# H. R. 5061

#### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 8, 2004 Received

## AN ACT

To provide assistance for the current crisis in the Darfur region of Sudan and to facilitate a comprehensive peace in Sudan.

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

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

- This Act may be cited as the "Comprehensive Peace
- 3 in Sudan Act".
- 4 SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.
- 5 In this Act:
- 6 (1) Appropriate congressional commit-
- 7 TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-
- 8 mittees" means the Committee on International Re-
- 9 lations of the House of Representatives and the
- 10 Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate.
- 11 (2) JEM.—The term "JEM" means the Justice
- and Equality Movement.
- 13 (3) SPLM.—The term "SPLM" means the
- 14 Sudan People's Liberation Movement.
- 15 (4) SLA.—The term "SLA" means the Sudan
- 16 Liberation Army.
- 17 (5) GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN.—The term "Gov-
- 18 ernment of Sudan' means the National Islamic
- 19 Front-led government in Khartoum, Sudan, or any
- successor government formed on or after the date of
- 21 the enactment of this Act (other than the coalition
- 22 government agreed upon in the Nairobi Declaration
- on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan).
- 24 SEC. 3. FINDINGS.
- Congress makes the following findings:

- 1 (1) Since seizing power through a military coup 2 in 1989, the Government of Sudan repeatedly has 3 attacked and dislocated civilian populations in south-4 ern Sudan in a coordinated policy of ethnic cleansing 5 that has cost the lives of over 2,000,000 people and 6 displaced more than 4,000,000 people.
  - (2) The Governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, and Norway each have committed significant resources to promote an internationally supported peace process between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), under the auspices of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development.
  - (3) Following the signing of the Machakos Agreement in July 2002, the Government of Sudan and the SPLM reached a number of important agreements on issues such as self-determination, security arrangements, and wealth and power sharing, culminating in a final framework agreement, the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan, signed on June 5, 2004.
  - (4) In early 2003, while the Government of Sudan and the SPLM were negotiating for a final, country-wide peace, armed conflict between forces of the Government of Sudan, including militia forces

backed by the Government, and rebel forces, including the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), began in the

Darfur region of western Sudan.

5 (5) Evidence collected by international observ6 ers in the Darfur region between February 2003 and
7 September 2004 indicate a coordinated effort to tar8 get African Sudanese civilians in a scorched earth
9 policy, similar to that which was employed in south10 ern Sudan, that has destroyed African Sudanese vil11 lages, killing and driving away its people, while Arab

Sudanese villages have been left unscathed.

- (6) As a result of this campaign, which the United States Congress and executive branch have declared to be genocide, an estimated 50,000 people have been killed, 1,200,000 people have been internally displaced, and 200,000 people have been forced to flee to neighboring Chad.
- (7) Reports further indicate the systematic rape of thousands of women and girls, the abduction of women and children, and the destruction of hundreds of ethnically African villages, including the poisoning of their wells and the plunder of their crops and cattle upon which the people of such villages sustain themselves.

- (8) The Government of Sudan conducted aerial attack missions and deadly raids across the international border between Sudan and Chad in an illegal effort to pursue Sudanese civilians seeking refuge in Chad.
  - (9) In addition to the thousands of violent deaths directly caused by ongoing Sudanese military and government sponsored militia attacks in the Darfur region, the Government of Sudan has restricted humanitarian access to the region, primarily through bureaucratic and administrative obstruction, in an attempt to inflict the most devastating harm on those individuals displaced from their villages and homes without any means of sustenance or shelter.
  - (10) The Government of Sudan's continued support for the Janjaweed militias and their obstruction of the delivery of food, shelter, and medical care to the Darfur region is estimated by the World Health Organization to be resulting in up to 10,000 deaths per month and, should current trends continue, is projected to escalate to thousands of deaths each day by December 2004.
  - (11) The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions stated in a recent report to the United Nations Sub-

- Commission on Human Rights that "[i]t is beyond doubt that the [G]overnment of Sudan is responsible for extrajudicial and summary executions of large numbers of people over the last several months in the Darfur region", and that "[t]he current humanitarian disaster unfolding in Darfur, for which the government is largely responsible, has put millions of civilians at risk".
  - (12) Attacks on civilians in the Darfur region continue despite an April 8, 2004, temporary cease-fire agreement reached between the Government of Sudan and the JEM and SLA rebel groups in N'Djamena, Chad.
  - (13) The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights identified "massive human rights violations in Darfur perpetrated by the Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed, which may constitute war crimes and/or crimes against humanity".
  - (14) On July 22, 2004, the United States House of Representatives and Senate both declared that the atrocities unfolding in Darfur, Sudan are genocide.
  - (15) On September 9, 2004, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell stated before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate: "When we reviewed the

- evidence compiled by our team, along with other information available to the State Department, we concluded that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the Government of Sudan and the
- 5 [Janjaweed] bear responsibility—and genocide may
- 6 still be occurring.".

