

108TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 1828

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. HOFFEL, 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

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
11 to make . . . [e]ither you are with us, or you are
12 with the terrorists . . . [f]rom this day forward, any
13 nation that continues to harbor or support terrorism
14 will be regarded by the United States as a hostile re-
15 gime”.

16 (2) On June 24, 2002, President Bush stated
17 “Syria must choose the right side in the war on ter-
18 ror by closing terrorist camps and expelling terrorist
19 organizations”.

20 (3) United Nations Security Council Resolution
21 1373 (September 28, 2001) mandates that all states
22 “refrain from providing any form of support, active
23 or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist
24 acts”, take “the necessary steps to prevent the com-

1 mission of terrorist acts”, and “deny safe haven to
2 those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist
3 acts”.

4 (4) The Government of Syria is currently pro-
5 hibited by United States law from receiving United
6 States assistance because it has repeatedly provided
7 support for acts of international terrorism, as deter-
8 mined by the Secretary of State for purposes of sec-
9 tion 6(j)(1) of the Export Administration Act of
10 1979 (50 U.S.C. App. 2405(j)(1)) and other rel-
11 evant provisions of law.

12 (5) Although the Department of State lists
13 Syria as a state sponsor of terrorism and reports
14 that Syria provides “safe haven and support to sev-
15 eral terrorist groups”, fewer United States sanctions
16 apply with respect to Syria than with respect to any
17 other country that is listed as a state sponsor of ter-
18 rorism.

19 (6) According to the most recent Department of
20 State Patterns of Global Terrorism Report: “[Syria]
21 continued in 2001 to provide safehaven and logistics
22 support to a number of terrorist groups. Ahmad
23 Jibrils Popular Front for the Liberation of Pal-
24 estine-General Command (PFLP–GC), the Palestine
25 Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Abu Musa’s Fatah-the-

1 Intifadah, George Habashs Popular Front for the
2 Liberation of Palestine, and HAMAS continued to
3 maintain offices in Damascus. Syria provided
4 Hizballah, HAMAS, PFLP–GC, the PIJ, and other
5 terrorist organizations refuge and basing privileges
6 in Lebanons Bekaa Valley, under Syrian control.”.

7 (7) United Nations Security Council Resolution
8 520 (September 17, 1982) calls for “strict respect of
9 the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and polit-
10 ical independence of Lebanon under the sole and ex-
11 clusive authority of the Government of Lebanon
12 through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon”.

13 (8) More than 20,000 Syrian troops and secu-
14 rity personnel occupy much of the sovereign territory
15 of Lebanon exerting undue influence upon its gov-
16 ernment and undermining its political independence.

17 (9) Since 1990 the Senate and House of Rep-
18 resentatives have passed seven bills and resolutions
19 which call for the withdrawal of Syrian armed forces
20 from Lebanon.

21 (10) On March 3, 2003, Secretary of State
22 Colin Powell declared that it is the objective of the
23 United States to “let Lebanon be ruled by the Leba-
24 nese people without the presence of [the Syrian] oc-
25 cupation army”.

1 (11) Large and increasing numbers of the Leb-
2 anese people from across the political spectrum in
3 Lebanon have mounted peaceful and democratic
4 calls for the withdrawal of the Syrian Army from
5 Lebanese soil.

6 (12) Israel has withdrawn all of its armed
7 forces from Lebanon in accordance with United Na-
8 tions Security Council Resolution 425 (March 19,
9 1978), as certified by the United Nations Secretary
10 General.

11 (13) Even in the face of this United Nations
12 certification that acknowledged Israel's full compli-
13 ance with Resolution 425, Syria permits attacks by
14 Hizballah and other militant organizations on Israeli
15 outposts at Shebaa Farms, under the false guise
16 that it remains Lebanese land, and is also permit-
17 ting attacks on civilian targets in Israel.

18 (14) Syria will not allow Lebanon—a sovereign
19 country—to fulfill its obligation in accordance with
20 Security Council Resolution 425 to deploy its troops
21 to southern Lebanon.

22 (15) As a result, the Israeli-Lebanese border
23 and much of southern Lebanon is under the control
24 of Hizballah which continues to attack Israeli posi-
25 tions, allows Iranian Revolutionary Guards and

1 other militant groups to operate freely in the area,
2 and maintains thousands of rockets along Israel's
3 northern border, destabilizing the entire region.

