

and kills as many Russians as they do Americans. The Russian people have to know that after today we have left the Cold War behind; we will quit vilifying the Soviet Union and holding them to a different standard than we do other countries simply because in the past they were our enemies.

Madam Speaker, I gladly step forward to endorse this expansion of freedom of trade between our peoples.

Mr. BERMAN. Madam Speaker, I have no further requests for time and simply need time to close.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. I reserve the right to close, so I yield to my colleague.

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

I think this is a very historic piece of bipartisan legislation. Just as Jackson-Vanik became a tool to deal with one aspect of a horrible set of policies by the Soviet Union during the Cold War, we now, using the Magnitsky legislation, deal with some very serious human rights issues remaining in Russia, but not in the context of restricting trade but in the context of deepening our economic relationship with Russia. I think what this legislation does altogether, in combination, is promote both that economic relationship and shared adherence to common standards of human rights democracy and the rule of law.

I urge its support, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

Russia joined the World Trade Organization this year. Russia's accession will bring 140 million new consumers into the WTO's international rules-based system. This will help U.S. companies who have been at a disadvantage in competing with their European and Asian counterparts in Russia.

In order to join the WTO, Russia has been required to make substantial reforms to open its economy to international investment. These reforms include significant cuts on tariffs impacting manufactured goods and agricultural products, as well as a pledge to cut farm subsidies in half by 2018. Russia must also allow 100 percent foreign ownership of companies in a diverse group of industries, including banking, telecommunications, and retail. More importantly, Russia will be bound to respect the WTO's intellectual property protections and will participate in the organization's system for settling trade disputes.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia, I've visited Moscow and have met with representatives of the American Chamber of Commerce and many American businesses that are already active in Russia. Whether we pass this bill or not, these companies will remain in Russia, and the Russian market is too big to ignore. However, let's make it easier for U.S. companies to do business in Russia.

In addition, the Peterson Institute, a prominent economic think tank, estimates that if we pass this bill and Russia receives PNTR, U.S. exports to Russia will double over the next 5 years from \$9 billion to \$19 billion. This increased trade could support upwards of 50,000 new jobs here in the United States.

This legislation requires the Secretary of State and the trade representative to provide Congress with a number of reports that explain the steps that they've taken to ensure that Russia is in compliance with the WTO. These reports must include updates on what the administration is doing to advocate for American investors in Russia, including those investors in the Yukos Oil Company, who suffered about \$12 billion in losses when the Russian Government expropriated the company.

Regarding Moldova, this former state of the Soviet Union joined the WTO in 2001. However, because Jackson-Vanik applies to Moldova as well as Russia, the U.S. has not been able to offer that country PNTR, and this bill will fix that.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Madam Speaker, Moldova and Russia are now going to be able to participate with the United States in more free trade. I think this is a great bill, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate has passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 6570. An act to amend the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 and the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 to consolidate certain CBO reporting requirements.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed a bill and agreed to a concurrent resolution of the following titles in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1440. An act to reduce preterm labor and delivery and the risk of pregnancy-related deaths and complications due to pregnancy, and to reduce infant mortality caused by prematurity.

S. Con. Res. 60. Concurrent Resolution providing for a conditional adjournment or recess of the Senate and an adjournment of the House of Representatives.

□ 0950

**RUSSIA AND MOLDOVA JACKSON-VANIK REPEAL AND SERGEI MAGNITSKY RULE OF LAW ACCOUNTABILITY ACT OF 2012**

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CAMP) is recognized.

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

Madam Speaker, I urge passage of this bipartisan legislation to ensure

that American companies, workers, farmers, and ranchers benefit from Russia's accession to the World Trade Organization. Almost three months ago, Russia became the 156th member of the WTO. Since then, exporters from every WTO member but one—the United States—have been guaranteed the benefit from the concessions that Russia made to join the WTO. These benefits include increased access to Russia's growing market in goods and services, improved protection of intellectual property rights in Russia, Russian animal and plant health rules based on international standards and science, and binding dispute resolution if Russia does not live up to its WTO obligations. If U.S. exporters want to be guaranteed these benefits as well, we must pass this bipartisan legislation and establish permanent normal trade relations with Russia.

This bill would allow us to gain important rights and powerful new enforcement tools with respect to one of the world's largest economies without giving up a single tariff or other concession. We could double or even triple U.S. exports to Russia within 5 years. But until we do, these benefits will go to our foreign competitors while our exporters fall further behind.

With our high unemployment, we cannot afford to pass up any opportunity to increase our exports and create jobs. And the longer we delay in passing this legislation, the more ground our exporters will lose.

I don't dispute that our relationship with Russia has many challenges. On the commercial front, we face weak enforcement and protection of intellectual property rights, as well as discriminatory standards for U.S. agricultural products. Russia's recent adoption of the WTO's rules should address many of these issues, but this bill goes farther by requiring the administration to stay focused on Russia by making sure that it lives up to its WTO obligations, resolves outstanding trade issues with Russia, and improves the rule of law in Russia.

Many of us also have significant concerns with Russia's foreign policy. Much as I believe that Russia does not always act responsibly, I also believe that this legislation cannot be seen as rewarding Russia. Instead, any benefit that is conferred is on U.S. job creators. I also fully share the concerns of many of my colleagues on Russia's abysmal human rights record, and that's why I support adding the Magnitsky legislation to this bill, on the third anniversary of the murder of Sergei Magnitsky while imprisoned.

For all of these reasons, we urgently need to pass this important bipartisan legislation. I urge all of my colleagues to support it.

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

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

I want to make a number of points, but first to join with the chairman of

the committee. We have worked hard on this legislation on a bipartisan basis, and also with the Senate.

I think these are the important points, if I might say so. First of all, I urge that we take each trade agreement very much on its own, maybe not completely looking at other agreements but assessing the merits of each particular agreement. And when you look at this agreement on its merits, it's clear, I urge, we should be supportive.

If you look at the flow of trade that will be enhanced by this legislation, it's clear that it will be beneficial to our country. The major exports from our country to Russia are machinery, motor vehicles, and aircraft. These are products made in America by American companies and by American workers. So essentially, this will enhance our ability. Russia, in terms of taking this on its own, is already in the WTO, and the question is whether we will be able to access their markets.

The next point: there is also a question of enforcement. Trade agreements by themselves will not be enough. There has to be built in strong enforcement and a willingness to enforce. And this agreement, with the help of colleagues, some of whom will be here to speak today, this agreement has strengthened enforcement provisions. Those were worked out with the Senate, and I want to thank the Senators for working with us. So there is within this agreement not only a guarantee of more flow, but also a guarantee that we have access to the instrumentalities so that we can hold Russia's feet to the fire, if I might say so, in terms of their meeting their obligations.

The next point is this: we've been working on trade issues for a long time. For some of us, trade is more than the flow of goods; it's the structure within which the flow occurs and looking at the benefits of that flow so that we're sure that the impact is a positive one for our businesses and our workers.

