

Union Calendar No. 190

108TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1828

[Report No. 108-314]

To halt Syrian support for terrorism, end its occupation of Lebanon, stop its development of weapons of mass destruction, cease its illegal importation of Iraqi oil and illegal shipments of weapons and other military items to Iraq, and by so doing hold Syria accountable for the serious international security problems it has caused in the Middle East, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 12, 2003

Mr. ENGEL (for himself, Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN, Mr. ANDREWS, Mr. BACHUS, Mr. BALLENGER, Mr. BELL, Ms. BERKLEY, Mr. BERMAN, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. CANTOR, Mr. CROWLEY, Mrs. JO ANN DAVIS of Virginia, Mr. LINCOLN DIAZ-BALART of Florida, Mr. MARIO DIAZ-BALART of Florida, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. FROST, Mr. GREEN of Wisconsin, Mr. HOEFFEL, Mr. ISRAEL, Mr. JANKLOW, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. LEWIS of Georgia, Mrs. MALONEY, Mr. MATSUI, Mrs. MCCARTHY of New York, Mr. MCCOTTER, Mr. McNULTY, Mr. MICA, Mr. MOORE, Mr. NADLER, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PENCE, Ms. PRYCE of Ohio, Mr. REYNOLDS, Mr. ROSS, Mr. SAXTON, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. TURNER of Texas, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. VITTER, Mr. WEINER, Mr. WELLER, and Mr. WEXLER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations

OCTOBER 15, 2003

Additional sponsors: Mr. BROWN of Ohio, Ms. GINNY BROWN-WAITE of Florida, Mr. CARTER, Mr. DAVIS of Alabama, Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. GORDON, Mr. HERGER, Mrs. KELLY, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. LINDER, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. OSE, Mr. OWENS, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. RENZI, Mr. ROTHMAN, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SCOTT of Georgia, Mr. SHAW, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. TANCREDO, Mr. TIBERI, Mr. WILSON of South Carolina, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. HOLDEN, Mrs. JONES of Ohio, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. HAYWORTH, Mr. CARSON of Oklahoma, Mr.