4 (16) On February 12, 2003, Director of Central
5 Intelligence George Tenet stated the following with
6 respect to the Syrian-supported Hizballah: “[A]s an
7 organization with capability and worldwide presence
8 [it] is [al Qaeda’s] equal if not a far more capable
9 organization . . . [T]hey’re a notch above in many
10 respects, in terms of in their relationship with the
11 Iranians and the training they receive, [which] puts
12 them in a state-sponsored category with a potential
13 for lethality that’s quite great.”.

14 (17) The United States is providing an esti-
15 mated \$36,870,000 in fiscal year 2003 in assistance
16 to the Lebanese people through private nongovern-
17 mental organizations, \$6,180,000 of which is pro-
18 vided to Lebanese-American educational institutions.

19 (18) In the State of the Union address on Jan-
20 uary 29, 2002, President Bush declared that the
21 United States will “work closely with our coalition to
22 deny terrorists and their state sponsors the mate-
23 rials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver
24 weapons of mass destruction”.

1 (19) The Government of Syria continues to de-
2 velop and deploy short and medium range ballistic
3 missiles.

4 (20) According to the December 2001 unclassi-
5 fied Central Intelligence Agency report entitled
6 “Foreign Missile Developments and the Ballistic
7 Missile Threat through 2015”, “Syria maintains a
8 ballistic missile and rocket force of hundreds of
9 FROG rockets, Scuds, and SS-21 SRBMs [and]
10 Syria has developed [chemical weapons] warheads
11 for its Scuds”.

12 (21) The Government of Syria is pursuing the
13 development and production of biological and chem-
14 ical weapons and has begun a suspicious nuclear re-
15 search program.

16 (22) According to the Central Intelligence
17 Agency’s “Unclassified Report to Congress on the
18 Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of
19 Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Muni-
20 tions”, released January 7, 2003: “[Syria] already
21 holds a stockpile of the nerve agent sarin but appar-
22 ently is trying to develop more toxic and persistent
23 nerve agents. Syria remains dependent on foreign
24 sources for key elements of its [chemical weapons]
25 program, including precursor chemicals and key pro-

1 duction equipment. It is highly probable that Syria
2 also is developing an offensive [biological weapons]
3 capability.”.

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

15 (24) According to the Central Intelligence
16 Agency’s “Unclassified Report to Congress on the
17 Acquisition of Technology Relating to Weapons of
18 Mass Destruction and Advanced Conventional Muni-
19 tions”, released January 7, 2003: “Russia and Syria
20 have approved a draft cooperative program on co-
21 operation on civil nuclear power. In principal, broad-
22 er access to Russian expertise provides opportunities
23 for Syria to expand its indigenous capabilities,
24 should it decide to pursue nuclear weapons.”.

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

10 (26) Syria is not a party to the Chemical Weap-
11 ons Convention or the Biological Weapons Conven-
12 tion, both of which entered into force on March 26,
13 1975.

14 (27) United Nations Security Council Resolu-
15 tion 661 (August 6, 1990) and subsequent relevant
16 resolutions restrict the sale of oil and other commod-
17 ities by Iraq, except to the extent authorized by
18 other relevant resolutions.

19 (28) Syria, a nonpermanent United Nations Se-
20 curity Council member, has been receiving between
21 150,000 and 200,000 barrels of oil per day from
22 Iraq at a substantial discount per barrel in violation
23 of United Nations Security Council Resolution 661
24 and subsequent resolutions. Recent estimates indi-
25 cate that as much as 230,000 barrels of oil per day

1 were shipped from Iraq to Syria in March 2003, or
2 up to 60,000 barrels per day more than in February
3 2003.

4 (29) Syria's illegal imports and transshipments
5 of Iraqi oil have earned Syria \$50,000,000 or more
6 per month as Syria continues to sell its own Syrian
7 oil at market prices.

8 (30) Syria's illegal imports and transshipments
9 of Iraqi oil have earned Iraq approximately
10 \$2,000,000 per day.

11 (31) Syrian President Bashar Assad promised
12 Secretary of State Powell in February 2001 to end
13 violations of Security Council Resolution 661 but
14 this pledge has not been fulfilled.

15 (32) United Nations Security Council Resolu-
16 tion 661 (August 6, 1990) and subsequent relevant
17 Security Council resolutions restrict the sale or sup-
18 ply of "weapons or any military equipment" to Iraq.

19 (33) The Government of Syria has utilized the
20 railway network linking Mosul, Iraq, to Aleppo,
21 Syria, to transfer a wide range of weaponry and
22 weapon systems to Iraq.

