109TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. 2125

To promote relief, security, and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

December 16, 2005

Mr. OBAMA (for himself, Mr. Brownback, Mr. Durbin, and Mr. DeWine) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

To promote relief, security, and democracy in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Democratic Republic
- 5 of the Congo Relief, Security, and Democracy Promotion
- 6 Act of 2005".

TITLE I—BILATERAL ACTION ON

2 ADDRESSING URGENT NEEDS

3 IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUB-

4 LIC OF THE CONGO

- **5 SEC. 101. FINDINGS.**
- 6 Congress makes the following findings:
- 7 (1) The National Security Strategy of the
- 8 United States, dated September 17, 2002, concludes
- 9 that "[i]n Africa, promise and opportunity sit side-
- by-side with disease, war, and desperate poverty.
- This threatens both a core value of the United
- 12 States preserving human dignity and our strategic
- priority combating global terror. American interests
- and American principles, therefore, lead in the same
- direction: we will work with others for an African
- 16 continent that lives in liberty, peace, and growing
- 17 prosperity."
- 18 (2) On February 16, 2005, the Director of the
- 19 Central Intelligence Agency testified, "In Africa,
- 20 chronic instability will continue to hamper
- 21 counterterrorism efforts and pose heavy humani-
- tarian and peacekeeping burdens."
- 23 (3) According to the United States Agency for
- International Development, "Given its size, popu-
- lation, and resources, the Congo is an important

- player in Africa and of long-term interest to theUnited States."
- 3 (4) The Democratic Republic of Congo is 4 2,345,410 square miles (approximately ½ the size of 5 the United States), lies at the heart of Africa, and 6 touches every major region of sub-Saharan Africa. 7 Therefore, promoting security, peace, and prosperity 8 in the Democratic Republic of the Congo would have 9 a profound impact on progress throughout Africa.
 - (5) A mortality study completed in December 2004 by the International Rescue Committee found that 31,000 people were dying monthly and 3,800,000 people had died in the previous 6 years because of the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and resulting disintegration of the social service infrastructure and that "improving and maintaining security and increasing simple, proven and cost-effective interventions such as basic medical care, immunizations and clean water would save hundreds of thousands of lives in the Congo. There's no shortage of evidence. It's sustained compassion and political will that's lacking."
 - (6) The International Crisis Group concluded, "The conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo remains one of the deadliest conflicts since

- World War II and has resulted in the loss of nearly
 million lives since 1998... The international community, and the United Nations Security Council in
 particular, must take strong and urgent action to
 support the transition, establish a national army and
 secure lasting peace in the Democratic Republic of
 the Congo, if it is to live up to its responsibility to
 protect those in need."
 - (7) According to the Department of State, "returning one of Africa's largest countries [the Democratic Republic of the Congo] to full peace and stability will require significant United States investments in support of national elections, the reintegration of former combatants, the return and reintegration of refugees and [internally displaced persons], establishment of central government control over vast territories, and promotion of national reconciliation and good governance".
 - (8) A recent assessment completed by 4 well-known nongovernmental organizations concluded that "[r]ecent fighting in North Kivu which displaced over 150,000 people, as well as fighting in Ituri and other areas, is potent evidence that states in the Great Lakes region, particularly Rwanda and Uganda, and members of the transitional govern-

- ment still harbor different and conflicting interests and concerns which place the entire transition program in jeopardy".
- (9) According to the 2004 Department of State 5 report on human rights practices in the Democratic 6 Republic of the Congo, "In areas under government 7 control, the human rights record remained poor, and 8 numerous serious abuses occurred.... Government 9 security forces committed unlawful killings, torture, 10 beatings, acts of rape, extortion, and other abuses, 11 such as lootings and interference with citizens' right 12 to privacy.... In areas under marginal government 13 control, where there were many armed groups, those 14 with weapons controlled the population and extorted 15 money, goods, and services.... These groups often 16 acted independently, were poorly trained, and undis-17 ciplined and committed numerous, serious human 18 rights abuses with impunity."

