

# Calendar No. 455

117TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

S. 3052

To promote free and fair elections, democracy, political freedoms, and human rights in Cambodia, and for other purposes.

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

October 21, 2021

Mr. Markey (for himself, Mr. Rubio, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Tillis, Ms. Warren, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Padilla, Mr. Coons, Mr. Reed, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Van Hollen, Mr. Merkley, Mr. Cardin, Mr. Peters, and Ms. Collins) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

July 21, 2022

Reported by Mr. MENENDEZ, with an amendment

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

# A BILL

To promote free and fair elections, democracy, political freedoms, and human rights in Cambodia, 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 "Cambodia Democracy
- 5 and Human Rights Act of 2021".

#### SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

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- 2 Congress finds the following:
- 3 (1) On October 23, 1991, Cambodia and 18 4 other countries signed the Comprehensive Cam-5 bodian Peace Agreement (commonly referred to as the "Paris Peace Agreements"), which committed 6 7 Cambodia to a democratic system of governance pro-8 tected by a constitution and free and fair elections 9 and stated that the people of Cambodia "shall enjoy 10 the rights and freedoms embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant 12 international human rights instruments".
  - (2) Prime Minister Hun Sen has been in power in Cambodia since 1984 and is the longest-serving leader in Southeast Asia. Despite decades of international attention and assistance to promote a pluralistie, multi-party democratic system in Cambodia, the Government of Cambodia continues to be undemocratically dominated by the ruling Cambodian People's Party.
  - (3) In 2015, the Cambodian People's Partycontrolled National Assembly adopted the Law on Associations and Non-Governmental Organizations, which gave the Government of Cambodia sweeping powers to revoke the registration of nongovernmental organizations in the name of "national

1 unity", and which the government has used to re-2 strict the legitimate work of civil society.

(4) On August 23, 2017, Cambodia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered the closure of the National Democratic Institute office in Cambodia and the expulsion of its foreign staff. On September 15, 2017, Prime Minister Hun Sen called for the withdrawal of all volunteers from the United States Peace Corps, which has operated in Cambodia since 2006 with approximately 500 United States volunteers providing English language and healthcare training.

- (5) The Government of Cambodia has taken several measures to restrict its media environment, especially through politicized tax investigations against independent media outlets that resulted in the closure of The Cambodia Daily and Radio Free Asia in early September 2017. Additionally, the Government of Cambodia has ordered several radio stations to stop the broadcasting of Radio Free Asia and Voice of America programming.
- (6) Cambodia's small number of independent trade unions and workers have the right to strike, but many face retribution for doing so, according to Freedom House.

1 (7) Each of the 6 elections that have taken 2 place in Cambodia since 1991 was conducted in cir-3 cumstances that were not free and fair, and were 4 marked, to varying degrees, by fraud, intimidation, 5 violence, and the misuse by the Government of Cam-6 bodia of legal mechanisms to weaken opposition candidates and parties. The 2017 local elections were 7 8 marked by fewer reported irregularities, however, 9 which helped the opposition Cambodia National Res-10 cue Party (in this section referred to as the "CNRP"). Hun Sen responded to those improve-12 ments in elections, resulting in part from inter-13 national assistance and observers, by banning the 14 CNRP, the primary opposition party, on November 15 <del>16, 2017.</del>

- (8) On September 3, 2017, Kem Sokha, the President of the CNRP, was arrested on politically motivated charges, including treason and conspiring to overthrow the Government of Cambodia. While he was released on bail, he faces up to 30 years in prison. His trial has been delayed due to the coronavirus disease 2019 (commonly known as "COVID-19") pandemie and will likely not resume in 2021.
- 24 (9) In the most recent general election in July 25 2018, following the dissolution of the CNRP, the

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Cambodian People's Party secured every parliamentary seat, an electoral victory that the White House Press Secretary stated was "neither free nor fair and failed to represent the will of the Cambodian people".

(10) The widespread crackdown by the Government of Cambodia on the political opposition and other independent voices has caused many CNRP leaders to flee abroad. According to Human Rights Watch, on March 12, 2019, a court criminally charged and issued arrest warrants for 8 leading members of the CNRP, including former CNRP leader Sam Rainsy, who had left Cambodia ahead of the July 2018 election, as well as Mu Sochua, Ou Chanrith, Eng Chhai Eang, Men Sothavarin, Long Ry, Tob Van Chan, and Ho Vann.

(11) The Government of Cambodia has arrested many opposition party members and democracy activists who remained in Cambodia. More than 80 opposition party supporters and activists were arrested in 2019 and were released on bail with charges still pending and could face re-arrest any time.

(12) In November 2019, Sam Rainsy made a failed attempt to return to Cambodia to partake in mass pro-democracy protests. Approximately 150

1	CNRP activists were put on trial in 2020 and 2021
2	for treason for ealling for his return.
3	(13) In March 2021, a Cambodian court con-
4	victed and sentenced Sam Rainsy in absentia to 25
5	years in prison and 8 other opposition figures living
6	in exile, including Rainsy's wife Tioulong Saumura
7	as well as Mu Sochua, Eng Chhay Eang, Mer
8	Sothavarin, Ou Chanrith, Ho Vann, Long Ry, and
9	Nuth Romduol, to between 20 and 22 years.
10	(14) Prime Minister Hun Sen has used the
11	COVID-19 pandemic as justification to further con-
12	solidate power and the Cambodia People's Party
13	controlled National Assembly passed new laws to
14	further curtail the rights to freedom of expression
15	peaceful assembly, and association.
16	(15) According to Human Rights Watch, under
17	the guise of the pandemic, authorities—
18	(A) banned protests organized by youth
19	and environmental activists;
20	(B) detained and interrogated at least 30
21	people for Facebook posts related to the pan-
22	demie; and
23	(C) charged one journalist for pandemic
24	related reporting.

