga, Spark (D)	YES	YES	
<u>IDAHO</u>			
McClure, James (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-spns S Res 81
Symms, Steven (R)	YES	YES	'77 House; didn't vote on TV
<u>ILLINOIS</u>			
Dixon, Alan (D)	YES	LEANS YES	
Simon, Paul (D)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
<u>INDIANA</u>			
Lugar, Richard (R)	YES	YES	
Quayle, Dan (R)	YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote
<u>IOWA</u>			
Grassley, Charles (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	no-'77 House TV vote
Harkin, Tom (D)	YES	--	yes-'77 House TV vote

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>KANSAS</u>			
Kassebaum, Nancy (R)	YES	LEANS YES	
Dole, Robert (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	Majority Leader/ Rules Cmte.
<u>KENTUCKY</u>			
Ford, Wendell (D)	NO	LEANS NO	Rules Cmte.
McConnell, Mitch	UNDECIDED	--	
<u>LOUISIANA</u>			
Johnston, Bennett (D)	NO	NO	
Long, Russell (D)	NO	NO	
<u>MAINE</u>			
Cohen, William (R)	YES	YES	cō-spns S Res 81; yes-'77 House TV vote
Mitchell, George (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>MARYLAND</u>			
Mathias, Charles (R)	YES	YES	chmn. Rules Cmte
Sarbanes, Paul (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>MASSACHUSETTS</u>			
Kennedy, Edward (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Kerry, John (D)	YES	--	
<u>MICHIGAN</u>			
Levin, Carl (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Riegle, Donald (D)	YES	YES	co-sponsor S Res 81
<u>MINNESOTA</u>			
Boschwitz, Rudy (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Durenburger, David (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>MISSISSIPPI</u>			
Cochran, Ted (R)	YES	LEANS YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Stennis, John (D)	NO	NO	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>MISSOURI</u>			
Danforth, John (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
Eagleton, Thomas (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
<u>MONTANA</u>			
Baucus, Max (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	yes- '77 House TV vote
Melcher, John (D)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>NEBRASKA</u>			
Exon, James (D)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
Zorinsky, Edward (D)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
<u>NEVADA</u>			
Hecht, Chic (R)	NO	--	
Laxalt, Paul (R)	NO	NO	
<u>NEW JERSEY</u>			
Bradley, Bill (D)	NO	UNDECIDED	
Lautenberg, Frank (D)	UNDECIDED	--	
<u>NEW HAMPSHIRE</u>			
Humphrey, Gordon (R)	YES	YES	
Rudman, Warren (R)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	
<u>NEW MEXICO</u>			
Bingaman, Jeff (D)	LEANS NO	--	
Domenici, Pete (R)	UNDECIDED	UNDECIDED	
<u>NEW YORK</u>			
D'Amato, Alfonse (R)	YES	LEANS YES	
Moynihan, Daniel (D)	YES	YES	

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	1985 <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	1982 <u>C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>NORTH CAROLINA</u>			
East, John (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Helms, Jesse (R)	NO	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte.
<u>NORTH DAKOTA</u>			
Andrews, Mark (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Burdick, Quentin (D)	NO	NO	
<u>OHIO</u>			
Glenn, John (D)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Metzenbaum, Howard (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
<u>OKLAHOMA</u>			
Boren, David (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	
Nickles, Don (R)	LEANS YES	LEANS YES	
<u>OREGON</u>			
Hatfield, Mark (R)	LEANS NO	UNDECIDED	
Packwood, Bob (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte; co-spns S Res 81
<u>PENNSYLVANIA</u>			
Heinz, John (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
Specter, Arlen (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>RHODE ISLAND</u>			
Chaffee, John (R)	YES	UNDECIDED	
Pell, Claiborne (D)	NO	NO	Rules Cmte.
<u>SOUTH CAROLINA</u>			
Hollings, Ernest (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Thurmond, Strom (R)	YES	LEANS YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>SOUTH DAKOTA</u>			
Abdnor, James (R)	LEANS YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote
Pressler, Larry (R)	YES	YES	yes- '77 House TV vote

