

Harold R. Tyler, Jr., former U.S. District Judge, New York; former Deputy Attorney General of the United States.

Cyrus Vance, former U.S. Secretary of State.

James Vollers, former Judge, Texas Court of Criminal Appeals.

Andrew Young, former Ambassador to the United Nations, former Mayor, Atlanta, Georgia.

#### EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

H. Scott Wallace, 1625 K Street, N.W., Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20006.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

Mr. GRASSLEY. I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business briefly for the purpose of introducing a bill.

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

(The remarks of Mr. GRASSLEY pertaining to the introduction of S. 888 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

#### PRESIDENT CLINTON'S VETO OF THE RESCISSIONS BILL

Mr. KENNEDY. Madam President, I commend President Clinton for his veto of the rescissions bill this afternoon. Once again, the President has made clear his strong commitment to education and to the students and working families of the Nation.

By vetoing this bill, the President has said "no" to the elimination of violence and drug prevention programs for 20 million students in 90 percent of our schools.

He has said "no" to the elimination of school reform grants to 2,000 schools in 47 States.

He has said "no" to the drastic cuts in reading and math assistance for 135,000 pupils.

He has said "no" to the elimination of community service support for 15,000 young men and women ready, willing, and able to serve their communities and earn money for their education.

He has said "no" to the elimination of opportunities for thousands of young high school students to participate in school-to-work programs.

He has said "no" to ending the promising start we have made on putting modern technology in schools.

He has said "no" to deep cuts like this to pay for tax cuts for the rich.

The battle has now been squarely joined against drastic anti-education Republican budget proposals that would mean the largest education cuts in the Nation's history.

These Republican budgets are indefensible—they would cut 33 percent of the Federal investment in education by the year 2002, and slash over \$30 billion in Federal aid to college students.

Every student, every parent, every American understands that education is the indispensable foundation of a better life for themselves and their children. Deep Republican cuts in education are a betrayal of the hopes and

dreams of families for their children. They undermine the Nation's future strength. Our schools, colleges, and students deserve a helping Federal hand—not the back of Republican hands.

This veto is right, and I am confident it will be sustained by the Congress.

#### ADMINISTRATION POLICY ON BOSNIA

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, it is indeed ironic that the Clinton administration—whose policy on Bosnia needs to be checked hourly—is on the attack against those in Congress like myself who have consistently argued for a policy that candidate Clinton advocated. Maybe administration officials are tired of attacking each other in the press and have decided to take their frustration out on the Congress.

The administration's arguments against withdrawing the U.N. protection forces and lifting the arms embargo are neither based on fact nor on American experience.

First we have a statement from the Secretary of Defense today that withdrawing U.N. forces would lead to a humanitarian disaster. I do not know if the Pentagon has been keeping up with the news over the last few months, but the situation in Bosnia is and has been a humanitarian disaster for the last couple of years, despite the presence of 22,000 U.N. troops. The U.N. mission in Bosnia has failed. Bandages like the quick reaction force will not change that fact.

Secretary Perry also told the Armed Services Committee today that the casualty rate in Bosnia dramatically dropped, which he attributed to the presence of U.N. forces. As the recent hostage taking has painfully demonstrated, the U.N. forces cannot even protect themselves let alone the Bosnians. And I say this understanding the bravery of each of the individuals who are there. They are in a very, very difficult situation. They cannot protect themselves. They are placed there by their governments.

Furthermore, the heaviest Bosnian casualties were in areas where U.N. forces were either not deployed or deployed too late—in northern and eastern Bosnia.

So it seems to me that the real reason casualties dropped is because the Bosnians, over time, have acquired more weapons and have been able to better defend themselves. That is why the casualty rate has gone down.

The second argument made by the administration is that the lifting of the arms embargo would Americanize the war and make the United States responsible for events in Bosnia.

Let us not fool ourselves—America is responsible now. We already have a responsibility. America is responsible because it has not been a leader, rather it has meekly followed the Europeans' failed approach.