(16) According to Freedom House, Hun Sen uses the police and armed forces as instruments of repression. The military has stood firmly behind Hun Sen and his crackdown on opposition groups and Hun Sen has built a personal bodyguard unit in the armed forces that he reportedly uses to harass and abuse Cambodian People's Party opponents.

(17) In August 2020, 14 youth and environmental activists were detained by Cambodian authorities. In May 2021, 3 environmental activists were convicted on charges of "incitement to commit a felony or disturb social order", related to peaceful protests against authorities. In June 2021, a Cambodian court charged 3 environmental activists with "plotting against the government and insulting the king". The 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices of the Department of State reported "at least 40 political prisoners or detainees" in Cambodia.

(18) In 2019, the Wall Street Journal reported that Cambodia had signed a deal with the Government of the People's Republic of China to allow that Government access to and use of the Ream Naval Base on the Gulf of Thailand, which would violate

the Constitution of Cambodia, which prohibits the
 establishment of foreign military bases.

(19) In 2019, the New York Times reported that a company described by the Department of the Treasury as being a state-owned company of the People's Republic of China had secured a 99-year lease to build an airport capable of supporting military aircraft at Dara Sakor, raising concerns that Beijing intends to use this dual-use facility for its military, which would violate the Constitution of Cambodia.

(20) In section 401 of the Asia Reassurance Initiative Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–409; 132 Stat. 5407), Congress expressed serious concerns with the rule of law and civil liberties in Cambodia and made the finding that the promotion of human rights and respect for democratic values in the Indo-Pacific region is in the United States national security interest.

(21) The 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices of the Department of State stated, of Cambodia, "Corruption was endemic throughout society and government. There were reports police, prosecutors, investigating judges, and presiding judges took bribes from owners of both legal and il-

1	legal businesses. Citizens frequently and publicly
2	complained about corruption. Meager salaries con-
3	tributed to 'survival corruption' among low-level
4	public servants, while a culture of impunity enabled
5	corruption to flourish among senior officials.".
6	(22) Section 7043(b) of the Department of
7	State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs
8	Appropriations Act, 2018 (division K of Public Law
9	115-141; 132 Stat. 918) and section 201(f) of the
10	Asia Reassurance Initiative Act of 2018 (Public Law
11	115-409; 132 Stat. 5392) restrict assistance to
12	Cambodia until the Government of Cambodia takes
13	effective steps to—
14	(A) strengthen regional security and sta-
15	bility, particularly regarding territorial disputes
16	in the South China Sea and the enforcement of
17	international sanctions with respect to North
18	Korea; and
19	(B) respect the rights and responsibilities
20	enshrined in the Constitution of the Kingdom
21	of Cambodia as enacted in 1993, including
22	through the—
23	(i) restoration of the eivil and political
24	rights of the opposition Cambodia National

1	Rescue Party, media, and civil society or-
2	<del>ganizations;</del>
3	(ii) restoration of all elected officials
4	to their elected offices; and
5	(iii) release of all political prisoners,
6	including journalists, eivil society activists,
7	and members of the opposition political
8	<del>party.</del>
9	(23) On December 9, 2019, the Department of
10	the Treasury imposed sanctions under the Global
11	Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (sub-
12	title F of title XII of Public Law 114–328; 22
13	U.S.C. 2656 note) with respect to certain corrupt
14	Cambodian actors and their networks.
15	(24) In February 2019, the European Union
16	began intense scrutiny of Cambodia's eligibility to
17	for preferential trade access in light of the deteriora-
18	tion of democracy, the rule of law, and the protec-
19	tion of human rights in Cambodia. In February
20	2020, the European Union, Cambodia's largest ex-
21	port market, partially suspended trade preferences
22	for Cambodia under its "Everything but Arms"
23	trade program, in response to Cambodia's violations
24	of civil and political rights.

## 1 SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

2	It is the sense of Congress that—
3	(1) the United States is committed to pro-
4	moting democracy, human rights, and the rule of
5	law in Cambodia, as laid out in the 1991 Paris
6	Peace Agreements;
7	(2) the United States Government, through di-
8	plomacy and assistance, must urge the Government
9	of Cambodia to—
10	(A) release all political prisoners;
11	(B) drop all politically motivated charges
12	and vacate convictions against members of the
13	Cambodia National Rescue Party, journalists,
14	and civil society activists; and
15	(C) restore full political rights to the Cam-
16	bodia National Rescue Party and other political
17	<del>parties;</del>
18	(3) the United States Government should urge
19	the Government of Cambodia—
20	(A) to reverse the policies and actions that
21	have resulted in the dismantling of democracy,
22	the blatant disregard of fundamental human
23	rights, and the breakdown of rule of law in
24	Cambodia;
25	(B) to immediately discontinue the impris-
26	onment and judicial harassment of journalists,

1	political dissidents, and activists, and drop po-
2	litically motivated charges;
3	(C) to halt the threat of mass arrests and
4	violence if and when Cambodia National Rescue
5	Party members currently overseas return to
6	Cambodia;
7	(D) to reinstate the political status of the
8	Cambodia National Rescue Party and other op-
9	position parties, restore the Cambodia National
10	Rescue Party's elected seats in the National As-
11	sembly, and support electoral reform efforts in
12	Cambodia with free and fair elections monitored
13	by international observers;
14	(E) to ensure that media outlets are able
15	to operate freely and without interference, in-
16	eluding having the ability to apply for and re-
17	ceive licenses to operate within Cambodia; and
18	(F) to consider how allowing the People's
19	Liberation Army to conduct activities, gain ac-
20	cess, or establish a presence in Cambodia would
21	harm Cambodia's relationships with its neigh-
22	bors, partners, and allies, and violate the Con-
23	stitution of Cambodia;
24	(4) Prime Minister Hun Sen is directly respon-
25	sible, and should be held accountable, for the safety,