Also, it's important to remember that the rule of law in another country is vital, otherwise investment is perilous. The Magnitsky legislation was added here in part in recognition that when you talk about trade, you have to look at a fuller picture. And I want to salute, if I might say so, especially JIM MCGOVERN for his work on this issue. And I also want to thank Mr. CAMP, our chairman. I also want to thank those in the Senate for working with us to make sure that this is in this bill, the chair of our Foreign Relations Committee, and also especially Mr. CARDIN, who once served on our committee and is now in the Senate and has made this a dedicated effort on his part.

This is a bipartisan effort. I hope that it will set the stage for a successful effort to deal with trade issues now and beyond on a bipartisan basis.

I reserve the balance of my time.

□ 1000

Mr. CAMP. I thank the gentleman for his comments. Also, I would yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY), the distinguished chairman of the Trade Subcommittee.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Madam Speaker, this is a jobs bill, pure and simple. It levels the playing field in Russia for American energy, agriculture, manufacturing, services, and our growing technology industry to be able to compete on a level playing field in that country with our competitors: China, Europe, Brazil, and others.

This bill means more sales to the ninth largest economy in the world and more jobs here at home as a result. America gives up nothing in this legislation, but it stands to gain much. Creating that leveled playing field is important to job creation.

But this bill also holds Russia accountable to live up to its obligations, to play by the same trade rules everyone else in this world does as well. That means a chance to protect and the means to insist that our intellectual property rights be protected, to insist that sound science be used on food safety, to insist, again, that there are not artificial barriers either at the front door or the back to American products and services being sold in Russia.

This legislation also creates important new tools to continue to pressure Russia to make progress on the important issue of human rights. For Texas, our State, this is an important issue because Russia is our fastest growing trade partner. We are the number one exporter. Our growth and sales grew by almost a third last year alone.

But it is broader than that. It's important to every State in the United States. It's important to our trading relationship. And again, the fact that we are able to hold Russia accountable should they violate their commitments, we have in law a process to resolve those disputes and re-create a level playing field.

I want to credit and thank Chairman DAVE CAMP of Michigan for his long leadership on trade. This is, by my account, the seventh bipartisan trade measure to pass this House, and we hope it will move to the President's desk. And I thank Ranking Member LEVIN for his outstanding work on this as well.

Mr. LEVIN. I now yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from the great State of Washington (Mr. MCDERMOTT), the ranking member on Trade.

(Mr. MCDERMOTT asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MCDERMOTT. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of this bill to grant permanent normal trade relations to Russia and Moldova.

Let's begin with Russia. Russia joined the WTO this summer. Congress does not have veto power on that. All we can do here is decide whether to allow U.S. businesses and workers to

see the benefits of Russia's WTO obligations.

Will Russia always honor these obligations on its own initiative? Probably not. But Russia's WTO membership means we can at least hold them to those obligations, and we must be prepared to enforce those obligations. That is a lesson we've learned the hard way over the last few years. This bill actually does that. This bill has strong antibribery and anticorruption provisions. It has mechanisms to help strengthen our intellectual property rights.

But that's not all. Another critical piece of this bill is the Magnitsky Act, placing real sanctions on those individuals who are complicit in human rights violations. This is a serious policy upgrade and a big win for human rights.

At the end of the day, Russia's entry into the WTO can be expected to create real jobs here in the U.S. by reducing tariffs and other barriers to U.S.-made goods and services. The tariffs on information technology products are completely eliminated. Russia's aircraft, chemical, and pharmaceutical tariffs are heavily reduced. This means real job growth around the country in the coming years.

In many ways, this agreement is one-sided to our benefit. Our tariffs are not going down, but Russia's are. Russia is a WTO member regardless of what we do today, but with this bill, we can make sure that American businesses and workers get the benefits of Russian commitments.

Finally, this bill gives permanent normal trade relations to Moldova, a country that joined the WTO more than a decade ago. The Moldovans want closer ties with their friends in the United States and Europe. This bill demonstrates that we share that interest with our Moldovan partners.

I urge the passage of this bill unanimously by the Members here. Everyone in this country will benefit from it.

Mr. CAMP. At this time, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. NUNES), a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. NUNES. Madam Speaker, the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment effectively pressured the Soviet Union over its appalling human rights record. It was an important part of America's decades-long effort to contain and ultimately bring down an evil empire.

Times have changed. The Cold War is over, and the USSR has given way to the Russian Federation. Its ruler, Vladimir Putin, presides over an authoritarian regime that closely controls the key economic sectors, shackles the media, stamps out most dissent, and stage-manages the political process. Nevertheless, Putin's Russia is not the Soviet Union, and we should update our laws accordingly.

The Jackson-Vanik amendment addresses problems from a different era. By joining the WTO, Russia has undertaken new obligations to adhere to the

rule of law. As we approve normal trade relations with Russia, we must verify that it adheres to its new responsibilities.

Furthermore, by approving the Magnitsky Act, we will signal that corrupt thugs who attack whistleblowers and human rights activists will be held to account—in America, if not Russia. That is why, Madam Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote “yes” on this bill.

Mr. LEVIN. I now yield 9 minutes to the gentleman from Maine (Mr. MICHAUD) for a colloquy, a gentleman who has worked so hard on trade issues.

Mr. MICHAUD. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Representative DELAURO of Connecticut and I introduced legislation to increase the specifics and the strength of U.S. enforcement efforts of Russia's WTO membership. As our experience with China has shown, if there isn't a robust enforcement mechanism, American jobs will be lost.

I am pleased that the bill being debated today includes similar language to strengthen our enforcement of Russia's WTO membership, but I do have lingering concerns that USTR may be reluctant to fully implement these provisions, both in letter and in spirit.

First, I am worried that USTR may not interpret the bill's reporting requirements in a way that will make it possible for Members of Congress or American businesses to fully understand Russia's WTO commitment. The Working Party Report, alone, is hundreds of pages and is hard to decipher. In addition, I'm concerned that USTR may not include in their report when they decide not to take action against Russia, even when they are not in compliance.

Can you assure me that you will work with me to ensure that Members of Congress and our businesses are made aware of all of Russia's WTO commitments and whether or not they are in full compliance?

I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I very much agree with my colleague from Maine that it's vital to monitor and fully enforce our trade agreements, and I will work with USTR to keep you and other Members of Congress informed when Russia has not fulfilled its commitment, regardless of whether or not the administration has taken formal notice.

Mr. MICHAUD. I thank the gentleman for his answer.

My next concern is that USTR's report that Congress may not give sufficient attention to Russia's compliance with their manufacturing-related commitments. I know you and I share a deep commitment to American manufacturing. Will my friend work with me to ensure that USTR reports to Congress include assessments on their compliance with manufacturing-related obligations?

Mr. LEVIN. As my colleague knows, today's legislation includes reporting requirements on all of Russia's commitments they made prior to joining the WTO, including the reduction of tariffs and other commitments related to manufacturing sectors. I will work with my colleague to make certain that USTR's reports include an evaluation of Russia's manufacturing-related commitments.

