

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 92—RECOGNIZING RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY'S SUCCESS IN PROMOTING DEMOCRACY AND ITS CONTINUING CONTRIBUTION TO UNITED STATES NATIONAL INTERESTS

Mr. HATCH (for himself, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. HELMS, Mr. KENNEDY, and Mr. SMITH of Oregon) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 92

Whereas on May 1, 1951, Radio Free Europe inaugurated its full schedule of broadcast services to the people of Eastern Europe and, subsequently, Radio Liberty initiated its broadcast services to the peoples of the Soviet Union on March 1, 1953, just before the death of Stalin;

Whereas now fifty years later, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (in this concurrent resolution referred to as "RFE/RL") continues to promote democracy and human rights and serve United States national interests by fulfilling its mission "to promote democratic values and institutions by disseminating factual information and ideas";

Whereas Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty were established in the darkest days of the cold war as a substitute for the free media which no longer existed in the communist-dominated countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union;

Whereas Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty developed a unique form of international broadcasting known as surrogate broadcasting by airing local news about the countries to which they broadcast as well as providing regional and international news, thus preventing the communist governments from establishing a monopoly on the dissemination of information and providing an alternative to the state-controlled, party dominated domestic media;

Whereas the broadcast of uncensored news and information by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty was a critical element contributing to the collapse of the totalitarian communist governments of Central and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union;

Whereas since the fall of the Iron Curtain, RFE/RL has continued to inform and therefore strengthen democratic forces in Central Europe and the countries of the former Soviet Union, and has contributed to the development of a new generation of political and economic leaders who have worked to strengthen civil society, free market economies, and democratic government institutions;

Whereas United States Government funding established and continues to support international broadcasting, including RFE/RL, and this funding is among the most useful and effective in promoting and enhancing the Nation's national security over the past half century;

Whereas RFE/RL has successfully downsized in response to legislative mandate and adapted its programming to the changing international broadcast environment in order to serve a broad spectrum of target audiences—people living in fledgling democracies where private media are still weak and do not enjoy full editorial independence, transitional societies where democratic institutions and practices are poorly developed, as well as countries which still have tightly controlled state media;

Whereas RFE/RL continues to provide objective news, analysis, and discussion of domestic and regional issues crucial to democratic and free-market transformations in

emerging democracies as well as strengthening civil society in these areas;

Whereas RFE/RL broadcasts seek to combat ethnic, racial, and religious intolerance and promote mutual understanding among peoples;

Whereas RFE/RL provides a model for local media, assists in training to encourage media professionalism and independence, and develops partnerships with local media outlets in emerging democracies;

Whereas RFE/RL is a unique broadcasting institution long regarded by its audience as an alternative national media that provides both credibility and security for local journalists who work as its stringers and editors in the broadcast region; and

Whereas RFE/RL fosters closer relations between the United States and other democratic states, and the states of Central Europe and the former Soviet republics: Now therefore be it

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

(1) congratulates the editors, journalists, and managers of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty on a half century of effort in promoting democratic values, and particularly their contribution to promoting freedom of the press and freedom of expression in areas of the world where such liberties have been denied or are not yet fully institutionalized; and

(2) recognizes the major contribution of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to the growth of democracy throughout the world and its continuing efforts to advance the vital national interests of the United States in building a world community that is more peaceful, democratic, free, and stable.

Mr. HATCH. Madam President, amidst the focus and sustained attention we have all had on the matters of the first global war of the 21st century, we do not wish to miss the 50th year anniversary of one of the most important tools developed in our foreign policy arsenal in the 20th century. I am referring to the 50th anniversary of the inauguration of Radio Free Europe, which first broadcast its full schedule of radio programming into central and eastern Europe on May 1, International Workers' Day, one of the most famous communist holidays, in 1951.

Two years later, Radio Liberty began its broadcasting programs to the peoples of the Soviet Union. An era of puncturing the state-imposed silence of totalitarian regimes had begun.

Today, I am happy to submit a resolution commemorating the 50 years of the "Radios," as they have come to be known. I am happy to have as co-sponsors the chairman and the ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as well as Senator KENNEDY and Senator SMITH of Oregon.

The Radios were the main component in what some would call America's propaganda efforts. Along with the Voice of America, which broadcasts about American affairs throughout the world, revealing to audiences restricted from freedom of the media the real stories of this country, the Radios were a central tool in broadcasting local news and information back into the captive countries of central and eastern Europe and Eurasia.

