

EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR CYPRUS SETTLEMENT; EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE LONGSTANDING SUPPORT AND FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM; COMMENDING THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR HIS SUPPORT OF THE U.S. IN THE EFFORT TO DISARM SADDAM HUSSEIN OF WMD AND FREE THE IRAQI PEOPLE; AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RULE OF LAW IN THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS

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## MARKUP

BEFORE THE  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE  
OF THE

COMMITTEE ON  
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

**H. Res. 165, H. Con. Res. 129, H. Res. 154 and  
H.R. 854**

APRIL 3, 2003

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**EXPRESSING SUPPORT FOR CYPRUS SETTLEMENT; EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR THE LONGSTANDING SUPPORT AND FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM; COMMENDING THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN FOR HIS SUPPORT OF THE U.S. IN THE EFFORT TO DISARM SADDAM HUSSEIN OF WMD AND FREE THE IRAQI PEOPLE; AND PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND RULE OF LAW IN THE REPUBLIC OF BELARUS**

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**THURSDAY, APRIL 3, 2003**

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EUROPE,  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,  
*Washington, DC.*

The Subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a.m. in Room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Doug Bereuter [Chairman of the Subcommittee] presiding.

Mr. BEREUTER. The Subcommittee will come to order.

Pursuant to notice I call up H. Res. 165 for the purpose of markup. The clerk will report.

Ms. RUSH. H. Res. 165 expressing support for a renewed effort to find a peaceful, just, and lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem.

[The resolution, H. Res. 165, follows:]

108TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 165

Expressing support for a renewed effort to find a peaceful, just, and lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 27, 2003

Mr. BEREUTER (for himself, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. DREIER, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. ACKERMAN, Mr. CROWLEY, Ms. LEE, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. FILNER, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. SHERMAN, Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia, and Mr. MENENDEZ) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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## RESOLUTION

Expressing support for a renewed effort to find a peaceful, just, and lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem.

Whereas the United States believed there existed a historic opportunity to bring a peaceful, just, and lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem, which would have benefited all people of Cyprus and the wider region;

Whereas a resolution of the Cyprus problem remains consistent with American values of promoting stability, freedom, and democracy in the world;

Whereas a resolution of the Cyprus problem is in the strategic interests of the United States, given the important

location of Cyprus at the crossroads of Europe, Africa, and Asia;

Whereas the United States strongly supports the efforts of the United Nations Secretary General, and his Special Advisor through his good offices mission, to achieve a comprehensive settlement with respect to Cyprus in full consideration with relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions and international treaties;

Whereas a just and lasting resolution of the Cyprus problem, in full consideration of United Nations Security Council resolutions and international treaties, will safeguard the security and fundamental rights of all the population of Cyprus;

Whereas the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, on November 11, 2002, submitted a proposal for the comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem, referred to as the “Basis for an Agreement on a Comprehensive Settlement of the Cyprus problem”, which he revised on December 10, 2002;

Whereas negotiations between the two sides, which had been ongoing, were encouraged to intensify their efforts in order that that full agreement could be reached by February 28, 2003, in conformity with the timetable proposed by the United Nations Secretary General in his proposals;

Whereas United Nations Secretary General Koffi Annan again on February 26, 2003, gave the two leaders on Cyprus, and the guarantor powers, the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey, a second revision of his plan in order to accommodate input from both sides;

Whereas the revised plan was the result of exhaustive efforts by the United Nations and would have lead to a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the longstanding division of Cyprus;

Whereas the Secretary General on February 28, 2003, at the conclusion of a visit to Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus, invited the 2 leaders to meet with him at The Hague on March 10, 2003, the purpose of the meeting being to sign a commitment to submit the plan to approval in separate, simultaneous referenda on March 30, 2003, in order to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus problem, and the guarantor powers were also invited to attend the meeting and to sign the commitment;

Whereas both leaders on Cyprus did attend the meeting at The Hague with the Secretary General but the Secretary General's plan failed when Turkish Cypriot Leader, Denktash, rejected both the comprehensive settlement and the referendum proposal;

Whereas the United States Government expressed its deep disappointment that the Secretary General's efforts to bring his plan for a comprehensive settlement to referenda by the people of Cyprus was rejected; and

Whereas despite this unfortunate setback, the United States remains committed to seeking a just and durable settlement to the Cyprus problem: Now, therefore, be it:

- 1       *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives—
- 2               (1) expresses its appreciation for the efforts of
- 3       the United Nations Secretary General to seek a
- 4       peaceful, just, and lasting settlement of the Cyprus

1 problem for the benefit of the people of Cyprus and  
2 the region;

3 (2) expresses its strong disappointment that the  
4 Secretary General's efforts to bring his plan for a  
5 comprehensive settlement to a referenda by the peo-  
6 ple of Cyprus has been rejected;

7 (3) expresses its very strong regret that Turk-  
8 ish Cypriot leader, Mr. Denktash, rejected the com-  
9 prehensive settlement offered by the Secretary Gen-  
10 eral and denied the Turkish Cypriot people the op-  
11 portunity to determine their own future by refusing  
12 to offer the settlement proposal to referenda;

13 (4) remains committed, despite the recent set-  
14 back, to giving any assistance necessary for finding  
15 a just and durable settlement for the Cyprus prob-  
16 lem and urges the maximum effort by the United  
17 States Government and others to redouble their ef-  
18 forts to seek a just and lasting settlement to the Cy-  
19 prus problem;

20 (5) encourages both Greek and Turkish Cypriot  
21 leaders to renew their efforts to find a settlement to  
22 the Cyprus problem on the basis of the Secretary  
23 General's framework for a comprehensive settlement;

24 (6) urges the Governments of Turkey and  
25 Greece to do everything possible to support the

6

5

1 search for a settlement, including actions by the  
2 Government of Turkey helping to persuade the  
3 Turkish Cypriot leader to reach an agreement which  
4 would reunite the island and which would serve the  
5 interests of both Cypriot communities; and

6 (7) encourages both sides, upon completion of a  
7 comprehensive settlement, to consider putting such  
8 an agreement to referenda, if necessary, in order  
9 that the will of the people of Cyprus can be demo-  
10 cratically expressed.

○

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection the resolution will be considered as read and open for an amendment at any point.

I am the sponsor of this resolution. I happen to think it is one of the things we should be doing in this Congress as a responsible Subcommittee and Committee.

I thought we had a great opportunity with maximum leverage to finally heal the division of Cyprus, that ancient island civilization.

I cannot help but recall walking the green line twice in Nicosia and seeing how things were frozen on the two sides. In some cases I saw Greek Cypriots with weapons and Turkish Cypriots with weapons, less than 15 or 20 feet apart.

We have, I think, four countries involved in peacekeeping activities there.

I remember on my first visit to the green line, I visited with the commander of the British troops which were, by the way, side by side with the Argentine troops not too long after the Falkland War.

That British commander said he had people in his unit whose fathers served there in that unit at that place. That is how long this conflict has been going on.

Last November U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan proposed a comprehensive framework for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus problem. He then asked the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot leaders to accept the plan by February 28th. When neither side could resolve their differences by the end of February the Secretary General asked the two leaders to meet in the Hague on March 10th to sign an agreement to put the framework to simultaneous referenda on the island.