□ 1010

Mr. MICHAUD. I thank my friend for his response. And I know it will come as no surprise that I have approached this legislation and debate with skepticism. Since China joined the WTO more than 10 years ago, nearly 2 million U.S. jobs have been shipped overseas. Although I have advocated for and supported U.S. enforcement efforts at the WTO, these actions have not been enough to counter China's persistent trade violation, including their currency manipulation. I do not want us to repeat this mistake with Russia.

I think the enforcement provisions in this legislation are a good start, but it will take a proactive Congress to make sure our businesses benefit from this agreement. Can my friend assure me that he will work with me to use all the tools at our disposal, including section 301 authority, if needed, to make sure that Russia lives up to the WTO commitment?

Mr. LEVIN. I very much agree with you that we must enforce our trading partners' commitments so that our American workers can compete on a level playing field, and I really believe that Mr. CAMP, our chairman, and others concur in that. I, too, have been concerned about the effect China's trade relations have had on the U.S. economy.

I will work with you to monitor Russia's compliance and to ensure that U.S. manufacturers get the full benefits of Russia's WTO membership, and I can assure you we will continue to work together to address China's violations as well. This administration has been active in that regard.

As for section 301, I wish to note that I and the ranking member on our Trade Subcommittee, Mr. MCDERMOTT, exchanged letters with the U.S. trade rep in July, confirming our rights to request action under section 301. Under section 301, USTR is required to respond to our requests within a fixed timeline. That exchange of letters has already been incorporated into the legislative history of the bill before us today.

Mr. MICHAUD. I appreciate the gentleman's comment, and I look forward to working with him on these issues. You and I have worked closely together on trade enforcement over the past few years, and I sincerely hope this effort between our offices will further strengthen our dialogue and collaboration on trade policy going forward. It will be even more important that we work together to make sure that TPP

is a good deal for American workers and that its implementation legislation as well, should it ever reach the floor, include strict enforcement measures.

This legislation represents an unprecedented step towards improving enforcement of our trade agreements. I want to thank you for working with us to improve this legislation and for agreeing to work with me on my outstanding concerns that we currently have. As a result of these improvements and the strong human rights language in the bill, I'll be supporting this legislation when the House votes on it today. And I want to thank the gentleman from Michigan very much for his efforts in that regard.

Mr. LEVIN. I want to thank you, Mr. MICHAUD, for your arduous efforts.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CAMP. I yield 2 minutes to a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from California (Mr. HERGER).

Mr. HERGER. Thank you, Chairman CAMP.

Madam Speaker, the bill before us is about economic growth and job creation. It's about expanding U.S. exports to the ninth largest economy in the world. It's about making sure U.S. businesses receive the same treatment in Russia as their competitors in Europe. It's about ensuring we have the tools to hold an unreliable trading partner accountable.

This legislation is not a handout or gift to Russia. Maintaining Jackson-Vanik does not give us any leverage, as Russia is already a WTO member. A vote against this bill is a vote against U.S. employers. It's a vote against small businesses. It's a vote against farmers and a vote against ranchers.

I urge my colleagues to support legislation to give Americans fair access to an important market.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 2 minutes to another Member who's been so active on trade policy, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL).

Mr. NEAL. Thank you, Mr. LEVIN.

Madam Speaker, after more than 18 years of negotiations, Russia joined the World Trade Organization this past August. WTO membership will require Russia, for the first time, to play by the same rules of trade as the United States and virtually every other nation in the world. This is a significant development, and it's critical that Congress approve permanent normal trade relations with Russia so that U.S. companies can benefit from these reforms.

Russian PNTR also is a jobs bill. The President's Export Council estimates that U.S. exports of goods and services to Russia would double or triple once Russia joins WTO. Greater exports mean more jobs, and that's exactly what our economy needs right now. A reminder: Last year, the fastest growing part of the American economy was exports, which grew by almost 6 percent.

Let me conclude by expressing my support for important provisions in the

PNTR legislation that address the Russian Government's expropriation of the large oil company, Yukos.

When Russian authorities dissolved Yukos and took over its assets, Yukos investors, including 20,000 individual American investors, many from my home State of Massachusetts, received nothing. I'm pleased that PNTR legislation requires USTR and the State Department to provide an annual report to Congress on the steps they are taking to advocate for American investors in Yukos. This reporting requirement is critical because Russia must be pressed to make good on the money it owes American investors.

Madam Speaker, I actually, for a long period of time, had a bracelet that I wore and kept in my office—and still have—based upon one of the issues at the time that led to Jackson-Vanik, and it was the ability and right of Soviet Jewry to emigrate from Russia if they so desire, and we are addressing that issue today. It was one of the human rights champions that we're witnessing today that allowed this to happen. And I think that you can see how far diplomacy can extend when it's beneficial to the United States, but also on the issue of emigration at that particular time. It was America and the American dimension that helped to transform that particular moment.

Mr. CAMP. Madam Speaker, how much time remains?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CAMP) has 22 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) has 14½ minutes remaining.

Mr. CAMP. Thank you.

I yield 2 minutes to a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Washington State (Mr. REICHERT).

Mr. REICHERT. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Madam Speaker, I'm speaking in favor of granting Russia and Moldova permanent normal trade relations. I would like to emphasize this will hold only benefits, as was said, for the United States. There is no down side for us in this agreement, unless we fail to act.

Now the time has come for us to come together and pass this legislation. As the sponsor of the Moldova PNTR, I'm pleased that the long overdue graduation of Moldova from the Jackson-Vanik amendment is included in this bill. JIM McDERMOTT and I have worked hard on the Moldovan agreement and are very proud and pleased to see that it's included in this bill.

Passing this bill will increase America's exports of goods and services substantially and will serve as a no-cost job creator. Currently, exports to Russia support over 1,400 jobs in my home State. In fact, in 1 year, exports from Washington State to Russia grew by 80 percent. If, however, we fail to act, U.S. companies, farmers, and workers will not receive the benefits of the Russian membership, nor will the United

States Government have authority to hold Russia accountable to its WTO commitments.

So, Madam Speaker, it's my sincere hope that we can pass this legislation and grant Russia and Moldova permanent normal trade relations.

Mr. LEVIN. It is now my pleasure to yield 2 minutes to a gentleman who has served so long with distinction on our committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL).

(Mr. RANGEL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RANGEL. I rise on the floor because there have been so many people in my constituency that are wondering about why did I vote in support of China going into the WTO, and at the same time we all are complaining about our failure to abide by the rules.

□ 1020

I want to make it abundantly clear that we're in the same situation. SANDY and I, it was a profile in courage almost to support China, and we have consistently supported our position as most people are supporting the committee's position and the Congress' position as relates to allowing Russia to assume the responsibilities of joining the WTO. While we have no guarantees that she will abide by the rules, at least we do have that she recognizes that there are international rules.

For those people that are just monitoring the behavior of the People's Republic of China, we have to realize that in order to get people to cooperate and to find some discipline in international trade, they have to join. This goes a long way in making certain not only that we create the jobs and improve commercial trade with Russia, but also it encourages the administration now to see what works for the great United States, what really works to improve the quality of trade between all nations, and it gives us another tool to work with.

