

Whereas recent violence in Zimbabwe has resulted in several murders and brutal attacks on innocent individuals, including the murder of farm workers and owners;

Whereas violence has been directed toward individuals of all races;

Whereas the ruling party and its supporters have specifically directed violence at democratic reform activists seeking to prepare for upcoming parliamentary elections;

Whereas the offices of a leading independent newspaper in Zimbabwe have been bombed;

Whereas the Government of Zimbabwe has not yet publicly condemned the recent violence;

Whereas President Mugabe's statement that thousands of law-abiding citizens are enemies of the state has further incited violence;

Whereas 147 out of 150 members of the Parliament in Zimbabwe (98 percent) belong to the same political party;

Whereas no date has been set for parliamentary elections in Zimbabwe;

Whereas the unemployment rate in Zimbabwe now exceeds 60 percent and political turmoil is on the brink of destroying Zimbabwe's economy;

Whereas the economy is being further damaged by the Government of Zimbabwe's ongoing involvement in the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo;

Whereas the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization has issued a warning that Zimbabwe faces a food emergency due to shortages caused by violence against farmers and farm workers; and

Whereas events in Zimbabwe could threaten stability and economic development in the entire region: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—

(1) extends its support to the vast majority of citizens of the Republic of Zimbabwe who are committed to peace, economic prosperity, and an open, transparent parliamentary election process;

(2) strongly urges the Government of Zimbabwe to enforce the rule of law and fulfill its responsibility to protect the political and civil rights of all citizens;

(3) supports those international efforts to assist with land reform which are consistent with accepted principles of international law and which take place after the holding of free and fair parliamentary elections;

(4) condemns government-directed violence against farm workers, farmers, and opposition party members;

(5) encourages the local media, civil society, and all political parties to work together toward a campaign environment conducive to free, transparent and fair elections within the legally prescribed period;

(6) recommends international support for voter education, domestic election monitoring, and violence monitoring activities;

(7) urges the United States to continue to monitor violence and condemn brutality against law abiding citizens;

(8) congratulates all the democratic reform activists in Zimbabwe for their resolve to bring about political change peacefully, even in the face of violence and intimidation;

(9) recommends that the United States send a bipartisan delegation under the auspices of the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs to observe the parliamentary election process in Zimbabwe; and

(10) desires a lasting, warm, and mutually beneficial relationship between the United States and a democratic, peaceful Zimbabwe.

The resolution was agreed to.

AMENDMENT TO PREAMBLE OFFERED BY MR. GILMAN

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment to the preamble.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment to the preamble offered by Mr. GILMAN.

In the 14th clause of the preamble, strike "no date has been set" and insert "June 24 and June 25, 2000, are the dates".

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have no comment on the amendment.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, we do not object.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the amendment to the preamble offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

The amendment to the preamble was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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#### GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on House Resolution 500.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

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#### SENSE OF HOUSE REGARDING INDEPENDENT MEDIA IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on International Relations be discharged from further consideration of the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 352) expressing the sense of the Congress regarding manipulation of the mass media and intimidation of the independent press in the Russian Federation, expressing support for freedom of speech and the independent media in the Russian Federation, and calling on the President of the United States to express his strong concern for freedom of speech and the independent media in the Russian Federation, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I believe the House needs to understand why we are proceeding in an expeditious manner, but I would ask the Chair, in deference to the fact that the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) has such extraordinary experience in this area, if we could be permitted to allow him to go forward and then allow the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) to speak.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON), who has a great deal of experience in this area.

(Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I want to, first of all, thank my distinguished chairman and leader, the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), and my distinguished good friend, the gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS), for bringing this very timely legislation and thank all the members on the Committee on International Relations to allow us to make a statement on the seriousness of the situation that is occurring in Russia over the last several months relative to freedom of the press.

As my friend has stated and my colleagues are aware, I have a special interest in Russia. I just made my 21st trip there last weekend with Secretary Cohen, where I was able to attend meetings with him and the defense minister and the leaders of the Duma on improving American-Russian relations.

I felt that we achieved a considerable amount of progress, but I would be less than candid if I did not tell my colleagues that there are serious problems inside of Russia. All of us were optimistic when the new President Putin took over in January and was elected in free and fair elections several months later, but there has been a pattern well documented in this bill of actions against members of the free press, including Radio Free Europe and the independent radio and TV stations in Moscow and, most recently, including the chairman and the head of Media Most Corporation, Mr. Gusinsky. In fact, the distinguished chairman knows because he was host to the number two person at Media Most. As the distinguished chairman knows, just several weeks ago, we had the number 2 person from Media Most over speaking to Members of Congress expressing the real concerns of what happened with the FSB invasion of their headquarters and the outrage that many of us felt about having this independent media feel the pressure of what appears to be the Putin government, in trying to crack down on the ability of Russians to speak out.