1	health, and welfare of exiled Cambodia National
2	Rescue Party leaders and their supporters upon
3	their return to Cambodia;
4	(5) other governments throughout the Indo-Pa-
5	cific region should—
6	(A) urge the Government of Cambodia to
7	allow the peaceful return of exiled Cambodia
8	National Rescue Party leaders and their sup-
9	<del>porters; and</del>
10	(B) refrain from illegally restricting the
11	rights of Cambodia National Rescue Party
12	members to travel to and through their coun-
13	tries as they return; and
14	(6) in the absence of systemic democratic re-
15	forms on the part of the Government of Cambodia,
16	there is need for additional United States Govern-
17	ment measures, including through legislation and ex-
18	ecutive action.
19	SEC. 4. SANCTIONS RELATING TO UNDERMINING DEMOC-
20	RACY IN CAMBODIA.
21	(a) Identification of Persons Responsible for
22	Undermining Democracy in Cambodia.—
23	(1) In General.—Not later than 180 days
24	after the date of the enactment of this Act, the

1	President shall submit to the appropriate congres-
2	sional committees a list of—
3	(A) each foreign person, including any sen-
4	ior official of the Government, military, or secu-
5	rity forces of Cambodia, who the President de-
6	termines has, on or after such date of enact-
7	ment—
8	(i) directly and substantially under-
9	mined democracy in Cambodia, including
10	through the use of baseless legal charges,
11	malicious prosecution, or mass trials;
12	(ii) committed or directed serious
13	human rights violations associated with
14	undermining democracy in Cambodia; or
15	(iii) engaged in or directed acts of sig-
16	nificant corruption, including the expro-
17	priation of private or public assets for per-
18	sonal gain, corruption related to govern-
19	ment contracts or the extraction of natural
20	resources, bribery, or the facilitation or
21	transfer of the proceeds of corruption to
22	foreign jurisdictions; and
23	(B) each foreign person owned or con-
24	trolled by an official described in subparagraph
25	<del>(A)</del>

1	(2) UPDATES.—The President shall submit to
2	the appropriate congressional committees updated
3	lists under paragraph (1) as new information be-
4	comes available.
5	(b) Imposition of Sanctions.—The President shall
6	impose the following sanctions with respect to each foreign
7	person on the list required by subsection (a):
8	(1) Asset blocking.—The President shall ex-
9	ereise all of the powers granted to the President
10	under the International Emergency Economic Pow-
11	ers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the re-
12	quirements of section 202 of such Act (50 U.S.C.
13	1701) shall not apply) to the extent necessary to
14	block and prohibit all transactions in property and
15	interests in property of the person if such property
16	and interests in property are in the United States,
17	come within the United States, or are or come with-
18	in the possession or control of a United States per-
19	<del>son.</del>
20	(2) Aliens inadmissible for visas, admis-
21	SION, OR PAROLE.—
22	(A) Visas, admission, or parole.—In
23	the case of an individual, that individual 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	<del>seq.).</del>
9	(B) Current visas revoked.—
10	(i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other
11	entry documentation of the individual shall
12	be revoked, regardless of when such visa or
13	other entry documentation is or was
14	issued.
15	(ii) Immediate effect. A revoca-
16	tion under clause (i) shall—
17	(I) take effect immediately; and
18	(II) automatically cancel any
19	other valid visa or entry documenta-
20	tion that is in the individual's posses-
21	sion.
22	(e) Exceptions.—
23	(1) Exception relating to importation of
24	<del>GOODS.</del> —

1 (A) In GENERAL.—The authorities and re2 quirements to impose sanctions authorized
3 under subsection (b)(1) shall not include the
4 authority or requirement to impose sanctions on
5 the importation of goods.

(B) GOOD DEFINED.—In this paragraph, the term "good" means any article, natural or manmade substance, material, supply or manufactured product, including inspection and test equipment, and excluding technical data.

(2) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS. Sanctions under subsection (b)(2) shall not apply with respect to a foreign person if admitting or paroling the person into
the United States is necessary to permit the United
States to comply with the Agreement regarding the
Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake
Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947, between the United Nations and
the United States, or other applicable international
obligations of the United States.

(d) WAIVER.—The President may waive the application of sanctions under subsection (b) with respect to a foreign person on the list required by subsection (a) if the President determines and certifies to the appropriate con-

1	gressional committees that such a waiver is in the national
2	interest of the United States.
3	(e) Suspension of Sanctions.—
4	(1) Suspension.—The requirement to impose
5	sanctions under this section may be suspended for
6	an initial period of not more than one year if the
7	President determines and certifies to the appropriate
8	congressional committees that Cambodia is making
9	meaningful progress toward the following:
10	(A) Ending government efforts to under-
11	mine democracy.
12	(B) Ending human rights violations associ-
13	ated with undermining democracy.
14	(C) Releasing all political prisoners.
15	(D) Dropping all politically motivated
16	charges and vacating convictions from any such
17	charges against members of the Cambodia Na-
18	tional Rescue Party, journalists, and civil soci-
19	ety activists.
20	(E) Conducting free and fair elections that
21	allow for the active participation of credible op-
22	position candidates.
23	(2) Renewal of suspension.—The suspen-
24	sion of sanctions under paragraph (1) may be re-
25	newed for additional, consecutive one-year periods it

- 1 the President determines and certifies to the appro-
- 2 priate congressional committees that Cambodia con-
- 3 tinued to make meaningful progress toward satis-
- 4 fying the conditions described in that paragraph
- 5 during the year preceding the certification.

### (f) Implementation; Penalties.—

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this section.

