

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 4169

To repeal the 25 percent cap on United States contributions to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 15, 2023

Ms. JACOBS (for herself, Ms. KAMLAGER-DOVE, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. PHILLIPS, and Mr. CASTRO of Texas) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

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## A BILL

To repeal the 25 percent cap on United States contributions to United Nations peacekeeping operations, 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,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “United States Commit-  
5 ment to Peacekeeping Act of 2023”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds as follows:

8 (1) United Nations peacekeeping operations are  
9 a critical force-multiplier for the United States, and

1 decades of research has found peacekeeping to be  
2 highly effective in reducing civilian deaths, short-  
3 ening the duration of conflicts, containing the geo-  
4 graphic spread of war, and reducing the likelihood of  
5 conflict reoccurrence and sexual and gender-based  
6 violence.

7 (2) The Government Accountability Office  
8 found in 2006 and 2018 reviews that it is 8 times  
9 cheaper to financially support a United Nations mis-  
10 sion than to deploy United States military forces.

11 (3) Every member state of the United Nations  
12 is legally required to finance the peacekeeping budg-  
13 et of the United Nations in order to ensure that  
14 these missions are properly resourced, and assess-  
15 ment rates are renegotiated every 3 years by the  
16 United Nations General Assembly. The United  
17 States has consistently voted in favor of these rate  
18 structure changes, including during the most recent  
19 round of negotiations in 2021, when United States  
20 peacekeeping contributions were set at 26.94 per-  
21 cent.

22 (4) Since fiscal year 2017, the United States  
23 has accrued more than \$1.28 billion in debt on its  
24 financial obligations to United Nations peace-  
25 keeping, due to congressional enforcement of a 1994

1 law that limits United States contributions to 25  
2 percent of the total United Nations peacekeeping  
3 budget in any fiscal year after 1995.

4 (5) Since fiscal year 2000, Congress has, on a  
5 bipartisan basis, lifted the 25 percent cap 15 times,  
6 including retroactively for calendar years 2006–2008  
7 during the Bush Administration.

8 (6) In 2019, the Department of State reported  
9 to Congress the following impacts of growing United  
10 States arrears to the United Nations: “(1) Loss of  
11 vote or inability to be a member of governing bodies;  
12 (2) Diminished U.S. standing and diminished ability  
13 to pursue U.S. priorities; (3) Reduced U.S. ability to  
14 promote increased oversight and accountability  
15 through reforms that promote efficiency, cost sav-  
16 ings, and improved management practices; (4) Re-  
17 duced standing needed to successfully promote quali-  
18 fied U.S. citizens to assume senior management  
19 roles; and (5) Impairments of peacekeeping missions  
20 to operate, including addressing objectives that may  
21 directly impact the national security of the United  
22 States”.

23 (7) The ongoing accrual of arrears by the  
24 United States is having a negative impact on the fi-  
25 nancial health of United Nations peacekeeping with

1 low and middle-income countries, who voluntarily  
2 provide the bulk of the troops, police, and equipment  
3 to these missions, not being adequately reimbursed  
4 for their contributions and shouldering an increasing  
5 financial burden.

6 (8) Budgetary shortfalls created by United  
7 States arrears make it difficult to address shortages  
8 of critical equipment needed by United Nations  
9 peacekeeping operations to be effective in the field.

10 (9) Prior to Russia's invasion of Ukraine,  
11 Ukraine provided nearly 17 percent of all air assets  
12 on United Nations peacekeeping missions. Since the  
13 start of the war, Ukraine has been forced to with-  
14 draw most of these to defend its own territory, caus-  
15 ing shortages for missions that already lacked suffi-  
16 cient quantities of aircraft. United States budgetary  
17 shortfalls make it harder for other countries to step  
18 in, as they cannot be certain when or if they will re-  
19 ceive full reimbursement for their contributions.

20 (10) The People's Republic of China is now the  
21 second largest financial contributor to United Na-  
22 tions peacekeeping, having gone from an assessment  
23 rate of just 3 percent in 2008 to more than 18 per-  
24 cent in 2023, and is the tenth largest troop-contrib-  
25 utor to United Nations missions, providing more

1 personnel than the other four permanent members of  
2 the Security Council combined.

3 (11) The People’s Republic of China has used  
4 this expanded influence to argue against human  
5 rights, civilian protection, and gender-based violence  
6 personnel within United Nations peacekeeping oper-  
7 ations, in part using United States funding short-  
8 falls as a pretext to downsize peacekeeping missions.

9 (12) United Nations Security Council Resolu-  
10 tion 1325 called for women to take on a greater role  
11 in preventing and resolving conflicts, including by  
12 serving in United Nations peacekeeping missions.  
13 Studies conducted by the United Nations in support  
14 of the resolution based on the organization’s past ex-  
15 periences in Cambodia, Kosovo, Timor-Leste, Af-  
16 ghanistan, Liberia, and Democratic Republic of the  
17 Congo show that female peacekeepers can be better  
18 positioned to gain the trust of women within the  
19 local population, something that is critical to the  
20 success of any peacekeeping effort.

21 (13) Nevertheless, in 2020, women constituted  
22 only 4.8 percent of military contingents and 10.9  
23 percent of formed police units deployed on United  
24 Nations peacekeeping missions. While the United  
25 Nations continues to call for member states to con-

1       tribute more women peacekeepers, resource and  
2       budget constraints have made troop-contributors less  
3       willing to provide women peacekeepers, and missions  
4       themselves lack adequate resources to retrofit bases  
5       to accommodate women.

6           (14) Prior to fiscal year 2017, when the United  
7       States was paying its peacekeeping dues at the full  
8       assessed rate, the United States and the United Na-  
9       tions worked together to institute a number of cost-  
10      saving and efficiency reforms, including reducing the  
11      cost per peacekeeper by 18 percent, reducing the  
12      number of support staff, and shortening the timeline  
13      between when a mission is mandated and when per-  
14      sonnel, equipment, and services are fully deployed.

15          (15) Beginning in 2015 and with the support of  
16      the United States, the United Nations strengthened  
17      measures to combat sexual abuse and exploitation by  
18      peacekeepers, including strict timelines for com-  
19      pleting investigations, immediate response teams in-  
20      side peacekeeping missions to handle allegations,  
21      suspending payments to countries whose troops face  
22      credible allegations of misconduct; repatriation of  
23      units engaged in systematic abuse, establishing an  
24      online database to track allegations and investiga-  
25      tions, appointing the first Special Coordinator on

1       Improving the United Nations Response to Sexual  
2       Exploitation and Abuse and the first Victims' Rights  
3       Advocate, and establishing a trust fund to support  
4       and assist victims.

5           (16) Improving the United States financial  
6       standing at the United Nations would allow the  
7       United States to more effectively advocate for a  
8       range of reform efforts, including supporting strate-  
9       gies that have been particularly effective in reducing  
10      sexual and gender-based violence where peacekeepers  
11      operate, while also continuing to strengthen meas-  
12      ures to end instances of sexual exploitation and  
13      abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

14          (17) Improving the United States financial  
15      standing at the United Nations would also support  
16      efforts to increase representation of Americans in  
17      key roles at the United Nations Secretariat.

18          (18) In 2024, the scale of assessments negotia-  
19      tions will occur again and a demonstrated willing-  
20      ness to pay United States assessments in full will  
21      play an important role in garnering support from  
22      other United Nations member states.

1 **SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY CONCERNING UNITED**  
2 **STATES ENGAGEMENT REGARDING UNITED**  
3 **NATIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.**

4 (a) IN GENERAL.—It is the policy of the United  
5 States that the Permanent Representative of the United  
6 States to the United Nations—

7 (1) support the development and implementa-  
8 tion of standard performance assessment systems  
9 and investigative measures to identify exemplary  
10 performance and address mission-specific and sys-  
11 tem-wide weaknesses;

12 (2) support the full implementation of a man-  
13 agement reform agenda that decentralizes decision-  
14 making authority, simplifies and streamlines policy  
15 and processes, and strengthens accountability and  
16 transparency for managing United Nations offices  
17 and functions;

