

February 27, 1986

by any people who do not understand the nature of their own government."

Mr. President, as we approach the 200th anniversary of the fundamental document—the U.S. Constitution—of this great Republic of ours, I would hope that in its wisdom the Senate of the United States would have installed and operational the television and radio broadcasting of Senate floor proceedings.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I apologize for imposing on the time of the Senate, but I believe this is a historic occasion, and I would like to be able to make a 3-minute statement before the vote on passage.

I ask unanimous consent that statements may be revised and extended and that all Senators may put statements in the Record as though read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senate is not in order. The Senator will suspend for a moment.

The Democratic leader is recognized.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, by embarking on this new course for the Senate, we declare a victory for democracy, a victory for the American people, and a victory for the U.S. Senate.

Democracy rests on the bedrock of an informed public. In today's rapid-fire world, the complexity of issues is only exceeded by the speed with which they come and go. Our people have a right to witness the proceedings of this body. Today, with this action, we will have granted them that right, and have taken a giant step toward helping our citizens fully understand the issues which impact upon their daily lives.

The Senate can celebrate entering the modern age at last. The Congress is the people's branch of government, and we have today begun to make that phrase more than just words on a page.

We can all be proud of the leap forward that we will take today. In generations to come, our descendants will applaud our action in opening the legislative process to a wider scrutiny. Today's events will strengthen the Senate as an institution and ensure that democracy's roots reach even deeper into the fabric of America.

Mr. President, I thank all Senators. I particularly thank the majority leader and those Senators on the Rules Committee and others who have contributed so much in making this step forward.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I thank all Senators.

For the past several weeks the distinguished minority leader Mr. Byrd and I, along with our colleagues, have worked to develop the ways and means by which the Senate could be televised.

It became clear at the outset of this process, that in order to gain the votes necessary, we would have to link the trial period for televising floor proceedings with some changes in the way the Senate conducts its business.

The package that we agreed to today combines the two in what I believe is a balanced and fair approach. The rules changes, while not going as far as I might have hoped toward making the Senate work more efficiently, will give the leader enhanced abilities to set the schedule without trampling on the rights of any individual Senator.

Meanwhile, the trial period for broadcasting Senate proceedings should give us a good reading of how well the process works. If, after this first test, we want to extend the period for 30 days, we can do that. And finally, if we want to make any further changes in the broadcasting procedures, we will have the opportunity. And the amendment offered by Senator Boren and accepted further gives us even more opportunity to evaluate our decisions.

Mr. President, the Senate is a very special place. And I would not support any changes that would alter its unique and valuable character. But the twin goals—of providing the American a better look at how democracy works and improving the quality of life in the Senate, by streamlining some of our procedures—are certainly worth trying to achieve. So I ask my colleagues to support this effort and vote for adoption of Senate Resolution 28 as modified.

I would like to take this opportunity to offer my thanks to Senator Byrd, as well as Senators ARMSTRONG, LONG, FORD, STEVENS, and GORE, as well as all the other Senators who participated in the discussions and have devoted many hours to this issue. I would add my special thanks to Senator MATTHIAS, whose leadership as chairman of the Rules Committee was critical to today's successful outcome.

But most of all, I would like to acknowledge my predecessor Howard Baker. Without his longstanding commitment to televising Senate proceedings, today would never have come about. Howard was the pathfinder for this resolution, and for this the entire Senate owes him its gratitude.

I hope we can have a huge margin in support of TV in the Senate. Again, I indicate to all Members that there are some concerns we all have, and we will address those concerns down the road. I think the integrity of the Senate is the larger question. We will be working with all Senators who have questions and who may want to make changes at the end of the test period.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution. On this question the yeas and nays have been ordered, and the clerk will call the roll.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 67, nays 21, as follows:

(Rollcall) Vote No. 24 Leg.)

