### 110TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# S. 2172

To impose sanctions on officials of the State Peace and Development Council in Burma, to prohibit the importation of gems and hardwoods from Burma, to support democracy in Burma, and for other purposes.

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 16, 2007

Mr. McCain introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

# A BILL

- To impose sanctions on officials of the State Peace and Development Council in Burma, to prohibit the importation of gems and hardwoods from Burma, to support democracy in Burma, 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 "Saffron Revolution
  - 5 Support Act of 2007".
  - 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
- 7 Congress makes the following findings:

| 1  | (1) Beginning on August 19, 2007, hundreds of          |
|----|--|
| 2  | thousands of citizens of Burma, including thousands    |
| 3  | of Buddhist monks and students, participated in        |
| 4  | peaceful demonstrations against rapidly deterio-       |
| 5  | rating living conditions and the violent and repres-   |
| 6  | sive policies of the State Peace and Development       |
| 7  | Council (SPDC), the ruling military junta in Burma,    |
| 8  | to—  |
| 9  | (A) demand the release of all political pris-          |
| 10 | oners, including Nobel Peace Prize laureate            |
| 11 | Aung San Suu Kyi; and                                  |
| 12 | (B) urge the SPDC to engage in meaning-                |
| 13 | ful dialogue to pursue national reconciliation.        |
| 14 | (2) The SPDC, in a display of brutal barba-            |
| 15 | rism, violently confronted unarmed demonstrators,      |
| 16 | killing, injuring, and imprisoning citizens, including |
| 17 | several thousand Buddhist monks, and continued to      |
| 18 | forcefully restrict peaceful forms of public expres-   |
| 19 | sion.  |
| 20 | (3) The Department of State's 2006 Reports on          |
| 21 | Human Rights Practices found that the SPDC—            |
| 22 | (A) routinely restricts freedoms of speech,            |
| 23 | press, assembly, association, religion, and move-      |
| 24 | ment;  |
| 25 | (B) traffics in persons;                               |

| 1  | (C) discriminates against women and eth-             |
|----|--|
| 2  | nic minorities;                                      |
| 3  | (D) forcibly recruits child soldiers and             |
| 4  | child labor; and                                     |
| 5  | (E) commits other serious violations of              |
| 6  | human rights, including extrajudicial killings,      |
| 7  | custodial deaths, disappearances, rape, torture,     |
| 8  | abuse of prisoners and detainees, and the im-        |
| 9  | prisonment of citizens arbitrarily for political     |
| 10 | motives.   |
| 11 | (4) Aung San Suu Kyi has been arbitrarily im-        |
| 12 | prisoned or held under house arrest for more than    |
| 13 | 12 years.  |
| 14 | (5) The President announced on September 25,         |
| 15 | 2007, that the United States would tighten economic  |
| 16 | sanctions against Burma, and block property and in-  |
| 17 | terests in property of certain senior leaders of the |
| 18 | SPDC, individuals who provide financial backing for  |
| 19 | the SPDC, and individuals responsible for violations |
| 20 | of human rights and for impeding the transition to   |
| 21 | democracy in Burma.                                  |
| 22 | (6) The President also announced on Sep-             |
| 23 | tember 25, 2007, that the United States would im-    |

pose an expanded visa ban on individuals—

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| 1  | (A) responsible for violations of human                |
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| 2  | rights; and  |
| 3  | (B) who aid, abet, or benefit from the                 |
| 4  | SPDC's efforts to impede the efforts of the peo-       |
| 5  | ple of Burma to transition to democracy and            |
| 6  | ensure respect for human dignity.                      |
| 7  | (7) The Total Oil Corporation of France and            |
| 8  | the Chevron Corporation of the United States own       |
| 9  | a significant stake in Burma's Yadana natural gas      |
| 10 | field and pipeline and generate millions of dollars in |
| 11 | revenue that help the repressive junta government      |
| 12 | maintain its grasp on power.                           |
| 13 | (8) Burma is home to approximately 60 percent          |
| 14 | of the world's native teak reserves. More than one     |
| 15 | quarter of the world's internationally traded teak     |
| 16 | originates from Burma, and hardwood sales, mainly      |
| 17 | of teak, represent more than 11 percent of Burma's     |
| 18 | official foreign exchange earnings.                    |
| 19 | (9) Burma officially exports tens of millions of       |
| 20 | dollars worth of rubies, sapphires, pearls, jade, and  |
| 21 | other precious stones each year and the SPDC owns      |
| 22 | a majority stake in all mining operations within the   |
| 23 | borders of Burma.                                      |
| 24 | (10) On October 11, 2007, the United Nations           |
|    |  |

Security Council, with the consent of China, issued

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- a statement condemning the violence in Burma, urging the release of all political prisoners, and calling on the SPDC to enter into a United Nations-mediated dialogue with its political opposition.
- 5 (11) The leaders of the SPDC will have a 6 greater incentive to cooperate with diplomatic efforts 7 by the United Nations, the Association of Southeast 8 Asian Nations, and China if they come under tar-9 geted economic pressure that denies them access to 10 personal wealth and sources of revenue.

#### 11 SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.

12 In this Act:

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- 13 (1) ACCOUNT; CORRESPONDENT ACCOUNT; PAY14 ABLE-THROUGH ACCOUNT.—The terms "account",
  15 "correspondent account", and "payable-through ac16 count" have the meanings given the terms in section
  17 5318A(e)(1) of title 31, United States Code.
  - (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.—The term "appropriate congressional committees" means the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives.
- 23 (3) Person.—The term "person" means—
- 24 (A) an individual, corporation, company, 25 business association, partnership, society, trust,

| 1  | any other nongovernmental entity, organization    |
|----|---|
| 2  | or group; and                                     |
| 3  | (B) any successor, subunit, or subsidiary         |
| 4  | of any person described in subparagraph (A).      |
| 5  | (4) SPDC.—The term "SPDC" means the               |
| 6  | State Peace and Development Council.              |
| 7  | (5) United states person.—The term                |
| 8  | "United States person" means—                     |
| 9  | (A) an individual who is a citizen of the         |
| 10 | United States or who owes permanent alle-         |
| 11 | giance to the United States; and                  |
| 12 | (B) a person that is organized under the          |
| 13 | laws of the United States, any State or terri-    |
| 14 | tory thereof, or the District of Columbia, if in- |
| 15 | dividuals described in subparagraph (A) own       |
| 16 | directly or indirectly, more than 50 percent of   |
| 17 | the outstanding capital stock or other beneficial |
| 18 | interest in such entity.                          |
| 19 | SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.                      |
| 20 | It is the policy of the United States to—         |
| 21 | (1) condemn the continued repression carried      |
| 22 | out by the SPDC;                                  |
| 23 | (2) support the legitimate democratic aspira-     |
| 24 | tions of the people of Burma;                     |

| 1  | (3) provide all appropriate support and assist-      |
|----|--|
| 2  | ance to aid a transition to democracy in Burma; and  |
| 3  | (4) hold accountable individuals responsible for     |
| 4  | the repression of peaceful political activity in     |
| 5  | Burma.   |
| 6  | SEC. 5. SANCTIONS.                                   |
| 7  | (a) List of Officials of the SPDC.—                  |
| 8  | (1) In general.—Not later than 30 days after         |
| 9  | the date of the enactment of this Act, the President |
| 10 | shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-   |
| 11 | mittees a list of—                                   |
| 12 | (A) officials of the SPDC who play or have           |
| 13 | played a direct and substantial role in the re-      |
| 14 | pression of peaceful political activity in Burma     |
| 15 | or in the commission of other human rights           |
| 16 | abuses, including any current or former officials    |
| 17 | of the security services and judicial institutions   |
| 18 | of the SPDC; and                                     |
| 19 | (B) any other Burmese persons who pro-               |
| 20 | vide substantial economic and political support      |
| 21 | for the SPDC.  |
| 22 | (2) Updates.—The President shall regularly           |
| 23 | update and submit the list required by paragraph     |
| 24 | (1).   |
| 25 | (b) Sanctions.—                                      |

| 1  | (1) VISA BAN.—A person included on the list           |
|----|---|
| 2  | required under subsection (a) shall be ineligible for |
| 3  | a visa to enter the United States.                    |
| 4  | (2) Financial sanctions.—                             |
| 5  | (A) Blocked property.—No property or                  |
| 6  | interest in property belonging to a person de-        |
| 7  | scribed in subparagraph (C) may be trans-             |
| 8  | ferred, paid, exported, withdrawn, or otherwise       |
| 9  | dealt with, if—                                       |
| 10 | (i) the property is located in the                    |
| 11 | United States or within the possession or             |
| 12 | control of a United States person, includ-            |
| 13 | ing the overseas branch of a United States            |
| 14 | person; or  |
| 15 | (ii) after the date of the enactment of               |
| 16 | this Act, the property comes within the               |
| 17 | possession or control of a United States              |
| 18 | person.   |
| 19 | (B) FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS.—No                        |
| 20 | United States person may engage in a financial        |
| 21 | transaction with a person described in subpara-       |
| 22 | graph (C).  |
| 23 | (C) Person described.—A person de-                    |
| 24 | scribed in this subparagraph is one of the fol-       |
| 25 | lowing:   |