19 SEC. 102. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

- It is the policy of the United States—
- 21 (1) to promote, reinvigorate, and support the 22 political process in the Democratic Republic of the 23 Congo in order to press all parties in the Transi-24 tional National Government to move forward with 25 approval of an electoral law and put in place mecha-

- nisms, including national and international election observers, fair and transparent voter registration procedures, and a significant civic awareness and public education campaign, to ensure fair and democratic elections within the timeframe provided by the Sun City Peace Accords;
 - (2) to ensure that, once a stable national government is established in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, it is committed to multiparty democracy, open and transparent governance, respect for human rights and religious freedom, ending the violence throughout the country, promoting peace and stability with its neighbors, rehabilitating the national judicial system and enhancing the rule of law, and combating corruption;
 - (3) to assist the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in meeting the basic needs of its citizens, including security, safety, and access to health care, education, food, shelter, and clean drinking water;
 - (4) to engage in security sector reform by helping the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo establish a viable and professional national army and police force that respects human rights and the rule of law, is under effective civilian

1	control, and possesses a viable presence throughout
2	the entire country, including by contributing to the
3	provision of necessary equipment and training;
4	(5) to expedite planning and implementation of
5	programs associated with the disarmament, demobi-
6	lization, repatriation, reintegration, and rehabilita-
7	tion process in the Democratic Republic of the
8	Congo;
9	(6) to support efforts of the Government of the
10	Democratic Republic of the Congo, the United Na-
11	tions Peacekeeping Mission in the Democratic Re-
12	public of the Congo (MONUC), and other entities,
13	as appropriate, to disarm, demobilize, and repatriate
14	the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwan-
15	da;
16	(7) to ensure that the Government of the
17	Democratic Republic of the Congo—
18	(A) is committed to responsible and trans-
19	parent management of natural resources across
20	the country; and
21	(B) takes active measures—
22	(i) to promote economic development;
23	(ii) to hold accountable individuals
24	who misuse the country's natural resources
25	for personal gain; and

- 1 (iii) to implement the Extractive In2 dustries Transparency Initiative by enact3 ing laws requiring disclosure and inde4 pendent auditing of company payments
 5 and government receipts for natural re6 source extraction;
 - (8) to promote a viable civil society and to enhance nongovernmental organizations and institutions, including religious organizations, the media, political parties, trade unions, and trade and business associations, that can act as a stabilizing force and effective check on the government;
 - (9) to rebuild and enhance infrastructure, communications, and other mechanisms that will increase the ability of the central government to manage internal affairs, encourage economic development, and facilitate relief efforts of humanitarian organizations;
 - (10) to halt the high prevalence of sexual abuse and violence perpetrated against women and children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and mitigate the detrimental effects from acts of this type of violence by undertaking a number of health, education, and financial support measures, including psycho-social programs, counseling, and HIV/AIDS

testing and treatment, and providing financial sup port;

(11) to work aggressively on a bilateral basis to urge governments of countries contributing troops to the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) to enact and enforce laws on trafficking in persons and sexual abuse that meet international standards, promote codes of conduct for troops serving as part of United Nations peacekeeping missions, and immediately investigate and punish citizens who are responsible for abuses in the Democratic Republic of the Congo;

(12) to undertake steps that—

- (A) protect internally displaced persons and refugees in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and border regions from all forms of violence, including gender-based violence and other human rights abuses;
- (B) address other basic needs of vulnerable populations with the goal of allowing these conflict-affected individuals to ultimately return to their homes; and
- (C) assess the magnitude of the problem in the Democratic Republic of the Congo of or-

1	phans from conflict and HIV/AIDS, and work
2	to establish a program of national support;

- (13) to engage with governments working to promote peace and security throughout the Democratic Republic of the Congo and hold accountable individuals, entities, and countries working to destabilize the country; and
- (14) to promote appropriate use of the forests of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in a manner that benefits the rural population in that country that depends on the forests for their livelihoods and protects national and environmental interests.

13 SEC. 103. BILATERAL ASSISTANCE TO THE DEMOCRATIC 14 REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.

15 (a) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to amounts otherwise available for such purposes, including amounts from regional funds, there is authorized to be appropriated \$52,000,000 for fiscal year 2006 for bilateral assistance programs in the Democratic Republic of the Congo under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (68 Stat. 454, chapter 469), and the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.).

- 1 (2) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Amounts appro-
- 2 priated pursuant to paragraph (1) are authorized to
- 3 remain available until expended.
- 4 (b) Uses of Assistance.—Amounts appropriated
- 5 pursuant to subsection (a) shall be used to accomplish the
- 6 policy objectives in section 102.
- 7 (c) Future Year Funding.—The Department of
- 8 State should submit budget requests in fiscal years 2007,
- 9 2008, and 2009 that contain increases in bilateral assist-
- 10 ance for the Democratic Republic of the Congo that are
- 11 appropriate and similar to the increase authorized under
- 12 subsection (a) for fiscal year 2006 if progress is being
- 13 made, particularly cooperation by the Government of the
- 14 Democratic Republic of the Congo, toward accomplishing
- 15 the objectives in section 102.
- 16 (d) Offsets.—Not later than 30 days after the date
- 17 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State should
- 18 consult with the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the
- 19 Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Ap-
- 20 propriations, and the Committee on the Budget of the
- 21 Senate and the Committee on International Relations, the
- 22 Committee on Appropriations, and the Committee on the
- 23 Budget of the House of Representatives to determine ap-
- 24 propriate reductions in funding, especially redundant or