23 (34) On March 28, 2003, Secretary of Defense
24 Donald Rumsfeld warned: "[W]e have information
25 that shipments of military supplies have been cross-

1 ing the border from Syria into Iraq, including night-
2 vision goggles . . . These deliveries pose a direct
3 threat to the lives of coalition forces. We consider
4 such trafficking as hostile acts, and will hold the
5 Syrian government accountable for such ship-
6 ments.”.

7 (35) According to Article 23(1) of the United
8 Nations Charter, members of the United Nations are
9 elected as nonpermanent members of the United Na-
10 tions Security Council with “due regard being spe-
11 cially paid, in the first instance to the contribution
12 of members of the United Nations to the mainte-
13 nance of international peace and security and to
14 other purposes of the Organization”.

15 (36) Despite Article 23(1) of the United Na-
16 tions Charter, Syria was elected on October 8, 2001,
17 to a 2-year term as a nonpermanent member of the
18 United Nations Security Council beginning January
19 1, 2002, and served as President of the Security
20 Council during June 2002.

21 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

22 It is the sense of Congress that—

23 (1) the Government of Syria should imme-
24 diately and unconditionally halt support for ter-
25 rorism, permanently and openly declare its total re-

1 nunciation of all forms of terrorism, and close all
2 terrorist offices and facilities in Syria, including the
3 offices of Hamas, Hizballah, the Popular Front for
4 the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front
5 for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command;

6 (2) the Government of Syria should imme-
7 diately declare its commitment to completely with-
8 draw its armed forces, including military, para-
9 military, and security forces, from Lebanon, and set
10 a firm timetable for such withdrawal;

11 (3) the Government of Lebanon should deploy
12 the Lebanese armed forces to all areas of Lebanon,
13 including South Lebanon, in accordance with United
14 Nations Security Council Resolution 520 (September
15 17, 1982), in order to assert the sovereignty of the
16 Lebanese state over all of its territory, and should
17 evict all terrorist and foreign forces from southern
18 Lebanon, including Hizballah and the Iranian Revo-
19 lutionary Guards;

20 (4) the Government of Syria should halt the de-
21 velopment and deployment of medium and long
22 range surface to surface ballistic missiles and cease
23 the development and production of biological and
24 chemical weapons;

1 (5) the Government of Syria should halt illegal
2 imports and transshipments of Iraqi oil and illegal
3 sales and supplies of weapons and military-related
4 equipment to Iraq and come into full compliance
5 with United Nations Security Council Resolution
6 661 and subsequent relevant resolutions;

7 (6) the Governments of Lebanon and Syria
8 should enter into serious unconditional bilateral ne-
9 negotiations with the Government of Israel in order to
10 realize a full and permanent peace;

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

20 (8) being in violation of several key United Na-
21 tions Security Council resolutions and pursuing poli-
22 cies which undermine international peace and secu-
23 rity, Syria should not have been permitted to join
24 the United Nations Security Council or serve as the

1 Security Council's President, and should be removed
2 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 or other facilities in Syria, or bases in
8 areas of Lebanon occupied by Syria;

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

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

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

24 (5) the full restoration of Lebanon's sov-
25 ereignty, political independence, and territorial in-

1 tegrity is in the national security interest of the
2 United States;

3 (6) Syria is in violation of United Nations Se-
4 curity Council Resolution 520 (September 17, 1982)
5 through its continued occupation of Lebanese terri-
6 tory and its encroachment upon its political inde-
7 pendence;

8 (7) Syria's obligation to withdraw from Leb-
9 anon is not conditioned upon progress in the Israeli-
10 Syrian or Israeli-Lebanese peace process but derives
11 from Syria's obligation under Security Council Reso-
12 lution 520;

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

17 (9) Syria is in violation of United Nations Se-
18 curity Council Resolution 661 (August 6, 1990) and
19 subsequent relevant resolutions through its contin-
20 ued purchase of oil from Iraq and shipments of
21 weapons and other military equipment to Iraq;

22 (10) Syria will be held accountable for any
23 harm to Coalition armed forces of Operation Iraqi
24 Freedom caused by shipments of military supplies
25 from Syria to Iraq; and

1 (11) the United States will not provide any as-
2 sistance to Syria and will oppose multilateral assist-
3 ance for Syria until Syria withdraws its armed
4 forces from Lebanon, halts the development and de-
5 ployment of weapons of mass destruction and me-
6 dium and long range surface to surface ballistic mis-
7 siles, and complies with Security Council Resolution
8 661 and subsequent relevant resolutions.

