SYRIA TRANSITION SUPPORT ACT OF 2013

JULY 24, 2013.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. MENENDEZ, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany S. 960]

The Committee on Foreign Relations, having had under consideration the bill (S. 960) to foster stability in Syria, and for other purposes, reports favorably thereon with amendments, and recommends that the bill, as amended, do pass.

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I. PURPOSE

The purpose of S. 960 is to plan for a post-Assad Syria by authorizing a Syria Transition Fund to provide support in the early transition period to enable an effective political transition to a more democratic and inclusive political structure and provide for initiatives that will improve the security of the United States; provide for humanitarian assistance for the Syrian people; provide limited lethal and additional non-lethal assistance and training to vetted Syrian groups; and deter the Assad regime's ability to perpetrate violence and widespread human rights violations against the people of Syria by authorizing sanctions on certain activities including provision of arms and petroleum products to the Assad regime; and for other purposes.
II. COMMITTEE ACTION

S. 960 was introduced by Senators Menendez and Corker on May 15, 2013. On May 21, 2013, the committee considered S. 960 and ordered it reported, with amendments, by a roll call vote of 15 to 3, with Senators Menendez, Boxer, Cardin, Shaheen, Coons, Durbin, Kaine, Corker, Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Flake, McCain, and Barrasso voting in favor, and Senators Udall, Murphy, and Paul opposed.

The committee took the following action with regard to amendments:

- A Manager's Package of Amendments was offered to the introduced bill, including proposed amendments from Senators Menendez, Corker, Casey, Rubio, Paul, Cardin, McCain, Kaine, Shaheen, Coons, and Udall, and was agreed by voice vote. The subject matter areas covered by the Manager's Package of Amendments included, among other items, provisions clarifying that securing, dismantling and destruction of inherited weapons of mass destruction are non-proliferation activities supported by the Act; clarifying that the United States should support humanitarian assistance through U.N. voluntary agencies and support bilateral assistance to countries hosting refugees; providing a more detailed description of the ground conditions that should be considered prior to branding assistance as being from the American people; defining technical assistance for phased disarmament as one of the authorized purposes of Transition Fund Assistance; clarifying that rule of law assistance may be provided prior to a transition; authorizing use of the Transition Fund to provide technical assistance, capacity building, and training to develop democratically-oriented political parties and civil society organizations; authorizing the use of the Transition Fund to support planning and diplomacy for post conflict stabilization; requiring identification of efforts undertaken or planned to leverage other donor assistance in an annual reporting requirement; adding language calling on the Administration to work to end Russian financial and military support for the Assad regime; amending the sanctions provisions of the bill including, among other things, to include permissive rather than mandatory banking sanctions; altering the authorization for lethal assistance to vetted units and emphasizing that units, entities, and senior leaders must be vetted; requiring a 15-day Congressional notification prior to provision of lethal assistance, including a justification of why the aid is needed, certification of substantial support from international allies, and a strategy for securing weapons after the secession of violence; authorizing training on chain of custody for weapons provided and requiring certification that those receiving arms can comply with chain of custody criteria; requiring the President to certify that the U.S. has consulted with regional allies if any anti-aircraft weapons are provided and requiring submission of a strategy to implement an accelerated global program to secure or eliminate anti-aircraft systems of proliferation risk; requiring the immediate termination of the authorization for the provision of lethal assistance to any unit or entity if the U.S. government receives substantial evidence...
that the unit or entity has used chemical weapons; and requiring the immediate termination of the authorization for the provision of lethal assistance to any unit or entity if the U.S. government receives substantial evidence that the unit or entity has sold or illegally transferred defense articles or services received from the United States.

- An amendment by Senator Casey and a second degree to that amendment also by Senator Casey was agreed to by voice vote. These amendments express the sense of the Senate condemning the violence against the Syrian people by the regime of President Bashar al-Assad; supporting innocent civilians including through humanitarian assistance and welcoming the pledges of international donors to meet the needs of the victims; affirming the neutrality of the medical profession; supporting democratically oriented groups, and a stable transitional government that is committed to open and transparent governance and respect for human rights; promoting stability and the rule of law; and emphasizing the need to fully implement existing sanctions.