- (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may exercise all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out
- 12 (2) PENALTIES.—A person that violates, at-13 tempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a 14 violation of subsection (b)(1) or any regulation, li-15 cense, or order issued to carry out that subsection 16 shall be subject to the penalties set forth in sub-17 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-18 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 19 U.S.C. 1705) to the same extent as a person that 20 commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a) 21 of that section.
- 22 (g) Sunser.—This section shall terminate on the 23 date that is 5 years after the date of the enactment of 24 this Act.

1	SEC. 5. REPORT ON ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERA-
2	TION ARMY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEO-
3	PLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN CAMBODIA.
4	Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-
5	ment of this Act, the President shall submit to the appro-
6	priate congressional committees a report assessing—
7	(1) the involvement of the Government of the
8	People's Republic of China or the People's Libera-
9	tion Army in upgrading existing facilities or con-
10	structing new facilities at Ream Naval Base and
11	Dara Sakor Airport in Cambodia;
12	(2) any actual or projected benefits, including
13	any enhancement of the power projection capabilities
14	of the People's Liberation Army, that the Govern-
15	ment of the People's Republic of China or the Peo-
16	ple's Liberation Army may accrue as a result of
17	such upgrades or construction;
18	(3) the impact that the presence of the People's
19	Liberation Army in Cambodia may have on the in-
20	terests, allies, and partners of the United States in
21	the region;
22	(4) any efforts undertaken by the United States
23	Government to convey to the Government of Cam-
24	bodia the concerns relating to the presence of the
25	People's Liberation Army and the Government of
26	the People's Republic of China in Cambodia and the

1	impact that presence could have on adherence to the
2	Constitution of Cambodia; and
3	(5) the impact the presence of the People's Lib
4	eration Army in Cambodia, as well as closer govern-
5	ment-to-government ties between Cambodia and the
6	Government of the People's Republic of China, in
7	eluding through investments under the Belt and
8	Road Initiative, has had on the deterioration of de-
9	mocracy and human rights inside Cambodia.
10	SEC. 6. DEFINITIONS.
11	In this Act:
12	(1) Appropriate congressional commit-
13	TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-
14	mittees" means—
15	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations
16	and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and
17	Urban Affairs of the Senate; and
18	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and
19	the Committee on Financial Services of the
20	House of Representatives.
21	(2) Foreign person.—The term "foreign per-
22	son" means a person that is not a United States
23	<del>person.</del>

1	(3) People's liberation army.—The term
2	"People's Liberation Army" means the armed forces
3	of the People's Republic of China.
4	(4) Person.—
5	(A) In GENERAL.—The term "person"
6	<del>means—</del>
7	(i) a natural person; or
8	(ii) a corporation, business associa-
9	tion, partnership, society, trust, financial
10	institution, insurer, underwriter, guar-
11	antor, and any other business organization,
12	any other nongovernmental entity, organi-
13	zation, or group, and any governmental en-
14	tity operating as a business enterprise or
15	any successor to any entity described in
16	this clause.
17	(B) Application to governmental en-
18	TITIES.—The term "person" does not include a
19	government or governmental entity that is not
20	operating as a business enterprise.
21	(5) United states person.—The term
22	"United States person" means—
23	(A) a United States citizen or an alien law-
24	fully admitted for permanent residence to the
25	United States; or

1 (B) an entity organized under the laws of
2 the United States or of any jurisdiction of the
3 United States, including a foreign branch of
4 such an entity.

#### 5 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

- 6 This Act may be cited as the "Cambodia Democracy
  7 and Human Rights Act of 2022".
- 8 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
- 9 Congress finds the following:
- 10 (1) On October 23, 1991, Cambodia and 18 other 11 countries signed the Comprehensive Cambodian Peace 12 Agreement (commonly referred to as the "Paris Peace" 13 Agreements"), which committed Cambodia to a demo-14 cratic system of governance protected by a constitu-15 tion and free and fair elections and stated that the people of Cambodia "shall enjoy the rights and free-16 17 doms embodied in the Universal Declaration of 18 Human Rights and other relevant international 19 human rights instruments".
  - (2) Prime Minister Hun Sen has been in power in Cambodia since 1984 and is the longest-serving leader in Southeast Asia. Despite decades of international attention and assistance to promote a pluralistic, multi-party democratic system in Cambodia, the Government of Cambodia continues to be

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- undemocratically dominated by the ruling Cam bodian People's Party.
  - (3) In 2015, the Cambodian People's Party-controlled National Assembly adopted the Law on Associations and Non-Governmental Organizations, which gave the Government of Cambodia sweeping powers to revoke the registration of nongovernmental organizations in the name of "national unity", and which the government has used to restrict the legitimate work of civil society.
    - (4) On August 23, 2017, Cambodia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs ordered the closure of the National Democratic Institute office in Cambodia and the expulsion of its foreign staff. On September 15, 2017, Prime Minister Hun Sen called for the withdrawal of all volunteers from the United States Peace Corps, which has operated in Cambodia since 2006 with approximately 500 United States volunteers providing English language and healthcare training.
    - (5) The Government of Cambodia has taken several measures to restrict its media environment, especially through politicized tax investigations against independent media outlets that resulted in the closure of The Cambodia Daily and Radio Free Asia in early September 2017. Additionally, the Government of

- Cambodia has ordered several radio stations to stop
  the broadcasting of Radio Free Asia and Voice of
  America programming.
  - (6) Cambodia's small number of independent trade unions and workers have the right to strike, but many face retribution for doing so, according to Freedom House.
  - (7) Each of the 6 elections that have taken place in Cambodia since 1991 was conducted in circumstances that were not free and fair, and were marked, to varying degrees, by fraud, intimidation, violence, and the misuse by the Government of Cambodia of legal mechanisms to weaken opposition candidates and parties. The 2017 local elections were marked by fewer reported irregularities, however, which helped the opposition Cambodia National Rescue Party (in this section referred to as the "CNRP"). Hun Sen responded to those improvements in elections, resulting in part from international assistance and observers, by banning the CNRP, the primary opposition party, on November 16, 2017.
  - (8) On September 3, 2017, Kem Sokha, the President of the CNRP, was arrested on politically motivated charges, including treason and conspiring to overthrow the Government of Cambodia. While he

- was released on bail, he faces up to 30 years in prison.
  on.
- (9) In the most recent general election in July
   2018, following the dissolution of the CNRP, the Cambodian People's Party secured every parliamentary
   seat, an electoral victory that the White House Press
   Secretary stated was "neither free nor fair and failed
   to represent the will of the Cambodian people".
  - (10) The widespread crackdown by the Government of Cambodia on the political opposition and other independent voices has caused many CNRP leaders to flee abroad. On March 12, 2019, a court criminally charged and issued arrest warrants for 8 leading members of the CNRP, including former CNRP leader Sam Rainsy, who had left Cambodia ahead of the July 2018 election, as well as Mu Sochua, Ou Chanrith, Eng Chhai Eang, Men Sothavarin, Long Ry, Tob Van Chan, and Ho Vann.
  - (11) The Government of Cambodia has arrested many opposition party members and democracy activists who remained in Cambodia. More than 80 opposition party supporters and activists were arrested in 2019 and were released on bail with charges still pending and could face re-arrest any time.

- 1 (12) In November 2019, Sam Rainsy made a 2 failed attempt to return to Cambodia to partake in 3 mass pro-democracy protests. Approximately 150 4 CNRP activists were put on trial in 2020 and 2021 5 for treason for calling for his return.
  - (13) In March 2021, a Cambodian court convicted and sentenced Sam Rainsy in absentia to 25 years in prison and 8 other opposition figures living in exile, including Rainsy's wife Tioulong Saumura, as well as Mu Sochua, Eng Chhay Eang, Men Sothavarin, Ou Chanrith, Ho Vann, Long Ry, and Nuth Romduol, to between 20 and 22 years.
  - (14) On June 14, 2022, the Government of Cambodia convicted 51 opposition politicians and activists in a mass trial, many of whom were convicted in abstentia on charges of "incitement" and "conspiracy" for supporting the development of democracy in Cambodia. Sentences ranged from 5-year suspended jail terms to 8 years in prison and serve to further intimidate potential political opponents of the regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen.
  - (15) Prime Minister Hun Sen has used the coronavirus disease 2019 (commonly known as "COVID-19") pandemic as justification to further consolidate power and the Cambodia People's Party-

1	controlled National Assembly passed new laws to fur-
2	ther curtail the rights to freedom of expression, peace-
3	ful assembly, and association.
4	(16) According to Human Rights Watch, under
5	the guise of the pandemic, authorities—
6	(A) banned protests organized by youth and
7	$environmental\ activists;$
8	(B) detained and interrogated at least 30
9	people for Facebook posts related to the pan-
10	demic; and
11	(C) charged one journalist for pandemic-re-
12	lated reporting.
13	(17) According to Freedom House, Hun Sen uses
14	the police and armed forces as instruments of repres-
15	sion. The military has stood firmly behind Hun Sen
16	and his crackdown on opposition groups and Hun
17	Sen has built a personal bodyguard unit in the armed
18	forces that he reportedly uses to harass and abuse
19	Cambodian People's Party opponents.
20	(18) In August 2020, 14 youth and environ-
21	mental activists were detained by Cambodian au-
22	thorities. In May 2021, 3 environmental activists
23	were convicted on charges of "incitement to commit a
24	felony or disturb social order", related to peaceful
25	protests against authorities. In June 2021, a Cam-

- bodian court charged 3 environmental activists with

  "plotting against the government and insulting the
  king". The 2020 Country Reports on Human Rights

  Practices of the Department of State reported "at
  least 40 political prisoners or detainees" in Cambodia.
  - (19) Beginning in December 2021, the Government of Cambodia has restricted the labor rights of workers protesting working conditions and illegal dismissals at the NagaWorld Casino, including using the COVID-19 pandemic as an excuse to limit the ability of workers to protest. In February 2022, officials of the Government of Cambodia arrested 6 workers of the casino after leaving a COVID-19 testing center, claiming that they had obstructed testing.
    - (20) In 2019, the Wall Street Journal reported that Cambodia had signed a deal with the Government of the People's Republic of China to allow that Government access to and use of the Ream Naval Base on the Gulf of Thailand, even though the Constitution of Cambodia prohibits the establishment of foreign military bases.
    - (21) In 2019, the New York Times reported that a company described by the Department of the Treasury as being a state-owned company of the People's

- Republic of China had secured a 99-year lease to build an airport capable of supporting military aircraft at Dara Sakor, raising concerns that Beijing intends to use this dual-use facility for its military, despite the prohibition against the establishment of foreign military bases in the Constitution of Cambodia.
- (22) In section 401 of the Asia Reassurance Initiative Act of 2018 (Public Law 115–409; 132 Stat. 5407), Congress expressed serious concerns with the rule of law and civil liberties in Cambodia and made the finding that the promotion of human rights and respect for democratic values in the Indo-Pacific region is in the United States national security interest.
- Rights Practices of the Department of State stated, of Cambodia, "Corruption was endemic throughout society and government. There were reports police, prosecutors, investigating judges, and presiding judges took bribes from owners of both legal and illegal businesses. Citizens frequently and publicly complained about corruption. Meager salaries contributed to 'survival corruption' among low-level public servants, while a culture of impunity enabled corruption to flourish among senior officials."

