

117TH CONGRESS H.R. 2716

To suspend certain United States assistance for the Government of Honduras until corruption, impunity, and human rights violations are no longer systemic, and the perpetrators of these crimes are being brought to justice.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

April 21, 2021

Ms. Schakowsky (for herself, Mr. Johnson of Georgia, Mr. Castro of Texas, Mr. García of Illinois, Ms. Kaptur, Ms. Omar, Mr. Blumenauer, Mr. Cicilline, Mr. Cohen, Mr. Danny K. Davis of Illinois, Mr. Espaillat, Mr. Grijalva, Ms. Jayapal, Mr. Lowenthal, Mr. McGovern, Mrs. Napolitano, Ms. Norton, Mr. Panetta, Mr. Pocan, Ms. Porter, Mr. Raskin, Mr. Rush, Ms. Tlaib, Mr. Vargas, Mr. Welch, Ms. Scanlon, and Ms. Pressley) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on the Judiciary, and Financial Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To suspend certain United States assistance for the Government of Honduras until corruption, impunity, and human rights violations are no longer systemic, and the perpetrators of these crimes are being brought to justice.

- 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.

- 2 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the
- 3 "Honduras Human Rights and Anti-Corruption Act of
- 4 2021".
- 5 (b) Table of Contents for
- 6 this Act is as follows:
 - Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
 - Sec. 2. Police or military of the Republic of Honduras defined.
 - Sec. 3. Findings.
 - Sec. 4. Sense of Congress.
 - Sec. 5. Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.
 - Sec. 6. Imposition of sanctions with respect to the president of Honduras.
 - Sec. 7. Prohibition on commercial export of covered defense articles and services and covered munitions items to the Honduran police or military.
 - Sec. 8. Suspension and restrictions of security assistance extended to the Republic of Honduras unless certain conditions are met.
 - Sec. 9. Sunset.

7 SEC. 2. POLICE OR MILITARY OF THE REPUBLIC OF HON-

- 8 DURAS DEFINED.
- 9 In this Act, the term "police or military of the Repub-
- 10 lic of Honduras' means—
- 11 (1) the Honduran National Police;
- 12 (2) the Honduran Armed Forces;
- 13 (3) the Military Police of Public Order of the
- 14 Republic of Honduras; or
- 15 (4) para-police or paramilitary elements, acting
- under color of law or having received financing,
- training, orders, intelligence, weapons, or other
- forms of material assistance from the forces identi-
- fied in paragraphs (1) through (3).

1 SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

2	Congress makes the following findings:
3	(1) Since the 2009 military coup, the Republic
4	of Honduras remains plagued by systemic corruption
5	and human rights violations, exemplified by—
6	(A) widespread collusion among govern-
7	ment officials, state and private security forces,
8	organized crime, and members of the private
9	sector, including in the knowledge and perpetra-
10	tion of physical and legal threats, assassina-
11	tions, forced disappearances, and other abuses
12	against human rights and environmental de-
13	fenders, members of the political opposition,
14	journalists, and others;
15	(B) the excessive use of force by members
16	of the police or military of the Republic of Hon-
17	duras, particularly in the context of civil society
18	protests;
19	(C) the failure of the Government of Hon-
20	duras to protect the rights, interests, and phys-
21	ical security of indigenous peoples in land and
22	natural resources disputes, in contravention of
23	its obligations under the Honduran constitution
24	and under international treaties to which it is

a state party; and

- 1 (D) the failure of the Government of Hon2 duras to enforce the Honduran Labor Code in
 3 violation of its obligations under International
 4 Labor Organization Conventions, which the
 5 Government of Honduras has ratified, guaran6 teeing freedom of association, the right to col7 lective bargaining, and other fundamental labor
 8 protections.
 - (2) There is substantial evidence that President of Honduras Juan Orlando Hernández has engaged in a pattern of criminal activity and use of the state apparatus to protect and facilitate drug trafficking, as exemplified by three high-profile corruption and drug trafficking cases that were tried or are being prosecuted in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, in which the President of Honduras was named as a co-conspirator, including the following:
 - (A) The October 2019 conviction of the President of Honduras's brother Juan Antonio Hernández, in which Federal prosecutors and multiple witnesses testified that the President of Honduras received \$1,500,000 in drug proceeds that were funneled toward his successful 2013 presidential campaign, and that organized

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crime had infiltrated the Honduran National Police and National Party.

