

Mr. GLENN. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

RECESS UNTIL 2:15 P.M.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:30 p.m. having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:32 p.m., recessed until 2:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer (Ms. SNOWE).

Mr. BAUCUS. Madam President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PRESSLER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from South Dakota.

Mr. PRESSLER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. PRESSLER. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as if in morning business for 5 minutes.

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

CORPORATION FOR PUBLIC BROADCASTING

Mr. PRESSLER. Madam President and Members of the Senate, I was concerned this morning to see in the Washington Post a story that was critical, essentially, of companies that might be interested in purchasing, acquiring, or partnering with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and other public broadcasting entities. In fact, the story highlighted or used as a headline, referring to these companies as "vultures moving in," and quoting one public broadcasting executive as referring to them in that way.

I think it is most unfortunate that fine, honest, telecommunications companies or other companies who might be interested in purchasing or running or managing the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and other public broadcasting entities or contributing the same amount of money the Federal Government now contributes in exchange for certain program and commercial rights with conditions of children's programming and conditions of rural radio and rural TV, to refer to them as "vultures" indicates the mentality of the insider group at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and the so-called public broadcasting family.

This family consists of inside-the-beltway crowd at the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Public Broadcasting Service, National Public Radio, the Association of Public Television

Stations, et cetera. It includes groups and certain foundations that surround the Corporation for Public Broadcasting such as the Children's Television Workshop. It includes some of the stations that get the lion's share of the funds such as WNET, which gets at least 20 times as much Federal money as my huge geographic State gets. This group is very defensive to any change.

Madam President, I am chairman of the committee that has oversight over the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and related agencies. We are supposed to think of some new ideas. There has been a telecommunications revolution since 1967. I think it was good that public radio and TV were created. It is now up and running.

There are several other privately funded areas that are producing the same kind of programming at a great profit, including Nickelodeon in children's television, including the Learning Channel, including the History Channel, and so forth. Granted these are on cable. Some say that they do not reach everybody.

We are also in an age when we have the computer Internet and many other exciting telecommunications and information technologies which did not exist in 1967.

We have VCR's, we have a number of additional new telecommunications and information technologies that will be coming if my Telecommunications Competition and Deregulation Act of 1995 is enacted. We will have an explosion of new telecommunications and information technologies. It is time that the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and other public broadcasting entities in this country be reformed and reinvented.

So I put these suggestions forward in the most sincere of fashions, but every time I make a suggestion, somebody in the public broadcasting family comes back with a very critical comment, discrediting it without any discussion of the facts.

The facts are that the American taxpayer is now providing a free public platform for many performers who make great profits, and I have nothing against profits, but the taxpayer is left out.

So I want the quality programming. It could be sold with conditions. Telecommunications in this country is privately owned, but they have conditions for universal service and certain rules on telephones and telecommunications devices. Railroads in this country are sometimes sold with public conditions, such as the Conrail sale a few years ago. Airlines have public conditions under which they operate.

We have reached a time when the Corporation for Public Broadcasting must rethink its role, it must rethink its relationship to some of the other communications technologies. It can profit from them. It can get along without a Federal subsidy, and it would be operated much better if it were privatized.

I have spoken to several privatization experts in the last week. I find the only people opposed to this are those inside the beltway, the people in that public broadcasting family who get salaries of between \$200,000 and \$600,000 a year, in some cases, whose salaries exceed the Members of this body. But these people cloak themselves in the public robe, saying that they are public servants. Well, if they want to be public servants then they should be paid like public servants, I suppose, in the opinion of some, if they do not want to be private.

They want to have their cake and eat it, too. They now have advertising on public radio and television. They get all sorts of grants. They have private-sector salaries, but yet they want the taxpayers' money.

So I say decide what you are or who you are, but get caught up with the telecommunications revolution, in any event. And the fact that several telecommunications companies are interested in buying, acquiring, or partnering with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and other public broadcasting entities indicates a synergistic relationship in this day and age. How wonderful it would be if public broadcasting would synergistically interact with the other new telecommunications, with computer Internet, with VCR's, cable TV, and with lots of other technologies. For example, Nickelodeon, which produces so much good children's programming that it is being sold in France.