1	(24) Section 7043(b) of the Department of State,
2	Foreign Operations, and Related Programs Appro-
3	priations Act, 2022 (division K of Public Law 117-
4	103; 136 Stat. 645) restricts assistance to the Govern-
5	ment of Cambodia until "the Secretary of State cer-
6	tifies and reports to the Committees on Appropria-
7	tions that such Government is taking effective steps
8	to—
9	"(i) strengthen regional security and sta-
10	bility, particularly regarding territorial disputes
11	in the South China Sea and the enforcement of
12	international sanctions with respect to North
13	Korea;
14	"(ii) assert its sovereignty against inter-
15	ference by the People's Republic of China, in-
16	cluding by verifiably maintaining the neutrality
17	of Ream Naval Base, other military installations
18	in Cambodia, and dual use facilities such as the
19	Dara Sakor development project;
20	"(iii) cease violence, threats, and harass-
21	ment against civil society and the political oppo-
22	sition in Cambodia, and dismiss any politically
23	motivated criminal charges against critics of the
24	government; and

1	"(iv) respect the rights, freedoms, and re-
2	sponsibilities enshrined in the Constitution of the
3	Kingdom of Cambodia as enacted in 1993.".
4	(25) Section 201(f) of the Asia Reassurance Ini-
5	tiative Act of 2018 (Public Law 115-409; 132 Stat.
6	5392) restricts assistance to Cambodia until the Gov-
7	ernment of Cambodia takes effective steps to—
8	(A) strengthen regional security and sta-
9	bility, particularly regarding territorial disputes
10	in the South China Sea and the enforcement of
11	international sanctions with respect to North
12	Korea; and
13	(B) respect the rights and responsibilities
14	enshrined in the Constitution of the Kingdom of
15	Cambodia as enacted in 1993, including through
16	the—
17	(i) restoration of the civil and political
18	rights of the opposition Cambodia National
19	Rescue Party, media, and civil society orga-
20	nizations;
21	(ii) restoration of all elected officials to
22	their elected offices; and
23	(iii) release of all political prisoners,
24	including journalists, civil society activists,

- and members of the opposition political
  party.
- 3 (26) On December 9, 2019, the Department of 4 the Treasury imposed sanctions under the Global 5 Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act (22 6 U.S.C. 10101 et seq.) with respect to certain corrupt 7 Cambodian actors and their networks.
  - began intense scrutiny of Cambodia's eligibility to for preferential trade access in light of the deterioration of democracy, the rule of law, and the protection of human rights in Cambodia. In February 2020, the European Union, Cambodia's largest export market, partially suspended trade preferences for Cambodia under its "Everything but Arms" trade program, in response to Cambodia's violations of civil and political rights.
  - (28) In 2021, the Joint Vietnamese Friendship building, a facility built by the Government of Vietnam, was relocated off the Ream Naval Base, reportedly to avert conflicts with military personnel of the People's Republic of China.
  - (29) In 2022, the governments of the People's Republic of China and Cambodia held a groundbreaking ceremony for a new upgrade to the Ream Naval Base,

1	which, according to the Washington Post, would allow
2	the People's Liberation Army to have "exclusive use
3	of the northern portion of the base, while their pres-
4	ence would remain concealed".
5	(30) On June 8, 2022, in the groundbreaking
6	ceremony for constructing new facilities of the Ream
7	Naval Base, the Ambassador of the People's Republic
8	of China to Cambodia, Wang Wentian, declared that
9	the base would be a monument to "the ironclad
10	friendship and cooperation between the two mili-
11	taries" of the People's Republic of China and Cam-
12	bodia.
13	SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.
14	It is the sense of Congress that—
15	(1) the United States is committed to promoting
13	(-) $(-)$
16	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in
16	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in
16 17	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Cambodia, as laid out in the 1991 Paris Peace Agree-
16 17 18	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Cambodia, as laid out in the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements;
16 17 18 19	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Cambodia, as laid out in the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements;  (2) the United States Government, through di-
16 17 18 19 20	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Cambodia, as laid out in the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements;  (2) the United States Government, through diplomacy and assistance, should urge the Government
16 17 18 19 20 21	democracy, human rights, and the rule of law in Cambodia, as laid out in the 1991 Paris Peace Agreements;  (2) the United States Government, through diplomacy and assistance, should urge the Government of Cambodia to—

1	Cambodia National Rescue Party, journalists,
2	and civil society activists; and
3	(C) restore full political rights to the Cam-
4	bodia National Rescue Party and other political
5	parties;
6	(3) the United States Government should urge
7	the Government of Cambodia—
8	(A) to reverse the policies and actions that
9	have resulted in the dismantling of democracy,
10	the blatant disregard of fundamental human
11	rights, and the breakdown of rule of law in Cam-
12	bodia;
13	(B) to immediately discontinue the impris-
14	onment and judicial harassment of journalists,
15	political dissidents, and activists, and drop po-
16	litically motivated charges;
17	(C) to stop arrests and intimidation of civil
18	society members, including human rights activ-
19	ists, environmental defenders, and labor leaders,
20	and promote a flourishing civil society that sup-
21	ports the political and economic development of
22	Cambodia;
23	(D) to halt the threat of mass arrests and
24	violence if and when Cambodia National Rescue

1	Party members currently overseas return to
2	Cambodia;
3	(E) to reinstate the political status of the
4	Cambodia National Rescue Party and other op-

- Cambodia National Rescue Party and other opposition parties, restore the Cambodia National Rescue Party's elected seats in the National Assembly, and support electoral reform efforts in Cambodia with free and fair elections monitored by international observers;
- (F) to ensure that media outlets are able to operate freely and without interference, including having the ability to apply for and receive licenses to operate within Cambodia;
- (G) to consider how allowing the People's Liberation Army to conduct activities, gain access, or establish a presence in Cambodia would harm Cambodia's relationships with its neighbors, partners, and allies, and could violate the Constitution of Cambodia; and
- (H) to cease providing support to authoritarian regimes and undermining democratic activists in the region, especially through its ties to the Burmese military that seized power in a coup d'état on February 1, 2021, and instead play a constructive role in multilateral organiza-