- (B) The March 2020 indictment Geovanny Daniel Fuentes, a drug trafficker, in which Federal prosecutors alleged that the President of Honduras accepted \$25,000 in bribes in exchange for protecting the defendant from law enforcement intervention against his cocaine trafficking activities and facilitated the use of Honduran military personnel as security for the defendant's drug trafficking operations. On February 5, 2021, Federal prosecutors filed a court document stating that the President of Honduras was under investigation in connection with the case.
- (C) The April 2020 indictment of former National Director of Police Juan Carlos "El Tigre" Bonilla, in which Federal prosecutors alleged that the President of Honduras accepted bribes from drug traffickers, facilitated multiton shipments of cocaine bound for the United States, and entrusted the defendant with special assignments, including murder.

- 1 (3) The President of Honduras has also dem-2 onstrated a track record of contempt for the rule of 3 law, exhibited by— 4 (A) his support for the 2009 military coup, 5 repudiated as unlawful by the United Nations,
- the Organization of American States, the European Union, and numerous foreign governments, while a member of Congress;
 - (B) his support for a 2012 congressional measure, widely viewed as illegal, to replace four Supreme Court justices while the leader of Congress; and
 - (C) his 2017 candidacy for a second presidential term, in violation of the Honduran constitution's longstanding prohibition on presidential reelection, which in 2015 was nullified in a ruling by the justices referred to in subparagraph (B).
 - (4) In recent months, the executive and legislative branches of the Government of Honduras have taken significant steps to entrench corruption, block oversight by national prosecutors and international investigators, and shield senior officials and parliamentarians from criminal liability, including the following actions:

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- (A) On January 19, 2020, the Government of Honduras announced the closing of the Mission of Support against Corruption and Impunity in Honduras (MACCIH), the anti-corruption mechanism established in 2015 by the Organization of American States and the Government of Honduras. MACCIH brought 14 corruption-related cases against dozens of high-profile criminal defendants and oversaw the creation of an anti-corruption judicial circuit and special prosecutor's unit that was disbanded following the mission's closure.
 - (B) On June 25, 2020, the Government of Honduras enacted a new penal code that reduced prison terms for corruption-related crimes, including embezzlement, illicit enrichment, obstruction of justice, and fraud. The measure is retroactive, benefitting Honduran officials already convicted or facing prosecution.
 - (C) On October 16, 2019, the National Congress of Honduras passed a law that restored immunity to all parliamentarians for crimes related to legislative activities and a law that blocked the Attorney General's office from

- investigating cases involving the improper use of state funds for up to 7 years.
- tern of congressional decrees of amnesty or immunity for crimes perpetrated by authorities in Honduras, including for those committed during the 2009 coup and its aftermath, those perpetrated by state security forces, and those involving the misuse of public funds by former and current legislators, contributing to a climate of impunity.
 - (6) Space for civil society to operate in the Republic of Honduras remains severely constrained, with rights activists and journalists subject to acute levels of violence, surveillance, harassment, and intimidation. The Republic of Honduras ranks as the deadliest country in the world for human rights and environmental defenders on a per capita basis and third in the number of assassinations, with 31 defenders killed in 2019 and 204 defenders killed since 2009.
 - (7) The 2019 United States Department of State Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, international human rights bodies, and numerous monitoring groups have reported that the Honduran police and military commit human rights violations