Russia is a fragile democracy, and that fragile democracy is going to exist and succeed only based upon the success of their free media, and we must in America speak out when we see incidences occur like the incident involving the reporter who was responding or reporting on the Chechnyan war to the efforts by Gusinsky to report on concerns within Russia about the direction of the Russian government. And while President Putin and leaders in the various factions may not agree with what is being said by the Russian media, they must understand that a free democracy must have that free speech, or it will cease to be a free democracy.

I might also add that we are heartened that Mr. Gusinsky has recently been released, but I also want to mention there are other patterns of strong-arm tactics coming out of Russia, Mr. Speaker. On April 3, one of our Pennsylvania constituents, a Penn State

professor by the name of Ed Pope, was arrested. He has been charged with crimes against the Russian state. It is an absolute fabrication.

My good friend and colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. PETERSON), and I have been working this case for 6 weeks; and we are not going to step back until we see Mr. Pope released to his wife and to his loved ones up in State College.

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Russia needs to understand, Mr. Speaker, that all of us on both sides of the aisle want to be friends with Russia. We want Russia to be an equal trading partner of ours. We want a secure stable relationship. We want to have a fair process where the two countries can work together in every possible area of cooperation. But none of this can exist if there is a pattern of abuse of the free media and if there is a fear of intimidation on the part of those people who would go to Russia to conduct business or to perform positive relations with the people of Russia.

So, again, I want to thank my colleagues for this outstanding resolution. The gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN) has been a tireless advocate on these kinds of issues around the world. The gentleman from Florida (Mr. HASTINGS) is constantly on top of these issues. I applaud both of them for their leadership and join with them in urging our colleagues to pass this important legislation this evening.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation of objection, I yield to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN).

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. WELDON) for his supporting remarks.

Mr. Speaker, House Concurrent Resolution 352, which I have introduced along with the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), makes it clear that the Congress is greatly concerned by the treatment of the Russian media by President Vladimir Putin and by his government's increasingly apparent lack of respect for freedom of expression in Russia.

After years of extensive privatization of Russian state-owned enterprises, little privatization has been carried out in major segments of the Russian media. Important segments, such as large printing and publishing houses and nationwide television frequencies and broadcasting facilities, have been only partially privatized, if they have been privatized at all.

That failure to privatize key segments of the media presents a tempting opportunity for Russian officials to manipulate the state-run media for their own ends; and in the recent parliamentary and presidential elections, we saw clear evidence that Russian officials have succumbed to that temptation. As this resolution points out, the

Russian government's immense influence over the state-run media was used during those elections to openly support friends of the party in power in the Kremlin and to attack, blatantly and viciously, those who oppose that party of power.

Mr. Putin probably would not be president of Russia today if such media manipulation had not been used to his own advantage. Mr. Speaker, in addition to that manipulation of the state-run media, this resolution points out that the Russian government and its officials and agencies have also sought to intimidate the independent media.

A new Russian Ministry for the Press was created last July, and the Minister for the Press stated quite openly that his job was to address the so-called "aggression" of the Russian press. Leading Russian editors complaining in an open letter to former President Boris Yeltsin in August that government officials were putting pressure on the media, particularly through unwarranted raids by the tax police.

In fact, as recently as May 11, masked officers of the Russian Federal Security Service raided the headquarters of Media-Most, that is the company which operates NTV, the largest independent national television station in Russia. Then, just last week, the owner of Media-Most, Vladimir Gusinsky, was arrested on rather vague charges and held for several days.

In addition, Russian reporters have been beaten, some murdered, and police investigations have tended to fail to identify the perpetrators, much less bring them to justice. Andrei Babitsky, a Russian reporter working for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty covering the war in Chechnya, was arrested by the Russian military and then exchanged to unidentified Chechens for Russian POWs. Another reporter was ordered by police to enter a psychiatric clinic for an examination after he wrote articles critical of certain Russian officials.

Mr. Speaker, beyond these examples of the ongoing intimidation of the press by Mr. Putin's government, this resolution points out a distressing fact that is very relevant to freedom of expression in general in Russia. The Russian Federal Security Service is now moving to ensure total surveillance over the Internet in Russia by installing a system by which all transmissions and e-mails originating within Russia and sent to parties in Russia can be read by its personnel. In this manner, new structures of surveillance over all of Russia's citizens are now being created.

