

which always seems to be the case whenever there are conferences and meetings to be held in Hawaii. The press always takes a negative way of thinking that all we are doing is getting suntan and enjoying the beach there in a warm climate. I would like to invite all of the members of press to see how much of an opportunity we get to enjoy the sun and warm weather in Hawaii besides having these important meetings with some 270 parliamentarians from some 27 Asia-Pacific countries.

Madam Speaker, since the founding of the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum in 1993, its membership from the original 15 countries has now increased to some 27 members countries which includes the United States. This is a strong testament to the relevance and growing importance of the APPF as an institution where this January, over some 270 national parliamentarians from these Asia-Pacific governments shall meet to review and discuss pressing issues affecting the Asia-Pacific region as well as our own national interests.

In its deliberations, the Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum has traditionally focussed in several areas, such as the promotion of peace, stability and security of the region through multilateral dialogue as embodied in the ASEAN Regional Forum; liberalizing trade and investment to spur increased growth and development in the Asia-Pacific economies; protecting the regions environment and resources of clean water and air and land against degradation; and fostering respect for human rights, enforcement for the rule of law, and the expansion of universal education throughout all Asia-Pacific nations.

Madam Speaker, as noted in the legislation, this year will mark the first time that the United States shall host the Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum. On this auspicious occasion, I find it particularly appropriate and fitting that the internationally respected East-West Center shall be the Secretariat and the host for the APPF meeting.

As many of our colleagues know, the East-West Center was established by the Congress in 1960 to further the foreign policy interests of the United States and by promoting constructive relations and deeper understanding between the peoples and the leaders of the United States and our Asia-Pacific neighbors.

Madam Speaker, the East-West Center has done an outstanding job in this mission and today, over 47,000 government officials, scholars, businessmen, journalists and other professionals from throughout the Asia-Pacific and the United States are alumni of the East-West Centers programs of collaborative study and research. In fact, a number of the Center's graduates are now national leaders and parliamentarians, many of whom shall participate in the Asia-Pacific parliamentary forum.

I submit it is in our vital national interest that the United States continue to play a leading role in the fastest growing sector of the world, the Asia-Pacific region, where the U.S. conducts nearly \$500 billion in two-way trade and ensures regional peace and stability with over 100,000 deployed military personnel.

We can further that goal, Madam Speaker, by strong and active participation of the United States Congress in the upcoming meetings or conferences of the Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum.

Madam Speaker, in that regard, I urge the adoption of our colleagues of this important legislation before us.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BIGGERT). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) that the House suspend the rules and concur in the Senate concurrent resolution, S. Con. Res. 58.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the Senate concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY ACT OF 2001

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 2121) to make available funds under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to expand democracy, good governance, and anti-corruption programs in the Russian Federation in order to promote and strengthen democratic government and civil society in that country and to support independent media, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.R. 2121

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Russian Democracy Act of 2001".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the leadership of the Russian Federation has publicly committed itself to building—

(A) a society with democratic political institutions and practices, the observance of universally recognized standards of human rights, and religious and press freedom; and

(B) a market economy based on internationally accepted principles of transparency, accountability, and the rule of law.

(2) In order to facilitate this transition, the international community has provided multilateral and bilateral technical assistance, and the United States' contribution to these efforts has played an important role in developing new institutions built on demo-

cratic and liberal economic foundations and the rule of law.

(3)(A) Since 1992, United States Government democratic reform programs and public diplomacy programs, including training, small grants, and technical assistance to independent television, radio, and print media across the Russian Federation, have strengthened nongovernment-owned media, provided access to and training in the use of the Internet, brought nearly 40,000 Russian citizens to the United States, and have led to the establishment of over 65,000 nongovernmental organizations, thousands of vibrant independent media outlets, and numerous political parties.

(B) These efforts contributed to the substantially free and fair Russian parliamentary elections in 1995 and 1999 and Presidential elections in 1996 and 2000.

