# S. 1944

To enhance peace between the Israelis and Palestinians.

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

NOVEMBER 24, 2003

Mr. Ensign (for himself, Mr. Nelson of Florida, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Graham of South Carolina, Mr. Crapo, Mr. Reid, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Allard, Mr. Smith, Mr. Allen, and Mrs. Boxer) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

# A BILL

To enhance peace between the Israelis and Palestinians.

- 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 "Israeli-Palestinian
- 5 Peace Enhancement Act of 2003".
- 6 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
- 7 Congress makes the following findings:
- 8 (1) The security of the State of Israel is a
- 9 major and enduring national security interest of the
- 10 United States.

- 1 (2) A lasting peace in the Middle East region, 2 which Israel desperately seeks, can only take root in 3 an atmosphere free of violence and terrorism.
  - (3) The Palestinian people have been ill-served by leaders who, by resorting to violence and terrorism to pursue their political objectives, have brought economic and personal hardship to their people and brought a halt to efforts seeking a negotiated settlement of the conflict.
  - (4) The United States has an interest in a Middle East in which two states, Israel and Palestine, will live side by side in peace and security.
  - (5) In his speech of June 24, 2002, and in other statements, President George W. Bush outlined a comprehensive vision of the possibilities of peace in the Middle East region following a change in Palestinian leadership.
  - (6) President Bush stated in his June 24, 2002, speech that "a stable and peaceful Palestinian state is necessary to achieve the security that Israel longs for," and Israel has committed itself to concrete steps to achieve that end.
  - (7) The Palestinian state must be a reformed, peaceful, and democratic state that abandons forever the use of terror.

1 (8) Israel has repeatedly indicated its willing-2 ness to make painful concessions to achieve peace 3 once there is a partner for peace on the Palestinian 4 side.

#### 5 SEC. 3. PURPOSES.

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- 6 The purposes of this Act are—
- 7 (1) to express the sense of Congress with re-8 spect to United States recognition of a Palestinian 9 state;
  - (2) to encourage the emergence of a Palestinian leadership that is capable of achieving the reforms outlined by President Bush, including making peace with Israel, combating all forms of terrorism, and developing a peaceful, democratic Palestinian state; and
- 16 (3) to demonstrate United States willingness to 17 provide substantial economic and humanitarian as-18 sistance, and to support large-scale multilateral as-19 sistance, to a peaceful, democratic Palestinian state, 20 after the Palestinians have achieved the reforms out-21 lined by President Bush and have achieved peace 22 with Israel.

## 23 SEC. 4. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

24 It is the sense of Congress that—

- (1) peace between Israel and the Palestinians cannot be achieved until the Palestinian system of government has been transformed along the lines outlined in President Bush's June 24, 2002, speech;
  - (2) substantial United States and international economic assistance will be needed after the Palestinians have achieved the reforms described in section 620K(c)(2) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (as added by section 6 of this Act) and have made a lasting and secure peace with Israel;
  - (3) any new Palestinian administration urgently should take the necessary security-related steps to allow for implementation of a performance-based road map to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict;
  - (4) the United States Administration should work vigorously toward the goal of two states living side-by-side in peace within secure and internationally-recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force; and
  - (5) the United States has a vital national security interest in a permanent, comprehensive, and just resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and particularly the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, based on the terms of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338.

1	terms of United Nations Security Council Resolu-
2	tions 242 and 338.
3	SEC. 5. RECOGNITION OF A PALESTINIAN STATE.
4	It is the sense of Congress that a Palestinian state
5	should not be recognized by the United States until the
6	President determines that—
7	(1) a new leadership of a Palestinian governing
8	entity, not compromised by terrorism, has been
9	elected and taken office; and
10	(2) the newly-elected Palestinian governing enti-
11	ty—
12	(A) has demonstrated a firm and tangible
13	commitment to peaceful coexistence with the
14	State of Israel and to ending anti-Israel incite-
15	ment, including the cessation of all officially
16	sanctioned or funded anti-Israel incitement;
17	(B) has taken sustained and effective
18	measures to counter terrorism and terrorist fi-
19	nancing in the West Bank and Gaza, including
20	the dismantling of the terrorist infrastructure
21	and the confiscation of unlawful weaponry;
22	(C) has established one unified Palestinian
23	security entity that is fully cooperating with the
24	appropriate Israeli security organizations:

1	(D) has achieved exclusive authority and
2	responsibility for governing the national affairs
3	of a Palestinian state, has taken effective steps
4	to ensure democracy, the rule of law, and an
5	independent judiciary, and has adopted other
6	reforms ensuring transparent and accountable
7	governance; and
8	(E) has taken effective steps to ensure that
9	its education and communications systems pro-
10	mote the acceptance of Israel's existence and of
11	peace with Israel and actively discourage anti-
12	Israel incitement.
13	SEC. 6. LIMITATION ON ASSISTANCE TO A PALESTINIAN
13 14	SEC. 6. LIMITATION ON ASSISTANCE TO A PALESTINIAN STATE.
14	STATE.
14 15 16	STATE.  Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act
14 15	STATE.  Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2351 et seq.) is amended—
14 15 16 17	Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2351 et seq.) is amended—  (1) by redesignating the second section 620G
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14 15 16 17 18	Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2351 et seq.) is amended—  (1) by redesignating the second section 620G (as added by section 149 of Public Law 104–164 (110 Stat. 1436)) as section 620J; and
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2351 et seq.) is amended—  (1) by redesignating the second section 620G (as added by section 149 of Public Law 104–164 (110 Stat. 1436)) as section 620J; and  (2) by adding at the end the following new sec-
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2351 et seq.) is amended—  (1) by redesignating the second section 620G (as added by section 149 of Public Law 104–164 (110 Stat. 1436)) as section 620J; and  (2) by adding at the end the following new section:

1 "(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other 2 provision of law, direct assistance may be provided 3 under this Act or any other provision of law to the government of a Palestinian state only during a pe-5 riod for which a certification described in subsection 6 (c) is in effect. The limitation contained in the pre-7 ceding sentence shall not apply (A) to humanitarian 8 or development assistance that is provided through 9 nongovernmental organizations for the benefit of the 10 Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza, or 11 (B) to assistance that is intended to reform the Pal-12 estinian Authority and affiliated institutions, or a 13 newly elected Palestinian governing entity, in order 14 to help meet the requirements contained in subpara-15 graphs (A) through (H) of subsection (c)(2) or to 16 address the matters described in subparagraphs (A) 17 through (E) of section 5(2) of the Israeli-Palestinian 18 Peace Enhancement Act of 2003.

"(2) Waiver.—The President may waive the limitation of the first sentence of paragraph (1) if the President determines and certifies to the Committee on International Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate that it

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1	is vital to the national security interest of the United
2	States to do so.
3	"(b) Congressional Notification.—
4	"(1) In general.—Assistance made available
5	under this Act or any other provision of law to a
6	Palestinian state may not be provided until 15 days
7	after the date on which the President has provided
8	notice thereof to the Committee on International Re-
9	lations and the Committee on Appropriations of the
10	House of Representatives and to the Committee on
11	Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropria-
12	tions of the Senate in accordance with the proce-
13	dures applicable to reprogramming notifications
14	under section 634A(a) of this Act.
15	"(2) Sunset.—Paragraph (1) shall cease to be
16	effective beginning ten years after the date on which
17	notice is first provided under such paragraph.
18	"(c) Certification.—A certification described in
19	this subsection is a certification transmitted by the Presi-
20	dent to Congress that—
21	"(1) a Palestinian state exists and has been
22	recognized by the United States and Israel and ad-
23	mitted to the United Nations;

1	"(2) a binding international peace agreement
2	exists between Israel and the Palestinian state
3	that—
4	"(A) was freely signed by both parties;
5	"(B) guarantees both parties' commitment
6	to a mutually agreed border between two states
7	that constitutes a secure and internationally
8	recognized boundary for both states, with no re-
9	maining territorial claims;
10	"(C) provides a permanent resolution for
11	both Palestinian refugees and Jewish refugees
12	from Arab countries;
13	"(D) provides for mutually agreeable ar-
14	rangements on all remaining permanent status
15	issues, including borders, settlements, water re-
16	sources, and Jerusalem; and
17	"(E) includes a renunciation of all remain-
18	ing claims through provisions that commit both
19	sides to the end of the conflict; and
20	"(3) the new Palestinian government—
21	"(A) has been democratically elected
22	through free and fair elections, has exclusive
23	authority and responsibility for governing the
24	national affairs of the Palestinian state and

1	has achieved the reforms outlined by President
2	Bush in his June 24, 2002, speech;
3	"(B) has completely renounced the use of
4	violence against the State of Israel and its citi-
5	zens, is vigorously attempting to prevent any
6	acts of terrorism against Israel and its citizens,
7	and punishes the perpetrators of such acts in a
8	manner commensurate with their actions;
9	"(C) has dismantled, and terminated the
10	funding of, any group within its territory that
11	conducts terrorism against Israel;
12	"(D) is engaging in ongoing and extensive
13	security cooperation with the State of Israel;
14	"(E) refrains from any officially sanctioned
15	or funded statement or act designed to incite
16	Palestinians or others against the State of
17	Israel and its citizens;
18	"(F) has an elected leadership not com-
19	promised by terror;
20	"(G) has instituted clearly defined and
21	agreed upon limits on its military; and
22	"(H) has no alliances or agreements that
23	pose a threat to the security of the State of
24	Israel.

