

Mr. REID. If I could ask the Senator, would it be appropriate, then, if the Senator accepts my amendment, that following accepting this amendment, the Senator from Wisconsin have 12 minutes and the Senator from New Jersey have 10 minutes?

Mr. WARNER. Fine. If I might inquire, for the purpose of addressing the Senate—not for putting in an amendment?

Mr. REID. For debate.

Mr. WARNER. It is 12 minutes and 10 minutes. That falls within the period the Senator has reserved. We will put that in the form of a unanimous consent request.

I thank the Senator for reference to those who served in World War II. I don't want to put myself in any category of the heroism displayed by Senator INOUE. I was a simple sailor serving in training command, waiting for the invasion of Japan. I always want to be careful.

Mr. REID. I only say to my friend, we are all aware of the work the Senator has done and the love the Senator has for the military, having been one of our Secretaries.

Yesterday was a very moving day, to see our President pro tempore step down here and speak with the strong voice that he has, recognizing the sacrifices made by others. He didn't, of course, mention his own name, but he is an example of what has made our country great.

Mr. WARNER. I thank the Senator for that reference to Senator THURMOND. Indeed, he crossed the beaches in a glider and crashed and was wounded. He got out and took right on his duties.

Also, late last night, Senator CARL LEVIN and I put in an amendment which was accepted, was cosponsored by all the veterans of World War II who are now in the Senate, some eight or nine, and it provided \$6 million toward the memorial that is being constructed on The Mall.

Earlier that day, our former distinguished majority leader and colleague, Robert Dole, accepted a \$14.5 million contribution. Together with the \$6 million of the Senate, and my understanding from Senator Dole, with whom I spoke late last night, that brings within completion the budget they had for design, construction, and otherwise for that memorial.

It was a historic day.

Mr. REID. I ask unanimous consent, following the acceptance of my amendment, the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. FEINGOLD, be recognized for 12 minutes on general discussion, not to offer an amendment; following that statement, the Senator from New Jersey, Mr. TORRICELLI, be recognized for 10 minutes to speak on an unrelated subject and not to offer an amendment.

Mr. WARNER. Reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I want to advise Senators that was in the time-

frame allocated to the distinguished Senator from Nevada for the purpose of his amendment. That is how this time was freed up. Otherwise, Senator LEVIN and I are anxious to keep this bill moving.

Following presentations by two distinguished colleagues, we should proceed, then, to the McCain-Levin amendment on base closure.

Mr. REID. I say to my friend, he is absolutely right. The only reason we are doing it this way is just to make the process a little more orderly.

Mr. WARNER. I understand that.

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

Mr. REID. Has my amendment been accepted then?

Mr. WARNER. I urge adoption of the amendment.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 3198) was agreed to.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

#### THE ZIMBABWE DEMOCRACY ACT OF 2000

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to speak in favor of the Zimbabwe Democracy Act of 2000. I am very pleased to join my colleague, Senator FRIST, in cosponsoring this legislation and sending an unambiguous signal to the current government of Zimbabwe that the international community will not passively stand aside while that country's great promise is squandered; the United States will not remain silent while the rule of law is undermined by the very government charged with protecting a legal order; this Congress will not accept the deliberate dismantling of justice and security and stability in Zimbabwe.

Since the ruling party lost the outcome of a February referendum, in which voters rejected a new constitution which would have granted President Robert Mugabe sweeping powers, a terrible campaign of violence has gripped the country. Veterans of Zimbabwe's independence struggle and supporters of the ruling party have invaded a number of farms owned by white Zimbabweans. When the courts ordered the police to evict the invaders, President Mugabe explicitly continued to support the invasions, and called on the police force to ignore the court. Predictably, confusion and violence have ensued, and the rule of law, the basic protections upon which people around the world stake their safety and the safety of their families, has been seriously eroded.

