

become recipients of incomplete, inconsistent, and vague certification by the President.

Mr. Speaker, for almost four decades, Sudan has been the scene of intermittent conflict. Of course, many have heard by now the number of people killed in the Sudan conflict. But how many people have really paid careful attention to these numbers. An estimated two million people have died from war-related causes and famine in southern Sudan, and four million have been displaced.

Why these many people have to die? Could we have done something to prevent the massive loss of life in Sudan. Indeed, the answer is a resounding yes. But we chose to ignore it or engage marginally. We are the largest provider of humanitarian assistance in Sudan, yet many continue to die. In 1998 alone, an estimated 100,000 people died due to government refusal to allow United Nations relief aid from going into the country.

Indeed, Mr. Speaker, some have written and others have talked about this tragedy as either a religious conflict or tribal conflict. The Sudanese conflict, Africa's longest-running civil war, is deeper and more complicated than the claims of political leaders and some observers. Religion, indeed, is a major factor because of the Islamic fundamentalist agenda of the current government, dominated by the northern-based National Islamic Front (NIF) government. Southerners, who are Christian and animist, reject the Islamization of the country and favor a secular arrangement. Social and economic disparities are also major contributing factors to the Sudanese conflict.

But this regime is not merely opposed by Christians or southerners. The NIF regime is a minority government led by extremist clique in Khartoum. Muslim leaders have also been victims of the NIF over the years and are clearly opposed by the majority of northerners inside and outside the country. The National Democratic Alliance, a coalition of northern and southern opposition groups, has been actively challenging NIF's hold to power since it ousted the democratically elected civilian government in June 1989. In fact, the NIF came to power precisely to abort a peace agreement between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the major northern parties in 1989.

Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate, but a sad reality that Slavery has reemerged with a vengeance in Sudan, and this inhuman practice is directly tied to the civil war in Southern Sudan that has raged intermittently for over forty years. The enslavement of innocent Southern Sudanese civilians has intensified since the National Islamic Front usurped power in 1989. It is now being condoned, if not orchestrated, by the NIF government and perpetrated by its Arab militia allies. The international community has done little, if anything, to prevent this abhorrent practice.

Mr. Speaker, the war in Sudan is certainly a major factor contributing to the increase in slavery in Sudan. The war is essentially one of Southern resistance against domination and assimilation by the National Islamic Front government. With religion as an aggravating factor, the war has become a genocidal zero-sum

conflict. At the core of this problem is a conflict of identities in which the assimilation or elimination of the non-Arab and non-Muslim population has increasingly become the objective of the Government.

The prevalence of slavery in Sudan constitutes a serious challenge not only to the Sudanese themselves, but also to the international community.

LET US REMEMBER THE VICTIMS

The innocent civilians are the victims in this war. Just the other day, the NIF government declared a jihad, intensifying its aerial bombardment of the south. Who are those being bombed, of course, the children and the helpless. According to the report by U.S. Committee for Refugees, the government bombed civilian targets 167 times in 2000 alone.

Mr. Speaker, we are well aware of the number of people killed, maimed, displaced, and enslaved. Yet, we, as members of the international community have failed to do the right thing: End the suffering.

Over the years, I have visited Sudan a number of times. In all these visits, I, like many others, promised to do all I can to end their suffering. I must say with all sincerity that I can no longer see these innocent civilians and promise to end their suffering. I must admit, despite all our efforts, we failed the people of Sudan as we did when a million people got massacred in Rwanda in 1994.

We cannot say we did not know. As I speak here before you, more people will die, dozens will be forcefully displaced, and many others will be enslaved. Just imagine, waking up one morning and you lose everything you have—your property, dignity, family, and most important—your freedom.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot afford to wait any longer. The people of south Sudan have become an endangered species—a few years from now, there will be one left except the barren land. In the past several weeks, government forces burned, looted, and destroyed a number of villages, displacing tens of thousands of civilians.

Those who beat the drum of reconciliation must remember the sacrifices paid by the millions of Sudanese. There can be no peace if it is not a just and lasting peace. Indeed, ending the war must be a priority. But we must address the root causes of the war if we are to achieve a lasting peace. H.R. 5531 is a token measure to address these problems. I urge my colleagues to vote for this measure.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of H.R. 5531, the Sudan Peace Act. I would like to acknowledge the vital role that Representative PAYNE and other Members of the Congressional Black Caucus played in the development of this legislation.