- An amendment by Senator Paul to add language stating that the Act is not an authorization of the use of military force by the United States Armed Forces and stating that nothing in the Authorization for Use of Military Force (Public Law 107–40) shall be construed as authorizing the use of military force in Syria failed by a roll call vote of 2 to 15, with Senators Paul and Udall voting in favor, and Senators Menendez, Boxer, Cardin, Casey, Shaheen, Coons, Murphy, Kaine, Corker, Risch, Johnson, Rubio, Flake, McCain, and Barrasso opposed. Senator Durbin did not vote. In discussion prior to the vote, the Chairman noted, among other things, that section 5 of the introduced bill specifically states that nothing in the act shall be construed as providing authorization for the use of military force by the U.S. armed forces.

- An amendment by Senator Udall to amend Title V of the bill to further limit, including by reference to the United States Munitions List, the types of support that could be provided to the vetted opposition in Syria and adding additional chain of custody requirements failed by a roll call vote of 4 to 14, with Senators Udall, Paul, Durbin, and Murphy voting in favor, and Senators Menendez, Boxer, Cardin, Casey, Shaheen, Coons, Kaine, Corker, Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Flake, McCain, and Barrasso opposed.

- An amendment by Senator Paul to strike Title V of the bill, which provides authorization to provide lethal and increased non-lethal assistance to vetted elements of the Syrian opposition, failed by a roll call vote of 2 to 15, with Senators Paul and Murphy voting in favor, and Senators Menendez, Boxer, Cardin, Casey, Shaheen, Coons, Udall, Kaine, Corker, Risch, Rubio, Johnson, Flake, McCain, and Barrasso opposed. Senator Durbin did not vote.

III. DISCUSSION

The situation in Syria is critical for Syrians, for the region, and for the U.S. efforts to counter extremism. More than 93,000 Syrians have died in the last two years, and the number of Syrian refugees
now tops 1.5 million. The conflict could destabilize the region, spill over into Lebanon and Iraq, and cause stability and governance problems in Jordan. In addition, extremists sponsored by the Islamic Republic of Iran, including the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps and Hizballah, and groups with direct links to al-Qaeda (including the al Nusrah Front) are exploiting the conflict and gaining ground in a state with significant amounts of advanced conventional weapons and large chemical weapons stockpiles.

The bill provides authority to the President to provide arms and other lethal assistance, as well as military training and non-lethal supplies to the Syrian armed opposition. Only units and entities that have gone through a thorough, statutorily-required vetting process by the U.S. government would be eligible for such assistance. This vetting process would assess whether they meet certain detailed and specific criteria on human rights and terrorism, as well as whether they demonstrate clear support for civilian rule, cooperate on international counterterrorism and non-proliferation efforts, and are committed to regional stability, among other things. The legislation also bars the provision of anti-aircraft defensive systems, but provides a presidential waiver to permit the distribution of such systems under strict limitations, including certifications regarding the vital national security interest in providing such systems and the disposition of such systems, among other requirements. The assistance authorized by this section must be terminated if the units or entities receiving such assistance are no longer in compliance with the vetting criteria set out in the legislation or if the United States government receives substantial evidence that such groups have used chemical weapons. The bill also requires a report from the President to Congress every 90 days on the provision of lethal and increased non-lethal support to the Syrian opposition. Among other things, the report will include specific details about the support provided, assessments of the opposition’s capacity and capabilities, and adherence of supported groups to chain of custody requirements.