- 1 duplicative programs, to offset the increase in funding au-
- 2 thorized in subsection (a).
- 3 (e) Uses of Security Assistance.—Security as-
- 4 sistance that is authorized to be appropriated under this
- 5 section shall be made available consistent with section 551
- 6 of the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related
- 7 Programs Appropriations Act, 2005 (division D of the
- 8 Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2005; Public Law 108–
- 9 447; 118 Stat. 3015) and other provisions of law related
- 10 to eligibility.
- 11 (f) Coordination With Other Donor Na-
- 12 TIONS.—The United States should work with other donor
- 13 nations, on a bilateral and multilateral basis, to increase
- 14 international contributions to the Democratic Republic of
- 15 the Congo and accomplish the policy objectives described
- 16 in section 102.
- 17 SEC. 104. ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF
- 18 THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.
- 19 (a) Sense of Congress.—It is the sense of Con-
- 20 gress that—
- 21 (1) the Government of the Democratic Republic
- of the Congo must be committed to achieving the
- policy objectives described in this Act if the efforts
- of the United States and other members of the
- international community are to be effective in bring-

- ing relief, security, and democracy to the country;
 and
- 3 (2) the international community, through the 4 United Nations peacekeeping mission, humanitarian 5 and development relief, and other forms of assist-6 ance, is providing a substantial amount of funding 7 that is giving the Government of the Democratic Re-8 public of the Congo an opportunity to make progress 9 towards accomplishing the policy objectives in sec-10 tion 102, but this assistance cannot continue in per-11 petuity.

(b) Report on Progress.—

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- (1) REPORT REQUIRED.—Not later than one year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to Congress a report on the progress made toward accomplishing the policy objectives described in section 102.
- (2) Content.—The report required under paragraph (1) shall include—
- 21 (A) a description of any major impedi-22 ments that prevent the accomplishment of the 23 policy objectives described in section 102;

1	(B) an evaluation of United States policies
2	and foreign assistance programs designed to ac-
3	complish such policy objectives; and
4	(C) recommendations for—
5	(i) improving these policies and pro-
6	grams; and
7	(ii) any additional bilateral or multi-
8	lateral actions necessary to promote peace
9	and prosperity in the Democratic Republic
10	of the Congo.
11	(c) TERMINATION OF ASSISTANCE.—The Secretary
12	of State may withhold assistance otherwise available under
13	this Act if the Secretary determines and reports to Con-
14	gress that the Government of the Democratic Republic of
15	the Congo is not making sufficient progress towards ac-
16	complishing the policy objectives described in section 102.
17	SEC. 105. STRATEGY ON PROMOTING HUMANITARIAN RE-
18	LIEF, SECURITY, AND DEMOCRACY IN THE
19	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO.
20	Not later than 60 days after the date of the enact-
21	ment of this Act, the President shall submit to the Com-
22	mittee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appro-
23	priations of the Senate and the Committee on Inter-
24	national Relations and the Committee on Appropriations
25	of the House of Representatives a report setting forth a

- 1 strategy for achieving the policy objectives described in
- 2 section 102, including a description of an effective mecha-
- 3 nism for coordination of United States Government efforts
- 4 to implement this strategy.

5 SEC. 106. SPECIAL ENVOY FOR THE GREAT LAKES REGION.

- 6 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the
- 7 date of the enactment of this Act, the President should
- 8 appoint a Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region to
- 9 resolve the instability and insecurity in Eastern Congo,
- 10 which is the result of multiple international and domestic
- 11 factors, and to enhance the regional harmonization of
- 12 United States policies and assistance programs.
- 13 (b) Consultation.—In appointing the Special
- 14 Envoy, the President should consult with the Majority
- 15 Leader and Minority Leader of the Senate, the Speaker
- 16 and Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, and
- 17 the Chairmen and Ranking Members of the Committee on
- 18 Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on
- 19 International Relations of the House of Representatives.