- 1 "(d) Recertifications.—Not later than 90 days
- 2 after the date on which the President transmits to Con-
- 3 gress an initial certification under subsection (c), and
- 4 every 6 months thereafter for the 10-year period beginning
- 5 on the date of transmittal of such certification—
- 6 "(1) the President shall transmit to Congress a
- 7 recertification that the requirements contained in
- 8 subsection (c) are continuing to be met; or
- 9 "(2) if the President is unable to make such a
- recertification, the President shall transmit to Con-
- gress a report that contains the reasons therefor.
- 12 "(e) Rule of Construction.—A certification
- 13 under subsection (c) shall be deemed to be in effect begin-
- 14 ning on the day after the last day of the 10-year period
- 15 described in subsection (d) unless the President subse-
- 16 quently determines that the requirements contained in
- 17 subsection (c) are no longer being met and the President
- 18 transmits to Congress a report that contains the reasons
- 19 therefor.".
- 20 SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE TO A PALES-
- 21 TINIAN STATE.
- 22 Chapter 1 of part III of the Foreign Assistance Act
- 23 of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2351 et seq.), as amended by section
- 24 1506, is further amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 25 lowing new section:

1	SEC. 620L. AUTHORIZATION OF ASSISTANCE TO A PALES-
2	TINIAN STATE.

- 3 "(a) Assistance.—The President is authorized to
- 4 provide assistance to a Palestinian state in accordance
- 5 with the requirements of this section.
- 6 "(b) Activities To Be Supported.—Assistance
- 7 provided under subsection (a) shall be used to support ac-
- 8 tivities within a Palestinian state to substantially improve
- 9 the economy and living conditions of the Palestinians by,
- 10 among other things, providing for economic development
- 11 in the West Bank and Gaza, continuing to promote democ-
- 12 racy and the rule of law, developing water resources, as-
- 13 sisting in security cooperation between Israelis and Pal-
- 14 estinians, and helping with the compensation and rehabili-
- 15 tation of Palestinian refugees.
- 16 "(c) Authorization of Appropriations.—Of the
- 17 amounts made available to carry out chapter 4 of part
- 18 II of this Act for a fiscal year, there are authorized to
- 19 be appropriated to the President to carry out subsections
- 20 (a) and (b) such sums as may be necessary for each such
- 21 fiscal year.
- 22 "(d) Coordination of International Assist-
- 23 ANCE.—
- "(1) IN GENERAL.—Beginning on the date on
- which the President transmits to Congress an initial

1	certification under section 620K(c), the Secretary of
2	State shall—
3	"(A) seek to convene one or more donors
4	conferences to gain commitments from other
5	countries, multilateral institutions, and non-
6	governmental organizations to provide economic
7	assistance to Palestinians;
8	"(B) seek to ensure that such commit-
9	ments to provide assistance are honored in a
10	timely manner;
11	"(C) promote coordination of assistance
12	among the United States and such other coun-
13	tries, multilateral institutions, and nongovern-
14	mental organizations;
15	"(D) monitor the assistance to ensure that
16	the assistance provided to Palestinians is used
17	for the purposes for which it was provided; and
18	"(E) seek to ensure that other countries,
19	multilateral institutions, and nongovernmental
20	organizations do not provide assistance to Pal-
21	estinians through entities that are designated
22	as terrorist organizations under United States
23	law.
24	"(2) Annual reports.—Not later than 180
25	days after the date of the enactment of this section,

and on an annual basis thereafter, the Secretary of 1 2 State shall prepare and submit to the Committee on 3 International Relations and the Committee on Ap-4 propriations of the House of Representatives and the 5 Committee on Foreign Relations and the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate a report that de-6 7 scribes the activities undertaken to meet the require-8 ments of paragraph (1).

"(3) BURDENSHARING.—Each report under paragraph (2) shall include a description of the amounts committed, and the amounts provided, to a Palestinian state or Palestinians during the reporting period by each country and organization.".

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