18 (3) advocate for the development of a common  
19 political strategy in-country among relevant actors,  
20 including regional organizations, United Nation  
21 member states, international financial institutions,  
22 and United Nations agencies, funds, and programs;

23 (4) advocate for robust engagement with host  
24 countries and local communities, including by advo-  
25 cating for resources to be directed to community-led  
26 peace initiatives;



1           (5) support efforts to deploy more mobile,  
2           adaptable, and agile forces for more effective United  
3           Nations peacekeeping operations;

4           (6) support the development of a system-wide  
5           strategy on sustainable peacekeeping transitions that  
6           ensure planning and decision-making is based on  
7           measurable benchmarks, including ensuring the pro-  
8           tection of civilians;

9           (7) lead and advocate for efforts to promote  
10          and protect internationally recognized human rights  
11          standards regarding United Nations peacekeeping  
12          operations, including the robust funding and support  
13          of human rights positions;

14          (8) advocate for efforts to develop a more com-  
15          prehensive plan for accountability and justice, par-  
16          ticularly relating to tracking misconduct and inclu-  
17          sion of survivors in decision-making, for peace-  
18          keepers and other United Nations staff involved in  
19          sexual exploitation, abuse, or other violations of  
20          human rights that contravene United Nations and  
21          United States rules, regulations, or values;

22          (9) engage in dialogue with United Nations  
23          member states to secure a more favorable modifica-  
24          tion of United Nations scales of assessments of the  
25          peacekeeping budget that works to diversify the

1 funding base and create a sustainable funding plan;  
2 and

3 (10) support implementation of United Nations  
4 Security Council Resolution 1325 by working with  
5 the United Nations and United Nations member  
6 states to increase the meaningful participation of  
7 women in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

8 (b) **ADVOCACY OF PEACEKEEPING REFORMS AT THE**  
9 **UNITED NATIONS.**—The Secretary of State shall instruct  
10 the Permanent Representative of the United States to the  
11 United Nations to use the voice, vote, and influence of the  
12 United States at the United Nations to accomplish the  
13 policy specified in subsection (a), consistent with the na-  
14 tional security interests of the United States.

15 **SEC. 4. REPEAL OF THE 25 PERCENT CAP ON UNITED**  
16 **STATES CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNITED NA-**  
17 **TIONS PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.**

18 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Subsection (b) of section 404 of  
19 the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years  
20 1994 and 1995 (Public Law 103–236; 22 U.S.C. 287e  
21 note; relating to a limitation on United States contribu-  
22 tions to United Nations peacekeeping operations) is re-  
23 pealed.

1 (b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—  
2 Section 404 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act,  
3 Fiscal Years 1994 and 1995 is amended by striking—

4 “(a) REASSESSMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS PERCENT-  
5 AGES.—”.

6 **SEC. 5. REPORTS ON UNITED STATES EFFORTS TO**  
7 **ACHIEVE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING**  
8 **REFORM.**

9 Section 4 of the United Nations Participation Act of  
10 1945 (22 U.S.C. 287b) is amended—

11 (1) in subsection (c)—

12 (A) in paragraph (3)—

13 (i) by striking subparagraph (B); and

14 (ii) by redesignating subparagraph

15 (C) as subparagraph (B);

16 (B) by redesignating paragraphs (4) and

17 (5) as paragraphs (5) and (6), respectively;

18 (C) by inserting after paragraph (3) the

19 following new paragraph:

20 “(4) UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING RE-

21 FORM.—A description of the status of United States

22 efforts in the United Nations to ensure the United

23 Nations—

24 “(A) develops and implements standard

25 peacekeeping operation performance assessment

1 systems and investigative measures to identify  
2 exemplary performance and address operation-  
3 specific and system-wide weaknesses;

4 “(B) fully implements a management re-  
5 form agenda that decentralizes decision-making  
6 authority, simplifies and streamlines policy and  
7 processes, and strengthens accountability and  
8 transparency for managing United Nations of-  
9 fices and functions;