YEAS—67

Abdullah	Garn	Mitchell
Andrews	Glenn	Moynihan
Armstrong	Gore	Murkowski
Baucus	Gorton	Nickles
Bentzen	Graham	Per
Biden	Markin	Pressler
Bingaman	Hart	Pryor
Boren	Hatch	Riegle
Bradley	Hawkins	Robin
Byrd	Hefflin	Rosen
Cantwell	Helms	Schmitt
Chafee	Humphrey	Simpson
Chiles	Kasten	Specter
Coiner	Kennedy	Stevens
Cranston	Laurenberg	Symms
D'Amato	Leahy	Thurmond
DeConcini	Levin	Trible
Denton	Lugar	Warner
Dodd	Mathias	Welch
Dole	Matsunaga	Wilson
Domenici	McClure	Zorinsky
Evans	Melcher	
Ford	Metzenbaum	

NAYS—21

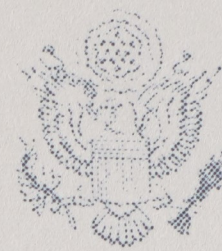
Borah	Helms	Nunn
Burdick	Hollings	Proxmire
Danforth	Johnston	Quayle
East	Leahy	Rudman
Grassley	Long	Stafford
Hatch	Martinez	Stennis
McConnell	McConnell	Wallace

NOT VOTING—12

Bumpers	Exon	Kerry
Dixon	Goldwater	Packwood
Durenberger	Inouye	Rosen
Bagley	Kassebaum	Schmitt

So the resolution (S. Res. 28) as amended, was agreed to.

C-SPAN AMERICA'S NETWORK



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 99TH CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Senate

February 27, 1986

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise to voice my support for Senate Resolution 28, which would authorize a test period implementation of live, gavel-to-gavel television and radio coverage of proceedings in the Senate Chamber. While television coverage would be limited to a 2-week period, enactment of the resolution will nevertheless bring us one step closer to the day when the American public will have full, continuous access to Senate proceedings through the medium of television.

In my view, Mr. President, a gavel-to-gavel media coverage is warranted for several reasons. First, such coverage recognizes the basic right and need of U.S. citizens to know the business of their Government. Second, I believe it will lead to a more informed citizenry, and thereby hopefully improve the quality of our representative democracy. Third, television coverage should enhance the image of the Senate as an institution of Government. Fourth, it should, in the long run, improve the quality of Senate debate and decisionmaking.

Considered against the historical background, radio and television coverage of Senate proceedings is simply a logical extension of past and present methods of reporting Senate business to the people. Since the late 18th century, the Senate has been a body open to all citizens and print media representatives. Television coverage was first permitted in the House in 1947 for the opening ceremonies of the 80th Congress, and in 1978, live television coverage of debate in that Chamber began. In the interim, the Senate has allowed television coverage of some committee hearings, permitted television broadcast of the swearing-in ceremony of Vice President Nelson Rockefeller in 1974, and authorized radio coverage of the 1917 debates on the Panama Canal Treaties.

Thus, while television and radio coverage of Senate debates would be a significant broadening of past precedents in this House of Congress, it would not be a totally new experience for most Senators, nor a radical departure from past practices. Rather, with the widespread, increasing dependence of the American people on television and radio for information about governmental actions, it is simply high time for the Senate to allow live broadcasts of its proceedings over the airwaves.

As I indicated at the outset of my statement, the authorization of radio and television coverage of Senate business is an appropriate means of reaffirming that our National Government is a representative democracy responsible to the people. The citizens of this great Nation have a right to know how the legislative business of their U.S. Senate is being transacted. Approval of this measure would protect and enhance that basic right, thereby bring-

ing more openness to the legislative process.

The transmitting of Senate Chamber business over the airwaves would be an important step in the process of bringing Government into the "sunshine," as this objective is often captioned, but it is not an end in itself. Rather, by furthering the right and need of the public to have prompt, direct information pertaining to Senate business, the knowledge of our citizenry will be enhanced and the quality of our Government improved. Sometimes, perhaps, Senators have a tendency to think of themselves as secluded by independence, but the fact is that the public has a right to know what is going on in the Senate Chamber. It is our respective duty to provide that information.