So I want to thank SANDY and the chairman of the committee for working together as closely as they have, and Mr. McDERMOTT. And I do hope that we will be able to join these countries to say that even in America it's possible to work even with Communists and not sell out our principles of the great qualities of democracy that are prevalent with most people.

Mr. CAMP. At this time I yield 2 minutes to a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PAULSEN).

Mr. PAULSEN. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I'd like to speak in favor of this legislation but also just talk a little bit about why this bill is so important to my home State in Minnesota.

Minnesota's economy has a stake in extending permanent normal trade relations with Russia. Last year, Minnesota exported about \$71 million worth of goods to Russia, directly sup-

porting hundreds of jobs for Minnesotans. Now, with the world's ninth-largest economy and a growing middle class, the Russian marketplace holds great future potential for increased exports and more Minnesota jobs.

This August, Russia gained membership to the WTO, giving member economies around the globe increased access to nearly 142 million potential customers. But our failure to pass permanent normal trade relations with Russia means American job creators, American employers can't take advantage of these new opportunities. There are large Minnesota job creators like Cargill, 3M, T&M Marine, TSC Container Freight, and Massman Automation that have all expressed their interest and how important it is that PNTR be extended for increased competition and job growth.

One great example of an industry that will benefit from extending PNTR to Russia is our Nation's medical device innovators. We understand the immense size of the Russian population, but only 20 percent of Russians currently have access to quality health care, and nearly two-thirds of Russia's medical equipment is becoming obsolete. There is an incredible opportunity, Madam Speaker, for U.S. medical technology. And now with its accession to the WTO, Russia has agreed to substantial tariff reductions for imported medical equipment, again, creating a great opportunity for American medical device innovators to increase exports, grow their businesses, and create many new jobs. But unless we pass this legislation, unless we move forward, our competitors will continue to have a distinct and unnecessary advantage.

We need to pass PNTR with Russia not only for countless Minnesota businesses trying to compete and win in today's marketplace, but also, more importantly, for 60,000 Minnesota jobs that are tied to a robust trade agenda.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I now yield 1½ minutes to another member of our committee from the great State of Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), who is so active on trade issues.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. I appreciate the gentleman's courtesy.

You have heard and you will continue to hear how important it is to pass this legislation to level the playing field for the United States and our businesses that seek to do business with Russia, one of the 10 largest economies in the world. This provides us an additional tool to make sure that our friends in Russia play by the rules.

Now, while one of the Presidential candidates talked about Russia being the greatest geopolitical threat to the United States, I think it's clear that times have in fact changed. The relationship between the United States and the former Soviet Union has been dramatically altered. Russia is an opportunity for us—it's a challenge. We have differences of opinion. There are issues

that we, frankly, need their cooperation. There are others that we're pushing back a little bit. But it is far better to be engaged in economic competition and cooperation to help build those bridges.

Speaking of bridges, I think it's encouraging to watch the debate on this floor today. It's been my pleasure to be involved with a variety of them over the years, but this is one where there is commonality, where there's consensus, where we're working together to move forward. I hope this forms a pattern by which we will be able to have future success in critical, thoughtful trade policy crafting in the future. The American economy needs it.

Mr. CAMP. At this time I yield 2 minutes to a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM).

Mr. ROSKAM. I thank the chairman.

Madam Speaker, a couple months ago I pick up the phone and I'm talking to one of your constituent companies in Naperville, Illinois. It's a company that you've represented well for the past 14 years. I was talking to the manufacturer, talking about Russian PNTR, and I posed a simple question: How much business are you doing now, and what kind of business would you be able to do in Russia if we normalize the trade relationships? Without batting an eye he said, currently, Congressman, we do \$15 million worth of exports into Russia. If Congress changes this and we regularize this status, that number overnight would jump to \$30 million.

Now, the State of Illinois currently is one of the largest States as it relates to exports to Russia—\$70 million worth of business, Madam Speaker, coming out of our home State. So we've got a chance today to do something great, and to do something great is to allow worldwide American companies to get a sure footing in a growing marketplace that's only going to get bigger, and to do it in a thoughtful way.

This helps to meet President Obama's goal of doubling exports in 5 years—this is inextricably linked to that goal—and this is an opportunity for us to create jobs where we want to create them, that is, here at home, exporting into markets abroad.

Mr. LEVIN. I now yield 1½ minutes to another active member of our committee on trade and every issue that comes before us, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND).

Mr. KIND. I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

I want to first commend the chairman and the ranking member of the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. CAMP and Mr. LEVIN, for the work they did in getting this legislation to the floor.

I rise in strong support of extending permanent normal trade relations with Russia and Moldova. I also want to commend the chair and the ranking member of the subcommittee, Mr. BRADY and Mr. McDERMOTT, for the work that they've done, as well as a

gentleman who's not on the floor today—we're going to miss his leadership, he's retiring at the end of this session—Mr. DREIER from California. He's been a great leader on trade policy. He's been a great colleague. We will miss that leadership, and I commend him for his one last lift that he made into making this legislation possible.

In a lot of ways I wish we had passed this before the August recess because every day we delay right now we are losing market share in a large and expanding marketplace in Russia. Our goods, our services, our products, the Made in America goods that we should be exporting right now, we're not until we're able to pass this bill. Russia has already agreed to lower their trade barriers and other nontariff barriers for the entry of our goods.

Just as one example, Great Britain alone over the last couple of years has expanded their exports into the Russian market by over 80 percent. But this legislation will also allow us to enforce rules and have dispute resolution mechanisms that are available through the World Trade Organization, higher rules that Russia now has to comply with.

As another example from my home State of Wisconsin, Russia has, since 2010, shut out all dairy exports that we could make from our country into Russia due to phytosanitary concerns that we view as highly suspect and highly questionable. Now we'll have a mechanism in order to resolve that dispute through the WTO.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. KIND. Something that is not available to us until we're able to move this legislation here today.

Now, as was pointed out earlier, Governor Romney indicated that Russia, in his view, is America's greatest geostrategic adversary in the 21st century.

□ 1030

I don't know if that's true or not, but I do know that when goods and products cross borders, armies don't. This gives us another tool of diplomatic engagement with Russia, economic engagement with Russia, as well as another piece to what we need to do to get our economy fully functioning and creating the good-paying jobs that we need right here in America at this time.

So I encourage my colleagues to support this. Hopefully, we will have a wide bipartisan vote, and I thank the leadership on this issue.

Mr. CAMP. Madam Speaker, at this time I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. GRIMM).

Mr. GRIMM. Madam Speaker, I rise today to speak on H.R. 6156, Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal Act of 2012. And I'm very, very proud to join

my friend and colleague, Congressman GREG MEEKS, and stand with him in strong support of this legislation. I look forward to serving with him as the cochair of the Congressional Russia Caucus in the 113th Congress.

Madam Speaker, Russia, as we've heard, is one of the largest economies in the world, and passing permanent normal trade relations with Russia is a move that would greatly benefit the United States.

The World Bank has estimated that more than half of Russia's 140 million-plus people are middle class consumers. This legislation creates great opportunities for Americans and New York companies. It creates jobs for small businesses in Staten Island and Brooklyn. It increases maritime jobs at the Port of New York and creates more jobs in the manufacturing and services sector in New York City.

New York and Russia have a special relationship. Last year, New York exported \$497 million worth of goods to Russia, which directly supported an estimated 1,400 jobs. Additionally, New York City is home to one of the largest Russian communities in the United States and that, I'm very proud to say, I represent.

So I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of American jobs and vote "aye" on H.R. 6156.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, could you verify how much time there is on both sides.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) has 9 minutes, and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CAMP) has 15½ minutes.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Chairman, I think I'll proceed.

It's now my pleasure to yield 1½ minutes to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL), another vigorous member of our committee on all issues. We wish your State the best, by the way.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. CAMP, Mr. LEVIN, great job in putting this together. I didn't drink the Kool-Aid when I came to Ways and Means on trade, I can tell you that; but I think that this is a major effort on both sides of reconciliation and putting together a good trade deal, so I want to congratulate both of you sincerely.

I want to congratulate Mr. MICHAUD for seeking the inclusion of tough enforcement provisions. You can have all the trade deals in the world; but if you do not have tough enforcement, then they mean very, very, very little.

I'm very concerned about the imbalance in trade with Russia, which is trying to be our partner here. I mean, imports in 2011 were \$34.5 billion, and exports were only \$8.3 billion. I hope we reverse that, or we can change that dramatically, with so many items being reduced in terms of what the rates will be.

In New Jersey, it's very important for us. We export auto parts and medical equipment to Russia, for example; and by them joining the WTO, Russian

tariffs will be lowered for our exports, and that helps our workers get to work.

This has always been the major issue in any trade deal: Does it hurt our jobs or does it help our jobs? And I'm convinced that this legislation will be of great help to get our trade imbalance down to where we want it to be.

But, Mr. Chairman and SANDY, I'm very concerned about using trade as leverage. The Russians have stuck their finger in our eye on the subject of Syria, and I'd like to use trade as leverage.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 10 seconds.

Mr. PASCRELL. I want to make sure that Russia does toe the line. This is very serious business. So if we can't get them to move on Syria, the situation only gets worse. Maybe it's hopeful that we have a coalition which was formed just a few days ago. So I hope that we will use trade as leverage not only in Russia.

Mr. CAMP. Madam Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. KELLY).

Mr. KELLY. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support. Listen, this is what the country expects us to do; and today, you don't have to have on a red shirt or blue shirt. These are red, white, and blue jobs that we're talking about. And we're talking about our opportunity now to compete, and not just compete and not just participate, to actually dominate the world market.

I want to just read from a note from a friend of mine, Rick McNeel, who's the president and the chief executive officer of Lord Corporation. He says that outside our borders are markets that represent 80 percent of the world's purchasing power, 92 percent of the economic growth, and 95 percent of its consumers. One in three American manufacturing jobs depends on this.

In Lord Corporation alone, they increased their sales from \$67 million in 2001 to \$158 million in 2011.

Listen, this makes sense for America. This makes sense for the world. And when it talks about us not just participating, but dominating the world market, my goodness, does this give us a voice at the table when it comes to the discussion of human rights and personal liberty. We can be the strongest voice in the world, and we need to be that strongest voice in the world. There is no other place to look to now for leadership other than the United States. We can do that.

And by passing this today, we send a strong message not only to the world, but to our country, that we have joined hands, we are joining arm-in-arm, and we are going to dominate in the world markets and regain our position as the leader when it comes to human rights and personal freedoms and liberty.

I thank the gentleman, and I'd urge all our colleagues on both sides to pass this bill today.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO), with his passion on all issues.

Mr. DEFAZIO. I thank my friend, the gentleman, for the time.

We could, today on the floor, just replay the debate from 11 years ago in the lame-duck session about China. It's about exporting U.S. goods to China. Just get them in the WTO, give them permanent normal trade relations, and they'll follow the rules. Well, when we adopted that, our trade deficit with China was \$84 billion. Today it's \$295 billion.

The issue isn't the tariffs the Russians have. The issue wasn't the tariffs that the Chinese had. It's all of their manipulation and nontariff barriers that go into these nonmarket economies. How is it going to be any difference with Russia?

The debate is disconnected from the reality. We're concerned about Syria, so let's reward them with permanent normal trade relations. You can't go to the WTO and complain about the Russians supporting a thug who's killing his people in Syria. That's not something you can use the WTO for.

We are giving up the tools we have to try and push Russia on economic issues; and we're binding ourselves to this international body, which has a secret dispute resolution process with unelected bureaucrats who have no conflict-of-interest rules. Now, that's a powerful tool we're going to use against those Russians. It worked real well against the Chinese. It doesn't work against the way the Chinese are manipulating their markets to keep out our goods, to steal our international property, and all the host of other unfair trade practices there that the Russians can just duplicate very easily. The WTO is not the solution to these issues.

We have more power today with a bilateral agreement. We have more power today with the capability of depriving them of a normal trade relation status with the United States. If we want to use our clout, we should vote this bill down.

And it's not just about Syria and human rights and a host of other abuses in Russia. It's about American jobs. Today, the biggest export under the WTO for the last 15 years has been American jobs. How is that going to change by binding us, one more time, to the WTO with one more nonmarket, essentially dictatorial economy with a corrupt regime running the country?

□ 1040

How is that going to work any differently than it has worked with China? It won't. This is a recipe for more job loss. It's not about saying, Oh, the terrorists will go away, and they're just going to start buying all our goods. No, it's not going to happen. All the same abuses that we have seen in China will be replicated by the regime in Russia, and it will become, yet

again, another large addition to the deficit side of our ledger on trade. I urge Members to oppose this.

Mr. CAMP. I yield 2 minutes to a distinguished gentleman from Missouri (Mr. LONG).

Mr. LONG. Madam Speaker, we are trading with Russia right now. This doesn't hurt Russia. This is to prevent hurting us. This is to help our manufacturers and our farmers. If you took manufacturing and farming out of the United States of America, you wouldn't have a whole lot left; and since Russia is in the World Trade Organization, we need to move past that. I support permanent normal trade relations with Russia because permanent normal trade relations is a great opportunity to create new jobs here in America.

American workers produce some of the highest-quality manufactured and agricultural goods in the entire world. PNTR will allow our workers to compete on a level playing field—and that's what I'm after—in a new market, and it will give people who are out of work new opportunities to get back on the job. Americans work hard, and they can compete with any nation in the world if given the chance; but there has got to be a fair playing field. PNTR will provide that chance for those to compete fairly in the Russian market. We shouldn't be hamstringing our Nation's workers over a technicality stemming from the Cold War.

Americans are suffering right now. They want jobs right now so that they can pay their mortgages and send their children to college and plan for retirement. Expanding opportunities for Americans to sell products in foreign markets is one of the best ways that we can help relieve Americans from the economic hardships that they are now facing.

Good jobs for Americans right here in America is not impossible to accomplish. We can make America the best place in the world to do business if we will remove unnecessary bureaucratic burdens off the backs of American workers. Passing PNTR will be a very good first step.

Mr. LEVIN. It is now my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Virginia who is deeply involved in trade issues, Mr. MORAN.

Mr. MORAN. I thank my friend from Michigan. I thank him for his very genuine concern over the jobs and labor rights for American workers and for his support of this legislation.

Madam Speaker, today, countries all over the world are enjoying preferential treatment versus the United States with Russia. They have better intellect property protections; they have lower tariff barriers; they have other open-market concessions. And many of them are our allies, but all of them are our competitors.

Now, clearly, parts of Russia's economy is little better than a kleptocracy—with serious violations of human and political rights. Yet the



Jackson-Vanik bill is in place today. This would repeal it, which needs to be done, and it would impose the Magnitsky bill, which would support human rights and political rights in Russia. I should share with my colleagues that Charlie Vanik, after he retired, became a constituent of mine. He wrote a letter to me, saying that the time for the Jackson-Vanik bill has passed and that, in fact, in many areas it's counterproductive.

We are doing the right thing—the right thing for America's workers and the right thing for America's economy in supporting this legislation today.

Mr. CAMP. I yield 2 minutes to a distinguished member of the Ways and Means Committee, the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED).

Mr. REED. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for yielding time to me today.

I rise, Madam Speaker, in support of the proposed legislation to repeal Jackson-Vanik.

To me, what this represents is an opportunity for American manufacturers and American farmers to have access to the Russian market so that we can go about the number one priority of this Congress and the next Congress—getting people back to work. This represents an opportunity to potentially increase U.S. exports by doubling or even tripling those export levels over the next 5 years with PNTR status in place for Russia.

I strongly support the proposed legislation, and I take a point of disagreement with my good friend from Oregon, who was referencing his comments in opposition to the proposed legislation.

The fact is that Russia is now part of the WTO. They are a member after 18 years of negotiation, some of the negotiations being led by the United States in the most aggressive manner to hold them accountable to the rules of the WTO. By not supporting this legislation, we are handcuffing American manufacturers and farmers by not allowing them to take advantage of this opportunity that is there.

So I urge all of my colleagues to support the proposed legislation, and I urge our moving forward with expanding job opportunities for generations of Americans to come.

Mr. LEVIN. It is now my pleasure to yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. COHEN).

Mr. COHEN. I rise in strong support of this legislation because it will mean jobs in Memphis and will make Russia, which is potentially our most important bilateral relationship, a stronger one. I also rise as a cosponsor of the Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act. We must hold Magnitsky's killers accountable as well as others who have been responsible for human rights abuses in Russia.

I am particularly concerned about the case of an all-women's punk rock band that staged an unauthorized concert in a church to protest President Putin. They were arrested and charged with hooliganism, motivated by reli-

gious hatred. They were sentenced subject to a trial that was little more than a farce. They were not allowed to testify and weren't allowed testimony by witnesses on their side. They were sentenced to a 2-year prison sentence in a penal colony far away from their families and far away from Moscow.

I recently met with their legal team and with the husband of one of their members, and I found their story troubling as they are the latest victims of the Russian Government's brutal crackdown on dissent. Those responsible for this miscarriage of justice should be held accountable, which is why this bill is important. The band was prevented from exercising First Amendment rights and also from having a fair trial.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. COHEN. These are exactly the sorts of victims contemplated in this legislation. I hope the State Department will give strong consideration to their case when compiling the list called for in this legislation. Russia should be a partner and friend, but we cannot stand by while they continue to violate the rights of their people with these abuses.

I thank Mr. LEVIN, and I also want to thank the head of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. BERMAN—a great Congressman. I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. CAMP. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. LEVIN. It is now my pleasure to yield 1 minute to a gentleman who has just been sworn in, a colleague of ours from Michigan (Mr. CURSON).

This is your maiden speech, and it is my special pleasure to yield to you.

Mr. CURSON of Michigan. Today, I will vote in favor of H.R. 6156 and to change Russia's trading status from conditional to permanent normal trade relations. By doing so, we will ensure that American businesses, workers, and farmers will receive the same competitive access to Russia's markets that all other countries receive in the WTO. It is my hope that H.R. 6156 will provide growth opportunities for American businesses and will create jobs for our workers here at home. However, while expanding trade with Russia, we must not lose sight of our American values and our commitment to human rights.

H.R. 6156 has been updated and significantly improved by the adoption of the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act of 2012. Sergei Magnitsky was a 37-year-old Russian lawyer and father of two, who was tortured to death after he exposed an elaborate tax fraud scheme—the largest in Russian history—that defrauded the Russian people of \$230 million. November 16 will be the third anniversary of Sergei's death; and, to date, no one has been punished for this crime.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 30 seconds.

Mr. CURSON of Michigan. The act will finally hold those responsible for the embezzlement and Sergei's death accountable by denying them entry into the United States and by freezing their assets. The bill would also hold accountable anyone believed to be responsible for killing, torturing, or committing other human rights violations against anyone seeking to expose corruption or to expand human rights and freedoms.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has again expired.

Mr. LEVIN. I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. CURSON of Michigan. The act requires the executive branch to publish a list of people who are to be punished under its sanctions, and it gives key Members of Congress the ability to request that the names of other human rights violators be added to the list. Diligent enforcement of the provisions of this act is critical for its success, however, and the State Department must do what is right and hold human rights violators accountable. H.R. 6156 is a powerful statement of support for freedom and democracy. It is a good bill for Americans and Russians alike.

□ 1050

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CAMP) has 10½ minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN) has 15 seconds.

Mr. CAMP. At this time, I have no further speakers, and I am prepared to close.

Mr. LEVIN. I would ask Mr. CAMP if you would yield me an additional 1½ minutes.

Mr. CAMP. Yes, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Madam Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

I wanted Mr. CURSON to finish his statement because of his roots in the labor movement and beyond. We're proud to have you here, and we welcome your statement.

As I close, I want to congratulate everybody who worked on this to try to strengthen it. I also want to say just a word about Jackson-Vanik because this terminates that provision that was a part of the trade bill.

I want to salute everybody over the years who worked to implement what Senator Jackson and Congressman Vanik undertook. Many of us, my late wife and myself, and so many others went to Russia to try to make real that amendment. It showed that trade is more than the flow of goods. We have to look at the structure within which trade operates.

So I close again by attributing so much to people who worked so hard to try to make sure that those who wanted to leave Russia, the Jewish community and beyond, had a chance to live elsewhere and to pursue their lives with dignity.

This is an important moment.

I yield back the balance of my time.  
Mr. CAMP. I yield myself the balance of my time.

I too want to thank Mr. LEVIN for his work on this legislation and for his long-time work on Jackson-Vanik. Those were very different times. His leadership there, I think, has paved the way for the effort that we're going to see today—I think a very large bipartisan vote. I appreciate the bipartisan ship on this bill.

I also want to thank the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER), who will be retiring at the end of this Congress, who is the chairman of the Rules Committee, who has been a leader on trade, trade issues, and has really been a mentor to me on these issues since I came to Congress. His leadership will be missed both in the Rules Committee and his intelligent contribution to debate on the floor, as well as his leadership on trade issues.

This truly is, as Mr. LEVIN said earlier, a bipartisan effort, and many brought it forward: Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. CARDIN, a former member of the Ways and Means Committee now in the Senate. This is the seventh bipartisan trade bill we've had this Congress. Also, not to be forgotten, this moves Moldova PNTR. Moldova joined the WTO 11 years ago. Finally, we're seeing a resolution and some movement there.

As others have said, Russia is and will be a member of the WTO, regardless of whether or not the United States grants Russia PNTR. The commercial benefits, the jobs that will be created here in the United States because of Russia's accession, are significant if we do grant PNTR. As a WTO member, Russia will be subject to rules and regulations that the WTO creates that they're not subject to now. They must comply with all of their rules and regulations. It helps level the playing field for our workers, our employers, our exporters, and particularly in the areas of discriminatory practices, intellectual property rights, more transparency, implementing uniform rules and customs, all the things that are needed to have a viable economic—a dynamic and equal relationship are important there.

Also, it's important to note that our employers, workers, farmers, ranchers, and employees will not get any benefits of having Russia into the WTO unless we grant this.

This is an important step. It will bring us big gains. As has been said, this establishes tools that will help us ensure Russia's enforcement. And I think particularly also in the area of human rights, it's important that the Magnitsky legislation is a part of this legislation.

I urge support for this bill, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 6156, which would extend to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Moldova permanent normal trade relations

(PNTR). While Russia completed its ascension to the World Trade Organization (WTO) earlier this year, U.S. businesses are currently at a competitive disadvantage to world competitors and we cannot utilize WTO dispute mechanisms because of a Cold War-era law that has outlived its purpose. The Jackson-Vanik amendment rightly restricted trade relations with the former Soviet Union until it allowed Jews to emigrate freely—and it accomplished that objective.

Now, it is important that we extend PNTR to Russia to allow our businesses to compete in the Russian market and to make use of WTO mechanisms that will force Russia to play by the rules. There are enormous opportunities for American exporters in the Russian market, especially for manufacturers of machinery, aircraft, and computer and electronic parts.

While this bill is not perfect, it sets strong enforcement procedures by requiring the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) to report annually to Congress on Russia's implementation of its WTO obligations (including food safety issues, intellectual property protections, and implementation of the WTO Information Technology Agreement and Agreement on Government Procurement). This legislation also requires the USTR and State Department to report on Russia's promotion of the rule of law, which must improve to provide certainty to investors, curb bribery and corruption, and most importantly improve human rights.

That is why I am pleased that this legislation also includes provisions from the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act, which hold accountable those responsible for the detention and death of Russian activist Sergei Magnitsky. This sends a message to Russia that ascension to the WTO comes with responsibilities, including compliance with international trade agreements, enforcement of the rule of law, and protection of human rights—especially those of political dissenters.

Again, this bill is not perfect and could have included stronger enforcement provisions to ensure the protection of labor groups in Russia. Unfortunately, it was considered under a closed rule and no amendments were permitted. It is essential, however, that we extend PNTR to allow our businesses to compete and WTO enforcement mechanisms to function.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. PAUL. Madam Speaker, I rise to strongly oppose this legislation. Unfortunately, Congress has ruined an opportunity to overturn an anachronistic impediment to free trade with Russia by attaching to it an interventionist and provocative "human rights" bill that will worsen U.S./Russia relations.

With Russia's recent accession to the World Trade Organization (WTO) Congress is obligated to repeal the "Jackson-Vanik Amendment," a 1974 era piece of legislation that sought to condition normal trade relations with the Soviet Union (which no longer exists) upon liberalization of emigration rules for Soviet Jews. WTO members are obliged to eliminate trade barriers with other members. So the repeal and extension of normal trade relations simply should have been a formality. Unfortunately Congress instead took this as an opportunity to meddle in the internal affairs of Russia, which will worsen US/Russian relations and have a negative economic impact on the United States.

By attaching the so-called "Magnitsky" bill to the Jackson-Vanik repeal, Congress will di-

rect the State Department to draw up a list of Russians it believes are responsible for human rights abuses. These people will be denied entry into the United States and have their assets seized by the U.S. government. The implications of this reckless move are stunning.

What is even more dangerous is that the bill directs the U.S. government to also consider "evidence" provided by international non-governmental organizations when it determines who should be sanctioned by the U.S. government. Non-governmental organizations are not legal tribunals, and in fact many are politically-motivated pressure groups. Many are funded by governments or political parties and in exchange do their bidding. This ironically reminds one of the "people's tribunals" set up under the Soviet system, where evidence was considered irrelevant.

These sanctions in this bill against individuals are the economic equivalent of President Obama's "kill list." Individuals will be placed on this list under dubious and ill-defined criteria, without due process or sound evidentiary requirements.

If this bill becomes law, we should expect a response from Russia and perhaps other of our trading partners—particularly as many of our colleagues have suggested that the Magnitsky bill should serve as a model for our relations with the rest of the world. We might imagine the Russians or the Chinese passing similar legislation, banning Americans from entry and seizing the assets of Americans allegedly involved in "human rights violations." What if they considered the U.S. bombing of Libya, which resulted in the death of thousands of civilians from NATO bombs, such a violation?

If Congress really is concerned about the human rights of prisoners, perhaps they might take a look at the terrible treatment of U.S. Army Private Bradley Manning while incarcerated and awaiting trial. Last year Amnesty International wrote to then-Defense Secretary Robert Gates that Manning's "inhumane" treatment while in custody "undermines the United States' commitment to the principle of the presumption of innocence." Congress remains silent.

In reality, this bill is about politics more than human rights. Listening to the debate it is obvious that many supporters of this legislation simply do not like the democratic choices that the Russian people made in recent elections. Therefore they do what they can to undermine the Russian government and encourage "regime change." Again, how would we react?

I encourage my colleagues to join me in opposing this legislation in its current form and to push for a bill that simply extends normal trade relations with Russia without meddling or provoking. When it comes to human rights, the United States should most definitely lead the world by its own example. On that measure, we still have a lot of work to do.

Mr. MARCHANT. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of the Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal Act, which strengthens U.S. trade and helps American businesses stay competitive in a challenging global economy. The bill accomplishes these goals by granting permanent normal trade relations, or PNTR, with one of the leading economies in the world. Texas, in particular, stands to benefit.

First, granting PNTR grows new markets. In Texas, my State exported \$1.6 billion worth of



goods to Russia in 2011. That makes Texas the leading State in the country that trades with Russia. PNTR will allow Texas, and all U.S. businesses, to further expand into emerging markets.

Second, PNTR helps create jobs. In 2011, trade with Russia directly supported over 4,000 jobs in Texas. That number will only grow as new markets create new business opportunities.

Third, PNTR ensures U.S. businesses get equal protection with Russia under WTO obligations. Our foreign competitors can already use WTO mechanisms to enforce Russia's trade commitments. With this bill, so can America.

Madam Speaker, this bill promotes free trade, creates new jobs, and ensures protections for American workers. I proudly support this bill and urge my colleagues to do the same.

Ms. HIRONO. Madam Speaker, I support H.R. 6156, the Russia and Moldova Jackson-Vanik Repeal Act of 2012, with some reservations. Russia became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in August of this year. If the United States is to benefit from the non-discriminatory treatment of goods and services required by Russia's membership in the WTO, we must grant permanent normal trade relations with Russia. The WTO provides a forum and process for requiring Russia to comply with its trade obligations.

Russia is currently the United States' 20th largest trade partner. My concern is that Russia might not live up to its trade commitments and here enforcement is key. This bill does have provisions that will strengthen our ability to make sure Russia complies with its obligations and directs the U.S. Trade Representative to pay special attention to Russia's compliance. Congress also has a role; we must exercise robust oversight to ensure that Russia lives up to its obligations and that we use all the enforcement mechanisms available to us.

I am also supporting and have cosponsored H.R. 6149, which would further strengthen requirements on the U.S. Trade Representative to monitor and pursue enforcement of Russian commitments under the WTO.

I am also supporting this bill because it includes the Sergei Magnitsky Rule of Law Accountability Act, which strengthens the ability of the U.S. government to hold Russian nationals who have engaged in human rights violations accountable for their crimes.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate on the bill has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 808, the previous question is ordered on the bill, as amended.

The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the yeas appeared to have it.

Mr. CAMP. Madam 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, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

# PROVIDING FOR A CONDITIONAL ADJOURNMENT OR RECESS OF THE SENATE AND AN ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following privileged concurrent resolution:

S. CON. RES. 60

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That when the Senate recesses or adjourns on any day from Thursday, November 15, 2012, through Friday, November 16, 2012, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand recessed or adjourned until 12:00 noon on Monday, November 26, 2012, or such other time on that day as may be specified by its Majority Leader or his designee in the motion to recess or adjourn, or until the time of any reassembly pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution, whichever occurs first; and that when the House adjourns on any legislative day from Friday, November 16, 2012, through Friday, November 23, 2012, on a motion offered pursuant to this concurrent resolution by its Majority Leader or his designee, it stand adjourned until 2:00 p.m. on Tuesday, November 27, 2012, or until the time of any reassembly pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution, whichever occurs first.*

SEC. 2. The Majority Leader of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, or their respective designees, acting jointly after consultation with the Minority Leader of the Senate and the Minority Leader of the House, shall notify the Members of the Senate and House, respectively, to reassemble at such place and time as they may designate if, in their opinion, the public interest shall warrant it.

The concurrent resolution was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## RECESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 12(a) of rule I, the Chair declares the House in recess until 11:30 a.m. today.

Accordingly (at 10 o'clock and 58 minutes a.m.), the House stood in recess.

□ 1130

## AFTER RECESS

The recess having expired, the House was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mrs. BIGGERT) at 11 o'clock and 30 minutes a.m.

# RUSSIA AND MOLDOVA JACKSON-VANIK REPEAL AND SERGEI MAGNITSKY RULE OF LAW ACCOUNTABILITY ACT OF 2012

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The unfinished business is the vote on passage of the bill (H.R. 6156) to authorize the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment (normal trade relations treatment) to products of the Russian Federation and Moldova and to require reports on the compliance of the Russian Federation with its obligations as a

member of the World Trade Organization, and for other purposes, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 365, nays 43, not voting 25, as follows:

[Roll No. 608]

## YEAS—365

Ackerman	Cummings	Hunter
Adams	Curson (MI)	Hurt
Aderholt	Davis (CA)	Israel
Akin	Davis (IL)	Issa
Alexander	DeGette	Jenkins
Altmire	DelBene	Johnson (GA)
Amash	Denham	Johnson (IL)
Amodel	Dent	Johnson (OH)
Andrews	DesJarlais	Johnson, E. B.
Austria	Deutch	Johnson, Sam
Bachmann	Diaz-Balart	Jordan
Bachus	Dicks	Kelly
Baldwin	Dingell	King (IA)
Barber	Doggett	King (NY)
Barletta	Dold	Kingston
Barrow	Donnelly (IN)	Kinzinger (IL)
Barton (TX)	Dreier	Kissell
Bass (CA)	Duffy	Kline
Bass (NH)	Duncan (SC)	Labrador
Becerra	Duncan (TN)	Lamborn
Benishek	Edwards	Lance
Berg	Ellison	Landry
Berkley	Ellmers	Langevin
Berman	Emerson	Lankford
Biggert	Engel	Larsen (WA)
Bilbray	Eshoo	Larson (CT)
Bilirakis	Farenthold	Latham
Bishop (NY)	Farr	Latta
Bishop (UT)	Fattah	Levin
Black	Fincher	Lewis (CA)
Blackburn	Flake	Lewis (GA)
Blumenauer	Fleischmann	Loebach
Bonamici	Fleming	Long
Bonner	Flores	Lowe
Bono Mack	Fortenberry	Lucas
Boswell	Fox	Luetkemeyer
Boustany	Frank (MA)	Lujan
Brady (TX)	Franks (AZ)	Lummis
Braley (IA)	Frelinghuysen	Lungren, Daniel
Brooks	Garamendi	E.
Brown (GA)	Gardner	Lynch
Brown (FL)	Garrett	Mack
Buchanan	Gerlach	Manzullo
Bucshon	Gibbs	Marchant
Buerkle	Gibson	Marino
Burgess	Gingrey (GA)	Markey
Burton (IN)	Gohmert	Massie
Butterfield	Gonzalez	Matheson
Calvert	Goodlatte	Matsui
Camp	Gosar	McCarthy (CA)
Campbell	Gowdy	McCarthy (NY)
Canseco	Granger	McCaul
Cantor	Graves (GA)	McClintock
Capito	Graves (MO)	McDermott
Capps	Green, Al	McGovern
Carnahan	Griffin (AR)	McHenry
Carney	Griffith (VA)	McIntyre
Carson (IN)	Grimm	McKeon
Carter	Guinta	McKinley
Cassidy	Guthrie	McMorris
Castor (FL)	Gutierrez	Rodgers
Chabot	Hall	McNerney
Chaffetz	Hanabusa	Meehan
Chandler	Hanna	Meeks
Clay	Harper	Mica
Cleaver	Harris	Michaud
Clyburn	Hartzler	Miller (FL)
Coble	Hastings (FL)	Miller (MI)
Coffman (CO)	Hastings (WA)	Miller (NC)
Cohen	Hayworth	Miller, Gary
Cole	Heck	Moore
Conaway	Hensarling	Moran
Connolly (VA)	Herger	Mulvaney
Conyers	Herrera Beutler	Murphy (CT)
Cooper	Higgins	Murphy (PA)
Costa	Himes	Myrick
Courtney	Hinojosa	Neal
Cravaack	Hirono	Neugebauer
Crawford	Hochul	Noem
Crenshaw	Honda	Nugent
Critz	Hoyer	Nunes
Crowley	Huelskamp	Nunnelee
Cuellar	Huizenga (MI)	Olson
Culberson	Hultgren	