10 “(C) develops for each peacekeeping oper-  
11 ation a common political strategy in-country  
12 among relevant actors, including regional orga-  
13 nizations, United Nations member states, inter-  
14 national financial institutions, and United Na-  
15 tions agencies, funds, and programs;

16 “(D) fully engages with host countries and  
17 local communities, including directing resources  
18 to community-led peace initiatives;

19 “(E) deploys more mobile, adaptable, and  
20 agile forces for more effective peacekeeping op-  
21 erations;

22 “(F) develops a system-wide strategy on  
23 sustainable peacekeeping transitions that en-  
24 sure planning and decision-making is based on

1 measurable benchmarks, including ensuring the  
2 protection of civilians;

3 “(G) implements a system-wide strategy to  
4 protect internationally recognized human rights  
5 standards within United Nations peacekeeping  
6 operations, including robust funding and sup-  
7 port of human rights positions within each  
8 peacekeeping operation;

9 “(H) develops a more comprehensive plan  
10 for accountability and justice, particularly relat-  
11 ing to tracking misconduct and inclusion of sur-  
12 vivors in decision-making, for peacekeepers and  
13 other United Nations staff involved in sexual  
14 exploitation, abuse, or other violations of  
15 human rights that contravene United Nations  
16 and United States rules, regulations, or values;

17 “(I) modifies the United Nations scales of  
18 assessments of the peacekeeping budget to di-  
19 versify the funding base and create a sustain-  
20 able funding plan; and

21 “(J) implements United Nations Security  
22 Council Resolution 1325 by increasing the  
23 meaningful participation of women in United  
24 Nations peacekeeping operations.”.

25 (2) in subsection (d)(5)—

1 (A) in the heading, by striking “AND  
2 QUARTERLY REPORTS”; and

3 (B) by striking subparagraph (B).

4 **SEC. 6. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**

5 (a) STRENGTHENING CONFLICT PREVENTION IN  
6 UNITED NATIONS MISSIONS.—Not later than 180 days  
7 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
8 of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
9 committees a report analyzing the ways in which conflict  
10 prevention aspects of United Nations missions may be  
11 strengthened. Such report shall include—

12 (1) an analysis of the performance of existing  
13 early warning and rapid response systems and rec-  
14 ommendations for the improvement of such systems;

15 (2) an analysis on the performance of the civil-  
16 ian components of United Nations special political  
17 missions and peacekeeping operations and rec-  
18 ommendations for strengthening such components;

19 (3) recommendations on how other United Na-  
20 tions entities, including the United Nations  
21 Peacebuilding Fund, special political missions, and  
22 other agencies, funds, and programs could be better  
23 coordinated in a joint strategy; and

24 (4) an assessment of the costs and benefits of  
25 the Department of State and the United States

1 Agency for International Development sharing risk  
2 analysis data with select multilateral organizations,  
3 under specific circumstances, to better promote con-  
4 flict prevention before peacekeeping engagement is  
5 needed.

6 (b) ENSURING CONSIDERATIONS FOR MISSION  
7 TRANSITIONS ARE BASED ON COMPREHENSIVE ASSESS-  
8 MENTS OF CONFLICT DYNAMICS AND RISKS TO CIVIL-  
9 IANS.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the en-  
10 actment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit  
11 to the appropriate congressional committees a report that  
12 analyzes the observed challenges, costs, and benefits of  
13 transitioning United Nations peacekeeping operations to  
14 host-country security forces, including—

15 (1) case studies of communities that maintained  
16 peace and stabilization gains compared with commu-  
17 nities that experienced a resurgence in instability, vi-  
18 olence, or conflict at least 5 years after such a tran-  
19 sition;

20 (2) an analysis of the transition process and the  
21 effectiveness of measures to maintain long-term  
22 peace; and

23 (3) an assessment of any additional resources  
24 needed to maintain peace and stabilization gains  
25 achieved after such a transition.

1           (c) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-  
2 FINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate congres-  
3 sional committees” means—

4           (1) the Committee on Foreign Relations and  
5           the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate; and

6           (2) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the  
7           Committee on Appropriations of the House of Rep-  
8           resentatives.

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