Our duty to the people is to provide a transparent view of the Senate's work. We must be accountable to them for how we vote, how we conduct our business, and how we represent the Nation. The public has a right to know what we are doing, and we must be open to their scrutiny. This is the only way to ensure that the Senate remains a true institution of Government.

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There is probably some truth in these contentions, but on the whole, I believe the impact of television and radio coverage will be positive. After an initial period of adjustment, Senators should not be unduly cognizant of the live reporting over television and radio of their statements and Senate actions. The increased scrutiny of their proposals and cameras should cause Senators to come to the floor more fully prepared for any remarks they may make and for votes to be cast. Senators should become more attentive to the business in the Senate Chamber, including actual presence during debates, in relation to committee and personal office business. In the Senate Chamber, the total Senate lawmaking process, reversing what many believe has been an unhealthy trend toward committee and behind-the-scenes domination of the legislative process.

It is my hope and belief, Mr. President, that ultimately broadcast coverage of Senate proceedings will lead to an improved lawmaking process, with laws that are more understandable, more in keeping with the will of the people, as expressed through their elected senatorial representatives. Similarly, it is my hope and opinion that adoption of this measure will help make Senators more responsive and accountable to the public will. For these reasons, I am glad to lend my support to this resolution. I hope the Senate will see fit to adopt it.

Mr. MATTHIAS. Mr. President, President John F. Kennedy, in 1959, remarked: "To emancipate the mind is the great task that printing came into the world to perform." I would hold, that television now assists in performing the great task of emancipating the mind. And, I would add, television is a primary form of communication used by our constituents to inform themselves on politics and the Nation.

Without repeating Dr. Johnson's famous observation on the value of being watched, I recall a great Baltimorean's version of this same wisdom. H.L. Mencken noted, in 1949: "Conscience is the inner voice that warns us somebody may be looking."

Finally, Mr. President, I would recall another observation on the part of that great student of the American Congress, President Woodrow Wilson. In 1894, long before he was elected to our highest office, President Wilson wrote: "No more vital truth was ever uttered than that freedom and free institutions cannot long be maintained

THE U.S. SENATE GOES ON TELEVISION an evening with The Cable-Satellite Public Affairs Network and The National Press Club

May 12, 1986

"An unfiltered view of the Senate in action should not be a threat to effective national leaders . . . For the first time, large numbers of Americans will have the opportunity to observe the Senate debate and make up their own minds about the issues. Not a bad idea for a representative democracy."

Kansas City Times
March 6, 1986

Menu

*Dinner, May 12, 1986
The Ballroom, The National Press Club*

Artichoke Hearts With Dill Sour Cream Sauce

Filet de Veau Vezelay

Macaire Potatoes

Raddicco and Hearts of Palm Salad

Strawberry Meringue Cake

Coffee, Tea, Sanka

The Program

Introductory Remarks

Dinner

Presentation of "Super Citizen" Awards

Introduction of Honored Guests

*Unveiling of
1986 C-SPAN Commemorative Poster*

*Keynote Speaker:
Sen. Robert Byrd (D-WV)
Senate Minority Leader*

*A Tribute to
John P. Frazee, Jr.
President and Chief Operating Officer
The Centel Corporation*

The "Super Citizen" Award

C-SPAN created the "Super Citizen" award in 1982 to recognize those people who have "gone the extra mile" in support of cable's public affairs network. Those who have received the award come from different walks of life, but each in his or her own way has recognized a value in C-SPAN's mission and has put forth the energy and enthusiasm necessary to help continue C-SPAN's growth. Quite simply, the award is C-SPAN's way of saying "Thanks, we couldn't have done it without you."

Past Award Winners

1982

William "Bud" Harris
Andrew Inglis
Steve Janger
Margery Krause

President, "Friends of C-SPAN"
RCA Americom
The Close Up Foundation
The Close Up Foundation

1983

Joseph Holmes

The White House

1985

Robert P. Reuss

The Centel Corporation

JOHN P. FRAZEE, Jr.

