BELARUS DEMOCRACY ACT OF 2011; AND A RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE IVORIAN PEOPLE AND CALLING ON THE UNITED STATES TO APPLY INTENSE DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE AND PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT IN RESPONSE TO THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN COTE D'IVOIRE

MARKUP
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED TWELFTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION
ON
H.R. 515 and H. Res. 85
APRIL 13, 2011
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BELARUS DEMOCRACY ACT OF 2011; AND A RESOLUTION SUPPORTING THE DEMOCRATIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE IVORIAN PEOPLE AND CALLING ON THE UNITED STATES TO APPLY INTENSE DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE AND PROVIDE HUMANITARIAN SUPPORT IN RESPONSE TO THE POLITICAL CRISIS IN COTE D’IVOIRE

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 13, 2011

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

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:28 a.m., in room 2172 Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will now come to order for a mark-up on two pieces of legislation. Pursuant to notice, for purposes of markup, I call up the bill H.R. 515, the Belarus Democracy Act of 2011.

[H.R. 515 follows:]
H. R. 515

To reauthorize the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 26, 2011

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey (for himself, Mr. WOLF, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, and Mr. ROHRABACHER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on the Judiciary and Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned.

A BILL

To reauthorize the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Belarus Democracy
Reauthorization Act of 2011”.

SEC. 2. FINDINGS; STATEMENT OF POLICY.

Sections 2 and 3 of the Belarus Democracy Act of
2004 (Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is
amended to read as follows:
SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

Congress finds the following:


(2) The Government of Belarus has engaged in a pattern of clear and uncorrected violations of basic principles of democratic governance, including through a series of fundamentally flawed presidential and parliamentary elections undermining the legitimacy of executive and legislative authority in that country.

(3) The Government of Belarus has subjected thousands of pro-democratic political activists to harassment, beatings, and jailings, particularly as a result of their attempts to peacefully exercise their right to freedom of assembly and association.

(4) The Government of Belarus has attempted to maintain a monopoly over the country’s information space, targeting independent media, including independent journalists, for systematic reprisals and elimination, while suppressing the right to freedom of speech and expression of those dissenting from the dictatorship of Aleksandr Lukashenka, and adopted laws restricting the media, including the
Internet, in a manner inconsistent with international human rights agreements.

“(5) The Government of Belarus continues a systematic campaign of harassment, repression, and closure of nongovernmental organizations, including independent trade unions and entrepreneurs, and this crackdown has created a climate of fear that inhibits the development of civil society and social solidarity.

“(6) The Government of Belarus has subjected leaders and members of select ethnic and religious minorities to harassment, including the imposition of heavy fines and denying permission to meet for religious services.

“(7) The Government of Belarus has attempted to silence dissent by persecuting human rights and pro-democracy activists with threats, firings, expulsions, beatings and other forms of intimidation, and restrictions on freedom of movement and prohibition of international travel.

“(8) The dictator of Belarus, Aleksandr Lukashenka, established himself in power by orchestrating an illegal and unconstitutional referendum that enabled him to impose a new constitution, abolishing the duly elected parliament, the 13th Su-
premier Soviet, installing a largely powerless National
Assembly, extending his term in office, and removing
applicable term limits.

“(9) The Government of Belarus has failed to
make a convincing effort to solve the cases of dis-
appeared opposition figures Yuri Zakharenka, Viktor
Gonchar, and Anatoly Krasovsky and journalist
Dmitry Zavadsky, even though credible allegations
and evidence links top officials of the Government to
these disappearance.

“(10) The Government of Belarus has re-
stricted freedom of expression on the Internet by re-
quiring Internet Service Providers to maintain data
on Internet users and the sites they view and to pro-
vide such data to officials upon request, and by cre-
at ing a government body with the authority to re-
quire Internet Service Providers to block Web sites.

“(11) On December 19, 2010, the Government
of Belarus conducted a presidential election that
failed to meet the standards of the Organization for
Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for
democratic elections.

“(12) After the December 19, 2010, presi-
dential election the Government of Belarus re-
ponded to opposition protests by beating an un-
known number of protestors and detaining more
than 600 peaceful protestors.

“(13) After the December 19, 2010, presi-
dential election the Government of Belarus jailed
seven of the nine opposition presidential candidates
and abused the process of criminal prosecution to
persecute them.

“(14) After the December 19, 2010, presi-
dential election, the Government of Belarus dis-
rupted independent broadcast and Internet media,
and engaged in repressive actions against inde-
pendent journalists.

“(15) After the December 19, 2010, presi-
dential election, Belarusian security services and po-
lice conducted raids targeting civil society groups,
individual pro-democracy activists, and independent
media.

“(16) After the December 19, 2010, presi-
dential election, Belarusian officials refused to ex-
tend the mandate of the OSCE Office in Minsk.

“(17) The Department of State, the Depart-
ment of the Treasury, and other executive branch
agencies have heretofore made effective use of this
Act to promote the purposes of this Act, as stated
in section 3 of this Act.
SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

“It is the policy of the United States to—

“(1) condemn the conduct of the December 19, 2010, presidential election and crackdown on opposition candidates, political leaders, and activists, civil society representatives, and journalists;

“(2) continue to call for the immediate release without preconditions of all political prisoners in Belarus, including all those individuals detained in connection with the December 19, 2010, presidential election;

“(3) continue to support the aspirations of the people of Belarus for democracy, human rights, and the rule of law;

“(4) continue to support the aspirations of the people of Belarus to preserve the independence and sovereignty of their country;

“(5) continue to support the growth of democratic movements and institutions in Belarus, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in that country;

“(6) continue to refuse to accept the results of the fundamentally flawed December 19, 2010, presidential election held in Belarus, and to support calls for new presidential and parliamentary elections, conducted in a manner that is free and fair according to OSCE standards;
“(7) continue to call for the fulfillment by the
Belarusian government of Belarus’s freely under-
taken obligations as an OSCE participating state;
“(8) continue to call for a full accounting of the
disappearances of opposition leaders and journalists
in Belarus, including Victor Gouchar, Anatoly
Krasovsky, Yuri Zakharenka, and Dmitry Zavadsky,
and the prosecution of those individuals who are in
any way responsible for the disappearance of those
opposition leaders and journalists;
“(9) continue to work closely with the Euro-
pean Union and other countries and international
organizations, to promote the conditions necessary
for the integration of Belarus into the European
family of democracies; and
“(10) remain open to reevaluating United
States policy toward Belarus as warranted by de-
monstrable progress made by the Government of
Belarus consistent with the aims of this Act as stat-
ed in this section. ridi”.

SEC. 3. ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL
SOCIETY IN BELARUS.

Section 4 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004
(Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amend-
ed—
(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “community” and inserting “family”; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “internationally accepted standards and under the supervision of internationally recognized observers” and inserting “OSCE standards and monitored by OSCE observers”;

(2) in subsection (b), by striking “primarily for indigenous” and inserting “for independent, indigenous”;

(3) in subsection (c)—

(A) by amending paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(1) facilitating the development of independent, indigenous print, radio, television, and Internet broadcasting, whether working within Belarus or from locations outside the country;”; and

(B) by redesignating paragraphs (3) through (8) as paragraphs (2) through (7), respectively; and

(4) in subsection (d)(1), by striking “such sums as may be necessary for each of the fiscal years 2007 and 2008” and inserting “an amount not to
exceed the amount appropriated for fiscal year 2008
for each of fiscal years 2012 through 2014.”

SEC. 4. RADIO AND TELEVISION BROADCASTING TO
BELARUS.

Section 5 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004
(Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended
to read as follows:

“SEC. 5. RADIO, TELEVISION, AND INTERNET BROAD-
CASTING TO BELARUS.

“It is the sense of Congress that the President should
continue to support radio, television, and Internet broad-
casting to the people of Belarus in languages spoken in
Belarus, by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, the Voice
of America, European Radio for Belarus, and Belsat.”.

SEC. 5. SANCTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF
BELARUS.

Section 6 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004
(Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amend-
ed—

(1) in subsection (b)—

(A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “or ex-
pression, including those individuals jailed
based on political beliefs or expression in con-
nection with repression that attended the presi-
dential election of December 19, 2010” before
the period at the end;

(B) in paragraph (2), by inserting “, in-
cluding politically motivated legal charges made
in connection with repression that attended the
presidential election of December 19, 2010” be-
fore the period at the end;

(C) in paragraph (5), by inserting “and
violations of human rights, including violations
of human rights committed in connection with
the presidential election of December 19, 2010”
before the period at the end; and

(D) in paragraph (7), by striking “inter-
nationally recognized observers” and inserting
“OSCE observers”; (2) in subsection (c)—

(A) in paragraph (2)—

(i) by striking “subparagraph (A)”
and inserting “paragraph (1)” ; and

(ii) by striking “or” at the end;

(B) in paragraph (3), by striking the pe-
riod at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(C) by adding at the end the following new
paragraphs:
“(4) is a member of any branch of the security or law enforcement services of Belarus and has participated in the violent crackdown on opposition leaders, journalists, and peaceful protestors that occurred in connection with the presidential election of December 19, 2010; or

“(5) is a member of any branch of the security or law enforcement services of Belarus and has participated in the persecution or harassment of religious groups, human rights defenders, democratic opposition groups, or independent media or journalists.”;

(3) in subsection (e), by striking “of each international financial institution to which” and inserting “at each international financial institution of which”; and

(4) in subsection (f)(2)(B)(ii), by striking “(as defined in section 40102 of title 49, United States Code)”.

SEC. 6. REPORT.

Section 8(a) of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 (Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amended—

(1) in the matter preceding paragraph (1)—
(A) by striking “this Act” and inserting “the Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2011”; and
(B) by inserting “and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe” after “appropriate congressional committees”;
(2) in paragraph (1), by striking “sale or delivery of weapons or weapons-related technologies” and inserting “sale or delivery or provision of weapons or weapons-related technologies or weapons-related training”;
(3) in paragraph (2), by striking “involved in the sale” and inserting “or weapons-related training involved in the sale or delivery or provision”; (4) in paragraph (3), by inserting “or weapons-related training described in paragraph (1)” before the period at the end; and
(5) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:
“(5) The cooperation of the Government of Belarus with any foreign government or organization for purposes related to the censorship or surveillance of the Internet, or the purchase or receipt by the Government of Belarus of any technology or training from any foreign government or organization for
purposes related to the censorship or surveillance of
the Internet.”.

SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.

Section 9 of the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004
(Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note) is amend-
ed—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “Committee
on International Relations” and inserting “Com-
mittee on Foreign Affairs”; and

(2) in paragraph (3)—

(A) in subparagraph (B)(i), by striking
“and prosecutors” and inserting “, prosecutors,
and heads of professional associations and edu-
cational institutions”; and

(B) in subparagraph (C), by striking
“Lukashenka regime” and inserting “Government
of Belarus”.

○
Mr. SMITH. And then following that, we will then be calling up H. Res. 85, authored by Mr. Payne, which concerns all relevant issues with Cote d’Ivoire.

Without objection, H.R. 515, the Belarus Democracy Act, will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point. I have a bipartisan amendment that members have in front of them in their packets, which was provided previously to your offices as well, and it is available online as well. The clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. Amendment to H.R. 515, offered by Mr. Smith of New Jersey. Page 1, line 5, strike “Reauthorization” and insert “and Human Rights.” Page 3, line 14, insert at the end before the period, the following: “, sometimes by—”

[The amendment offered by Mr. Smith of New Jersey follows:]
AMENDMENT TO H.R. 515
OFFERED BY MR. SMITH OF NEW JERSEY

Page 1, line 5, strike “Reauthorization” and insert “and Human Rights”.

Page 3, line 14, insert at the end before the period the following: “, sometimes by selective enforcement of the 2002 Belarus religion law”.

Page 4, beginning on line 25, strike “an unknown number” and insert “scores”.

Page 5, after line 20, insert the following:

(17) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, opposition candidates and activists have been persecuted and detainees have been physically mistreated, and denied access to family, defense counsel, medical treatment, and open legal proceedings.

(18) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, lawyers representing those facing criminal charges related to the post-election protest have been subjected to the revocation of licenses, disbarment, and other forms of pressure.
(19) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the Government of Belarus has convicted political detainees to harsh prison sentences.

(20) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the United States and European Union imposed targeted travel and financial sanctions on an expanded list of officials of the Government of Belarus.

(21) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the United States fully restored sanctions against Belarus’s largest state-owned petroleum and chemical conglomerate and all of its subsidiaries.

(22) After the December 19, 2010, presidential election, the United States has engaged in assistance efforts to provide legal and humanitarian assistance to those facing repression and preserving access to independent information, and has pledged resources to support human rights advocates, trade unions, youth and environmental groups, business associations, think-tanks, democratic political parties and movements, independent journalists, newspapers and electronic media operating both inside Belarus and broadcasting from its neighbors, and to support access of Belarusian students to independent higher
3 education and expand exchange programs for busi-
ness and civil society leaders.

Page 5, line 21, strike “(17)” and insert “(23)”.

Page 7, line 15, strike “and”.

Page 7, after line 15, insert the following:

(10) call on the International Ice Hockey Fed-
eration to suspend its plan to hold the 2014 Inter-
national World Ice Hockey championship in Minsk
until the Government of Belarus releases all political
prisoners; and

Page 7, line 16, strike “(10)” and insert “(11)”.

Page 7, line 20, strike all after “section” and insert
a period, closing quotation marks, and a second period
outside such closing quotation marks.

Page 7, beginning on line 21, strike section 3.

Page 9, line 3, redesignate section 4 as section 3.

Page 9, line 15, redesignate section 5 as section 4.

Page 11, line 20, redesignate section 6 as section 5.

Page 11, strike line 24 through line 6 on page 12
and insert the following:
4

(1) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by
striking “this Act” and inserting “the Belarus De-
mocracy and Human Rights Act of 2011”; and

Page 13, line 3, redesignate section 7 as section 6.

Page 13, after line 17, insert the following:

4 sec. 7. Funding for Report.

The requirement to prepare and transmit the report
required under section 8 of the Belarus Democracy Act
of 2004 (Public Law 109–480; 22 U.S.C. 5811 note), as
amended by section 6 of this Act, shall be performed with-
in current levels of authorized and appropriated funding.
Mr. SMITH. Without objection, the amendment will be considered as read. And I recognize myself to speak. I will not read my entire statement.

We did have an extensive hearing on Belarus just the other day, at which we focused on the despicable actions of Alekandr Lukashenka, who is the dictator, especially as relates to the fraudulent December 19th election in Belarus, and the ongoing crackdown on democracy activists and independent journalists by the Lukashenka dictatorship.

Immediately after the election, the government responded to peaceful protests against electoral fraud with savage mass beatings and large-scale detentions. Over 700 people were hurt. Some of those jailed have been abused, and even tortured. A number of them have already received harsh sentences of up to 4 years. Nearly 30 remain in detention.

Their families, lawyers, journalists, and democratic activists continue to be harassed and intimidated. The crackdown follows the pattern of repression that has characterized Lukashenka’s nearly 17-year rule. Through a series of rigged elections, large-scale intimidation, and suppression of independent media and civil society, the dictator has long since consolidated his control over virtually all national institutions.

Lukashenka’s dictatorship has the worst democracy and human rights record of any government in Europe. Several years ago, legislation I authored known as the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 and the Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2006 passed the House and Senate, and was signed into law, with overwhelming bipartisan support. H.R. 515 takes as a starting point the approach of the earlier legislation.

And without objection, I would ask that my full statement be included in the record at this point.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Smith of New Jersey follows:]
Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights Subcommittee
Considerations of H.R. 515, the Belarus Democracy Act of 2011

Excerpts of Remarks
Rep. Chris Smith, Chairman
April 13, 2011

Before proceeding, I would like to express my deep sorrow over the tragic loss of life in Monday’s metro terrorist attack in Minsk. Our thoughts and prayers are with the Belarusian people at this difficult time, and especially with the families and friends of those who perished, as well as those injured.

The fraudulent December 19, 2010 election in Belarus and the ongoing crackdown on democracy activists and independent journalists by the Lukashenka dictatorship underscore the need for this legislation. Immediately after the election, the government responded to peaceful protests against electoral fraud with savage mass beatings and large-scale detentions – over 700 people. Some of those jailed have been abused and even tortured. A number have already received harsh sentences of up to 4 years. Nearly 30 remain in detention. Their families, lawyers, journalists and democratic activists continue to be harassed and intimidated.

The crackdown follows the pattern of repression that has characterized Lukashenka’s nearly 17 year rule. Through a series of rigged elections, large-scale intimidation, and the suppression of independent media and civil society, the dictator has long since consolidated his control over virtually all national institutions. Lukashenka’s dictatorship has the worst democracy and human rights record of any government in Europe.

Several years ago, legislation I authored, the Belarus Democracy Act of 2004 and the Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2006, passed the House and Senate with overwhelming bipartisan support and was signed into law.

H.R. 515 takes as its starting point the approach of the earlier legislation. It states a U.S. government policy of strong support for the Belarusian people in their struggle against the Lukashenka dictatorship, aspiring to live in a free and independent country where their human rights are respected, they can choose their government, and officials apply just laws that they themselves are subject to.
This bill encourages those struggling for decency and basic rights against the overwhelming pressures from the anti-democratic regime. It calls for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Belarus, including those detained in the post-election crackdown and refuses to recognize the results of the flawed elections. It calls for a full accounting of the 1999-2000 disappearances of opposition leaders and a journalist in Belarus and the prosecution of those responsible. At the same time it explicitly opens the door to the re-evaluation of U.S. policy towards the Belarusian government should it take significant steps toward democracy and respect for human rights.


Perhaps most significantly, the bill supports targeted sanctions. It expresses the sense of the Congress to deny the privileges of visiting our country of senior Belarus officials, their immediate families, and others involved in human rights violations and anti-democracy actions, including those involved in the December 19 post-election crackdown. Likewise, it has sense of Congress provisions prohibiting U.S. government financing, except for humanitarian goods and agricultural or medical products, and non-humanitarian loans from international financial institutions to the Belarusian government; and blocking assets owned by the Belarusian government senior leadership or their families and others involved in anti-democratic actions. These sanctions are aimed at the senior leadership of a dictatorship that displays contempt for the dignity and rights of Belarusian people – with these sanctions we stand with the Belarusian people against their oppressors.

Finally, H.R. 515 requires the State Department to report to Congress on the sale, delivery or provision of weapons or weapons-related technologies or training, Lukashenka’s personal wealth and assets, and cooperation by the Belarusian government with any foreign government or organizations related to censorship or surveillance of the Internet.

***

Now a few words on the amendment. It changes the name of the bill to “Belarus Democracy and Human Rights Act of 2011,” inserts six new findings that update and give greater detail on the Belarusian government’s human rights abuses in the ongoing crackdown following the fraudulent election of December 19, 2010, and the U.S. government’s response.

It adds a statement of U.S. policy to call on the International Ice Hockey Federation not to hold the 2014 International Ice Hockey Championship in Minsk unless political prisoners are released – Lukashenka clearly plans to use the hockey championship to ‘legitimize’ his dictatorship, it is being staged as a replay, on a smaller scale, of what the Chinese government did with the 2008 Olympics.

The amendment also states that the amendment authorizes the Secretary of State to provide for democracy promotion and civil society programs in Belarus through regional accounts, and it has already announced its intention to significantly increase its funding in response to the post-election crackdown – and I fully support such an increase.

Finally, the amendment clarifies that the required reporting on the Belarusian government’s arms trade will be performed within current levels of appropriated funding.
Mr. SMITH. I would like to recognize Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Yes, thank you. I have an amendment in the nature of a substitute, an amendment on Cote d’Ivoire, and if the clerk——

Mr. SMITH. We will go right to that in 1 second. Anything on Belarus?

Mr. PAYNE. Oh, excuse me.

Mr. SMITH. Do any other members wish to speak on the Belarus Democracy Act?

Mr. PAYNE. Let me just commend you for your efforts, your diligence, how you have followed this through the decades. And I am very pleased that this issue has come to the fore, and I certainly support wholeheartedly this resolution.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Payne. Hearing no further requests to speak, the question is on agreeing to the amendment. All those in favor say aye.

[Ayes.]

Mr. SMITH. All those opposed say no. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it and the amendment is agreed to. Hearing no further amendments, I move that the bill as amended be reported favorably to the full Committee on Foreign Affairs. All those in favor say aye.

[Ayes.]

Mr. SMITH. All those opposed say no. The ayes have it, and the motion is agreed to. Without objection, the bill as amended will be reported favorably to the full committee in the form of a single amendment in the nature of a substitute. Without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments.

I now call up the measure H. Res. 85, a resolution supporting the democratic aspirations of the Ivorian people, and calling on the United States to apply intense diplomatic pressure and provide humanitarian support in response to the political crisis in Cote d’Ivoire.

[H. Res. 85 follows:]
112TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION
H. RES. 85

Supporting the democratic aspirations of the Ivoirian people and calling on the United States to apply intense diplomatic pressure and provide humanitarian support in response to the political crisis in Côte d’Ivoire.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 10, 2011

Mr. PAYNE (for himself, Mr. FORBES, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. BUMMAN, Mr. CARNYAN, Mr. MEKES, Ms. BASS of California, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. CAPRANO, Ms. YEE of California, Mr. ELLISON, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. DAVIS of Illinois, Ms. RICHARDSON, Mr. RUSK, Mr. EDGER BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Ms. WOOLSHY, Mr. FATTAH, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Ms. MOORH, Mr. WATT, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. LOWE of Georgia, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. BUTTERFIELD, Mr. THOMPSON of Mississippi, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Ms. WATERS, Mr. CARSON of Indiana, Ms. FUDGE, Mr. BISHOP of Georgia, and Mr. RICHMOND) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

RESOLUTION

Supporting the democratic aspirations of the Ivoirian people and calling on the United States to apply intense diplomatic pressure and provide humanitarian support in response to the political crisis in Côte d’Ivoire.

Whereas, on March 4, 2007, Laurent Gbagbo and key political leaders of Côte d’Ivoire signed the Ouagadougou Political Agreement (OPA), a roadmap for the country’s emergence from years of political crisis, which included
provisions for free and fair elections as part of the consolidation of democratic processes;

Whereas, on November 28, 2010, Alassane Ouattara was elected President of Côte d’Ivoire by a margin of 54 to 46 percent through an independent, fair, and transparent electoral process, as prescribed under the OPA;

Whereas Côte d’Ivoire’s Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) announced the election results and, in accordance with the OPA, the United Nations Secretary-General’s Special Representative independently reviewed the results and certified that Alassane Ouattara won the poll;

Whereas international observers, including the Carter Center, the European Union, and the African Union, concluded that minor incidents of electoral problems in all parts of the country did not materially affect the results;

Whereas Côte d’Ivoire’s Constitutional Council, controlled by the incumbent Laurent Gbagbo, overrode those results, and Mr. Gbagbo has refused to peacefully transfer power to President Ouattara;

Whereas the Economic Community of West African States, the African Union, the European Union, the United States, and the United Nations have all recognized Mr. Ouattara as the winner of the election;

Whereas, since the election, President Ouattara and parts of his government have been sequestered by Mr. Gbagbo’s forces at the Golf Hotel in the commercial capital Abidjan, while Mr. Gbagbo and his supporters have carried out a vicious campaign of violence and intimidation against large numbers of peaceful Ivorian citizens and nationals of other African countries;
Whereas, to date, the United Nations has verified nearly 300 deaths resulting from post-election violence, including extrajudicial and summary executions of Ivoirians of mostly civilian supporters of President Ouattara, and there are credible reports of death squads, ethnic targeting, mass rapes, and other human rights violations;

Whereas Mr. Gbagbo has demanded the departure of United Nations peacekeeping forces, and his security forces and youth militia routinely perpetrate acts of violence and intimidation against United Nations patrols, have prevented a United Nations investigation of alleged mass grave sites, and prevented the delivery of food and basic necessities to the Golf Hotel;

Whereas Mr. Gbagbo is using the state radio and television services as partisan propaganda machines to incite anti-United Nations and western sentiments, and has routinely exercised censorship, control, and manipulation of the media;

Whereas, according to the United Nations, an estimated 33,000 Ivoirians have fled into neighboring Liberia to date to escape violence or persecution;

Whereas, to date, Mr. Gbagbo has rebuffed mediation efforts by the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States, and both regional bodies have suspended Côte d’Ivoire’s membership, pending President Ouattara’s effective assumption of power;

Whereas the United States, European Union, Switzerland, and other governments have imposed travel and financial sanctions on Mr. Gbagbo and many key members of his regime, and the West African Monetary Union has taken
steps to ensure President Ouattara gains full control of state resources;

Whereas the World Bank and IMF have suspended their activities in Côte d’Ivoire, including a $575,000,000 post-conflict economic reconstruction program;

Whereas the political instability in Côte d’Ivoire has serious political, economic, and security implications for its citizens, and for the entire region;

Whereas with 17 upcoming elections in Africa in 2011, Mr. Gbagbo is sending a concerning message to those who may seek to undermine the democratic will of Africa’s citizens, participatory governance, and the peaceful transfer of state power on the continent; and

Whereas the United States has a strong interest in promoting democracy and peace in Côte d’Ivoire and across all of Africa: Now, therefore, be it

1 Resolved, That the House of Representatives—
2 (1) supports the democratic aspirations of the Ivoirian people;
3 (2) strongly condemns any attempt to circumvent the will of the people of Côte d’Ivoire, the majority of whom voted on November 29, 2010, to elect Alassane Ouattara as their president;
4 (3) calls on Laurent Gbagbo to respect the will of the Ivoirian people by peacefully handing over power to President Alassane Ouattara;
5 (4) calls for an immediate end to acts of violence, human rights abuses, the intimidation of
United Nations troops, and the hindrance of United Nations access to investigate alleged violations of international human rights and humanitarian law;

(5) asserts that Mr. Gbagbo and his military and paramilitary forces will be held accountable for any human rights crimes and abuses that they perpetrate against Ivorians and nationals of other African nations residing in Côte d’Ivoire;

(6) calls on the United States Government and international community to continue to provide support for the ongoing efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union to resolve the crisis, and calls for continued United Nations Security Council action to ensure that the democratic process is upheld, that international human rights and humanitarian law are upheld, and that there is accountability for violations thereof;

(7) supports the application of smart, targeted sanctions against Mr. Gbagbo and his key supporters by the United States Government and international community in order to send a clear message that impunity will not be tolerated;

(8) supports the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union’s aggressive
steps to put further financial strain on Mr. Gbagbo’s regime, including any and all actions to ensure that the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) restricts Mr. Gbagbo’s government access to state funds, and to ensure that BCEAO and all of its national branches abide by the UEMOA Council of Ministers’ decision recognizing Alassane Ouattara as the legitimately elected President of Côte d’Ivoire by giving him authority over UEMOA-related activities and all Ivorian BCEAO transactions; and

(9) calls on the United States Government and other responsible nations to coordinate the delivery of humanitarian assistance within Côte d’Ivoire and to neighboring countries hosting Ivorian refugees, as necessary and appropriate.
Mr. SMITH. Without objection, the bill will be considered as read and open for amendment at any point. And I recognize my good friend, the ranking member, to offer his amendment in the nature of a substitute, that members again have in front of them, that was provided previously to your offices, and made available online. Mr. Payne?

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Since we just had a very thorough hearing, I will be very brief. I just appreciate the amendment being brought up. We know that this is something that is very important, and we look for support from all of the members here.

I would also like to, although they just left, acknowledge the fact that the Ambassador from Cote d'Ivoire was with us, Mr. Diabate, who just left. And also a group from the Ivorian Watch, headed by Mrs. Bernadette Paolo, and her group was still here.

So I have an amendment at the desk.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Payne. The clerk will report the amendment.

Mr. KEARNEY. Amendment in the nature of a substitute to H. Res. 85, offered by Mr. Payne of New Jersey. Strike the preamble, and insert the following: Whereas, on March 4, 2007, key political leaders of Cote d'Ivoire signed—

[The amendment offered by Mr. Payne follows:]
AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE
TO H.RES. 85
OFFERED BY MR. PAYNE OF NEW JERSEY

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

Whereas, on March 4, 2007, key political leaders of Cote
d’Ivoire signed the Ouagadougou Political Agreement
(OPA), a roadmap for the country’s emergence from
years of political crisis, which included provisions for free
and fair elections, among other democracy and peace
building efforts;

Whereas, as a result of a presidential election runoff poll held
on November 28, 2010, Alassane Ouattara was elected
President of Cote d’Ivoire by a margin of 54 to 46 per-
cent;

Whereas the runoff poll was conducted in an independent,
fair, and transparent manner under an electoral process
prescribed under the OPA and in accordance with United
Nations Security Council resolutions;

Whereas Cote d’Ivoire’s Independent Electoral Commission
(IEC) announced the election results and, in accordance
with the OPA and with United Nations Security Council
Resolution 1765, of July 16, 2007, among others, the
Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-
General independently reviewed the results and certified
that Alassane Ouattara had won the poll;

Whereas the Special Representative of the United Nations
Secretary-General, employing an independent tally proc-
ess, determined that the runoff election was "generally conducted in a democratic climate" and that while the poll was marred by scattered procedural irregularities and incidents of political violence, certified that these defects were limited in number and in scope, and did not materially affect the election results or President-elect Ouattara's margin of victory;

Whereas Cote d'Ivoire's Constitutional Council, most of the members of which were appointed by the former incumbent Laurent Gbagbo or his allies, reviewed and annulled the election runoff poll results announced by the Independent Electoral Commission and proclaimed Mr. Gbagbo president;

Whereas in certifying the legitimacy of the election results announced by the Independent Electoral Commission, the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General reviewed and rejected on multiple procedural and substantive bases the findings of the Constitutional Council;

Whereas international election observer missions, including those deployed by the Carter Center, the European Union, and the African Union, reached conclusions that dovetailed with the findings of the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General;

Whereas the Economic Community of West African States, the African Union, the European Union, the United States, and the United Nations have all recognized Mr. Ouattara as the winner of the election;

Whereas, since the election, President Ouattara and parts of his government had been sequestered at the Golf Hotel in the commercial capital Abidjan while Mr. Gbagbo and
his supporters, including youth militias and elements of the state security forces, carried out a vicious campaign of violence and intimidation against large numbers of peaceful Ivoirian citizens and nationals of other African countries;

Whereas, to date, the United Nations has verified at least 500 deaths resulting from post-election violence, including extrajudicial and summary executions primarily of presumed civilian supporters of President Ouattara, and there are credible reports of death squads, ethnic targeting, mass rapes, and other human rights violations;

Whereas Mr. Gbagbo had demanded the departure of the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI), and his security forces and youth militia have routinely perpetrated acts of violence and intimidation against United Nations troops and civilian personnel, have prevented United Nations investigations of alleged mass grave sites, and have prevented the delivery of food and basic necessities to the Golf Hotel;

Whereas Mr. Gbagbo used the state radio and television services as partisan propaganda machines to incite anti-United Nations and anti-western sentiments, and routinely exercised censorship, control, and manipulation of the media;

Whereas the post-electoral crisis has caused the displacement of an estimated one million people, including that of approximately 100,000 persons who have fled to Liberia and other neighboring countries to escape violence or persecution;

Whereas, Mr. Gbagbo had rebuffed mediation efforts by the African Union and the Economic Community of West Af-
American States, and both regional bodies had suspended Côte d’Ivoire’s membership, pending President Ouattara’s effective assumption of power;

Whereas the United States, European Union, Switzerland, and other governments have imposed bilateral travel and financial sanctions on Mr. Gbagbo and many key members of his regime, and the West African Monetary Union has taken steps to ensure President Ouattara gains full control of state fiscal resources;

Whereas the World Bank and IMF have suspended their activities in Côte d’Ivoire, including a $575,000,000 post-conflict economic reconstruction program;

Whereas the crisis in Côte d’Ivoire’s has imperiled the civic, economic, and human rights of its citizens and the political stability of the entire sub-region;

Whereas with 17 elections scheduled across Africa in 2011, Ivoirian and international acceptance of Mr. Gbagbo’s electoral claim would have aided and abetted the efforts of those who may seek to undermine the democratic will of Africa’s citizens and reversed gains in democracy and governance across the continent;

Whereas on April 11, 2011, Mr. Gbagbo was arrested and taken into the custody of the forces aligned with the elected President, thereby creating an opportunity for the political and security crisis in Côte d’Ivoire to be resolved and for rule of law to be restored; and

Whereas the United States has a strong interest in promoting democracy and peace in Côte d’Ivoire and across all of Africa: Now, therefore, be it
Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

That the House of Representatives—

(1) supports the democratic aspirations of the Ivoirian people;

(2) strongly condemns Mr. Gbagbo’s attempt to circumvent the will of the people of Cote d’Ivoire, the majority of whom voted on November 29, 2010, to elect Alassane Ouattara as their president;

(3) welcomes the arrest of former president Laurent Gbagbo and calls upon him to urge his supporters to lay down their weapons and contribute to peace and reconciliation in the country;

(4) calls for an immediate end to acts of violence, human rights abuses, the intimidation of United Nations troops, and the hindrance of United Nations access to investigate alleged violations of international human rights and humanitarian law;

(5) asserts that Mr. Gbagbo and his military and paramilitary forces must be held accountable for any human rights crimes and abuses that they have perpetrated against citizens and residents of Cote d’Ivoire, as must all other persons or entities who have committed such violations;
(6) calls on the United States Government and international community to continue to provide support for the ongoing efforts of the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union efforts to resolve the Ivoirian crisis, in particular through support for implementation of the conflict resolution framework and related recommendations contained in the Report of the High Level Panel of the African Union for the Resolution of the Crisis in Côte d’Ivoire of March 10, 2011;

(7) calls on the United Nations Security Council, with the support of the elected Government of Côte d’Ivoire, the African Union, and ECOWAS, to continue to ensure that legal democratic processes and international human rights and humanitarian law are upheld in Côte d’Ivoire, and that there is accountability for violations thereof;

(8) supports the application of smart, targeted sanctions against Mr. Gbagbo and his key supporters by the United States Government and international community in order to send a clear message that his rejection of the democratic process is unacceptable and that impunity for human rights violations and economic crimes against the Ivoirian people will not be tolerated;
(9) supports the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union’s aggressive steps to constrict the access of the Gbagbo regime’s access to financial resources, including all actions taken by the Central Bank of West African States (BCEAO) of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) to achieve that end;

(10) calls on the United States Government and other responsible nations to continue, in a coordinated manner, to provide humanitarian assistance to those with emergency needs, both within Côte d’Ivoire and in neighboring countries hosting Ivoirian refugees, as necessary and appropriate;

(11) calls on President Ouattara to demonstrate restraint and uphold rule of law with respect to the capture and potential prosecution of Mr. Gbagbo and his supporters, while demonstrating commitment to reconciliation and recovery;

(12) calls for an independent, and impartial investigation of all allegations of mass killings and other human rights abuses, and calls on President Ouattara to provide unfettered access and the necessary resources for such an investigation to occur, with the support of the United States and other responsible nations, as necessary and appropriate;
(13) calls for the disarmament of all irregular security forces and militias; and

(14) urges the Government of Cote d’Ivoire to immediately commence national reconciliation efforts, invest in rebuilding infrastructure, facilities, and institutions damaged as a result of the military and political crisis, to ensure the safety of all persons resident within Cote d’Ivoire and, facilitate the safe and voluntary return of refugees and internally displaced people.

Amend the title so as to read: “A resolution supporting the democratic aspirations of the Ivoirian people and calling on the United States to support diplomatic and humanitarian efforts to resolve the crisis and promote reconciliation, disarmament, and stability in Cote d’Ivoire.”.
Mr. SMITH. Without objection, the amendment is considered as read, and I would ask unanimous consent to include my full statement in the record. Without objection, so ordered.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Smith of New Jersey follows:]
Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights Subcommittee
Considerations of H.Res. 85, Cote d’Ivoire

Excerpts of Remarks
Rep. Chris Smith, Chairman
April 13, 2011

House Resolution 85 addresses the current situation in Cote d’Ivoire, which was the subject of the informative hearing we have just concluded.

After several postponements of presidential elections in Cote d’Ivoire, the election of 2010 was widely hoped for as the means of healing the deep divisions in this important West African nation. Unfortunately, rather than concluding a peaceful political transition, it produced a months-long stalemate in which law and order broke down and human rights violations increased.

More than 500 persons are known to have lost their lives as the result of post-election violence. More than one million Ivorians have been displaced by the violence, and as many as 100,000 sought refuge in neighboring countries.

With the arrest this week of Laurent Gbagbo, who had refused for months to relinquish power in the face of international acceptance of his defeat at the hands of Alassane Ouattara, there is renewed hope for the restoration of Cote d’Ivoire to its previous standing within the international community.

House Resolution 85 is introduced by our Ranking Member, Mr. Donald Payne, accurately describes the events leading up to this long political stalemate and asks the House of Representatives to support actions to restore peace and stability to Cote d’Ivoire.

Among the provisions of this legislation are:

- A call upon former President Gbagbo to urge his supporters to lay down their weapons and contribute to peace and reconciliation in the country;

The African National Congress is the critical priority for Congressional action. It is the only credible way to bring about a peaceful and lasting resolution to this conflict.
• An immediate end to human rights violations, intimidation of United Nations peacekeepers and hindrances to United Nations investigation of international human rights and humanitarian law;

• Accountability for the alleged human rights violations, crimes and abuses perpetrated by the military and paramilitary forces of Mr. Gbagbo;

• Continued U.S. and other international support for the humanitarian needs of the Ivorian people, and

• Immediate national reconciliation efforts by the Government of Côte d'Ivoire and other measures to restore peace and prosperity to this West African nation.

Côte d'Ivoire is a longstanding ally of the United States, and even during the worst periods of its civil war, it remained one of America's major trading partners. It is in the interest of the United States to play an active, appropriate role in helping to restore Côte d'Ivoire to its previous standing as an economic and political leader in Africa.

Therefore, I urge passage of House Resolution 85 as amended.
Mr. SMITH. And I do yield to Mr. Payne.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much. As I was saying, we have just had a hearing. I think that everything is pretty clear. I once again appreciate the amendment being brought up, and urge its support.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Payne, and I commend you on your resolution. It is an outstanding resolution, and we will push very hard to see that it comes to the floor.

Would any other members like to be heard? Hearing no further requests to speak, the question is on agreeing to the amendment in the nature of a substitute. All those in favor, say aye.

[Ayes.]

Mr. SMITH. All those opposed say no. In the opinion of the chair, the ayes have it. The amendment is agreed to. Hearing no further amendments, I move that the resolution as amended be reported favorably to the full Committee on Foreign Affairs. All those in favor say aye.

[Ayes.]

Mr. SMITH. All those opposed, no. The ayes have it. The motion is agreed to, and the resolution as amended is reported favorably to the full committee. Without objection, the staff is directed to make any technical and conforming amendments. That concludes our business, and without objection the subcommittee markup stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 10:35 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]
APPENDIX

MATERIAL SUBMITTED FOR THE HEARING RECORD
SUBCOMMITTEE HEARING AND MARKUP NOTICE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515-0128

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA, GLOBAL HEALTH, AND HUMAN RIGHTS
Christopher H. Smith (R-NJ), Chairman

April 8, 2011

You are respectfully requested to attend an OPEN hearing, followed by an OPEN markup held by the Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights 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.house.gov).

DATE: Wednesday, April 13, 2011
TIME: 9:00 a.m.

MARKUP OF:
H.Res. 85: A resolution supporting the democratic aspirations of the Ivorian people and calling on the United States to apply intense diplomatic pressure and provide humanitarian support in response to the political crisis in Cote d’Ivoire.

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 202-225-8221 at least two 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 Markup

MINUTES OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights Markup

Day: Wednesday Date: April 13, 2011 Room: 2172 Rayburn

Starting Time: 10:28 a.m. Ending Time: 10:35 a.m.

Recesses (to ) (to ) (to ) (to ) (to ) (to )

Presiding Member(s)
Rep. Chris Smith

Check all of the following that apply:
Open Session ☑ Executive (closed) Session ☐
Electronically Recorded (tailed) ☑ Stenographic Record ☐
Television ☑

BILLS FOR Markup: (Include bill number(s) and title(s) of legislation)
H.R. 515, Belarus Democracy Reauthorization Act of 2011
H.Res. 85, Supporting the democratic aspirations of the Ivorian people and calling on the United States to apply intense diplomatic pressure and provide humanitarian support in response to the potential crisis in Cote d’Ivoire

COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

NON-COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESENT:

STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD: (List any statements submitted for the record)
Statement from Mr. Smith on H.R. 515
Statement from Mr. Smith on H.Res. 85

ACTIONS TAKEN DURING THE Markup: (Attach copies of legislation and amendments)
H.R. 515 was amended by the Smith Amendment to H.R. 515 by voice vote
H.R. 515, as amended, was passed by voice vote
H.R. 85 was amended by the Amendment to the Nature of a Substitute to H.R. 85 by voice vote
H.Res. 85, as amended, was passed by voice vote

RECORDED VOTES TAKEN (FOR Markup): (Attach final vote tally sheet listing each number)

Subject Yes No Present Not Voting

TIME SCHEDULED TO RECONVENE
TIME ADJOURNED 10:35 a.m.

Subcommittee Staff Director