Subsequently we learned with great disappointment that the Secretary General was told by the Turkish Cypriot leader that he could not accept the settlement plan and could not agree to a referenda despite the fact that the informal polling indicated that a majority of the Turkish Cypriots were prepared to support the plan.

It was regrettable to this Member that the Secretary General's much appreciated work did not come to a successful conclusion. Nevertheless we must put our disappointments behind us and find a way to revise the negotiations and encourage both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders to return to the negotiating table.

I must say I heard positive things coming out of Ankara just yesterday.

So the fact that we have some difficulties between Turkey and the United States may in fact work to the advantage of finding the pressure necessary on Mr. Denktash to move ahead.

H. Res. 165 commends the U.N. Secretary for his tireless efforts to seek a resolution of the Cyprus problem. It expresses the disappointment of the Congress of the United States that the U.N. plan for a settlement of the Cyprus problem could not be reached. It urges both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots to quickly resume negotiations to resolve this problem and urges the United Nations and the Bush Administration to redouble their efforts to get the talks going once again and to seek a solution that seems to be within our grasp.

Pursuant to our consideration of this resolution today, and one can hope for a positive reaction to it, I was encouraged to learn, as I mentioned, of two very positive initiatives involving Cyprus.

The first was an announcement by Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan that he was sending Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul to Cyprus today to speak with Turkish Cypriot leaders and then to Belgrade next week to speak with Greek leaders.

I find this initiative to be very welcome and a hopeful sign that negotiations could resume soon. I commend the Prime Minister for this decision.

The second was a letter sent yesterday by Turkish Cypriot leader Mr. Denktash to President Papadopoulos suggesting some ideas which could lead to a renewed dialogue with Greek Cypriots. It is a rehash in many ways of things he has said for a long time, but I do want to commend Mr. Denktash for his effort and hope that something positive may come out of what could be viewed as a confidence building measure.

I would suggest that in all probability this comes as a result of some pressure from Ankara.

It is clear to the Chair that the people of Cyprus have suffered too long under the current unacceptable conditions on the island. With membership in the European Union looming ahead, it is important that all Cypriots share in the benefits of that membership and that all Cypriots be welcomed into the European community.

I hope the year 2003 will be the final year of what we refer to as the Cyprus problem.

I refuse to give up on this. This is a time when we should have some action.

I commend all of the interests that have been very responsible in examining this legislation, trying to look past some great difficulties we have had in the past. I appreciate all the co-sponsors who have joined us in this legislation.

Now I would like to turn to the distinguished Ranking Member of the Subcommittee, the gentleman from Florida, Mr. Wexler, for any statement he might have.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to thank you for your very significant efforts to find a peaceful, just, and lasting resolution to the longstanding Cyprus issue. You have been a leader on this very difficult issue and a champion for a comprehensive settlement that benefits both Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Please know that I share your deep disappointment that a comprehensive agreement to support the United Nations proposal, the basis for an agreement on a comprehensive settlement of the Cyprus conflict, was not reached at the Hague on March 10. I had hoped as you did that the U.N. plan would be accepted by both sides and voted on in a simultaneous referendum held by both Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities on March 30.

Clearly a great deal of sweat and toil was put into this plan and a Herculean effort was made by Secretary General Kofi Annan, Bush Administration officials including Special Envoy to Cyprus Tom Weston, as well as from members of the international community to finally resolve this issue.

As you very well know, over 29 years of conflict have made this an extremely difficult issue to resolve for both the Greek and the Turkish Cypriot communities. However, the United States, Turkey, Greece and the international community have an obligation and a duty to bring both parties back to the negotiation table. It is important that we do not let past failures get in the way of future negotiations in a lasting settlement of this issue. I hope that both Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders will renew their commitment to bridging the divide that separates their people.

Recent comments, as you have mentioned Mr. Chairman, by both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders have been positive and we must, as your resolution does in fact state, redouble our efforts in order to secure a lasting settlement.

Mr. Chairman, a lot of international attention and consternation, whether justified or not, has been focused on the Turkish Cypriot effort and that of the government of Turkey to do their part to bring about a fair resolution to this issue. In this vein, I was very pleased to see just yesterday in a press statement by Turkish leader Mr. Denktash, that he has taken positive steps to initiate a new process of dialogue and consultation that will hopefully lead to a comprehensive settlement.

Mr. Denktash in his press statement provides a detailed proposal which he has presented to Greek Cypriot leader Tassos Papadopoulos in a written letter.

In his letter to Mr. Papadopoulos, Mr. Denktash proposes lifting all overseas trade, transport, travel and cultural activities from or to both parts of Cyprus. He calls for freedom of movement to be facilitated between the two sides and restrictions on the movement of tourists to be lifted.

His measures also include allowing Greek Cypriot refugees to return to the Greek Cypriot sector of Famagusta.

Finally, Mr. Denktash has also expressed his willingness to meet with Mr. Papadopoulos to discuss the core issues of a comprehensive settlement with the objective of reaching an agreement between Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

These are a few examples of the positive measures Mr. Denktash has proposed in order to restart dialogue and to achieve a comprehensive settlement.

I hope this Committee and the Bush Administration will encourage Mr. Denktash to continue his efforts and be willing to expend a great deal of effort and political capital to move this process forward and to assist Mr. Denktash as he makes difficult decisions.

As for Turkey's role which I know has been criticized by some in Washington and in Europe, I believe that the new government in Ankara which is dealing with several major crises at the same time including military action in Iraq, efforts to achieve EU accession, a weak economy, and a just resolution to Cyprus, is making every legitimate effort to resolve this very difficult issue.

I am optimistic that Prime Minister Erdogan and his government are truly committed to a fair settlement of this issue.

Last Friday Prime Minister Erdogan offered to bring Turkish and Greek Cypriots together with the three guarantor countries—Turkey, Greece and Britain.

Furthermore, as you mentioned, Foreign Minister Abdullah Gul will be in Northern Cyprus on Thursday, today, to meet with Turkish Cypriot leaders to discuss efforts to restart talks with the Greek leaders.

Mr. Gul also will be traveling to a Balkan Summit in Belgrade where he will meet with Greek leaders to discuss Cyprus.

These are all positive developments which I hope will be the catalyst for new discussions between both sides.

When I was in Ankara 2½ weeks ago with Mr. Rogers of Michigan, we talked with Mr. Erdogan who was not yet the Prime Minister, about Cyprus. Mr. Erdogan was totally supportive of the U.N. process. So I believe this is an opportunity for us, as your resolution states, to encourage our strong allies in Turkey to continue this effort. As we attempt to jumpstart this process again, it is important to recognize that it is going to take an even greater commitment from the United States and the international community to achieve a lasting settlement to the Cyprus issue.

I hope and I am confident that our colleagues on the Europe Subcommittee and throughout the entire Congress will work to achieve a just resolution of this issue that is in the best interest of both the Greek and Turkish Cypriots as well as the United States.

Thank you.

Mr. BEREUTER. We appreciate your statement. This is the time of maximum leverage because of the accession of Cyprus to the European Union.

Are there other Members that have statements?

Seeing none, I have an amendment at the desk. The clerk will report.

Ms. RUSH. En bloc amendment offered by Mr. Bereuter.

