

## Calendar No. 106

116TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. RES. 188

Encouraging a swift transfer of power by the military to a civilian-led political authority in the Republic of the Sudan, and for other purposes.

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### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 2, 2019

Mr. CRUZ (for himself, Mr. DURBIN, Mr. RISCH, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. CRAMER, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. MERKLEY, Mr. BOOZMAN, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. COONS, Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. HAWLEY, Ms. KLOBUCHAR, Mr. RUBIO, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. PETERS, Ms. SMITH, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Ms. WARREN, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. BOOKER, Mr. BRAUN, Mrs. GILLIBRAND, Mr. KAINE, and Mr. WYDEN) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

JUNE 3, 2019

Reported by Mr. RISCH, with an amendment and an amendment to the preamble

[Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert the part printed in italic]

[Strike the preamble and insert the part printed in italic]

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## RESOLUTION

Encouraging a swift transfer of power by the military to a civilian-led political authority in the Republic of the Sudan, and for other purposes.

Whereas the nation of Sudan has endured corrupt and brutal dictatorships for most of its post-independence period since 1956;

Whereas President Omar al-Bashir came to power through a military coup in 1989, and for the next three decades his government was responsible for horrendous crimes in Sudan, especially Darfur, South Kordofan, Blue Nile, and in what is now the Republic of South Sudan;

Whereas the United States Government designated Sudan a State Sponsor of Terrorism on August 12, 1993, for its support to international terrorist organizations and extremists, including elements of what would later be known as al Qaeda;

Whereas more than two decades of civil war between President al-Bashir's government and insurgents in southern Sudan resulted in more than 2,000,000 deaths and led to the eventual independence of South Sudan in 2011;

Whereas in 2003, President al-Bashir's government launched a ruthless crackdown against insurgents and civilians in Darfur that killed at least 300,000 Sudanese and displaced 2,500,000 more, resulting in Congress and the Administration of President George W. Bush in 2004 describing as genocide the Government of Sudan's actions in Darfur;

Whereas in 2011, when conflict resumed in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states, President al-Bashir's government conducted indiscriminate bombings and raided villages, raping and killing civilians, and waged a campaign of forced starvation in the Nuba Mountains region of South Kordofan that displaced as many as 2,000,000 people;

Whereas, while the fighting between government forces and insurgents in Darfur has subsided since 2016, when the government waged a large-scale offensive before declaring a ceasefire, violent attacks against civilians continue and humanitarian access remains restricted in some opposition stronghold areas of Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile;

Whereas President al-Bashir remains the subject of two outstanding arrest warrants from the International Criminal Court based on charges including five counts of crimes against humanity, two counts of war crimes, and three counts of genocide;

Whereas Sudan's economic crisis risks bringing the national economy to total collapse, further raising the possibility of state failure and broader regional destabilization that could threaten a wide array of United States interests in East and North Africa and the Red Sea regions;

Whereas the people of Sudan have engaged since December 2018 in a wave of peaceful protests throughout the country demanding an end to the hegemony of President al-Bashir's brutal regime;

Whereas President al-Bashir's government unlawfully detained and tortured hundreds of Sudanese during the protests, including political leaders, journalists, doctors, unionists, and youth and women leaders, in violation of the country's constitutional provisions guaranteeing free speech, association, and assembly;

Whereas, on February 22, 2019, President al-Bashir declared a year-long nationwide state of emergency and curfew, dissolving his government and replacing state governors

with senior security officers and expanding the powers of Sudan's security forces;

Whereas when protesters in early April challenged President al-Bashir's decrees and gathered in the tens of thousands in front of Sudan's military headquarters in Khartoum to call for an end to the regime; some elements of the security forces tried to disperse the crowds with violence; leading to clashes between internal security forces and the military as some soldiers sought to protect the protesters;

Whereas, on April 11, 2019, after five days of mass protests in front of their headquarters, Sudan's military removed President al-Bashir from office and the country's First Vice President and Minister of Defense, Lt. General Awad Ibn Auf, announced he would lead a Transitional Military Committee ("TMC") that would rule the country for a two-year transition period; in addition to the suspension of the Constitution; dissolution of the National Assembly; and the imposition of a three-month State of Emergency and nightly curfew;

Whereas Lt. General Abdel-Fattah Burnhan, former general inspector of the Sudanese Armed Forces, who replaced Ibn Auf on April 12, 2019, as the Chairman of the Transitional Military Council, said on April 21, 2019, that the council was "ready to hand over power tomorrow to a civilian government agreed by political forces"; and

Whereas, the African Union Peace and Security Council convened on April 30, 2019, and reiterated its conviction that "a military-led transition in Sudan will be totally unacceptable and contrary to the will and legitimate aspirations" of the Sudanese people; expressed "deep regret" that the military had not stepped aside; and, noting nego-

~~tiations were underway, demanded that the military hand over power to a civilian-led transitional authority within 60 days. Now, therefore, be it~~