PRIVATIZING PUBLIC BROADCASTING

If one message is clear from November's elections, it is that Americans want deep cuts in Federal spending, without gimmicks or special pleading. As chairman of the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, I expect to propose cuts of tens of billions of dollars from current levels of spending—and to privatize wherever possible. The Clinton administration as well is calling increasingly for spending cuts and for privatizing government agencies and subsidized enterprises.

A prime candidate for privatizing is the America's public broadcasting system. I want to wean public broadcasting from the \$300 million annual subsidy it gets from Federal taxpayers. I am convinced that the service public broadcasting is intended to provide could be better offered without costly Federal spending on posh Washington headquarters and legions of high-salaried bureaucratic personnel.

As the Senate is well aware, we in America continue to face a severe fiscal crisis. With an annual budget deficit projected at \$175 billion and a national debt of over \$4.6 trillion—with a "T"—we simply cannot afford to pay for all the good and worthy sounding projects which vie for American's tax dollars.

This past Sunday on the CBS news program "Face The Nation," I announced that several telecommunications companies, including Regional Bell Operating Company Bell Atlantic, had expressed an interest in helping to fund public broadcasting in a partnership or acquisition of assets arrangement. Under such an arrangement, the private company would step into the role now played by the Federal Government. As I have indicated a number of other telecommunications companies have expressed interest. In particular, since that time Glen Jones of Jones Intercable and Brian Roberts of Comcast have publicly expressed interest.

As in past efforts to privatize, such as the privatization of Conrail, such a deal could be approved with public service conditions. For instance legislation to privatize public broadcasting could include conditions that children's programming and rural broadcasting would be continued. As Bell Atlantic's President James Cullen stated in the Wall Street Journal yesterday, Bell Atlantic, under such an arrangement, would be "looking for ways to keep public broadcasting whole, and maybe even enhance the quality" by crafting better licensing arrangements.

As the Wall Street Journal also pointed out, public broadcasting is not unfamiliar with making deals with big business. On the contrary, it is a regular occurrence. Last month, Liberty Media Corp., a subsidiary of TCI, the Nation's largest cable operator, agreed to purchase a two-thirds stake in MacNeil-Lehrer Productions, the producer of PBS' nightly news program, MacNeil-Lehrer NewsHour.

Yet to hear the smug and sanctimonious executives of public broadcasting tell it, a privatization proposal is "not necessarily in touch with reality." Another of the pious managers of the current system declared that the system would be "sold off for scrap to the highest commercial bidder." Alarmists who profit from the current scheme under which America's hard working taxpayers provide a subsidized platform for commercial entities hysterically point to the "vultures * * * circling over the endangered species of public television." Still another suggests an even more horrifying and devious explanation: a desire by these unworthy and dirty commercial entities to curry favor with me so as to influence the telecommunications legislation. As one of the profiteers stated: "It would seem to me that the commercial interests would be looking at the telecom legislation and want to be cooperative."

Such flashes of rhetorical excess are quite extreme even by the standards set by the always pompous beltway operatives and high-priced producers of public broadcasting. No one should be surprised to see those who profit the most from the current taxpayer supported system whining and wailing the loudest.

Given these trying budgetary times I am wondering what CPB and leaders of public broadcasting propose for the future. I am anxious to hear CPB's, PBS', NPR's, Pacifica's, and APTS' plans for dealing with this problem. I want to see public broadcasting devise a privatization plan of its own. Technologies, markets, and Federal budgetary realities have changed drastically since CPB was created in 1967. In today's budget climate, the \$300 million annual subsidy simply cannot be justified. CPB officials must face this reality and reinvent their system. Let's see a serious restructuring plan from CPB and the leaders of public broadcasting.

Federal Government funding represents only 14 percent of the total public broadcasting budget. The other 86 percent comes from private contributions, grants, sponsorship, and State government funding.