H.R. 5531, while not perfect, represents an important step forward on the road to peace for Africa's longest civil war that has already killed more than 2 million people and displaced more than 4 million. I am disappointed that the capital market sanctions of the original Sudan Peace Act were stripped from this legislation. However, the bill before us today

makes the express link between oil and the Government of Sudan's intention to use future revenues to expand the war into areas beyond its control. The legislation replaces the capital market sanctions with a certification process that instructs the President to certify whether the Government of Sudan is making progress towards peace. If the Government of Sudan is at fault for obstructing peace negotiations, the President is instructed to pursue multilateral sanctions through the United Nations. While I would have preferred to see the sanctions in the original bill remain in place, an important compromise has been reached that enables this legislation to move forward.

Most importantly, the Sudan Peace Act authorizes \$300 million over three years for assistance to the people of southern Sudan. These funds, if appropriated, will lay the groundwork for peace and democratic governance, by including support for civil administration, communication infrastructure, education, health, and agriculture.

H.R. 5531 maintains the pressure on warring parties to resolve their conflict, demonstrates the continued interest of the United States in finding a lasting peace in this troubled nation, and provides desperately needed assistance for the people of southern Sudan. I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 5531, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds of those present have voted in the affirmative.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX and the Chair's prior announcement, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY ACT OF 2002

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and concur in the Senate amendments to 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.

The Clerk read as follows:

Senate amendments:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Russian Democracy Act of 2002”.

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 democratic 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, and small grants have 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 more than 65,000 nongovernmental organizations, thousands of independent local media outlets, despite governmental opposition, and numerous political parties.

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

(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. Approximately two-thirds of the Russian Federation’s gross domestic product is now generated by the private sector, and the United States recognized Russia as a market economy on June 7, 2002.

(5)(A) The United States has fostered grass-roots 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, depending on the estimate, of the gross domestic product of the Russian Federation.

(C) United States-funded programs have contributed to fighting 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 nongovernmental 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 would 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 rest of the civilized world in the struggle against terrorism and has cooperated in the war in Afghanistan by sharing intelligence and through other means.

(8) United States-Russia relations have improved, leading to a successful summit between President Bush and President Putin in May 2002, resulting in a “Foundation for Cooperation”.

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

(1) to strengthen and advance institutions of democratic government and of 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 to give 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 within the framework of the rule of law and respect for individual rights, including Russia’s membership in the appropriate international institutions;

(2) to engage the Government of the Russian Federation and Russian society in order to strengthen democratic reform and institutions, and to promote transparency and good governance in all aspects of society, including fair and honest business practices, accessible and open legal systems, freedom of religion, and respect for human rights;

(3) to advance a dialogue among United States Government officials, private sector individuals, and representatives of the Government of the Russian Federation regarding Russia’s 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, church officials, and reform-minded politicians from Moscow and all other regions of the Russian Federation;

(5) to incorporate democratic reforms, the promotion of independent media, and economic reforms in a broader United States dialogue with the Government of the Russian Federation;

(6) to encourage the Government of the Russian Federation to address, in a cooperative and transparent manner consistent with internationally recognized and accepted principles, cross-border issues, including the nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction, environmental degradation, crime, trafficking, and corruption;

(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 and membership in the World Trade Organization;

(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-8 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) **IN GENERAL.**—

(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 paragraph 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 grass-roots 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 and other forms of public diplomacy to promote greater understanding on how democracy, the public policy process, market institutions, and an independent judiciary function in Western societies;

“(G) political parties and coalitions 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;

“(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 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 free and independent media, including—

“(A) supporting all forms of independent 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 civic organizations on methods and uses of Internet-based media; and

“(C) training in journalism, including investigative journalism techniques that 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—

(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 independent media, including the establishment of “American Centers” and public policy schools at Russian universities and encourage cooperative programs with universities in the United States to offer courses through Internet-based off-site learning centers at Russian universities; and

(3) support the Regional Initiatives (RI) program, which provides targeted assistance in those regions of the Russian Federation that have demonstrated a commitment to reform, democracy, and the rule of law, and which promotes 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.—RFE/RL, Incorporated, and the Voice of America should use new and innovative techniques, in cooperation with local independent media sources and using local languages as appropriate and as possible, to disseminate throughout the Russian Federation information 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 Support Act for fiscal year 2003, \$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.

SEC. 7. PRESERVING THE ARCHIVES OF HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST AND NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER ANDREI SAKHAROV.

(a) AUTHORIZATION.—The President is authorized, on such terms and conditions as the President determines to be appropriate, to make a grant to Brandeis University for an endowment for the Andrei Sakharov Archives and Human Rights Center for the purpose of collecting and preserving documents related to the life of Andrei Sakharov and the administration of such Center.

(b) FUNDING.—There is authorized to be appropriated to the President to carry out subsection (a) not more than \$1,500,000.

SEC. 8. EXTENSION OF LAW.

The provisions of section 108(c) of H.R. 3427, as enacted by section 1000(a)(7) of Public Law 106-113, shall apply to United States contributions for fiscal year 2003 to the organization described in section 108(c) of H.R. 3427.