| 1  | (i) The SPDC.   |
|----|---|
| 2  | (ii) A person included on the list re-                |
| 3  | quired under subsection (a).                          |
| 4  | (iii) An immediate family member of a                 |
| 5  | person included on the list required under            |
| 6  | subsection (a), if the President determines           |
| 7  | that the person included on the list—                 |
| 8  | (I) for purposes of subparagraph                      |
| 9  | (A), effectively controls the property;               |
| 10 | or  |
| 11 | (II) for purposes of subpara-                         |
| 12 | graph (B), would benefit from a fi-                   |
| 13 | nancial transaction.                                  |
| 14 | (c) Authority for Additional Banking Sanc-            |
| 15 | TIONS.—   |
| 16 | (1) In general.—The Secretary of the Treas-           |
| 17 | ury may, in consultation with the Secretary of State, |
| 18 | the Attorney General of the United States, and the    |
| 19 | Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal     |
| 20 | Reserve System, prohibit or impose conditions on      |
| 21 | the opening or maintaining in the United States of    |
| 22 | a correspondent account or payable-through account    |
| 23 | by any financial institution (as that term is defined |
| 24 | in section 5312 of title 31, United States Code) or   |
| 25 | financial agency that is organized under the laws of  |

| 1  | a State, territory, or possession of the United            |
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| 2  | States, for or on behalf of a foreign banking institu-     |
| 3  | tion, if the Secretary determines that the account         |
| 4  | might be used—   |
| 5  | (A) by a foreign banking institution that                  |
| 6  | holds property or an interest in property be-              |
| 7  | longing to a person on the list required under             |
| 8  | subsection (a); or   |
| 9  | (B) to conduct a transaction on behalf of                  |
| 10 | a person on the list required under subsection             |
| 11 | (a).   |
| 12 | (2) Authority to define terms.—The Sec-                    |
| 13 | retary of the Treasury may, by regulation, further         |
| 14 | define the terms used in paragraph (1) for purposes        |
| 15 | of this section, as the Secretary deems appropriate.       |
| 16 | (d) Termination of Sanctions.—The sanctions                |
| 17 | imposed under subsection (b) or (c) shall apply until the  |
| 18 | President determines and certifies to the appropriate con- |
| 19 | gressional committees that the SPDC has—                   |
| 20 | (1) unconditionally released all political pris-           |
| 21 | oners, including Aung San Suu Kyi and other mem-           |
| 22 | bers of the National League for Democracy;                 |
| 23 | (2) entered into a substantive dialogue with               |
| 24 | democratic forces led by the National League for           |
| 25 | Democracy and the ethnic minorities of Burma on            |

| 1  | transitioning to democratic government under the        |
|----|---|
| 2  | rule of law; and  |
| 3  | (3) allowed humanitarian access to populations          |
| 4  | affected by armed conflict in all regions of Burma.     |
| 5  | (e) Authorization of Appropriations.—There              |
| 6  | are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be   |
| 7  | necessary to carry out this section.                    |
| 8  | SEC. 6. PROHIBITION ON IMPORTATION OF BURMESE           |
| 9  | GEMS, HARDWOODS, AND OTHER ITEMS.                       |
| 10 | Section 3(a)(1) of the Burmese Freedom and Democ-       |
| 11 | racy Act of 2003 (50 U.S.C. 1701 note) is amended by    |
| 12 | striking "a product of Burma." and inserting "produced, |
| 13 | mined, manufactured, grown, or assembled in Burma, in-  |
| 14 | cluding—  |
| 15 | "(A) any gemstone or rough unfinished ge-               |
| 16 | ological material mined or extracted from               |
| 17 | Burma, whether imported as a loose item or as           |
| 18 | a component of a finished piece of jewelry; and         |
| 19 | "(B) any teak or other hardwood timber,                 |
| 20 | regardless of the country in which such hard-           |
| 21 | wood timber is milled, sawn, or otherwise proc-         |
| 22 | essed, whether imported in unprocessed form or          |
| 23 | as a part or component of finished furniture or         |
| 24 | another wood item.".                                    |