In the 1st clause of the preamble, strike "people of Cyprus and"——

[The information referred to follows:]

EN BLOC AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 165  
OFFERED BY MR. BEREUTER

In the 1st clause of the preamble, strike "people of Cyprus and" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots, as well as"

In the 5th clause of the preamble, strike "the population of Cyprus" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots"

In the 6th clause of the preamble after "2002" insert "and again on February 26, 2003"

In the 7th clause of the preamble, strike "two sides" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders" and strike "were encouraged to intensify their efforts" and insert "were encouraged to be intensified"

In the 8th clause of the preamble, strike "two leaders on Cyprus" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders"

In the 10th clause of the preamble, strike "2" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriot"

In the 11th clause of the preamble, strike "both leaders on Cyprus" and insert "both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders"

In the 12th clause of the preamble strike, "the people of Cyprus" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots"

Page 4, line 1, strike "people of Cyprus" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots"

Page 4, line 5, strike "people of Cyprus" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots"

Page 4, line 10, strike "people" and insert "community"

Page 5, line 5, strike "Cypriot communities" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots"

Page 5, line 9, strike "people of Cyprus" and insert "Greek and Turkish Cypriots"

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read and opened for amendment itself.

This amendment I need to explain. It looks simple and removes the reference to the people of Cyprus and in all cases refers to Greek and Turkish Cypriots which is consistent throughout. There is a date added as well, and in one cases community is inserted for people. This was suggested by the State Department. I am not sure if it is necessary but they think it is better so we have asked their opinion and I am going to offer it, and I do.

Are there comments on the amendment?

[No audible response]

The question then is on the approval of the amendment as offered. All those in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Those opposed will say no.

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. In the opinion of the Chair the ayes have it. The ayes do have it, the amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments to the legislation?

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. Seeing none, the Chair will now entertain a motion that the bill be reported favorably to the Full Committee as amended.

Mr. WEXLER. So moved.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

The question occurs on the motion to report the Resolution H. Res. 165 favorably as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. All opposed will say no.

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. The motion is approved and the bill is reported favorably.

Without objection the bill will be reported favorably to the Full Committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute incorporating the amendment adopted here today.

Without objection the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

I have invited Mr. Smith who is the prime sponsor of the resolution on Belarus to make comments if he wishes. I think he will be arriving shortly.

We are therefore going to move to the third item on the agenda, H. Res. 154 and H. Con. Res. 129.

What I intend to do to give proper credit to Mr. Vitter, for example, for his initiative, is to pass his resolution with the approval of the Subcommittee if it is at all possible, and then move directly to Mr. Gallegly's amendment.

I have an en bloc amendment prepared which will incorporate some changes and some positive things from Mr. Vitter's resolution and I would hope therefore to see that resolution advance to the Full Committee.

Pursuant to notice I call up H. Con. Res. 129 commending the United Kingdom for its support for purposes of markup.

The clerk will report.

Ms. RUSH. H. Con. Res. 129 expressing appreciation for the long-standing support and friendship of the people and the Government of the United Kingdom.

[The resolution, H. Con. Res. 129, follows:]

108TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. CON. RES. 129

Expressing appreciation for the longstanding support and friendship of the people and Government of the United Kingdom.

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 27, 2003

Mr. VITTER submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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## CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing appreciation for the longstanding support and friendship of the people and Government of the United Kingdom.

Whereas there is a long history of consistent friendship and support between the United States and the United Kingdom;

Whereas these two democracies share a unique relationship and bond that has stood the test of time;

Whereas the shared history, customs, and language of this Anglo-American alliance represent one of the strongest bonds of friendship and mutual benefit in our Nation's history;

Whereas the current Prime Minister, Tony Blair, has shown tremendous support for the United States in this time of armed conflict;

Whereas Prime Minister Blair has been a devout, resolute, and steady leader of his people and government and an important ally to the United States;

Whereas Prime Minister Blair's support, and the support of the British Government and the British people, is of paramount importance to the United States;

Whereas the British House of Commons has voted to support their armed forces and war effort to fight terrorism in Iraq;

Whereas the British military has sent more than 45,000 troops to the conflict in Iraq, including members of the Royal Navy, Air Force and Army; and

Whereas shared principles and ideals have formed the basis of the enduring friendship between these two nations:  
Now, therefore, be it

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

3           (1) is grateful for the support of the people and  
4       Government of the United Kingdom;

5           (2) commends Prime Minister Blair for his  
6       steadfast friendship, resolute leadership, and unwav-  
7       ering support;

8           (3) commends the bravery and courage of all  
9       members of the British military that stand together

1 with United States and coalition forces in the cur-  
2 rent engagement in Iraq; and

3 (4) hopes that this unique bond of friendship  
4 between the United States and the United Kingdom  
5 continues in perpetuity.

○

Mr. BEREUTER. I am going to waive an opening statement.  
Does the gentleman have any statement on this particular resolution?

Mr. WEXLER. Are you going to wait until the next—

Mr. BEREUTER. I am.

Mr. WEXLER. Then I will do the same.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

Without objection the resolution will be considered as read and open for amendments at any point.

Are there any amendments to the resolution?

[No audible response]

The Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably to the Full Committee.

Mr. WEXLER. So moved.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

The question occurs on the motion to report H. Con. Res. 129 favorably. All in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. All opposed will say no.

The motion is approved and the resolution is reported favorably.

Without objection the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

Now therefore we will call up H. Res. 154 commending Prime Minister Blair for support for purposes of markup. The clerk will report.

Ms. RUSH. H. Res. 154, a resolution commending the Prime Minister of Great Britain for his stalwart leadership and unwavering support of the United States in the effort to disarm Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction—

[The resolution, H. Res. 154, follows:]

108TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. RES. 154

Commending the Prime Minister of Great Britain for his stalwart leadership and unwavering support of the United States in the effort to disarm Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction and free the Iraqi people of the scourge of brutal dictatorship.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 20, 2003

Mr. GALLEGLY submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

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## RESOLUTION

Commending the Prime Minister of Great Britain for his stalwart leadership and unwavering support of the United States in the effort to disarm Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction and free the Iraqi people of the scourge of brutal dictatorship.

Whereas British Prime Minister Tony Blair has shown courageous leadership in cooperating with the United States in the effort to disarm Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction;

Whereas Prime Minister Tony Blair has shown great fortitude in championing the urgent necessity to disarm Saddam Hussein;

Whereas Prime Minister Tony Blair has been a steadfast supporter of the United States throughout the United Nations Security Council deliberations on United Nations Resolution 1441;

Whereas Prime Minister Tony Blair has joined the United States in condemning Saddam Hussein for subjecting the Iraqi people to unconscionable brutality and human rights violations;

Whereas Prime Minister Tony Blair has committed his country's military to ensuring that Iraq is disarmed of weapons of mass destruction and the Iraqi people are free from Saddam Hussein's tyrannical rule;

Whereas the combined efforts of President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair to rid the world of Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction are in the best interest of Iraq's regional neighbors, the international community, and the Iraqi people; and

Whereas the United States and Great Britain stand firm in collective resolve to rid the world of Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction and free the Iraqi people from the despotic rule of Saddam Hussein: Now, therefore, be it

1       *Resolved*, That the House of Representatives com-  
2 mends British Prime Minister Tony Blair for his leader-  
3 ship and cooperation in the effort to disarm Saddam Hus-  
4 sein of weapons of mass destruction and free the Iraqi  
5 people from Saddam Hussein's brutal dictatorship.

○

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the resolution will be considered as read and open for amendments at any point.