(4) The United States has assisted Russian efforts to replace its centrally planned, state-controlled economy with a market economy and helped create institutions and infrastructure for a market economy by encouraging the transparent privatization of state-owned enterprises. Approximately two-thirds of the Russian Federation's gross domestic product is now generated by the private sector.

(5)(A) The United States fostered grassroots entrepreneurship in the Russian Federation by focusing United States economic assistance on small- and medium-sized businesses and by providing training, consulting services, and small loans to more than 250,000 Russian entrepreneurs.

(B) There are now more than 900,000 small businesses in the Russian Federation, producing 12 to 15 percent of the gross domestic product of the Russian Federation.

(C) United States-funded programs help to fight corruption and financial crime, such as money laundering, by helping to—

(i) establish a commercial legal infrastructure;

(ii) develop an independent judiciary;

(iii) support the drafting of a new criminal code, civil code, and bankruptcy law;

(iv) develop a legal and regulatory framework for the Russian Federation's equivalent of the United States Securities and Exchange Commission;

(v) support Russian law schools;

(vi) create legal aid clinics; and

(vii) bolster law-related activities of non-governmental organizations.

(6) Because the capability of Russian democratic forces and the civil society to organize and defend democratic gains without international support is uncertain, and because the gradual integration of the Russian Federation into the global order of free-market, democratic nations will further enhance Russian cooperation with the United States on a wide-range of political, economic, and security issues, the success of democracy in Russia is in the national security interest of the United States, and the United States Government should develop a far-reaching and flexible strategy aimed at strengthening Russian society's support for democracy and a market economy, particularly by enhancing Russian democratic institutions and education, promoting the rule of law, and supporting Russia's independent media.

(7) Since the tragic events of September 11, 2001, the Russian Federation has stood with the United States and the civilized world in the struggle against terrorism and has cooperated in the war in Afghanistan by sharing intelligence and through other means.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to strengthen and advance institutions of democratic government and of a free and independent media and to sustain the development of an independent civil society in the

Russian Federation based on religious and ethnic tolerance, internationally recognized human rights, and an internationally recognized rule of law; and

(2) to focus United States foreign assistance programs on using local expertise and giving local organizations a greater role in designing and implementing such programs, while maintaining appropriate oversight and monitoring.

SEC. 3. UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

(a) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Congress that the United States Government should—

(1) recognize that a democratic and economically stable Russian Federation is inherently less confrontational and destabilizing in its foreign policy and therefore that the promotion of democracy in Russia is in the national security interests of the United States; and

(2) continue and increase assistance to the democratic forces in the Russian Federation, including the independent media, regional administrations, democratic political parties, and nongovernmental organizations.

(b) **STATEMENT OF POLICY.**—It shall be the policy of the United States—

(1) to facilitate Russia's integration into the Western community of nations, including supporting the establishment of a stable democracy and a market economy, and also including Russia's membership in the appropriate international institutions;

(2) to engage the Government of Russian Federation and Russian society in order to strengthen democratic reform and institutions, and to promote good governance principles based on the internationally recognized norms of transparency in business practices, the rule of law, religious freedom, and human rights;

(3) to advance a dialog between United States Government officials and private sector individuals and representatives of the Government of the Russian Federation regarding Russian integration into the Western community of nations;

(4) to encourage United States Government officials and private sector individuals to meet regularly with democratic activists, human rights activists, representatives of the independent media, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, civic organizers, and reform-minded politicians from Moscow and the various regions of the Russian Federation;

(5) to incorporate democratic reforms, the promotion of an independent media, and economic reforms in the broad United States agenda with the Government of the Russian Federation;

(6) to encourage the Government of the Russian Federation to address cross-border issues, including the environment, crime, trafficking, and corruption in a cooperative and transparent manner consistent with internationally recognized and accepted principles of the rule of law;

(7) to consult with the Government of the Russian Federation and the Russian Parliament on the adoption of economic and social reforms necessary to sustain Russian economic growth and to ensure Russia's transition to a fully functioning market economy;

(8) to persuade the Government of the Russian Federation to honor its commitments made to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) at the November 1999 Istanbul Conference and to conduct a genuine good neighbor policy toward the other independent states of the former Soviet Union in the spirit of internationally accepted principles of regional cooperation; and

(9) to encourage the G-7 partners and international financial institutions, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to develop financial safeguards and transparency practices in lending to the Russian Federation.