*Whereas the nation of Sudan has endured corrupt and brutal dictatorships for most of its post-independence period since 1956;*

*Whereas President Omar al-Bashir came to power through a military coup in 1989, and for the next three decades his government was responsible for horrendous crimes in Sudan, especially in Darfur, South Kordofan, Blue Nile, and in what is now the Republic of South Sudan;*

*Whereas the United States Government designated Sudan a State Sponsor of Terrorism on August 12, 1993, for its support to international terrorist organizations and extremists, including elements of what would later be known as al Qaeda;*

*Whereas more than two decades of civil war between President al-Bashir's government and insurgents in southern Sudan resulted in more than 2,000,000 deaths and led to the eventual independence of South Sudan in 2011;*

*Whereas in 2003, President al-Bashir's government launched a ruthless crackdown against insurgents and civilians in Darfur that killed at least 300,000 Sudanese and displaced 2,500,000 more, resulting in Congress and the Administration of President George W. Bush in 2004 describing as genocide the Government of Sudan's actions in Darfur;*

*Whereas in 2011, when conflict resumed in South Kordofan and Blue Nile states, President al-Bashir's government conducted indiscriminate bombings and raided villages, raping and killing civilians, and waged a campaign of*

*forced starvation in the Nuba Mountains region of South Kordofan that displaced as many as 2,000,000 people;*

*Whereas, while the fighting between government forces and insurgents in Darfur has subsided since 2016, violent attacks against civilians continue and humanitarian access remains restricted in some opposition stronghold areas of Darfur, South Kordofan, and Blue Nile;*

*Whereas President al-Bashir remains the subject of two outstanding arrest warrants from the International Criminal Court based on charges including five counts of crimes against humanity, two counts of war crimes, and three counts of genocide;*

*Whereas Sudan's economic crisis risks bringing the national economy to total collapse, further increasing the possibility of state failure and broader regional destabilization that could threaten a wide array of United States interests in East and North Africa and the Red Sea regions;*

*Whereas the people of Sudan have engaged since December 2018 in a wave of peaceful protests throughout the country demanding an end to President al-Bashir's brutal regime and pressing for a citizen-centered democratic transition;*

*Whereas women have played a prominent role in the protest movement, helping bring about the ouster of former President al-Bashir;*

*Whereas President al-Bashir's government unlawfully detained and tortured hundreds of Sudanese during the protests, including political leaders, journalists, doctors, unionists, and youth and women leaders, in gross violation of international civil and human rights, and some of them remain in detention;*

*Whereas on February 22, 2019, President al-Bashir declared a year-long nationwide state of emergency and curfew, dissolved his government, replaced state governors with senior security officers, and expanded the powers of Sudan's security forces;*

*Whereas when protesters in early April challenged President al-Bashir's decrees and gathered in the tens of thousands in front of Sudan's military headquarters in Khartoum to call for an end to the regime, some elements of the security forces tried to disperse the crowds with violence, leading to clashes between internal security forces and the military as some soldiers sought to protect the protesters;*

*Whereas on April 11, 2019, after five days of mass protests in front of their headquarters, Sudan's military removed President al-Bashir from office and the country's First Vice President and Minister of Defense, Lt. General Awad Ibn Auf, announced he would lead a Transitional Military Council that would rule the country for a two-year period, suspended the Constitution, dissolved the National Assembly, and imposed a three-month State of Emergency and nightly curfew;*

*Whereas Lt. General Abdel-Fattah al-Burhan, former general inspector of the Sudanese Armed Forces, who replaced Lt. General Ibn Auf on April 12, 2019, as the chairman of the Transitional Military Council, said on April 21, 2019, that the council was "ready to hand over power tomorrow to a civilian government agreed by political forces";*

*Whereas the Rapid Support Forces, paramilitary forces led by Lt. General Mohammed Hamdan Dagolo, also known as "Hemmeti", a former Janjaweed leader who currently serves as the deputy chairman of the Transitional Military Council, have been implicated by the United Nations*

*Panel of Experts in widespread violations of international humanitarian law that human rights groups suggest may amount to war crimes, and have also been accused of killing protesters during the recent uprising; and*

*Whereas, the African Union Peace and Security Council convened on April 30, 2019, and reiterated its conviction that “a military-led transition in Sudan will be totally unacceptable and contrary to the will and legitimate aspirations” of the Sudanese people, expressed “deep regret” that the military had not stepped aside, and, noting negotiations were underway, demanded that the military hand over power to a civilian-led transitional authority within 60 days: Now, therefore, be it*

1       *Resolved, That the Senate—*

2               ~~(1)~~ encourages a swift transfer of power by the  
3       military to a civilian-led political authority in Sudan  
4       that—

5               ~~(A)~~ respects and reflects the legitimate  
6       democratic aspirations of the people of Sudan;  
7       and

