

**THE GREAT LAKES REGION:
CURRENT CONDITIONS AND U.S. POLICY**

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BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA AND GLOBAL HEALTH
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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ONE HUNDRED ELEVENTH CONGRESS
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THE GREAT LAKES REGION: CURRENT CONDITIONS AND U.S. POLICY

TUESDAY, MAY 25, 2010

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA AND GLOBAL HEALTH,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:08 a.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Donald M. Payne, (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. PAYNE. The hearing will come to order. Good morning. Thank you for joining the Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health for this important hearing entitled "Great Lakes Region: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy." The Great Lakes region of central Africa is perhaps the richest, most verdant area of the continent. It is the home to vast forests and wilderness areas, lush agricultural land, extensive mineral deposits, a wealth of diversity, and of course thousands of lakes.

The richness is undoubtedly what attracted King Leopold of Belgium to Congo. In his attempt to transform Belgium into an empire in the late 1880s, he remotely created a living nightmare in Congo based on the grotesquely violent opposition of native Congolese for the purpose of exporting Congo's rich natural resources to Europe. For decades, the region's wealth washed ashore in ships at ports in Antwerp, and Congo's loss became Leopold and Belgium's gain.

As destructive as their rape of the Congo was on the country's natural resources, the impact on its people is immeasurable and still plays out today. Yet, its impact is still misunderstood and underestimated. As chairman of the subcommittee and a former teacher, I believe we much understand the history of any region or people. If we are not fully able to understand, we are not able to bring it up to its present situation. Many of the problems we see today can be traced back to history. The roots of the instability and destruction of the Great Lakes region are found in Leopold's legacy.

Now that we have that foundation, let me bring us up to date to more recent history. The Great Lakes region has been in crisis since the early 1990s. Although, conditions have improved in the past year. Shortly after Rwandan genocide in 1994, millions of civilians and ex-combatants fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo. The former Rwandan Armed Forces launched an insurgency in late 1994 targeting the survivors of the Rwanda Genocide.

In May 1997, the Alliance of Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo Zaire (AFDL) with the support of Rwanda and Uganda marched into Kinshasa and ousted long-time dictator Mobutu

Sese Seko. Within 1 year however, tensions between President Laurent Kabila and his Rwandan and Ugandan allies begin to mount. In August 1998, open conflict erupted between Kabila and the Congolese forces supported by Rwanda. Angolans, Namibians and Zimbabwe joined the fighting in support of Kabila plunging the region once again into a major crisis.

In July 1999 at a summit in Lusaka, Zambia, the leaders of Uganda, Rwanda, Congo, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola signed a peace agreement. The signing of the peace agreement however did not bring peace and stability in the Great Lakes region. Armed groups from Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and the DRC continued to target civilians and government forces in DRC and Rwanda. In 2008, Rwanda and DRC launched a joint military operation against these forces.

The military operation severely weakened these armed groups. Nevertheless, the DRC continues to face insurgency and major humanitarian crisis, especially in eastern Congo fueled by a resource grab. The humanitarian crisis in eastern Congo has captured the attention of thousands of Americans across the country. Rape and sexual violence are used as a weapon of war in numbers that are simply unimaginable. In addition, the large resistance army led by Joseph Kony continues to wreak havoc through the region and into Sudan.

Beyond the security concerns, there are also issues of democracy and governance. Burundi and Rwanda face Presidential elections this summer. President Kabila has called for the withdrawal of the United Nations Mission MONUC by 2011. Meanwhile, the DRC needs strong engagement from the international community to build institutions, and Uganda has been at the center of a controversy over a draconian anti-homosexuality bill. The United States continues to play a key role in an effort to bring out peace, stability and development in the Great Lakes region.

The purpose of today's hearing is to receive an update on a variety of issues facing the region and how U.S. policy efforts are addressing the major challenges that remain. To provide an insight, we are joined here on this panel by two distinguished officials, Ambassador Johnnie Carson and Mr. Franklin Moore, whose bios will be read following the ranking member's opening statement. We thank you both, Mr. Carson and Mr. Franklin, for participating in today's hearing.

We also planned a private panel, but due to traveling schedules of several of the witnesses, we have postponed that portion of the hearing to a later date. Before I recognize the ranking member, let me recognize members of the diplomatic corps. I know that in our front row we are joined by Ambassador Mitifu of the DRC. We are happy to have you with us and other diplomatic representatives, and maybe those representatives from the Great Lakes regions who are in the audience, if you would all stand, I would appreciate it.

Great. Thank you. We have others in addition to the Great Lakes region who are also present with us. At this time, we will turn over to our ranking member, to Mr. Smith of New Jersey for his opening remarks.

Mr. SMITH.. Thanks, Mr. Chairman, and thank you for calling this very important hearing and providing this opportunity for the

subcommittee to hear from Assistant Secretary Johnnie Carson and Deputy Assistant Administrator Franklin Moore about the critical issues related to the African Great Lakes region.

We are fortunate to be able to hear directly from Assistant Secretary Carson about his just completed trip to Uganda. It will be useful to hear his assessment of the situation there leading up to the 2011 Presidential and Parliamentary elections and what reaction he received to Congress' passage of the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act, which the President signed into law just last evening. It is my sincere hope that this legislation will achieve its goal of supporting civilian protection and development in northern Uganda.

It also will be particularly timely to hear whether he received any indication as to how Uganda intends to vote on the Iran sanctions resolution being circulated in the U.N. Security Council. The international community is rightly concerned about whether Iran's dangerous nuclear ambitions can be reined in through a coordinated and effective global response. Uganda's vote as a non-permanent member of the council on this resolution is a key element to the answer to that question.

I will also be interested in our witnesses' assessment of the elections that are currently underway in Burundi. The outcome of these elections and whether they are conducted fairly and peacefully is considered by many as a precursor to what can be expected for the August 9th Presidential election in Rwanda. The stability of both countries as well as that of the Democratic Republic of the Congo is inter-related, not only because of the geographical proximity of the three countries, but also because of their related ethnic demographics and historic refugee flows. Democracy and peace for the entire region or oppression and violence are potentially at stake with the political outcome in each country.

I appreciate that our distinguished witnesses will be addressing sexual- and gender-based violence and human trafficking in the region and in particular in the DRC. Assistant Secretary Carson will recall that when he was with us for a previous hearing just 2 months ago, I referenced a visit that I had made to the DRC and my inquiry about MONUC 2 years ago.

Not only were serious allegations being made against peacekeeping soldiers, but the U.N. Office of Internal Oversight Services, the OIOS, that is responsible for investigating those allegations was moving its personnel to Nairobi, Kenya, far from where it could effectively fulfill its mandate. Recently, I was informed that one OIOS investigator still is permanently based on Goma. Given the seriousness and the scope of this problem in the DRC, I will be interested to hear about what, if any, efforts have been successfully made by our Government to re-establish a sufficient number of permanent OIOS investigators in the country, and in particular Goma.

A deeply troubling issue that is receiving increased attention both in the media and here in Congress concerns the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief. U.S.-implementing partners for HIV/AIDS programs in Uganda have received a letter from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention stating that in FY 2010 and FY 2011, each partner should expect to have a flatlined budget

for antiretroviral procurement and that patients in need of antiretroviral therapy should be enrolled only if new patients can be supported without a future increase in funding.

This policy, apparently implemented without advance warning to the implementing partners, is resulting in serious and perhaps unforeseen consequences. One disturbing scenario is that of family members on ARVs sharing with other family members later infected with HIV who cannot obtain treatment and both developing a drug-resistant strain as a result. Another scenario is that of a mother of several children returning her medication because one or more children are being denied treatment, and she cannot save her own life while watching them die.

I have been further informed that this flatlined PEPFAR funding for treatment is expanding to other countries, and eventually will apply to our care and prevention programs as well. It is clear that the United States isn't likely to fund universal treatment and other HIV programming for exponentially growing numbers of patients in Africa. However, it is extremely important that any major changes, such as denial of treatment to those currently in PEPFAR care programs whose CD-4 count falls below the level where ART becomes necessary, be pursued through a well-considered strategy.

I will be interested to hear from the Deputy Assistant Administrator about whether and how such a strategy is being implemented and any information he may have on how our partners are reacting to this growing crisis. I thank you, Mr. Chairman, again, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Ms. Woolsey, do you have an opening statement?

Ms. WOOLSEY. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. Mr. Royce?

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would just like to mention that Ambassador Carson and I had a chance to participate in a bill-signing ceremony yesterday at the White House regarding legislation on the Lord's Resistance Army. The President signed into law this particular act, the Lord's Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act, and that bill will task the administration with devising a strategy to put an end once and for all to Joseph Kony and the Lord's Resistance Army and their use of terror, recruitment of and indoctrination of child soldiers and the rape and mayhem they have spread across the continent of Africa.

Of course, Ambassador Carson will be key in cobbling this strategy together, and I am appreciative of the strategy meeting afterwards at the Old Executive Office Building where in the meeting with the NSC that Ambassador Carson helped arrange. I know that members of this committee look forward to working with Ambassador Carson on this strategy. I think implementation is key, and it is going to take congressional engagement. This is a tragedy that has affected families throughout Uganda, the Congo, the Central African Republic and southern Sudan.

People in the United States may not know the name Joseph Kony, but I guarantee you parents across Africa quiver when they hear that name. So I am appreciative of that legislation being signed. Congressman Payne, some years ago I had a resolution call-

ing for Mobutu to stand down, calling for his replacement in Congo because of the legacy of corruption, malfeasance and mismanagement, and we did pass that legislation.

Shortly thereafter, Codel Islet was in Angola. We found that frankly Mobutu had fled that morning, so we took a small plane into Kinshasa and had a chance to meet. It turned out the drivers that jumped into our jeep were not Congolese forces but Rwandan and Ugandan forces that were there helping to install Laurent Kabila as the new leader of Congo. Since that time, Congo has had many challenges. To repair the damage done to civil society, which was never that strong, and certainly to the institutions, it is going to take increased engagement by the United States House of Representatives.

I know Chairman Payne has made quite a commitment in that regard. I think that as we move forward the first step is to set an example by taking apart the Lord's Resistance Army is to bring to the bar of justice or eliminate Joseph Kony. When we set up the institutions to help Africa accomplish that objective, we can move on to other problems such as the pillaging of minerals in eastern Congo both from Zimbabwe and from Rwanda. We need to lean in more heavily in terms of trying to force responsible behavior by the neighbors of the Congo.

Again, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding this hearing, and I thank Ambassador Carson for all of his work on the African continent then and now in order to help guide that continent toward stability. Thank you very much.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you, Mr. Royce, and thank you for all your years of interest and many of the achievements you have helped in Africa. Ms. Lee?

Ms. LEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just wanted to welcome our witnesses and thank you so much for your service. I look forward to your testimony.

Mr. PAYNE. Dr. Boozman? Let us see. Ms. Watson?

Ms. WATSON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to thank you for holding this timely hearing on U.S. policy and current conditions in the Great Lakes region. The international community has focused on this region, and yet there seems to be little improvement in the condition of the people. You have described much of it. The countries of the Great Lakes region are linked by a common history and culture. Boundaries have done little to stymie the flow of people across the borders oftentimes fleeing to perceived safety in a neighboring region.

Each nation has a unique political story, which nonetheless affects not only its own citizens, but people all around the Great Lakes regions. However, strikes are a common thread throughout. Human rights abuses are rampant, and though rape, as a tool of submission, remains prevalent throughout the Great Lakes region, the Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo remains known for the high incidents of rape of women and of children. The mineral conflict too rages on in the DRC making it one of the longest and most violent wars in the history of mankind.

There are even stories of child soldiers fighting in these battles already hyped and romanticized in popular films, and much of the youth in this region remain without jobs and susceptible to manip-

ulation leaving them easy prey for militant organizations. Democracy too is elusive. As we watch the preparation for elections in Rwanda and Burundi, I am unsure of how peaceful and fair the outcomes will be. Newspapers have been shut down. There are reports of violence occurring in Burundi already.

With the constant instability, the condition of the people remains deplorable. Displaced by the Lord's Resistance Army, thousands of people are in need of humanitarian assistance in the DRC. Food and water shortages often occur, and healthcare is intermittent at best, and education services are limited for many. The President's initiatives are on food security, focused on food delivery at this time, PEPFAR and the President's Malaria Initiative cannot do enough because the need is too great.

Nonetheless, great strides have been made already. Rwanda's MCC threshold program shows promise of increased stability in the region. The mineral conflict is beginning to be addressed effectively through the Kimberly Process though we still have a long way to go. The Great Lakes region is rich in terms of its people, its culture, its history and its natural resources, and I hope that we continue to help the people in the region reach stability, protect individual rights and maximize their potential, so I thank you, and I wait to hear from our distinguished witnesses, and I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Mr. Flake?

Mr. FLAKE. Glad to be here and look forward to the witnesses.

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Chairman Payne and Ranking Member Smith, for holding this hearing. Mr. Royce and I created the Africa Great Lakes caucus some time back to call more attention to the conflicts and challenges that this region faces. There has been a cycle of conflict and economic failure. Conflict begets extreme poverty. Extreme poverty begets conflict, and on and on. As a result of the recurring conflict, there are now grave humanitarian conditions.

Several members before have mentioned the brutal insurgency by the LRA and northern Uganda has displaced more than 1.5 million people, resulted in the abduction of at least 20,000 children, and that has gone on for more than 20 years in the Great Lakes region of Africa. The group continues to commit atrocities and abduct children across the region often targeting schools and churches. The United Nations estimates that 90 percent of the LRA's combatants are abducted children often as young as 10.

When this horrific conflict finally ends, those children must somehow return to civilized society after learning as children to kill innocent human beings without hesitation or remorse. Whatever grievance may have originally motivated the LRA, that grievance has long since been forgotten, and the LRA's atrocities are just barbarism for Barbarisms own sake. Unfortunately, in that response, the LRA's insurgency is distressingly similar to other insurgencies in the region where brutal kleptocratic regimes create ample justification for conflict for rebellion.

The rebels are frequently not motivated by the desire to free their country from brutality and conflict but by desire to replace the brutal kleptocrats in the regime so the rebels can be brutal

kleptocrats themselves. It makes this very hard for us to pick a side in the conflicts of the region. The DRC has the deadliest conflict since World War II. It continues to terrorize communities throughout DRC and all the conflicts spill over from one country into the next. DRC after a generation or more of conflict now has the second lowest gross national income of the world.

I visited DRC a couple of years ago on a congressional delegation to Kashasa, and Kashasa appeared to be a post-apocalyptic society. It appeared to be a road-warrior movie in an urban setting. Rwanda has made great progress since the 1994 genocide, but genocide sets the bar pretty low. There are increasing efforts apparently to stifle political descent. A New York Times article just last month described beggars, homeless people, petty thieves and dozen of children being rounded up and sent without any legal process at all to an island for rehabilitation.

Refugees, rebel groups and resources flow across borders, and humanitarian crisis has increasingly become a regional challenge. Chairman Payne, again thank you for holding this hearing, and I look forward to the testimony of our witnesses today.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much all of the members who took time to come here this morning. Now, we will turn to our witnesses. First, we will hear from Ambassador Johnnie Carson. Ambassador Carson currently serves as Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of African Affairs at the Department of State. He has an established career in foreign service. He previously served as ambassador in Kenya, Zimbabwe and Uganda as well as the principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Bureau of African Affairs from 1997 to 1999.

In addition to several posts in sub-Saharan Africa, he served as desk officer in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research from 1971 to '74, staff officer for the Secretary of State from '78 to '82. Beyond the State Department, Ambassador Carson served as the staff director for the House Africa Subcommittee from 1979 to 1982 and was a Peace Corps volunteer in Tanzania from 1965 to 1968.

During his career, Ambassador Carson received several awards including the Department of State's superior honors award and the Centers for Disease Control's champion of prevention award. Ambassador Carson holds a bachelor of arts and history and political science from Drake University and a masters of arts in international relations from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

Secondly, we will hear from Mr. Franklin Moore, Deputy Assistant Administrator for the Bureau of Africa at the United States International Development Agency, USAID. A career member of the Senior Executive Service, Franklin C. Moore was appointed as Deputy Assistant Administrator for the U.S. Agency for International Development's Africa Bureau in January 2008. Prior to his appointment, Mr. Moore served as Director of the Office of Environmental and Science policy within the Agency's Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, EGAT, since October 2002.

Additionally, Mr. Moore has served as the acting Deputy Assistant Administrator and Director of the Agency's Global Center for the Environment. He received a masters degree in agricultural economics as well as a certificate in African studies from the Univer-

sity of Wisconsin in Madison. Mr. Moore studies for his PhD in development studies at the University Wisconsin in Madison, has served and lived both in west and southern Africa, and has worked in approximately 40 countries overseas. We are very pleased to have two very distinguished persons.

I would also like to recognize a former colleague of ours, former Congressman Howard Wolpe, and I had the privilege to serve with former member Wolpe, who served as chair of this subcommittee when I was a new member and is now a senior advisor on the Great Lakes region at the State Department. We are very pleased to still have your expertise, and I know you are a great asset to the Department of State. Thank you. Ambassador Carson?

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOHNNIE CARSON, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS, UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. CARSON. Chairman Payne, Ranking Member Smith, and members of the committee. I welcome the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss the current conditions and U.S. Policy in the Great Lakes Region. I have a longer statement that I would like to submit for the record.

Mr. PAYNE. Without objection.

Mr. CARSON. The countries of the Great Lakes region are inextricably linked. Although each has its own unique challenges, events in one country invariably affect the others and often the wider region as well. We spend a great deal of diplomatic time and effort on the Great Lakes issues trying to help the countries of the region to resolve the many domestic and cross-border challenges that continue to put millions of civilians at risk. This has been a slow and daunting process, but the situation has improved as the countries in the region have strengthened ties amongst themselves.

We have remained dedicated to doing what we can to keep that positive momentum going. Central to our efforts is improving the situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo where the continuing presence of armed groups has been exacerbated by the lack of state authority. The Democratic Republic of the Congo's military, commonly referred to as FARDC, is ineffective and frequently abusive. The judicial and penal systems in the DRC are broken, and impunity rather than accountability reigns.

Illegal natural resource exploitation funds armed gangs. Sexual- and gender-based violence is at crisis levels particularly in the eastern region. The Lord's Resistance Army is perpetuating and perpetrating attacks against civilians in the northeastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and also in the Central African Republic. The U.N. mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, MONUC, is stretched to the limit.

I met with President Kabila on April 16 and expressed concern about the security vacuum that would result if MONUC left the DRC before the security situation in the east had dramatically improved and before local security services were sufficiently trained and able to protect civilians. He was receptive to the concerns that I raised as well as the concerns that have been raised by the international community. President Kabila has taken important steps to address insecurity, but they remain insufficient.

Last year, he announced a zero-tolerance policy for sexual- and gender-based violence and also against corruption. Implementation has been lacking, but the recent arrest of a FARDC general for sexual- and gender-based violence-related crimes is an encouraging step forward. Both Secretary Clinton and Ambassador to the United Nations Susan Rice have pressed for action on this case during their visits to the Congo in 2009, and we welcome the action by President Kabila and his government to go after individuals of senior rank who have been involved in sexual- and gender-based violence.

President Kabila has also voiced strong support for our program to train a light infantry battalion in Kisangani. The training there includes a strong focus on improving FARDC human rights practices. In late 2009 and early 2010, we deployed assessment teams to the DRC to investigate the five issue areas that Secretary Clinton and President Kabila identified for greater bilateral cooperation when they met in August 2009 in Goma.

The five areas include security sector reform, sexual- and gender-based violence issues, anti-corruption, economic governance and agriculture and food security. We have received the recommendations of these teams and are now pursuing with the Democratic Republic of the Congo's Government those recommendations that we believe can achieve the best short- and medium-term results. We also need to keep an eye on population movements. There are over 1 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the North Kivu Province alone and 2 million displaced persons nationwide.

As these IDPs and DRC refugees in surrounding countries begin to return home, there is a potential for renewed conflict. There will also be increased demands for humanitarian assistance and also limited capacity by the Government of the Democratic Republic to provide it. Lastly, with regard to the DRC, we are looking ahead to national elections in September 2011 and local elections 1 year later. In my conversations with President Kabila last month, I stressed the importance of adhering to this democratic electoral calendar. The government has promised that the elections will be free, democratic and transparent. We hope that this will be the case.

Let me turn briefly to Rwanda. In Rwanda, the August Presidential elections are expected to be peaceful and non-violent, but the security environment ahead of that vote is of ongoing concern. Recent grenade attacks in Kigali have caused numerous casualties as well as anxiety and unease in the civilian population. We strongly condemn those attacks. We also have concerns about recent acts by the Rwandan Government, which appear to be attempts to restrict freedom of expression.

These actions, including suspending the licenses and activities of two newspapers, revoking the work permit of a Human Rights Watch researcher and arresting and later releasing on bail the opposition leader, Victoire Ingabire, who has ties to the FDLR. Two political parties, the green party and the FDU-Inkingi party have been unable to register. We have urged senior Rwandan Government officials to respect the freedoms of expression, press and association as well as assembly.

We have stressed that the international and domestic NGOs and media should be allowed to operate and report freely in Rwanda.

We have also called for due process and a fair and speedy trial for Mrs. Victoire Ingabire. Overall, longer-term stability in Rwanda is best promoted by democratic governance and a respect for human rights. Rwanda and its regional and international partners must work together to achieve the free, fair and peaceful elections that the people of Rwanda deserve.

Now, turning to Burundi. Our hope is the same in Burundi, which has just held the first in a series of five elections for local and national-level institutions. We have undertaken numerous public and private efforts to reinforce the message that credible elections are necessary for long-term stability, economic growth and the growing partnership between the Government of Burundi and the United States. The political arena in Burundi is diverse. Twenty-three political parties competed in yesterday's communal-level elections including the last of Burundi's rebel groups, the FNL.

The party seems satisfied with the neutrality of the National Independent Electoral Commission, CNIE. The media are relatively free and professional and have mobilized to pool resources and share their national electoral coverage. Burundian Civil Society has mobilized to observe the elections and to monitor outbreaks of violence, and all political parties, including the ruling party, have welcomed international observation.

Unfortunately, Burundi also suffers from a large population of young, unemployed people who are frustrated with their economic position. Given that there are 200,000 weapons still in circulation throughout the country, the risk of violence continues to be high. In addition, ruling party officials have used government resources for political advantage, and some have intimidated opponents. There have already been violent clashes among the members of the five major parties.

Most alarming, two members of the Movement for Solidarity and Democracy Party were killed in a rally on May 13. We have repeatedly cautioned all political party leaders about the need to avoid intimidation, provocation and violence. We have called on the government security forces and prosecutors to accelerate the investigations and prosecutions of those responsible for election-related incidents of violence and intimidation.

The Government of Burundi's decision to expel a Human Rights Watch researcher on the grounds that a recent Human Rights Watch report is biased against the ruling party appears to be an effort to clamp down on foreign and domestic NGOs that are critical of the government and its policies. We have conveyed our concerns to Burundian officials about this and have urged constructive dialogue with NGOs and civil society.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I want to thank you for this opportunity to appear before you today, and I will be happy to answer any questions that you may have. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Carson follows:]

**Testimony of Ambassador Johnnie Carson
Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
House Foreign Affairs Committee
Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health
Tuesday, May 25, 2010, 10:00 a.m.**

Chairman Payne, Ranking Member Smith, and Members of the Committee:

I welcome the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss “The Great Lakes Region: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy.”

The countries of the Great Lakes region are inextricably linked. Although each has its own unique challenges, events in one country invariably affect the others, and often the wider region, as well. We spend a significant amount of diplomatic time and attention working on issues associated with the Great Lakes. In just the past two months, dozens of senior officials from the Africa Bureau and the Department of State have traveled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. In addition to travel in the region, Senior Advisor for the Great Lakes region Howard Wolpe – a former chairman of this sub-committee and a key member of my team – has traveled to Europe and New York to consult with our international partners on issues of common interest. And of course, last August, Secretary Clinton made her important and historic trip to the

DRC that continues to pay dividends in our bilateral relationship with that critical country.

These visits underline our commitment to helping regional governments, both individually and in cooperation with one another, resolve the domestic and cross-border issues that challenge regional security and stability and continue to place millions of civilians at risk. Addressing these issues has been, and continues to be, a slow and daunting process – certainly more so than we would like – but the situation has improved as the countries in the region have renewed and strengthened ties amongst themselves, and we remain dedicated to doing what we can to keep that positive momentum going.

Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)

Central to our efforts is improving the security situation in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The continuing presence of illegal armed groups has been exacerbated by the lack of state authority throughout much of the east. The DRC military (FARDC) is ineffective and abusive; the judicial and penal systems are broken; and the cycle of impunity rather than accountability reigns. The illegal exploitation of natural resources continues to fund the conflict. Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) remains at crisis levels. Local elections have been postponed to 2012, further delaying the people's opportunity to have a

say in the government that most directly affects them. The UN Mission in the DRC (MONUC), the only bulwark between the current situation and absolute chaos, is stretched beyond its limits and the DRC government is calling for a reduction in the mission's presence.

I met with DRC President Joseph Kabila in Kinshasa on April 16 to discuss many of these issues. I expressed our grave concern about the dangerous security vacuum that would result if MONUC left based on an arbitrary date rather than the situation on the ground. I stressed that it would be premature and unwise for MONUC to leave before the security situation had dramatically improved and before the DRC security services were sufficiently trained and capable of protecting civilians. I am pleased to report that President Kabila was receptive to my concerns and has softened his tone in demanding MONUC's withdrawal.

It is also very important to recognize, I think, that the DRC recently took an encouraging step regarding five Congolese military officers whose impunity for serious abuses Secretary Clinton raised directly with President Kabila in August. The government has now arrested the highest-ranking member of this group, a general. Last year, President Kabila announced a zero-tolerance policy for both sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and corruption. Although we would like to see stronger implementation of this policy, we are mildly encouraged by

these initial moves. President Kabila has also voiced strong support for our USG-funded and -implemented program to train a light infantry battalion (LIB) in Kisangani. In addition to normal military training, one of the major goals of this program is to improve the human rights practices of the Congolese military (FARDC).

During my recent trip, I visited Kisangani, met the local FARDC commander, observed our training program, and held discussions with members of the public who were wary about our intentions. I have no delusions about what we are doing. Improving the FARDC will be a steep uphill climb and our training in Kisangani is only one small part of what is required – and that is a much larger, long-term, multi-donor-supported security sector reform process. We are coordinating closely with our international partners as well as with President Kabila and his government, and I believe that our combined efforts will make progress.

Military reform alone will not cure what ails the Congo. Soldiers are sometimes the most visible rapists, but they are not alone. Perpetrators of all types benefit from a fundamental lack of accountability and a broken justice system that has inadequate personnel and resources to conduct investigations and effective prosecutions. Corruption and political interference further undermine the process,

as the accused are either protected by military or political “godfathers” or else pay bribes to avoid being held accountable for their crimes.

It is no coincidence that the three issues I just touched on – sexual and gender-based violence, security sector reform, and corruption – were three of the five themes identified by the Secretary and President Kabila as areas on which our two governments could and should more closely cooperate. (The other two were economic governance and agricultural growth and food security.)

We deployed five assessment teams to the DRC between December 2009 and February 2010 to review the five areas discussed by Secretary Clinton and President Kabila. We did this with significant support from the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) and experts from several U.S. Government agencies. The teams conducted two-week visits during which they met with a wide array of stakeholders and then drafted reports with recommendations for greater U.S.-Congolese cooperation. We have reviewed these and are pursuing with the DRC government those recommendations we deem most likely to achieve short-term but important results.

Let me take a moment here to note in particular two issues the assessment teams looked at that I know are of specific interest to this Committee: (1) sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and (2) conflict minerals.

On SGBV, let me repeat something Secretary Clinton has often said: Women's rights and women's issues cannot be an afterthought in our foreign policy; they must factor centrally in how we look at the world. We have made women a cornerstone of our foreign policy not only because we think it's the right thing to do, but also because it's the smart thing to do. We have consistently called for respect of women's rights and increased participation of women in conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction efforts, as both women's protection and participation are linked to maintaining international peace and security. Sexual violence harms not merely single individuals, but it also undermines our fundamental values as a society.

There are few places in the world where the plight of women needs greater or more urgent attention than the DRC. Sexual violence and the brutal intimidation of women have become frighteningly commonplace.

My recent visit to the Congo overlapped with that of UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's newly appointed Special Representative (SRSG) for Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict, Margot Wallstrom. Secretary Clinton presided over the Security Council session in September 2009 at which the Resolution creating SRSG Wallstrom's position was adopted, and I was particularly pleased that the SRSG chose the DRC as a top item on her agenda. She and I had an opportunity to

discuss SGBV, its causes and its ramifications – issues I also discussed with the Congolese Minister of Gender and numerous NGO representatives. We were all in agreement about the need to do more on all aspects of this issue: prevention of violence (including through education of both boys and girls from an early age), care and treatment for survivors (both men and women, with special attention to children), and prosecution of perpetrators. The United States has been working assiduously on all of these, and we will continue to do so.

Regarding conflict minerals in the eastern DRC: Over the past year and a half, the Administration has stepped-up its engagement on this issue.

Together with the DRC government, neighboring states and the international community, we are working to stem the illegal exploitation of, and trade in Congolese minerals, the profits from which are used to finance various armed groups operating in the DRC. Human rights abuses – including killings, rape, exploitative child labor, and various forms of trafficking-in-persons (e.g., debt bondage and forced prostitution) – abound in and around mining sites. At roadblocks along trade routes, armed individuals and groups engage in rent-seeking – exacting so-called “taxes” from traders (including legitimate traders) and thus lessening the miners’ and traders’ income. And because some of these minerals are leaving the country via unofficial routes and methods, the DRC is

precluded from collecting legal taxes and duties that the Congolese economy could use.

To try to address the minerals issue more holistically, we have put together a “Strategic Action Plan for Conflict Minerals in the Eastern DRC,” which the Secretary approved on March 22. This plan includes short-, medium- and long-term diplomatic and programmatic approaches. On May 14, as a part of this plan, I participated in a meeting with representatives from several industries to encourage them to ensure that their supply chains promote legitimate minerals trade and are free from conflict minerals. We are also working with both the OECD and UN Security Council Group of Experts on the DRC to develop practical due diligence guidance for the private sector in the DRC and other conflict-affected areas.

Our attention to this issue is not new, however. For nearly a year and a half, we have participated in a Great Lakes Contact Group task force that was established to examine these questions. Moreover, both the Congolese government itself – through the establishment of official trading centers – and the regional states via the mechanism of the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region – are likewise looking to find lasting solutions.

I’d like to touch briefly on the Congolese political situation. During my meeting with President Kabila, I stressed to him the importance and urgency of

organizing and adhering to the country's elections calendar. There are two different sets of elections on the horizon: local and national. The local elections, originally scheduled for 2008, have been repeatedly postponed. The DRC government recently announced that the local elections will now occur in two phases, in 2012 and 2013. It is regrettable that the Congolese people, who have already waited so long to have a more direct voice in local affairs, will have to wait another two to three years, but we will continue to encourage the government to abide by this latest schedule. National polls, including elections for the national parliament and for president, these are now slated for September 2011. President Kabila is eligible to run for a second five-year term, having been elected in 2006, and we believe that he will almost certainly run.

Of course, others will as well, and I appreciated the opportunity my visit afforded me to meet with key political leaders outside the government to hear their thoughts about how they expect the electoral process to unfold. While some did express concerns about the degree to which DRC government resources and control of the media will give the ruling party a possibly unfair advantage, none gave any indication that they intend to boycott the elections. On the contrary, they are looking forward to participating in this next step on the DRC's path to democracy.

The government has made a commitment that all upcoming elections will be free, democratic and transparent, which we welcome. But they will also be expensive and logistically difficult in such a large country with so little infrastructure. Significant international support will be imperative in 2011, just as it was in 2006.

While we continue to look ahead towards elections, I was also reminded during my visit of the serious, ongoing humanitarian crisis that continues in many parts of the DRC. In North and South Kivu provinces, despite some progress, armed conflict and widespread instability remain a fact of life. The continuing presence of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR) remains a key factor in that instability, as the FDLR – though weakened over the past year – continues to prey on the local population. In the DRC's northeastern Orientale Province, a relatively small number of remaining Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) fighters continue to kill and prey on civilian populations, destabilizing large areas and causing extensive civilian displacement. Further west, the DRC government and MONUC have responded to a new rebellion in Equateur Province, where violent conflict since last fall has forced 200,000 Congolese from their homes, including some 125,000 who have fled to the neighboring Republic of Congo. Addressing root causes of conflict in these areas and responding to the vast humanitarian need has remained an imperative of our efforts in the DRC, but much

remains to be done. There is no one or easy or quick solution to the conflict and continuing humanitarian crisis in the DRC.

Rwanda

As I mentioned at the beginning of my testimony, the countries of the region are inextricably linked. Refugees from Rwanda's genocide (as well as perpetrators of it) fled across the border into the DRC, and the FDLR, no longer able to flex its muscle in Rwanda, continues to plunder the DRC.

Our policy priority in Rwanda is to further internal stability and social cohesion by promoting national reconciliation, economic growth, good governance, justice, and democratic values. We appreciate, in the context of the most tragic event in recent history – the genocide – the need for security, stability, and reconciliation is critical. But long-term stability is best promoted by democratic governance and respect for human rights.

The presidential elections in Rwanda this August are expected to be peaceful and non-violent. However, the security environment ahead of the elections is of concern. We strongly condemn the series of recent grenade attacks in Kigali that have caused numerous casualties as well as anxiety and unease in the population in the run-up to the elections.

The political environment ahead of the election has been riddled by a series of worrying actions taken by the Government of Rwanda, which appear to be attempts to restrict the freedom of expression. In a period of months, the Government of Rwanda has suspended two newspapers, revoked the work permit and denied the visa of a Human Rights Watch researcher, and arrested (and subsequently released on bail) opposition leader Victoire Ingabire, who has been linked to the FDLR. Despite multiple attempts, two political parties – the Green Party and FDU Inkingi – have still been unable to register. Dissent within the ruling party also appears to have surfaced.

We have relayed our concerns about these developments to the Government of Rwanda, urging senior government leaders to respect freedoms of expression, press, association, and assembly. In particular, we have pressed leaders to allow all international and domestic non-governmental organizations and media to operate and report freely. We have also urged leaders to treat Victoire Ingabire in accordance with international law, ensure due process, and give her a speedy, fair, and transparent trial. We have urged the Government of Rwanda and all regional and international partners to work together to achieve free, fair, and peaceful elections that the people of Rwanda deserve.

Leading up to the elections, the United States Government has supported a program that provides organizational and policy-development skills to political party leaders from all ten parties in Rwanda. The USG also plans to send approximately a dozen teams to observe the elections.

Burundi

We are keeping a close eye on upcoming elections throughout the region. Burundi has just held the first of five separate elections for local and national level institutions. This election marathon will continue through September 7, with important presidential elections on June 28 and national assembly elections on July 23.

Through our foreign assistance and public diplomacy programming, as well as our direct observation of the electoral process, we have regularly seized public and private opportunities to reinforce the message, across a broad political spectrum, that credible elections and legitimate transfer of power are necessary for Burundi's long-term stability and economic growth. Credible elections and a peaceful post-election transfer of power will also enable a broader and deeper U.S.-Burundian partnership in the future.

Burundians and international observers alike are hopeful that all the elections will be conducted in a free, fair, and peaceful manner. There is no armed rebellion. The last rebel group (the FNL) has demobilized, largely integrated into the security forces and government, and formed a political party. The political arena is diverse and open, with twenty-three political parties competing in the first (communal level) elections on May 24; six of these parties are competing nationwide. The political parties appear satisfied with the neutral and transparent conduct of the National Independent Electoral Commission (CENI). The media are relatively free and professional and have mobilized to pool resources and share their election coverage. Burundian civil society has mobilized to observe the elections and to monitor outbreaks of violence.

And, all political parties, including the ruling party/government, have welcomed international observers. The U.S. Embassy in Bujumbura, reinforced by several senior State Department officers from Washington, is deploying observers throughout the country. African states and regional organizations – including the African Union, East African Community, International Conference of the Great Lakes Region and European Union – plan to observe the elections. The United

Nations Integrated Office in Burundi (BINUB) is coordinating donor assistance to the electoral process.

Despite our optimistic scenario, there are still approximately 200,000 weapons in circulation in the country and many uneducated, unemployed, frustrated and young people [*over half the population is under the age of 25*] who are particularly susceptible to political manipulation. Members of the ruling party at all levels have used government resources and state authority for elections advantage, and some have intimidated opponents. There have already been repeated – and sometimes violent – clashes between the members of the five major rival parties. Most alarming, two members of the Movement for Solidarity and Democracy (MSD) party, who were active at a May 13 rally, were murdered the same day.

The U.S. Government has consistently and repeatedly cautioned the government's leadership as well as leaders of all the political parties about the need to avoid intimidation, provocation and violence. In addition, we have called on the government security forces and prosecutors to accelerate the investigations and prosecutions of those responsible for these election-related incidents, as well as those responsible for other politically motivated crimes committed in the past year,

such as the April 2009 murder of the vice chairman of the National Anti-Corruption and Economic Malpractice Agency.

The Government of Burundi's recent decision to expel a Human Rights Watch (HRW) researcher, on the grounds that a recent HRW report is biased against the government and the ruling party, is disturbing. It appears to be another step on the part of the government and ruling party to clamp down on foreign and domestic NGOs that it considers to be a form of unwelcome political opposition. We have conveyed our concerns to Burundian officials in both Washington and Bujumbura, and have urged the government to reconsider its decisions and to engage in constructive dialogue with NGOs and civil society. A healthy and functioning civil society is fundamental to the long-term sustainability of peace, good governance, and economic growth in Burundi.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I want to thank you for the opportunity to appear before you today. I will be happy to answer any questions you may have.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Mr. Moore?

STATEMENT OF MR. FRANKLIN MOORE, DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR AFRICA, OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. MOORE. Good morning, Chairman Payne, Ranking Member Smith and members of the subcommittee. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss conditions in the Great Lakes region and USAID's contribution to sustainable development in those countries. I have a longer written statement, which I would like to submit for the record.

Mr. PAYNE. Without objection.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you. My testimony today will add to that of Assistant Secretary Carson's, who has provided the subcommittee with information on the U.S. Government policies in the region. Our work directly supports those policies and focuses on a number of sectors, including economic growth, peace building, democratic development, health, education, food security and environmental protection. We also continue to respond to both man-made and natural humanitarian crises in many of these states.

While significant progress has been made across the region, equally significant challenges persist: Corruption, poor infrastructure, cross-border conflicts, sexual- and gender-based violence and human rights abuses, poor health outcomes, high unemployment, humanitarian crises and food insecurity. National issues frequently spill across borders to become regional concerns or crises. I would like to briefly outline some of these key issues and USAID's response.

One of the most pressing issues that will affect development in the Great Lakes in the coming year is rapid population growth. This will strain the abilities of already stretched government to provide service delivery and sustainable economic growth. An increasingly young population presents an increased risk for instability and conflict. USAID programs across the sectors target youth in order to boost civic participation, improve livelihoods and increase access to education to provide an alternative to confrontation and violence. The recruitment of child soldiers also remains a critical concern for youth population, particularly the lasting damage caused.

Another issue for the region is the abhorrent use of sexual- and gender-based violence both as a tool of war and as part of the daily lives of women and children throughout the region. In addition to addressing the immediate care and needs of victims of sexual- and gender-based violence, USAID has actively supported the drafting of critical legislation and subsequent prosecutions in cases of sexual- and gender-based violence in the DRC, and we continue to seek opportunities to address this issue at all levels. Combating this issue is not solely about broadening access to legal, medical, psycho-social and economic services. It is fervently tied to changing perceptions of gender and women's empowerment.

Food security is of paramount concern. In the DRC, 72 percent of the population is currently undernourished and surviving on less than the absolute minimum daily caloric requirement. This admin-

istration's Feed the Future initiative will boost production to attempt to meet the food needs for the growing population of these states.

Recognizing that higher production does not automatically translate directly into a better quality of life, activities to address nutrition and governance issues related to distribution and regulation are critical and included. Activities will focus on linkages to the regionally strong and very active common market for eastern and southern Africa and Economic Commission for Africa to ensure that there is a sustainable platform for trade.

Land tenure issues also continue to be an underlying source of many of the region's conflicts. With high population densities, internally displaced persons and the return of refugees in Rwanda, Burundi, eastern DRC and Uganda, the question of land distribution and access is critical to economic growth. USAID is working on programs in Burundi to inclusively develop new land policy in order to reduce the risk of conflict.

There are mounting tensions over land tenure and property rights in eastern DRC. USAID is addressing these issues through peace building and community mediation programs as well as working with the Government of DRC to address the overall legal framework for land tenure. In Uganda, we have launched an inter-agency conflict assessment to look at the sensitive issues of decentralization, proposed relocation of pastoralist communities to urban centers and the discovery of oil.

We believe that we are in a new era for development in Africa focused on aid effectiveness and host-country ownership that will translate into meaningful progress toward the Millennium Development Goals. We are aligning our work to more directly support harmonization of aid strategies, results-based programs and mutual accountability between donors and aid recipients. Our work in the Great Lakes is coordinated with both host-country action plans on a sectorial basis and with broad-reaching poverty reduction strategies.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Smith and members of the subcommittee for your continued support for USAID. I welcome your questions.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Moore follows:]

**Testimony by U.S. Agency for International Development
Deputy Assistant Administrator for Africa Franklin Moore**

**U.S. House Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on African Affairs and Global Health**

“The Great Lakes Region: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy”

May 25, 2010

Good morning, Chairman Payne, Ranking Member Smith, and members of the Subcommittee. I appreciate the opportunity to appear before you today to discuss current conditions in the Great Lakes region and USAID’s contributions to sustainable development in those countries.

My testimony today will add to that of Assistant Secretary Carson who has provided the Subcommittee with information on the U.S. Government policies in the region. Our work directly supports those policies, and focuses on a number of sectors, including economic growth, peace-building, democratic development, health, education, food security, and environmental protection. We also continue to respond to both man-made and natural humanitarian crises in many of these states. These countries represent a wide spectrum—some countries have achieved impressive economic growth statistics while others remain near the bottom of the human development index.

While significant progress has been made across the region, equally significant challenges persist; corruption, poor infrastructure, cross-border conflicts, sexual and gender-based violence and human rights abuses, poor health outcomes, high unemployment, climate-induced humanitarian crises, and food insecurity. These challenges are daunting, but we believe in the extraordinary potential of the Great Lakes region, both in terms of its human capital and natural resources. The resilience of its people is perhaps its greatest strength.

GREAT LAKES REGIONAL ISSUES

The political, economic, social and humanitarian problems associated with the Great Lakes region are complex. National issues frequently spill across borders to become regional concerns and crises, and there are issues that are common sources of conflict and instability in the region, such as land tenure. I would like to briefly outline some of these key issues and our response, along with additional information on our bilateral country programs in the region.

Of the regional issues that spillover to affect multiple countries, one of the most profound is the migration of the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA), a terrorist Ugandan rebel movement that has roamed ungoverned portions of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), southern Sudan, and the Central African Republic (CAR) since being ejected from northern Uganda in 2005. While the LRA threat has significantly

diminished in northern Uganda, there are an estimated 350,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) in LRA-affected areas of the DRC, and thousands of others displaced within the CAR and southern Sudan.

The focus of USAID assistance in LRA-affected areas has been on mitigating the humanitarian consequences of mass displacement by providing food and humanitarian relief. USAID has provided food assistance to LRA-affected populations in south Sudan, the DRC, and the CAR, as well as non-food emergency assistance such as water, sanitation, and hygiene programs, as well as provision of emergency relief supplies.

In common with much of the rest of Africa and the world, one of the largest issues that will affect development in the Great Lakes in the coming years is rapid population growth. This will further strain the ability of these governments to provide service delivery and sustainable economic growth; and increasing youth populations present a concomitant risk for instability and conflict. USAID programs across the sectors target youth in order to boost civic participation, improve livelihoods and increase access to education to provide an alternative to confrontation and violence. The recruitment of child soldiers remains a critical concern for youth populations – particularly the lasting damage caused to the social and cultural fabric of societies when their children become tools of destruction. Another issue is the abhorrent presence of sexual and gender-based violence, both as a tool of war and as part of the daily lives of women and children throughout the region. While most of the attention surrounding sexual and gender-based violence has been focused on eastern DRC, this is prevalent throughout the region. In particular, countries in the region that are emerging from conflict are still dealing with the impact of war on the breakdown of social norms. In addition to addressing the immediate care and needs of victims of sexual and gender-based violence, USAID has actively supported the drafting of critical legislation and subsequent prosecutions in cases of sexual and gender-based violence in the DRC and Rwanda, and we continue to seek opportunities to address this issue at all levels. Combating this issue is not solely about broadening access to legal, medical, psycho-social and economic services; it is integrally tied to changing perceptions of gender and empowerment of vulnerable populations within these cultures. This will require local support and initiative and a long-term approach to achieve lasting change.

Through the efforts of the Presidential Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the Presidential Malaria Initiative (PMI), advances have been made in overall health in the region, but in comparison to other regions in the world, the statistics are troubling. The lifetime risk of maternal death ranges from one in 13 in the DRC to one in 25 in Uganda; while women in the United States have a lifetime risk of one in 4,800. For children, the DRC had one of the highest under five mortality rates at 205 per 1,000 live births, and 39 percent of children in Burundi were classified as moderate or severely underweight. Malaria, a preventable and curable disease for relatively low cost, is nonetheless the leading cause of morbidity and mortality in Uganda.

With the projected rapid increases in population growth, food security is of paramount concern. In the DRC, 72 percent of the population is currently undernourished and

surviving on less than the absolute minimum daily caloric requirement. The Administration's Feed The Future Initiative will boost production to attempt to meet the food needs for the growing populations of these states. Recognizing that higher production does not automatically translate directly into a better quality of life for the population, complementary activities to address nutrition and governance issues related to improved food stocks, distribution, and regulation are critical accompaniments. Activities will focus on market and road infrastructure, as well as linkages to the regionally-strong and very active Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa and Economic Commission for Africa, to ensure there is a sustainable platform for trade. USAID programming is improving production and market efficiencies; investing in research and inputs, and supporting the engagement of women in agriculture.

Land tenure issues also continue to be an underlying source of many of the region's conflicts. With high population densities and the return of refugees in Rwanda and Burundi, the question of land distribution and access is critical to economic growth. USAID is working on innovative programs in Burundi to inclusively develop new land policy, in order to reduce the risk of conflict. In the DRC, there are mounting tensions over land tenure and property rights in eastern DRC, particularly in areas with internally displaced persons (IDP) and refugee returns. USAID is addressing these issues through peace-building and community mediation programs as well as supporting a UNHABITAT program to build local capacity to manage land tenure and working with the Government of the DRC to address the overall legal framework for land tenure which is one of the root causes of unresolved conflicts over land use. In Uganda, we have just launched an interagency conflict assessment to look at the sensitive issues of decentralization, proposed relocations of pastoralist communities to urban centers, and the discovery of oil. While the specific strategies to address these issues are country-specific, the benefits can be measured for the region in a reduction of conflict and resulting migration across or within borders as well as through the economic growth that potentially will occur when conflict is reduced.

Across the sectors in which we work, our assistance strategy is to help citizens of these countries build sustainable institutions to improve governance and reduce corruption, increase food security, and improve access to education, health services, and job opportunities to build better lives for their families. We will continue to provide humanitarian assistance to address immediate needs after natural disasters, such as the recent flooding in Uganda, and to respond to other crises such as conflict. However, we will also continue to proactively address the conditions that cause conflict through our programs and by focusing on local peace-building and stabilization initiatives.

Regional cooperation is also key to development of these countries. For example, as a result of USAID programs, DRC and eight other countries in the region are laying the foundation to trade carbon credits with larger industrial nations, providing a new source of financing community development while conserving tropical forests and biodiversity.

We believe that we are in a new era for development, focused on aid effectiveness and host-country ownership that will translate into meaningful progress towards the

Millennium Development Goals. Building on the Paris Declaration and the Accra Agenda for Action, we are aligning our work to more directly support harmonization of aid strategies; results-based programs; and mutual accountability between donors and aid recipients. Our work in the Great Lakes is coordinated with both host-country action plans on a sectoral basis, and with broad-reaching poverty reduction strategic plans. Moreover, USAID programs are increasingly planned and carried out in conjunction with other donors and private sector partners. We are an integral part of the “Whole-of-Government” approach to United States foreign assistance, and the Presidential Initiatives in global health, global climate change, and food security are the hallmarks of this approach.

I’d like to highlight some of our bilateral country programs in the region, which demonstrate the active engagement of USAID in addressing these challenges, both through targeted emergency response and longer term developmental assistance.

BURUNDI

Burundi is at a pivotal point in its turbulent history, and the world will be watching the conduct and outcomes of the 2010 elections (at the local, parliamentary, and presidential level), which started May 24th and will continue through September. These elections could showcase the consolidation of Burundi’s recent democratic gains or reveal a country backsliding into political chaos and/or violence. A land-locked nation in the Great Lakes Region, Burundi ranks among the world’s poorest and least-developed countries and continues to struggle to regain its development momentum following years of devastating civil war that ended in 2005. It is the second most densely populated country in Africa, a fact exacerbated by a high population growth rate and a lack of arable land to support even the subsistence needs of its citizenry. Disputes over access to and ownership of land continue to present social and economic challenges, particularly as Burundian refugees return from Tanzania. Burundi faces additional challenges, including disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating former rebels; strengthening governance; rebuilding the economy; and improving health and education service delivery. To date, much progress has been made in transitioning the country to a functioning multi-party democracy during this post conflict period.

The U.S. government has been at the forefront of the international community in preparing for Burundi’s landmark elections, supporting an examination and update of the 2005 Electoral Code, the creation of an independent and permanent Election Commission (CENI) and the operational support of that Commission. In addition, USAID, working through its development partners IFES, Chemonics, and Search for Common Ground are actively encouraging the participation of women and minorities in the elections, working to reduce conflict between political party-supported youth groups, monitoring conflict flash points throughout the country, and training the CENI personnel that will manage the polling stations. USAID is supporting innovative radio programming with messages targeted at all levels of society with a special focus on youth. The U.S. Embassy and USAID are actively working with other donors to organize election observation, and USAID’s East Africa Regional Mission is mobilizing to support the observation process

from Nairobi to encourage the participation of staff from the other nearby USAID missions in countries that will be organizing national elections this year.

USAID's health program has several key components targeting five major health problems: poor maternal and child health, nutrition, malaria, HIV/AIDS, and family planning. In addition, USAID is supporting the government's first Demographic Health Survey in over 25 years, which will provide statistical health data necessary for the government to improve the delivery of essential health services to the communities they serve.

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Despite having vast economic potential, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is among the world's poorest and least-developed countries. Following decades of corruption and mismanagement sustained by external political, military, and economic support, the transportation, education, and health infrastructure is in ruins. Ongoing conflict continues to strip the country's natural resources and has led to the deaths of millions of its citizens. USAID programs support the overarching foreign policy goal of U.S. foreign assistance in the DRC to promote a stable democratic state that is at peace with its neighbors and provides for the basic needs of its citizens. USAID programs support the security conditions and governance structures necessary to improve social and economic sectors and to facilitate the extension of state authority across the country. USAID supports coordinated donor efforts to provide access to health and education services, build democratic structures, contribute to economic growth in ways that also improve food security, and protect natural resources. Given the vast size of the country, nearly half the size of the eastern United States, and the complexity of the challenges it faces, donor coordination is of paramount importance.

The eastern region of the DRC continues to be a largely ungoverned space that harbors illegal armed groups and continues to experience instability and violent conflict, often resulting in population displacement. Conflict in eastern DRC continues to hinder stabilization and reconstruction efforts and allows grave human rights abuses, including brutal and repressive violence against women and girls, to continue. Given the alarming levels of sexual and gender-based violence reported in eastern DRC, USG counseling, medical, legal, and economic programs provide care and treatment for survivors of sexual and gender-based violence and their families and build awareness among communities and local and national authorities on the severe consequences of allowing these abuses.

Since 2002, the United States Government has been the major bilateral donor to respond to severe and widespread sexual and gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. U.S. funded programs aim to improve access to care and treatment services for survivors, fight impunity for perpetrators through support for legal reform and strengthening of the civilian and military judicial systems, and promote community awareness of and response to sexual and gender-based violence. USAID implements programs in North and South Kivu Provinces, the Ituri District of Orientale Province, and Maniema Province to identify and deliver services to rape and abuse survivors as well as building capacity of local organizations. USAID also assists hospitals to provide fistula

repair services. USAID currently works with more than 90 local NGOs for social protection programs – the overwhelming majority of whom are operative in eastern DRC.

Since 2002 USAID has allocated over \$33 million for sexual and gender-based violence response and prevention programs in eastern DRC, as part of a broader effort for stabilization and protection. USAID programs have provided care and treatment services for well over 100,000 sexual and gender-based violence survivors, including access to medical care, counseling and family mediation, social and economic reintegration support, as well as legal aid. Community awareness activities educate and mobilize local communities, including traditional leaders and women's groups, to promote women's rights, acceptance of rape survivors, protection of the whole community, and outreach about available services through local providers. Health programs aim to improve medical treatment and prevention services for women and children. In addition, USAID programs aim to strengthen the rule of law to end the cycle of impunity and prevent would-be perpetrators from committing such crimes. In part as a result of USG efforts, there has been some progress in holding senior officers in the DRC military accountable. Recently, the Government of the DRC arrested and charged a brigadier general accused of rape—the highest ranking officer to be charged with sexual or gender-based violence in the current conflict. The image of a general facing charges should erode the perception that senior officers enjoy impunity, and may deter would-be perpetrators of human rights abuses.

USAID's programs increase stability in the DRC by addressing the root causes and mitigating the consequences of conflict. Recent agreements between the Government and armed groups, coupled with ongoing Government of the DRC military offensives, have weakened armed groups in eastern DRC, though security incidents persist, resulting in new population displacement. Resurgence of widespread conflict remains the biggest threat to stability in the DRC, especially in the East, with the potential to incite regional flare-ups. USAID responds to humanitarian need and promotes stability in eastern DRC through activities in peace process facilitation; community reconciliation; community-driven infrastructure and livelihoods recovery; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration; local governance and justice; and social protection.

U.S. assistance also seeks to improve good governance, expand the rule of law, and support the decentralization process through judicial and legislative strengthening at the national and provincial levels. While progress in achieving a democratic transformation is evidenced by the December 2005 Constitutional referendum, adoption of a new Constitution in 2006, holding of the DRC's first democratic elections in 40 years in 2006, and the establishment of new governmental institutions and implementation of decentralization, significant challenges remain. The Government of DRC is expected to hold national elections in 2011 as provided in the new Constitution. The elections are predicated on a new system of decentralized local government, a contentious issue given its history of separatist movements and conflict. USAID supports legal reforms, elections and decentralization, with technical support to Parliament, the Independent Elections Commission, and provincial administrations.

The United States also recognizes the importance of sustained investments to improve the Congolese people's access to quality social services in the areas of health and education, with an increased emphasis on preventing and treating HIV/AIDS and malaria. To address growing food insecurity and help the country increase its agricultural productivity, USG assistance focuses on cassava production and processing, support to small and medium enterprises, agricultural livelihoods support in conservation areas, and food aid development assistance.

Finally, the illicit exploitation and trade in natural resources from the DRC—particularly minerals—has prolonged the world's deadliest conflict since World War II by funding the Army and nongovernmental armed groups, led to widespread human rights abuses, and undermined the ability of the Congolese government and people to benefit from the country's vast mineral wealth. Mining sites and communities have been the site of killings, rape, exploitative child labor, debt bondage and forced prostitution. At roadblocks along trade routes, armed individuals and groups, including the Army, engage in rent-seeking behavior—exactng so-called “taxes” from traders (including legitimate traders) and lessening miners' and traders' income. Since minerals are frequently exported through unofficial border crossing points and according to unofficial methods, the Government of DRC is unable to effectively collect legal taxes and duties that it could otherwise use to aid the faltering economy and invest in key sectors. Even at official border crossings, poorly paid tax officials have little incentive to accurately value and tax the minerals trade.

USAID supports analytical work to create an evidence base around this complex set of issues and also supports key sectors such as improved governance, rule of law and economic development—essential components to addressing the underlying vulnerabilities fueling conflict. Moreover, a number of USAID programs in southern and eastern DRC address centrally related issues, such as reintegration of ex-combatants into conflict-affected communities and improved local governance of resource revenues. Comprehensive reintegration programs reduce the likelihood that ex-combatants will be recruited into illicit enterprises or re-recruited into armed groups that control much of illicit minerals trade.

Additionally, USAID implemented two innovative programs to improve governance and reduce conflict associated with the exploitation of mineral resources. The first was a public-private partnership in which modest USAID funds leveraged a larger private sector contribution by reputable mining companies operating in Katanga to foster corporate social responsibility and support alternative livelihoods for artisanal miners, who were operating in some cases illegally on private company land. The program also addressed critical human rights issues around the mining sites and strengthened conflict resolution mechanisms within the artisanal mining community to diffuse tensions before they spilled over into violent conflict. The project created local development funds, which were in line with Congolese local government reform processes, in order to ensure that taxes gleaned from legal mining were invested back into community-driven development programs.

The success of this intervention led to the establishment of a joint U.S.-DRC Development Credit Authority to encourage small and medium-scale investment in the key mining province of Katanga, where access to credit was very limited. In addition to work with artisanal miners done through the public-private partnership in Katanga, USAID has also supported stand-alone programs focused on the unique challenges of artisanal miners and implementation of the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights. In the southern Katanga Copperbelt, these programs (1) promote reconciliation, cooperation, and understanding among artisanal and small-scale mining-related institutional actors; (2) prevent conflicts and risks to communities over resource access and use; (3) improve access to, and awareness of, pertinent mine legislation; and (4) establish a conflict resolution mechanism for disputes and conflicts. The lessons learned and best practices distilled from these two innovative and cutting-edge conflict mitigation programs in the artisanal and small-scale mining sector have been used to inform the design of a new multi-million dollar, multi-donor, multi-year program focused on the mining sector in the East. The new program is called PROMINES and is supported by the World Bank and the UK's Department for International Development.

USAID continues our strong humanitarian support for the DRC. In FY 2009, USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance provided approximately \$33 million concentrated in North Kivu, South Kivu, and Orientale provinces. Support in Province Orientale was expanded during FY 2009 due to increased LRA attacks in the area. Activities included agriculture and food security, economic recovery and market systems, health, humanitarian coordination and information management, logistics and relief commodities, nutrition, protection, shelter and settlements, and water, sanitation, and hygiene. In addition, P.L. 480 emergency food aid for the DRC nearly tripled from 2007, to over \$110 million in 2009.

RWANDA

Since the 1994 genocide, Rwanda has made extraordinary progress to improve the economic, health, and social well-being of its people. Relative to many of its neighbors, Rwanda is stable and performs well on measures of government effectiveness and control of corruption. At the national level, the country has the highest rates of female political participation in the world: nearly half of its parliamentarians are women. Rwanda continues to demonstrate impressive leadership on donor coordination and aid effectiveness. The focus of USAID programming in Rwanda has been to strengthen the government's ability to rule justly, provide basic services for the populace, and foster economic growth. Additionally, U.S. assistance in Rwanda supports regional economic integration, spurs business development and entrepreneurship, and improves democratic institutions and the rule of law. The health sector also remains a major focus of U.S. assistance, particularly through PEPFAR. In addition, economic growth – through investments in improved agricultural production and food security – has become a major objective of U.S. foreign assistance.

Despite impressive progress in governance effectiveness, democratic reforms have lagged. To ameliorate this, a \$24.7 million Millennium Challenge Corporation Threshold Program was signed in September 2008, to assist Rwanda in improving its performance.

The Threshold Program, managed by USAID, provides technical assistance and grants to local governments and civil society to enable greater citizen participation; increase the independence of the judiciary; expand media freedom; and improve police internal investigations and accountability. It also complements USAID's support for political party strengthening, land conflict mitigation, peace-building, legal aid, and policy reform.

Through the Administration's new Feed the Future Initiative, in partnership with the Government of Rwanda, the focus on programs will include: post-harvest handling and storage; a food fortification; and support to women and the very poor through a comprehensive package of micro-finance, entrepreneurship development, education, and nutrition services. The Government of Rwanda was the first to sign a National Compact under the Comprehensive Africa Agricultural Development Program—and has demonstrated a strong commitment to combat undernutrition.

Rwanda's programs in Global Health were exemplary models of coordination between donors and the host-government to build a strategic response to combat infectious diseases and to improve basic maternal and child health care. For example, since 2005, USAID has supported Rwanda's Decentralization and Health Program, known as *Twubakame*, providing financial and technical assistance to health facilities and communities in twelve of Rwanda's thirty districts. The program provides improved services for maternal and child health, family planning, nutrition, and prevention and treatment of malaria in 136 health centers.

UGANDA

Uganda has strong ties to both East and Central Africa, and is strategically vital to U.S. interests on the continent. It has partnered with the United States to address regional conflicts, several of which have the potential to undermine the security, and political and economic viability of large areas of sub-Saharan Africa. Uganda itself remains a fragile democracy facing a number of domestic security and socio-economic challenges. USAID programming in Uganda focuses on strengthening the country's capacity for a healthier, more educated population; a stronger democracy and sustainable economic growth. USG assistance in Uganda focuses on improving access to and quality of health and education services, strengthening governance, and promoting economic growth while improving food security and protecting natural resources. Resources are targeted primarily at the health sector—with a focus on combating malaria, reducing malnutrition, and improving maternal and child health—and toward improving the capacity and productivity of the agricultural sector.

The recent discovery of oil in Uganda presents a challenge for its development as it transitions from a highly aid dependent country to one relying on oil revenues. Lest Uganda experience the "resource curse" that has afflicted other countries, it will be essential to implement financial management and accountability reforms to ensure the transparent management of these resources for the benefit of the Ugandan people.

Uganda's population of 31 million is one of the fastest growing in the world, with an average live birth rate of 6.8 children per woman. Over 30 percent of the population is

below the poverty line and 50 percent of the population is under the age of 15. Population growth and the “youth bulge” will challenge the ability of the country to provide basic social services within already-strained government budgets for the foreseeable future.

As it moves toward the 2011 presidential election, Uganda is going through a phase of extreme uncertainty. The reintroduction of multiparty politics in Uganda in 2005 provided an opportunity for more accountable and responsive government. However, governance remains poor and corruption rampant, threatening over the medium term the country’s hard-won gains in terms of domestic stability and economic development—and thus also its reliability as a partner of the United States. USAID activities support a more representative parliament and local governments, increased civic participation in governance processes, and a strengthened multiparty political system. USAID is expanding programming directly related to the upcoming 2011 elections and will support the electoral process by providing technical assistance to political parties and civil society organizations to effectively engage in the elections. These activities seek to prevent election-related violence and to create the conditions for a peaceful electoral process.

Uganda is actively engaged in the Administration’s Feed The Future Initiative, which will significantly increase foreign assistance in the sector. Uganda’s Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program Compact was signed in March 2010, which places Uganda at the forefront of the African agriculture development agenda in terms of its readiness to implement a tangible, results-based, Ugandan-led strategy that has strong broad-based support.

USAID support to northern Uganda is part of a U.S. Government-wide integrated approach to helping the people and the Government of Uganda achieve a successful transition from humanitarian assistance to sustainable development as outlined in the Government’s Peace, Recovery, and Development Plan. The improved security situation in areas that suffered during a decades-long conflict has provided hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people with a chance to return to their homes and communities. The progress has led to a new focus by both the GOU and the international community on providing a path to post-conflict development. U.S. Government programs support the voluntary return of displaced citizens in northern Uganda and promote peace, recovery, and development in the region. The U.S. Government has increased its response across all programmatic sectors in the north, and mainstreamed a northern Uganda focus into all its programs. USAID programs enhance local governance capacity; increase education and livelihood opportunities for demobilized ex-combatants (and non-combatant supporters); improve social services in northern Uganda to include HIV/AIDS, malaria, water, sanitation, and health; and restore the environment.

CONCLUSION

The countries of the Great Lakes Region of Africa are linked by geography and history, by rich natural resources and ethnic allegiances that cross national boundaries. To build a sustainable future for these countries requires recognition of the unique challenges and opportunities in each country. We look forward to working with the Department of State

and other U.S. Government agencies in continuing our partnership with these countries to realize their development goals.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Ranking Member Smith, and members of the Subcommittee for your continued support for USAID.

Mr. PAYNE.. Thank you very much. We certainly appreciate both of your testimonies, and I might just begin by asking, Ambassador Carson, you mentioned that you had a conversation with President Kabila in regard to his strategy to have the MONUC forces reduced. What was the rationale for his wanting initially to see them reduced, and where does it stand at the present time?

Mr. CARSON. Mr. Chairman, thank you for that question. Indeed, I did have an opportunity to talk with President Kabila about the presence of the MONUC forces there. I think that we have to remember that this year is the 50th anniversary of the Congo's independence, and I think that President Kabila wanted to demonstrate that after 50 years of independence in which there has been an almost continuous presence of U.N. peacekeepers there that the country could move ahead and begin to do without United Nations' peace keeping forces.

I think he was intent on making a statement at the anniversary that there would be a withdrawal of U.N. peace keeping forces, so I think it had a lot to do with domestic politics, the country's political pride, the long-standing presence of U.N. peacekeepers there and the desire to show after 50 years that the Congo no longer needed to rely on peacekeepers. I must say that President Kabila demonstrated flexibility in the discussions about this and I think he is now increasingly aware of the continued need for U.N. peacekeepers in the eastern part of the Congo.

I took the opportunity to stress to President Kabila that as long as there was wide-spread instability in the eastern Congo, the presence of rebel groups that had not been contained, and a high level of sexual- and gender-based violence, that there was a need for a presence of U.N. forces. But, as I said, President Kabila is showing increasing flexibility on this issue, and we hope that it will be resolved in the U.N. Security Council to the satisfaction of the council as well as to the satisfaction of the Government of the Congo.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Mr. Moore, since the whole Congo basin region, the Great Lakes region is so fertile, are there any agriculture programs? I know you touched on it a little bit, but what are we doing to try to encourage Great Lakes countries to take a stronger look at agriculture in general?

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In the President's food security initiative, Feed the Future, two of the targeted countries or three of the targeted countries if one goes just a little beyond the Great Lakes includes Ethiopia and includes Uganda within the Great Lakes. It also includes Kenya. As Ambassador Carson pointed out, one of the five assessments that was made in DRC was a food security assessment, and so their food security and agricultural portfolio is also being heightened.

That is looking particularly at the production side. On the other side, there is a desire to make sure that increasingly food and agricultural produce is able to move across borders more quickly and more efficiently, and for that work, as I said in my testimony, we are working primarily with COMESA, which is looking at the concept of one border stops so that two countries would adhere to the same standard.

That would allow food to move across their borders much like food moves across the borders of our states here in the United

States as well as looking at transportation corridors and working increasingly with the Millennium Challenge Corporation in those places where they have engaged in programs to provide them and the countries with some information that might help to mitigate transportation problems.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. My last question since my time has expired, but, Ambassador Carson, I previously raised the question of Rwandan genocide suspects who are living in the United States of America. I could currently give you a list of five persons who are still here, but two in particular, Mr. Zahirim Berry, and one who is actually in my home state teaching at a university, Montclair State, Dr. Munyakazi, who then left the state after I raised some questions with the university there but came down to teach again at Tulsa State University.

There is evidence he escaped from prison in Rwanda. There is a warrant out for his extradition, and he continues to be able to live here in the United States. I wonder if there is any information you have regarding at least the case from the professor who is still in education here in the U.S.?

Mr. CARSON. Mr. Chairman, I don't have any specifics about that particular case, but I would like to say that the United States remains committed to doing everything that it possibly can as a part of the international community to bring to justice those individuals who were most responsible for the perpetration of the genocide that occurred in Rwanda in 1994. The United States has had a Rewards for Justice program that has been effective in helping to track down genocidaires around the world, and some of our people in our embassies, our legates and others have helped to do so.

You probably are aware with respect to individuals in this country that we do not have an extradition treaty with the Government of Rwanda, but that does not in fact inhibit us from looking at individuals who have come into the United States under false pretenses and violated our immigration laws. We also look at individuals whom we believe to be involved in crimes that are also against other statutes of the United States.

We will look at these individuals. We will refer the names to our legal office and also to the Department of Justice, and we will continue to follow up on any individuals who we believe to be involved in the past genocide in Rwanda.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. We will certainly like I said give you all the information that we have. We are very particular as my colleague, Mr. Smith, has a different type of a case, but a young child whose parents were here in the United States and tried for years and years to finally have that child come back to this country, and we were criticizing the laws of Brazil for not allowing this to happen more quickly, and here in a situation where Rwanda is asking us to cooperate with them, we can't have it both ways.

We can't ask other countries around the world to cooperate with us and then we don't cooperate with other countries, and so I certainly will follow up with you on that, Mr. Assistant Secretary. Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Let me just ask. I think, Mr. Moore, you would be the one that might want to

answer this. The CDC letter pointed out that in Uganda approximately 100,000 HIV-infected individuals received ARV interventions funded by the U.S. Government, and yet the letter said that the U.S. Government recognizes that in the coming years the number of patients in need of antiretroviral treatment will increase dramatically.

Basically, the letter said there is a moratorium put on new patients being signed up and that the government is being encouraged to find additional funding to meet this great need. I am wondering what has been the impact of this new policy on people who are sick? Have people died as a result of this unmet need not being adequately met by either ourselves or in collaboration with our partners in Europe and elsewhere? To me, this is a banner issue, the fact that we have raised expectations, and it would appear we are not about to meet those expectations.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Smith. Unfortunately, I will have to get back to you on that. Here is the reason: Last week, the U.S. Government—all of the U.S. Government including CDC, USAID, Peace Corps and all of those who are implementing PEPFAR—had their annual meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, and this was one of the major subjects that they took up. Unfortunately for us, our staff who participated in the meeting since they were on the continent, went off to visit some of the countries concerned and are just beginning to get back. I will pose this question to them, and we will get you something.

[The information referred to follows:]

WRITTEN RESPONSE RECEIVED FROM MR. FRANKLIN MOORE TO QUESTION ASKED DURING THE HEARING BY THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

MORATORIUM ON ANTIRETROVIRAL TREATMENT

Rather than institute a moratorium on enrollment of new patients for antiretroviral treatment, PEPFAR is continuing to expand the number of people on treatment globally. The Obama Administration has set a goal of direct support for more than 4 million people on treatment (more than double the number supported in PEPFAR's first five years). PEPFAR is providing the support needed for programs to enroll patients in support of that goal. In addition, PEPFAR is working with its programs to ensure that funds are utilized as efficiently as possible, in order to save even more lives.

For more information on the PEPFAR program in Uganda, including an article by Ambassador Goosby describing his recent visit there, please see <http://www.pepfar.gov/countries/uganda/index.htm>. For more information on PEPFAR's overall treatment approach, please see the PEPFAR Five-Year Strategy at <http://www.pepfar.gov/strategy/index.htm>.

Mr. SMITH. If you would. One of the things that all of us recognized when the original PEPFAR legislation was passed and then when it was reauthorized is that we need to keep faith with those who are sick and dying in Africa and anywhere else where the ARV can not only extend their life but give them a quality of life. There is a broad consensus in Congress that every dollar we spend in helping people with this dreaded disease is money well spent.

I don't know if the chairman was advised, but I certainly wasn't advised except by some of the partners who got this infamous letter putting a moratorium on any new patients that might sign up. As I said in my opening, this could have very severe, negative consequences even within families themselves as decisions are made as to who gets what. If new enrollees are being blocked, it seems to me that individuals who are currently getting ARVs might take themselves off of it, so it is a very serious issue. Ask us if you need more money.

Secondly, let me ask, and I have asked this several times, about the OIOS investigators for MONUC. I met with a member of the Royal Police from Canada who headed up the OIOS mission in Goma, and he was shocked beyond words that there would be a redeployment. This was a couple of years ago. That redeployment of those investigators has taken place. How do you monitor something from so many miles away? Yes, there are some people that could alert the OIOS folks, but it seems to me you need a very significant deployment rather than decreasing it.

Let me also ask you if I could? You mentioned, Ambassador Carson, how did you put it? You are mildly encouraged that President Kabila had announced a zero-tolerance policy, which I think is a good thing obviously, regarding gender-based violence but also that they had arrested a general. Could you elaborate on who that general was, what he has been accused of and most importantly, because we have learned this, and I know the chairman knows this as well from all of our trafficking work, an arrest does not a prosecution make. What is being done with the prosecution and how far along is that?

Finally, I do have many questions, but time is of the essence I guess. When you talk about drafting legislation, which sounds like a very good thing, could you provide the committee with exactly what it is we are drafting, what kind of legislation we are collaborating with in each of these countries?

Also, I chaired a briefing a couple of weeks ago on the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation's blockbuster study on maternal mortality that was carried in the Lancet in early April. I have read the study. It is a very well-controlled study. The Gates Foundation found that the number of women dying, maternal mortality, is significantly less than what WHO and others had advertised, which is good news. It is great news. But they also said that the reasons why the mitigating factors for maternal mortality include such things as having a skilled birth attendant available so that if there is an obstructive delivery, a cesarian section could be performed so that both mother and baby are allowed to live rather than dying a terrible, terrible death.

Nowhere in Lancet or in the article did it mention abortion as in any way a factor. I think it is one of the most misconceived ideas

that somehow killing an unborn child averts or brings down maternal mortality, and it wasn't in the study I am happy to say. But if you could speak to the issue of what are we doing to build up, train up skilled birth attendants, because that is the answer it would see to me. And it now has been further authenticated by the Gates Foundation and by the Lancet publication of that foundation study.

Mr. CARSON. Congressman Smith, you addressed two questions that I think I should answer. The first one pertains to the OIOS, which is in fact the Office of Internal Oversight Services of the United Nations. This organization, as you and other members are probably aware, is set up to look over the conduct of U.N. peacekeepers in the field. The U.S. position with respect to OIOS is clear. We believe that U.N. peacekeepers should be held to the highest legal and humanitarian standards in carrying out their responsibilities and obligations overseas, and we think it is important that the OIOS in fact be present to do their work.

There are currently three OIOS positions based in the eastern part of the Congo in Goma. Two of those individuals are investigators, and one is a senior support staff member. In addition, there are no less than 10 OIOS officers and staff based in Kinshasa, but there are indeed 22 OIOS investigators assigned to the regional hub in Nairobi, Kenya, and I think it is the deployment of those 22 investigators that your question pertains to the reality is that the U.N. has moved those individuals to Nairobi as a part of a pilot effort in order to be able to save some money and resources.

The other side of the reality is that it is actually easier to move from Nairobi to Goma on most days than it is to move from Kinshasa to Goma given the limited transportation arrangements. We have looked at this issue, are waiting for the U.N. to determine whether this pilot effort will work affectively, but our central concern remains, and that is that those individuals who are part of the U.N. peace keeping forces who do undertake illegal activities should be investigated and prosecuted and that the OIOS should do this wherever they are centrally based, whether it is Kinshasa or whether it is Nairobi or whether there are people on the ground in Goma.

You also asked about the recent arrest of a senior Congolese general, and I am going to butcher the name because I think the name is General Kakwavu. Last year in 2009 when Secretary Clinton met with President Kabila in Goma, she reiterated a message that had been conveyed earlier by U.N. Ambassador Susan Rice about five senior Congolese military officers who had been accused of sexual- and gender-based violence. These individuals have been known as the FARDC 5. The general who was arrested was the highest ranking of those individuals.

Three of the FARDC 5 are now under government investigation. The general has been arrested. Two other individuals who are colonels have been relieved of their responsibilities and are under detention/house arrest in Kinshasa but not carrying out military activities at all, and two of the other individuals have fled and we believe have left the country, certainly at least one. We have continued to press President Kabila to take action at all levels against

officers as well as enlisted individuals in the military who have been involved in sexual- and gender-based violence.

We believe again that this is a step forward, but I want to underscore that given the high level of sexual- and gender-based violence, the high level of violence that exists in the eastern Congo, these are very, very small steps, and they need to be magnified not in terms of 5 or 10, but in terms of 100 and 1,000 times. There is in fact far too much gender-based violence in the east, and there should be no impunity for those who carry it out whatever their rank. This is a step forward.

We encourage President Kabila to live up to all of his commitments in this area. It is not enough simply to say I support zero tolerance. It must be made to be fact, and that can only be demonstrated by arrests, by prosecutions and imprisonment.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Mr. Smith. The two pieces that you asked for me, I spoke to critical legislation as it relates to sexual- and gender-based violence in DRC, and we will get you a full list. But the legislation falls basically into two areas. The first area is the fact that there are still on the books many discriminatory laws that sanction the lower status for women in DRC. For example, women can't open a bank account or file a case in court without their husband's approval.

[The information referred to follows:]

WRITTEN RESPONSE RECEIVED FROM MR. FRANKLIN MOORE TO QUESTION ASKED DURING THE HEARING BY THE HONORABLE CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

CRITICAL LEGISLATION RELATED TO SEXUAL- AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE IN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, there is one piece of critical legislation related to sexual- and gender-based violence. It passed in the summer of 2006 and raised the age of consent for sexual relations and defined key related offenses.

USAID support was instrumental in the passage of this landmark legislation. Under a grant with Global Rights, USAID supported local community organizations, advocacy groups, and legal professionals to advocate for and draft this seminal legislation. USAID also worked through these partners to offer technical assistance to Parliament to review the legislation in committee and then consider it for plenary vote.

Mr. MOORE. Also, in many cases, women are not permitted to actually own land in their name, so one of the areas is looking at getting some of these laws off of the books and creating some laws that empower women such as the land tenure that I speak of. The other areas, there is a little work being done with the judiciary given that the judiciary continues to suffer from a lack of independ-

ence. The other area that you asked about was maternal mortality and birth attendants.

I believe that this is one of the justifications and reasons for the President's Global Health Initiative, and that Global Health Initiative is intended so that many of the areas of health, like maternal health, which given our emergency look at HIV/AIDS or emergency look at malaria, in the short term suffered because many of the women who would be women as birth attendants moved into these areas of care. One of the ideas of the initiative is to help rebalance that care in the health field so that it covers such things as maternal mortality, birthing, et cetera, et cetera. Thank you.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Ms. Watson?

Ms. WATSON. I want to shift the questioning a bit to Mr. Ambassador Carson. In your testimony, you mentioned the political environment in Burundi and Rwanda, and both nations are quickly approaching elections that we hope will be fair and peaceful yet. There are 200,000 weapons in Burundi, and most of the over 25-year-old population is unemployed and frustrated, and there have been violent clashes among the five ruling parties.

The Government of Burundi's decision to expel a Human Rights Watch researcher is also very disturbing, and Rwanda similarly has recently suspended two newspapers, prevented some political parties from registering for the election, also denied the visa to a Human Rights Researcher. The question is in the face of such adversity, what kind of elections can we really expect, and what can be done to reduce the violence before or after the elections, and will any election results hold legitimacy with the public?

Mr. CARSON. I think that both of these countries have had very, very traumatic histories in which they have faced great adversity and civil unrest, and they are both coming out of long periods of adversity. I think that we have worked with and encouraged both governments to hold elections that are credible and fair, that they should in fact open up political space for the opposition, that they should allow civil society to participate, and we continue to encourage them to move in a positive direction.

Despite the violence that we have seen in Burundi, progress is being made in that country and that it is coming back from a long period of greater instability. In Rwanda, we continue to encourage the government to build on the progress that it has made since the genocide of 1994 and not to begin to stall its political process or to allow it to move back.

Ms. WATSON. Let me ask you if do we get the international election observation groups like the Carter Center involved prior to these elections? We know they will come in, these international organizations, during an election as observers. I have been part of that group from time to time. What are we doing prior to help them know how to run good and effective elections?

Mr. CARSON. In Burundi we have been extremely active in helping the government improve the climate for multi-party activities. We have worked not only via the Carter Center but also the Woodrow Wilson Center. The National Democratic Institute also has been engaged and involved on the ground.

Ms. WATSON. Is that ongoing?

Mr. CARSON. These are ongoing. We also ourselves in the Department of State have a robust democracy and governance program that we fund to help support elections, and we have contributed a substantial amount to the government to help ensure that the elections are run and run freely and fairly, so we are engaged, and we are actively monitoring the situation in Burundi and also in Rwanda.

Ms. WATSON. I was stunned. Which one of the countries has 23 parties?

Mr. CARSON. That is Burundi.

Ms. WATSON. How does that work?

Mr. CARSON. It is in fact democracy at its best.

Ms. WATSON. I will have to look into that more. Let me move on to Ambassador Moore.

Mr. CARSON. Lots of public participation.

Ms. WATSON. Exactly. Everyone in the public is in a party in the legislature. Okay. Ambassador Moore, your testimony noted that Rwanda has made extraordinary progress to improve the economic health and social well-being of its people relative to its neighbors, and the MCC just recently signed a threshold program to improve its progress. Yet, in light of the coming elections, newspapers have been closed and political parties unable to register.

Rwandans that fled during the genocide are said to be returning to the nation, especially as the situation in the DRC worsens, so what is the situation currently between the Hutu and the Tutsi, and are any of them returning and with what frequency, and will this return affect the relationship between the Hutu and the Tutsi? I am also glad to hear of the MCC's threshold program in Rwanda, so can you expand on that, and what is USAID's role in all of this?

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, ma'am. Let me see if I can sort of systematically try to answer your question.

Ms. WATSON. Yes.

Mr. MOORE. I do believe that there is a continued return of displaced persons to Rwanda. Part of that is pushed from the places they currently are living as conditions deteriorate, but part of that is a pull from Rwanda from the economic success.

Ms. WATSON. Right.

Mr. MOORE. I think you contrasted some of the things that may be viewed as economic success with some of the things that may be viewed as political lack of success, but on the economic side, there has been a lot of success in Rwanda, and it has attracted returns. Does that create problems? Yes, it does create problems. Rwanda is an area that has a very high population density. As one attracts people back to the country, it creates issues of land tenure, land ownership, and who has rights to use what land.

They have been, in some areas, very successful in integrating those populations. I would say from my visits there I certainly haven't noticed that it contributes to an increased ethnic tension. It has in some ways caused them to do their economic business in some different ways. For example, they have moved from pastoralists, who are wandering pastoralists, toward a more settled form of both milk production and meat production and converted some of their farms into growing traditional grasses for cows so that they

can produce dairy by holding the cow in a pen rather than allowing the cow to wander. Let me see.

Ms. WATSON. That is all right.

Mr. MOORE. I think I have covered the highlights.

Ms. WATSON. Yes, you have given us an overview, and my time is up. If I may, Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to go back to Ambassador Carson, and you mentioned the funding that comes out of State Department for these election activities. Do we fund you adequately enough to do this tremendous job you are trying to do in that area of the world?

Mr. CARSON. Democracy and governance in Africa is President Obama's principal foreign policy objective and priority in and across the continent. He said as such in his speech in Cairo in June of last year when he spoke before the Parliament. Additional monies and resources to fund the number one priority are always useful. We can never spend enough on helping to strengthen the principles of good governance which are fundamental to both our human rights protection as well as the strength of economies.

Ms. WATSON. Well, I just want to say, Mr. Chairman, that I think our monies that we give and donate to these countries could be well used rather than our monies that we put into fighting wars that have no end to them, and the \$15 billion we put in a month to Iraq to me was wasted money, and we lost lives, too. We have a difficult time with budgeting as you know with these deficits, but I can see these countries through the efforts through the State Department, your efforts, making progress.

It might seem small, but it is, and they can use the money we give more effectively than we do, and the USAID is an example of finding ways and giving monies to NGOs because I think they do a better job, but anyway, I would hope that we can have some concentration on funding the activities in these countries because I think the continent of Africa is the resource we are going to be looking toward in the next 10 years right now in terms of supplying our needs in this country, too.

Helping to settle and stabilize that continent would help us in other areas of the world, so thank you very much, and I am sorry to use so much time, but I think these are important statements with these very informed experts here. Thank you.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Congresswoman. Mr. Royce?

Mr. ROYCE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was going to ask a question of Ambassador Carson that relates to the referendum on independence of southern Sudan. That is looming, I think, in January of next year. The worry for a lot of people that have looked at this is that unless the LRA is permanently dealt with now that given the reported ties they have had in the past in terms of both munitions they have received and training and then especially recently sending some of their officers to Khartoum to be patched up, the worry is that Khartoum might put that killing squad to work if things went from bad to worse in south Sudan. I want to ask you about that.

Mr. CARSON. Congressman Royce, thank you. Let me first of all say that we are committed to the full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that was signed in Naivasha, Kenya, back in January 2005, and the key component of that agreement

is the opportunity for the people of southern Sudan to participate in a referendum, which should be held in January 2011, to determine whether they want to remain as part of a united Sudan or a part of an independent southern Sudan. We think it is important that Comprehensive Peace Agreement be fully implemented and that the will of the southern Sudanese be allowed to take expression.

With respect to the LRA, we are deeply concerned about the continued activities of Joseph Kony and the LRA. They have moved out of Uganda into the northeastern part of the Congo into the area around the Garamba Forest and have occasionally forged further north into the Central African Republic and also into parts of the southern Sudan. We have committed ourselves to being of assistance to the Ugandan Government as they have attempted to track down one of the most violent killers in Africa, and we remain supportive of Ugandan efforts consistent with the Ugandan Government securing the permission of neighboring states to have their troops operate across borders.

Mr. ROYCE. Very good. Well, let me also ask you about two other issues, one Ethiopia and the other Rwanda, where I think we need to lean in. After the 2005 election where the opposition did too well for his liking President Meles began a process where political opponents and local journalists were often jailed. Foreign journalists were denied visas. The government there jams our VOA broadcasts despite the fact that they receive nearly \$1 billion of aid. The State Department reports that the Ethiopian Security Services commit politically motivated killings, so the Meles government has the repression thing down pretty well.

As I have said before, only brutal Eritrea next door makes Ethiopia look good. There was a piece in the New York Times with a comment by a dissident, but basically the government there is committed to revolutionary democracy, and that is a collectivism that tolerates no dissent. The New York Times quotes this prominent Ethiopian dissident saying they still have this leftist ideology that the Vanguard party is right for the people. Well, they always will, and we need to lean in hard. We have to speak out more about the human rights violations that occur there. Otherwise, these elections become a charade.

On Rwanda, I thought you put it well in your paper. You said, "In a period of months, the Government of Rwanda has suspended two newspapers, revoked the work permit and denied the visa of a Human Rights Watch researcher and arrested and subsequently released on bail an opposition leader." Well, Paul Rusesabagina wrote in the Wall Street Journal the other day, "Warning signs are everywhere." Then, we have the problem in the eastern Congo that Rwanda continues.

As Human Rights Watch reported, "[T]he Rwandan Government has repeatedly backed Congolese rebel groups willing to fight the Hutu militias. Since 1996, Rwanda has backed three different Congolese rebel groups (and sometimes other splinter factions) who agreed to fight the Rwanda Hutu militias," but here is the other part of that, the real difficulty of it is those same groups also see the overthrow of the government in Kinshasa.

You mentioned that you are stepping up your engagement on conflict minerals. This is of course another problem with respect to the extraction the Rwandans are doing in the eastern Congo. It is a good place to start, but how do we bring additional pressure and muscle to bare on both Ethiopia and Rwanda so that in the future there are elections there in which people actually have an opportunity to bring about the rule of law, and you don't have a continuance of problems?

I see Mr. Wolpe here. We appreciate the special envoy's engagement to try to solve these problems. If civil society really sees a hopeful future where everyone has a place, and there is freedom of speech, and there is the ability of upward mobility because you have a more open society, there is a better chance of resolving conflicts. Ambassador?

Mr. CARSON. Congressman Royce, we do a number of things in both Rwanda and also Ethiopia, and across the continent with respect to issues of democracy and government. We engage with senior government officials encouraging them to strengthen their democratic institutions, to provide for freedom of the press, provide for greater opportunities for civil society, improvement of independent electoral commissions so that when elections are held, people will have confidence that they have credibility.

We encourage groups like NDI, NED, IRI, and the Carter Center to become engaged in democracy-building programs. We encourage the growth of civil society at all levels so that they can become more active in terms of their participation as well as in their ability to audit and review government activities. We work with our diplomatic colleagues from other democracies and encourage them to engage with governments, and we do that, and we speak out aggressively.

Mr. ROYCE. Well, we should shout from the rooftops if we are giving \$1 billion to Ethiopia and they are simultaneously jamming our VOA broadcasts. I can't even imagine what would be so objectionable that they have to jam the broadcasts. These corrupt elections in these countries receive so much largess and support from the United States. I agree on the engagement, and I know how much you are engaged.

Sometimes we just have to bellow and shout. Otherwise how are we going to change the dynamics in Ethiopia to make sure once all of the newspapers, beyond that once all the reporters have been jailed, and the opposition are either jailed or intimidated that if you join the opposition you might be? Additionally VOA broadcasts can't even come into the country. How are people going to get news and information?

Mr. CARSON. Let me just speak to a couple of those points, and you talked about shouting very clearly.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes. Right.

Mr. CARSON. I will send you, Congressman Royce, the letter that was sent from the State Department to Prime Minister Meles about the issue of jamming VOA. It was in fact very strong. It was very clear, and it was very forceful. We note in the world that there are probably only four or five nations that attempt to jam VOA today, and I think that Ethiopia does not want to be included

amongst them, and of course those are nations such as Cuba and North Korea.

Mr. ROYCE. Yes.

Mr. CARSON. We appreciate the level of collaboration that we receive from Ethiopia in a number of areas, but we also believe the Ethiopia must do better in strengthening its democratic institutions. Ethiopia went to the polls on Sunday, just a couple of days ago, and while the elections were calm and peaceful and largely without any kind of violence, we note with some degree of remorse that the elections there were not up to international standards.

We note that over the last 1½ years to 18 months that the government has taken clear and decisive steps that would ensure that it would garner an electoral victory, and that is indeed what has happened because of the level of opposition representation that appears to have won seats in the legislative branch of the Ethiopian Government has dropped quite significantly. It is important that Ethiopia move forward in strengthening its democratic institutions, and when elections are held that it level the playing field to give everyone a free opportunity to participate without fear or favor.

Mr. ROYCE. I appreciate that, Ambassador. The international community has been speaking out about his election not being credible, and I also appreciate your words as well, and thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. It is apparent from conversations if not from public statements that some of the international community's earlier enthusiasm for the Museveni government in Uganda has dimmed substantially and seems on a trajectory to dim much further. Both of you in your testimony apparently suggest that governments in this region should not be judged by how they compare to an ideal, but by whether they are getting better or getting worse, and it appears that on democratic governance issues at least, Uganda is getting worse.

Mr. Moore, you said in your testimony that USAID is expanding programs directly related to the 2011 elections in the Ugandan elections to support electoral process, assistance to parties, civil society, and obviously no civil society or no election is going to work very well without an independent media. There is now legislation pending in the Ugandan Parliament to require annual licensing for all newspapers and will allow the license to be revoked if the newspaper publishes anything prejudicial to national security stability or unity amounts to economic sabotage or is injurious to Uganda's relations with new neighbors or friendly countries.

It is pretty hard to imagine that kind of threat of revocation of a license would square with anything we would regard as freedom of the press or that it would serve the Uganda people very well in preparing for an election to get the information that they need. Are both of you aware of this pending legislation? What are the implications for democratic governance in Uganda, and are there other signs of democratic decline in Uganda leading up to the February elections?

Mr. CARSON. Congressman Miller, I am aware of the legislation. I think that it is not very thoughtful legislation. The Ugandan media has spoken out against it. even the government-owned New

Vision newspaper, which is the most widely read and most widely circulated paper in the country has also editorialized against this media legislation as well. I am sure that our embassy has also weighed in and made their views known to members of the government there about what they think of this legislation, but let me just say in general terms about Uganda and the issue of democratization.

It is important that Uganda not move backwards, that it not stall but continue to move forward in strengthening its democratic institutions. Last Thursday, I had an opportunity to make a very quick trip to Uganda, and I had an opportunity to speak with the President of the country as well as with several senior ministers in that country, and while the nature of my visit had to do with broader foreign policy issues, I specifically raised the issue of democratization and the strengthening of democratic institutions with the President.

I can say this very clearly because if you had a copy of the New Vision, you would see that for the 2 days that I was in country, on both days there were widely-reported stories of why I was coming to Uganda and what the response was, but I spoke to the President and senior ministers among other things about making the election commission more broadly representative of society in general and making it more credible.

I also spoke to him about the registration process and the need to ensure that all Ugandans had an opportunity to be registered and to be able to participate in next year's vote. The discussions were wide ranging, and most instances when I am traveling around the continent, I will talk very clearly to leaders about the need to strengthen their democratic institutions. This is important for us, but it is even more important for African countries and the stability and growth of their democracies. As I said earlier, it is a major priority of the administration to continue to encourage democratic progress and to do so in a manner that benefits all the people and not just a few.

Mr. MILLER. Okay. Mr. Moore, you have spoken in your testimony several times of land reform, tenure reform, tenure security, property rights. Obviously, it leads to conflict as you had said. It certainly can lead to great injustice, but it also makes economic development almost impossible for their to be no tenure security. No one is going to invest in improving land if the land may be taken from them arbitrarily and if their improvements make it more likely that it will be taken from them arbitrarily.