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- with impunity, including unlawful killings, torture, and the use of unnecessary force and lethal weapons against protestors and civilian bystanders. Individuals with documented records of human rights violations and links to drug trafficking continue to serve in high-ranking positions within the Honduran police and military, and few of the alleged cases of human rights abuses perpetrated by police and military personnel are prosecuted or tried in court.
 - (8) The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights have documented the use of arbitrary detentions, forced disappearances, and specious judicial proceedings to criminalize indigenous and human rights activists, environmental defenders, journalists, opposition politicians, and others, including—
 - (A) members of the Tocoa Municipal Committee for the Defense of Common and Public Assets, who since September 2019 have been detained pending trial following their protest of an illegal mining concession affecting the Guapinol and San Pedro rivers;
 - (B) four Afro-indigenous Garífuna land defenders, who on July 18, 2020, were abducted

- from their homes and reportedly forced into unmarked vehicles at gunpoint by armed men in police uniforms without a warrant and remain forcibly disappeared; and
 - (C) opposition lawmaker María Luisa Borjas, who on July 21, 2020, was convicted of defamation and sentenced to nearly three years in prison for naming Ficohsa bank president Camilo Atala as an intellectual author of the 2016 assassination of environmental and indigenous rights activist Berta Cáceres.
- (9) The vilification and criminalization of civil society actors and human rights defenders by Honduran authorities has continued unabated under the cover of COVID–19 pandemic response. On March 16, 2020, the Government of Honduras first notified the Organization of American States of its derogation from treaty obligations under the American Convention on Human Rights and has since suspended nine constitutional guarantees, including the rights to freedom of assembly and expression, the latter of which was restored after international outcry. At least 34,000 citizens have been detained for violating curfew and lockdown restrictions, and journalists and human rights defenders have been im-

peded in their efforts to report on and expose human
rights abuses during the pandemic.

3 SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

- 4 It is the sense of Congress that—
 - (1) systemic corruption, impunity, and human rights violations by national government officials, private citizens, and members of the police and military of the Republic of Honduras deplete public resources and fuel widespread impoverishment, citizen insecurity, and forced displacement;
 - (2) the President should impose sanctions on President of Honduras Juan Orlando Hernández for acts of significant corruption and human rights violations and determine under the Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Sanctions Regulations under part 598 of title 31, Code of Federal Regulations, whether the President of Honduras is a specially designated narcotics trafficker;
 - (3) the President and Secretary of State should seek to ensure that security assistance from the United States and exports of munitions by United States entities are not complicit in human rights abuses perpetrated by the police and military of the Government of Honduras, or misused to impede peaceful protestors, human rights and environmental

- defenders, and others from exercising the right to freedom of expression, association, or assembly;
 - (4) the Government of Honduras should immediately initiate discussions with the United Nations to negotiate the mandate for a new, independent mechanism to combat corruption and impunity with a mission comparable to that of MACCIH, equipped with—
 - (A) the authority to initiate cases, in coordination with the Specialized Prosecutor's Unit against Networks of Corruption (UFERCO), against any citizen of the Republic of Honduras, irrespective of their office, rank, position, or title;
 - (B) the unimpeded authority to investigate, including the authority to subpoena documents, interview witnesses and suspects, and conduct surveillance;
 - (C) the ability to propose laws, constitutional amendments, and regulatory changes to the Attorney General's office and other institutions within the justice sector that are assured expeditious consideration and debate by the National Congress; and

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- 1 (D) the requirement to conduct regular 2 and transparent consultations with a broad 3 range of civil society members with the goal of 4 promoting the mandate's successful implemen-5 tation;
 - (5) the Government of Honduras should continue to pursue MACCIH's ongoing anti-corruption cases and adopt legal and institutional reforms to strengthen judicial independence and protect human rights recommended by MACCIH, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and UFERCO;
 - (6) the United States should support credible national and international efforts to combat corruption and human rights violations in the Republic of Honduras, including UFERCO, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, and organizations working to defend human rights and expose and prevent corruption, with the necessary resources for holding private and government actors accountable under the law and supporting independent monitoring by a free press and civil society, provided that they demonstrate sufficient political autonomy and willingness to prosecute

high-level cases, including against senior officials
and legislators of the Republic of Honduras; and