SEC. 4. AMENDMENTS TO THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1961.

(a) **AMENDMENTS.**—

(1) **DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW.**—Section 498(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2295(2)) is amended—

(A) in the heading, by striking “DEMOCRACY” and inserting “DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW”;

(B) by striking subparagraphs (E) and (G);

(C) by redesignating subparagraph (F) as subparagraph (I);

(D) by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following:

“(E) development and support of grassroots and nongovernmental organizations promoting democracy, the rule of law, transparency, and accountability in the political process, including grants in small amounts to such organizations;

“(F) international exchanges to promote greater understanding by Russian Federation citizens on how democracy, public policy process, market institutions, and an independent judiciary function in Western societies;

“(G) political parties committed to promoting democracy, human rights, and economic reforms;

“(H) support for civic organizations committed to promoting human rights; and;

(E) by adding at the end the following:

“(J) strengthened administration of justice through programs and activities carried out in accordance with section 498B(e), including—

“(i) support for nongovernmental organizations, civic organizations, and political parties that favor a strong and independent judiciary based on merit;

“(ii) support for local organizations that work with judges and law enforcement officials in efforts to achieve a reduction in the number of pretrial detainees; and

“(iii) support for the creation of Russian legal associations or groups that provide training in human rights and advocacy, public education with respect to human rights-related laws and proposed legislation, and legal assistance to persons subject to improper government interference.”.

(2) **INDEPENDENT MEDIA.**—Section 498 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2295) is amended—

(A) by redesignating paragraphs (3) through (13) as paragraphs (4) through (14), respectively; and

(B) by inserting after paragraph (2) the following:

“(3) **INDEPENDENT MEDIA.**—Developing a free and independent media, including—

“(A) supporting all forms of non-state-owned media reporting, including print, radio, and television;

“(B) providing special support for, and unrestricted public access to, nongovernmental Internet-based sources of information, dissemination and reporting, including providing technical and other support for web radio services, providing computers and other necessary resources for Internet connectivity and training new Internet users in nongovernmental and other civic organizations on methods and uses of Internet-based media; and

“(C) training in journalism, including investigative journalism techniques which educate the public on the costs of corruption and act as a deterrent against corrupt officials.”.

(b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 498B(e) of such Act is amended by striking “paragraph (2)(G)” and inserting “paragraph (2)(J)”.

SEC. 5. ACTIVITIES TO SUPPORT THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.

(a) **ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.**—In providing assistance to the Russian Federation under chapter 11 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2295 et seq.), the President is authorized to carry out the following specific activities:

(1) Work with the Government of the Russian Federation, the Duma, and representatives of the Russian Federation judiciary to help implement a revised and improved code of criminal procedure and other laws.

(2) Establish civic education programs relating to democracy, public policy, the rule of law, and the importance of an independent media, including the establishment of “American Centers” and public policy schools at Russian universities and programs by universities in the United States to offer courses through Internet-based off-site learning centers at Russian universities.

(3) Support the Regional Initiatives (RI) program, which provides targeted assistance in those regions of the Russian Federation that have demonstrated commitment to reform, democracy, and the rule of law, and which promote the concept of such programs as a model for all regions of the Russian Federation.

(b) **RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY AND VOICE OF AMERICA.**—Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and the Voice of America should use new and innovative techniques, in cooperation with local independent media sources, to disseminate information throughout the Russian Federation relating to democracy, free-market economics, the rule of law, and human rights.

SEC. 6. AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE FOR DEMOCRACY, INDEPENDENT MEDIA, AND THE RULE OF LAW.