The purposes of assistance authorized by the bill are to support transition from the current regime to a just and democratic state; to assist the people of Syria in meeting basic needs; to provide political and economic support to neighboring countries hosting refugees and international organizations providing humanitarian relief; to oppose the unlawful use of violence against civilians; to use a broad array of instruments of national power to expedite a negotiated solution, including the departure of Bashar al-Assad; to recognize the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (SOC) as a legitimate representative of the Syrian people; to engage with opposition groups that reflect the United States’ interests and values; to promote the territorial integrity of Syria and support a post-Assad government in providing security, services, and political and religious rights to its people; to provide foreign assistance, defense articles, defense services, and training to vetted entities; to closely coordinate with key partners on contingency planning to ensure partners are prepared for an appropriate response to the evolving situation in Syria; to support efforts to identify and document those who target civilian and vulnerable populations; to support programs that provide scholars, scientists,
and students in Syria with opportunities outside Syria; and to ensure a stable and appropriate political transition in Syria.

The bill provides authority for humanitarian assistance in order to ensure the U.S. government may provide humanitarian aid to the Syrian people notwithstanding other provisions of law that restrict the provision of U.S. economic or other non-military assistance to Syria. New or additional funds are not authorized. Instead, the authorization lifts restrictions on the use of funds for humanitarian purposes that might otherwise have been restricted. The bill provides direction that the President should instruct the U.S. representatives to the United Nations and other appropriate international organizations to support humanitarian and development assistance for the people of Syria in order to accomplish the purposes of assistance set out in the bill. The bill provides direction that the President should support bilateral refugee assistance programs in countries, including Iraq, Jordan, Turkey, Egypt, and Lebanon, which have experienced an influx of refugees from Syria. The bill also requires a report on the strategy to communicate to the Syrian people about the assistance provided by the U.S. government.

The bill authorizes a $250 million transition fund each year through Fiscal Year 2015, drawn from funds otherwise appropriated for the support of political and economic transition in the Middle East and North Africa. The programs for which the fund is authorized to be used are: security sector support, support for regional stability, technical assistance for phased disarmament, transitional justice and conflict resolution, technical assistance to promote democracy and the democratic institutions, technical assistance to support economic revitalization, technical assistance for basic services to the people of Syria, collection of evidence of unlawful activities targeting civilian populations, and planning for post-conflict stabilization. The bill also provides that up to $100 million of the transition funds may be used for nonproliferation and export control purposes. The bill requires an initial six-month and an annual report on the use of transition funds, including specific details on the use of such funds and performance benchmarks and metrics. The bill also provides for the lifting of sanctions on Syria under specific, defined criteria, once Bashar al-Assad is no longer the leader of Syria and a transitional government meeting specific requirements is in place. The bill requires the Secretary of State to work to establish an international consensus on the transition and post-transition government in Syria by working with Russia to, among other things, end its financial and military support for the regime, working with the Friends of Syria group to isolate terrorists and extremists, and working to eliminate support for the Syrian regime by the Iranian Government, to potentially include a ban on commercial flights between Iran and Syria.

The bill provides for targeted sanctions on arms and petroleum and petroleum products to the Assad regime. Specifically, the President is required to impose from a list of options two or more of the specified sanctions with respect to any person (other than a foreign financial institution) that the President determines has knowingly participated in or facilitated a significant transaction related to the sale, transfer, or transportation of defense articles (including surface-to-air and surface-to-surface missile systems includ-
ing any S300 system and the Yakhont system), defense services, or military training to the Assad regime of Syria or any successor regime in Syria that the President determines is not a legitimate transitional or replacement government. The President is required to impose three or more of the specified sanctions with respect to any person (other than a foreign financial institution) that the President determines has knowingly participated in or facilitated a significant transaction related to the sale or transfer of petroleum or petroleum products to the Assad regime of Syria or any successor regime in Syria that the President determines is not a legitimate transitional or replacement government. A humanitarian exception is included with respect to oil sales sanctions. The sanctions options available are restrictions on Export-Import Bank assistance, U.S. government procurement, U.S. government arms exports, and dual-use exports, as well as the blocking of assets and denial of visas. In addition, the President is authorized to impose specific sanctions on foreign financial institutions that knowingly conduct a significant transaction related to either arms or oil sales. The bill provides the President with the ability to waive any sanctions provided for in the bill with respect to a person or category of persons for a renewable six month period, based on a certification that such a waiver is in the vital national security interests of the United States. The bill also provides for amendments to allow for sanctions removal once a transitional government is in place and certain criteria have been met.