SCHIFF, Mr. CARDOZA, Mr. GARRETT of New Jersey, Mr. ETHERIDGE, Mr. BOSWELL, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. JOHNSON of Illinois, Mr. GRAVES, Mr. MCGOVERN, Mr. KENNEDY of Minnesota, Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin, Mr. KING of Iowa, Mr. MCINNIS, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. FERGUSON, Mr. BEAUPREZ, Mr. BAKER, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. UDALL of Colorado, Mr. ISAKSON, Mr. BURNS, Mr. SANDLIN, Mr. MICHAUD, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. FRANKS of Arizona, Mr. EMANUEL, Mr. ALEXANDER, Mr. KLINE, Mr. BONILLA, Mr. NEAL of Massachusetts, Ms. WOOLSEY, Ms. HARRIS, Mr. LATHAM, Mr. HOLT, Mr. BURGESS, Mr. SKELTON, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. WYNN, Mr. SCHROCK, Ms. MAJETTE, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. OLVER, Mr. CRAMER, Mrs. MILLER of Michigan, Mr. BRADLEY of New Hampshire, Mr. GREEN of Texas, Mr. ENGLISH, Mr. HOYER, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. SOUDER, Mr. GUTIERREZ, Mr. WAMP, Mr. SHADEGG, Mrs. MUSGRAVE, Mr. COLE, Mr. LAMPSON, Mr. ADERHOLT, Mr. BISHOP of New York, Mr. CARDIN, Mr. CULBERSON, Mr. DAVIS of Tennessee, Mr. FEENEY, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mr. MEEHAN, Mr. MILLER of North Carolina, Mr. NUSSLE, Mr. OTTER, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. PORTER, Mr. SWEENEY, Mr. WELDON of Florida, Mr. INSLEE, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. JOHN, Mr. RODRIGUEZ, Mr. STRICKLAND, Mr. BACA, Mr. EVANS, Ms. HARMAN, Mr. KELLER, Mr. POMBO, Mr. SESSIONS, Mr. SIMMONS, Mr. BONNER, Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. MCCRERY, Mr. PUTNAM, Mr. RAMSTAD, Mr. UPTON, Mr. FOSSELLA, Mr. CRENSHAW, Mr. STEARNS, Mr. TERRY, Mr. SHIMKUS, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. REGULA, Mrs. TAUSCHER, Mr. BASS, Mr. SMITH of Texas, Ms. DELAURO, Ms. LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ of California, Ms. CORRINE BROWN of Florida, Mr. REYES, Mr. MEEK of Florida, Mr. ROGERS of Michigan, Mr. BILIRAKIS, Mrs. NORTHUP, Mr. ROGERS of Alabama, Mr. GINGREY, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. HONDA, Mr. LUCAS of Kentucky, Mr. MCINTYRE, Ms. LORETTA SANCHEZ of California, Mr. DICKS, Mr. FORD, Mr. ROGERS of Kentucky, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. HAYES, Mr. WELDON of Pennsylvania, Mr. HENSARLING, Mr. PICKERING, Mr. WICKER, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. COBLE, Mrs. BONO, Mr. BURR, Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas, Mr. PAYNE, Ms. NORTON, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. UDALL of New Mexico, Mr. COOPER, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. LOBIONDO, Mr. FLETCHER, Mrs. CAPITO, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. JONES of North Carolina, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. KINGSTON, Mr. MURPHY, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mr. BARRETT of South Carolina, Mr. NETHERCUTT, Mr. AKIN, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. CAMP, Mr. EDWARDS, Mr. BERRY, Mr. RYAN of Ohio, Mrs. DAVIS of California, Mr. MARSHALL, Mr. GALLEGLY, Mr. BOOZMAN, Mr. PITTS, Mr. BROWN of South Carolina, Mr. HEFLEY, Mr. FORBES, Mr. DAVIS of Florida, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. CASE, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. NUNES, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. SHUSTER, Mr. GONZALEZ, Mr. DEMINT, Mr. RYUN of Kansas, Mr. SANDERS, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Mr. MEEKS of New York, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. BISHOP of Utah, Mr. STARK, Mr. JACKSON of Illinois, Mr. TIAHRT, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. CHABOT, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mr. GOODE, Ms. BALDWIN, Mr. FARR, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. GARY G. MILLER of California, Mr. PETRI, Mr. DELAY, Mr. BLUNT, Mr. GEPHARDT, Mr. YOUNG of Alaska,

Mr. DOOLITTLE, Ms. BORDALLO, Mr. FILNER, Mr. SAM JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. KIRK, Mr. STENHOLM, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. NEUGEBAUER, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mr. TURNER of Ohio, Ms. MCCARTHY of Missouri, Mr. GERLACH, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. LEWIS of California, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. CANNON, Mr. DEAL of Georgia, Mr. CRANE, and Mr. VIS-CLOSKY

OCTOBER 15, 2003

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

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

[For text of introduced bill, see copy of bill as introduced on April 12, 2003]

A BILL

To halt Syrian support for terrorism, end its occupation of Lebanon, stop its development of weapons of mass destruction, cease its illegal importation of Iraqi oil and illegal shipments of weapons and other military items to Iraq, and by so doing hold Syria accountable for the serious international security problems it has caused in the Middle East, 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 “Syria Accountability*
 5 *and Lebanese Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003”.*

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 *Congress makes the following findings:*

8 (1) *On September 20, 2001, President George*
 9 *Bush stated at a joint session of Congress that*
 10 *“[e]very nation, in every region, now has a decision*

1 *to make . . . [e]ither you are with us, or you are with*
2 *the terrorists . . . [f]rom this day forward, any nation*
3 *that continues to harbor or support terrorism will be*
4 *regarded by the United States as a hostile regime”.*

5 *(2) On June 24, 2002, President Bush stated*
6 *“Syria must choose the right side in the war on terror*
7 *by closing terrorist camps and expelling terrorist or-*
8 *ganizations”.*

