

after Saddam Hussein moved into Kuwait, the question appropriately would not have been, "Is Kuwait worth dying for," because there was much more on the line there as there is here. What is on the line here is the credibility and the reliability of the word of the President of the United States, who alone has made this commitment and is authorized to execute the foreign policy of the United States.

Five-hundred and thirty-five Members of Congress cannot be at every meeting, every negotiation that the President of the United States is involved in. The Presidency, beyond this President, must have that reliability, that credibility, that strength. In that strength and reliability rests not just some distant esoteric governmental structure or authority point of view; in that reliability rests the security of each and every American.

So I thank my colleagues for understanding that there is more at work here. The reliability and credibility of our word, the controlling of a conflict, hopefully ending a conflict that could have spread and become a wider war and drawn us in later on at a much higher price, the renewed strength of NATO on which we will rely to help us share the burdens of peacekeeping, not just here but around the world.

We called on NATO allies in 1990 and 1991 in the gulf war and said we needed their help, and our allies came to our assistance, fought by our side. Today, in effect, they in Europe are asking our help—not to do it all, but to provide one-third of an international force. Who knows? A year or two from now, we again may find that some strategic interest or moral principle of ours has been challenged around the world and we will turn to our allies in Europe and NATO and ask them for help. If we say no today, then what can we reasonably expect them to say to us tomorrow?

So, Mr. President, I thank again the majority leader and the Senator from Arizona for rising above politics and partisanship, doing what is not popular but doing what they have concluded and I believe is best for our country and best for those 20,000 soldiers who are going into peacekeeping in Bosnia.

The last thing I think we would want to do is to send those 20,000 soldiers into Bosnia wondering whether they have the support of anybody besides the President of the United States. It is up to us in Congress, as representatives of the people of this country, every State and district of this country, to say to those brave soldiers—the finest fighting force that has ever existed in the history of the world, in my opinion—we are with you. We stand behind you. The time for partisan debate is over. You have a mission to do, and now we are focused on doing everything we can to support your mission and to help, as Senator DOLE has said, to make sure that it can be carried out swiftly, successfully, and with good effect.

I agree with my colleagues that part of that is to make sure that the Bosnian military is adequately armed and equipped to deter aggression once the NATO peacekeeping force leaves Bosnia.

Mr. President, there are moments when not only the people of the United States but Members of Congress are disappointed, frustrated, discouraged by what happens here. There are other moments when we are elevated and inspired and encouraged because we see among our distinguished colleagues an extraordinarily able group that has been sent here from around the country. We see really the finest, in a sense I would say the most noble of human behavior, real acts of leadership, and I respectfully suggest that we have seen such an act from the Senate majority leader today and from the Senator from Arizona.

I look forward to working with them and, hopefully, with a strong bipartisan majority of colleagues, to draft and then pass an appropriate resolution of support for those 20,000 troops and for the President and the Presidency that has made this commitment.

I thank the Chair, and I yield the floor.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session, the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 30, 1995, during the adjournment of the Senate, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 2519. An act to facilitate contributions to charitable organizations by codifying certain exemptions from the Federal securities laws, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2525. An act to modify the operation of the antitrust laws, and of State laws similar to the antitrust laws, with respect to charitable gift annuities.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 4, 1995, the enrolled bills were signed on November 30, 1995, during the adjournment of the Senate by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND.)

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1638. A communication from the Chairperson of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report entitled, "Funding Federal Civil Rights Enforcement"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EC-1639. A communication from the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, proposed regulations on disclaimers on campaign communications; to the Committee on Rules and Administration.

EC-1640. A communication from the Under Secretary of Defense (Acquisition and Technology), transmitting, pursuant to law, the Selected Acquisition Reports for the period July 1 to September 30, 1995; to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following executive reports of committees were submitted:

By Mr. ROTH, from the Committee on Finance:

Darcy E. Bradbury, of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.

David A. Lipton, of Massachusetts, to be a Deputy Under Secretary of the Treasury.

Joseph H. Gale, of Virginia, to be a Judge of the U.S. Tax Court for a term expiring 15 years after he takes office.

David C. Williams, of Illinois, to be Inspector General, Social Security Administration.

Melissa T. Skofield, of Louisiana, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health and Human Services.

(The above nominations were reported with the recommendation that they be confirmed, subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

#### INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. DOLE:

S. 1438. A bill to establish a commission to review the dispute settlement reports of the World Trade Organization, and for other purposes; read the first time.

By Mr. GLENN (for himself, Mr. DEWINE, and Mr. GORTON):

S. 1439. A bill to require the consideration of certain criteria in decisions to relocate professional sports teams, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. BIDEN:

S. 1440. A bill to amend the Social Security to increase the earnings limit, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. HELMS:

S. 1441. A bill to authorize appropriations for the Department of State for fiscal year 1996 through 1999 and to abolish the United States Information Agency, the United States Arms Control and Disarmament

Agency, and the Agency for International Development, and for other purposes; read the first time.

#### STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. GLENN (for himself, Mr. DEWINE, and Mr. GORTON):

S. 1439. A bill to require the consideration of certain criteria in decisions to relocate professional sports teams, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

##### FANS RIGHTS ACT OF 1995

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, I want to address the situation we face in professional sports at the moment. What I am introducing today is a bill we call the Fans Rights Act. I believe we truly are at a crossroads in professional sports. When we talk about professional sports and introducing legislation, obviously the first question is why on Earth do we want to get the Government involved in professional sports? Keep our mitts out of that area. Stay away from it. We have no business getting into the area of professional sports.