Public broadcasting subsidies are frills we can no longer afford. It is impossible to argue that America does not have enough TV or radio or that it is a basic function of Government to satisfy every programming taste underserved by commercial stations. It is also hard to imagine that public broadcasting's most popular programs, "MacNeil/Lehrer," "Wall Street Week," "Sesame Street," or "All Things Considered," would disappear without taxpayer subsidies. Indeed, these programs today already feature advertising—also known by the code word "underwriting" by the public broadcasting crowd. The audiences for this advertising are among the wealthiest in America, and much of this advertising is highly sophisticated.

The very size of the deficit and national debt has now become an excuse for irresponsibility, because no single step is sufficient to make a major difference. If every single program is sacrosanct, then the cause is hopeless. Typically, public broadcasting officials claim that the taxpayer subsidy for public broadcasting is so small that it does not matter. We can simply no longer tolerate this casual cynicism.

Public broadcasting can best be described as one of Government's ornamental activities—pleasant but not essential. It clearly does not have as strong a claim on some of Government's and taxpayer's scarce resources as the National Institutes of Health, child immunization, national defense, and a thousand other competing causes.

Public broadcasting is mired in waste and duplication. A Twentieth Century Fund study found that 75 cents out of every dollar spent on public television is spent on overhead. In 1983 an FCC staff study estimated that 40 percent of all public TV stations had signals that overlapped with another public TV station. CPB itself estimates that over one quarter of the PBS stations are duplicative.

Another very troubling development is the illegal use of taxpayer funds to lobby for yet more taxpayer funds.

Since the 1870's there has been a prohibition against any federally appropriated funds being utilized for lobbying for more taxpayer dollars. Yet there are numerous reports of on-air "call your Congressman" lobbying. Additionally, how do we segregate taxpayer funds from private donations or advertising dollars when it all goes into the same pot of money?

When CPB was created during the heyday of the Great Society over 25 years ago, market failure was the fundamental, underlying premise for Federal funding of the public broadcasting system.

Most Americans in 1967 had access to only a handful of broadcast stations. Since that time there has been an absolute explosion in the number of media outlets and sources of information for the American people. For instance:

Broadcast TV stations increased from 769 to 1,688.

Broadcast radio more than doubled from 5,249 to 11,725.

The percentage of TV homes subscribing to cable TV grew from 3 percent to 65 percent—cable is available to 96 percent of TV homes.

CNN, C-SPAN, Arts & Entertainment, Discovery, The Learning Channel, Bravo, The History Channel, and many other cable channels have programming that's a substitute for public broadcasting without Government subsidy.

Direct Broadcast Satellite is now available everywhere in the 48 contiguous States with over 150 channels of digital video and audio programming.

Wireless Cable has several million subscribers.

Over 85 percent of American homes have a VCR—VCR's were not available in 1967.

Close to 40 percent of American homes have a PC—a product which was not available until the early 1980s.

Multimedia CD-ROM sales are flourishing with educational titles particularly popular.

The Internet and computer on-line services such as Prodigy, American On-Line, CompuServe are reaching over 6 million homes.

Most important, this is just the beginning of a new era of information plenty. With the passage of the new Telecommunications Competition and De-Regulation Act of 1995 which we will introduce and pass early in the 104th Congress, an explosion of still more media and information outlets will be unleashed.

Telephone companies, electric utilities and other new players will enter the media programming field. And with digital compression technology, broadcasters, cable companies, satellite, and other traditional media outlets will significantly expand their channel and program offerings.

As a result, the days when Americans watched the same TV shows day in and day out, as they did in 1967, is history. As a result, the original justification

for taxpayer funding of public broadcasting due to market failure no longer holds water.

At a minimum there should be a rational discussion as to the appropriate role, if any, for public broadcasting in the digital, multimedia age—to determine how best to reinvent and liberate public broadcasting given the age of information plenty.

Equally troubling is the fact that public broadcasting provides a free, publicly subsidized platform for the promotion of related products and paraphernalia. Yet the American taxpayer who makes it all possible does not participate in this windfall.

Forbes magazine recently listed Barney, the loveable purple dinosaur, as the third richest entertainer in America after Stephen Spielberg and Oprah Winfrey. Barney is estimated to gross almost \$1 billion a year. Sesame Street is close behind with \$800 million.