Of the amounts made available to carry out the provision of chapter 11 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2295 et seq.) and the Freedom for Russia and Emerging Eurasian Democracies and Open Markets Support Act of 1992 for fiscal year 2002, not less than \$50,000,000 is authorized to be available for the activities authorized by paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 498 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended by section 4(a) of this Act.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) and the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Madam Speaker, this Member rises in strong support of H.R. 2121, the Russian Democracy Act of 2001. As a co-sponsor of this measure this Member would like to thank the distinguished gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for an outstanding effort in

crafting this legislation. In addition, I would like to thank the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE), the chairman of the Committee on International Relations for his crucial attendance in bringing this legislation to the floor.

Madam Speaker, the key to building Democratic institutions that include an independent media, a fair judicial system, and an active civil society is to establish community, a community, a body politic which demands those institutions. Building that demand for democracy begins with laying a foundation at the local and regional level. Unfortunately, the United States has, I think, for too long, focussed disproportionately its reform assistance for Russia on funding for democracy building efforts at the national level.

However, this legislation correctly seeks to direct a much greater share of U.S. assistance toward the local and regional levels.

At those critical grassroots levels, the U.S. can be most effective, I think, for the longer-term growth of democracy and reform in Russia. This bill ensures that American assistance will continue to be available to help strengthen democracy in the Russian federation. Seemingly a routine measure perhaps on first glance, we should pause for a moment and note what this bill represents. The mere fact that we can speak of democracy in Russia as an emerging but actual reality in the present tense and not as some dim prospect in the hazy future, is one of the many wonders of the past decade that have grown familiar and that are now taken largely for granted.

Its existence, however, is a testament to the deep commitment to the fundamental values shared by peoples all over the world, the United States and the west as a whole, a tremendous debt to all the men and women of Russia who have struggled to establish and defend a democracy in their country, and thereby create a new era of freedom after a thousand years of autocratic rule.

□ 1530

The benefits of that freedom, of course, are most directly felt by Russia's own citizens. But the West has benefited enormously as well. A half century of effort by the United States and its allies to contain and undermine Soviet imperialism enjoyed many successes, but it was only with the advent of the early stages of democracy in Russia that the Soviet empire finally crumbled.

The creation of a democracy in Russia must be counted as one of the great achievements of the past century. Yet for all of its accomplishments, that democracy is not yet firmly established. The civil society on which all democracies ultimately rest remains weak in Russia. Much of the legacy inherited from Russia's authoritarian past is still to be overcome. The institutions of democracy are largely untested. The

habits of freedom have not yet become universal.

Given these and other concerns, the Russian government's current campaign against independent voices in the media is a most worrisome one. Why is this our concern? Because the strengthening of Russia's democracy and the advancing of Russia's integration into the West are unquestionably in the long-term strategic interest of the United States. These advances are necessary if we are to make permanent the gains we have derived from the liberation of Europe, a commitment that stretches unbroken for half a century, from the landings on Normandy beaches to the final dissolution of the Soviet empire.

To this, an even broader motivation can be added. By helping other peoples share the benefits of liberty, we demonstrate a continued commitment to the universal principles on which our country was founded and the promises these represent to all who have endured oppression. Thus, our own interests and our hopes for the world together argue that we should provide direct and ongoing assistance to securing democracy in Russia.

The bill before us represents an important part of that effort. It focuses our attention and assistance on many of the prerequisites of a free and prosperous society, including the creation of a resilient civil society, the strengthening of an independent press, and the establishment of the rule of law. Yet even as we assist Russia's democrats in their unfinished tasks, we must recognize that the building of a free society in that country can only be accomplished by the Russian people themselves. We cannot do it for them, nor do we need to.

Although there are many in this country and elsewhere who would despair of the fate of democracy in Russia, I am not among them. Its course may occasionally surprise and concern us, but the ultimate destination aimed at by Russia's democrats should not be in doubt. The depth of their commitment to freedom has been demonstrated by the enormous obstacles they have already overcome. Freedom was not handed to the Russian people. They freed themselves. Lacking a direct experience of liberty in their past, they nonetheless have continued to lay the foundation to secure it for themselves and for their countrymen, even as they have encountered the inevitable setbacks and disappointments.