As for the accusation that lifting the arms embargo would "Americanize"

the conflict, it seems to me that the United States has plenty of experience from Central America to Afghanistan in providing military assistance without being drawn into a quagmire with American troops on the ground. The real recipe for getting bogged down is to send United States ground troops into Bosnia without a mission, which is why the resolution I intend to submit would authorize, with strict conditions, the use of United States ground forces for the clearly stated purpose of withdrawing U.N. protection forces from Bosnia—not for peacekeeping, not for reconfiguration, not for strengthening, or any other proposed deployments supported by the Clinton administration.

Furthermore, Bosnian officials have repeated time and time again that they do not want United States ground troops. Just a couple days ago, in response to news that a European quick reaction force would be created, Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic said "Please untie our hands, arm the Bosnians. We do not want your boys to die for us"—British boys, French boys, or American boys.

Finally, when those of us who advocate lifting the arms embargo—and I am talking about Republicans and Democrats; this has never been a partisan issue on this floor, it has been supported by many Democrats and a great number of Republicans—point out that other countries would also participate in arming the Bosnians, we are told this would allow Iran to arm the Bosnians. The fact is the arms embargo has guaranteed that Iran is a key supplier of arms to Bosnia and administration officials have actually used that fact to argue that there is no need to lift the arms embargo.

What other choices do the Bosnians have? They are going to find weapons where they can find weapons.

From statements made by State Department officials to the press, one gets the impression that Iran is the Clinton administration's preferred provider of weapons to the Bosnians. If the administration has a problem with Iran arming Bosnia, it should be prepared to do something about it.

We can do something about it. It would not take very long.

If the arms embargo is lifted, America would not be the only country to provide assistance. Countries like Turkey, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Pakistan would offer financial and military assistance. In addition, former Warsaw Pact countries would be free to sell their vast arsenal of Soviet-style weapons that have been designated for export pursuant to the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. Since the Bosnians presently use Soviet-style equipment, acquiring former Soviet bloc equipment would minimize the amount of training they would require. Furthermore, any training, whether by United States military advisers or other country military advisers, could

be conducted outside of Bosnia—in Croatia or Slovenia, for example.

Madam President, administration officials should quit fighting amongst themselves and begin real consultations with the Congress, consultations based on the facts and not on wild accusations or unrealistic scenarios. It is time to take sides—with the victims of this aggression. It is also high time for America to exercise leadership and end its participation in this international failure.

#### VETO OF RESCISSIONS BILL

Mr. DOLE. Madam President, I will just say that on the rescissions veto by the President today, it is highly regrettable President Clinton chose a bill cutting spending for the first veto. The \$16.4 billion rescissions bill would have provided for \$9 billion—\$9 billion, a lot of money in real savings—an important downpayment in getting our country's financial house in order.

The President made a serious mistake in judgment in vetoing this measure. It would have provided funding to the Federal Emergency Management Agency for disaster relief, to Oklahoma for reconstruction, and debt relief for Jordan to support the peace process, money for California.

Speaker GINGRICH and I have previously said we met the administration more than halfway. The President asked for Jordan debt relief, we met his request. The President asked for FEMA funds for disaster relief in 40 States, and we met his request. The President threatened to veto if striker replacement language was included in the bill, we took it out. We left AIDS funding, breast cancer screening, childhood immunization, Head Start, and other programs untouched, and still we came up with \$9 billion in net real savings.

We, in the Congress, held up our end of the bargain, but President Clinton missed a valuable opportunity—a golden opportunity—to join us cutting spending.

Now, with three-quarters of the fiscal year almost gone, we are losing the opportunity to enact real savings this year. In the face of the budget deficit that mortgages our children's future, we in the Congress will proceed to pass a budget that puts us on the path to balance by the year 2002. We owe it to our children, and we owe it to our grandchildren.

For the sake of generations to come, it is time for the President to stop being an obstacle in the road and join us in our responsibility to secure our Nation's economic future.

#### THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMPETITION AND DEREGULATION ACT

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of calendar No. 45, S. 652, the telecommunications bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BENNETT). The bill will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 652) to provide for a pro-competitive, deregulatory national policy framework designed to accelerate rapidly private sector deployment of advanced telecommunications and information technologies and services to all Americans by opening all telecommunications markets to competition, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I rise to begin Senate floor consideration of S. 652—the comprehensive communications bill which the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation overwhelmingly approved late last month on a vote of 17 to 2—The Telecommunications Competition and Deregulation Act of 1995.

The future of America's economy and society is inextricably linked to the universe of telecommunications and computer technology. Telecommunications and computer technology is a potent force for progress and freedom, more powerful than Gutenberg's invention of the printing press five centuries ago, or Bell's telephone and Marconi's radio in the last century.

This force has helped us reach today's historic turning point in America.

The telecommunications and computer technology of 21st-Century America will be hair-thin strands of glass and fiber below; the magical crackling of stratospheric spectrum above; and the orbit of satellites 23,000 miles beyond. With personal computers interconnected, telephones untethered, televisions and radios reinvented, and other devices yet to be invented bringing digitized information to life, the telecommunications and computer technology unleashed by S. 652 will forever change our economy and society.

At stake is our ability to compete and win in an international information marketplace estimated to be over \$3 trillion by the close of the decade. The information industry already constitutes one-seventh of our economy, and is growing.

As chairman of the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, the core of my agenda is to promote creativity in telecommunications and computer technology by rolling back the cost and reach of government. Costly big-government laws designed for another era restrain telecommunications and computer technology from realizing its full potential. My top priority this year is to modernize and liberalize communications law through passage of the bill before us today, S. 652: Telecommunications Competition and Deregulation Act of 1995.

#### A. THE ADVENT OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS REGULATIONS

Most telecommunications policy and regulation in America is based upon

the New Deal era Communications Act of 1934. The 1934 Act incorporated the premise that telephone services were a natural monopoly, whereby only a single firm could provide better services at a lower cost than a number of competing suppliers. Tight government control over spectrum based services was justified on a scarcity theory. Neither theory for big government regulation holds true today, if it ever did.

The 1934 Act was intended to ensure that AT&T and other monopoly telephone companies did not abuse their monopoly power. However, regulatory protection from competition also ensured that AT&T would remain a government-sanctioned monopoly. In exchange for this government-sanctioned monopoly, AT&T was to provide universal service. AT&T retained its government-sanctioned monopoly until antitrust enforcement broke up the Bell System and transferred the monopoly over local services to the Bell Operating Companies.

The Communications Act has become the cornerstone of communications law in the United States. The 1934 Act established the Federal Communications Commission, and granted it regulatory power over communications by wire, radio, telephone, and cable within the United States. The Act also charged the Federal Communications Commission with the responsibility of maintaining, for all the people of the United States, a rapid, efficient, Nationwide and worldwide wire and radio communications service with adequate facilities and reasonable charges.

Prior to 1934, communications regulation had come under the jurisdiction of three separate Federal agencies. Radio stations were licensed and regulated by the Federal Radio Commission; the Interstate Commerce Commission had jurisdiction over telephone, telegraph, and wireless common carriers; and the Postmaster General had certain jurisdiction over the companies that provided these services. As the number of communications providers in the United States grew, Congress determined that a commission with unified jurisdiction would serve the American people more effectively.

The 1934 Communications Act combined the powers that the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Radio Commission then exercised over communications under a single, independent Federal agency.

The Communications Act of 1934 was based, in part, on the Interstate Commerce Act of 1888. For example, the requirement for approval of construction or extension of lines for railroads was taken directly from the ICC Act. Prior to 1934, wire communications were regulated by the same set of laws that regulated the railroads. Radio communications were regulated under the 1927 Federal Radio Act. In 1934, the Federal Communications Commission was created to oversee both the wireline communications and radio communications.