President & Chief Operating Officer
The Centel Corporation
Chicago, Illinois

John P. Frazee, Jr., 41, has devoted great energy and enthusiasm to C-SPAN throughout his tenure on the network's board of directors. Since joining the board in 1981, Jack has served as Treasurer, Board Chairman, and Chairman of the Executive Committee. Under his irrepressible leadership, C-SPAN has evolved into an organization of truly national scope, acquiring portable satellite capability and going on the road to televise "Grassroots '84" and "States of the Nation '85." He broadened its financial base with the start-up of the C-SPAN Fund and helped develop a second channel which will televise the proceedings of the U.S. Senate. He has lent C-SPAN his time, his talent, his company's resources, and occasionally its staff: Centel was one of the first cable MSO's to commit to 100 percent carriage of C-SPAN and Jack was always on hand when needed to testify on C-SPAN's behalf in a variety of arenas. Jack was recently promoted to President and Chief Operating Officer of the Centel Corporation, which means that he must step down as head of C-SPAN's Executive Committee to devote his energies to his new responsibilities. Everyone at C-SPAN will long remember Frazee's good spirits, hard work, and occasional backslap. Apart from our individual memories, his impact on C-SPAN will endure in the form of a larger and more dynamic network.

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Honored Guests

Jack Nelson, Los Angeles Times
John Quinn, USA Today
Don West, Broadcasting

Senate to let TV, radio in on trial basis

By Bob Minzesheimer
USA TODAY

Forty-two years after the idea was proposed, the U.S. Senate comes to television June 1 — at least temporarily.

In what Minority Leader Robert Byrd, D-W.Va., described as "entering the modern age at last," the Senate voted 67-21 late Thursday to test TV and radio coverage of its proceedings.

It will vote again in July after a two-month test, but it'll be hard to drop coverage "once the genie is out of the bottle," said Sen. Bennett Johnston, D-La., who voted against the plan.

C-SPAN, a cable network that's carried House proceedings since 1979, will show the Senate on a second channel.

Radio coverage may start next week and no later than May 1 when closed-circuit TV begins in senators' offices only. The public will be able to tune their TVs in a month later.

Critics warned that TV would invite grandstanding and prolong debate. "State-

manship is too scarce a commodity as it is now," said Sen. Russell Long, D-La. "It will be more scarce on TV."

But Sen. Charles Mathias, R-Md., said critics "underestimated the capacity of senators to make interesting and educational speeches" and that "the objective eye of the camera is quick to spot a phony."

Rep. Claude Pepper, D-Fla., proposed televising the Senate in 1944 when he was a senator. Senate employees will control the cameras; cost for installing the cameras: \$3.5 million.

In Pueblo, Colo., Shirley Rossi, a retired computer programmer, who watches the House "whenever it's on," is ready for the Senate's TV debut with a second TV set.

"I'll turn one on to the House and the other to the Senate and see what's most interesting," she wants to see Sen. Jesse Helms, R-N.C. "Not that I agree with him, but I'd love to see him in action."



• FRIDAY FEBRUARY 28, 1986

Senate Approves TV, Radio Coverage of Proceedings

By KAREN TUMULTY, Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—The Senate, nervously and belatedly edging its way into the television era, voted Thursday to allow trial television and radio coverage of its proceedings.

Under the painstakingly drafted resolution—passed 67 to 21—radio coverage of the Senate will begin almost immediately, with live television broadcasts following on June 1. In late July, the Senate will evaluate the experiment and decide whether to allow cameras and microphones to become permanent fixtures in the Senate chamber.

The test would be accompanied by a series of new Senate rules aimed at limiting senators' ability to dominate days of televised proceedings with filibusters. Nonetheless, opponents warned that the television cameras could provide an opportunity for endless grandstanding in an already inefficient Senate.

'In for Great Misery'

"Those of us who find statesmanship is all too scarce now will find it even more scarce on television," Sen. Russell B. Long (D-La.) said. Added Sen. J. Bennett Johnston, a fellow Louisiana Democrat: "We are letting ourselves in for great misery."

However, Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska) said that the issue amounts to "simple justice" and accused the Senate of being "so wrapped up in its own cocoon of ancient rules that it cannot face the future."

Other supporters argued that public scrutiny might force discipline on a Senate that routinely bogs down when individual senators try to block votes or add unrelated matters to pending legislation.

"I'm hopeful that with TV in the Senate, we will be able to conduct our affairs better than we have in

the past," Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) said.

Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.), who originally opposed the idea, said he became convinced that television "would let the American people find out how we really do our business or, more importantly, how we don't do our business. . . . They would begin to write: 'I saw you. What were you doing?'"

Decade of Debate

The overwhelming vote capped more than a decade of debate on the issue. Both California senators, Democrat Alan Cranston and Republican Pete Wilson, voted with the majority in favor of the resolution.

The House began allowing television coverage of its proceedings in 1979. C-SPAN, the nonprofit Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network owned by an association of cable firms, already broadcasts all House proceedings and has a second channel ready to carry Senate debates.

The Senate's decision to allow television was complicated because it does not have the House's strict rules limiting the amount of time and variety of subjects its members may debate.

Moreover, many opponents have noted that the Senate is considered a launching pad for presidential bids—four of the last eight presidents served in the Senate—and have expressed concern that ambitious senators will use the broadcasts to further their political goals.

Senate leaders had hoped to use television as a tool to bring discipline to Senate proceedings. The resolution allowing television contains a provision, for example, that would dramatically shorten the time senators may continue to talk after a vote to cut off a filibuster.



Los Angeles Times

A Times Mirror Newspaper

February 28, 1986

Half a loaf

Television in the Senate is just an experiment away. By a vote of 67 to 21 that chamber finally agreed to a test period of live television and radio coverage of its proceedings, with a decision whether to make this temporary enlightenment permanent due in August.

The decision came only eight-plus years after the Capitol neighbors cast their votes for progress, and quite a few more after Representative Claude Pepper, in a previous incarnation as a U.S. senator, urged the Senate to admit radio in the pre-television year of 1934. It's time to break out the champagne, but it's too early for the caviar.

So that there is no misunderstanding, let it be recorded that the Senate's long-overdue decision is applauded here as a first step toward the ultimate objective: true 20th century coverage of the Congress of the United States. As it stands, according to the record, "The radio and television broadcast of Senate proceedings shall be supervised and operated by the Senate." Nobody else will be let in.

For a simple historical log, a form of electronic *Congressional Record*, such a setup is adequate, but if in speaking of "coverage" of the Senate there is also the suggestion of journalistic enterprise, the plan leaves much to be desired, as does the system in use in the House. While a government-issue feed is better than none at all, history would be served far better by the contribution of broadcasting's journalists as well as its tools.

Broadcasting

March 10, 1986

C-SPAN and the National Press Club

C-SPAN has enjoyed a long and fruitful association with the National Press Club, where journalists, elected officials, policy-makers, foreign dignitaries, and even Hollywood celebrities offer their perspectives on the issues of the day. To date, C-SPAN has televised nearly 400 NPC luncheon speeches, providing thought-provoking material for C-SPAN's national audiences. In fact, NPC luncheon speeches were one of the fledgling network's first ventures into non-Congressional programming. The first one was televised in January 1980—with Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker in the hot seat—when C-SPAN was just ten months old. The old NPC ballroom was even the sight of the very first C-SPAN call-in program: in October 1980, C-SPAN televised its first live luncheon address with then-FCC chairman Charles Ferris and followed it with a "keep your fingers crossed and hope that this works" call-in that actually worked. Over the years, C-SPAN viewers have been privy to a host of other NPC events, giving them an insider's look at the issues of the day and the reporters who cover them. In February 1986, the C-SPAN call-in program went back to the NPC ballroom for a week. In the intervening six years, both the ballroom and C-SPAN's call-in program have been spiffed up, but each remains committed to the same ideal—a forum for the free-flowing exchange of opinions on national issues.

*The cover is an excerpt from the 11 days of debate on S. Res.
28, which called for a broadcast test period of the United
States Senate floor proceedings.*