How much of those hundreds of millions of dollars are paid as dividends to America's taxpayers? The answer is: scarcely a penny.

There is in many respects a shopping channel mentality for public broadcasting including Bill Moyer's books, Ken Burns' "Civil War" and "Baseball" videos, Louis Rukeyser newsletters, and Frugal Gourmet cookbooks.

Millions of dollars which could be returned to the taxpayer are diverted to private parties, with nonprofit entities fronting for profit making enterprises.

Since 1968, actual appropriations to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting have totaled almost \$3 billion. This Federal support has produced a system of 340 public TV stations and more than 1,000 noncommercial radio stations—about two-thirds of which are CPB-qualified and get Federal money.

But Federal appropriations, large as they have been, are only a fraction of the total Federal support package. Under the FCC's channel set aside program, adopted in 1952, many extremely valuable TV channels were allocated to public broadcasting. Included are VHF—channels 2 to 13—stations in several major markets like WNET-Channel 13 in New York, WTTW-Channel 11 to Chicago, KETC-Channel 9 in St. Louis, and WYES-Channel 12 in New Orleans.

These stations and many others are worth literally hundreds of millions of dollars. There is a similar set aside allocation scheme for public broadcasting in the FM radio spectrum band as well.

Non-Federal support of public broadcasting totals about \$15.5 billion to date. A good portion of that total comes from State college and university funds which, in turn, derives its money from Federal sources in some cases. Much of it is also tax deductible gifts and grants. Under current budget accounting, these would be counted as tax expenditures.

The Commerce Department's NTIA administers the Public Telecommunications Facilities Program [PTFP].

Over the decades, PTFP has distributed more than \$½ billion in equipment and facilities grants. That is an enormous amount of money for a business like broadcasting which is not considered very capital intensive.

In addition, Congress has largely funded the development of a nationwide satellite interconnection system for public broadcasting. More recently, NTIA has been given funds to help stimulate the development of children's programming.

The question is this: How much seed money is enough. Tens of billions of dollars have been spent to date to help get public broadcasting started. But are we now locked into a long run Federal dependency situation?

Alternatives are available. Let us not forget that from 1981 to 1984 there was a congressionally authorized Temporary Commission on Alternative Financing for Public Telecommunications [TCAF]. It included the Republican and Democratic members of the House and Senate Communications Subcommittees, the FCC, the Reagan administration, and the industry. TCAF authorized a test of advertising on public TV stations. Public radio was also authorized to participate but they boycotted the experiment.

As part of the 18-month experiment with advertising on public broadcasting, TCAF was required to conduct viewer polls—10,000 interviews were conducted. There was virtually no negative viewer response to advertising. The majority of the respondents were of the opinion that public broadcasting should have advertising and the majority disagreed that advertising would hurt the programs or that people would stop watching public broadcasting that ran advertising.

One of the viewers in Chicago, for example, when asked before and after the experiment, replied, "Well, I am not sure I liked the commercials—but I sure liked them more than the old kind." She was, of course, referring to "Pledge Week", also known as Beg-A-Thons.

The public broadcasting audience and contributor lists are an extremely attractive group for many, many advertisers. According to the viewer magazine of WETA in Washington, its viewers have an average household net worth of \$627,000 plus an average investment portfolio of \$249,000. One out of eight contributors is a millionaire, one out of seven has a wine cellar, and one out of three spent time in Europe in the past 3 years. This is the target audience for PBS' prime time programming.

As a WETA fundraiser told Washingtonian magazine, the corporate giants that underwrite the most popular shows "know that during prime time, public television can deliver the demographic they want: affluent, highly educated, the movers and shakers, the socially conscious and well informed."

Moreover, the wealthy donors to public broadcasting could rather easily

make up the 14-percent funding. For instance, if the 5.2 million PBS members were to contribute only \$55 more a year it would equal the Federal share for CPB. It is clear that those donors are the very people who can afford to contribute an additional \$55 a year.