This resolution, H. Con. Res. 352, makes it clear that the Russian government's manipulation and intimidation of the media threatens the chances for democracy and the rule of law in Russia and makes it clear that freedom of expression by Russians in general is also under attack by that government and by its agencies.

Mr. Speaker, this measure calls on our President to make it clear to Presi-

dent Putin that the United States insists on respect for freedom of speech and of the press in Russia.

Mr. HASTINGS of Florida. Mr. Speaker, continuing my reservation, I would like to make a few additional points, one being that under President Putin it seems that conditions are getting worse. But, more important, I would like to thank the chairman of the Committee on International Relations for expediting this matter and for all of our colleagues that are cosponsors. None are more significant than the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), who, along with the chairman, is the author of some of the language that appears in the resolution.

Having that understanding, I would like to reflect on two things. Had he been here and not had the scheduling mix-up that he has, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) no doubt would have pointed out that under former President Yeltsin, the media enjoyed a reasonable degree of independence and freedom from supervision by the so-called Media Ministry. The gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), myself and the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN) have expressed our concerns that these actions will exacerbate tension in the Russian media and Russian society vis-a-vis the government.

Finally, the government of Russia has a right to enforce its laws and investigate illegal activity of its citizens. However, such a selective application of the Russian government's procuratory authority, imprisonment before the actual charges are brought and the overall abuse of the Federal authority, does deserve Congressional condemnation.

For the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and for the gentleman from New York (Chairman GILMAN), I offer my thanks.

Mr. Chairman, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. OSE). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

H. CON. RES. 352

Whereas almost all of the large printing plants, publishing houses, and newspaper distribution companies, several leading news agencies, and almost all of the nationwide television frequencies and broadcasting facilities in the Russian Federation remain under government control, despite the extensive privatization of state-owned enterprises in other sectors of the Russian economy;

Whereas the "Press Freedom Survey 2000" reported by "Freedom House" of Washington, DC, stated that the approximately 2,500 regional and rural newspapers in Russia outside of Moscow are almost completely owned by local or provincial governments;

Whereas the Government of Russia is able to suspend or revoke broadcast and publishing licenses and apply exorbitant taxes and fees on the independent media;

Whereas, in 1999, a major television network controlled by the Russian Government canceled the program "Top Secret" after it

reported on alleged corruption at high levels of the government;

Whereas, in July 1999, the Government of Russia created a new Ministry for Press, Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Mass Communications;

Whereas, in August 1999, the editors of fourteen of Russia's leading news publications sent an open letter to then Russian President Boris Yeltsin stating that high-ranking officials of the government were putting pressure on the mass media, particularly through unwarranted raids by tax police;

Whereas Mikhail Lesin, Minister for Press, Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Mass Communications, stated in October 1999 that the Russian Government would change its policies towards the mass media so as to address "aggression" by the Russian press;

Whereas the Russian Federal Security Service or "FSB" is reportedly implementing a technical regulation known as "SORM-2" by which it could reroute, in real time, all electronic transmissions over the Internet through FSB offices for purposes of surveillance, a likely violation of the Russian constitution's provisions concerning the right to privacy of private communications, according to Aleksei Simonov, President of the Russian "Glasnost Defense Foundation", a nongovernmental human rights organization;

Whereas such surveillance under SORM-2 would allow the Russian Federal Security Service access to passwords, financial transactions, and confidential company information, among other transmissions;

Whereas it is reported that over one hundred Russian journalists have been killed over the past decade, with few if any of the government investigations into those murders resulting in arrests, prosecutions, or convictions;

Whereas numerous observers of Russian politics have noted the blatant misuse of the leading Russian television channels, controlled by the Russian Government, to undermine popular support for political rivals of those supporting the government in the run-up to parliamentary elections held in December 1999;

Whereas it has been reported that Russian television stations controlled by the Russian Government were used to disparage opponents of Vladimir Putin during the campaign for the presidency in the beginning of this year, and whereas it has been reported that political advertisements by those candidates were routinely relegated by those stations to slots outside of prime time coverage;

Whereas manipulation of the media by the Russian Government appeared intent on portraying the Russian military attack on the separatist Republic of Chechnya to the maximum political advantage of the Russian Government;

Whereas in December 1999 two correspondents for "Reuters News Agency" and the "Associated Press" were reportedly accused of being foreign spies after reporting high Russian casualty figures in the war in Chechnya;

Whereas the arrest in January 2000, subsequent treatment by the Russian military, and prosecution by the Russian Government of Andrei Babitsky, a correspondent for Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty covering the war in Chechnya, have constituted a violation of commitments made by the Russian Government to foster freedom of speech and of the press, and have reportedly constituted a violation of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation;

Whereas in January 2000 Aleksandr Khinshtein, a reporter for the newspaper "Moskovsky Komsomolets", was ordered by the Russian Federal Security Service to

enter a clinic over 100 miles from his home for a psychiatric examination after he accused top Russian officials of illegal activities, and such detainment in psychiatric wards was previously employed by the former Soviet regime to stifle dissent;

Whereas the Russian newspaper "Novaya Gazeta" was officially warned by the Russian Ministry of the Press for its printing of an interview with Aslan Maskhadov, the elected President of the Republic of Chechnya; an entire issue of "Novaya Gazeta", including several articles alleging massive campaign finance violations by the presidential campaign of Vladimir Putin, was lost to unidentified computer "hackers"; and a journalist for "Novaya Gazeta" was savagely beaten in May of this year;

Whereas President Thomas Dine of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on March 14th, 2000, condemned the Russian Government's expanding efforts to intimidate the mass media, stating that those actions threaten the chances for democracy and rule of law in Russia;

Whereas "NTV", the only national independent television station, which reaches half of Russia and is credited with professional and balanced news programs, has frequently broadcast news stories critical of Russian Government policies;

Whereas on May 11, 2000, masked officers of the Russian Federal Security Service carrying assault weapons raided the offices of "Media-Most", the corporate owner of NTV and other independent media;

Whereas the May 11th raid on Media-Most represented a failure of recourse to normal legal mechanisms and conveyed the appearance of a politically-motivated attack on Russian independent media;

Whereas the raid on Media-Most was carried out under the authority of President Putin and Russian Government ministers who have not criticized or repudiated that action;

Whereas on June 12, 2000, Vladimir Gusinsky, owner of NTV and other leading independent media was suddenly arrested;

Whereas President Putin claimed not to have known of the planned arrest of Vladimir Gusinsky;

Whereas the continued functioning of an independent media is a vital attribute of Russian democracy and an important obstacle to the return of authoritarian or totalitarian dictatorship in Russia; and

Whereas a free news media can exist only in an environment that is free of state control of the news media, that is free of any form of state censorship or official coercion of any kind, and that is protected and guaranteed by the rule of law: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the Congress—*

(1) expresses its continuing, strong support for freedom of speech and the independent media in the Russian Federation;

(2) expresses its strong concern over the failure of the government of the Russian Federation to privatize major segments of the Russian media, thus retaining the ability of Russian officials to manipulate the media for political or corrupt ends;

(3) expresses its strong concern over the pattern of Russian officials' surveillance and physical, economic, legal, and political intimidation of Russian citizens and of the Russian media that has now become apparent in Russia;

(4) expresses its strong concern over the pattern of manipulation of the Russian media by Russian Government officials for political and possibly corrupt purposes that has now become apparent;

(5) expresses profound regret and dismay at the detention and continued prosecution of

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty journalist Andrei Babitsky and condemns those breaches of Russian legal procedure and of Russian Government commitments to the rights of Russian citizens that have reportedly occurred in his detention and prosecution;

(6) expresses strong concern over the breaches of Russian legal procedure that have reportedly occurred in the course of the May 11th raid by the Russian Federal Security Service on Media-Most and the June 12th arrest of Vladimir Gusinsky; and

(7) calls on the President of the United States to express to the President of the Russian Federation his strong concern for freedom of speech and the independent media in the Russian Federation and to emphasize the concern of the United States that official pressures against the independent media and the political manipulation of the state-owned media in Russia are incompatible with democratic norms.

## SEC. 2. TRANSMITTAL TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall transmit a copy of this resolution to the Secretary of State with the request that it be forwarded to the President of the Russian Federation.

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

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## GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks on H. Con. Res. 352.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

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## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

Mr. GREEN of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, I was unavoidably detained and missed rollcall votes numbers 285 through 291.

Had I been present, I would have voted present on rollcall 285, yes on rollcall 286, yes on recall 287, no on rollcall 288, no on rollcall 289, yes on rollcall 290 and no on rollcall 291.

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## SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 6, 1999, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

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## COMMUNITY EMERGENCY ADJUSTMENT ACT

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

Mr. LARSON. Mr. Speaker, we are preparing tomorrow evening to drop an important piece of legislation, a bill whose short title is the Community Emergency Adjustment Act. It is a very simple and straightforward solution for communities who are experiencing sudden economic distress. That