9 *(3) United Nations Security Council Resolution*
10 *1373 (September 28, 2001) mandates that all states*
11 *“refrain from providing any form of support, active*
12 *or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist*
13 *acts”, take “the necessary steps to prevent the com-*
14 *mission of terrorist acts”, and “deny safe haven to*
15 *those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist*
16 *acts”.*

17 *(4) The Government of Syria is currently pro-*
18 *hibited by United States law from receiving United*
19 *States assistance because it has repeatedly provided*
20 *support for acts of international terrorism, as deter-*
21 *mined by the Secretary of State for purposes of sec-*
22 *tion 6(j)(1) of the Export Administration Act of 1979*
23 *(50 U.S.C. App. 2405(j)(1)) and other relevant provi-*
24 *sions of law.*

1 (5) *Although the Department of State lists Syria*
2 *as a state sponsor of terrorism and reports that Syria*
3 *provides “safe haven and support to several terrorist*
4 *groups”, fewer United States sanctions apply with re-*
5 *spect to Syria than with respect to any other country*
6 *that is listed as a state sponsor of terrorism.*

7 (6) *Terrorist groups, including Hizballah,*
8 *Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Popular*
9 *Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular*
10 *Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Com-*
11 *mand, maintain offices, training camps, and other*
12 *facilities on Syrian territory, and operate in areas of*
13 *Lebanon occupied by the Syrian armed forces and re-*
14 *ceive supplies from Iran through Syria.*

15 (7) *United Nations Security Council Resolution*
16 *520 (September 17, 1982) calls for “strict respect of*
17 *the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and polit-*
18 *ical independence of Lebanon under the sole and ex-*
19 *clusive authority of the Government of Lebanon*
20 *through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon”.*

21 (8) *Approximately 20,000 Syrian troops and se-*
22 *curity personnel occupy much of the sovereign terri-*
23 *tory of Lebanon exerting undue influence upon its*
24 *government and undermining its political independ-*
25 *ence.*

1 (9) *Since 1990 the Senate and House of Rep-*
2 *resentatives have passed seven bills and resolutions*
3 *which call for the withdrawal of Syrian armed forces*
4 *from Lebanon.*

5 (10) *On March 3, 2003, Secretary of State Colin*
6 *Powell declared that it is the objective of the United*
7 *States to “let Lebanon be ruled by the Lebanese peo-*
8 *ple without the presence of [the Syrian] occupation*
9 *army”.*

10 (11) *Large and increasing numbers of the Leba-*
11 *nese people from across the political spectrum in Leb-*
12 *anon have mounted peaceful and democratic calls for*
13 *the withdrawal of the Syrian Army from Lebanese*
14 *soil.*

15 (12) *Israel has withdrawn all of its armed forces*
16 *from Lebanon in accordance with United Nations Se-*
17 *curity Council Resolution 425 (March 19, 1978), as*
18 *certified by the United Nations Secretary General.*

19 (13) *Even in the face of this United Nations cer-*
20 *tification that acknowledged Israel’s full compliance*
21 *with Security Council Resolution 425, Syrian- and*
22 *Iranian-supported Hizballah continues to attack*
23 *Israeli outposts at Shebaa Farms, under the false*
24 *guise that it remains Lebanese land, and Syrian- and*

1 *Iranian-supported Hizballah and other militant orga-*
2 *nizations continue to attack civilian targets in Israel.*

3 *(14) Syria will not allow Lebanon—a sovereign*
4 *country—to fulfill its obligation in accordance with*
5 *Security Council Resolution 425 to deploy its troops*
6 *to southern Lebanon.*

7 *(15) As a result, the Israeli-Lebanese border and*
8 *much of southern Lebanon is under the control of*
9 *Hizballah, which continues to attack Israeli positions,*
10 *allows Iranian Revolutionary Guards and other mili-*
11 *tant groups to operate freely in the area, and main-*
12 *tains thousands of rockets along Israel’s northern bor-*
13 *der, destabilizing the entire region.*