Today, the American public clearly agrees that something should be done. A Louis Harris poll conducted for Business Week this month put CPB third on the list of Federal agencies Americans want abolished. Only the National Endowment for the Arts and the Department of Housing and Urban Development ranked higher among the public's priorities for elimination. Meanwhile the PBS taxpayer funded poll has been completely discredited by the leading polling firm in America—Times Mirror. Moreover, the CNN/Gallop poll found support for funding only at some level. What none of these polls has asked yet is "do you favor continuation of public broadcasting as a privatized enterprise"? The overwhelming majority of Americans would answer with a resounding yes.

Faced with this sort of sentiment, defenders of taxpayer spending for CPB have put up two heat shields they hope will preserve the subsidy—rural service and children's programming.

As a Senator from South Dakota, a State with smaller cities and many farms, I have heard all the scare tactics about rural and smaller city broadcasting service before. But rural service can be sustained—even improved—through measures that actually save money to the taxpayers.

The key is leaner management. As I mentioned earlier, in Washington and throughout the system, reports the Twentieth Century Fund, 75 percent of public broadcasting funds go to overhead. CPB requires rural stations to hire full-time paid staff in many instances where students and volunteers are willing and available. This needlessly drives up the cost of rural community broadcasting.

Let us not also forget for a moment that current funding formulas favor the large urban, elite stations which get the lion's share of the funds because CPB matches private donations. In addition, as of 1992, of the 340 local TV stations in the public broadcasting network, only 7 get part of the \$100 million programming fund to produce programs for the PBS network. Of those seven, only two stations, New York and Boston, produce by far the lion's share.

One TV station in New York, WNET, for example, gets eight times as much from CPB as the entire State of South Dakota for all TV and radio—South Dakota: \$1.7 million; WNET: \$9.3 million. This does not include the additional millions received by WNET and other elite stations through the \$100 million programming fund.

In addition, private sector-like salaries are paid to personnel in public broadcasting. While I have no problem

with people in the private sector making large salaries. I do have a problem with private sector salaries being paid to those who cloak themselves in public service, especially when my State gets so little of the Federal money. While CPB and PBS salaries do generally follow congressional caps, the highest salaries in the system are routed through stations, producers, and performers.

For instance, as Senator DOLE pointed out in 1992, WNET of New York reported paying Executive Director Lester Crystal \$309,375 in compensation plus a package of \$92,000 plus in benefits; George Page a director gets \$184,000 plus \$55,000 in benefits; Robert Lipsyte a host gets \$184,000 plus \$54,000 in benefits. KCET of Los Angeles had a salary package of over \$250,000 per year in 1992. According to the Wall Street Journal, the president of Pittsburgh's WQED resigned in disgrace in 1993 when it was revealed he was receiving a second salary of \$300,000 from a station contractor. Other stations still permit other sources of income. Station perks often include cars, travel, service on other boards etc.

Children's Television Workshop, the producer of Sesame Street, reported a top salary plus benefits package totaling some \$625,000 in 1992.

The biggest unknown is payments to PBS stars—since stations contract with private companies to pay the talent. As a result, we do not currently know what MacNeil, Lehrer, Ken Burns, Bill Moyers, or the Frugal Gourmet make. It has been reported that Norm Abrams, the carpenter on "This Old House", makes over \$250,000 a year.

CPB's campaign on children's television is even more alarmist. At a public relations event this month in Washington, CPB trotted out the president of the local PBS station from New Orleans, who gave his dire prediction of what would happen at his station without Federal taxpayers' funds.

"Early morning broadcasts of Barney and Lamb Chop's Play-Along would go away," the station president said emotionally. "It would be a huge step backward for America."

That's what I call a "close the Washington Monument" strategy: Threaten to shut down the most popular and visible attraction when threatened with a marginal loss of tax dollars. And for public broadcasting, the end of Federal subsidies would be but a marginal loss. To reiterate a point made earlier, only 14 percent of public broadcasting's revenues comes from Federal taxpayers. The other 86 percent comes from private contributions, corporate underwriting and State government grants.

Any decently managed organization should be able to sustain a loss of one source accounting for 14 percent of revenues—especially when its horizons are wide open for revenues from other sources.