(7) the Secretary of State should develop, in consultation with a broad range of representatives of civil society and human rights organizations in Honduras, as appropriate, comprehensive and specific guidelines to use United States diplomacy and assistance to protect human rights and environmental defenders in the Republic of Honduras from physical, legal, or financial reprisals and threats, including by government, police, and military officials or their associates.

13 SEC. 5. OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMIS-

14 SIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

15 In addition to amounts otherwise appropriated for 16 such purposes, there is authorized to be appropriated 17 \$2,000,000 in voluntary contributions to support the work 18 of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner 19 for Human Rights in Honduras to monitor and document 20 human rights violations, issue public reports and rec-21 ommendations, and promote international human rights 22 standards.

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1	SEC. 6. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE
2	PRESIDENT OF HONDURAS.
3	(a) Imposition of Sanctions.—Not later than 180
4	days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Presi-
5	dent shall impose the sanctions described in subsection (b)
6	with respect to the President of Honduras, Juan Orlando
7	Hernández.
8	(b) Sanctions Described.—The sanctions de-
9	scribed in this subsection are the following:
10	(1) Asset blocking.—The President shall ex-
11	ercise all of the powers granted to the President
12	under the International Emergency Economic Pow-
13	ers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent nec-
14	essary to block and prohibit all transactions in prop-
15	erty and interests in property of Juan Orlando
16	Hernández if such property and interests in property
17	are in the United States, come within the United
18	States, or are or come within the possession or con-
19	trol of a United States person.
20	(2) Ineligibility for visas, admission, or
21	PAROLE.—
22	(A) Visas, admission, or parole.—Juan
23	Orlando Hernández is—
24	(i) inadmissible to the United States:

1	(ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other
2	documentation to enter the United States;
3	and
4	(iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted
5	or paroled into the United States or to re-
6	ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-
7	tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et
8	seq.).
9	(B) Current visas revoked.—
10	(i) In General.—Juan Orlando
11	Hernández is subject to revocation of any
12	visa or other entry documentation regard-
13	less of when the visa or other entry docu-
14	mentation is or was issued.
15	(ii) Immediate effect.—A revoca-
16	tion under clause (i) shall—
17	(I) take effect immediately; and
18	(II) cancel any other valid visa or
19	entry documentation that is in Juan
20	Orlando Hernández's possession.
21	(c) Implementation; Penalties.—
22	(1) Implementation.—The President may ex-
23	ercise all authorities provided under sections 203
24	and 205 of the International Emergency Economic

- Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to the extent necessary to carry out this section.
- 3 (2) Penalties.—A person that violates, at-4 tempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a 5 violation of subsection (b)(1), or any regulation, li-6 cense, or order issued to carry out that subsection, 7 shall be subject to the penalties set forth in sub-8 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-9 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 10 U.S.C. 1705) to the same extent as a person that 11 commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a) 12 of that section.
- 13 (d) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-14 tion of sanctions under this section if the President deter-15 mines and certifies to the appropriate congressional com-16 mittees that such a waiver is important to the national 17 interest of the United States.

(e) Exceptions.—

19 EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-20 NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND FOR LAW ENFORCE-21 ACTIVITIES.—Sanctions under subsection **MENT** 22 (b)(2) shall not apply if admitting or paroling Juan 23 Orlando Hernández into the United States is nec-24 essary—