Totalitarian communism required complete government control of every

aspect of society, that is what totalitarianism is. In addition to controlling every aspect of an individual's life, totalitarianism required that all information, be it cultural, educational or informational, must also be controlled. Totalitarianism cannot function, communism cannot dominate, tyranny cannot succeed, if they must compete with independent media that promotes a free exchange of ideas and views.

That was the role of the Radios. It was an understanding of this basic dynamic of totalitarian communism which led our policymakers, 50 years ago, to realize that one of the most effective, in fact, most threatening, tools we could deploy was the use of a free media. And thus was born the Radios, Radio Free Europe for broadcasting to eastern and central Europe and Radio Liberty for broadcasting into the Soviet Union's realm.

When peoples' minds can grasp differing views, news not controlled by the state, then the state does not completely own them. When the state cannot own them, the state will eventually have to serve, not dominate, its citizens.

It is the freedom of information, wedded to technology, originally radio, then television, now the Internet, that gave hope, that sustained resistance and that ultimately made one of the central contributions to the collapse of these regimes against which we waged a Cold War through the latter half of the 20th century.

Now, 50 years after their inception, it is fitting that we pass this resolution to honor the Radios and their many contributors, editors, journalists, broadcasters and technicians, who staffed them through all of these years.

It is also worthwhile, as we pause to honor this mission, to recognize that the Radios had bipartisan support throughout these years. America's foreign policy, after all, is most vibrant, most dynamic, most successful, when it operates with bipartisan support. That is why our colleagues in the House passed this concurrent resolution with 404 votes.

It is also worthwhile to note that there are very valuable lessons to be learned from this successful aspect of American foreign policy, and to recognize that the supporters of the Radios have, in fact, applied these lessons to the new post-Cold War context.

Yes, it has become a cliché in the past 10 years that we are in a "post-Cold War" era. The question that has remained largely unanswered, however, is how does the U.S. respond to this era? Some have suggested that we reached an "end of history," where liberal democracy essentially triumphs around the globe. Some suggested that the end of geopolitical competition in a bipolar era would reduce America's role or obligations in the world.

In response, some have suggested, more caustically and in retrospect since that dark September 11 day, that America went on holiday for the last 10

years, eschewing our vigilance against global threats and riding on a historic wave of prosperity underlined by a false assumption that economic growth eliminated all global challenges and threats.

An American foreign policy expert noted, shortly after the end of the Cold War, that "the world has changed the way it looks, but not the way it works." I agree. There still remain regimes that oppress their peoples; there still remain movements that see the United States as their enemy; there still remain forces that seek to destroy us.

It is no coincidence that these regimes and movements depend on controlling and suppressing freedom of thought and expression wherever they hold sway. None of the countries on our terrorism list has free media. And certainly one of the most repressive regimes in recent memory was that of the now defunct and despicable Taliban regime.

Our colleagues have introduced legislation promoting a "Radio Free Afghanistan" to assist the transition to a post-Taliban era for that nation we abandoned and neglected for the last decade. My colleague, Senator BIDEN, in response to the September 11 attacks, has correctly noted that there is much, much more that we can do in terms of broadcasting accurate news and information to large parts of the Arab and Islamic world. Senator BIDEN has a long-standing dedication to these broadcasting tools of our foreign policy. I have seen his first proposal for an enhanced international broadcasting function, and am anxious to support it.

As those who have always supported the Radios know, a lot of the lessons for our future use of surrogate broadcasting comes from the lessons learned through the Radios since 1989. The Radios themselves have evolved. No longer broadcasting into closed societies, they have adapted their mission to the changed circumstances, they have become key players in these societies in transition. As a result of congressional oversight and the leadership of the Radios, the Radios have reshaped their missions to support the transition to democracy of the many nations of the former communist bloc, who are all in various stages of transition, some fully democratic, others struggling, and even others backsliding.

One of the most disturbing aspects of America's temporary retreat following the end of the Cold War was the notion that, with communism defeated, these societies of the former Soviet bloc would inevitably blossom into stable democracies. This has proved contrary to history, and, as we saw in many cases during the 1990s, was contrary to fact. While communism is defeated, a stable democratic society must be developed and nurtured, often by well-meaning citizens with little experience of the societies they seek to achieve. Central in effecting this transition is a

free media, and I am happy to say that the Radios are playing a key role, a role carefully calibrated to their stages of political and economic development.