It is for these reasons that their effort to strengthen democracy in their country deserve our assistance and respect. And it is my hope that Russia's assumption of its rightful place among the free nations of the world shall prove to be a permanent one.

Madam Speaker, I urge strong support for the legislation, and I commend the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) for his creative and timely action in presenting this legislation.

Madam Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LANTOS. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume; and I first want to commend my good friend, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), for his eloquent and powerful statement and for his support. I also want to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) for moving this legislation through the committee and to the floor today. I also want to especially thank the Speaker, the majority leader, and the majority whip for placing it on today's suspension calendar. But most of all, Madam Speaker, I want to thank Ms. Tanya Shamson, a distinguished member of the committee staff, bilingual and bicultural, for doing extraordinarily effective work in crafting this legislation.

Madam Speaker, the House could not have chosen a more fitting time to consider this bill. As you know, President Bush recently concluded a most productive summit with President Putin in Texas and Secretary of State Powell was in Moscow just a couple of days ago on a most successful visit.

When I first introduced the Russia Democracy Act of 2001, the world was a very different place. Our administration was embarking on a comprehensive inter-agency Russia policy review with many complications and many problems. The relations between our two countries were neither friendly nor cordial. Today, in the post-September 11 world, the picture is drastically different.

President Putin made a courageous decision on September 11 to join the civilized world and to stand with us against global terrorism. There are elements within Russia, Madam Speaker, who are not happy with this decision. That is one of the many reasons why we must craft a creative and responsible policy toward Russia that will firmly anchor that important country in the West.

I was very pleased to hear President Bush mention the importance of a free press during his Shanghai press conference with President Putin and during President Putin's visit to the United States. I passionately believe that the existence of a vibrant, self-sustaining, nonstate-owned and nonstate-controlled media in Russia is the key to Russia's successful integration with the democratic societies of the West. My bill will support such media activities, including access to the Internet and the use of modern technologies to improve media outreach throughout Russia.

The Russian nongovernmental sector also needs our support. Although President Putin chastised Russian NGOs for accepting financial support from abroad, Russia simply does not yet have a culture of either corporate philanthropy or private donations to make these nongovernmental organizations viable. The plethora of non-governmental organizations that have sprung up in Russia since 1991 provides us with an enormous opportunity to

build this democratic component into the new Russian society.

U.S.-Russian relationships have entered a new era. Our cooperation in the fight against global terrorism is unprecedented since our alliance during the Second World War more than a half a century ago. Recently, I had the privilege of meeting with President Putin, with Foreign Minister Ivanov, and other Russian officials; and we discussed our relationships in detail. There are still many areas where we disagree, such as Russian arms sales to Iran; but today, there are many areas where we do agree, and the U.S.-Russia relationship today is fundamentally a healthy one.

The Russian leadership has clearly shown where it sees Russia's future to be; and it is our responsibility to stay engaged, to be responsive, and to support Russian democracy and the private sector.

At President Bush's request, I shall shortly be introducing legislation putting an end to the Jackson-Vanik legislation, legislation which was one of the most important pieces of human rights legislation in our Nation's history. But things have changed and Russia now permits free immigration. The repeal of Jackson-Vanik will be yet another demonstration of our growing cooperative, constructive, and healthy relationship with Russia.

The Government of Russia, Madam Speaker, has introduced, and the Russian Duma has passed, landmark legislation during this past session. For the first time since 1917, Russian citizens can now own their own land. This is not only an important new economic fact, it is a psychological breakthrough of immense proportions. It is obvious that the government and the Duma are now serious about tackling other sectors that have long been resistant to reform. Mr. Putin understands that the creation of a welcoming investment climate is one of the key pillars to sustained economic growth in Russia.

