AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. Res. 831

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Strike the preamble and insert the following:

- Whereas the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is the world's preeminent political and military alliance committed to democracy and the collective defense of its members;
- Whereas the preamble of NATO's founding North Atlantic Treaty, signed in Washington, DC, on April 4, 1949, declares the alliance is "founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law";
- Whereas democracies across the alliance face external threats from authoritarian regimes such as Russia and China and internal threats from proponents of illiberalism;
- Whereas strategic corruption emanating from authoritarian regimes undermines the democratic member states of the NATO alliance;
- Whereas the Russian malign Nord Stream 2 pipeline provides a pathway for Russian strategic corruption and elite capture to continue to enter the NATO alliance;
- Whereas the CEO of Kremlin-controlled Nord Stream 2 AG, Matthias Warnig, is a former East German Stasi officer who was linked by leading Russian opposition activist Alexei Navalny to Russian President Vladimir Putin's corruption;

- Whereas former German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder, who has advocated against German efforts to hold Vladimir Putin accountable for his malign activities, supported the Nord Stream 1 pipeline while in office and currently serves on the board of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline project;
- Whereas the Biden Administration waived sanctions on the company responsible for the pipeline, Nord Stream 2 AG, and its CEO, Matthias Warnig, on May 18, 2021;
- Whereas there is a broad agreement within the alliance of the need to strengthen the democracies of NATO members, partners, and aspirant countries;
- Whereas, in April 2020, NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg appointed an independent Reflection Group tasked with supporting a forward-looking reflection process meant to strengthen the political dimension of the alliance;
- Whereas the Reflection Group's report, "NATO 2030: United for a New Era", included analyses and recommendations for the alliance to address "'democratic recession,' the global erosion of democratic norms, and the rise of authoritarianism", including—
 - (1) "A shared democratic identity is what distinguishes the Alliance from the principal threats and challenges it faces.";
 - (2) "NATO should reassert its core identity as an Alliance rooted in the principles of democracy.";
 - (3) 'Any commitment to strengthening NATO's political cohesion therefore has to be orientated toward those shared values and ideals, grounded in democracy, rule of law and individual liberty."; and

- (4) recommending the establishment of a Center of Excellence for Democratic Resilience in order to strengthen NATO democracies against external threats;
- Whereas Russia weaponizes energy as a hybrid tactic to undermine the security of NATO allies and partners, including Ukraine;
- Whereas Ukraine is a NATO Enhanced Opportunity Partner and a major transit country for Russian gas supplies to Europe;
- Whereas the operationalization of the Nord Stream 2 pipeline would seriously jeopardize Ukraine's status as a major transit country for Russian gas supplies to Europe, which would have disastrous economic and security consequences for Ukraine;
- Whereas Russia has stopped the flow of natural gas to Ukraine numerous times, including in 2006, 2009 and 2014, for political reasons and is currently suspending coal deliveries to and decreasing its gas transit deliveries through Ukraine as it amasses nearly 100,000 Russian troops and military equipment on Ukraine's border;
- Whereas the Reflection Group's report, "NATO 2030: United for a New Era", included analyses and recommendations for the alliance to address energy security, including—
 - (1) "Allies should scrutinize their national energy security plans through the prism of the security of fellow Allies and seek to avoid actions in this sphere that could increase those fellow Allies' susceptibility to manipulation, such as through political blackmail or supply interruption.";

- (2) "NATO should ensure that energy security becomes a major focus of engagement with partners who are either energy producers or transit countries."; and
- (3) "Allies should tackle the interrelationship between energy security and hybrid tactics in a more systematic way also by including it in their political consultations and scenario-based discussions.";
- Whereas the Brussels Summit Communique' issued by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Brussels on June 14, 2021, stated—
 - (1) "NATO is the strongest and most successful Alliance in history. It guarantees the security of our territory and our one billion citizens, our freedom, and the values we share, including individual liberty, human rights, democracy, and the rule of law.";
 - (2) "State and non-state actors challenge the rules-based international order and seek to undermine democracy across the globe."; and
 - (3) "We reaffirm the Alliance's shared democratic principles as well as our commitment to the spirit and the letter of the North Atlantic Treaty.";
- Whereas National Security Advisor Jake Sullivan said during a December 7, 2021, White House press briefing that "if Russia further invades Ukraine . . . we would provide additional defensive materiel to the Ukrainians above and beyond that which we are already providing.";
- Whereas in Brussels the Allies also committed to updating NATO's Strategic Concept;

- Whereas NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg has reiterated that one of the primary purposes of updating the Strategic Concept must be a recommitment to the founding values of the alliance;
- Whereas the NATO Parliamentary Assembly supports a new Strategic Concept that reaffirms that the support and strengthening of democratic institutions is foundational to the collective security of Allies; and
- Whereas the NATO Parliamentary Assembly has endorsed and advanced a proposal to establish a NATO Center for Democratic Resilience within NATO headquarters for the purposes of monitoring and identifying challenges to democracy, human rights, and the rule of law and facilitating democracy and governance assistance to member, partner, and aspirant states, when requested: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

- 1 That the House of Representatives—
- 2 (1) reaffirms its unequivocal support for the
- 3 North Atlantic Treaty Organization as an alliance
- 4 founded on democratic principles;
- 5 (2) calls on the President to use the voice and
- 6 vote of the United States to adopt a new Strategic
- 7 Concept for NATO that is clear about its support
- 8 for shared democratic values and committed to en-
- 9 hancing NATO's capacity to strengthen democratic

1	institutions and energy security within NATO mem-
2	ber, partner, and aspirant countries;
3	(3) calls on the President to use the voice and
4	vote of the United States to enhance NATO's stra-
5	tegic-level political consultations on energy security
6	issues, including the need to stop the Nord Stream
7	2 pipeline;
8	(4) condemns the Administration's failure to
9	use Congressionally-mandated sanctions to stop the
10	Nord Stream 2 pipeline and asserts that waiving
11	sanctions on Nord Stream 2 AG and its CEO was
12	not in the United States national interest;
13	(5) expresses concern that the Administration's
14	Nord Stream 2 capitulation contributed to Vladimir
15	Putin's assessment that Russia could launch a fur-
16	ther invasion of Ukraine at an acceptable cost;
17	(6) expresses it is United States policy to stop
18	the Nord Stream 2 pipeline immediately, not only in
19	the event that Russia launches a further invasion of
20	Ukraine;
21	(7) expresses concern that an operational Nord
22	Stream 2 pipeline would fund Vladimir Putin's ma-
23	lign global activities and aggression, undermine
24	Ukraine's security and deepen NATO member

l	states' dangerous dependence on Russian gas as
2	Russian troops amass on Ukraine's border;
3	(8) calls for the Administration to provide
4	Ukraine with additional security assistance, includ-
5	ing lethal aid, immediately to deter a further Rus-
5	sian invasion; and
7	(9) calls on the President to use the voice and
8	vote of the United States to establish a Center for
9	Democratic Resilience within NATO headquarters.