In societies still governed by repressive regimes, such as Belarus and Turkmenistan, the Radios continue to broadcast news that the local populations can trust and continue to puncture state-controlled media with fresh and objective analysis. In transition societies, such as Russia and Serbia, the Radios, in addition to providing useful news and analysis, provide a model of modern, professional media that these societies study and use to advance their own nascent media institutions.

America does not have all of the ideas, nor all of the solutions, to the problems of the world. But our system is based on the fundamental conviction that there must be a free exchange of ideas. And history has demonstrated that we have worked best, most productively, most peacefully, with nations that share this conviction. The Radios both emulated this fundamental principle and applied it to advance our national security. Let us pause for a moment and recognize this by passing this resolution commemorating their 50th anniversary.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED AND PROPOSED

SA 2467. Mr. HUTCHINSON (for himself and Mrs. LINCOLN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, to strengthen the safety net for agricultural producers, to enhance resource conservation and rural development, to provide for farm credit, agricultural research, nutrition, and related programs, to ensure consumers abundant food and fiber, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2468. Mr. HUTCHINSON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2469. Mr. HUTCHINSON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2470. Mr. HUTCHINSON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2471. Mr. DASCHLE (for Mr. HARKIN) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1731, supra.

SA 2472. Mr. CRAPO (for himself, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. BROWNBACK, Mr. CRAIG, and Mr. VOINOVICH) proposed an amendment to amendment SA 2471 proposed by Mr. DASCHLE to the bill (S. 1731) supra.

SA 2473. Mr. LUGAR (for himself and Mr. DOMENICI) proposed an amendment to amendment SA 2471 proposed by Mr. DASCHLE to the bill (S. 1731) supra.

SA 2474. Mr. MURKOWSKI submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2475. Mr. MURKOWSKI submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2476. Mr. STEVENS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2477. Mr. STEVENS submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, supra; which was ordered to lie on the table.

SA 2478. Mr. REID (for Mr. LIEBERMAN (for himself and Mr. THOMPSON)) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 2336, An act to extend for 4 years, through December 31, 2005, the authority to redact financial disclosure statements of judicial employees and judicial officers.

SA 2479. Mr. REID (for Mr. LIEBERMAN) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 2336, supra.

SA 2480. Mr. REID (for Mr. LIEBERMAN) proposed an amendment to the bill H.R. 2199, to amend the National Capital Revitalization and Self-Government Improvement Act of 1997 to permit any Federal law enforcement agency to enter into a cooperative agreement with the Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia to assist the Department in carrying out crime prevention and law enforcement activities in the District of Columbia if deemed appropriate by the Chief of the Department and the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes.

TEXT OF AMENDMENTS

SA 2467. Mr. HUTCHINSON (for himself and Mrs. LINCOLN) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, to strengthen the safety net for agricultural producers, to enhance resource conservation and rural development, to provide for farm credit, agricultural research, nutrition, and related programs, to ensure consumers abundant food and fiber, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

Strike the period at the end of subtitle C of title X and insert the following:

SEC. 10 — ANIMAL AND PLANT HEALTH INSPECTION SERVICE.

(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

(1) SECRETARY.—The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Agriculture, acting through the Administrator of the Service.

(2) SERVICE.—The term "Service" means the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service of the Department of Agriculture.

(b) EXEMPTION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any migratory bird management carried out by the Secretary shall be exempt from the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 (42 U.S.C. 4321 et seq.) (including regulations).

(c) PERMITS; MANAGEMENT.—An agent, officer, or employee of the Service that carries out any activity relating to migratory bird management may, under the Migratory Bird Treaty Act (16 U.S.C. 703 et seq.)—

- (1) issue a depredation permit to a stakeholder or cooperators of the Service; and
- (2) manage and take migratory birds.

SA 2468. Mr. HUTCHINSON submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the bill S. 1731, to strengthen the safety net for agricultural producers, to enhance resource conservation and rural development, to provide for farm credit, agricultural research, nutrition, and related programs, to ensure consumers abundant food and fiber, and for other purposes; which was ordered to lie on the table; as follows:

At the appropriate place insert the following: