

**Calendar No. 85**111<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
1<sup>ST</sup> SESSION**S. 962****[Report No. 111-33]**

To authorize appropriations for fiscal years 2009 through 2013 to promote an enhanced strategic partnership with Pakistan and its people, and for other purposes.

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**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES**

MAY 4, 2009

Mr. KERRY (for himself, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. KAUFMAN, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. CASEY, Mr. CARPER, Mr. WHITEHOUSE, Mr. BURRIS, Mr. CARDIN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mrs. SHAHEEN, and Mr. DODD) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JUNE 23, 2009

Reported by Mr. KERRY, with amendments

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**A BILL**

To authorize appropriations for fiscal years 2009 through 2013 to promote an enhanced strategic partnership with Pakistan and its people, and for other purposes.

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

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “Enhanced Partnership  
3 with Pakistan Act of 2009”.

4 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

5 Congress makes the following findings:

6 (1) The people of Pakistan and the United  
7 States have a long history of friendship and comity,  
8 and the interests of both nations are well-served by  
9 strengthening and deepening this friendship.

10 (2) In February 2008, the people of Pakistan  
11 elected a civilian government, reversing years of po-  
12 litical tension and mounting popular concern over  
13 governance and their own democratic reform and po-  
14 litical development.

15 (3) A democratic, moderate, modernizing Paki-  
16 stan would represent the wishes of the Pakistani  
17 people and serve as a model to other countries  
18 around the world.

19 (4) Economic growth is a fundamental founda-  
20 tion for human security and national stability in  
21 Pakistan, a country with over 175,000,000 people,  
22 an annual population growth rate of 2 percent, and  
23 a ranking of 136 out of 177 countries in the United  
24 Nations Human Development Index.

25 (5) Pakistan is a major non-NATO ally of the  
26 United States and has been a valuable partner in

1 the battle against al Qaeda and the Taliban, but  
2 much more remains to be accomplished by both na-  
3 tions.

4 (6) The struggle against al Qaeda, the Taliban,  
5 and affiliated terrorist groups has led to the deaths  
6 of several thousand Pakistani civilians and members  
7 of the security forces of Pakistan over the past 7  
8 years.

9 (7) Since the terrorist attacks of September 11,  
10 2001, more al Qaeda terrorist suspects have been  
11 apprehended in Pakistan than in any other country,  
12 including Khalid Sheikh Muhammad, Ramzi bin al-  
13 Shibh, and Abu Faraj al-Libi.

14 (8) Despite the sacrifices and cooperation of the  
15 security forces of Pakistan, the top leadership of al  
16 Qaeda, as well as the leadership and rank-and-file of  
17 affiliated terrorist groups, are believed to be using  
18 Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas  
19 (FATA) and parts of the North West Frontier Prov-  
20 ince (NWFP) and Balochistan as a haven and a  
21 base from which to organize terrorist actions in  
22 Pakistan and globally, including—

23 (A) attacks outside of Pakistan that have  
24 been attributed to groups with Pakistani con-  
25 nections, including—

- 1 (i) the suicide car bombing of the In-  
2 dian embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan, which  
3 killed 58 people on June 7, 2008; and
- 4 (ii) the massacre of approximately  
5 165 people in Mumbai, India, including 6  
6 United States citizens, in late November  
7 2008; and
- 8 (B) attacks within Pakistan, including—
- 9 (i) an attack on the visiting Sri  
10 Lankan cricket team in Lahore on March  
11 3, 2009;
- 12 (ii) an attack at the Marriott hotel in  
13 Islamabad on September 9, 2008;
- 14 (iii) the bombing of a political rally in  
15 Karachi on October 18, 2007;
- 16 (iv) the targeting and killing of dozens  
17 of tribal, provincial, and national holders  
18 of political office;
- 19 (v) an attack by gunfire on the U.S.  
20 Principal Officer in Peshawar in August  
21 2008; and
- 22 (vi) the brazen assassination of  
23 former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on  
24 December 27, 2007.

1           (9) In the 12-month period ending on the date  
2 of the enactment of this Act, Pakistan’s security  
3 forces have struggled to contain a Taliban-backed  
4 insurgency that has spread from FATA into settled  
5 areas, including the Swat Valley and other parts of  
6 NWFP and Balochistan. This struggle has taken the  
7 lives of more than 1,500 police and military per-  
8 sonnel and left more than 3,000 wounded.

9           (10) On March 27, 2009, President Obama  
10 noted, “Multiple intelligence estimates have warned  
11 that al Qaeda is actively planning attacks on the  
12 U.S. homeland from its safe-haven in Pakistan.”.

13           (11) According to a Government Accountability  
14 Office Report (GAO–08–622), “since 2003, the ad-  
15 ministration’s national security strategies and Con-  
16 gress have recognized that a comprehensive plan  
17 that includes all elements of national power—diplo-  
18 matic, military, intelligence, development assistance,  
19 economic, and law enforcement support—was needed  
20 to address the terrorist threat emanating from the  
21 FATA” and that such a strategy was also mandated  
22 by section 7102(b)(3) of the Intelligence Reform and  
23 Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (Public Law 108–  
24 458; 22 U.S.C. 2656f note) and section 2042(b)(2)  
25 of the Implementing the Recommendations of the 9/

1 11 Commission Act of 2007 (Public Law 110–53; 22  
2 U.S.C. 2375 note).

3 (12) In the past year, the people of Pakistan  
4 have been especially hard hit by rising food and  
5 commodity prices and severe energy shortages, with  
6 two-thirds of the population living on less than \$2  
7 a day and one-fifth of the population living below  
8 the poverty line according to the United Nations De-  
9 velopment Program.

10 (13) The people of Pakistan and the United  
11 States share many compatible goals, including—

12 (A) combating terrorism and violent radi-  
13 calism, both inside Pakistan and elsewhere;

14 (B) solidifying democracy and the rule of  
15 law in Pakistan;

16 (C) promoting the economic development  
17 of Pakistan, both through the building of infra-  
18 structure and the facilitation of increased trade;

19 (D) promoting the social and material well-  
20 being of Pakistani citizens, particularly through  
21 development of such basic services as public  
22 education, access to potable water, and medical  
23 treatment; and

1 (E) safeguarding the peace and security of  
2 South Asia, including by facilitating peaceful  
3 relations between Pakistan and its neighbors.

4 (14) According to consistent opinion research,  
5 including that of the Pew Global Attitudes Survey  
6 (December 28, 2007) and the International Repub-  
7 lican Institute (January 29, 2008), many people in  
8 Pakistan have historically viewed the relationship be-  
9 tween the United States and Pakistan as a trans-  
10 actional one, characterized by a heavy emphasis on  
11 security issues with little attention to other matters  
12 of great interest to citizens of Pakistan.

13 (15) The election of a civilian government in  
14 Pakistan in February 2008 provides an opportunity,  
15 after nearly a decade of military-dominated rule, to  
16 place relations between Pakistan and the United  
17 States on a new and more stable foundation.

18 (16) Both the Government of Pakistan and the  
19 United States Government should seek to enhance  
20 the bilateral relationship through additional multi-  
21 faceted engagement in order to strengthen the foun-  
22 dation for a consistent and reliable long-term part-  
23 nership between the two countries.

24 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

25 In this Act:

1           (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
2           TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
3           mittees” means the Committees on Appropriations  
4           and Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Com-  
5           mittees on Appropriations and Foreign Affairs of  
6           the House of Representatives.

7           (2) COUNTERINSURGENCY.—The term “coun-  
8           terinsurgency” means efforts to defeat organized  
9           movements that seek to overthrow the duly con-  
10          stituted Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan  
11          through violent means.

12          (3) COUNTERTERRORISM.—The term “counter-  
13          terrorism” means efforts to combat al Qaeda and  
14          other foreign terrorist organizations that are des-  
15          ignated by the Secretary of State in accordance with  
16          section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act  
17          (8 U.S.C. 1189), or other individuals and entities  
18          engaged in terrorist activity or support for such ac-  
19          tivity.

20          (4) FATA.—The term “FATA” means the  
21          Federally Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan.

22          (5) NWFP.—The term “NWFP” means the  
23          North West Frontier Province of Pakistan, which  
24          has Peshawar as its provincial capital.



1           (6) PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN BORDER AREAS.—

2           The term “Pakistan-Afghanistan border areas” in-  
3           cludes the Pakistan regions known as NWFP,  
4           FATA, and parts of Balochistan in which the  
5           Taliban or Al Qaeda have traditionally found refuge.

6           (7) SECURITY-RELATED ASSISTANCE.—The  
7           term “security-related assistance” means—

8                   (A) grant assistance to carry out section  
9                   23 of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.  
10                  2763);

11                  (B) assistance under chapter 2 of part II  
12                  of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22  
13                  U.S.C. 2311 et seq.);

14                  (C) assistance under chapter 5 of part II  
15                  of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22  
16                  U.S.C. 2347 et seq.);

17                  (D) any equipment, supplies, and training  
18                  provided pursuant to section 1206 of the Na-  
19                  tional Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal  
20                  Year 2006 (Public Law 109–163; 119 Stat.  
21                  3456); and

22                  (E) any equipment, supplies, and training  
23                  provided pursuant to section 1206 of the Na-  
24                  tional Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal

1           Year 2008 (Public Law 110–181; 122 Stat.  
2           368).

3           (8) SECURITY FORCES OF PAKISTAN.—The  
4           term “security forces of Pakistan” means the mili-  
5           tary and intelligence services of the Government of  
6           Pakistan, including the Armed Forces, Inter-Serv-  
7           ices Intelligence Directorate, Intelligence Bureau,  
8           police forces, levies, Frontier Corps, and Frontier  
9           Constabulary.

10           (9) MAJOR DEFENSE EQUIPMENT.—The term  
11           “major defense equipment” has the meaning given  
12           in section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act (22  
13           U.S.C. 2794(6)).

14 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

15           It is the policy of the United States—

16           (1) to support the consolidation of democracy,  
17           good governance, and rule of law in Pakistan;

18           (2) to support economic growth and develop-  
19           ment in order to promote stability and security  
20           across Pakistan;

21           (3) to affirm and build a sustained, long-term,  
22           multifaceted relationship with Pakistan;

23           (4) to further the sustainable economic develop-  
24           ment of Pakistan and the improvement of the living  
25           conditions of its citizens, including in the Federally

1 Administered Tribal Areas, by expanding United  
2 States bilateral engagement with the Government of  
3 Pakistan, especially in areas of direct interest and  
4 importance to the daily lives of the people of Paki-  
5 stan;

6 (5) to work with Pakistan and the countries  
7 bordering Pakistan to facilitate peace in the region  
8 and harmonious relations between the countries of  
9 the region;

10 (6) to work with the Government of Pakistan to  
11 prevent any Pakistani territory from being used as  
12 a base or conduit for terrorist attacks in Pakistan,  
13 Afghanistan, India, or elsewhere in the world;

14 (7) to work in close cooperation with the Gov-  
15 ernment of Pakistan to coordinate military, para-  
16 military, and police action against terrorist targets;

17 (8) to work with the Government of Pakistan to  
18 help bring peace, stability, and development to all  
19 regions of Pakistan, especially those in the Pakistan-  
20 Afghanistan border areas, including support for an  
21 effective counterinsurgency strategy;

22 (9) to expand people-to-people engagement be-  
23 tween the United States and Pakistan, through in-  
24 creased educational, technical, and cultural ex-  
25 changes and other methods; ~~and~~;

1           (10) to encourage and promote public-private  
 2           partnerships in Pakistan in order to bolster ongoing  
 3           development efforts and strengthen economic pros-  
 4           pects, especially with respect to opportunities to  
 5           build civic responsibility and professional skills of  
 6           the people of Pakistan; *and*

7           (11) *to encourage the development of local ana-*  
 8           *lytical capacity to measure progress on an integrated*  
 9           *basis across the areas of donor country expenditure in*  
 10          *Pakistan, and better hold the Government of Pakistan*  
 11          *accountable for how the funds are being spent.*

12 **SEC. 5. AUTHORIZATION OF FUNDS.**

13          (a) **AUTHORIZATION.**—There are authorized to be ap-  
 14          propriated to the President, for the purposes of providing  
 15          assistance to Pakistan under the Foreign Assistance Act  
 16          of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), the following amounts:

17               (1) For fiscal year 2009, up to \$1,500,000,000.

18               (2) For fiscal year 2010, up to \$1,500,000,000.

19               (3) For fiscal year 2011, up to \$1,500,000,000.

20               (4) For fiscal year 2012, up to \$1,500,000,000.

21               (5) For fiscal year 2013, up to \$1,500,000,000.

22          (b) **AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.**—~~Of the amounts~~  
 23          **FUNDS.**—

1           (1) *IN GENERAL.*—*Of the funds* appropriated in  
2 each fiscal year pursuant to the authorization of ap-  
3 propriations in subsection (a)—

4           ~~(1) none of the amounts~~

5           (A) *none of the amounts* appropriated may  
6 be made available after the date of the enact-  
7 ment of this Act for assistance to Pakistan un-  
8 less the Pakistan Assistance Strategy Report  
9 has been submitted to the appropriate congres-  
10 sional committees in accordance with subsection  
11 (j); and

12           ~~(2) not more than \$750,000,000~~

13           (B) *not more than \$750,000,000* may be  
14 made available for assistance to Pakistan in any  
15 fiscal year after 2009 unless the President's  
16 Special Representative to Afghanistan and  
17 Pakistan submits to the appropriate congres-  
18 sional committees during that fiscal year—

19           ~~(A) a certification~~

20           (i) *a certification* that assistance pro-  
21 vided to Pakistan under this Act to date  
22 has made or is making substantial  
23 progress toward achieving the principal ob-  
24 jectives of United States assistance to  
25 Pakistan contained in the Pakistan Assist-

1           ance Strategy Report pursuant to sub-  
2           section (j)(1); and

3           ~~(B) a memorandum~~

4                   *(ii) a memorandum* explaining the  
5           reasons justifying the certification de-  
6           scribed in ~~subsection (A)~~*clause (i)*.

7           ~~(e) MAKER OF CERTIFICATION.—In the event~~

8                   *(2) MAKER OF CERTIFICATION.—In the event* of  
9           a vacancy in, or the termination of, the position of  
10          the President’s Special Representative to Afghani-  
11          stan and Pakistan, the certification described under  
12          ~~subsection (b)(2)~~*paragraph (1)(B)* may be made by  
13          the Secretary of State.

14          *(c) WAIVER.—The Secretary of State may waive the*  
15          *limitations in subsection (b) if the Secretary determines,*  
16          *and certifies to the appropriate congressional committees,*  
17          *that it is in the national security interests of the United*  
18          *States to provide such waiver.*

19          (d) SENSE OF CONGRESS ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE  
20          FUNDS.—It is the sense of Congress that, subject to an  
21          improving political and economic climate in Pakistan,  
22          there should be authorized to be appropriated up to  
23          \$1,500,000,000 per year for fiscal years 2014 through  
24          2018 for the purpose of providing assistance to Pakistan  
25          under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

1           (e) SENSE OF CONGRESS ON SECURITY-RELATED AS-  
2   SISTANCE.—It is the sense of Congress that security-re-  
3   lated assistance to the ~~Government of Pakistan~~ should be  
4   provided in close coordination with the Government of  
5   Pakistan, designed to improve the Government's capabili-  
6   ties in areas of mutual concern, and maintained at a level  
7   that will bring significant gains in pursuing the policies  
8   set forth in paragraphs (6), (7), and (8) of section  
9   ~~4~~.*Government of Pakistan*—

10           (1) *should be provided in close coordination with*  
11           *the Government of Pakistan, designed to improve the*  
12           *Government's capabilities in areas of mutual concern,*  
13           *and maintained at a level that will bring significant*  
14           *gains in pursuing the policies set forth in paragraphs*  
15           *(6), (7), and (8) of section 4; and*

16           (2) *should be geared primarily toward bolstering*  
17           *the counter-insurgency capabilities of the Government*  
18           *to effectively defeat the Taliban-backed insurgency*  
19           *and deny popular support to al Qaeda and other for-*  
20           *foreign terrorist organizations that are based in Paki-*  
21           *stan.*

22           (f) USE OF FUNDS.—

23           (1) IN GENERAL.—Funds appropriated pursu-  
24           ant to subsection (a) shall be used for projects in-

1 tended to benefit the people of Pakistan, including  
2 projects that promote—

3 (A) just and democratic governance, in-  
4 cluding—

5 (i) police reform, equipping, and  
6 training;

7 (ii) independent, efficient, and effec-  
8 tive judicial systems;

9 (iii) political pluralism, equality, and  
10 the rule of law;

11 (iv) respect for human and civil rights  
12 and the promotion of an independent  
13 media;

14 (v) transparency and accountability of  
15 all branches of government and judicial  
16 proceedings;

17 (vi) anticorruption efforts among bu-  
18 reaucrats, elected officials, and public serv-  
19 ants at all levels of military and civilian  
20 government ~~administration; and~~

21 ~~(vii) countering the narcotics~~  
22 ~~trade;administration;~~

23 *(vii) countering the narcotics trade;*  
24 *and*



1                   *(viii) the implementation of legal and*  
2                   *political reforms in the FATA;*

3                   (B) economic freedom, including—

4                   (i) sustainable economic growth, in-  
5                   cluding in rural areas, and the sustainable  
6                   management of natural resources;

7                   (ii) investments in energy and water,  
8                   including energy generation and cross-bor-  
9                   der infrastructure projects with Afghani-  
10                  stan;

11                  (iii) employment generation, including  
12                  essential basic infrastructure projects such  
13                  as roads and irrigation projects and other  
14                  physical infrastructure; and

15                  (iv) worker rights, including the right  
16                  to form labor unions and legally enforce  
17                  provisions safeguarding the rights of work-  
18                  ers and local community stakeholders; ~~and~~

19                  (C) investments in people, particularly  
20                  women and children, including—

21                  (i) broad-based public primary and  
22                  secondary education and vocational train-  
23                  ing for both boys and girls;

24                  (ii) food security and agricultural de-  
25                  velopment to ensure food staples and other

1 crops that provide economic growth and in-  
 2 come opportunities in times of severe  
 3 shortage;

4 (iii) quality public health, including  
 5 medical clinics with well trained staff serv-  
 6 ing rural and urban ~~communities; and~~

7 ~~(iv) higher education~~communities;

8 *(iv) vocational training for women and*  
 9 *access to microfinance for small business es-*  
 10 *tablishment and income generation for*  
 11 *women; and*

12 *(v) higher education* to ensure a  
 13 breadth and consistency of Pakistani grad-  
 14 uates to prepare citizens to help strengthen  
 15 the foundation for improved governance  
 16 and economic vitality, including through  
 17 public-private partnerships; *and*

18 *(D) long-term development in regions of*  
 19 *Pakistan where internal conflict has caused*  
 20 *large-scale displacement.*

21 (2) FUNDING FOR POLICE REFORM, EQUIPPING,  
 22 AND TRAINING.—Up to \$100,000,000 of the funds  
 23 appropriated pursuant to subsection (a) should be  
 24 used for police reform, equipping, and training.

1 (g) PREFERENCE FOR BUILDING LOCAL CAPAC-  
2 ITY.—The President is encouraged, as appropriate, to uti-  
3 lize Pakistani firms and community and local nongovern-  
4 mental organizations in Pakistan, including through host  
5 country contacts, and to work with local leaders to provide  
6 assistance under this section.

7 (h) AUTHORITY TO USE FUNDS FOR OPERATIONAL  
8 AND AUDIT EXPENSES.—

9 (1) IN GENERAL.—Of the amounts appro-  
10 priated for a fiscal year pursuant to subsection (a)—

11 (A) up to \$10,000,000 may be used for ad-  
12 ministrative expenses of Federal departments  
13 and agencies in connection with the provision of  
14 assistance authorized by this section;

15 (B) up to ~~\$20,000,000~~\$30,000,000 may be  
16 made available to the Inspectors General of the  
17 Department of State, the United States Agency  
18 for International Development, and other rel-  
19 evant Executive branch agencies in order to  
20 provide audits and program reviews of projects  
21 funded pursuant to this section; and

22 (C) up to \$5,000,000 may be used by the  
23 Secretary to establish a Chief of Mission Fund  
24 for use by the Chief of Mission in Pakistan to  
25 provide assistance to Pakistan under the For-

1           eign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et  
2           seq.) to address urgent needs or opportunities,  
3           consistent with the purposes outlined in sub-  
4           section (f) or for purposes of humanitarian re-  
5           lief.

6           (2) AUTHORITY IN ADDITION TO EXISTING  
7           AMOUNTS.—The amounts authorized under subpara-  
8           graphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (1) to be used for  
9           the purposes described in such subparagraphs are in  
10          addition to other amounts that are available for such  
11          purposes.

12          (i) USE OF FUNDS.—Amounts appropriated or other-  
13          wise made available to carry out this section shall be uti-  
14          lized to the maximum extent possible as direct expendi-  
15          tures for projects and programs, subject to existing report-  
16          ing and notification requirements.

17          (j) PAKISTAN ASSISTANCE STRATEGY REPORT.—Not  
18          later than ~~30 days~~ *45 days* after the date of enactment of  
19          this Act, or September 15, 2009, whichever date comes  
20          later, the ~~President~~ *Secretary of State* shall submit to the  
21          appropriate congressional committees a report describing  
22          United States policy and strategy with respect to assist-  
23          ance to Pakistan. The report shall include—

1           (1) a description of the principal objectives of  
2 United States assistance to Pakistan to be provided  
3 under this Act;

4           (2) the amounts of funds authorized to be ap-  
5 propriated under subsection (a) proposed to be allo-  
6 cated to programs or projects designed to achieve  
7 each of the purposes of assistance listed in sub-  
8 section (f);

9           (3) a description of the specific projects and  
10 programs for which amounts authorized to be appro-  
11 priated pursuant to subsection (a) are proposed to  
12 be allocated;

13           (4) a list of ~~criteria to be used to measure the~~  
14 ~~effectiveness of projects described under subsection~~  
15 ~~(f), including a systematic, qualitative basis~~*criteria*  
16 *and benchmarks to be used to measure the effective-*  
17 *ness of projects described under subsection (f), includ-*  
18 *ing a systematic, qualitative, and where possible,*  
19 *quantitative basis* for assessing whether desired out-  
20 comes are achieved and a timeline for completion of  
21 each project and program;

22           (5) a description of the role to be played by  
23 Pakistani national, regional, and local officials *and*  
24 *members of Pakistani civil society and local private*  
25 *sector, civic, religious, and tribal leaders* in helping to

1 identify and implement programs and projects for  
 2 which assistance is to be provided under this Act,  
 3 and of consultations with ~~such officials~~ *such rep-*  
 4 *resentatives* in developing the strategy; ~~and~~;

5 (6) a description of all amounts made available  
 6 for assistance to Pakistan during fiscal year 2009  
 7 prior to submission of the report, including a de-  
 8 scription of each project or program for which funds  
 9 were made available and the amounts allocated to  
 10 each such program or project;

11 (7) *a description of the steps taken, or to be*  
 12 *taken, to ensure assistance provided under this Act is*  
 13 *not awarded to individuals or entities affiliated with*  
 14 *terrorist organizations; and*

15 (8) *a projection of the levels of assistance to be*  
 16 *provided to Pakistan under this Act, broken down*  
 17 *into the following categories as described in the an-*  
 18 *annual “Report on the Criteria and Methodology for De-*  
 19 *termining the Eligibility of Candidate Countries for*  
 20 *Millennium Challenge Account Assistance”:*

21 (A) *Civil liberties.*

22 (B) *Political rights.*

23 (C) *Voice and accountability.*

24 (D) *Government effectiveness.*

25 (E) *Rule of law.*

1                   (F) *Control of corruption.*

2                   (G) *Immunization rates.*

3                   (H) *Public expenditure on health.*

4                   (I) *Girls' primary education completion*  
5                   *rate.*

6                   (J) *Public expenditure on primary edu-*  
7                   *cation.*

8                   (K) *Natural resource management.*

9                   (L) *Business start-up.*

10                  (M) *Land rights and access.*

11                  (N) *Trade policy.*

12                  (O) *Regulatory quality.*

13                  (P) *Inflation control.*

14                  (Q) *Fiscal policy.*

15                  (k) NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—

16                   (1) NOTICE OF ASSISTANCE FOR BUDGET SUP-  
17                   PORT.—The President shall notify the appropriate  
18                   congressional committees not later than 15 days be-  
19                   fore obligating any assistance under this section as  
20                   budgetary support to the Government of Pakistan or  
21                   any element of such Government and shall describe  
22                   the purpose and conditions attached to any such  
23                   budgetary support.

24                   (2) SEMIANNUAL REPORT.—Not later than 90  
25                   days after the submission of the Pakistan Assistance

1 Strategy Report pursuant to subsection (j), and  
2 every 180 days thereafter, the ~~President~~*Secretary of*  
3 *State* shall submit a report to the appropriate con-  
4 gressional committees that describes the assistance  
5 provided under this section. The report shall in-  
6 clude—

7 (A) a description of all assistance provided  
8 pursuant to this Act since the submission of the  
9 last report, including each program or project  
10 for which assistance was provided and the  
11 amount of assistance provided for each program  
12 or project;

13 (B) a description of all assistance provided  
14 pursuant to this Act, including—

15 (i) the total amount of assistance pro-  
16 vided for each of the purposes described in  
17 subsection (f); and

18 (ii) the total amount of assistance al-  
19 located to programs or projects in each re-  
20 gion in Pakistan;

21 (C) a list of persons or entities from the  
22 United States or other countries that have re-  
23 ceived funds in excess of ~~\$250,000~~*\$100,000* to  
24 conduct projects under this section during the  
25 period covered by the report, which may be in-



1           cluded in a classified annex, if necessary to  
2           avoid a security risk, and a justification for the  
3           classification;

4           (D) an assessment of the effectiveness of  
5           assistance provided pursuant to this Act during  
6           the period covered by the report in achieving  
7           desired objectives and outcomes, measured on  
8           the basis of the criteria contained in the Paki-  
9           stan Assistant Strategy Report pursuant to  
10          subsection (j)(4);

11          (E) a description of—

12           (i) the programs and projects for  
13           which amounts appropriated pursuant to  
14           subsection (a) are proposed to be allocated  
15           during the 180-day period after the sub-  
16           mission of the report;

17           (ii) the relationship of such programs  
18           and projects to the purposes of assistance  
19           described in subsection (f); and

20           (iii) the amounts proposed to be allo-  
21           cated to each such program or project;

22          (F) a description of any shortfall in United  
23          States financial, physical, technical, or human  
24          resources that hinder the effective use and mon-  
25          itoring of such funds;

1 (G) a description of any negative impact,  
2 including the absorptive capacity of the region  
3 for which the resources are intended, of United  
4 States bilateral or multilateral assistance and  
5 recommendations for modification of funding, if  
6 any;

7 (H) any incidents or reports of waste,  
8 fraud, and abuse of expenditures under this  
9 section;

10 (I) the amount of funds appropriated pur-  
11 suant to subsection (a) that were used during  
12 the reporting period for administrative expenses  
13 or for audits and program reviews pursuant to  
14 the authority under ~~subsection (h)~~;  
15 ~~and~~ *subsection (h)*;

16 (J) a description of the expenditures made  
17 from any Chief of Mission Fund established  
18 pursuant to subsection (h)(3) during the period  
19 covered by the report, the purposes for which  
20 such expenditures were made, and a list of the  
21 recipients of any expenditures from the Chief of  
22 Mission Fund in excess of \$10,000; *and*

23 *(K) an accounting of assistance provided to*  
24 *Pakistan under this Act, broken down into the*  
25 *categories set forth in subsection (j)(8).*

1           (l) GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY OFFICE RE-  
2 PORT.—Not later than one year after the submission of  
3 the Pakistan Assistance Strategy Report under subsection  
4 (j), and annually thereafter, the Comptroller General of  
5 the United States shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
6 sional committees a report that contains—

7                   (1) a review of, and comments addressing, the  
8           Pakistan Assistance Strategy Report; and

9                   (2) recommendations relating to any additional  
10           actions the Comptroller General believes could help  
11           improve the efficiency and effectiveness of United  
12           States efforts to meet the objectives of this Act.

13           (m) SENSE OF CONGRESS ON FUNDING OF PRIOR-  
14 ITIES.—It is the sense of Congress that, as a general prin-  
15 ciple, the Government of Pakistan should allocate a great-  
16 er portion of its budget to the recurrent costs associated  
17 with education, health, and other priorities described in  
18 this section.

19           (n) CONSULTATION REQUIREMENT.—*The President*  
20 *shall consult the appropriate congressional committees on*  
21 *the strategy in subsection (j), including criteria and bench-*  
22 *marks developed under paragraph (4) of such subsection,*  
23 *not later than 15 days before obligating any assistance*  
24 *under this section.*

1 **SEC. 6. LIMITATION ON CERTAIN ASSISTANCE.**

2 (a) LIMITATION ON CERTAIN MILITARY ASSIST-  
3 ANCE.—Beginning in fiscal year 2010, no grant assistance  
4 to carry out section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act  
5 (22 U.S.C. 2763) and no assistance under chapter 2 of  
6 part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.  
7 2311 et seq.) may be provided to Pakistan in a fiscal year  
8 until the Secretary of State makes the certification re-  
9 quired under subsection (c).

10 (b) LIMITATION ON ARMS TRANSFERS.—Beginning  
11 in fiscal year 2012, no letter of offer to sell major defense  
12 equipment to Pakistan may be issued pursuant to the  
13 Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) and  
14 no license to export major defense equipment to Pakistan  
15 may be issued pursuant to such Act in a fiscal year until  
16 the Secretary of State makes the certification required  
17 under subsection (c).

18 (c) CERTIFICATION.—The certification required by  
19 this subsection is a certification to the appropriate con-  
20 gressional committees by the Secretary of State, after con-  
21 sultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Director  
22 of National Intelligence, that the security forces of Paki-  
23 stan—

24 (1) are making concerted ~~and consistent~~ efforts  
25 to prevent al Qaeda and associated terrorist groups,

1 including Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed,  
2 from operating in the territory of Pakistan;

3 (2) are making concerted ~~and consistent~~ efforts  
4 to prevent the Taliban and associated militant  
5 groups from using the territory of Pakistan as a  
6 sanctuary from which to launch attacks within Af-  
7 ghanistan; and

8 (3) are not materially interfering in the political  
9 or judicial processes of Pakistan.

10 (d) WAIVER.—The Secretary of State may waive the  
11 limitations in subsections (a) and (b) if the Secretary de-  
12 termines it is important to the national security interests  
13 of the United States to provide such waiver.

14 (e) PRIOR NOTICE OF WAIVER.—A waiver pursuant  
15 to subsection (d) may not be exercised until 15 days after  
16 the Secretary of State provides to the appropriate congres-  
17 sional committees written notice of the intent to issue such  
18 waiver and the reasons therefor. The notice may be sub-  
19 mitted in classified or unclassified form, as necessary.

20 (f) ANNUAL REPORT.—The Secretary of State, after  
21 consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Direc-  
22 tor of National Intelligence, shall submit to the appro-  
23 priate congressional committees an annual report on the  
24 progress of the security forces of Pakistan in satisfying  
25 the requirements enumerated in subsection (c). The Sec-

1 retary of State shall establish detailed, specific require-  
2 ments and metrics for evaluating the progress in satisfying  
3 these requirements and apply these requirements and  
4 metrics consistently in each annual report. This report  
5 may be submitted in classified or unclassified form, as  
6 necessary.

7 **SEC. 7. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON COALITION SUPPORT**  
8 **FUNDS.**

9 It is the sense of Congress that—

10 (1) Coalition Support Funds are critical compo-  
11 nents of the global fight against terrorism, and in  
12 Pakistan provide essential support for—

13 (A) military operations of the Government  
14 of Pakistan to destroy the terrorist threat and  
15 close the terrorist safe haven, known or sus-  
16 pected, in the FATA, the NWFP, and other re-  
17 gions of Pakistan; and

18 (B) military operations of the Government  
19 of Pakistan to protect United States and allied  
20 logistic operations in support of Operation En-  
21 during Freedom in Afghanistan;

22 (2) despite the broad discretion Congress grant-  
23 ed the Secretary of Defense in terms of managing  
24 Coalition Support Funds, the Pakistan reimburse-  
25 ment claims process for Coalition Support Funds re-

1       quires increased oversight and accountability, con-  
2       sistent with the conclusions of the June 2008 report  
3       of the United States Government Accountability Of-  
4       fice (GAO-08-806);

5           (3) in order to ensure that this significant  
6       United States effort in support of countering ter-  
7       rorism in Pakistan effectively ensures the intended  
8       use of Coalition Support Funds, and to avoid redun-  
9       dancy in other security assistance programs, such as  
10      Foreign Military Financing and Foreign Military  
11      Sales, more specific guidance should be generated,  
12      and accountability delineated, for officials associated  
13      with oversight of this program within the United  
14      States Embassy in Pakistan, the United States Cen-  
15      tral Command, the Department of Defense, the De-  
16      partment of State, and the Office of Management  
17      and Budget; and

18           (4) the Secretary of Defense should submit to  
19      the appropriate congressional committees and the  
20      Committees on Armed Services of the Senate and  
21      the House of Representatives a semiannual report  
22      on the use of Coalition Support Funds, which may  
23      be submitted in classified or unclassified form as  
24      necessary.

1 **SEC. 8. PAKISTAN-AFGHANISTAN BORDER AREAS STRAT-**  
2 **EGY.**

3 (a) DEVELOPMENT OF COMPREHENSIVE STRAT-  
4 EGY.—The Secretary of State, in consultation with the  
5 Secretary of Defense, the Director of National Intel-  
6 ligence, and such other government officials as may be ap-  
7 propriate, shall develop a comprehensive, cross-border  
8 strategy that includes all elements of national power—dip-  
9 lomatic, military, intelligence, development assistance, hu-  
10 manitarian, law enforcement support, and strategic com-  
11 munications and information technology—for working  
12 with the Government of Pakistan, the Government of Af-  
13 ghanistan, NATO, and other like-minded allies to best im-  
14 plement effective counterterrorism and counterinsurgency  
15 measures in and near the Pakistan-Afghanistan border  
16 areas.

17 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date  
18 of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall  
19 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a de-  
20 tailed description of a comprehensive strategy for counter-  
21 terrorism and counterinsurgency in the Pakistan-Afghani-  
22 stan border areas containing the elements specified in sub-  
23 section (a) and proposed timelines and budgets for imple-  
24 menting the strategy.



1 **SEC. 9. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

2 It is the sense of Congress that the United States  
3 should—

4 (1) recognize the bold political steps the Paki-  
5 stan electorate has taken during a time of height-  
6 ened sensitivity and tension in 2007 and 2008 to  
7 elect a new civilian government, as well as the con-  
8 tinued quest for good governance and the rule of law  
9 under the elected government in 2008 and 2009;

10 (2) seize this strategic opportunity in the inter-  
11 ests of Pakistan as well as in the national security  
12 interests of the United States to expand its engage-  
13 ment with the Government and people of Pakistan  
14 in areas of particular interest and importance to the  
15 people of Pakistan;

16 (3) continue to build a responsible and recip-  
17 rocal security relationship taking into account the  
18 national security interests of the United States as  
19 well as regional and national dynamics in Pakistan  
20 to further strengthen and enable the position of  
21 Pakistan as a major non-NATO ally; and;

22 (4) seek ways to strengthen our countries' mu-  
23 tual understanding and promote greater insight and  
24 knowledge of each other's social, cultural and histor-  
25 ical diversity through personnel exchanges and sup-

1 port for the establishment of institutions of higher  
2 learning with international accreditation; *and*

3 *(5) explore means to consult with and utilize the*  
4 *relevant expertise and skills of the Pakistani-Amer-*  
5 *ican community.*

6 **SEC. 10. TERM OF YEARS.**

7 *With the exception of subsections (b)(1)(B), (j), (k),*  
8 *and (l) of section 5, this Act shall remain in force after*  
9 *September 30, 2013.*



Calendar No. 85

111<sup>TH</sup> CONGRESS  
1<sup>ST</sup> Session

**S. 962**

[Report No. 111-33]

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## **A BILL**

To authorize appropriations for fiscal years 2009 through 2013 to promote an enhanced strategic partnership with Pakistan and its people, and for other purposes.

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JUNE 23, 2009

Reported with amendments