

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 an-

swer. 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 office in the Democratic and Republican Parties to do? The amount of legitimate free news stories to inform the electorate is in a state of collapse. The number of Americans reading newspapers is declining. There is a similar reduction in the amount of newsprint for legitimate news stories, and your rates are skyrocketing.

The result is clear: Costs of campaigns are soaring. Indeed, there is a solution. The most obvious solution is we could change the national campaign finance laws. For constitutional reasons, philosophical reasons, and political reasons I have suggested, that is not about to happen. I suggest the networks, therefore, look at themselves and their own ability unilaterally to reduce the cost of advertising on the public airwaves. After all, the public airwaves are not their own province. It is not something for which they paid and own exclusively. These are the public airwaves, licensed to ABC, CBS, and NBC, with a public responsibility to the American people, a responsibility they do not meet.

No other democracy in the Western world allows private corporations to

use the public airwaves exclusively for their own benefit charging candidates for national office what approach commercial rates to communicate with the people themselves. Use the people's airwaves, charge exorbitant rates to candidates for public office to communicate in a national election—it would not happen in Canada, and it does not happen in Britain, Germany, Italy, or France. It happens nowhere, but it happens here.

While we wait for this Congress to act, I challenge the network executives: Be part of the solution, not the principal cause of the problem. Act unilaterally until this Congress can act. But they do not.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. TORRICELLI. Will the Senator from Nevada yield me an additional 5 minutes?

Mr. REID. According to Senator WARNER, we have 45 minutes. We have used 31. That will be appropriate. I ask unanimous consent that the Senator from New Jersey be allowed to speak for another 5 minutes.

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

Mr. TORRICELLI. I thank the Senator for yielding.

One can recognize why the networks are in this extraordinary hypocrisy. They are for campaign finance reform. They are against spending in national political campaigns increasing. Indeed, we all share that concern, but they are also the principal beneficiaries.

In 1998, automotive ads were 25 percent of all national advertising. Retail sales were 15 percent. Political advertising was 10 percent of all revenues. They are offended at the cost of national political campaigns, but it is the third largest source of their funding.

Similarly, it is not a stable problem. Political ads are a rapidly rising, indeed, the largest increasing, source of network revenues, from 3 percent in 1990 to approaching 10 percent of all network revenues in the year 2000. What an extraordinary hypocrisy.

But it gets worse. They are for campaign finance reform, but they want the advertising revenues. What could be worse? The National Association of Broadcasters last year spent \$260,000 in PAC money and soft money, often supporting candidates who are against campaign finance reform, and hundreds of thousands of dollars lobbying to protect their right to use the public airwaves at retail costs for people who need to communicate with the American electorate.

I applaud Senator MCCAIN and Senator FEINGOLD for coming to this floor and fighting for campaign finance reform. I applaud my colleagues who have the courage to stand for it and fight for it. I always will. But changing the American political system in America to reduce money in the equation is not our fight; it is everybody's fight.

I could understand it if the networks were to be neutral, but to engage in

this headlong daily criticism of the process while they profit by it is inexcusable.

My friends in the networks, join the fight. Help us reform the system. Lead by example. Reduce the costs of the public airwaves for the public good. Allow candidates to communicate ideas without exorbitant costs. And meet your public responsibilities by dedicating more—not less—time to discussions of the issues. Make that a legitimate discussion of real choices before the American people—not horse races, an accounting simply of expenditures in races. Be positive, be responsible, and be part of the process of change.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. REID. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAMS). The clerk will call the roll.

The senior assistant bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT FOR FISCAL YEAR 2001—Continued

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I express my gratitude to the distinguished ranking member and to the distinguished minority whip.

We are endeavoring to ascertain the remainder of the amendments that could be brought before the Senate in connection with this bill. There are strong initiatives on this side. We are going to put out a hotline on our side. We are urging Senators to contact the respective cloakrooms and to indicate—in the event they have a desire to have a matter covered on this bill by amendment—their desire to speak in relation to this bill or other procedural steps so that we can try to project the conclusion for this bill. We hope by 6 o'clock tonight is to get a unanimous consent request to lay down a list of amendments to be considered for the remainder of time on this bill.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I support the request for our colleagues to contact the cloakrooms about their intentions relative to amendments and speaking on the bill. It will help us to organize the rest of the time we will need on the bill.

I particularly thank Senator REID. He has been working hard on our side. I know that kind of effort is being made also on the Republican side to see if we cannot come up with a finite list at the end of the day of amendments that Members intend to offer.

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I think we have made progress. Sometimes it has been painfully slow. But this is a very big and important bill. We have a number of Senators on the minority side who expressed their desire to offer some amendments. We have a hotline