8               ~~(B)~~ engages in a credible process of de-  
9       mocratization, governance, and security sector  
10      reforms, and is transparent in how it measures  
11      such progress;

12              ~~(2)~~ calls on the ruling authorities in Sudan to  
13      take measurable steps to—

14              ~~(A)~~ respect the right to freedom of associa-  
15      tion and expression;



1           (B) protect the rights of opposition polit-  
2           ical parties, journalists, human rights defend-  
3           ers, religious minorities, and nongovernmental  
4           organizations to operate without interference;

5           (C) lift the bureaucratic restrictions on  
6           and facilitate access for humanitarian relief op-  
7           erations;

8           (D) introduce strong measures to create  
9           transparency and address the structural corrup-  
10          tion and kleptocracy of the state; and

11          (E) pursue accountability for serious  
12          crimes and human rights abuses;

13          (3) expresses solidarity with the people of  
14          Sudan, and urges the United States Government to  
15          provide diplomatic, technical, and targeted financial  
16          assistance for efforts to advance a peaceful transfer  
17          of power and a civilian-led transition period that al-  
18          lows for the peaceful resolution of Sudan's conflicts  
19          and creates the conditions under which timely demo-  
20          cratic elections can be held that will meet inter-  
21          national standards and be overseen by credible do-  
22          mestic and international electoral observers;

23          (4) encourages the African Union to continue  
24          supporting the Sudanese people's aspirations for de-  
25          mocracy, justice, and peace; and

1           (5) emphasizes that until a transition to a cred-  
 2       ible civilian-led government that reflects the aspira-  
 3       tions of the Sudanese people is established, the pro-  
 4       cess to consider removing Sudan from the State  
 5       Sponsor of Terrorism List, lifting any other remain-  
 6       ing sanctions on Sudan, or normalizing relations  
 7       with the Government of Sudan will continue to be  
 8       suspended.

9   *That the Senate—*

10           (1) *supports the African Union Peace and Secu-*  
 11       *urity Council’s initial two-week deadline urging a*  
 12       *swift transfer of power by the military to a civilian-*  
 13       *led political authority in Sudan that—*

14                   (A) *has a civilian character and composi-*  
 15       *tion reflecting the will of the Declaration of Free-*  
 16       *dom and Change Forces leading negotiations on*  
 17       *behalf of citizens; and*

18                   (B) *immediately begins a transparent proc-*  
 19       *ess leading to credible elections and security sec-*  
 20       *tor reforms;*

21           (2) *calls on the ruling authorities in Sudan to—*

22                   (A) *respect the right to freedom of associa-*  
 23       *tion and expression;*

24                   (B) *protect the rights of opposition political*  
 25       *parties, journalists, human rights defenders, reli-*

1        *gious minorities, nongovernmental organizations,*  
 2        *and civic movements to operate without inter-*  
 3        *ference;*

4                *(C) lift the bureaucratic restrictions on and*  
 5        *facilitate access for humanitarian relief oper-*  
 6        *ations;*

7                *(D) introduce strong measures to create*  
 8        *transparency and address the structural corrup-*  
 9        *tion and kleptocracy of the state;*

10               *(E) pursue accountability for serious crimes*  
 11        *and human rights abuses by former President al-*  
 12        *Bashir's regime and elements of the security*  
 13        *forces under the control of the Transitional Mili-*  
 14        *tary Council; and*

15               *(F) release remaining political prisoners*  
 16        *and refrain from arbitrary arrest, detention, and*  
 17        *torture;*

18               *(3) urges the United States Government to sup-*  
 19        *port efforts to advance a peaceful transfer of power*  
 20        *and a civilian-led transition period that creates the*  
 21        *conditions under which timely democratic elections*  
 22        *can be held that will meet international standards*  
 23        *and be overseen by credible domestic and inter-*  
 24        *national electoral observers, and for the peaceful reso-*  
 25        *lution of Sudan's conflicts;*

1           (4) encourages the African Union and its mem-  
2       ber states to continue supporting the Sudanese peo-  
3       ple's aspirations for democracy, justice, and peace;

4           (5) expresses concern that the participation in  
5       the transitional government of individuals who have  
6       been implicated in possible war crimes would under-  
7       mine efforts to restore peace and democracy and pur-  
8       sue justice and accountability in Sudan;

9           (6) emphasizes that until a transition to a cred-  
10      ible civilian-led government that reflects the aspira-  
11      tions of the Sudanese people is established, the process  
12      to consider removing Sudan from the State Sponsor  
13      of Terrorism List, lifting any other remaining sanc-  
14      tions on Sudan, or normalizing relations with the  
15      Government of Sudan will continue to be suspended;  
16      and

17          (7) stands in solidarity with the people of Sudan  
18      and their aspirations for a democratic, participatory  
19      government.



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JUNE 3, 2019

Reported with an amendment and an amendment to the  
preamble