(more)

<u>STATE/SENATOR</u>	<u>1985 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>1982 C-SPAN SURVEY</u>	<u>COMMENTS</u>
<u>TENNESSEE</u>			
Gore, Albert (D)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 28; Rules Cmte.; yes- '77 House TV vote
Sasser, James (D)	YES	YES	
<u>TEXAS</u>			
Bentsen, Lloyd (D)	LEANS NO	LEANS NO	
Gramm, Phil (R)	YES	--	co-spns S Res 28; served in House while it was on TV
<u>UTAH</u>			
Garn, Jake (R)	YES	YES	Rules Cmte.
Hatch, Orrin (R)	YES	YES	
<u>VERMONT</u>			
Leahy, Patrick (D)	LEANS YES	YES	
Stafford, Robert (R)	NO	NO	
<u>VIRGINIA</u>			
Trible, Paul (R)	YES	--	yes- '77 House TV vote
Warner, John (R)	LEANS YES	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte.
<u>WASHINGTON</u>			
Evans, Daniel (R)	UNDECIDED	--	
Gorton, Slade (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81
<u>WEST VIRGINIA</u>			
Byrd, Robert (D)	YES	UNDECIDED	Rules Cmte; Author S Res 28
Rockefeller, John (D)	YES	--	
<u>WISCONSIN</u>			
Kasten, Robert (R)	YES	YES	co-spns S Res 81; yes- '77 House TV vote
Proxmire, William (D)	NO	NO	

(more)

RULES

U.S. SENATE

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

SR-305..... 224-6352

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- X Jesse Helms, N.C.
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- Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii
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Gereau, Gerald CHF INVEST SR-424A.....	40286	Sousa, John L MIN COUN (ELECTIONS) SR-477.....	45648
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Deane, Rainnie
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Hanser, Barbara
Haynes, Michael
Hudson, Stewart
Linden, Lisa PRE
Mayo, John MIN
Merendino, Fran

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X - NO - (or) LEARNING NO (No Subcommittees)

- - YES (or) LEARNING YES

15 - MEMBERS

10 - YES / LEARNING YES

5 - NO / LEARNING NO

1) DATE / October 18, 1985

2) INSIDE ADDRESS
(Editorial page editor)

3) Dear Mr./Ms. XXX :

On October 29, the Senate Rules Committee begins "marking up" a resolution that will allow television cameras to record the floor proceedings of the U.S. Senate.

During that session, the committee will decide whether to suggest "gavel-to-gavel" coverage or to offer selected debates. They will also decide whether to propose changes in Senate procedures to accommodate the cameras.

In September, when the Rules Committee held two days of hearings on Senate television proposals, many newspapers carried articles and editorials on the topic. Now that the resolution is moving forward, I'd like to ask that you consider the topic for your editorial page.

A sampling of editorials is enclosed, along with the results of an informal survey of Senators conducted this summer by C-SPAN. There are also quotes from various Senators which will give you some idea of the pros and cons of the issue.

Please telephone me if I can answer any questions.