14 *(16) On February 12, 2003, Director of Central*
15 *Intelligence George Tenet stated the following with re-*
16 *spect to the Syrian- and Iranian-supported*
17 *Hizballah: “[A]s an organization with capability and*
18 *worldwide presence [it] is [al Qaeda’s] equal if not a*
19 *far more capable organization . . . [T]hey’re a notch*
20 *above in many respects, in terms of in their relation-*
21 *ship with the Iranians and the training they receive,*
22 *[which] puts them in a state-sponsored category with*
23 *a potential for lethality that’s quite great.”*

24 *(17) In the State of the Union address on Janu-*
25 *ary 29, 2002, President Bush declared that the*

1 *United States will “work closely with our coalition to*
2 *deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials,*
3 *technology, and expertise to make and deliver weap-*
4 *ons of mass destruction”.*

5 *(18) The Government of Syria continues to de-*
6 *velop and deploy short- and medium-range ballistic*
7 *missiles.*

8 *(19) According to the December 2001 unclassified*
9 *Central Intelligence Agency report entitled “Foreign*
10 *Missile Developments and the Ballistic Missile Threat*
11 *through 2015”, “Syria maintains a ballistic missile*
12 *and rocket force of hundreds of FROG rockets, Scuds,*
13 *and SS–21 SRBMs [and] Syria has developed [chem-*
14 *ical weapons] warheads for its Scuds”.*

15 *(20) The Government of Syria is pursuing the*
16 *development and production of biological and chem-*
17 *ical weapons and has a nuclear research and develop-*
18 *ment program that is cause for concern.*

19 *(21) According to the Central Intelligence Agen-*
20 *cy’s “Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisi-*
21 *tion of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass De-*
22 *struction and Advanced Conventional Munitions”, re-*
23 *leased January 7, 2003: “[Syria] already holds a*
24 *stockpile of the nerve agent sarin but apparently is*
25 *trying to develop more toxic and persistent nerve*

1 *agents. Syria remains dependent on foreign sources*
2 *for key elements of its [chemical weapons] program,*
3 *including precursor chemicals and key production*
4 *equipment. It is highly probable that Syria also is de-*
5 *veloping an offensive [biological weapons] capa-*
6 *bility.”.*

7 (22) *On May 6, 2002, the Under Secretary of*
8 *State for Arms Control and International Security,*
9 *John Bolton, stated: “The United States also knows*
10 *that Syria has long had a chemical warfare program.*
11 *It has a stockpile of the nerve agent sarin and is en-*
12 *gaged in research and development of the more toxic*
13 *and persistent nerve agent VX. Syria, which has*
14 *signed but not ratified the [Biological Weapons Con-*
15 *vention], is pursuing the development of biological*
16 *weapons and is able to produce at least small*
17 *amounts of biological warfare agents.”.*

18 (23) *According to the Central Intelligence Agen-*
19 *cy’s “Unclassified Report to Congress on the Acquisi-*
20 *tion of Technology Relating to Weapons of Mass De-*
21 *struction and Advanced Conventional Munitions”, re-*
22 *leased January 7, 2003: “Russia and Syria have ap-*
23 *proved a draft cooperative program on cooperation on*
24 *civil nuclear power. In principal, broader access to*
25 *Russian expertise provides opportunities for Syria to*

1 *expand its indigenous capabilities, should it decide to*
2 *pursue nuclear weapons.”.*

3 *(24) Under the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation*
4 *of Nuclear Weapons (21 UST 483), which entered*
5 *force on March 5, 1970, and to which Syria is a*
6 *party, Syria has undertaken not to acquire or*
7 *produce nuclear weapons and has accepted full scope*
8 *safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agen-*
9 *cy to detect diversions of nuclear materials from*
10 *peaceful activities to the production of nuclear weap-*
11 *ons or other nuclear explosive devices.*

12 *(25) Syria is not a party to the Chemical Weap-*
13 *ons Convention or the Biological Weapons Conven-*
14 *tion, which entered into force on April 29, 1997, and*
15 *on March 26, 1975, respectively.*