This resolution is offered by our colleague Mr. Gallegly, the former Chairman of this Subcommittee, and I speak in support of both resolutions and particularly this one which would commend the United Kingdom and Prime Minister Blair for their steadfast support for the campaign in Iraq to rid Iraq of Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction.

As I mentioned, these two resolutions are very similar and it is my intention to marry the previously approved resolution with the Gallegly resolution in the form of a substitute amendment offered by the Chair.

The United Kingdom and its 45,000 heroic men and women who are currently in the Iraqi theater have been the most committed of our allies fighting as part of the coalition against the Iraq regime. Prime Minister Blair has shown courageous leadership in cooperating with the United States against Iraq despite the views of many in the Parliament and the views of a large part of its public.

Our two colleagues and their co-sponsors believe that Congress needs to take the time to salute all of the nations who have been willing to join the coalition to rid Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction and its brutal dictatorship.

We are all aware of the contributions of nations such as Australia, Poland, Denmark, and others. However I do agree with them and I believe that a special note of thanks and appreciation is certainly due the Government, people and military forces of the United Kingdom as well as a special note of praise for the Prime Minister.

I would be pleased to yield now to the gentleman from Florida, the Ranking Member, and then we will turn to Mr. Gallegly.

Mr. WEXLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be brief.

I too want to express my total support for both of these resolutions and commend Mr. Gallegly for bringing this very apt resolution.

I think it goes without saying that all Americans, whether they support the Administration's policy with respect to Iraq or those that may have a differing point of view are extremely appreciative and understand the extraordinary commitment that the United Kingdom has made to join with the United States.

It is but one example of the most deep-rooted alliance that the United States has. We are grateful to the British people and to Prime Minister Blair for their efforts to work in concert with the United States. It goes without saying that both countries and both peoples benefit from that.

I would just add if I could, Mr. Chairman, one thing that I think we would be remiss not to discuss in the context of this resolution. It seems to me that the best way in which the United States and this Congress can honor the commitment that Tony Blair has made to the United States and to our coalition forces is to give great credence and a degree of credibility to the ideology and the future views that Mr. Blair has professed in terms of rebuilding Iraq and the manner in which our government goes about reconstructing Iraq after the military victory.

Mr. Blair has been very specific in his public comments about the need of repairing the Atlantic relationship. Mr. Blair has played I think an extremely positive role in encouraging our Administration to take great lengths to rebuild the transatlantic alliance and to strengthen it and to bring the rebuilding of Iraq to an international forum so that it does not become a singularly American or British affair but an international process. That is what Mr. Blair believes is in the best interest of the coalition, is in the best interest of the transatlantic alliance, and I think the manner in which we can honor this relationship to its greatest would be to take Mr. Blair's advice very seriously and act upon it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Wexler.

Now I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Chairman of another Subcommittee, former Chairman of this Subcommittee, the prime sponsor of this resolution, Mr. Gallegly. And I thank him for his initiative.

Mr. GALLEGLY. I thank the Chairman, my good friend from Nebraska. I would like to express my appreciation to you, Mr. Chairman, for scheduling this markup H. Res. 154.

This resolution commends Prime Minister Tony Blair for his leadership and unwavering support of the United States.

We are partners in the effort to disarm Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction and to free the Iraqi people from Saddam's brutal dictatorship.

I also appreciate the work by Mr. Vitter on this issue. I am pleased that the Chairman will combine the measures into one single resolution for consideration by the Full Committee.

Mr. Chairman, the American people have learned a great deal about Tony Blair in the past several months. As President Bush said on March 27th, "We have learned that he is a man of his word. We have learned that he is a man of courage and a man of vision. We are proud to have him as a friend."

We all share the sentiments expressed by the President. Prime Minister Tony Blair and the United Kingdom have been stalwart allies at every stage of our effort to disarm Saddam Hussein.

Tony Blair stood with us at the United Nations in an effort to both pass and enforce the provisions of United Nations Resolution 1441. He also stood with us and continues to be our strongest ally as we fight to disarm Iraq and liberate the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein's rule.

Tony Blair has been passionate in describing the brutality of living in Iraq under Saddam Hussein. He has tirelessly fought to make sure that the world would never forget the cruel tyrants in Baghdad that humiliate, torture and kill their own people without mercy whatsoever.

As the United States and United Kingdom fight to liberate Iraq and to remove the threat from the Middle East and the entire world, I believe it is appropriate to honor American's most loyal friend, Prime Minister Tony Blair.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for consideration of H. Res. 154 and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you for your statement.

The gentleman from South Dakota, Governor Janklow.

Mr. JANKLOW. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and I am going to be extremely brief.

Tony Blair, Prime Minister Blair is one of those individuals that truly is unique. We come to know them as political figures who ebb and flow with what is going on in politics, and then all of a sudden there comes a point in time when principle rises above politics. Where even in the face of public polls or sentiment by huge numbers are opposed to actions that one is taking as a leader. He understands there are things that are truly more important than politics and things that are truly more important than polls.

All politicians say that. This is a man who understands it and means it.

As far as the nation of Britain is concerned, the relationship that Great Britain and the United States have had is truly unique, truly unique since the founding of this country, but for the last 100 years a good majority of it, I have lived during the time when Britain was under attack and evacuating at Dunkirk and the Yanks went and joined the Royal Air Force. On Omaha Beach and Sword Beach and Juneau and the other beaches, it was the Americans and the Brits arm in arm that were dying together as they landed on Normandy. In North Africa it was the American and British together that were winning and dying together, fighting in World War II.

In the Korean War they were at our side. In the Falklands War they fought the battle but we provided valuable assistance to them.

The point I am trying to make is the relationship we have with Great Britain is truly unique. It is something that we need to always recognize, notwithstanding at times we have our differences, our fundamental principles would tie us together. We call it the bill of rights. They go all the way back to a document called the Magna Carta. Between the two of us we have imperfect societies but always moving toward greater protection, and I just could not be more excited. And to you Mr. Gallegly and to Mr. Vitter for having proposed these resolutions, I really commend them.

Thank you. And thank you Mr. Chairman for moving them forward.

With enthusiasm, I am excited to support them.

Mr. BEREUTER. Governor Janklow, thank you for your eloquent statement.

Are there other Members who wish to make a statement?

Mr. Engel? The gentleman from New York is recognized.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I know we have a vote so I am going to be very quick.

I certainly support the resolution and I just wanted to if I could for 30 seconds ask unanimous consent to speak out of turn.

Mr. BEREUTER. Is there objection?

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. Hearing none, the gentleman may proceed.

Mr. ENGEL. I had an amendment that I was going to introduce and then withdraw, but I just wanted to thank the gentleman for the excellent Cyprus resolution and I think that the failure of the U.N. Secretary General's efforts to reach a statement on the Cyprus question was a very unfortunate development.

I just want you to know I was going to put in an amendment and then withdraw it, but essentially my amendment was going to say that, I will not read the amendment now but I will submit it for the record. It is basically talking about the situation on Cyprus and celebrating President Papadopoulos of Cyprus.

I just want to say that according to the Secretary General's statement of March 11th, President Papadopoulos, and I am going to just quote it very quickly, answered that "he was prepared to submit to the U.N. a plan for a referendum as long as the people knew what they were being asked to vote on."