Sincerely,

Susan Swain
Director, Public Relations

Enclosure

Red = news article
 Penat = editorial or op-ed

Alabama	Birmingham Post-Herald
Alaska	
Arizona	Banner-Magnolia
Arkansas	Baxter Bulletin / Magnolia Banner
California	FRESNO BEE / Polym Spgs. / San Diego Union / Torrance Breeze / Visalia Times
Colorado	Denver Post /
Connecticut	
Delaware	
Florida	MIAMI HERALD / FT LAUD SUN-SENTINEL / FT LAUD-NEWS / Democrat / Stuart / News
Georgia	
Hawaii	
Idaho	Statesman / Lewiston Tribune / Acakello Tribune / Daily Idahonian / St. J. M.
Illinois	Alton Daily Herald News / Aurora Beacon News / ELGIN COURIER / Pontiac Leader / Daily Chronicle
Indiana	Columbus Republic / EVANSVILLE PRESS / INDY NEWS / Lafayette Journal & Courier / Elkhart Truth
Iowa	Des Moines Register /
Kansas	WICHITA EAGLE-BEACON
Kentucky	
Louisiana	
Maine	
Maryland	EASTON STAR / Frederick News-Post / The Sun
Massachusetts	BOSTON GLOBE
Michigan	Livington News / State Journal / Coldwater Reporter
Minnesota	Pioneer Press / Ft. Journal
Mississippi	
Missouri	COLUMBIA MISSOURIAN / Jeff City Cap News / Union Tribune / Joplin Globe
Montana	
Nebraska	
Nevada	SPARKS TRIB /
New Hampshire	Dover Democrat
New Jersey	Courier News
New Mexico	ALBUQ TRIBUNE / Current-Argus
New York	New York Times / Syracuse H. J. / Times-Union / Star-Courier / Staten Is. Advance
North Carolina	Jacksonville / H. P. Enterprise / Charlotte Observer / H. P. Enterprise
North Dakota	
Ohio	TOLEDO BLADE / Clev. Plain Dealer / Lima News
Oklahoma	TULSA TRIB /
Oregon	Portland Oregonian
Pennsylvania	HARRISB. PATRIOT / Lansdale Reporter / Dubois / Pottsville Press / Local News
Rhode Island	
South Carolina	Aiken Standard / Charleston News & C /
South Dakota	
Tennessee	KNOXVILLE NEWS-SENT / Tennessean / Commercial Appeal / Herald & Trib / County Times (S)
Texas	Houston Post / AMARILLO GLOBE / Dallas Morning News / Gainesville Register
Utah	SALT LAKE TRIB / Ogden Standard / Spectrum
Vermont	Brattleboro Reformer / Bennington Banner
Virginia	Manassas Journal / Richmond Times
Washington	CENTRALIA CHRONICLE / News / Wenatchee / Col.
West Virginia	CHARLESTON MAIL / Hunt. Herald-Dispatch / Logan Banner
Wisconsin	
Wyoming	

Trades - to use

El media
 Broadcasting
 Comm. Daily

Nat'l - Chr. Sci. Monitor (oped)
 USA Today article (oped)
 Wash Times (article)
 Wash. Post
 • Jack Anderson column
 • Kevin Phillips radio comments
 • Nat'l J.
 • CQ

Senate TV
mailing resul

- major paper
or
- State capitol paper

Adusky
TV-Bask

DC / trade, political writers

COX NEWSPAPERS

2000 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, #1000
Washington, D.C. 20006

Attn: Andy Glass

SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

1110 Vermont Ave., NW
Suite 610
Washington, D.C. 20005

Attn: Doug Harbrecht

NEWSWEEK

1750 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Attn: Gloria Borgen

U.S. NEWS WORLD REPORT

2400 N. St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20037

Attn: Kathryn Johnson

TIME MAGAZINE

1050 Connecticut Av., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036-5334

Attn: Neil MacNeil

VARIETY

1483 Chain Bridge Rd., #202
McLean, VA 22101

Attn: Dennis Wharton

CABLE TV BUSINESS

1899 L St., NW, #700
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Rod Stoddard, Washington
Bureau

Broadcasting Magazine
1735 De Sales St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Len Zeidenberg

Bob Minzesheimer
Gannett News Service
PO Box 7858
Washington, D.C. 20044

Chris Collins
USA TODAY
PO Box 500
Washington, D.C. 20044

CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY
1414 22nd St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20037

Attn: Steve Beakely

NATIONAL JOURNAL
1730 M St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Dom Bonafede