1	tions like the Association of Southeast Asian Na-
2	tions to promote peace and democracy in the re-
3	gion;
4	(4) Prime Minister Hun Sen is directly respon-
5	sible, and should be held accountable, for the safety,
6	health, and welfare of exiled Cambodia National Res-
7	cue Party leaders and their supporters upon their re-
8	turn to Cambodia;
9	(5) other governments throughout the Indo-Pa-
10	cific region should—
11	(A) urge the Government of Cambodia to
12	allow the peaceful return of exiled Cambodia Na-
13	tional Rescue Party leaders and their supporters;
14	(B) refrain from illegally restricting the
15	rights of Cambodia National Rescue Party mem-
16	bers to travel to and through their countries as
17	they return; and
18	(C) press the Government of Cambodia not
19	to allow the People's Liberation Army to use
20	Cambodia's military facilities or establish a
21	presence within Cambodia;
22	(6) in the absence of systemic democratic reforms
23	on the part of the Government of Cambodia, there is
24	need for additional measures by the United States

1	Government, including through the enactment of legis-			
2	lation and executive action; and			
3	(7) the presence of the People's Liberation Army			
4	will further enable Prime Minister Hun Sen's author-			
5	itarian crackdown, including oppression of opposition			
6	parties, independent civil society, and free media in			
7	Cambodia.			
8	SEC. 4. SANCTIONS RELATING TO UNDERMINING DEMOC-			
9	RACY IN CAMBODIA.			
10	(a) Identification of Persons Responsible for			
11	Undermining Democracy in Cambodia.—			
12	(1) In general.—Not later than 180 days after			
13	the date of the enactment of this Act, the President			
14	shall submit to the appropriate congressional commit-			
15	tees a list of—			
16	(A) any current or former official of the			
17	Government of Cambodia or the military or se-			
18	curity forces of Cambodian, or any other foreign			
19	person, that the President determines know-			
20	ingly—			
21	(i) directly and substantially under-			
22	mines democracy in Cambodia;			
23	(ii) engages in or is responsible for se-			
24	rious human rights abuses;			

1	(iii) engages in or is responsible for
2	significant corruption associated with un-
3	dermining democracy in Cambodia; or
4	(iv) engages in or supports the estab-
5	lishment of installations or facilities that
6	could be used by the People's Liberation
7	Army or entities tied to the People's Libera-
8	tion Army in Cambodia, which could in-
9	clude persons identified under paragraph
10	(1) of section 5 in the report required by
11	$that\ section;$
12	(B) any person that the President deter-
13	mines is acting for or on behalf of a person de-
14	scribed in subparagraph (A) related to conduct
15	described in that subparagraph; and
16	(C) any person that the President deter-
17	mines is owned or controlled by a person de-
18	scribed in subparagraph (A) and is involved in
19	conduct described in that subparagraph.
20	(2) UPDATES.—The President shall submit to the
21	appropriate congressional committees updated lists
22	under paragraph (1) as new information becomes
23	available.

1	(b) Imposition of Sanctions.—The President shall					
2	impose the following sanctions with respect to each foreign					
3	person on the list required by subsection (a):					
4	(1) Asset blocking.—The President shall exer					
5	cise all of the powers granted to the President under					
6	the International Emergency Economic Powers Act					
7	(50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the requirement					
8	of section 202 of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1701) shall no					
9	apply) to the extent necessary to block and prohibi					
10	all transactions in property and interests in property					
11	of the person if such property and interests in prop-					
12	erty are in the United States, come within the United					
13	States, or are or come within the possession or contro					
14	of a United States person.					
15	(2) Aliens inadmissible for visas, admis-					
16	SION, OR PAROLE.—					
17	(A) Visas, admission, or parole.—In the					
18	case of an individual, that individual is—					
19	(i) inadmissible to the United States;					
20	(ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other					
21	documentation to enter the United States;					
22	and					
23	(iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted					
24	or paroled into the United States or to re-					
25	ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-					

1	tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et
2	seq.).
3	(B) Current visas revoked.—
4	(i) In General.—The visa or other
5	entry documentation of the individual shall
6	be revoked in accordance with section 221(i)
7	of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8
8	U.S.C. 1201(i)), regardless of when such
9	visa or other entry documentation is or was
10	is sued.
11	(ii) Immediate effect.—A revoca-
12	tion under clause (i) shall—
13	(I) take effect immediately; and
14	(II) automatically cancel any
15	other valid visa or entry documenta-
16	tion that is in the individual's posses-
17	sion.
18	(c) Implementation; Penalties.—
19	(1) Implementation.—The President may exer-
20	cise all authorities provided under sections 203 and
21	205 of the International Emergency Economic Powers
22	Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this sec-
23	tion.
24	(2) Penalties.—A person that violates, at-
25	tempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a vio-

lation of subsection (b)(1) or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out that subsection shall be subject to the penalties set forth in subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a) of that section.