16 *(26) Syrian President Bashar Assad promised*
17 *Secretary of State Powell in February 2001 to end*
18 *violations of Security Council Resolution 661, which*
19 *restricted the sale of oil and other commodities by*
20 *Saddam Hussein’s regime, except to the extent au-*
21 *thorized by other relevant resolutions, but this pledge*
22 *was never fulfilled.*

23 *(27) Syria’s illegal imports and transshipments*
24 *of Iraqi oil during Saddam Hussein’s regime earned*

1 *Syria \$50,000,000 or more per month as Syria con-*
2 *tinued to sell its own Syrian oil at market prices.*

3 *(28) Syria's illegal imports and transshipments*
4 *of Iraqi oil earned Saddam Hussein's regime*
5 *\$2,000,000 per day.*

6 *(29) The Government of Syria also utilized the*
7 *railway network linking Mosul, Iraq, to Aleppo,*
8 *Syria, to transfer a wide range of weaponry and*
9 *weapon systems to Saddam Hussein's regime.*

10 *(30) On March 28, 2003, Secretary of Defense*
11 *Donald Rumsfeld warned: "[W]e have information*
12 *that shipments of military supplies have been crossing*
13 *the border from Syria into Iraq, including night-vi-*
14 *sion goggles . . . These deliveries pose a direct threat*
15 *to the lives of coalition forces. We consider such traf-*
16 *ficking as hostile acts, and will hold the Syrian gov-*
17 *ernment accountable for such shipments."*

18 *(31) According to Article 23(1) of the United Na-*
19 *tions Charter, members of the United Nations are*
20 *elected as nonpermanent members of the United Na-*
21 *tions Security Council with "due regard being spe-*
22 *cially paid, in the first instance to the contribution*
23 *of members of the United Nations to the maintenance*
24 *of international peace and security and to other pur-*
25 *poses of the Organization".*

1 (32) *Despite Article 23(1) of the United Nations*
2 *Charter, Syria was elected on October 8, 2001, to a*
3 *2-year term as a nonpermanent member of the United*
4 *Nations Security Council beginning January 1, 2002,*
5 *and served as President of the Security Council dur-*
6 *ing June 2002 and August 2003.*

7 (33) *On March 31, 2003, the Syrian Foreign*
8 *Minister, Farouq al-Sharra, made the Syrian re-*
9 *gime’s intentions clear when he explicitly stated that*
10 *“Syria’s interest is to see the invaders defeated in*
11 *Iraq”.*

12 (34) *On April 13, 2003, Secretary of Defense*
13 *Donald Rumsfeld charged that “busloads” of Syrian*
14 *fighters entered Iraq with “hundreds of thousands of*
15 *dollars” and leaflets offering rewards for dead Amer-*
16 *ican soldiers.*

17 (35) *On September 16, 2003, the Under Sec-*
18 *retary of State for Arms Control and International*
19 *Security, John Bolton, appeared before the Sub-*
20 *committee on the Middle East and Central Asia of the*
21 *Committee on International Relations of the House of*
22 *Representatives, and underscored Syria’s “hostile ac-*
23 *tions” toward coalition forces during Operation Iraqi*
24 *Freedom. Under Secretary Bolton added that: “Syria*
25 *allowed military equipment to flow into Iraq on the*

1 *eve of and during the war. Syria permitted volunteers*
2 *to pass into Iraq to attack and kill our service mem-*
3 *bers during the war, and is still doing so . . . [Syr-*
4 *ia’s] behavior during Operation Iraqi Freedom un-*
5 *derscores the importance of taking seriously reports*
6 *and information on Syria’s WMD capabilities.”.*

7 *(36) During his appearance before the Com-*
8 *mittee on International Relations of the House of*
9 *Representatives on September 25, 2003, Ambassador*
10 *L. Paul Bremer, III, Administrator of the Coalition*
11 *Provisional Authority in Iraq, stated that out of the*
12 *278 third-country nationals who were captured by co-*
13 *alition forces in Iraq, the “single largest group are*
14 *Syrians”.*