Yet, I would say that we are into a situation now that I think is very important. I think it is important for the country. It does involve professional sports. Why get Government involved? Professional sports, the way they are organized, do have to come to Government for antitrust exemptions and for permission to use broadcast money for various purposes and spread across interstate—a whole host of things where Government does, indeed, get involved.

Beyond that, Americans are sports minded. Part of the fabric of the daily life of the United States is looking at the ball scores, looking at the scores on the weekends, and watching the professional sports teams operate. I think Senator SPECTER, at a hearing we had yesterday, put it well when he said, "America has a love affair with professional sports." Indeed we do have a love affair with professional sports. We even have sports idols, of course, that are the role models for many of our young people. It goes into the whole fabric of this country. I will not belabor that idea any further.

The shock waves of the Cleveland Browns' proposed move to Baltimore extend far beyond just the State of Ohio. Every community with a professional sports team needs to know this: Any city in America can fall victim to a bidding war in which the interests of loyal fans and communities are given very little consideration.

Quite simply, if it can happen in Cleveland, where loyal fans supported the Browns through thick and thin, then, Mr. President, it can happen anywhere. Other communities may have been willing to grin and bear it, but in Cleveland, we are drawing a line in the sand and we are here to say that enough is enough.

The new economics of sports is a zero sum game in which teams seem to bounce around the country and taxpayers too often are left holding the bag.

Unfortunately, professional sports leagues, like the NFL, actually have little ability to regulate the movement of their own member teams. They cannot enforce their own bylaws that franchise holders agree to when they become members of the league. There is no process involved to allow a community to have any protection or input before such moves. A team simply picks up and goes, leaving behind fans, businesses, and a community that has invested vast emotional and financial support.

Judging by the barrage of reports during football games each Sunday on nightly hockey broadcasts or in the sports pages each day, it would seem to lead us to believe that almost half of America's sports franchises are looking for greener pastures.

Let me run through just a few of the things being considered right now.

In Texas, the Houston Oilers have announced they are moving to Nashville. In Florida, the Tampa Bay Buccaneers are rumored to be moving up to Orlando. The Chicago Bears are considering an offer to move over the border to Gary, IN.

If that is not confusing enough, this past weekend various NFL commentators reported that:

The Buccaneers will end up in Cleveland with the Browns' name;

The Buccaneers will end up in Baltimore and the Browns will be sold;

The Oilers transfer is not a done deal; and

Both the Seattle Seahawks and Arizona Cardinals are talking about relocating to Los Angeles, which lost both its teams in moves before this season.

Does anyone find it ironic that the Cardinals are talking about relocating to Los Angeles to replace the Rams who moved to St. Louis to replace the Cardinals after they moved to Phoenix?

No wonder the sports fans find it tough to even follow those moves. These are the people we are concerned about, not just those in the skyboxes. We are talking about the average American whose family has supported a franchise through season tickets, parking fees, T-shirts, and paraphernalia through concessions for decades and decades and decades, because it is those people who are the true fabric of American sports.

It is those people who are truly hurt when a flagship team like the Browns threatens to leave town.

We are here today to say that it is time to give a voice to the fans of America. That is what the Fans Right Act we are introducing today is all about.

I think the league knows they have a basic problem. We have talked to Commissioner Tagliabue about this, and actually the league does not have control over where these franchises go even

though their own bylaws say that a vote of the league owners will determine where the teams go.

The problem has been that a few years back one of the owners decided to move anyway, even though the league had voted against him, on a move of the Oakland Raiders to Los Angeles, in effect thumbing his nose at the league when they voted that he could not move. He was taken to court. The league lost, and there was about a \$50 million penalty assessed against the league, even though their own bylaws that the owner had agreed to said that the league could control the move.

That is the situation we find ourselves in.

Let me hasten to add that this is not an antiowners bill in any way, shape, or form. It does not prohibit the owners from making money. It does not limit the amount of money they can make. It does not stop them from cutting the best deals they can with their host cities. It does not even bar them from moving their teams to the other locations if there are good reasons for doing so. But it does require them to play by the rules that they themselves set and vote upon. It lets the league have the final say whether a transfer will be made or will not be made. Right now the league does not have that authority because it has been taken to court and shown that they did not have it.

I realize that professional football, like all big league sports, is a business. It is a big business. But a business is comprised of its owners, its workers, and its customers. Team owners have rights. They do not hesitate to enforce them. Team players have rights, and they do not hesitate to enforce them either. The third part of that is I believe the team customers—the fans—have some rights also, and that is what this addresses.

I say it is time that we help them enforce those rights—not just in Cleveland but all across this great country. If it were just one move, well, all right. I would doubt that would be the subject of any legislation here on the floor of the Senate. But, as I indicated earlier, this has become a basic problem in professional sports, and we are trying to address that problem.

So while we recognize that professional sports franchises are clearly business and we must consider profit, we also believe Congress should take a number of steps to, in effect, help the league in its ability to control the destiny of the league. That is a power they do not now have. It gives them the power to increase stability and ultimately preserve the integrity of professional sports.

Let me turn to some of the details. We accomplish the first by providing sports leagues with a very narrow, limited exemption to antitrust laws if the league has voted to block a move. Let me read that again. We accomplish it by providing sports leagues with a very limited antitrust exemption if the