To that end President Papadopoulos wished to be sure that the gaps regarding Federal legislation as well as constituent state constitutions would be filled and he underlined the importance of Greece and Turkey agreeing and committing to the security provisions in the plan, and more time was needed, and these conditions need to be fulfilled before a referendum can take place. And he said he was prepared not to reopen the substantive provisions if the other side was prepared to do likewise.

So I just wanted to put this in the record.

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection your entire statement will be made part of the record.

Mr. ENGEL. I thank you.

Mr. BEREUTER. Are there further statements?

I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute at the desk which, without objection, will be considered a read.

The clerk will read.

Ms. RUSH. Amendment offered by Mr. Bereuter. On page 1, delete the 2nd clause of the preamble. On page 1, insert a—

[The information referred to follows:]

SUBSTITUTE AMENDMENT TO H. RES. 154

OFFERED BY MR. BEREUTER

On page 1, delete the 2nd clause of the preamble

On page 1, insert a new 1st clause of the preamble to read "Whereas there is a long history of consistent friendship and support between the United States and the United Kingdom;"

On page 1, insert a new 2nd clause in the preamble to read "Whereas shared principles and ideals have formed the basis of the enduring friendship between the United States and the United Kingdom"

In the 5th clause of the preamble, strike "has committed his" and insert "along with the support of the House of Commons committed the"

After the 5th clause of the preamble add a new clause to read "Whereas the British military has deployed more than 45,000 troops to the conflict in Iraq, including members of the Royal Army, Navy Marines and Air Force"

On page 2 delete clause 7 Page 2 line 2 insert "(1) expresses its grateful support of the Government of the United Kingdom; (2) commends British Prime Minister Tony Blair for his leadership and cooperation in the effort to disarm Saddam Hussein of weapons of mass destruction and free the Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein's brutal dictatorship; (3) commends the bravery and courage of all members of the British military as well as all coalition forces which stand together with the United States in the current engagement in Iraq; and (4) expresses its hope that this unique bond of friendship between the United States and the United Kingdom continues in perpetuity."

Mr. BEREUTER. The amendment is considered as read without objection.

Mr. Gallegly, I know that you have had a chance to see it. I understand that you are in agreement with it.

It is basically a merger of the elements of H. Con. Res. 129 with your own and I urge adoption of the substitute.

The question then occurs on the amendment.

All those in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. All those opposed will say no.

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. In the opinion of the Chair the ayes have it.

Are there further amendments to the bill?

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. The question occurs then on the amendment and nature of a substitute. All in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. Those opposed will say no.

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. The Chair will now entertain a motion that the resolution be reported favorably to the Full Committee as amended by the amendment in the nature of a substitute, and by the way I did not announce that the amendment was approved.

Thank you, Mr. Gallegly.

The question occurs on the motion to report H. Res. 154 favorably as amended.

All in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. All opposed will say no.

The motion is approved and the bill is reported favorably.

Without objection the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

I do not believe we can complete action on the Belarus legislation. It is my intent to come back and do it. I think it is non-controversial. I think it is important that we move it, but I believe we would delay the Members and miss a vote potentially.

The Subcommittee will stand in recess until immediately after the vote. We may have a vote on the rule. This is on a previous question.

[Recess]

Mr. BEREUTER. The Subcommittee will come to order.

Before I call up the resolution I want to say a few words informally about H. Res. 854.

First of all it is introduced by our colleague on the Committee, Chris Smith, the gentleman from New Jersey. He has been extremely active, as the Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Helsinki Commission here in the House, and active in the OSCE. I happen to think, in my view, that the resolution is an excellent one and it reflects a lot of work.

I would say from my own experience on the NATO Parliamentary Assembly we have looked into Belarus for some period of time. It is the only country that was an associate member that we reluctantly with good cause and unanimously expelled from the assembly because of their outrageous practices, because of their lack of democracy and the activities in particular of the President which relates to violence.

I would like to call upon Mr. Smith for any introductory comments that he might want to make, even before we proceed to the actual markup and I thank the gentleman for his initiative.

Mr. CHRISTOPHER SMITH. I appreciate the distinguished Chairman for marking up the bill and for his leadership on many issues related to Europe and human rights especially today on Belarus.

This legislation is a bipartisan proposal. It recognizes that things are deteriorating in Belorussia, that Belarus, as *The Washington Post* so aptly put it, remains the last dictatorship in Europe and certain examples of Lukashenko's repression rivals that of people like Nicolai Cheauchesceau and others in terms of degree, severity, with one added caveat. He and his regime are also very much complicit in the arms transfer and selling to rogue nations which obviously puts our pilots and our men and women in uniform at risk.

This legislation with its mutually reinforcing aspects regarding sanctions and its assistance of civil society as well as other monies to try to beef up the democratization and the human rights promotion in Belarus, taken together as a whole is a comprehensive package to try to really make the difference.

There are elections coming up very shortly in Belarus that will deal with parliamentary and presidential. The problem that we have is that in the past they have been a farce. When the pro-democracy candidates won in Belarus just a few years ago, what did Lukashenko do? He dissolved it and had his own rogue elections to follow.

I would say to my friend and colleague that in the OSCE which I chair and Commissioner Hoeffel and others have all been a part of this, we fought very hard to keep them out of the OSCE parliamentary assembly. Unfortunately at the Vienna meeting we lost the fight in a recorded vote because things have deteriorated, and people were saying let him in, maybe things will get better. Very naive, but nevertheless they are back in.

I thank you for marking this up. The sooner we get this enacted into law the better. I do hope that all Members of the Committee will, as I will, answer any questions about the particular legislation if you are so inclined.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

Pursuant to notice I call up the bill H. Res. 854 for purposes of markup. The clerk will report.

Ms. RUSH. H.R. 854, to provide for the promotion of democracy, human rights, and rule of law in the Republic of Belarus and for the consolidation and strengthening of Belarus sovereignty and independence.

[The resolution, H. Res. 854, follows:]

108TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 854

To provide for the promotion of democracy, human rights, and rule of law in the Republic of Belarus and for the consolidation and strengthening of Belarus sovereignty and independence.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 13, 2003

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. HOYER, Mr. HOEFFEL, and Ms. SLAUGHTER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations, and in addition to the Committees on the Judiciary and Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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## A BILL

To provide for the promotion of democracy, human rights, and rule of law in the Republic of Belarus and for the consolidation and strengthening of Belarus sovereignty and independence.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Belarus Democracy  
5 Act of 2003”.