The bill requires the administration to work with and report to Congress on a number of issues including a broad strategy on Syria working through the international community and Russia to reach a political settlement.

IV. COST ESTIMATE

In accordance with Rule XXVI, paragraph 11(a) of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the committee provides this estimate of the costs of this legislation prepared by the Congressional Budget Office.

UNITED STATES CONGRESS,
CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,

Hon. Robert Menendez,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The Congressional Budget Office has prepared the enclosed cost estimate for S. 960, the Syria Transition Support Act of 2013.

If you wish further details on this estimate, we will be pleased to provide them. The CBO staff contact is Sunita D’Monte.

Sincerely,

DOUGLAS W. ELMENDORF

Enclosure.

Syria Transition Support Act of 2013

Summary: S. 960 would authorize assistance for the Syrian people and opposition groups. CBO estimates that implementing the
bill would have discretionary costs of $3.9 billion over the 2013–2018 period, assuming appropriation of the estimated amounts.

Pay-as-you-go procedures apply to this legislation because it would affect direct spending and revenues; however, CBO estimates those effects would not be significant.

S. 960 would impose intergovernmental and private-sector mandates as defined in the Unfunded Mandates Reform Act (UMRA) by expanding existing prohibitions on transactions with the Assad regime in Syria, or any successor regime that is determined to be an illegitimate or replacement government. CBO estimates that the costs of the intergovernmental mandates would fall well below the annual threshold established in UMRA ($75 million in 2013, adjusted annually for inflation) while we estimate that the costs to the private sector would probably be above the annual threshold established by UMRA ($150 million in 2013, adjusted annually for inflation).

**Estimated Cost to the Federal Government:** The estimated budgetary impact of S. 960 is shown in the following table. The costs of this legislation fall within budget functions 150 (international affairs), 370 (commerce and housing credit), and 800 (general government).

### Changes in Spending Due to S. 960

**By Fiscal Year, in Millions of Dollars**

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<td>150</td>
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<td>Estimated Outlays</td>
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<tr>
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Note: * = less than $500,000.

**Basis of Estimate:** For the purposes of this estimate, CBO assumes S. 960 would be enacted in fiscal year 2013, that the estimated authorizations will be appropriated before the end of 2013 and near the start of each following fiscal year, and that outlays will follow historical spending patterns for similar and existing programs.

**Spending Subject to Appropriation:** S. 960 would authorize assistance for the Syrian people and opposition groups working to bring down the government of Bashar-al-Assad. CBO estimates that implementing the bill would require additional appropriations of about $5.3 billion over the 2013–2018 period and have discretionary costs of $3.9 billion over that period, assuming appropriation of those estimated amounts (the remainder would be spent after 2018).

**Humanitarian Assistance:** Title II would authorize economic and other nonmilitary assistance for the humanitarian needs of the
Syrian people. In the first nine months of fiscal year 2013, the United States obligated about $695 million in humanitarian assistance. That assistance is being provided primarily through international organizations such as the World Food Program and other U.N. entities, as well as nongovernmental organizations. Based on assistance provided to date, CBO estimates that additional authorizations of $900 million each year would be required over the 2014–2018 period and that implementing that assistance would have discretionary costs of almost $3.3 billion over the 2014–2018 period, assuming appropriation of the necessary amounts.