I have introduced legislation that I hope becomes part of the foreign assistance reauthorization to focus more on rapid urbanization and tenure security, but could you describe for us, you have mentioned it, but in more detail what we are doing in DRC, in Rwanda, in Burundi, to encourage a land tenure property right reform?

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, Congressman. It is an area that is an emerging area of concern for the Agency not just in the countries you have mentioned but pretty wide-ranging in Africa, including Liberia and a variety of other places. What are we doing? To date, we generally have had one full time land-tenure expert. That is moving to a land tenure team. We are as an Agency I think recruit-

ing an additional four other members for that team. The current person spends about 60 percent of his time in Africa.

We, the Africa Bureau, are bringing on a full-time land tenure person who will work with the existing expert, and what we are doing is working both with agriculture ministries and land ministries, where they exist, to ascertain what really are the tenure rules of the country, and in particular where there are both traditional tenure rules and modern legal rules, trying to resolve the differences between those so that countries can move forward with one system of land tenure that provides secure tenure for its citizens.

In particular, one of the things we are looking at is the role of women in land tenure. We know that women make up 70 percent of the agricultural force, and often they are reduced to agricultural labor because they don't have control of that land. That is one of the things in particular we are looking at in land tenure.

Mr. MILLER. Okay. Mr. Moore, I understand how important it is in agricultural areas. It is also important in urban settings, in the slums of the rapidly urbanizing cities of Africa. The absolute lack of any kind of tenure makes it almost impossible that housing will be anything more than a shack without water or sewer or electricity or anything else. Mr. Chairman, thank you.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. Ms. Woolsey?

Ms. WOOLSEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for keeping this going long enough for me to leave and come back. I appreciate you. Mr. Moore, in your testimony, you said that gender and women's empowerment is very important, and in your written testimony, you noted that the lifetime risk of maternal death ranges from one and 13 in DRC and one in 25 in Uganda, so with resources that the United States and the international community have dedicated to reduce maternal mortality, why are these numbers so high?

What about our current policies and practices or the region's current policies and practices need to be changed to improve these numbers, and what are the biggest challenges to making real changes for women throughout the region?

Mr. MOORE. Thank you, ma'am. I may have touched on this a bit while you were out. I think that one of the things quite honestly, as I said earlier, is that there were a variety of health issues that we looked at as emergencies, and as we looked as those as emergencies, we tended to move away from systematic care to deal with particular diseases or particular health concerns, and one of the focuses of the President's health initiative is that we would more comprehensively focus on health systems.

That comprehensive focus on health systems allows us, I think, to help to engage a broader range of technical experts, including birthing assistants, and to allow women, particularly pregnant women, to have a system that responds more broadly to their needs. I think if you look historically at maternal and child health, it sort of dipped and then went up I think as we looked more at individual diseases in emergency settings. The desire is to look more comprehensively so that begins to dip again.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Well, I don't want to take anything away from malaria and HIV/AIDS or any of those programs, but I would like maternal mortality to have that same level of support and interest.

On another subject, both of you, it is so clear that it is the women and children who suffer at the hands of a bunch of dudes, not just in developing nations, but really all over the world, but the more educated area or a region or a country, the more civilized it usually is, and you have said that the youth population like in Burundi, 50 percent of the population is under 25.

How are we educating these youths so that they will then become adults who care about each other and not just about competing and ending up with women and children being the brunt of the whole program? So education, how are we educating?

Mr. MOORE. Let me make a few remarks on that. As you are aware, the United States is one of the traditional leaders, particularly in basic education and increasingly in higher education. One of the things that we talk about and debate quite a bit is the missing aspects of vocational education, which should be targeted in particular at youth bulges. We have a number of countries that have huge youth bulges, and in those settings we have a number of employers who complain that they are not able to find people who have the particular skills that they need for employment.

One of the big areas, for example, one would find is with hotel workers or the hospitality field where they feel that some targeted education might be useful in helping those youth to acquire the type of skills that are needed so that they can enter the hospitality area. We have just begun under our new administrator to look at some of the ways we might be able to respond to some of these needs and to look particularly at some new partners in the United States that may be useful in responding there.

One of the things that comes to mind is for many of the areas where there has been an expressed desire by employers, and we might be able to have some public/private partnerships or training that in the United States is actually provided by what we would refer to as community colleges or junior colleges. That is one of the areas that I think increasingly as we look at the needs for youth bulge particularly as it relates to employment that we are going to have to get engaged in education.

Ms. WOOLSEY. But what about the challenge that schools are 'free,' but it is the cost of the monthly fee that the parents can't scrape up, so their kids don't go to school half the time? I mean, these are little kids, and they can't go into vocational education if they haven't had any education.

Mr. MOORE. That is an issue I am not sure I have an immediate answer for you on that.

Ms. WOOLSEY. Well, I think it needs to be addressed. In something I read just this weekend, I can't even remember what paper, I read so many of them, about families spending more money on tobacco and liquor that they do for their kids to go to school in a month or a week, so that is something I think that needs to be addressed and needs to be worked on because these children are our future, and we know it. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. We will have a very short second round, and we will limit the time, but I just have a couple of quick questions. The Government of Rwanda and DRC have sort of had contentions throughout the years, and I know that there was an agreement signed in November 2007 in Kenya that sort of start-

ed to create a better work relationship. How is the work relationship going between the two countries? Have they established diplomatic ties? They were going to exchange ambassadors perhaps at one time at the lower level. How is that moving along, Mr. Carson, Ambassador?

Mr. CARSON. Mr. Chairman, the relationship between the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda has improved dramatically over the last 18 months and certainly is a marked improvement over where it was 5, 6, 7 or 8 years ago. The improvement can be seen in a number of areas. One, there has in fact been an exchange of diplomatic relations. Both countries have now opened up embassies in their respective capitals, and they have also exchanged ambassadors.

The two Presidents, President Kagame of Rwanda and President Kabila of the DRC have met on several occasions, and we hear that they in fact do talk to one another telephonically on a periodic basis, but probably the most dramatic sign of the improvement between the two countries occurred approximately 15, 16 months ago when the government of President Kabila permitted the Rwandan Government to send troops across the border into the eastern Congo in order to help to flush out some of the rebel groups who were a part of the old Interahamwe.

The Rwandan troops stayed for several months and then went back across the border. They have not been back again. That was done with the permission of the DRC Government and the permission of President Kabila, but relations have improved significantly. We hope that they will remain on an upward trajectory. It is absolutely essential that they work together at all levels and very collaboratively if the problems of that region are to be resolved.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you. I know that Rwanda has several battalions of peacekeepers in Darfur, and I just wonder how significant is that, and how their contribution in the peace keeping in Darfur is working?

Mr. CARSON. The Rwandan Government is to be complimented on its commitment to peace keeping efforts not only in Darfur but in other parts of Africa. They have a very skilled and professional army, and their soldiers have turned out to be very able peacekeepers. They have performed extremely well according to reports that we have seen in their engagement in Darfur, and a senior Rwandan officer has also served as a senior commander in the U.N. peace keeping mission in that region so that in Darfur they get a very positive and high mark for their peace keeping commitment and performance.

Mr. PAYNE. And finally, about Rwanda, with the tens of thousands of people who had taken part in the genocide and many that are still in detention, a large number through the Gacaca system have been released. How is that system working, and do you see their release of more of the people who are incarcerated speeding up?

Mr. CARSON. The Gacaca system has worked extraordinarily well given the large number of individuals who were involved in the genocide in 1994 where there were clearly not just hundreds but thousands of individuals across the country who were complicitous in some of the enormous violence that went on from April to No-

member of '94. The Gacaca system, of course, is a uniquely Rwandan system. It has been effective.

We continue to monitor its operations, and we certainly encourage the Rwandan Government to exercise with care the rights of all of those who were in Gacaca detention situations and that those who in fact are rehabilitated and should be released should be released, but the system has run fairly well.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you, and just finally, Mr. Moore, with the social issues going on in Uganda—the anti-gay legislation, homosexual legislation—has the USAID attempted to work with government officials in trying to sort of explain or work with them in their governance? I mean, some of the legislation was pretty extreme. How have we dealt with that from a USAID standpoint?

Mr. MOORE. I don't think we have dealt with it directly. What we have tended to do as we look at Uganda in the area of governance is to try to find those areas on a local level where civil society and NGOs and local governance can come together or around some things that are positive in terms of moving those communities forward, and then based upon that relationship at local areas see how that can be moved up to a national level so that there are those same alliances that are working to solve problems. We probably have worked more on the process of solving problems than we have on looking at any particular thing that one may or may not decide is problematic.

Mr. PAYNE. Okay, Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Could you tell us the total amount of direct and indirect U.S. funding for the Kenya Constitution reform processes, including money to the committee of experts and the civic education program that is now underway? And secondly, what has been the U.S. position on the extraordinarily controversial part of that, which would legalize abortion for health reasons?

Mr. CARSON. Congressman Smith, I cannot tell you, but I certainly will find out how much we have spent in supporting the reform of the Constitution in Kenya, and so that number probably is available, and I will make a earnest effort to get it.

Mr. SMITH. I would appreciate it, and could you provide us the information as to what role, if any, we played with regards to the extremely controversial piece of that? The abortion provision has been so named by even the chairman of the committee on experts, who said that it is one of the top most controversial aspects to it that Kenya will go from a country that protected its unborn children in almost every instance to being an abortion-on-demand country, if this were to be ratified.

Mr. CARSON. We will find out, but again, we have not been involved in the internal deliberations of any particular clauses or amendments to the Constitution. What we have encouraged the Kenyan authorities to do is to produce a Constitution which incorporates all of the key elements of a strong democratic institution.

Mr. SMITH. A little over 2 years ago, the U.N. Population Fund and China's population control police invited the health ministers and other top officials in sub-Saharan African countries to Beijing to talk about child limitation policies. When that meeting was over, at least one very high official, Paul Kagame of Rwanda, said that

he wanted to implement a three-child-per-couple policy. Now, as I think you know, Mr. Ambassador, China's policy of one child per couple is among the cruelest violations of women's rights in human history.

There are at least 100 million girls missing due to feticide or gendercide, I should say, where children are targeted because of their gender, killed by abortions simply because they happen to be female. It is outrageous, and yet this has been enabled by the UNFPA since 1979. The international community has been largely silent, and now we see countries in Africa actively looking at whether or not they need that kind of child limitation.

I would point out parenthetically that Margaret Sanger in her books, and she actually wrote a book called *Child Limitation*, which talked about the "cruelty of charity" of helping indigent women have children. She wrote in her book, "*The Pivot of Civilization*"—she is the founder of Planned Parenthood—and she made it very clear, that there are certain ethnicities, certain people who should not procreate, and Africans were among those that she singled out that should not have children. Absolutely racist in my opinion. She was a eugenicist, no doubt about it. She clearly stated that anyone who was handicapped, disabled, in any way shouldn't be allowed to live.

Having said that, Kagame's statement about a three-child-per-couple-policy is, in my opinion, and many others I would suggest, very dangerous to children. It shreds the welcome mate for a child. Mr. Moore, you talked about population pressures. You talked about the growth. I would hope that wouldn't become a pretext for the U.S. Government supporting a child limitation policy whether it be three children per couple, or as we see in the PRC, the one child. It inevitably leads to coercion, and it makes children profoundly unwelcomed. Do we take a position on child limitation?

Mr. CARSON. Congressman Smith, I am unaware of the conference that you just mentioned in which the Chinese Government invited healthcare officials from Africa to attend. We will certainly look at it and see what the history of this is, and this is actually the first time that I have heard anything about President Kagame or Rwanda having a three-child-per-family policy. I am totally unaware of that as well.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Moore, are you? If you could check into it? I actually raised it with Paul Kagame myself. He acknowledged that it is accurate. But again he had the false sense that economic growth like what is going on in China. Economists now are beginning to recognize that not only can men not find women to marry because they are missing, because they have been killed by sex selection abortions, but the economic problems that China will soon begin to see are potentially catastrophic. I hope there will be lessons learned from China that are not misapplied because he came back feeling that if you want economic growth, you need child-limitation policies.

Please get back to me for the record. But do we, in drafting legislation, in any way encourage the legalization of abortion with countries like Uganda, with countries like Rwanda? Do you know?

Mr. MOORE. I believe, sir, the answer to that is no.

Mr. SMITH. Okay. Let me ask you, in terms of the moratorium on ARVs, if you could elaborate on the impact that it is having on the unmet need of men and women who are HIV positive, whether or not anyone else is picking up the slack, and given the fact that many people will die, will you be coming to Congress or looking to take monies from other accounts and make sure that perhaps we grow that number? I talked to a lot of the partners in the field, and they are very concerned that huge numbers of people will die because ARVs were not available to them. You are going to get back to us on that?

Mr. MOORE. I will get back to you on that.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that, Mr. Moore. Finally, if I could ask you about the light infantry battalion military training that we are providing. Years ago, when we trained up Kopassus in Indonesia, we heard reports of human rights abuses committed by those who we had trained. I actually convened a hearing and went to Indonesia as Habibie took over from the Suharto regime and people that we had trained, we believe—but we could never prove it—in urban gorilla warfare were actually killing people in the streets.

My question to you is what kind of human rights training are we providing? Are we keeping track of the trainees to ensure that there is accountability? How many trainers are there? Where is this actually happening? Could you provide us the who, what, when, where? I know the why of it, but maybe that as well because obviously it is a good idea. We want to train professional military men and women with good components of anti-human trafficking and human rights concerns, but if you could give us the whole package on that, I would deeply appreciate it.

Mr. CARSON. We certainly will. Just two quick sentence. We vet all of the individuals who participate in our military training programs according to the Leahy amendment, and with respect to the training that is going on in Kisangani right now, a portion of that training is devoted to human rights protection and respect for the civil liberties for civilians. It is an integral part of what our people on the ground are teaching to the unit that is being trained by the U.S.

Mr. SMITH. And just one final thing. Will Uganda back the U.S.-lead effort for Iranian sanctions at the U.N. Security Council?

Mr. CARSON. Let me say that I sincerely hope so. That was the purpose of my visit to Uganda last week. I hope that the Ugandans will in fact support us. It is absolutely essential that they do.

Mr. PAYNE. Let me thank both of you for this excellent hearing. We are getting a lot information out. We really appreciate it. We will be following up on a few issues, but once again, thank you. I would also like to commend my members, nine members at a sub-committee hearing is very commendable, and so I appreciate their interest. With that, I ask unanimous consent to enter testimony from John Prendergast of the Enough Campaign into the record. Without objection, so ordered, and also I ask unanimous consent that members have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks. Without objection. So ordered. Thank you very much. The meeting stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:21 p.m. the committee was adjourned.]

A P P E N D I X



MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD

SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-0128

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA AND GLOBAL HEALTH
Donald M. Payne (D-NJ), Chairman

May 21, 2010

TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing of the Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health, to be held in **Room 2172 of the Rayburn House Office Building (and available live, via the WEBCAST link on the Committee website at <http://www.hfa.house.gov>)**:

DATE: Tuesday, May 25, 2010

TIME: 10:00 a.m.

SUBJECT: The Great Lakes Region: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy

WITNESSES: The Honorable Johnnie Carson
Assistant Secretary
Bureau of African Affairs
United States Department of State

Mr. Franklin Moore
Deputy Assistant Administrator
Bureau for Africa
Office of the Assistant Administrator
United States Agency for International Development

By Direction of the Chairman

The Committee on Foreign Affairs seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you are in need of special accommodations, please call 202/225-5121 at least four business days in advance of the event, whenever practicable. Questions with regard to special accommodations in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats and assistive listening devices) may be directed to the Committee.

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON Africa and Global Health MEETING

Day Tuesday Date 5/25/10 Room 2172 RHOB

Starting Time 10:09 a.m. Ending Time 12:21 p.m.

Recesses 0 (to _____)

Presiding Member(s) Chairman Donald M. Payne

CHECK ALL OF THE FOLLOWING THAT APPLY:

- Open Session
- Electronically Recorded (taped)
- Executive (closed) Session
- Stenographic Record
- Televised

TITLE OF HEARING or BILLS FOR MARKUP: *(Include bill number(s) and title(s) of legislation.)*
"The Great Lakes Region: Current Conditions and U.S. Policy"

SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:
Congresswoman Watson, Congresswoman Lee, Congressman Miller, Congresswoman Woolsey, Congressman Smith, Congressman Boozman, Congressman Flake

NON-SUBCOMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT: *(Mark with an * if they are not Members of HFAC.)*
Congressman Royce

HEARING WITNESSES: Same as meeting notice attached? Yes No
(If "no", please list below and include title, agency, department, or organization.)

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: *(List any statements submitted for the record.)*

ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THE MARKUP: *(Attach copies of legislation and amendments.)*

RECORDED VOTES TAKEN (FOR MARKUP): *(Attach final vote tally sheet listing each member.)*

Subject	Yeas	Nays	Present	Not Voting

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE _____
or
TIME ADJOURNED 12:21p


Subcommittee Staff Director

**The Great Lakes Region:
Current Conditions and U.S. Policy**

John Prendergast, Enough Project

Testimony to the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs
Subcommittee on Africa and Global Health

May 25, 2010

Thank you Congressman Payne and members of this Subcommittee for the opportunity to testify on U.S. policy in the Great Lakes region of Africa, and to urge the United States to seize upon unprecedented opportunities to address the underlying causes of the chronic conflict and mass violence that has beset the people of this region for far too long.

Today, eastern Congo is home to the deadliest conflict the world over, with civilians under fire from all sides, including the rebel Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda, or FDLR, predatory units of the Congolese national army, and a range of smaller militias and armed groups. Neighboring countries that previously occupied tracts of eastern Congo maintain proxy relationships with many of these armed groups. Millions have died as a consequence of this war, and millions more have been forced to flee their homes. An untold number of women and girls have been raped in what the United Nations Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict, Margot Wallstrom, has called “the rape capital of the world.” Meanwhile, across a vast and remote swathe of Congo, Central African Republic, and Sudan, the Lord’s Resistance Army continues to kill and abduct defenseless civilians.

An end to these human rights catastrophes is long overdue. But in the past year we’ve also seen a sea change in how the activists and Congress are responding. They are the twin pillars that undergird this renewed effort. A growing grassroots movement of activist citizens is creating the democratic demand for U.S. policies that will end these crises, rather than simply mitigating their symptoms. The institutional channel for this demand is the strong bipartisan leadership in Congress that is creating the legislative framework for an enhanced response, and pressing the administration to step up to the plate. As a result, yesterday President Obama signed into law the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act, a historic piece of legislation that will finally help end the threat to civilians from Joseph Kony and his forces. In recent weeks we’ve also seen dramatic momentum on legislation pertaining to conflict minerals, one of the underlying drivers of conflict in the Kivus, in both the House and the Senate.

Bold U.S. leadership is a crucial precondition to resolving these conflicts. In my remarks I will focus on the key components of a U.S.-led strategy to halt the atrocities and create a chance for peace in eastern Congo and the wider region.

Dismantling deadly militias: going after the leadership of the FDLR and the LRA

For more than 15 years, the FDLR and the LRA have stood out as among the world's worst human rights abusers with near total impunity for their actions. The LRA is a Ugandan militia specializing in the abduction of children for use as soldiers and sex slaves, its leadership wanted by the International Criminal Court, or ICC. The FDLR, whose leadership contains some of those responsible for Rwanda's genocide in 1994, uses mass rape as its war tactic of choice.

In the past year, military operations against both militias have failed to neutralize their threat and have oftentimes exacerbated conditions for civilians. In the case of the LRA, Ugandan military operations undertaken with U.S. support have put the rebels on the run, but failed to apprehend or otherwise remove the organizations leadership, including Kony and two other commanders wanted by ICC. The LRA have demonstrated a remarkable and horrifying ability to thrive in the most remote forests in the region, regenerating by pillaging villages and abducting and indoctrinating children to replenish their ranks.

The FDLR remains one of the primary perpetrators of human rights abuses in eastern Congo's Kivu provinces, and though its capacities were eroded to some degree by the offensives since early 2009, its capacity to terrorize civilians continues largely unabated. The problem is that the response of the U.S. and larger international community has been almost exclusively military, a whack-a-mole approach which has proven as unsuccessful in counter-insurgency operations. In 2009 the U.S. provided some support to the joint Congolese Army/U.N. military offensive against the FDLR, which drove the FDLR out of some mining areas – sometimes only temporarily – but led to mass displacement and increased human rights abuses. The operation has been a strategic failure to date, and the FDLR has been re-organizing in Congo's forests.

The continued presence of the FDLR remains a persistent excuse for other troublemakers in the region. It is indeed essential to remove the FDLR from Congo, to reduce human rights abuses there, to restore Congolese sovereign control of its territory, and to remove any pretext for further direct and indirect intervention by Rwanda.

Recommendations for U.S. Policy

For the LRA:

Per the LRA Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act, President Obama has 180 days to submit to Congress "a strategy to guide future U. S. support across the region for viable multilateral efforts to mitigate and eliminate the threat to civilians and regional stability posed by the Lord's Resistance Army." The Enough Project will soon be releasing a report that outlines our contribution to this effort. As the LRA poses a clear threat to international peace and security, we recommend a coordinated effort authorized by the U.N. Security Council to undertake military operations in support of a targeted apprehension strategy aimed at Kony and the leadership, as part of a comprehensive effort to protect civilians from harm and to encourage the LRA's rank and file to lay down their arms.

The United States should significantly increase its intelligence support as part of this operation, providing the intelligence that can pinpoint LRA leader Joseph Kony. In addition to continued support for the UPDF, a Western government with elite special forces capabilities should undertake a time-limited, intensive search-and-apprehend operation targeting Kony and the two other commanders wanted by the International Criminal Court. Given the bulk of the LRA leadership is in the Central African Republic, a European military operation led by France would be best placed to actually pursue the LRA leadership on the ground, working closely with the Ugandans and other regional militaries. As a last resort, if others do not step up, U.S. military forces could take on this role via Africom and the U.S. base in Djibouti. Clearly, a surge in international diplomacy and strong leadership from the United States at the Security Council will be required to bring together this sort of bold, multilateral effort. This should include coordinated international support to help bring regional governments and U.N. missions together to protect civilians. U.N. missions in the region need to play a proactive role in protecting civilians and fighting the LRA.

For the FDLR:

Neutralizing the FDLR also requires a comprehensive counter-insurgency strategy instead of the blunt and counterproductive current military-only strategy. Elements of such a strategy include:

- Working with the U.N. Security Council and the U.N. peacekeeping mission in Congo, or MONUC, to consolidate civilian control over areas that have been cleared of the FDLR.
- Ensuring MONUC's strict implementation of the conditionality policy that is supposed to guide international support for military operations against the FDLR, and suspending assistance where it is not implemented effectively.
- Working with the Congolese Government to design a new counter-insurgency strategy that is much more focused, uses a smaller force made up of elite units while weeding out the rest, and is targeted at FDLR leadership. This is admittedly not an easy task in the chaotic climate of eastern Congo, but it is possible.
- The United States and other donors should be working with the Rwandan and Congolese governments and MONUC to co-opt moderates within the FDLR. Donors must increase pressure on the Rwandan government to state publicly and precisely which members of the FDLR are wanted for genocide. Donors should also pressure Kigali to make genuine moves towards relaxing its restrictions on political activities, which would enhance the effectiveness of negotiations. Unfortunately the present trend lines in Rwanda seem to be moving in the opposite direction. In the lead up to the August 2010 presidential election, for example, the Rwandan Government has restricted political space and individual freedoms. Opposition politicians have been harassed, two Kinyarwanda papers suspended for six months, and an international human rights worker de-facto expelled from the country.
- Building on EU action against FDLR leaders abroad and revamp efforts to arrest FDLR leaders and collaborators on U.S. soil. Furthermore, work with France and

the EU to have FDLR leaders in Europe arrested, including Callixte Mbarushimana. Place FDLR diaspora individuals on the targeted sanctions list.

Addressing underlying motivations: conflict minerals

Congo's mineral wealth continues to play a central role in the country's conflict dynamics. The easy availability of lootable natural resources, especially tin, tantalum, tungsten, or the 3Ts, and gold, with their well-developed trade routes and willing international buyers, foments the fragmentation of armed groups in eastern Congo. With only a few guns and shovels, local warlords can establish themselves as a group that must be reckoned with, financing their own growth into a militia powerful enough to demand a seat at the table in negotiations and eventually a position in the army—from where they can continue to profit from the minerals trade.

Moreover, in the battle for control of resources, competing networks of armed groups, businesses, and political elites routinely manipulate Congo's contentious and inflammatory grievances that surround sensitive issues such as ethnicity and land tenure. The inability of the Congolese government to control its territory and protect its population creates the opportunity for illicit networks to fill the vacuum, but the objective of these networks remains profit, predominantly from the mineral trade.

Thanks to increased international attention, in particular your and Mr. McDermott's leadership with the Conflict Minerals Trade Act and strong statements by U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton during her visit to eastern Congo, some actors with a role in Congo's conflict mineral drama are feeling the pressure to change their behavior. Actors in the international supply chains for electronics and other industries have signaled a willingness to provide new levels of due diligence and corporate responsibility. Yet it is equally clear that a number of companies and traders remain highly invested in business as usual with regard to conflict minerals. As our team witnessed on the ground just two weeks ago, palpable change on the ground remains to be seen, but traders and military units are talking about U.S. attention more than ever, and pressure for change is mounting.

Sadly, three countries with numerous other successes are still reluctant to break their links to the deadly conflict minerals trade – Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi. As members of our team witnessed first-hand on the ground just last month, businesses and government officials from all three of these countries continue to actively finance the purchase of conflict minerals from eastern Congo today. In 2009 Rwanda exported ten times the amount of tin that it produced internally, and Uganda exported over \$23 million worth of gold but officially produced none. The UN Group of Experts documented last December how several companies and officials from these countries purchased millions of dollars worth of minerals from areas controlled by the FDLR and National Congress for the Defense of the People, or CNDP, in eastern Congo in 2009. To be clear, providing material support to the FDLR is a breach of UN sanctions and U.S. law.

Despite the naming of companies and officials in the UN report, no action has been taken against the Ugandan or Burundian traders to date, and the trade continues today. Last November, CBS' 60 Minutes documented via hidden camera how a Congolese gold trader sold gold to a major trader in Kampala despite clearly stating that the material was from a rebel-held area. As a gold trader in Uganda told us last month, "Everything is business as usual. The buyers in Kampala are sending money to Bukavu [eastern Congo], and Congolese are coming back with the gold. As soon as the UN investigators left, they started trading again. So much of that gold comes from FDLR areas." Yet two days later, an advisor to Ugandan President Museveni told us that "The international community rejected the UN Experts report. The UN itself rejected it. We are now looking for the people they talked to, those who lied. Of course we don't trade conflict gold." Rather than take proactive action, the Ugandan government is still closing its eyes to the problem.

In theory, all three of these countries have an interest in a clean minerals trade, as they would benefit from increased tax revenues and improved international investment from a clean regional trade. As American allies, the governments of Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda will listen to the U.S. on these issue, but we need to be firm in addressing the illicit actors and then promoting a better, clean trade that will benefit the region.

Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Robert Hormats has taken up the challenge of leading U.S. efforts to tackle the conflict minerals issue, and the legislation moving through both houses of Congress could be the first to truly hold companies to account for their supply chain practices. To capitalize on this momentum, we recommend the following steps for U.S. policy:

- Lead a process with the Congolese government to convene three to five key companies each from the electronics, jewelry, aerospace, medical devices, and metals trading and refining industries to initiate an international certification process for the 3 T's and gold which builds on the lessons of the Kimberley Process for blood diamonds. The electronics industry is already leading audits on tantalum, but if we are to be successful for the other minerals, the U.S. will need to convene these other industries, which are key end-users of the minerals that the rest of the supply chains will listen to. The Congolese government is interested in partnering with the US on this process.
- Publicly support the two pieces of legislation that will help clean up the conflict minerals supply chain: the Conflict Minerals Trade Act, H.R. 4128, and the Congo Conflict Minerals Act, S. 891.
- Firmly address the illicit conflict minerals smuggling that Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi continue to engage in by demanding that action be taken against the companies and individuals involved in the conflict minerals trade based in these countries. Furthermore, the U.S. should urge these countries to be transparent in their minerals trade by publishing company-by-company production, import, and export data for the trade in cassiterite, wolframite, coltan, and gold.

- Partner with the Congolese government to drive an active partnership for the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region, or ICGLR, to develop an independent monitoring mechanism for overseeing the mines and trading routes.

Security Sector Reform

The United States has finally taken first serious steps toward ensuring the reform of Congo's security services. This process will require a long-term policy commitment from the State and Defense Departments if it is to have serious impact in Congo. Further to its heinous human rights record, the Congolese army continues to be in a state of disorganization and filled with rampant corruption. Numerous militias have been incorporated into the army, but little or no effort has been made to retrain or properly reintegrate them into the army ranks. For example, the CNDP, although integrated into the Congolese army last year, retains a separate command and tax administration structure, and its former rebel commanders have not been vetted for their atrocious human rights records. Barracks remain in conditions that resemble refugee camps, brigades are poorly trained and too large to undertake effective operations, and soldiers are not paid for months on end. Meanwhile the race by various governments to quickly train and deploy units has undermined MONUC's efforts to develop a vetting mechanism to exclude soldiers involved in human rights abuses from training programs.

As a first step, the State Department, in partnership with Africom, has developed a pilot training program in Kisangani for a light infantry battalion, vetting for human rights records and ensuring that the Congolese Army agrees to keep the unit together for at least two years. But the Kisangani training is only the tip of the iceberg – security sector reform to date has been far too piecemeal to have a serious impact. Despite current efforts, outgoing U.N. chief in Congo Ross Mountain again recently noted “the importance of... slimming down the army to a core professional group that can actually protect the population, rather than so often preying on the population.”

Positively, donor governments are now beginning to coordinate their engagement with the Congolese government on aid for security reform, although the first step in this process has been to recognize that nearly all of the aid poured into this process to date has had zero impact. Going forward, common principles and benchmarks shared by all the major donors should be the basis for all aid to the Government.

Recommendations for U.S. policy

- Donors and governments with military expertise should work with the Congolese government to forge a major multilateral, diplomatically-supported, highly human rights-conditioned, decade-long commitment to help reform the Congolese army so that it becomes a source of security to the civilian population rather than one of predation. One Congolese civil society leader told us, “If our government and army were stronger and more responsible, then neighbors and corporations couldn't take advantage of Congo. If we paid our soldiers and fought impunity, no neighboring country would invade or try to take our mineral resources.”

- Recent lessons learned from army reform endeavors in Iraq and Afghanistan should be applied to the Congo. MONUC should further embed personnel in government army units directly, which if systematic, can help lay the groundwork in the East for future reform efforts. Given China's massive stake in the Congolese mining sector, Beijing should engage as a major supporter of army reform efforts, as its contracts will be unstable in the long-term without the security a reformed army would afford.

My remarks today are by no means a comprehensive catalogue of the myriad security, human rights, and humanitarian challenges found in the Great Lakes region. But, the issues I have enumerated are the top policy priorities in which the U.S., in partnership with the United Nations and other international actors, should engage.