Amend the title so as to read: “An Act 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 and independent media in that country.”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) and the gentlewoman from California (Ms. WATSON) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH).

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the bill under consideration.

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

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. 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 and consolidate democracy in the Russian Federation. While this seems to be a routine measure, we should take a few minutes to note what this bill represents. The mere fact that we can talk of democracy in Russia as a reality in the present and not some dim prospect in the hazy future is one of the many wonders of the past decade that have grown familiar and now is largely taken for granted. Its existence, however, is a testament to the deep commitment to fundamental values shared by peoples all over the world.

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

□ 1700

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Ms. WATSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of this legislation. I would like to acknowledge the fine work of the ranking member, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the author of the legislation, who unfortunately cannot be on the House floor today for this debate. Appreciation also goes to our colleagues in the other body for moving this legislation through the committee and onto the floor. I would also like to thank the gentleman from Illinois (Chairman HYDE) of the Committee on International Relations for his consistent support of this legislation.

Ten years ago the U.S. Congress passed a historic act, the Freedom Support Act, which paved the way for the task of promoting democracy and mar-

ket economy in the countries of the former Soviet Union. Today, in the post-September 11 world, we are still concerned about the Russian nuclear arsenal, but we do not fear that the government of Russia will use it against us because Russia has become more democratic and our foreign policy interests are more congruent.

However, it has become clear to me and many of my colleagues that the process of democratization in Russia is not complete. For example, President Putin last week revoked a decree that has permitted the RFE/RL to maintain a bureau in Moscow. This decision was shortsighted and counterproductive. For these reasons, we must craft a creative and responsible policy towards Russia that strengthens a democratic society and a market economy.

I strongly believe that the existence of a vibrant, self-sustaining, non-State-owned media in Russia is the key to Russia's continuous integration with the West. This 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 NGO sector also needs our support. Russia does not yet have a culture of corporate philanthropy and private donations to make these NGOs self-sustaining. On the other hand, the abundance of NGOs that have sprung up in Russia since 1991 provides an important democratic component to that society.

So the bill before the House today, H.R. 2121, can promote this process and enhance the U.S.-Russia bilateral relationship by focusing U.S. assistance on the development of a civil society in Russia and a free and independent media.

I am also pleased that the bill includes an important provision to provide for an endowment to preserve the Andrei Sakharov archives. Without Mr. Sakharov's contributions to peace, human rights and democracy, the unprecedented change that took place in Russia in the last decade of the previous century would never have happened.

Given the importance of these documents to the study of the transition from tyranny to democracy in Russia and, by extension, to other countries around the world, the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS) and I believe it would be inappropriate for funds from the Foreign Assistance Act to be used for this noble undertaking.

The bill also contains an important provision on Burma human rights to make sure that the UNDP assistance to Burma is properly utilized. By funding the development of civil society in Russia and a free and independent media, H.R. 2121 can play an effective role in developing the U.S.-Russia bilateral relationship. Let us not squander this unprecedented opportunity to bring Russia closer to the West. I urge Members to support H.R. 2121.

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

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, first of all, I thank the gentlewoman for her fine remarks and leadership on this issue and the efforts of the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. HYDE) and especially to the gentleman from California (Mr. LANTOS), the ranking member, for crafting this important bipartisan legislation.

The creation of 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 precariously weak. Much of the legacy inherited from Russia's authoritarian past is still to be overcome. The institutions of democracy remain fragile in many areas. The habits of freedom have not yet become universal.

Given these and other concerns, the government's stated goal of creating a guided democracy where the parameters of permitted dissent are significantly narrowed is very troubling indeed, as are the patterns of clear, gross and uncorrected human rights violations associated with the continuing conflict in Chechnya.

Mr. Speaker, you juxtapose these problems along with the trafficking problem, which remains a very significant problem where young Russian women are trafficked into forced prostitution and are abused in the United States and countries of the West as well as in Russia itself, we need to do more. This bill advances the ball and will be an aid to the democratic forces in Russia. It is a good bill and deserves the support of our colleagues.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2121, the Russia Democracy Act, and thank the co-sponsors of this bill for their support. In drafting this legislation, I sought to enhance United States democracy, good governance and anti-corruption efforts in order to strengthen civil society and independent media in Russia. Cultivating civil society in Russia and knitting together its patch-work democracy is not only a goal of U.S. policy—it is an imperative. Unless we redouble our efforts to strengthen democratic reform in Russia—as this bill seeks to do—our former adversary may yet return to authoritarian rule and challenge our national security.