1	TITLE II—MULTILATERAL AC-
2	TIONS TO ADDRESS URGENT
3	NEEDS IN THE DEMOCRATIC
4	REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
5	SEC. 201. PROMOTION OF UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD
6	THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO
7	IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUN-
8	CIL.
9	(a) In General.—The United States shall use its
10	voice and vote in the United Nations Security Council—
11	(1) to address exploitation at the United Na-
12	tions Peacekeeping Mission in the Democratic Re-
13	public of the Congo (MONUC) by urging, when
14	credible allegations exist, appropriate investigation
15	of alleged perpetrators and, as necessary, prosecu-
16	tion of United Nations personnel responsible for sex-
17	ual abuses in the Democratic Republic of the Congo;
18	(2) to ensure that appropriate guidelines, codes
19	of conduct, and programs for the prevention of sex-
20	ual abuse and trafficking in persons are undertaken
21	by the United Nations;
22	(3) to strengthen the authority and capacity of
23	MONUC by—

1	(A) providing specific authority and obliga-
2	tion to prevent and effectively counter imminent
3	threats;
4	(B) clarifying and strengthening
5	MONUC's rules of engagement to enhance the
6	protection of vulnerable civilian populations;
7	(C) enhancing the surveillance and intel-
8	ligence-gathering capabilities available to
9	MONUC;
10	(D) where consistent with United States
11	policy, making available personnel, communica-
12	tions, and military assets that improve the ef-
13	fectiveness of robust peacekeeping, mobility,
14	and command and control capabilities of
15	MONUC; and
16	(E) providing MONUC with the authority
17	and resources needed to support efforts sur-
18	rounding national elections and the referendum
19	on the constitution, and to monitor arms traf-
20	ficking and natural resource exploitation at key
21	border posts and airfields in the eastern part of
22	the Democratic Republic of the Congo;
23	(4) to encourage regular visits of the United
24	Nations Security Council to monitor the situation in
25	the Democratic Republic of the Congo;

- (5) to ensure that the practice of recruiting and arming children in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is immediately halted pursuant to Security Council Resolutions 1460 (2003) and 1539 (2004);
 - (6) to strengthen the arms embargo imposed pursuant to Security Council Resolution 1493 (2003) and ensure that violators are held accountable through appropriate measures, including the possible imposition of sanctions;
 - (7) to allow for the more effective protection and monitoring of natural resources in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, especially in the eastern part of the country, and for public disclosure and independent auditing of natural resource revenues to help ensure transparent and accountable management of these revenues;
 - (8) to press countries in the Congo region to help facilitate an end to the violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and promote relief, security, and democracy throughout the region; and
 - (9) to encourage the United Nations Secretary-General to become more involved in completing the policy objectives described in paragraphs (1) and (2) of section 102 and ensure that recent fighting in North Kivu, which displaced over 150,000 people, as

- 1 well as fighting in Ituri and other areas, does not
- 2 create widespread instability throughout the country.
- 3 (b) Report.—Not later than 90 days after the date
- 4 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall
- 5 submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations and Com-
- 6 mittee on Appropriations of the Senate and the Committee
- 7 on International Relations and the Committee on Appro-
- 8 priations of the House of Representatives a report on the
- 9 feasibility and desirability of increasing the size and scope
- 10 of MONUC to more effectively achieve the objectives de-
- 11 scribed in subsection (a).
- 12 SEC. 202. INCREASING CONTRIBUTIONS AND OTHER HU-
- 13 MANITARIAN AND DEVELOPMENT ASSIST-
- 14 ANCE THROUGH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZA-
- 15 TIONS.
- 16 (a) IN GENERAL.—The President shall instruct the
- 17 United States permanent representative or executive direc-
- 18 tor, as the case may be, to the United Nations voluntary
- 19 agencies, including the World Food Program, the United
- 20 Nations Development Program, and the United Nations
- 21 High Commissioner for Refugees, international financial
- 22 institutions, and other appropriate international organiza-
- 23 tions to use the voice and vote of the United States to
- 24 support additional humanitarian and development assist-

- 1 ance for the Democratic Republic of the Congo in order
- 2 to accomplish the objectives described in section 102.
- 3 (b) Support Contingent on Progress.—
- 4 (1) Report on lack of progress.—If the
 5 Secretary of State determines that the Government
 6 of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is not mak7 ing sufficient progress towards accomplishing the
 8 policy objectives in section 102, the Secretary shall
 9 submit to the President and Congress a report on
 10 such determination.
 - (2) WITHDRAWAL OF SUPPORT.—Upon receiving a report under paragraph (1), the President shall consider withdrawing United States support for the assistance described in subsection (a) when future funding decisions are considered.

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