**Syria Transition Fund:** Section 301 would authorize the appropriation of up to $250 million each year over the 2013–2015 period for a Syria Transition Fund. It also would authorize the Department of Defense and other federal agencies to transfer certain amounts to the transition fund. The total amount transferred could not exceed $250 million in any year. The fund’s purpose would be to support a transition to a more democratic political structure and to enhance the security of the Syrian people and the United States and its allies. Assuming the appropriation of $250 million each year over the 2013–2015 period, CBO estimates that implementing assistance through the fund would have discretionary costs of $619 million over the 2013–2018 period. CBO cannot estimate whether or to what extent the transfer authority would be used.

**Military Assistance:** Section 501 would authorize military support (except for anti-aircraft defensive systems) through 2015 to certain elements of the Syrian opposition. The Administration recently announced that the United States would begin providing military assistance—such as small arms and ammunition—to opposition forces. As yet, it is unclear under what authorities and to what extent that assistance will be provided and whether the Administration would use the authority under the bill to augment that planned assistance. Therefore, this estimate does not include any additional authorizations for military assistance.

**Other Provisions:** Title IV would require the President to impose sanctions on persons who provide petroleum, petroleum products, defense articles, or military training to the Syrian regime and prohibit or restrict the use of certain bank accounts by foreign financial institutions that facilitate such transactions. The sanctions would include prohibiting assistance through the Export-Import Bank, banning procurement by the U.S. government, prohibiting exports of U.S. arms and dual-use technology, blocking assets, and denying U.S. visas or entry into the United States. Based on information from agencies that would implement those sanctions, CBO estimates that implementing those provisions would impose an additional administrative burden on those agencies. The denial of visas also would have insignificant effects on direct spending and revenues (discussed below).

In addition, several provisions of the bill would require the President or the Secretary of State to submit periodic reports or briefings to the Congress. In total, CBO estimates that implementing those provisions would have discretionary costs of about $5 million over the 2013–2018 period, assuming appropriation of the estimated amounts.

**Direct Spending and Revenues:** Sanctions required under S. 960 would probably increase the number of people who would be denied
a visa by the Secretary of State. Most visa fees are retained by the department and spent without further appropriation, but some fees are deposited in the Treasury as revenues. CBO estimates that implementing those provisions would affect very few people and, thus, have an insignificant budgetary effect.

Pay-As-You-Go Considerations: The Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 establishes budget-reporting and enforcement procedures for legislation affecting direct spending or revenues. CBO estimates that enacting S. 960 would have a negligible effect on direct spending and revenues for each year.

Intergovernmental and Private-Sector Impact: The bill would impose mandates, as defined in UMRA, on both public and private entities by expanding existing prohibitions on transactions with the Assad regime in Syria, or any successor regime that is determined to be an illegitimate or replacement government, and by increasing the number of entities responsible for complying with those prohibitions.

Individuals and entities engaged in transactions under export license agreements with foreign entities would be required to terminate such transactions or agreements based on new requirements outlined in the legislation. While CBO expects that few public entities would be affected by the sanction provisions, information from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the Department of Commerce, and current trade data suggests that a large number of private-sector entities would be affected. In 2012, the Department of Commerce approved more than 1,300 licenses for items worth almost $1 billion, which could be terminated upon implementation of sanctions in the bill.

CBO estimates that the costs of the intergovernmental mandates would fall well below the threshold established in UMRA ($75 million in 2013, adjusted annually for inflation). Based on the potential value of existing private-sector transactions and the number of entities that could be sanctioned, CBO estimates that the cost of the private-sector mandates would probably be above the annual threshold established by UMRA ($150 million in 2013, adjusted annually for inflation).


Estimate Approved by: Theresa Gullo, Deputy Assistant Director for Budget Analysis.

V. EVALUATION OF REGULATORY IMPACT

Pursuant to Rule XXVI, paragraph 11(b) of the Standing Rules of the Senate, the committee has determined that there is no regulatory impact as a result of this legislation.

VI. CHANGES IN EXISTING LAW

In compliance with Rule XXVI, paragraph 12 of the Standing Rules of the Senate, changes in existing law made by the bill, as reported, are shown as follows (existing law proposed to be omitted is enclosed in black brackets, new matter is printed in italic, existing law in which no change is proposed is shown in roman).
SEC. 5. PENALTIES AND AUTHORIZATION.