The Russia Democracy Act expands upon U.S. initiatives that have proven successful in Russia. Among other things, it provides further support for local democratic governments through the Regional Initiative; expands training for Russian journalists in investigative techniques designed to ferret out corruption; and it broadens successful U.S.-Russia cultural exchanges, such as those sponsored by the Library of Congress.

As Russia becomes more democratic and our foreign policies become more closely aligned in the war against international terrorism, it is important that the U.S. seize upon the opportunity to facilitate Russia's integration

into the West. The Russia Democracy Act is designed to achieve this goal. This bill launches a number of initiatives to take advantage of new developments in Russian society over the past decade, and harnesses new information technologies to provide Internet access to Russian citizens, independent media and NGOs. And it engages the growing network of local, independent media outlets to spread democratic principles working in partnership with such stalwarts of democracy as Radio Liberty and Voice of America.

Deepening our engagement with Russia's civil society is critical to its survival. At the same time we must stand ready to defend against Moscow's attempts to undermine it. Following September 11th, President Putin made a courageous decision to make common cause with the Western democracies in defeating terrorism. But recent decisions by Putin to embrace Iraq, Iran and North Korea, and his continued attempt to intimidate free media in Russia, threatens to jeopardize our new partnership.

Just last week, President Putin revoked a decree issued by his predecessor that allowed Radio Liberty to establish a bureau in Russia and provided the broadcaster with certain privileges. Radio Liberty, which is supported in part by the U.S. government, may now be subject to Russia's restrictive media laws. The right of Radio Liberty to broadcast in Russia is no longer guaranteed. Although some in Russia argue that this was done to level the playing field for all broadcasters, the Putin Administration has been known to apply the law selectively, as the cases of NTV and Ekho Moskvy make clear. I condemn this decision, and urge my colleagues to join me in ensuring Radio Liberty does not suffer the fate of Russia's other independent news organizations.

Having lived under both fascist and communist rule, I am painfully aware of the importance of this legislation. As a teenager living in Hungary during the Second World War, I recall fondly the inspirational and liberating broadcasts of the Voice of America, and can testify personally to the dramatic effect these radio programs had in providing hope to a captive people. To keep Russia on track toward westward integration, surrogate broadcasting such as Radio Liberty is critical.

I am also pleased that the bill includes an important provision to provide for an endowment to preserve the Andrei Sakharov archives. Without Mr. Sakharov's contribution to peace, human rights, and democracy, the unprecedented change that took place in Russia in the last decade of the previous century would never have happened. These documents are important not only to study the transition from tyranny to democracy in Russia, but will also help activists and scholars from countries around the world understand how a society moves from bondage to freedom. Therefore, I welcome this provision, which authorizes a grant to Brandeis University for an endowment to support the archives and the related human rights center. I realize it is extraordinary for U.S. appropriated funds to be used to fund an endowment, where such funds can use interest earned from U.S. funds to support the program. However, because of the importance of these archives and this center, I believe it is appropriate in this case. Finally, because of the wide-ranging importance of these documents, I believe it would be appropriate for funds from the Foreign Assist-

ance Act to be used for this noble undertaking.

I also note that the bill also contains a very important provision on Burma human rights that ensures that UNDP assistance to Burma is properly utilized, fully coordinated with the Burmese opposition and carried out only with NGO's.

I would also like to acknowledge the exceptional work of my staffer, Tanya Mazin, on this important legislation. Tanya's deep and personal knowledge of Russia and its people was critical to the success of Congressional consideration of the Russia Democracy Act.

Mr. Speaker, as a member of the U.S. Congress, I believe our interests and values demand that we cultivate civil society in Russia. It will not happen over night, but over time—with strong support from the United States and our democratic allies—I am confident it will. Passage of the Russia Democracy Act is a step in this direction, and a step I urge my colleagues to take.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PETRI). The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. SMITH) that the House suspend the rules and concur in the Senate amendments to the bill, H.R. 2121.

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

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

TRANSATLANTIC SECURITY AND NATO ENHANCEMENT RESOLUTION OF 2002

Mr. GALLEGLY. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the resolution (H. Res. 468) affirming the importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), supporting continued United States participation in NATO, ensuring that the enlargement of NATO proceeds in a manner consistent with United States interests, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read as follows:

H. RES. 468

Resolved,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This resolution may be cited as the "Transatlantic Security and NATO Enhancement Resolution of 2002".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

The House of Representatives makes the following findings:

(1) Since 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has played an essential role in guaranteeing the security, freedom, and prosperity of the United States and its partners in the Alliance.

(2) NATO, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, has proved to be an indispensable instrument for forging a trans-Atlantic community of nations working together to safeguard the freedom and common heritage of its peoples and promoting stability in the North Atlantic area.

(3) NATO is the only institution that promotes a uniquely transatlantic perspective