- (16) On July 30, 2004, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1556, calling upon the Government of Sudan to disarm the Janjaweed militias, apprehend and bring to justice Janjaweed leaders and their associates who have incited and carried out violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, as well as other atrocities in the Darfur region.
- (17) On September 18, 2004, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1564, determining that the Government of Sudan had failed to meet its obligations under Resolution 1556, calling for a military flight ban in and over the Darfur region, demanding the names of Janjaweed militaremen disarmed and arrested for verification, establishing an International Commission of Inquiry into violations of international humanitarian and human rights laws, and threatening sanctions should the

- Government of Sudan fail to fully comply with Security Council Resolutions 1556 and 1564.
- 18) The African Union's commitment to conflict resolution and peacekeeping on the continent, and its mandate to prevent genocide, has led the organization to engage in both political and military action in an effort to end the conflict in the Darfur region.
  - (19) The SPLM should seek to play a constructive role in bringing about a political settlement between the Government of Sudan, the SLA, and the JEM.
  - (20) Practical implementation of a comprehensive peace agreement for Sudan, as envisioned in the Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note), and in the Machakos Protocol of 2002, is hampered by the ongoing violence in the Darfur region and by the Government of Sudan's complicity in the violence.
  - (21) The Government of Sudan's complicity in the atrocities in the Darfur region raises fundamental questions about the Government of Sudan's commitment to peace and stability in Sudan.

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1	SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING GENOCIDE AND
2	THE CONFLICT IN DARFUR, SUDAN.
3	(a) Sudan Peace Act.—It is the sense of Congress
4	that the Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) remains
5	relevant and should be extended to include the Darfur re-
6	gion of Sudan.
7	(b) Actions to Address Genocide and the Con-
8	FLICT IN DARFUR.—It is the sense of Congress that—
9	(1) the atrocities unfolding in the Darfur region
10	of Sudan are genocide;
11	(2) the Government of Sudan has violated the
12	Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of
13	the Crime of Genocide, signed at Paris on December
14	9, 1948, to which it is a contracting party, as a re-
15	sult of its complicity in the violence in the Darfur
16	region;
17	(3) a legitimate countrywide peace in Sudan
18	will only be possible if the principles enumerated in
19	the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights,
20	as affirmed in the Machakos Protocol of 2002, and
21	the Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace
22	in the Sudan, are applied to all of Sudan, including
23	the Darfur region;
24	(4) the parties to the Humanitarian Ceasefire
25	on the Conflict in Darfur (the Government of
26	Sudan, the SLA, and the JEM), signed in

1	N'Djamena, Chad, on April 8, 2004, must meet
2	their obligations under that agreement, including—
3	(A) to give up the use of force as a means
4	of settling the conflict in the Darfur region;
5	(B) to allow safe and immediate access for
6	the provision of humanitarian assistance
7	throughout the Darfur region;
8	(C) to allow the deployment of and cooper-
9	ate with international monitors and security
10	forces; and
11	(D) to expedite the conclusion of a political
12	agreement to end the conflict in the Darfur re-
13	gion;
14	(5) the President should impose targeted sanc-
15	tions on the assets and activities of those Sudanese
16	Government officials and other individuals who are
17	determined to be involved in planning, carrying out,
18	or otherwise involved in the policy of genocide in the
19	Darfur region, as well as on the assets and activities
20	of businesses controlled by the Government of Sudan
21	and the National Congress Party;
22	(6) the United States Government should not
23	normalize relations with Sudan, including through
24	the lifting of any sanctions, until the Government of
25	Sudan agrees to and takes demonstrable steps to im-

- plement a comprehensive peace agreement for all
   areas of Sudan, including the Darfur region;
  - (7) the United States and the international community should use all necessary means to assist international monitors and security forces in the Darfur region, particularly the African Union monitoring team, in order to ensure an appropriate international response to the crisis in the Darfur region;
    - (8) the United States should continue to provide humanitarian assistance to the areas of Sudan to which the United States has access and, at the same time, implement a plan to provide assistance to the areas of Sudan to which access has been obstructed or denied;
  - (9) the President should appoint a new Special Presidential Envoy for Peace in the Sudan to complement and continue the work of former Senator John C. Danforth, who shall be tasked with assisting all parties to the conflict in Sudan, including in the Darfur region, to achieve a just, comprehensive, and permanent peace in Sudan;
  - (10) the member states of the United Nations, particularly the member states from the African Union, the Arab League, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, should undertake urgent

1	measures to prevent the genocide in the Darfur re-
2	gion from escalating further, including the imposi-
3	tion of targeted sanctions against those responsible
4	for the atrocities; and
5	(11) the international community, including Af-
6	rican, Arab, and Muslim nations, should immediately
7	provide logistical, financial, in-kind, and personnel
8	resources necessary to save the lives of hundreds of
9	thousands of individuals at risk as a result of the
10	Darfur crisis.
11	SEC. 5. AMENDMENTS TO THE SUDAN PEACE ACT.
12	(a) Assistance for the Crisis in Darfur and
13	FOR COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN SUDAN.—
14	(1) IN GENERAL.—The Sudan Peace Act (50
15	U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended by adding at the end
16	the following new section:
17	"SEC. 12. ASSISTANCE FOR THE CRISIS IN DARFUR AND
18	FOR COMPREHENSIVE PEACE IN SUDAN.
19	"(a) Assistance to Support a Comprehensive
20	FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT IN SUDAN AND TO RESPOND
21	TO THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN DARFUR.—
22	"(1) Authority.—Subject to the requirements
23	of this section, the President is authorized to provide
24	assistance for Sudan—

1	"(A) to support the implementation of a
2	comprehensive peace agreement that applies to
3	all regions of Sudan, including the Darfur re-
4	gion; and
5	"(B) to address the humanitarian and
6	human rights crisis in the Darfur region and
7	eastern Chad, including to support the African
8	Union mission in the Darfur region of Sudan.
9	"(2) Requirement for certification.—
10	Notwithstanding section 501(a) of the Assistance for
11	International Malaria Control Act (Public Law 106–
12	570; 50 U.S.C. 1701 note), assistance authorized
13	under this section may be provided to the Govern-
14	ment of Sudan only if the President transmits the
15	certification described in paragraph (3).
16	"(3) Certification for the government
17	OF SUDAN.—The certification referred to in para-
18	graph (2) is a certification transmitted by the Presi-
19	dent to the appropriate congressional committees
20	that the Government of Sudan has taken demon-
21	strable steps to—
22	"(A) ensure that the armed forces of
23	Sudan and any associated militias are not com-
24	mitting atrocities or obstructing human rights

1	monitors or the provision of humanitarian as-
2	sistance;
3	"(B) demobilize and disarm militias sup-
4	ported or created by the Government of Sudan;
5	"(C) allow full and unfettered humani-
6	tarian assistance to all regions of Sudan, in-
7	cluding Darfur;
8	"(D) allow an international commission of
9	inquiry to conduct its investigation of atrocities
10	in the Darfur region and Khartoum, preserve
11	evidence of atrocities and prosecute those re-
12	sponsible for war crimes, crimes against hu-
13	manity, and genocide;
14	"(E) cooperate fully with the African
15	Union and all other observer and monitoring
16	missions mandated to operate in Sudan;
17	"(F) ensure the safe return of displaced
18	persons and refugees to their homes and rebuild
19	the communities destroyed in the violence;
20	"(G) implement the Nairobi Declaration on
21	the Final Phase of Peace in the Sudan; and
22	"(H) install a new coalition government
23	based on the agreements reached in the Nairobi
24	Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the
25	Sudan.

"(4) Suspension of Assistance.—If, on a 1 2 date after the President transmits the certification 3 described in paragraph (3), the President determines 4 that the Government of Sudan has ceased taking the 5 actions described in such paragraph, the President 6 shall immediately suspend the provision of any as-7 sistance to such Government until the date on which 8 the President transmits to the appropriate congres-9 sional committees a further certification that the 10 Government of Sudan has resumed taking such ac-11 tions. 12 "(5) Authorization of appropriations.— 13 "(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any 14 other funds otherwise available for such pur-15 poses, there are authorized to be appropriated 16 to the President— 17 "(i) \$100,000,000 for each of the fis-18 cal years 2005, 2006, and 2007 to carry 19 out paragraph (1)(A); and 20 "(ii) \$150,000,000 for fiscal year 21 2005 to carry out paragraph (1)(B). 22 "(B) AVAILABILITY.—Amounts appro-23 priated pursuant to the authorization of appro-24 priations under subparagraph (A) are author-25 ized to remain available until expended.

- 1 "(b) GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN DEFINED.—In this
- 2 section, the term 'Government of Sudan' means the Na-
- 3 tional Islamic Front government in Khartoum, Sudan, or
- 4 any successor government formed on or after the date of
- 5 the enactment of the Comprehensive Peace in Sudan Act
- 6 (other than the coalition government agreed upon in the
- 7 Nairobi Declaration on the Final Phase of Peace in the
- 8 Sudan).".
- 9 (2) Conforming Amendment.—Section 3(2)
- of such Act is amended by striking "The" and in-
- serting "Except as provided in section 12, the".
- 12 (b) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—Section 8 of the
- 13 Sudan Peace Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended in
- 14 the first sentence by striking "Sudan" and inserting
- 15 "Sudan, including the conflict in the Darfur region".
- 16 SEC. 6. SANCTIONS IN SUPPORT OF PEACE IN DARFUR.
- 17 (a) Sanctions.—Beginning on the date of the enact-
- 18 ment of this Act, the President shall, notwithstanding
- 19 paragraph (1) of section 6(b) of the Sudan Peace Act (50
- 20 U.S.C. 1701 note), implement the measures set forth in
- 21 subparagraphs (A) through (D) of paragraph (2) of such
- 22 section.
- 23 (b) Suspension of Sanctions.—The President
- 24 may suspend the application of subsection (a) if the Presi-
- 25 dent transmits to the appropriate congressional commit-

- 1 tees a certification in accordance with paragraph (3) of
- 2 section 12(a) of the Sudan Peace Act (as added by section
- 5(a)(1) of this Act).
- 4 (c) Reinstatement of Sanctions.—The President
- 5 shall reinstate the sanctions listed in subsection (a) that
- 6 have been suspended under subsection (b) if at any time
- 7 the President determines and certifies to the appropriate
- 8 congressional committees that the Government of Sudan
- 9 is no longer in compliance with any of the criteria listed
- 10 in subparagraphs (A) through (H) of section 12(a)(3) of
- 11 the Sudan Peace Act (as added by section 5(a)(1) of this
- 12 Act).
- 13 (d) Waiver.—The President may waive the applica-
- 14 tion of subsection (a) if the President determines and cer-
- 15 tifies to the appropriate congressional committees that
- 16 such a waiver is in the national interest of the United
- 17 States.
- 18 (e) Continuation of Restrictions.—Restrictions
- 19 against the Government of Sudan that were imposed pur-
- 20 suant to title III and sections 508, 512, and 527 of the
- 21 Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Pro-
- 22 grams Act, 2004 (division D of Public Law 108–199; 118
- 23 Stat. 143), or any other similar provision of law, may not
- 24 be lifted pursuant to such provisions of law unless the
- 25 President transmits a certification to the appropriate con-

- 1 gressional committees in accordance with paragraph (3)
- 2 of section 12(a) of the Sudan Peace Act (as added by sec-
- 3 tion 5(a)(1) of this Act).
- 4 SEC. 7. DISCLOSURE OF BUSINESS ACTIVITIES IN SUDAN.
- 5 (a) Annual Report to Congress.—The Secretary
- 6 of the Treasury shall, not later than 180 days after the
- 7 date of the enactment of this Act, and not later than the
- 8 end of each 1-year period thereafter, submit to Congress
- 9 a report that includes—
- 10 (1) the identity of all entities that are engaged
- in commercial activity in Sudan;
- 12 (2) the nature and extent of that commercial
- activity in Sudan, including any plans for expansion
- or diversification;
- 15 (3) the identity of all agencies of the Sudanese
- 16 Government with which any such entity is doing
- business; and
- 18 (4) the relationship of the commercial activity
- to any violations of religious freedom and other
- 20 human rights in Sudan.
- 21 (b) DISCLOSURE TO THE PUBLIC.—The Secretary of
- 22 the Treasury shall publish or otherwise make available to
- 23 the public each report submitted under subsection (a).

### 1 SEC. 8. MULTILATERAL EFFORTS.

2	The President, acting through the United States Per-
3	manent Representative to the United Nations, should—
4	(1) press the United Nations Security Council
5	to pursue accountability for those who are found re-
6	sponsible for orchestrating and carrying out the
7	atrocities in the Darfur region, consistent with
8	United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1556
9	(July 30, 2004) and 1564 (September 18, 2004);
10	(2) encourage member states of the United Na-
11	tions to—
12	(A) freeze the assets of senior members of
13	the Government of Sudan and their families
14	held in each such member state;
15	(B) cease to import Sudanese oil;
16	(C) restrict the entry or transit of senior
17	members of the Government of Sudan and their
18	families through each such member state; and
19	(D) deny permission for any aircraft reg-
20	istered in Sudan to take off from, land in, or
21	overfly each such member state; and
22	(3) urge member states of the United Nations
23	to cease selling arms to the Government of Sudan,
24	including by—
25	(A) taking the necessary measures to pre-
26	vent the sale or supply to armed elements act-