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 Congress finds that—

3 (1) the United States supports the promotion of  
4 democracy, respect for human rights, and the rule of  
5 law in the Republic of Belarus consistent with its  
6 commitments as a participating state of the Organi-  
7 zation for Security and Cooperation in Europe  
8 (OSCE);

9 (2) the United States has a vital interest in the  
10 independence and sovereignty of the Republic of  
11 Belarus and its integration into the European com-  
12 munity of democracies;

13 (3) the last parliamentary election in Belarus  
14 deemed to be free and fair by the international com-  
15 munity was conducted in 1995 from which emerged  
16 the 13th Supreme Soviet whose democratically and  
17 constitutionally derived authorities and powers have  
18 been usurped by the authoritarian regime of Presi-  
19 dent Aleksandr Lukashenka;

20 (4) in November 1996, Lukashenka orches-  
21 trated an illegal and unconstitutional referendum  
22 that enabled him to impose a new constitution, abol-  
23 ish the duly-elected parliament, the 13th Supreme  
24 Soviet, install a largely powerless National Assembly,  
25 and extend his term of office to 2001;

1           (5) in May 1999, Belarusian democratic forces  
2 challenged Lukashenka’s unconstitutional extension  
3 of his presidential term by staging alternative presi-  
4 dential elections which were met with repression;

5           (6) Belarusian democratic forces have organized  
6 peaceful demonstrations against the Lukashenka re-  
7 gime in cities and towns throughout Belarus which  
8 led to beatings, mass arrests, and extended incarcer-  
9 ations;

10          (7) Victor Gonchar, Anatoly Krasovsky, and  
11 Yuri Zakharenka, who have been leaders and sup-  
12 porters of the democratic forces, and Dmitry  
13 Zavadsky, a journalist known for his critical report-  
14 ing, have disappeared and are presumed dead;

15          (8) former Belarus Government officials have  
16 come forward with credible allegations and evidence  
17 that top officials of the Lukashenka regime were in-  
18 volved in the disappearances;

19          (9) the Lukashenka regime systematically  
20 harasses and represses the independent media and  
21 independent trade unions, imprisons independent  
22 journalists, and actively suppresses freedom of  
23 speech and expression;

24          (10) the Lukashenka regime harasses the  
25 autocephalic Belarusian Orthodox Church, the

1 Roman Catholic Church, the Jewish community, the  
2 Hindu Lights of Kalyasa community, evangelical  
3 Protestant churches (such as Baptist and Pente-  
4 costal groups), and other minority religious groups;

5 (11) the Law on Religious Freedom and Reli-  
6 gious Organizations, passed by the National Assem-  
7 bly and signed by Lukashenka on October 31, 2002,  
8 establishes one of the most repressive legal regimes  
9 in the OSCE region, severely limiting religious free-  
10 dom and placing excessively burdensome government  
11 controls on religious practice;

12 (12) the United States, the European Union,  
13 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)  
14 Parliamentary Assembly, and the OSCE Parliamen-  
15 tary Assembly have not recognized the National As-  
16 sembly;

17 (13) the parliamentary elections of October 15,  
18 2000, conducted in the absence of a democratic elec-  
19 tion law, were illegitimate, unconstitutional, plagued  
20 by violent human rights abuses committed by the  
21 Lukashenka regime, and determined to be non-  
22 democratic by the OSCE; and

23 (14) the presidential election of September 9,  
24 2001, was determined by the OSCE and other ob-  
25 servers to be fundamentally unfair and failed to

1 meet the OSCE commitments for democratic elec-  
2 tions formulated in the 1990 Copenhagen Document  
3 and featured significant and abusive misconduct by  
4 the Lukashenka regime, including—

5 (A) the harassment, arrest, and imprison-  
6 ment of opposition members;

7 (B) the denial of equal and fair access by  
8 opposition candidates to the state-controlled  
9 media;

10 (C) the seizure of equipment and property  
11 of independent nongovernmental organizations  
12 and press organizations and the harassment of  
13 their staff and management;

14 (D) voting and vote counting procedures  
15 that were not transparent; and

16 (E) a campaign of intimidation directed  
17 against opposition activists, domestic election  
18 observation organizations, opposition and inde-  
19 pendent media, and a libelous media campaign  
20 against international observers.

21 **SEC. 3. ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL**  
22 **SOCIETY IN BELARUS.**

23 (a) **PURPOSES OF ASSISTANCE.**—The assistance  
24 under this section shall be available for the following pur-  
25 poses:

1           (1) To assist the people of the Republic of  
2 Belarus in regaining their freedom and to enable  
3 them to join the European community of democ-  
4 racies.

5           (2) To encourage free and fair presidential,  
6 parliamentary, and local elections in Belarus, con-  
7 ducted in a manner consistent with internationally  
8 accepted standards and under the supervision of  
9 internationally recognized observers.

10          (3) To assist in restoring and strengthening in-  
11 stitutions of democratic governance in Belarus.

12          (b) AUTHORIZATION FOR ASSISTANCE.—To carry out  
13 the purposes of subsection (a), the President is authorized  
14 to furnish assistance and other support for the activities  
15 described in subsection (c), to be provided primarily for  
16 indigenous Belarusian groups that are committed to the  
17 support of democratic processes.

18          (c) ACTIVITIES SUPPORTED.—Activities that may be  
19 supported by assistance under subsection (b) include—

20           (1) the observation of elections and the pro-  
21 motion of free and fair electoral processes;

22           (2) development of democratic political parties;

23           (3) radio and television broadcasting to and  
24 within Belarus;

1 (4) the development of nongovernmental organi-  
2 zations promoting democracy and supporting human  
3 rights;

4 (5) the development of independent media  
5 working within Belarus and from locations outside  
6 the country and supported by nonstate-controlled  
7 printing facilities;

8 (6) international exchanges and advanced pro-  
9 fessional training programs for leaders and members  
10 of the democratic forces in skill areas central to the  
11 development of civil society; and

12 (7) other activities consistent with the purposes  
13 of this Act.

14 (d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

15 (1) IN GENERAL.—There is authorized to be  
16 appropriated to the President to carry out this sec-  
17 tion \$40,000,000 for fiscal years 2004 and 2005.

18 (2) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appro-  
19 priated pursuant to the authorization of appropria-  
20 tions under paragraph (1) are authorized to remain  
21 available until expended.

22 **SEC. 4. RADIO BROADCASTING TO BELARUS.**

23 (a) PURPOSE.—It is the purpose of this section to  
24 authorize increased support for United States Government  
25 and surrogate radio broadcasting to the Republic of

1 Belarus that will facilitate the unhindered dissemination  
2 of information.

3 (b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addi-  
4 tion to such sums as are otherwise authorized to be appro-  
5 priated, there is authorized to be appropriated \$5,000,000  
6 for each fiscal year for Voice of America and RFE/RL,  
7 Incorporated for radio broadcasting to the people of  
8 Belarus in languages spoken in Belarus.

9 (c) REPORTING ON RADIO BROADCASTING TO AND  
10 IN BELARUS.—Not later than 120 days after the date of  
11 the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall sub-  
12 mit to the appropriate congressional committees a report  
13 on how funds appropriated and allocated pursuant to the  
14 authorizations of appropriations under subsection (b) and  
15 section 3(d) will be used to provide AM and FM broad-  
16 casting that covers the territory of Belarus and delivers  
17 independent and uncensored programming.

18 **SEC. 5. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF**  
19 **BELARUS.**

20 (a) APPLICATION OF SANCTIONS.—The sanctions de-  
21 scribed in subsections (c) through (e) shall apply with re-  
22 spect to the Republic of Belarus until the President deter-  
23 mines and certifies to the appropriate congressional com-  
24 mittees that the Government of Belarus has made signifi-

1 cant progress in meeting the conditions described in sub-  
2 section (b).

3 (b) CONDITIONS.—The conditions referred to in sub-  
4 section (a) are the following:

5 (1) The release of individuals in Belarus who  
6 have been jailed based on political or religious be-  
7 liefs.

8 (2) The withdrawal of politically motivated legal  
9 charges against all opposition figures and inde-  
10 pendent journalists in Belarus.

11 (3) A full accounting of the disappearances of  
12 opposition leaders and journalists in Belarus, includ-  
13 ing Victor Gonchar, Anatoly Krasovsky, Yuri  
14 Zakharenka, and Dmitry Zavadsky, and the prosecu-  
15 tion of those individuals who are responsible for  
16 their disappearances.

