

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.

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## 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

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## 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.