1 ing within the territory of Sudan, including the 2 Government of Sudan, the Janjaweed and the Popular Defense Forces, by the nationals of 3 4 such member states, from the territories of such member states, or through the use of flag 6 vessels or aircraft of such member states, of 7 arms and related material of all types, including 8 weapons and ammunition, military vehicles and 9 equipment, paramilitary equipment, and spare 10 parts, as well as technical training or assistance 11 related to the provision, manufacture, mainte-12 nance or use of such items, whether or not orig-13 inating in the territories of such member states; 14 and 15 (B) ensuring that the measures imposed in 16 subparagraph (A) shall not apply to— 17 18 19

- (i) supplies and related technical training and assistance to monitoring, verification, or peace support operations, including such operations led by regional organizations, that are authorized by the United Nations or are operating with the consent of the relevant parties;
- (ii) supplies of non-lethal military equipment intended solely for humani-

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1	tarian, human rights monitoring or protec-
2	tive use, and related technical training and
3	assistance; and
4	(iii) supplies of protective clothing, in-
5	cluding flak jackets and military helmets,
6	for the personal use of United Nations or
7	African Union personnel, human rights
8	monitors, representatives of the media and
9	humanitarian and development workers
10	and associated personnel.
11	SEC. 9. REPORT ON UNITED STATES RESPONSE TO A COM-
12	PREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT FOR
13	SUDAN.
14	(a) Report.—Not later than 60 days after the date
15	of enactment of this Act, the President shall transmit to
16	the appropriate congressional committees a report on the
17	planned United States response to a comprehensive peace
18	agreement for Sudan.
19	(b) Content.—The report required by subsection
20	(a) shall include—
21	(1) a description of steps taken by the United
22	States to respond to a modified peace process be-
23	tween the Government of Sudan and the SPLM that
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24	would account for the implementation of peace in all

- 1 (2) a contingency plan for extraordinary hu-2 manitarian assistance should the Government of 3 Sudan continue to obstruct or delay the inter-4 national humanitarian response to the crisis in 5 Darfur, Sudan;
- 6 (3) if applicable, a notification and explanation 7 of the President's intention to decline to impose tar-8 geted sanctions on the assets and activities of those 9 Sudanese government officials and other individuals 10 that are involved in carrying out the policy of geno-11 cide in the Darfur region, as well as on the assets 12 and activities of businesses controlled by the Govern-13 ment of Sudan and the National Congress Party; 14 and
  - (4) if applicable, a notification and explanation of the Government of the United States' intention to normalize relations with Sudan, including through the lifting of any sanctions, until the Government of Sudan agrees to and implements a comprehensive peace agreement for all areas of Sudan, including Darfur.
- 22 (c) FORM OF REPORT.—The report required by sub-23 section (a) may be transmitted in classified form.

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#### 1 SEC. 10. ADDITIONAL AUTHORITIES; EXCEPTION TO EX-

- 2 **PORT PROHIBITIONS.**
- 3 (a) Additional Authorities.—Notwithstanding
- 4 any other provision of law, the President is authorized to
- 5 undertake appropriate programs using Federal agencies,
- 6 grants or contractual arrangements, or direct support of
- 7 indigenous groups, agencies, or organizations in areas out-
- 8 side of control of the Government of Sudan in an effort
- 9 to provide emergency relief, promote economic self-suffi-
- 10 ciency, build civil authority, provide education, enhance
- 11 rule of law and the development of judicial and legal
- 12 frameworks, support people-to-people reconciliation ef-
- 13 forts, or implement any program in support of any viable
- 14 peace agreement at the local, regional, or national level
- 15 in Sudan.
- 16 (b) Exception to Export Prohibitions.—Not-
- 17 withstanding any other provision of law, the prohibitions
- 18 set forth with respect to Sudan in Executive Order No.
- 19 13067 of November 3, 1997 (62 Fed. Reg. 59989), shall
- 20 not apply to any export from an area in Sudan outside
- 21 of the control of the Government of Sudan, or to any nec-
- 22 essary transaction directly related to that export, if the
- 23 President determines that the export or related trans-
- 24 action, as the case may be, would directly benefit the eco-
- 25 nomic development of that area and its people.

#### 1 SEC. 11. TECHNICAL AMENDMENT.

- 2 Section 12 of the International Organizations Immu-
- 3 nities Act (22 U.S.C. 288f-2) is amended by striking "Or-
- 4 ganization of African Unity" and inserting "African
- 5 Union".

Passed the House of Representatives October 7, 2004.

Attest: JEFF TRANDAHL,

Clerk.