(a) PENALTIES.—Until the President makes the determination that Syria meets all the requirements described in paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (d) and certifies such determination to Congress in accordance with such subsection—

(1) the President shall prohibit the export to Syria of any item, including the issuance of a license for the export of any item, on the United States Munitions List or Commerce Control List of dual-use items in the Export Administration Regulations (15 CFR part 730 et seq.); and

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

(A) Prohibit the export of products of the United States (other than food and medicine) to Syria.
(B) Prohibit United States businesses from investing or operating in Syria.
(C) Restrict Syrian diplomats in Washington, D.C., and at the United Nations in New York City, to travel only within a 25-mile radius of Washington, D.C., or the United Nations headquarters building, respectively.
(D) Prohibit aircraft of any air carrier owned or controlled by Syria to take off from, land in, or overfly the United States.
(E) Reduce United States diplomatic contacts with Syria (other than those contacts required to protect United States interests or carry out the purposes of this Act).
(F) Block transactions in any property in which the Government of Syria has any interest, by any person, or with respect to any property, subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

(b) WAIVER.—The President may waive the application of subsection (a)(1), (a)(2), or both if the President determines that it is in the national security interest of the United States to do so and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a report containing the reasons for the determination.

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

(1)(A) makes the determination that Syria meets the requirements described in [paragraphs (1) through (4) of subsection (d)] subparagraphs (A) through (D) of paragraph (1) of subsection (d) and certifies such determination to Congress in accordance with such subsection;

(2)(B) determines that substantial progress has been made both in negotiations aimed at achieving a peace agreement between Israel and Syria and in negotiations aimed at achieving a peace agreement between Israel and Lebanon; and
(3) determines that the Government of Syria is strictly respecting the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity, and political independence of Lebanon under the sole and exclusive authority of the Government of Lebanon through the Lebanese army throughout Lebanon, as required under paragraph (4) of United Nations Security Council Resolution 520 (1982); or

(2) makes the determination that the Government of Syria meets the requirements described in paragraph (2) of such subsection and certifies such determination to Congress in accordance with such subsection,

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

(d) CERTIFICATION.—A certification under this subsection is a certification transmitted to the appropriate congressional committees of a determination made by the President that—

(1)(A) the Government of Syria has ceased providing support for international terrorist groups and does not allow terrorist groups, such as Hamas, Hizballah, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command to maintain facilities in territory under Syrian control;

(B) the Government of Syria ended its occupation of Lebanon described in section 2(7) of this Act;

(C) the Government of Syria has ceased the development and deployment of medium- and long-range surface-to-surface ballistic missiles, is not pursuing or engaged in the research, development, acquisition, production, transfer, or deployment of biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons, has provided credible assurances that such behavior will not be undertaken in the future, and has agreed to allow United Nations and other international observers to verify such actions and assurances; and

(D) the Government of Syria has ceased all support for, and facilitation of, all terrorist activities inside of Iraq, including preventing the use of territory under its control by any means whatsoever to support those engaged in terrorist activities inside of Iraq; or

(2)(A) Bashar al-Assad is no longer the leader of Syria; and

(B) the Government of Syria has ceased its campaign of violence against the people of Syria and begun the transition to a representative and inclusive government that is demonstrably committed to the principles of—

(i) protecting human rights, expanding political participation, and providing religious freedom to all Syrians, irrespective of, religion, ethnicity, or gender;

(ii) supporting the rule of law;

(iii) rejecting terrorism and extremist ideologies;

(iv) subordinating the military to civilian authority;

(v) protecting the Syrian population against sectarian violence and reprisals;

(vi) cooperating with international counterterrorism and nonproliferation efforts;

(vii) supporting regional stability and avoiding interference in the affairs of neighboring countries;
(viii) establishing a strong justice system and ensuring accountability for conflict-related crimes; and