

**Public Law 102-274**  
**102d Congress**

**An Act**

To assure the people of the Horn of Africa the right to food and the other basic necessities of life and to promote peace and development in the region.

Apr. 21, 1992  
 [S. 985]

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the "Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act".

**SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) The Horn of Africa (the region comprised of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, and Djibouti) is characterized by an extraordinary degree of food insecurity as a result of war, famine, mounting debt, recurrent drought, poverty, and agricultural disruption, as well as gross violations of human rights, political repression, environmental destruction, and the breakdown of such essential services as primary education and health care.

(2) Internal conflict and famine have killed an estimated 2,000,000 people in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia since 1985, and generated another 8,000,000 displaced persons and refugees, a number so high as to make millions wards of the United Nations and the international community. Relief officials now estimate that another 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 people are threatened by starvation as civil war and drought continue to ravage the area.

(3) Governments and armed opposition groups in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Somalia have been guilty of gross violations of human rights, which further erode food security in those countries.

(4) Assistance policies have failed in large part because of political and economic insecurity, which have prevented the development of programs to achieve sustainable development and programs to achieve food security.

(5) Appropriate assistance should promote real food security, which means access by all people at all times to enough food for an active and healthy life and the availability of sufficient income and food to prevent chronic dependency upon food assistance.

(6) The end of the Cold War rivalries in the Horn of Africa affords the United States the opportunity to develop a policy which addresses the extraordinary food security problem in the region.

(7) Notwithstanding other pressing needs, the United States must accordingly fashion a new foreign policy toward the Horn of Africa and cooperate with other major donors and the United Nations—

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(A) to develop an emergency relief plan which meets the immediate basic human needs that arise as long as civil strife and famine afflict the region;

(B) to promote immediately cease-fires, secure relief corridors, and an end to these conflicts; and

(C) to provide creative developmental assistance which attacks the root causes of famine and war and assists these nations on the path to long-term security, reconstruction, voluntary repatriation, economic recovery, democracy, and peace, and which targets assistance to assist the poor majority more effectively.

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### SEC. 3. STATEMENT OF POLICY REGARDING INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES.

(a) ETHIOPIA.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) call upon the authorities who now exercise control over the central government in Ethiopia to protect the basic human rights of all citizens, to release from detention all political prisoners and other detainees who were apprehended by the Mengistu regime, and to facilitate the distribution of international relief and emergency humanitarian assistance throughout the country;

(2) urge all authorities in Ethiopia to make good faith efforts to—

(A) make permanent the cease-fire now in place and to permit the restoration of tranquility in the country, and

(B) make arrangements for a transitional government that is broadly-based, that accommodates all appropriate points of view, that respects human rights, and that is committed to a process of reform leading to the writing of a constitution and the establishment of representative government; and

(3) support efforts to ensure that the people of Eritrea are able to exercise their legitimate political rights, consistent with international law, including the right to participate actively in the determination of their political future, and call upon the authorities in Eritrea to keep open the ports of Mitsiwa and Aseb and to continue to permit the use of those ports for the delivery and distribution of humanitarian assistance to Eritrea and to Ethiopia as a whole.

(b) SOMALIA.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) use whatever diplomatic steps he considers appropriate to encourage a peaceful and democratic solution to the problems in Somalia;

(2) commit increased diplomatic resources and energies to resolving the fundamental political conflicts which underlie the protracted humanitarian emergencies in Somalia; and

(3) ensure, to the maximum extent possible and in conjunction with other donors, that emergency humanitarian assistance is being made available to those in need, and that none of the beneficiaries belong to military or paramilitary units.

(c) SUDAN.—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) urge the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army to adopt at least a temporary cessation of

hostilities in order to assure the delivery of emergency relief to civilians in affected areas;

(2) encourage active participation of the international community to meet the emergency relief needs of Sudan; and

(3) take steps to achieve a permanent peace.