17 (4) The cessation of all forms of harassment  
18 and repression against the independent media, inde-  
19 pendent trade unions, nongovernmental organiza-  
20 tions, religious organizations (including their leader-  
21 ship and members), and the political opposition in  
22 Belarus.

23 (5) The implementation of free and fair presi-  
24 dential and parliamentary elections in Belarus con-

1       sistent with OSCE standards on democratic elections  
2       and in cooperation with relevant OSCE institutions.

3       (c) DENIAL OF ENTRY INTO THE UNITED STATES  
4 OF BELARUSIAN OFFICIALS.—It is the sense of Congress  
5 that the President should use his authority under section  
6 212(f) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
7 1182(f)) to deny the entry into the United States of any  
8 alien who—

9           (1) holds a position in the senior leadership of  
10       the Government of Belarus; or

11           (2) is a spouse, minor child, or agent of a per-  
12       son inadmissible under paragraph (1).

13       (d) PROHIBITION ON STRATEGIC EXPORTS TO  
14 BELARUS.—

15           (1) PROHIBITION.—No computers, computer  
16       software, goods or technology intended to manufac-  
17       ture or service computers, or any other related goods  
18       or technology may be exported to Belarus for use by  
19       the Government of Belarus, or by its military, police,  
20       prison system, or national security agencies. The  
21       prohibition of the preceding sentence shall not apply  
22       with respect to the export of goods or technology for  
23       democracy-building or humanitarian purposes.

24           (2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this  
25       subsection shall prevent the issuance of licenses to

1 ensure the safety of civil aviation and safe operation  
2 of United States–origin commercial passenger air-  
3 craft and to ensure the safety of ocean-going mari-  
4 time traffic in international waters.

5 (e) PROHIBITION ON LOANS AND INVESTMENT.—

6 (1) UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FINANC-  
7 ING.—No loan, credit guarantee, insurance, financ-  
8 ing, or other similar financial assistance may be ex-  
9 tended by any agency of the United States Govern-  
10 ment (including the Export-Import Bank and the  
11 Overseas Private Investment Corporation) to the  
12 Government of Belarus, except with respect to the  
13 provision of humanitarian goods and agricultural or  
14 medical products.

15 (2) TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY.—No  
16 funds available to the Trade and Development Agen-  
17 cy may be available for activities of the Agency in  
18 or for Belarus.

19 (f) MULTILATERAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.—It is  
20 the sense of Congress that, in addition to the application  
21 of the sanctions described in subsections (c) through (e)  
22 to the Republic of Belarus (until the President determines  
23 and certifies to the appropriate congressional committees  
24 that the Government of Belarus has made significant  
25 progress in meeting the conditions described in subsection

1 (b)), the Secretary of the Treasury should instruct the  
2 United States Executive Director of each international fi-  
3 nancial institution to which the United States is a member  
4 to use the voice and vote of the United States to oppose  
5 any extension by those institutions of any financial assist-  
6 ance (including any technical assistance or grant) of any  
7 kind to the Government of Belarus, except for loans and  
8 assistance that serve humanitarian needs.

9 (g) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-  
10 tion of any sanction described in this section with respect  
11 to Belarus if the President determines and certifies to the  
12 appropriate congressional committees that it is important  
13 to the national interests of the United States to do so.

14 **SEC. 6. MULTILATERAL COOPERATION.**

15 It is the sense of Congress that the President should  
16 continue to seek to coordinate with other countries, par-  
17 ticularly European countries, a comprehensive, multilat-  
18 eral strategy to further the purposes of this Act, including,  
19 as appropriate, encouraging other countries to take meas-  
20 ures with respect to the Republic of Belarus that are simi-  
21 lar to measures described in this Act.

22 **SEC. 7. REPORT.**

23 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date  
24 of enactment of this Act, and every year thereafter, the  
25 President shall transmit to the appropriate congressional

1 committees a report that describes, with respect to the  
2 preceding 12-month period, the following:

3 (1) The sale or delivery of weapons or weapons-  
4 related technologies from the Republic of Belarus to  
5 any country, the government of which the Secretary  
6 of State has determined, for purposes of section  
7 6(j)(1) of the Export Administration Act of 1979  
8 (50 U.S.C. App. 2405(j)(1)), has repeatedly pro-  
9 vided support for acts of international terrorism.

10 (2) An identification of each country described  
11 in paragraph (1) and a detailed description of the  
12 weapons or weapons-related technologies involved in  
13 the sale.

14 (3) An identification of the goods, services,  
15 credits, or other consideration received by Belarus in  
16 exchange for the weapons or weapons-related tech-  
17 nologies.

18 (4) The personal assets and wealth of Alek-  
19 sandr Lukashenka and other senior leadership of the  
20 Government of Belarus.

21 (b) FORM.—A report transmitted pursuant to sub-  
22 section (a) shall be in unclassified form but may contain  
23 a classified annex.

24 **SEC. 8. DECLARATION OF POLICY.**

25 Congress hereby—

1 (1) expresses its support to those in the Republic of Belarus seeking—

2 (A) to promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law and to consolidate the independence and sovereignty of Belarus; and

3 (B) to promote its integration into the European community of democracies;

4 (2) expresses its grave concern about the disappearances of Victor Gonchar, Anatoly Krasovsky, Yuri Zakharenka, and Dmitry Zavadsky;

5 (3) calls upon the Lukashenka regime to cease its persecution of political opponents or independent journalists and to release those individuals who have been imprisoned for opposing his regime or for exercising their right to freedom of speech;

6 (4) calls upon the Lukashenka regime to end the pattern of clear, gross, and uncorrected violations of relevant Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) human dimension commitments and to respect the basic freedoms of speech, expression, assembly, association, language, culture, and religion or belief;

7 (5) calls upon the Government of the Russian Federation to use its influence to encourage democratic development in Belarus so that Belarus can

1 become a democratic, prosperous, sovereign, and  
2 independent state that is integrated into Europe;

3 (6) calls upon the Government of Belarus to re-  
4 solve the continuing constitutional and political crisis  
5 through free, fair, and transparent presidential and  
6 parliamentary elections, including, as called for by  
7 the OSCE, through respect for human rights, an  
8 end to the current climate of fear, meaningful access  
9 by the opposition to state media, modification of the  
10 electoral code in keeping with OSCE commitments,  
11 engagement in genuine talks with the opposition,  
12 and modifications to allow for genuine authority for  
13 the parliament; and

14 (7) commends the democratic opposition in  
15 Belarus for their commitment to freedom, their  
16 courage in the face of the repression of the  
17 Lukashenka regime in Belarus, and the emergence  
18 of a pluralist civil society in Belarus—the foundation  
19 for the development of democratic political struc-  
20 tures.

21 **SEC. 9. DEFINITIONS.**

22 In this Act:

23 (1) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-**  
24 **TEES.**—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
25 mittees” means the Committee on International Re-

1 lations of the House of Representatives and the  
2 Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.