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

10 (a) PENALTIES.—Until the President makes the de-
11 termination that Syria meets the requirements described
12 in paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (d) and cer-
13 tifies such determination to Congress in accordance with
14 such subsection—

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

21 (2) the President shall impose two or more of
22 the following sanctions:

23 (A) Prohibit the export of products of the
24 United States (other than food and medicine)
25 to Syria.

1 (B) Prohibit United States businesses from
2 investing or operating in Syria.

3 (C) Restrict Syrian diplomats in Wash-
4 ington, D.C., and at the United Nations in New
5 York City, to travel only within a 25-mile ra-
6 dius of Washington, D.C., or the United Na-
7 tions headquarters building, respectively.

8 (D) Prohibit aircraft of any air carrier
9 owned or controlled by Syria to take off from,
10 land in, or overfly the United States.

11 (E) Reduce United States diplomatic con-
12 tacts with Syria (other than those contacts re-
13 quired to protect United States interests or
14 carry out the purposes of this Act).

15 (F) Block transactions in any property in
16 which the Government of Syria has any inter-
17 est, by any person, or with respect to any prop-
18 erty, subject to the jurisdiction of the United
19 States.

20 (b) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-
21 tion of paragraph (2) of subsection (a) for one or more
22 6-month periods if the President determines that it is in
23 the vital national security interest of the United States
24 to do so and transmits to Congress a report that contains
25 the reasons therefor.

1 (c) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO SYRIA
2 AND LEBANON.—If the President—

3 (1) makes the determination that Syria meets
4 the requirements described in paragraphs (1)
5 through (4) of subsection (d) and certifies such de-
6 termination to Congress in accordance with such
7 subsection;

8 (2) determines that substantial progress has
9 been made both in negotiations aimed at achieving
10 a peace agreement between Israel and Syria and in
11 negotiations aimed at achieving a peace agreement
12 between Israel and Lebanon; and

13 (3) determines that the Government of Syria is
14 strictly respecting the sovereignty, territorial integ-
15 rity, unity, and political independence of Lebanon
16 under the sole and exclusive authority of the Govern-
17 ment of Lebanon through the Lebanese army
18 throughout Lebanon, as required under paragraph
19 (4) of United Nations Security Council Resolution
20 520 (1982),

21 then the President is authorized to provide assistance to
22 Syria and Lebanon under chapter 1 of Part I of the For-
23 eign Assistance Act of 1961 (relating to development as-
24 sistance).

1 (d) CERTIFICATION.—A certification under this sub-
2 section is a certification transmitted to the appropriate
3 congressional committees of a determination made by the
4 President that—

5 (1) the Government of Syria does not provide
6 support for international terrorist groups and does
7 not allow terrorist groups, such as Hamas,
8 Hizballah, the Popular Front for the Liberation of
9 Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation
10 of Palestine—General Command to maintain facili-
11 ties in Syria;

12 (2) the Government of Syria has withdrawn all
13 Syrian military, intelligence, and other security per-
14 sonnel from Lebanon;

15 (3) the Government of Syria has ceased the de-
16 velopment and deployment of medium and long
17 range surface to surface ballistic missiles and has
18 ceased the development and production of biological
19 and chemical weapons; and

20 (4) the Government of Syria is no longer in vio-
21 lation of United Nations Security Council Resolution
22 661 and subsequent relevant resolutions.

23 **SEC. 6. REPORT.**

24 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the date
25 of the enactment of this Act, and every 12 months there-

1 after until the conditions described in paragraphs (1)
2 through (4) of section 5(e) are satisfied, the Secretary of
3 State shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-
4 mittees a report on—

5 (1) Syria’s progress toward meeting the condi-
6 tions described in paragraphs (1) through (4) of sec-
7 tion 5(d);

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

16 (3) how the United States is increasing its ef-
17 forts against Hizballah given the recognition that
18 Hizballah is equally or more capable than al Qaeda.

19 (b) FORM.—The report submitted under subsection
20 (a) shall be in unclassified form but may include a classi-
21 fied annex.

22 **SEC. 7. DEFINITION OF APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL**
23 **COMMITTEES.**

24 In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-
25 mittees” means the Committee on International Relations

- 1 of the House of Representatives and the Committee on
- 2 Foreign Relations of the Senate.