High quality children's programming is available now through free market media that did not even exist when CPB was chartered and its taxpayer spending began to grow. The Learning Channel, the Discovery Channel, the Disney Channel are but a few. Another, Nickelodeon, has fared so well both critically and commercially that it has sold programming to television in France—an exceedingly hard market for U.S. cultural offerings to penetrate.

Profit and commercialization are treated as obscenities by sanctimonious public broadcasting executives. These prim people remind me of the "sportin' house" piano player who swore he had no idea what was going on upstairs.

As I mentioned before, profit certainly isn't a dirty word to the creators and licensees of such successful shows as Barney and Sesame Street. While hundreds of millions of dollars were being made, thanks to the contracts negotiated by CPB's pious managers, CPB failed to reap a penny in return.

Restructured and truly privatized, CPB could be a clearinghouse for quality programming from our highly creative competitive marketplace. And it would have the right incentives to prevent squandering opportunities and resources.

The American people are right on target in making it a priority to halt taxpayer spending for the CPB bureaucracy, to privatize the public broadcasting industry and bring it up to date with today's markets and technologies. This is one of my top goals as the new chairman of the Senate Commerce Committee.

Mr. BAUCUS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Montana.

Mr. BAUCUS. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent to proceed as in morning business.

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

OSHA RULES GOVERNING LOGGING OPERATIONS

Mr. BAUCUS. Madam President, Washington bureaucrats are at it again. On February 9, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, otherwise known as OSHA, will impose rules governing logging operations out in the woods. Now, logging can be hazardous and there are certain rules that do make sense and should be enforced to ensure that folks are not subjected to unnecessary risks. But people who work in the woods are not dummies. They know they do dangerous work, and they know which rules make sense and which ones do not.

Unfortunately, the OSHA folks back here in Washington, DC, got carried away with their rulemaking because they issued a host of logging regulations that, I must tell you, simply defy common sense and they hurt the people who are trying to make a living rather

than helping them. You can tell whoever wrote them works at a desk, probably in Washington, DC, and not with a chain saw.

For example, these new regulations require loggers to wear foot protection that prevents penetration by chain saws. That means steel-toed kevlar boots. While requiring loggers to wear these boots sounds like a good, sensible rule, the fact is, it is not. As Montana loggers will tell you, steel-toed boots are impractical when it comes to steep terrain—and I can tell you, we have a lot of that—and in cold weather. We have some of that, too. Since they reduce comfort and significantly reduce flexibility, they make it easier to slip and to fall, not a good thing when you are carrying a chain saw. Uncomfortable and inflexible boots might make the job more dangerous, not less dangerous. We have to, I think, let the logger make that call.

Furthermore, chain-saw resistant work boots would have to be made out of exotic material like kevlar. These boots are not readily available from manufacturers. It seems impractical to me then to ask loggers to take a vacation while their new up-to-standard boots are on back order.

Another provision requires loggers to wear both eyeglasses and face protection. Eye protection does make common sense. It is a regulation that loggers have strictly followed for many years. The additional requirement of face shields, however, will only cut down on loggers' peripheral vision; here, again, a regulation that creates more of a hazard than it alleviates.

A third provision requires health care providers to review and approve logger first aid kits on a yearly basis; a doctor's appointment for a first aid kit. OSHA has to be kidding. I would think that OSHA could perhaps list the required contents for an aid kit and just leave it at that.

These, Madam President, are but three examples that demonstrate just how bad these regulations are going. They are tough and violators are subjected to stiff penalties. They also make no sense and will needlessly put hardworking men and women out of business come February 9 when they go into effect.

Sometimes it seems to me the Feds have it in for people who work in the woods, or just like to go camping. For example, last year, I persuaded the Forest Service to withdraw a set of regulations that told folks what they could and could not do in the woods. These were the rules that outlawed people from carrying firearms, picking up rocks, or shouting out loud in our national forests.

The Forest Service finally came to their senses and withdrew those regulations, and I hope that the Department of Labor will do the same here. I have asked the Secretary of Labor to suspend implementation of these regulations for 180 days.