3 (2) OSCE.—The term “OSCE” means the Or-  
4 ganization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

5 (3) SENIOR LEADERSHIP OF THE GOVERNMENT  
6 OF BELARUS.—The term “senior leadership of the  
7 Government of Belarus” includes—

8 (A) the President, Prime Minister, Deputy  
9 Prime Ministers, government ministers, Chair-  
10 men of State Committees, and members of the  
11 Presidential Administration of Belarus;

12 (B) any official of the Government of  
13 Belarus who is personally and substantially in-  
14 volved in the suppression of freedom in Belarus,  
15 including judges and prosecutors; and

16 (C) any other individual determined by the  
17 Secretary of State (or the Secretary’s designee)  
18 to be personally and substantially involved in  
19 the formulation or execution of the policies of  
20 the Lukashenka regime that are in contradic-  
21 tion of internationally recognized human rights  
22 standards.

○

Mr. BEREUTER. Without objection, the bill will be considered as read and open for amendments at any point.

I do have a brief opening statement.

I would say that a specific hearing was on our notional agenda for this Subcommittee, a specific hearing on Belarus, but I know that the gentleman has an interest in trying to add this to the State Department Authorization Bill so I thought it was appropriate to move ahead at this point on a resolution that I think is extremely well crafted.

So I do support the resolution.

It was introduced by our colleague who, as I mentioned, is the Chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. He has focused substantial time and effort on the current and unacceptable situation in Belarus.

All of us here are interested in the independence and sovereignty of Belarus and its integration into the European community of democracies.

Unfortunately the current government in Minsk does not seem interested in and certainly has not demonstrated a commitment to such goals. According to the Index of Economic Freedom, Belarus is one of the least reformed and most repressive of the countries that once made up the old Soviet Union.

Freedom House in its recent Nations in Transit assessment gave Belarus, called them a "presidential dictatorship and a consolidated autocracy."

In its 2001 Human Rights Report the State Department states that, "The regime's human rights record continues to be very poor. There are widespread human and civil rights violations. There is a manipulation of the regime-dominated mass media. And recent elections have been neither free nor fair."

The provisions of this legislation I think are an appropriate approach to a regime which refuses to recognize the realities of the 21st Century and I will urge adoption of this bill.

I will turn now, to the Ranking Minority Member, the distinguished gentleman from Florida. Does he wish to make a statement or is he yielding?

Mr. WEXLER. Mr. Chairman, with your indulgence Mr. Hoeffel is an original sponsor of the bill so I would ask that he be allowed to make our statement.

Mr. BEREUTER. Absolutely. Please proceed, Mr. Hoeffel.

Mr. HOEFFEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for bringing this bill up. I also want to thank the Ranking Member for his courtesy this morning. Also, of course, salute Congressman Smith for his leadership, his prime sponsorship of this bill and his years of work to try to correct the problems in Belarus.

I want to offer my strong support for the Belarus Democracy Act of 2003. We are here today to promote the democratic development of one of the world's most repressed nations, Belarus.

The Helsinki Commission under Chairman Smith has worked hard on this legislation and this issue. I know that Congressman Gallely as well has been very involved in this effort.

While the rest of Europe including many former Soviet satellites have moved forward to embrace winds of reform, this has not hap-

pened in Belarus, a nation where authoritarianism, fear and political repression remain unchanged and constant.

The Dictator Aleksandr Lukashenko has caused his nation to suffer greatly, committed grave human rights violations, suppressed political opposition by any means possible including torture, mass arrests, disappearances and detentions. Lukashenko's regime has harassed and repressed the independent media. The Chair has already referred to the State Department's Human Rights Report for 2002 which indicates Lukashenko's regime has actually become even worse in its abuse of human rights.

This legislation is not an easy cure for a nation like Belarus that's experienced the repression on economic and political and social grounds from the President Lukashenko. But organizations such as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, other democratic governments throughout the world are determined to bring freedom to Belarus and the Belarus Democracy Act of 2003 would put this country strongly in favor of that reform movement.

Belarus remains a relic of past failure and repression where democracy, human rights and the rule of law are absent and the hopes of millions remain unfulfilled.

The Belarus Democracy Act of 2003 should be a catalyst leading to the disintegration of the Lukashenko regime.

I urge all of my colleagues here today to support this legislation and send a strong message that the United States remains firmly committed to the future of Belarus.

I yield back and I thank the Chair for his courtesy.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you.

Any more statements?

The gentleman from New York, Mr. Engel is recognized.

Mr. ENGEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I wish to commend the sponsors of this legislation. I have had the opportunity to travel with Belarus. It happens to be the place where my mother's mother emigrated from about 100 years ago, and was very interested in going there.

As I mentioned in one of the hearings we had just last week, if you contrast Belarus with Ukraine, while there are many many problems in Ukraine with the government that need to be taken care of, Belarus unfortunately has tended to look eastward while Ukraine has looked westward and we see no change for Mr. Lukashenko in terms of democratization or being enlightened. It is almost as if he longs for the good old days of the Soviet Union when there was total repression and Belarus was in essence a colony of Russia. It looks as if Mr. Lukashenko longs for those good old days.

So I think that this legislation is well balanced. It strikes the right chord.

All of our goals is not to hit anybody over the head with a stick, but it is to truly democratize Belarus, to change the outlook there of the people.

We know the Belarussian people like all people strive for freedom, strive for democracy, want to be free. Unfortunately these people have lived under the yoke of oppression for so long, first as

part of the Soviet Union and now with a government that kind of wishes it was part and parcel of Moscow.

So I think that we are striking the right balance here. It is very good for this Subcommittee and this congress and this Committee to be engaged, and I wholly support the legislation wholeheartedly. Thank you.

Mr. BEREUTER. Thank you, Mr. Engel.

Seeing no further requests for time I have an amendment at the desk the clerk will read.

Ms. RUSH. En bloc amendment offered by Mr. Bereuter, page 7, line 17, strike "\$40,000,000" and insert "such sums as may be necessary——"

[The information referred to follows:]

EN BLOC AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 854

OFFERED BY MR. BEREUTER

Page 7, line 17, strike "\$40,000,000" and insert "such sums as  
may be necessary"

Page 8, line 5, strike "\$5,000,000" and insert "such sums as may  
~~may~~ be necessary"

~~Page 12, line 18, strike "lines 18 thru 20"~~

Mr. BEREUTER. I ask unanimous consent that the amendment be considered as read.

This amendment strikes the authorization of a specific funding level and substitutes such sums. The fiscal year 2004 budget requests \$8 million for Belarus and maybe that figure could be somewhat higher. I am offering this amendment without prejudice.

The gentleman will have a chance to offer it up in Full Committee, and he may well find me to be a cosponsor of his amendment if he wishes.

I am hoping that the passage of this legislation by the Subcommittee would in fact strengthen the gentleman's opportunity to put it in the State Department authorization bill.

That is the purpose for the amendment. It simply changes it to such sums as are necessary.

The question then occurs on the amendment. All those in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. Those opposed will say no.

[No audible response]

Mr. BEREUTER. The amendment is agreed to.

Are there further amendments to the legislation?

Seeing none the Chair will now entertain a motion that the bill be favorably reported to the full committee as amended.

Ms. DAVIS. So moved.

Mr. BEREUTER. I thank the gentle lady.

The question occurs on the motion to report the bill H.R. 854 favorably as amended. All in favor will say aye.

[Chorus of ayes]

Mr. BEREUTER. All opposed no.

The motion is approved. The bill is reported favorably.

Without objection the bill will be reported favorably in the Full Committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute incorporating the amendment adopted here today.

Without objection the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

I thank the Members of the Subcommittee for responding so that we can complete this markup.

The Subcommittee stands adjourned.

Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 12 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]