This is not a race war. Let me repeat that—this is not a race war. Race is

not the critical issue in Zimbabwe today. And no one need take my word for that. One need only look at the facts on the ground. One need only observe the disturbing frequency with which members of the opposition have been the targets of violence. It is the Movement for Democratic Change, an opposition party that has been rapidly gaining the support of the disillusioned electorate, that is the real target of President Mugabe's campaign. It is the electorate that rejected the ruling party's proposed constitution that is suffering, and this is not unprecedented. In the early 1980s, supporters of a rival political faction were brutally slaughtered in Matabeleland—a dark period in the young country's history for which there is still not a satisfying public account. So we must not be intimidated by the scape-goating of the power-hungry. Once there was a struggle against a terrible system of oppression, grounded in racial discrimination, in the country now called Zimbabwe. But that is not the heart of the matter today.

Nor is this crisis really about land tenure reform, although there is no question at all that land tenure reform is desperately needed and long overdue in Zimbabwe. But the government's past efforts at land reform have too often involved distributing land to key supporters of the ruling party, not the landless and truly needy. Fundamentally, land reform is about improving quality of life for the people of Zimbabwe—something that is utterly undermined by the violent tactics of the ruling party today.

So while this is not about race and it is not, at its core, about land, what this is about is an increasingly discredited President, who, watching his legacy turn increasingly into a source of shame rather than celebration, has hatched a desperate campaign to cling to power, even though this campaign, if successful, would render him the leader of an utterly broken country. Runaway government spending has led to high inflation and unemployment. Corruption infects the state. And, at this time of economic strain and hardship, the Government of Zimbabwe is spending over \$1.5 million a month on its participation in the Congo conflict.

The Zimbabwe Democracy Act indicates that the U.S. will have no part of the terrible campaign of violence now compounding Zimbabwe's troubles. The bill suspends U.S. assistance to Zimbabwe while carving out important exceptions—humanitarian relief, food or medical assistance provided to non-governmental organizations for humanitarian purposes, programs which support democratic governance and the rule of law, and technical assistance relating to ongoing land reform programs outside the auspices of the government of Zimbabwe. And it articulates clear conditions for ending this suspension of

assistance—including a return to the rule of law, free and fair parliamentary and presidential elections, and a demonstrated commitment on the part of the Government of Zimbabwe to an equitable, legal, and transparent land reform program.

The bill also offers assistance to the remarkable forces working within Zimbabwe in support of the rule of law, in support of democracy, and in support of basic human rights for all of Zimbabwe's citizens. It establishes a fund to finance the legal expenses for individuals and institutions challenging restrictions on free speech in Zimbabwe, where the latest campaign has also included a media crackdown. The fund would also support individuals and democratic institutions who have accrued costs or penalties in the pursuit of elective office or democratic reform.

I had the chance to be in Zimbabwe in December, and I do not believe that I have ever encountered a more dynamic, committed, and genuinely inspiring group of civil society leaders than the group I met in Harare a few months ago. These forces must not be abandoned in Zimbabwe's time of crisis.

And, very responsibly, this legislation recognizes that Zimbabwe will need the assistance of the international community when it seeks to rebuild once the crisis has passed. It authorizes support for ongoing, legally governed land tenure reforms, and authorizes an innovative approach to facilitating the development of commercial projects in Zimbabwe and the region.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation, and I commend Senator FRIST and his staff for their efforts on this matter. Right now a country of great promise and a people of tremendous potential are enduring a terrible campaign of lawlessness and oppression. Right now, one of the most important states on the African continent, economically and politically, is in crisis. To write off Zimbabwe, to lose this opportunity to speak and act on the matter, would be a terrible mistake.

States descend into utter chaos in stages. Let us move to arrest Zimbabwe's descent today, not next year, when the problems will be more complex and more deeply entrenched, and not after 5 years of crisis, when Afro-pessimists will undoubtedly ignore the country's proud history and cynically assert that Zimbabwe cannot be salvaged. Let us be far-sighted, let us act now, pass this legislation, and stand firmly behind the forces of law, of democracy, and of justice in Zimbabwe.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Jersey is recognized.

#### CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. President, this Senate has been engaged in more than a decade of discussion about reforming the campaign finance system in the United States. Indeed, the Senate has not only debated the issue but has focused attention on McCain-Feingold, attention that brought about a national debate about how to change this system. The Senate may be on the verge of yet another discussion in the coming days.

I take the floor today because, while I praise Senator MCCAIN and Senator FEINGOLD and, indeed, once again pledge my vote for their reform legislation, I believe it is a disservice for the Senate to believe there are no other contributions that can be made to solving the campaign finance dilemma.

McCain-Feingold, and the former comprehensive legislation, would be the best answer. It is not the only answer. There are a variety of very real problems to enacting this legislation that begin with legitimate constitutional problems, decisions by the Federal courts, legitimate differences on philosophical questions about how to conduct elections in America, and some real political problems. The reality is that whether I believe in McCain-Feingold or not, whether the entire Democratic caucus votes for it or not, it is not going to be enacted. That leads many to believe that simply, then, nothing will happen; there can be no change because there are not enough votes.

I believe that is not necessary, that does not have to be the final word.

Yesterday's primary election in the State of New Jersey, now setting a record of \$31 million in expenditures in a single partisan primary, again focuses the Nation on the problem. Our campaign finance laws in the United States are recognized in the breach. There is no national governing system of campaign finance laws. They are misunderstood, violated, contradictory, and incomplete. Regrettably, there is a failure to look at the contributions that others can make and the alternatives that exist in law given the current deadlock in this Senate acting on campaign finance.

Indeed, to listen to the network anchors each evening—Mr. Rather, Mr. Brokaw, and Mr. Jennings—one would believe there are no other answers; this is simply a case of political candidates raising as much as can be raised in a complete vacuum of other considerations.

I believe that until this Congress acts and there is a majority for campaign finance reform, there are things that others can do and, indeed, it begins with the media itself. The costs of these campaigns are staggering, but I have never met a candidate for political office who wanted to raise money beyond what was actually required to

win the race. It is not only a question of how much is being raised; it is how much the campaigns cost.

As my friend, MITCH MCCONNELL, has pointed out on a variety of occasions, America is not suffering from too much political discussion. There is not too much debate. Campaigns are simply too expensive. That begins with an analysis of where the money is going.

In New York City today, a 30-second prime time advertisement can cost \$50,000. In Chicago, the same advertisement is \$20,000. A 30-second ad on the late news in New York is \$6,000; in Chicago, \$4,500. The effect of this is obvious.

Year in and year out, the networks charge more money for the same advertisements for the use of the public airwaves, and an endless spiral of costs is driving campaign fundraising in America. Indeed, the same network anchors who rail against campaign fundraising almost every night are the principal beneficiaries of the campaign fundraiser. I do not know any candidate in America who wants to raise this money voluntarily if they had a choice. There is no other means of communicating with the American people but to buy network television advertising, and I have never seen the cost of advertising go down.

The New York Times estimates that the 2000 elections in the United States will cost \$3 billion. That is a 50-percent increase over 1996. Mr. President, \$600 million of that advertising, or 20 percent, will be spent directly on network television advertising. That is a 40-percent increase over what the networks absorbed only 4 years ago.

Isolating the Presidential campaign in 1996, President Clinton and Senator Dole spent \$113 million on television ads. Half of all the money they spent went to network television. This is done for a reason. It is not only the spiraling cost of network advertising far beyond the rate of inflation; far beyond the rate of increase of the cost of anything else in political campaigns is the networks themselves. They are the principal generating force in the rising cost of campaign finance.

They are part of the problem not in one dimension but in two. From Labor Day through election day in 1998, ABC, CBS, and NBC aired 73 percent fewer election stories than they did in the same period in 1994. The amount of advertising is going up and the cost is going up because candidates' ability to communicate with the American people through legitimate news stories is going down. It is not going down marginally; it is not going down significantly; it is going down overwhelmingly. There is a 73 percent reduction in the amount of legitimate news stories aired over the public airwaves to inform the American electorate.

What, Mr. Rather, Mr. Jennings, and Mr. Brokaw, are candidates for elective