1	(A) to permit the United States to comply
2	with the Agreement regarding the Head-
3	quarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake
4	Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force
5	November 21, 1947, between the United Na-
6	tions and the United States, or other applicable
7	international obligations; or
8	(B) to carry out or assist law enforcement
9	activity in the United States.
10	(2) Exception relating to the importa-
11	TION OF GOODS.—
12	(A) In general.—The authorities and re-
13	quirements to impose sanctions authorized
14	under this section shall not include the author-
15	ity or a requirement to impose sanctions on the
16	importation of goods.
17	(B) Good defined.—In this paragraph,
18	the term "good" means any article, natural or
19	manmade substance, material, supply, or manu-
20	factured product, including inspection and test
21	equipment, and excluding technical data.
22	(f) TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS.—The President
23	may terminate the application of sanctions under this sec-
24	tion if the President determines and reports to the appro-

1	priate congressional committees not later than 15 days be-
2	fore the termination takes effect that—
3	(1) credible information exists that Juan Or-
4	lando Hernández did not engage in the activity for
5	which sanctions were imposed;
6	(2) Juan Orlando Hernández has been pros-
7	ecuted appropriately for the activity for which sanc-
8	tions were imposed; or
9	(3) Juan Orlando Hernández has credibly dem-
10	onstrated a significant change in behavior, has paid
11	an appropriate consequence for the activity for
12	which sanctions were imposed, and has credibly com-
13	mitted to not engage in an activity for which the
14	sanctions were imposed in the future.
15	(g) Definitions.—In this section:
16	(1) Admission; admitted.—The terms "ad-
17	mission" and "admitted" have the meanings given
18	those terms in section 101 of the Immigration and
19	Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101).
20	(2) Appropriate congressional commit-
21	TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-
22	mittees" means—
23	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations
24	and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and
25	Urban Affairs of the Senate: and

1	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and
2	the Committee on Financial Services of the
3	House of Representatives.
4	(3) United states person.—The term
5	"United States person" means—
6	(A) an individual who is a United States
7	citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for perma-
8	nent residence to the United States;
9	(B) an entity organized under the laws of
10	the United States or any jurisdiction within the
11	United States, including a foreign branch of
12	such an entity; or
13	(C) any person in the United States.
14	SEC. 7. PROHIBITION ON COMMERCIAL EXPORT OF COV-
15	ERED DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERVICES
16	AND COVERED MUNITIONS ITEMS TO THE
17	HONDURAN POLICE OR MILITARY.
18	(a) In General.—Not later than 30 days after the
19	date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall pro-
20	hibit the issuance of licenses to export covered defense ar-
21	ticles and services and covered munitions items to the po-
22	lice or military of the Republic of Honduras.
23	(b) TERMINATION.—The prohibition under sub-
24	section (a) shall terminate on the date on which the Presi-
25	dent determines and reports to the appropriate congres-

1	sional committees that the police or military of the Repub-
2	lic of Honduras have not engaged in gross violations dur-
3	ing the one-year period ending on the date of such deter-
4	mination.
5	(c) WAIVER.—The prohibition under subsection (a)
6	shall not apply to the issuance of a license with respect
7	to which the President submits to the appropriate congres-
8	sional committees a written certification that the exports
9	to be covered by such license are important to the national
10	interests and foreign policy goals of the United States, in-
11	cluding a description of the manner in which such exports
12	will promote such interests and goals.
13	(d) Definitions.—In this section:
14	(1) Appropriate congressional commit-
15	TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-
16	mittees" means—
17	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations
18	and the Committee on Appropriations of the
19	Senate; and
20	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and
21	the Committee on Appropriations of the House
22	of Representatives.
23	(2) COVERED DEFENSE ARTICLES AND SERV-
24	ICES.—The term "covered defense articles and serv-
25	ices" means defense articles and defense services

- designated by the President under section 38(a)(1)
- of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.
- 3 2778(a)(1).
- 4 (3) COVERED MUNITIONS ITEMS.—The term
- 5 "covered munitions items" means tear gas, pepper
- 6 spray, rubber bullets, foam rounds, bean bag rounds,
- 7 pepper balls, water cannons, handcuffs, shackles,
- 8 stun guns, tasers, semi-automatic firearms, and
- 9 their associated munitions not included in the defini-
- tion under paragraph (2).
- 11 SEC. 8. SUSPENSION AND RESTRICTIONS OF SECURITY AS-
- 12 SISTANCE EXTENDED TO THE REPUBLIC OF
- 13 HONDURAS UNLESS CERTAIN CONDITIONS
- 14 ARE MET.
- 15 (a) Suspension of Security Assistance.—No as-
- 16 sistance may be made available for the police or military
- 17 of the Republic of Honduras, including assistance for
- 18 equipment and training.
- 19 (b) Loans From Multilateral Development
- 20 Banks and the United States International De-
- 21 VELOPMENT FINANCE CORPORATION.—The Secretary of
- 22 the Treasury shall—
- 23 (1) instruct United States representatives at
- 24 multilateral development banks to use their voice

- and vote to oppose any loans for the police or military of the Republic of Honduras; and
- 3 (2) instruct the United States Executive Director of each international financial institution and the Chief Executive Officer of the United States Inter-5 6 national Development Finance Corporation to pro-7 mote human rights due diligence and risk manage-8 ment in connection with any loan, grant, policy, or 9 strategy related to the Republic of Honduras, in ac-10 cordance with the criteria specified in subsection 11 7029(d) of the Department of State, Foreign Oper-12 ations, and Related Programs Appropriations Act, 13 2020 (division G of Public Law 116–94; 133 Stat. 14 2863) and accompanying report.
- 15 (c) CONDITIONS FOR LIFTING SUSPENSIONS AND
 16 RESTRICTIONS.—The provisions of this section shall ter17 minate on the date on which the Secretary of State deter18 mines and reports to the Committees on Foreign Relations
 19 and Appropriations of the Senate and the Committees on
 20 Foreign Affairs and Appropriations of the House of Rep21 resentatives that the Government of Honduras has—
- 22 (1) pursued all legal avenues to bring to trial 23 and obtain a verdict of all those who ordered, carried 24 out, and covered up—

1	(A) the March 2, 2016, murder of Berta
2	Cáceres;
3	(B) the killings of over 100 small-farmer
4	activists in the Aguán Valley;
5	(C) the killings of 22 people and forced
6	disappearance of 1 person by state security
7	forces in the context of the 2017 post-electoral
8	crisis;
9	(D) the killings of at least 6 people by
10	state security forces in the context of anti-gov-
11	ernment demonstrations between March and
12	July of 2019;
13	(E) the killings of at least 21 journalists
14	and media workers between October 2016 and
15	July 2020;
16	(F) the July 18, 2020, forced disappear-
17	ances of 4 Garífuna community leaders from
18	Triunfo de la Cruz; and
19	(G) the December 26, 2020, killing of in-
20	digenous Lenca leader and environmental activ-
21	ist Félix Vásquez at his home in La Paz, and
22	the December 29, 2020, killing of indigenous
23	Tolupan leader and environmental activist Adam
24	Mejía in Yoro;

- (2) investigated and successfully prosecuted members of military and police forces who are credibly found to have violated human rights and ensured that the military and police cooperated in such cases, and that such violations have ceased;
 - (3) withdrawn the military from domestic policing and ensured that all domestic police functions are separated from the command and control of the Armed Forces of Honduras and are instead directly responsible to civilian authority;
 - (4) established that it protects effectively the rights of trade unionists, journalists, small farmers, human rights and environmental defenders, indigenous and Afro-indigenous community members and rights activists, women's and LGBTQI rights activists, critics of the government, and other members of civil society to operate without interference or repression; and
 - (5) taken effective steps to establish the rule of law and to guarantee a judicial system that is capable of investigating, prosecuting, and bringing to justice members of the police and military who have committed human rights abuses.

- 1 SEC. 9. SUNSET.
- 2 This Act shall terminate on the date that is 5 years
- 3 after the date of the enactment of this Act.

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