| 1  | SEC. 7. PROHIBITION ON INVESTMENT BY UNITED STATES         |
|----|--|
| 2  | PERSONS IN BURMA.  |
| 3  | (a) In General.—Notwithstanding any other provi-           |
| 4  | sion of law, no United States person may invest in Burma.  |
| 5  | (b) APPLICABILITY.—The prohibition on investment           |
| 6  | under subsection (a) includes a prohibition on—            |
| 7  | (1) investments in Burma based on investment               |
| 8  | agreements reached prior to May 20, 1997;                  |
| 9  | (2) approval or other facilitation by a United             |
| 10 | States person of an investment by a foreign person         |
| 11 | if the investment would violate the prohibition in         |
| 12 | subsection (a) if made by a United States person;          |
| 13 | and  |
| 14 | (3) payments to the SPDC by a United States                |
| 15 | person related to divesting assets in Burma to com-        |
| 16 | ply with subsection (a).                                   |
| 17 | (c) Penalties.—The Secretary of the Treasury may           |
| 18 | impose a penalty under section 206 of the International    |
| 19 | Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) on a        |
| 20 | United States person that violates the prohibition under   |
| 21 | subsection (a).  |
| 22 | SEC. 8. GRANTS TO ESTABLISH DATABASE OF HUMAN              |
| 23 | RIGHTS ABUSES.   |
| 24 | The Secretary of State may award grants to non-            |
| 25 | governmental organizations, universities, and other orga-  |
| 26 | nizations to establish a searchable Internet database that |

| 1  | contains evidence of human rights abuses carried out by     |
|----|---|
| 2  | the SPDC or persons associated with the SPDC.               |
| 3  | SEC. 9. SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY IN BURMA.                     |
| 4  | (a) In General.—The President is authorized to              |
| 5  | use all available resources to assist Burmese democracy     |
| 6  | activists who are dedicated to nonviolent opposition to the |
| 7  | SPDC in their efforts to promote freedom, democracy, and    |
| 8  | human rights in Burma.                                      |
| 9  | (b) Authorization of Appropriations.—There                  |
| 10 | are authorized to be appropriated \$20,000,000 to the Sec-  |
| 11 | retary of State for each of the fiscal years 2008 and 2009  |
| 12 | for the following purposes:                                 |
| 13 | (1) Aid to democracy activists in Burma.                    |
| 14 | (2) Aid to individuals and groups conducting                |
| 15 | democracy programming outside of Burma targeted             |
| 16 | at a transition to democracy inside Burma.                  |
| 17 | (3) The expansion of radio and television broad-            |
| 18 | casting into Burma.   |
| 19 | (4) Support for individuals and groups com-                 |
| 20 | piling evidence of—   |
| 21 | (A) the SPDC's efforts to repress peaceful                  |
| 22 | political activity; and                                     |
| 23 | (B) the commission of other human rights                    |
| 24 | abuses by the SPDC.   |

| 1  | SEC. 10. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON USE OF INTELLIGENCE             |
|----|---|
| 2  | ASSETS.   |
| 3  | It is the sense of Congress that the Director of Na-          |
| 4  | tional Intelligence should utilize appropriate intelligence   |
| 5  | resources to identify persons responsible for—                |
| 6  | (1) the crackdown sponsored by the SPDC                       |
| 7  | against peaceful protestors that began August 19,             |
| 8  | 2007; and   |
| 9  | (2) ongoing gross abuses of human rights                      |
| 10 | against civilians in Burma.                                   |
| 11 | SEC. 11. REPORT ON MILITARY AID TO BURMA.                     |
| 12 | (a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the             |
| 13 | date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State     |
| 14 | shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees      |
| 15 | a report containing a list of countries that provide military |
| 16 | aid to Burma and describing the military aid provided by      |
| 17 | each such country.  |
| 18 | (b) MILITARY AID DEFINED.—For the purposes of                 |
| 19 | this section, the term "military aid" includes—               |
| 20 | (1) the provision of weapons, military vehicles,              |
| 21 | and military aircraft;  |
| 22 | (2) the provision of military training; and                   |
| 23 | (3) conducting joint military exercises.                      |

- 1 (c) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)
- 2 shall be submitted in unclassified form but may include

3 a classified annex.

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