15 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

16 *It is the sense of Congress that—*

17 *(1) the Government of Syria should immediately*
18 *and unconditionally halt support for terrorism, per-*
19 *manently and openly declare its total renunciation of*
20 *all forms of terrorism, and close all terrorist offices*
21 *and facilities in Syria, including the offices of*
22 *Hamas, Hizballah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the*
23 *Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the*
24 *Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—Gen-*
25 *eral Command;*

1 (2) *the Government of Syria should—*

2 (A) *immediately and unconditionally stop*
3 *facilitating transit from Syria to Iraq of indi-*
4 *viduals, military equipment, and all lethal*
5 *items, except as authorized by the Coalition Pro-*
6 *visional Authority or a representative, inter-*
7 *nationally recognized Iraqi government;*

8 (B) *cease its support for “volunteers” and*
9 *terrorists who are traveling from and through*
10 *Syria into Iraq to launch attacks; and*

11 (C) *undertake concrete, verifiable steps to*
12 *deter such behavior and control the use of terri-*
13 *tory under Syrian control;*

14 (3) *the Government of Syria should immediately*
15 *declare its commitment to completely withdraw its*
16 *armed forces, including military, paramilitary, and*
17 *security forces, from Lebanon, and set a firm time-*
18 *table for such withdrawal;*

19 (4) *the Government of Lebanon should deploy the*
20 *Lebanese armed forces to all areas of Lebanon, includ-*
21 *ing South Lebanon, in accordance with United Na-*
22 *tions Security Council Resolution 520 (September 17,*
23 *1982), in order to assert the sovereignty of the Leba-*
24 *nese state over all of its territory, and should evict all*
25 *terrorist and foreign forces from southern Lebanon,*

1 *including Hizballah and the Iranian Revolutionary*
2 *Guards;*

3 *(5) the Government of Syria should halt the de-*
4 *velopment and deployment of medium- and long-*
5 *range surface-to-surface missiles and cease the devel-*
6 *opment and production of biological and chemical*
7 *weapons;*

8 *(6) the Governments of Lebanon and Syria*
9 *should enter into serious unconditional bilateral nego-*
10 *tiations with the Government of Israel in order to re-*
11 *alize a full and permanent peace;*

12 *(7) the United States should continue to provide*
13 *humanitarian and educational assistance to the peo-*
14 *ple of Lebanon only through appropriate private,*
15 *nongovernmental organizations and appropriate*
16 *international organizations, until such time as the*
17 *Government of Lebanon asserts sovereignty and con-*
18 *trol over all of its territory and borders and achieves*
19 *full political independence, as called for in United*
20 *Nations Security Council Resolution 520; and*

21 *(8) as a violator of several key United Nations*
22 *Security Council resolutions and as a nation that*
23 *pursues policies which undermine international peace*
24 *and security, Syria should not have been permitted to*
25 *join the United Nations Security Council or serve as*

1 *the Security Council’s President, and should be re-*
2 *moved from the Security Council.*

3 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

4 *It is the policy of the United States that—*

5 (1) *Syria will be held responsible for attacks*
6 *committed by Hizballah and other terrorist groups*
7 *with offices, training camps, or other facilities in*
8 *Syria, or bases in areas of Lebanon occupied by*
9 *Syria;*

10 (2) *the United States shall impede Syria’s abil-*
11 *ity to support acts of international terrorism and ef-*
12 *forts to develop or acquire weapons of mass destruc-*
13 *tion;*

14 (3) *the Secretary of State will continue to list*
15 *Syria as a state sponsor of terrorism until Syria ends*
16 *its support for terrorism, including its support of*
17 *Hizballah and other terrorist groups in Lebanon and*
18 *its hosting of terrorist groups in Damascus, and*
19 *comes into full compliance with United States law re-*
20 *lating to terrorism and United Nations Security*
21 *Council Resolution 1373 (September 28, 2001);*