CABLEVISION MAGAZINE
1625 Eye St., NW, #615
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: John Wolfe

NEW YORK TIMES
1717 K St., NW
9th floor
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Warren Weaver

MULTICHANNEL NEWS
1333 H St., NW
#570
Washington, D.C. 20005

Attn: Judy Freeman

RICHMOND TIMES DISPATCH
1214 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20045

Attn: Charles McDowell

KING FEATURES
4312 Montgomery Ave.
Bethesda, MD 20814

Attn: Kevin Phillips

THE WASHINGTON POST
TV Column
1150 15th St.
Washington, D.C. 20071

Attn: Jack Carmody

The Washington Post
1150 15th St.
Washington, D.C. 20071

Attn: Margaret Shapiro

Central Newspapers
1000 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20045
Attn: Ben Cole, Bureau Chief

818 18th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: John Weisman

FORTUNE
919 18th St., NW
5th floor
Washington, D.C. 20006

Attn: Peter Bernstein

WALL STREET JOURNAL
1025 Connecticut Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: David Rogers

THOMSON NEWSPAPERS
506 National Place
1331 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, #506
Washington, D.C. 20004

Attn: Richard Maloy, Bureau Chief

COMMUNICATIONS DAILY
1836 Jefferson Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Mary Crowley

KNIGHT-RIDDER NEWSPAPERS
#529, 14th floor
700 National Press Bldg., NW
Washington, D.C. 20045

Attn: Charles Green

Washington Times
3600 NY Ave., NE
Washington, D.C. 20002

Attn: Tom Brandt

NEW YORK TIMES
1717 D. St., NW
9th floor
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Steve Robers

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
1400 Eye St., NW, #800
Washington, D.C. 20036

Attn: Mary Beth Franklin

ASSOCIATED PRESS
2021 K St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Attn: Evans Witt

CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER
930 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20045

Attn: Tom Diemer

CHARLESTON Daily Mail
605 14th St., NW, #304
Washington, D.C. 20004

Attn: Bill Byrd.

COPLEY NEWS SERVICE
1100 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20045

Attn: Bill Osborne

ELECTRONIC MEDIA
314 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20045

Attn: Craig Leddy

DENVER POST
955 National Press Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20045

need to merge w/ Senator's file

October 22, 1985

Sen. _____
inside address
Wash. Dc 200 —

Dear Senator _____:

The Senate Rules Committee's September hearings on television coverage of the Senate floor sparked a great deal of interest in the nation's editorial pages.

For your information, we have assembled a booklet of clippings that includes many of these editorials ^{both pro and con, ~~some~~} some major articles that appeared in the consumer press, and ^{several items} ~~some pieces~~ from the communications industry trade press.

Sincerely yours,

Paul A. FitzPatrick
President

PAF/ fr

enclosures

FIT
U.S. Senate file
in administration file

pn letter

Senate to consider televised coverage

Senate Rules Committee hearings begin today on proposals to allow television and radio coverage of Senate proceedings. Forty-eight U.S. senators favor televising Senate proceedings, 17 are opposed, 15 are leaning against, 14 are leaning toward and six are undecided, a C-SPAN survey shows.

ALABAMA		LOUISIANA		OHIO	
Heflin (D)	Yes	Long (D)	No	Glenn (D)	Leans no
Denton (R)	Yes	Johnston (D)	No	Metzenbaum (D)	Leans yes
ALASKA		MAINE		OKLAHOMA	
Stevens (R)	Yes	Cohen (R)	Yes	Boren (D)	Leans no
Murkowski (R)	U	Mitchell (D)	Yes	Nickles (R)	Leans yes
ARIZONA		MARYLAND		OREGON	
Goldwater (R)	No	Mathias (R)	Yes	Hatfield (R)	Leans no
DeConcini (D)	Yes	Sarbanes (D)	Yes	Packwood (R)	Yes
ARKANSAS		MASSACHUSETTS		PENNSYLVANIA	
Bumpers (D)	Yes	Kennedy (D)	Leans yes	Heinz (R)	Yes
Pryor (D)	Leans no	Kerry (D)	Yes	Specter (R)	Yes
CALIFORNIA		MICHIGAN		RHODE ISLAND	
Cranston (D)	Yes	Riegle (D)	Yes	Pell (D)	No
Wilson (R)	Yes	Levin (D)	Leans no	Chafee (R)	Yes
COLORADO		MINNESOTA		SOUTH CAROLINA	
Hart (D)	Leans yes	Durenberger (R)	No	Thurmond (R)	Yes
Armstrong (R)	Yes	Boschwitz (R)	Leans no	Hollings (D)	Leans yes
CONNECTICUT		MISSISSIPPI		SOUTH DAKOTA	
Weicker (R)	Yes	Stennis (D)	No	Pressler (R)	Yes
Dodd (D)	Leans no	Cochran (R)	Yes	Abdnor (R)	Leans yes
DELAWARE		MISSOURI		TENNESSEE	
Roth (R)	Yes	Eagleton (D)	No	Gore (D)	Yes
Biden (D)	Leans yes	Danforth (R)	No	Sasser (D)	Yes
FLORIDA		MONTANA		TEXAS	
Chiles (D)	Leans yes	Melcher (D)	Yes	Bentsen (D)	Leans no
Hawkins (R)	No	Baucus (D)	Leans yes	Gramm (R)	Yes
GEORGIA		NEBRASKA		UTAH	
Nunn (D)	Leans no	Zorinsky (D)	Leans yes	Garn (R)	Yes
Mattingly (R)	Leans no	Exon (D)	Leans yes	Hatch (R)	Yes
HAWAII		NEVADA		VERMONT	
Inouye (D)	Yes	Laxalt (R)	No	Stafford (R)	No
Matsunaga (D)	Yes	Hecht (R)	No	Leahy (D)	Leans yes
IDAHO		NEW HAMPSHIRE		VIRGINIA	
McClure (R)	Yes	Humphrey (R)	Yes	Warner (R)	Leans yes
Symms (R)	Yes	Rudman (R)	Leans yes	Trible (R)	Yes
ILLINOIS		NEW JERSEY		WASHINGTON	
Dixon (D)	Yes	Bradley (D)	No	Gorton (R)	Yes
Simon (D)	Yes	Lautenberg (D)	U	Evans (R)	U
INDIANA		NEW MEXICO		WEST VIRGINIA	
Lugar (R)	Yes	Domenici (R)	U	Byrd (D)	Yes
Quayle (R)	Yes	Bingaman (D)	Leans no	Rockefeller (D)	Yes
IOWA		NEW YORK		WISCONSIN	
Grassley (R)	Leans no	Moynihan (D)	Yes	Proxmire (D)	No
Harkin (D)	Yes	D'Amato (R)	Yes	Kasten Jr. (R)	Yes
KANSAS		NORTH CAROLINA		WYOMING	
Dole (R)	No	Helms (R)	No	Wallop (R)	Leans no
Kassebaum (R)	Yes	East (R)	Leans no	Simpson (R)	Leans no
KENTUCKY		NORTH DAKOTA		U — undecided	
McConnell (R)	U	Burdick (D)	No	Source: C-SPAN	
Ford (D)	U	Andrews (R)	Yes		



① Senate TV Book

- back / front cover pgs on buff paper rag type.
- 3 staples down side.

Ivory
- double side all sheets. (some sheets are double sided with white paper to separate sections)

- 250 copies of book

100 Sen.
30 board
50 marketing
55 newspaper.
260c.

- 1 pg. has extra instructions on it

- Pages are numbered in order, ~~for~~ to check.
odd# pages face up, even# pgs face down. against

Date due: Friday afternoon 10/18
Please call us. 737-3220
Lij Bauer

Pls. Bill C-SPAN account