**SEC. 4. HORN OF AFRICA RELIEF AND REHABILITATION PROGRAM.** 22 USC 2151  
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(a) **EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ASSISTANCE.**—It should be the policy of the United States in promoting equitable distribution of relief and rehabilitation assistance in the Horn of Africa—

(1) to assure noncombatants (particularly refugees and displaced persons) equal and ready access to all food, emergency, and relief assistance and, if relief or relief agreements are blocked by one faction in a region, to continue supplies to the civilian population located in the territory controlled by any opposing faction;

(2) to provide relief, rehabilitation, and recovery assistance to promote self-reliance; and

(3) to assure that relief is provided on the basis of need without regard to political affiliation, geographic location, or the ethnic, tribal, or religious identity of the recipient.

(b) **MAXIMIZING INTERNATIONAL RELIEF EFFORTS.**—It should be the policy of the United States in seeking to maximize relief efforts for the Horn of Africa—

(1) to redouble its commendable efforts to secure safe corridors of passage for emergency food and relief supplies in affected areas and to expand its support for the growing refugee population;

(2) to commit sufficient resources under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (relating to emergency and private assistance programs), and under chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to international disaster assistance), to meet urgent needs in the region and to utilize unobligated security assistance to bolster these resources;

(3) to consult with member countries of the European Community, Japan, and other major donors in order to increase overall relief and developmental assistance for the people in the Horn of Africa;

(4) to lend the full support of the United States to all aspects of relief operations in the Horn of Africa, and to work in support of United Nations and other international and voluntary agencies, in breaking the barriers currently threatening the lives of millions of refugees and others in need; and

(5) to urge the Secretary General of the United Nations to immediately appoint United Nations field coordinators for each country in the Horn of Africa who can act with the Secretary General's full authority.

(c) **HORN OF AFRICA CIVIL STRIFE AND FAMINE ASSISTANCE.**—

(1) **AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE.**—The President is authorized to provide international disaster assistance under chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for civil strife and famine relief and rehabilitation in the Horn of Africa.

(2) **DESCRIPTION OF ASSISTANCE TO BE PROVIDED.**—Assistance pursuant to this subsection shall be provided for humanitarian purposes and shall include—

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(A) relief and rehabilitation projects to benefit the poorest people, including—

(i) the furnishing of seeds for planting, fertilizer, pesticides, farm implements, crop storage and preservation supplies, farm animals, and vaccine and veterinary services to protect livestock;

(ii) blankets, clothing, and shelter;

(iii) emergency health care; and

(iv) emergency water and power supplies;

(B) emergency food assistance (primarily wheat, maize, other grains, processed foods, and oils) for the affected and displaced civilian population of the Horn of Africa; and

(C) inland and ocean transportation of, and storage of, emergency food assistance, including the provision of trucks.

Assistance described in subparagraphs (B) and (C) shall be in addition to any such assistance provided under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954.

(3) **USE OF PVOS FOR RELIEF, REHABILITATION, AND RECOVERY PROJECTS.**—Assistance under this subsection should be provided, to the maximum extent possible, through United States, international, and indigenous private and voluntary organizations.

(4) **MANAGEMENT SUPPORT ACTIVITIES.**—Up to two percent of the amount made available for each fiscal year under paragraph (5) for use in carrying out this subsection may be used by the agency primarily responsible for administering part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 for management support activities associated with the planning, monitoring, and supervision of emergency humanitarian and food assistance in the Horn of Africa provided under this subsection and subsection (d).

(5) **TRANSFER OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE FUNDS.**—The authority of section 610 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 may be used to transfer for use in carrying out this subsection, without regard to the 20-percent increase limitation contained in that section, unobligated security assistance funds made available for fiscal year 1992 and 1993. As used in this paragraph, the term "security assistance funds" means funds available for economic support assistance, foreign military financing assistance, or international military education and training.

(d) **EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE.**—The President is urged to use the authorities of title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 to provide supplemental emergency food assistance for the various civilian victims of civil strife in the Horn of Africa, in accordance with paragraphs (2)(B), (2)(C), and (3) of subsection (c), in addition to the assistance otherwise provided for such purposes.

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#### **SEC. 5. HORN OF AFRICA PEACE INITIATIVE.**

(a) **SUPPORT FOR GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION.**—It shall be the policy of the United States in promoting peace and development in the Horn of Africa—

(1) to support expanded pluralistic and popular participation, the process by which all groups of people are empowered to involve themselves directly in creating the structures, policies,

and programs to contribute to equitable economic development, and to local, national, and regional peace initiatives;

(2) to ensure that all citizens enjoy the protection of civil, political, economic, social, religious, and cultural rights, an independent judiciary, and representative governmental institutions, regardless of gender, religion, ethnicity, occupation, or association; and

(3) to provide assistance to indigenous nongovernmental institutions that carry out activities in government-controlled or opposition-controlled territories and have the capacity or potential to promote conflict resolution, to advance development programs, or to carry out relief activities such as those described in section 4(c)(2).

(b) **CONSULTATIONS.**—The President is encouraged to undertake immediate consultations with appropriate countries, with armed and unarmed parties in the Horn of Africa, and with the Secretary General of the United Nations, in order to bring about negotiated settlements of the armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa.

(c) **MECHANISMS.**—It is the sense of the Congress that the President should—

(1) direct the United States Representative to the United Nations to—

(A) urge the Secretary General of the United Nations to make cease-fires, safe corridors for emergency relief, and negotiated settlements of the armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa a high and urgent priority;

(B) propose that the United Nations Security Council establish a United Nations arms embargo to end the supply of arms to the region, pending the resolution of civil wars and other armed conflicts; and

(C) pledge diplomatic and material resources for enhanced United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking activities in the region, including monitoring of cease-fires;

(2) play an active and ongoing role in other fora in pressing for negotiated settlements to armed conflicts in the Horn of Africa; and

(3) support and participate in regional and international peace consultations that include broad representation from the countries and factions concerned.

#### **SEC. 6. HORN OF AFRICA FOOD SECURITY AND RECOVERY STRATEGY.**

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(a) **TARGETING ASSISTANCE TO AID THE POOR MAJORITY; USE OF PVOs AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.**—

(1) **TARGETING ASSISTANCE.**—United States developmental assistance for the Horn of Africa should be targeted to aid the poor majority of the people of the region (particularly refugees, women, the urban poor, and small-scale farmers and pastoralists) to the maximum extent practicable. United States Government aid institutions should seek to—

(A) build upon the capabilities and experiences of United States, international, and indigenous private and voluntary organizations active in local grassroots relief, rehabilitation, and development efforts;

(B) consult closely with such organizations and significantly incorporate their views into the policymaking process; and

(C) support the expansion and strengthening of their activities without compromising their private and independent nature.

(2) PVOs AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—While support from indigenous governments is crucial, sustainable development and food security in the Horn of Africa should be enhanced through the active participation of indigenous private and voluntary organizations, as well as international private and voluntary organizations, and international organizations that have demonstrated their ability to work as partners with local nongovernmental organizations and are committed to promoting local grassroots activities on behalf of long-term development and self-reliance in the Horn of Africa.

(3) POLICY ON ASSISTANCE TO GOVERNMENTS.—United States assistance should not be provided to the Government of Ethiopia, the Government of Somalia, or the Government of Sudan until concrete steps toward peace, democracy, and human rights are taken in the respective country.

(4) SUPPORT FOR PVOs.—Meanwhile, the United States should provide developmental assistance to those countries by supporting United States, indigenous, and international private and voluntary organizations working in those countries. Such assistance should be expanded as quickly as possible.

(b) EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS.—Assistance pursuant to this section should include programs to—

(1) reforest and restore degraded natural areas and reestablish resource management programs;

(2) reestablish veterinary services, local crop research, and agricultural development projects;

(3) provide basic education, including efforts to support the teaching of displaced children, and rebuild schools;

(4) educate young people outside of their countries if conflict within their countries continues;

(5) reconstitute and expand the delivery of primary and maternal health care; and

(6) establish credit, microenterprise, and income generation programs for the poor.

(c) VOLUNTARY RELOCATION AND REPATRIATION.—Assistance pursuant to this section should also be targeted to the voluntary relocation and voluntary repatriation of displaced persons and refugees after peace has been achieved. Assistance pursuant to this Act may not be made available for any costs associated with any program of involuntary or forced resettlement of persons.

(d) DEBT RELIEF; INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR RECONSTRUCTION.—Developmental assistance for the Horn of Africa should be carried out in coordination with long-term strategies for debt relief of countries in the region and with emerging efforts to establish an international fund for reconstruction of developing countries which settle civil wars within their territories.

(e) ASSISTANCE THROUGH PVOs AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS.—Unless a certification has been made with respect to that country under section 8, development assistance and assistance from the Development Fund for Africa for Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan shall be provided only through—

(1) United States, international, and indigenous private and voluntary organizations (as the term “private and voluntary

organization" is defined in section 496(e)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961); or

(2) through international organizations that have demonstrated effectiveness in working in partnership with local nongovernmental organizations and are committed to the promotion of local grassroots activities on behalf of development and self-reliance in the Horn of Africa (such as the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Development Program, and the World Food Program).

This subsection does not prohibit the organizations referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) from working with appropriate ministries or departments of the respective governments of such countries.

(f) **WAIVER OF RESTRICTIONS.**—Assistance pursuant to this section may be made available to Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan notwithstanding any provision of law (other than the provisions of this Act) that would otherwise restrict assistance to such countries.

(g) **UNITED STATES VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE HORN OF AFRICA.**—It should be the policy of the United States to provide increasing voluntary contributions to United Nations agencies (including the United Nations Children's Fund, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the United Nations Development Program, and the World Food Program) for expanded programs of assistance for the Horn of Africa and for refugees from the Horn of Africa who are in neighboring countries.

(h) **DEVELOPMENTAL ASSISTANCE AUTHORITIES.**—Developmental assistance to carry out this section shall be provided pursuant to the authorities of chapter 1 of part I (relating to development assistance) and chapter 10 of part I (relating to the Development Fund for Africa) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

**SEC. 7. PROHIBITIONS ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA, SOMALIA, AND SUDAN.** 22 USC 2151  
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(a) **PROHIBITION.**—Economic support assistance, foreign military financing assistance, and international military education and training may not be provided for fiscal year 1992 or 1993 for the Government of Ethiopia, the Government of Somalia, or the Government of Sudan unless the President makes the certification described in section 8 with respect to that government.

(b) **ASSISTANCE FOR ETHIOPIA; CONDITIONAL WAIVER OF BROOKE-ALEXANDER AMENDMENT.**—If the President makes the certification described in section 8 with respect to the Government of Ethiopia, the President may provide economic support assistance, foreign military financing assistance, and international military education and training for Ethiopia for fiscal years 1992 and 1993 notwithstanding section 620(q) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 or any similar provision.

**SEC. 8. CERTIFICATION.**

The certification required by sections 6(e) and 7 is a certification by the President to the appropriate congressional committees that the government of the specified country—

(1) has begun to implement peace agreements, national reconciliation agreements, or both;

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(2) has demonstrated a commitment to human rights within the meaning of sections 116 and 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(3) has manifested a commitment to democracy, has held or established a timetable for free and fair elections, and has agreed to implement the results of those elections; and

(4) in the case of a certification for purposes of section 6(e), has agreed to distribute developmental assistance on the basis of need without regard to political affiliation, geographic location, or the ethnic, tribal, or religious identity of the recipient.

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#### SEC. 9. REPORTING REQUIREMENT.

Not later than 180 days after the date of enactment of this Act and each 180 days thereafter, the President shall submit a report to the appropriate congressional committees on the efforts and progress made in carrying out this Act.

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#### SEC. 10. DEFINITIONS.

As used in this Act—

(1) the term “appropriate congressional committees” means the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate;

(2) the term “assistance from the Development Fund for Africa” means assistance under chapter 10 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(3) the term “development assistance” means assistance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(4) the term “economic support assistance” means assistance under chapter 4 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;

(5) the term “foreign military financing assistance” means assistance under section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act; and

(6) the term “international military education and training” means assistance under chapter 5 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

**Approved April 21, 1992.**

#### LEGISLATIVE HISTORY—S. 985:

##### CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

Vol. 137 (1991): July 16, considered and passed Senate.

Vol. 138 (1992): Apr. 7, considered and passed House, amended.

Apr. 8, Senate concurred in House amendment.