22 (4) *efforts against Hizballah will be expanded*
23 *given the recognition that Hizballah is equally or*
24 *more capable than al Qaeda;*

1 (5) *the full restoration of Lebanon's sovereignty,*
2 *political independence, and territorial integrity is in*
3 *the national security interest of the United States;*

4 (6) *Syria is in violation of United Nations Secu-*
5 *rity Council Resolution 520 (September 17, 1982)*
6 *through its continued occupation of Lebanese territory*
7 *and its encroachment upon Lebanon's political inde-*
8 *pendence;*

9 (7) *Syria's obligation to withdraw from Lebanon*
10 *is not conditioned upon progress in the Israeli-Syrian*
11 *or Israeli-Lebanese peace process but derives from*
12 *Syria's obligation under Security Council Resolution*
13 *520;*

14 (8) *Syria's acquisition of weapons of mass de-*
15 *struction and ballistic missile programs threaten the*
16 *security of the Middle East and the national security*
17 *interests of the United States;*

18 (9) *Syria will be held accountable for any harm*
19 *to Coalition armed forces or to any United States cit-*
20 *izen in Iraq due to its facilitation of terrorist activi-*
21 *ties and its shipments of military supplies to Iraq;*
22 *and*

23 (10) *the United States will not provide any as-*
24 *sistance to Syria and will oppose multilateral assist-*
25 *ance for Syria until Syria ends all support for ter-*

1 *rorism, withdraws its armed forces from Lebanon,*
2 *and halts the development and deployment of weapons*
3 *of mass destruction and medium- and long-range sur-*
4 *face-to-surface ballistic missiles.*

5 **SEC. 5. PENALTIES AND AUTHORIZATION.**

6 *(a) PENALTIES.—Until the President makes the deter-*
7 *mination that Syria meets all the requirements described*
8 *in paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (d) and certifies*
9 *such determination to Congress in accordance with such*
10 *subsection—*

11 *(1) the President shall prohibit the export to*
12 *Syria of any item, including the issuance of a license*
13 *for the export of any item, on the United States Mu-*
14 *nitions List or Commerce Control List of dual-use*
15 *items in the Export Administration Regulations (15*
16 *C.F.R. part 730 et seq.); and*

17 *(2) the President shall impose two or more of the*
18 *following sanctions:*

19 *(A) Prohibit the export of products of the*
20 *United States (other than food and medicine) to*
21 *Syria.*

22 *(B) Prohibit United States businesses from*
23 *investing or operating in Syria.*

24 *(C) Restrict Syrian diplomats in Wash-*
25 *ington, D.C., and at the United Nations in New*

1 *York City, to travel only within a 25-mile radius*
2 *of Washington, D.C., or the United Nations*
3 *headquarters building, respectively.*

4 *(D) Prohibit aircraft of any air carrier*
5 *owned or controlled by Syria to take off from,*
6 *land in, or overfly the United States.*

7 *(E) Reduce United States diplomatic con-*
8 *tacts with Syria (other than those contacts re-*
9 *quired to protect United States interests or carry*
10 *out the purposes of this Act).*

11 *(F) Block transactions in any property in*
12 *which the Government of Syria has any interest,*
13 *by any person, or with respect to any property,*
14 *subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.*

15 *(b) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-*
16 *tion of paragraph (2) of subsection (a) for one or more 6-*
17 *month periods if the President determines that it is in the*
18 *vital national security interest of the United States to do*
19 *so and transmits to Congress a report that contains the rea-*
20 *sons therefor.*

21 *(c) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO SYRIA.—*
22 *If the President—*

23 *(1) makes the determination that Syria meets*
24 *the requirements described in paragraphs (1) through*

1 (4) of subsection (d) and certifies such determination
2 to Congress in accordance with such subsection;

3 (2) determines that substantial progress has been
4 made both in negotiations aimed at achieving a peace
5 agreement between Israel and Syria and in negotia-
6 tions aimed at achieving a peace agreement between
7 Israel and Lebanon; and

8 (3) determines that the Government of Syria is
9 strictly respecting the sovereignty, territorial integ-
10 rity, unity, and political independence of Lebanon
11 under the sole and exclusive authority of the Govern-
12 ment of Lebanon through the Lebanese army through-
13 out Lebanon, as required under paragraph (4) of
14 United Nations Security Council Resolution 520
15 (1982),

16 then the President is authorized to provide assistance to
17 Syria under chapter 1 of Part I of the Foreign Assistance
18 Act of 1961 (relating to development assistance).