## (d) Exceptions.—

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- (1) Exception for intelligence and law enforcement activities.—Sanctions under this section shall not apply with respect to—
  - (A) any activity subject to the reporting requirements under title V of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.); or
  - (B) any authorized intelligence or law enforcement activities of the United States.
- (2) Exception to comply with inter-National obligations.—Sanctions under subsection (b)(2) shall not apply with respect to the admission or parole of an individual if admitting or paroling the individual into the United States is necessary to permit the United States to comply with the Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force November 21,1947, between the United

1	Nations and the United States, or other applicable
2	$international\ obligations.$
3	(3) Exception relating to importation of
4	GOODS.—
5	(A) In general.—The authorities and re-
6	quirements to impose sanctions authorized under
7	subsection (b)(1) shall not include the authority
8	or requirement to impose sanctions on the im-
9	portation of goods.
10	(B) Good defined.—In this paragraph,
11	the term "good" means any article, natural or
12	manmade substance, material, supply or manu-
13	factured product, including inspection and test
14	equipment, and excluding technical data.
15	(e) Waiver.—The President may waive the applica-
16	tion of sanctions under subsection (b) with respect to a for-
17	eign person on the list required by subsection (a) if the
18	President determines and certifies to the appropriate con-
19	gressional committees that such a waiver is in the national
20	interest of the United States.
21	(f) Suspension of Sanctions.—
22	(1) Suspension.—The requirement to impose
23	sanctions under this section may be suspended for an
24	initial period of not more than one year if the Presi-
25	dent determines and certifies to the appropriate con-

1	gressional committees that Cambodia is making					
2	meaningful progress toward the following:					
3	(A) Ending government efforts to under					
4	mine democracy.					
5	(B) Ending human rights violations associ-					
6	ated with undermining democracy.					
7	(C) Releasing all political prisoners.					
8	(D) Dropping all politically motivated					
9	charges and vacating convictions from any such					
10	charges against members of the Cambodia Na-					
11	tional Rescue Party, journalists, and civil soci-					
12	ety activists.					
13	(E) Conducting free and fair elections that					
14	allow for the active participation of credible op-					
15	$position\ candidates.$					
16	(2) Renewal of Suspension.—The suspension					
17	of sanctions under paragraph (1) may be renewed for					
18	additional, consecutive one-year periods if the Presi-					
19	dent determines and certifies to the appropriate con-					
20	gressional committees that Cambodia continued to					
21	make meaningful progress toward satisfying the con-					
22	ditions described in that paragraph during the year					
23	preceding the certification.					
24	(g) Sunset.—This section shall terminate on the date					
25	that is 5 years after the date of the enactment of this Act.					

1	SEC. 5. REPORT ON ACTIVITY OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERA-
2	TION ARMY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE PEO-
3	PLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN CAMBODIA.
4	(a) In General.—Not later than 180 days after the
5	date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit
6	to the committees specified in subsection (c) a report assess-
7	ing—
8	(1) the involvement of the Government of the
9	People's Republic of China or the People's Liberation
10	Army in upgrading existing facilities or constructing
11	new facilities at Ream Naval Base and Dara Sakor
12	$Airport\ in\ Cambodia;$
13	(2) any actual or projected benefits, including
14	any enhancement of the power projection capabilities
15	of the People's Liberation Army, that the Government
16	of the People's Republic of China or the People's Lib-
17	eration Army may accrue as a result of such up-
18	grades or construction;
19	(3) the impact that the presence of the People's
20	Liberation Army in Cambodia may have on the in-
21	terests, allies, and partners of the United States in
22	the region;
23	(4) any efforts undertaken by the United States
24	Government to convey to the Government of Cam-
25	bodia the concerns relating to the presence of the Peo-
26	ple's Liberation Army and the Government of the

1	People's Republic of China in Cambodia and the im-
2	pact that presence could have on security in the South
3	China Sea and the Indo-Pacific region more broadly
4	and on adherence to the Constitution of Cambodia;
5	(5) the impact the presence of the People's Lib-
6	eration Army in Cambodia, as well as closer govern-
7	ment-to-government ties between Cambodia and the
8	Government of the People's Republic of China, includ-
9	ing through investments under the Belt and Road Ini-
10	tiative, has had on the deterioration of democracy
11	and human rights inside Cambodia; and
12	(6) any other ongoing activities by the People's
13	Liberation Army or any other security services of the
14	Government of the People's Republic of China in
15	Cambodia.
16	(b) Form of Report.—The report required by sub-
17	section (a) shall be submitted in unclassified form but may
18	include a classified annex.
19	(c) Committees Specified.—The committees speci-
20	fied in this subsection are—
21	(1) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the
22	Committee on Armed Services, and the Select Com-
23	mittee on Intelligence of the Senate; and
24	(2) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Com-
25	mittee on Armed Services, and the Permanent Select

1	Committee on Intelligence of the House of Representa-
2	tives.
3	SEC. 6. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.
4	Nothing in this Act may be construed to limit the au-
5	thority of the President to designate persons for the imposi-
6	tion of sanctions pursuant to an Executive order issued
7	under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act
8	(50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) or otherwise pursuant to that Act.
9	SEC. 7. DEFINITIONS.
10	In this Act:
11	(1) Appropriate congressional commit-
12	TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional commit-
13	tees" means—
14	(A) the Committee on Foreign Relations
15	and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and
16	Urban Affairs of the Senate; and
17	(B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and
18	the Committee on Financial Services of the
19	House of Representatives.
20	(2) Foreign person.—The term "foreign per-
21	son" means a person that is not a United States per-
22	son.
23	(3) Knowingly.—The term "knowingly", with
24	respect to conduct a circumstance or a result means

1	that a person has actual knowledge, or should have
2	known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the result.
3	(4) People's liberation army.—The term
4	"People's Liberation Army" means the armed forces
5	of the People's Republic of China.
6	(5) Person.—The term "person" means an in-
7	dividual or entity.
8	(6) United states person.—The term "United
9	States person" means—
10	(A) a United States citizen or an alien law-
11	fully admitted for permanent residence to the
12	United States;
13	(B) an entity organized under the laws of
14	the United States or of any jurisdiction of the
15	United States, including a foreign branch of
16	such an entity; or
17	(C) any person in the United States.

## Calendar No. 455

117TH CONGRESS S. 3052

## A BILL

To promote free and fair elections, democracy, political freedoms, and human rights in Cambodia, and for other purposes.

 $\label{eq:July 21, 2022} {\tt July 21, 2022}$  Reported with an amendment