Madam Speaker, I strongly believe that supporting democracy, the consolidation of the market economy, and developing a vibrant private sector is in our national interest. By funding the development of civil society in Russia and a free and independent media, H.R. 2121 will play a critical role in strengthening U.S.-Russian relations and strengthening democracy in Russia. Let us not squander this unprecedented moment to bring Russia closer to the West. I urge all of my colleagues to support H.R. 2121.

Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Speaker, it is my pleasure to yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH), the vice chairman of the committee.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Madam Speaker, I thank my good friend, the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER), for yielding me this time; and I want to commend my good friend and

colleague, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking Democrat on the committee, for authoring this proposal that is before us today.

This is a very worthy and I think very important contribution to U.S. bilateral relations with Russia. Russia is a country that is of vital strategic, economic, and military importance to our Nation. I think the pending legislation outlines within the text a number of very constructive initiatives.

Madam Speaker, I recently led the U.S. delegation to the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in Bucharest, Romania; and we spent the better part of a week exploring the destructive consequence of corruption. Parliamentarians from all over the world, Madam Speaker, 54 nations that make up the OSCE, we probed corruption as it relates to undermine democracy. Our conclusions were clear: Corruption represents one of the greatest threats to democracy and market oriented economies on the face of the earth.

Corruption, to a very large degree, has replaced ideology communism as the greatest potential threat to undermining the emergence of democracy in central and Eastern Europe, and especially in Russia itself. We now know that organized crime and criminal elements, some of whom used to be the old KGB, are growing and expanding in Russia. The emerging democracy is being hijacked by thugs and brigands. We know that drugs and weapons are very big money-makers for Russian Mobsters. But not far behind we also know that trafficking of human beings—especially women—has emerged worldwide and in Russia as the number three money-maker for organized crime.

I am very glad that the pending legislation seeks to target assistance to fight corruption and crime and to help the Duma draft new criminal statutes and a new criminal code. Let us not forget that the most recent report that was issued by the State Department cited Russia as a tier three country that has a major problem with trafficking in human beings—And is doing far too little to stop it.

Madam Speaker, we know that worldwide about 50,000 of those trafficked, mostly women, mostly for forced prostitution, come into this country and that anywhere from 700,000 to 2 million persons are trafficked worldwide each year. Many of those women are coming out of Russia and the Ukraine and countries in Europe. This legislation directs the State Department, to do more. There is no doubt that the United States wants and desire a good relationship with Russia, but they have to stop trafficking women into prostitution; they have to crack down on organized crime and provide safe havens for these victimized women who are being exploited in this way.

This is a good bill. I think it deserves the support of every Member of this body. The United States has declared

war on organized crime figures who rape and exploit women. Countries of origin—like Russia have to do their part!

Tough, antitrafficking laws are needed in every country. And I hope that this legislation builds on our earlier laws to move that along so that we have trafficking laws that are uniform, to the greatest extent possible. Traffickers must know that if they exploit women, they go to prison, and they go to prison for the rest of their lives. Our law now says that. It is about time the laws of every country, including Russia, said it as well.

□ 1545

I will never forget, Madam Speaker, I brought this legislation up in St. Petersburg at an OSE Parliamentary Assembly. The Duma speaker looked at me when I mentioned trafficking as if I was talking about something that was happening on the moon. That has changed. The next year and the year after in Paris, when the trafficking resolution came up on the floor among the Parliamentary Assembly participants, the Russians embraced that language and said we need to do something at home as well. I hope that we work uniformly to crack down on this scourge of modern-day slavery.

Mr. HYDE. Madam Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

This bill, the Russian Democracy Act, ensures that American assistance will continue to be available to help strengthen democracy in the Russian Federation. Seemingly a routine measure, we should pause for a moment and note what this bill represents. The mere fact that we can speak of democracy in Russia as an emerging but actual reality in the present tense, and not as some dim prospect in the hazy future, is one of the many wonders of the past decade that have grown familiar and that are now taken largely for granted. Its existence, however, is a testament to the deep commitment to fundamental values shared by peoples all over the world.

The United States and the West as a whole owe an immense debt to all the men and women of Russia who have struggled to establish and defend a democracy in their country and thereby create a new era of freedom after a thousand years of autocratic rule. The benefits of that freedom, of course, are most directly felt by Russia's own citizens. But the West has benefitted enormously as well. A half century of effort by the United States and its allies to contain and undermine Soviet imperialism enjoyed many successes, but it was only with the advent of the earliest stages of democracy in Russia that the Soviet empire finally crumbled.

The creation of a democracy in Russia must be counted as one of the great achievements of the past century. Yet for all of its accomplishments, that democracy is not yet firmly established. The civil society on which all democracies ultimately rest remains weak in Russia; much of the legacy inherited from Russia's authoritarian past is still to be overcome; the institutions of democracy are largely untested; the habits of freedom have yet to

become universal. Given these and other concerns, the Russian government's current campaign against independent voices in the media is a most worrisome one.

Why is this our concern? Because the strengthening of Russian democracy and advancing Russia's integration into the West are unquestionably in the long-term strategic interests of the United States. These advances are necessary if we are to make permanent the gains we have derived from the liberation of Europe, a commitment that stretches unbroken for half a century, from the landings on the Normandy beaches to the final dissolution of the Soviet empire. To this, an even broader motivation can be added. By helping other peoples share the benefits of liberty, we demonstrate a continuing commitment to the universal principles on which our country was founded and the promise these represent to all who endure oppression. Thus, our own interests and our hopes for the world, together argue, that we should provide direct and ongoing assistance to securing democracy in Russia.

The bill before us represents an important part of that effort. It focuses our attention and assistance on many of the prerequisites of a free and prosperous society, including the creation of a resilient civil society, the strengthening of an independent press, and the establishment of the rule of law.

Yet even as we assist Russia's democrats in their unfinished tasks, we must recognize that the building of a free society in that country can only be accomplished by the Russian people themselves. We cannot do it for them. But neither do we need to. Although there are many in this country and elsewhere who would despair of the fate of democracy in Russia, I am not among them. Its course may occasionally surprise and concern us, but the ultimate destination aimed at by Russia's democrats should not be in doubt. The depth of their commitment to freedom has been demonstrated by the enormous obstacles they have already overcome. Freedom was not handed to the Russian people; they freed themselves. Lacking a direct experience of liberty in their past, they nonetheless have continued to lay the foundation to secure it for themselves and for their countrymen, even as they have encountered the inevitable setbacks and disappointments.

It is for these reasons that their efforts to strengthen democracy in their country deserve our assistance and respect, and it is my hope that Russia's assumption of its rightful place among the free nations of the world shall prove to be a permanent one.

Madam Speaker, I urge strong support for this legislation and I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BEREUTER. Madam Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. BIGGERT). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. BEREUTER) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 2121, as amended.

The question was taken; and (two-thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

HOMELESS VETERANS COMPREHENSIVE ASSISTANCE ACT OF 2001

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and concur in the Senate amendment to the bill (H.R. 2716) to amend title 38, United States Code, to revise, improve, and consolidate provisions of law providing benefits and services for homeless veterans.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendment:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS; REFERENCES TO TITLE 38, UNITED STATES CODE.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the “Homeless Veterans Comprehensive Assistance Act of 2001”.

(b) **TABLE OF CONTENTS.**—The table of contents of this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents; references to title 38, United States Code.

Sec. 2. Definitions.

Sec. 3. National goal to end homelessness among veterans.

Sec. 4. Sense of the Congress regarding the needs of homeless veterans and the responsibility of Federal agencies.

Sec. 5. Consolidation and improvement of provisions of law relating to homeless veterans.

Sec. 6. Evaluation centers for homeless veterans programs.

Sec. 7. Study of outcome effectiveness of grant program for homeless veterans with special needs.

Sec. 8. Expansion of other programs.

Sec. 9. Coordination of employment services.

Sec. 10. Use of real property.

Sec. 11. Meetings of Interagency Council on Homeless.

Sec. 12. Rental assistance vouchers for HUD Veterans Affairs Supported Housing program.

(c) **REFERENCES TO TITLE 38, UNITED STATES CODE.**—Except as otherwise expressly provided, whenever in this Act an amendment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference shall be considered to be made to a section or other provision of title 38, United States Code.

SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.

For purposes of this Act:

(1) The term “homeless veteran” has the meaning given such term in section 2002 of title 38, United States Code, as added by section 5(a)(1).

(2) The term “grant and per diem provider” means an entity in receipt of a grant under section 2011 or 2012 of title 38, United States Code, as so added.

SEC. 3. NATIONAL GOAL TO END HOMELESSNESS AMONG VETERANS.

(a) **NATIONAL GOAL.**—Congress hereby declares it to be a national goal to end chronic homelessness among veterans within a decade of the enactment of this Act.

(b) **COOPERATIVE EFFORTS ENCOURAGED.**—Congress hereby encourages all departments and agencies of Federal, State, and local governments, quasi-governmental organizations, private and public sector entities, including community-based organizations, faith-based organizations, and individuals to work cooperatively to end chronic homelessness among veterans within a decade.

SEC. 4. SENSE OF THE CONGRESS REGARDING THE NEEDS OF HOMELESS VETERANS AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF FEDERAL AGENCIES.

It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) homelessness is a significant problem in the veterans community and veterans are disproportionately represented among homeless men;

(2) while many effective programs assist homeless veterans to again become productive and self-sufficient members of society, current resources provided to such programs and other activities that assist homeless veterans are inadequate to provide all needed essential services, assistance, and support to homeless veterans;

(3) the most effective programs for the assistance of homeless veterans should be identified and expanded;

(4) federally funded programs for homeless veterans should be held accountable for achieving clearly defined results;

(5) Federal efforts to assist homeless veterans should include prevention of homelessness; and

(6) Federal agencies, particularly the Department of Veterans Affairs, the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Department of Labor, should cooperate more fully to address the problem of homelessness among veterans.

SEC. 5. CONSOLIDATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF PROVISIONS OF LAW RELATING TO HOMELESS VETERANS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—(1) Part II is amended by inserting after chapter 19 the following new chapter:

CHAPTER 20—BENEFITS FOR HOMELESS VETERANS

“SUBCHAPTER I—PURPOSE; DEFINITIONS; ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

“Sec.

“2001. Purpose.

“2002. Definitions.

“2003. Staffing requirements.

“SUBCHAPTER II—COMPREHENSIVE SERVICE PROGRAMS

“2011. Grants.

“2012. Per diem payments.

“2013. Authorization of appropriations.

“SUBCHAPTER III—TRAINING AND OUTREACH

“2021. Homeless veterans reintegration programs.

“2022. Coordination of outreach services for veterans at risk of homelessness.

“2023. Demonstration program of referral and counseling for veterans transitioning from certain institutions who are at risk for homelessness.

“SUBCHAPTER IV—TREATMENT AND REHABILITATION FOR SERIOUSLY MENTALLY ILL AND HOMELESS VETERANS

“2031. General treatment.

“2032. Therapeutic housing.

“2033. Additional services at certain locations.

“2034. Coordination with other agencies and organizations.

“SUBCHAPTER V—HOUSING ASSISTANCE

“2041. Housing assistance for homeless veterans.

“2042. Supported housing for veterans participating in compensated work therapies.

“2043. Domiciliary care programs.

“SUBCHAPTER VI—LOAN GUARANTEE FOR MULTIFAMILY TRANSITIONAL HOUSING

“2051. General authority.

“2052. Requirements.

“2053. Default.

“2054. Audit.

“SUBCHAPTER VII—OTHER PROVISIONS

“2061. Grant program for homeless veterans with special needs.

“2062. Dental care.

“2063. Employment assistance.

“2064. Technical assistance grants for nonprofit community-based groups.

“2065. Annual report on assistance to homeless veterans.