19 (d) *CERTIFICATION*.—A certification under this sub-
20 section is a certification transmitted to the appropriate con-
21 gressional committees of a determination made by the
22 President that—

23 (1) the Government of Syria has ceased pro-
24 viding support for international terrorist groups and
25 does not allow terrorist groups, such as Hamas,

1 *Hizballah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Popular*
2 *Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular*
3 *Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Com-*
4 *mand, to maintain facilities in territory under Syr-*
5 *ian control;*

6 (2) *the Government of Syria has withdrawn all*
7 *Syrian military, intelligence, and other security per-*
8 *sonnel from Lebanon;*

9 (3) *the Government of Syria has ceased the de-*
10 *velopment and deployment of medium- and long-*
11 *range surface-to-surface ballistic missiles, is not pur-*
12 *suing or engaged in the research, development, acqui-*
13 *sition, production, transfer, or deployment of biologi-*
14 *cal, chemical, or nuclear weapons, has provided cred-*
15 *ible assurances that such behavior will not be under-*
16 *taken in the future, and has agreed to allow United*
17 *Nations and other international observers to verify*
18 *such actions and assurances; and*

19 (4) *the Government of Syria has ceased all sup-*
20 *port for, and facilitation of, all terrorist activities in-*
21 *side of Iraq, including preventing the use of territory*
22 *under its control by any means whatsoever to support*
23 *those engaged in terrorist activities inside of Iraq.*

1 **SEC. 6. REPORT.**

2 (a) *REPORT.*—Not later than 6 months after the date
3 of the enactment of this Act, and every 12 months thereafter
4 until the conditions described in paragraphs (1) through
5 (4) of section 5(d) are satisfied, the Secretary of State shall
6 submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report
7 on—

8 (1) *Syria's progress toward meeting the condi-*
9 *tions described in paragraphs (1) through (4) of sec-*
10 *tion 5(d);*

11 (2) *connections, if any, between individual ter-*
12 *rorists and terrorist groups which maintain offices,*
13 *training camps, or other facilities on Syrian terri-*
14 *tory, or operate in areas of Lebanon occupied by the*
15 *Syrian armed forces, and the attacks against the*
16 *United States that occurred on September 11, 2001,*
17 *and other terrorist attacks on the United States or its*
18 *citizens, installations, or allies; and*

19 (3) *how the United States is increasing its efforts*
20 *against Hizballah given the recognition that*
21 *Hizballah is equally or more capable than al Qaeda.*

22 (b) *FORM.*—The report submitted under subsection (a)
23 shall be in unclassified form but may include a classified
24 annex.

1 **SEC. 7. DEFINITION OF APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL**
2 **COMMITTEES.**

3 *In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-*
4 *mittees” means the Committee on International Relations*
5 *of the House of Representatives and the Committee on For-*
6 *ign Relations of the Senate.*

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to halt Syrian support for terrorism, end its occupation of Lebanon, and stop its development of weapons of mass destruction, and by so doing hold Syria accountable for the serious international security problems it has caused in the Middle East, and for other purposes.”.

Union Calendar No. 190

108TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1828

[Report No. 108-314]

A BILL

To halt Syrian support for terrorism, end its occupation of Lebanon, stop its development of weapons of mass destruction, cease its illegal importation of Iraqi oil and illegal shipments of weapons and other military items to Iraq, and by so doing hold Syria accountable for the serious international security problems it has caused in the Middle East, and for other purposes.

OCTOBER 15, 2003

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed