

108TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 982

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 hold Syria accountable for its role in the Middle East, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MAY 1, 2003

Mrs. BOXER (for herself and Mr. SANTORUM) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign 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 hold Syria accountable for its role 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 Act of 2003”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress makes the following findings:

1 (1) United Nations Security Council Resolution
2 1373 (September 28, 2001) mandates that all states
3 “refrain from providing any form of support, active
4 or passive, to entities or persons involved in terrorist
5 acts”, take “the necessary steps to prevent the com-
6 mission of terrorist acts”, and “deny safe haven to
7 those who finance, plan, support, or commit terrorist
8 acts”.

9 (2) The Government of Syria is currently pro-
10 hibited by United States law from receiving United
11 States assistance because it is listed as a state spon-
12 sor of terrorism.

13 (3) Although the Secretary of State lists Syria
14 as a state sponsor of terrorism and reports that
15 Syria provides “safe haven and support to several
16 terrorist groups”, fewer United States sanctions
17 apply with respect to Syria than with respect to any
18 other country that the Secretary lists as a state
19 sponsor of terrorism.

20 (4) Terrorist groups, including Hizballah,
21 Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Pal-
22 estine, and the Popular Front for the Liberation of
23 Palestine-General Command, maintain offices, train-
24 ing camps, and other facilities on Syrian territory
25 and operate in areas of Lebanon occupied by the

1 Syrian armed forces and receive supplies from Iran
2 through Syria.

3 (5) United Nations Security Council Resolution
4 520 (September 17, 1982) calls for “strict respect of
5 the sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and polit-
6 ical independence of Lebanon under the sole and ex-
7 clusive authority of the Government of Lebanon
8 through the Lebanese Army throughout Lebanon”.

9 (6) More than 20,000 Syrian troops and secu-
10 rity personnel occupy much of the sovereign territory
11 of Lebanon, thereby exerting undue influence upon
12 its government and undermining its political inde-
13 pendence.

14 (7) Since 1990 the Senate and House of Rep-
15 resentatives have passed seven bills and resolutions
16 calling for the withdrawal of Syrian armed forces
17 from Lebanon.

18 (8) Large and increasing numbers of the Leba-
19 nese people from across the political spectrum in
20 Lebanon have mounted peaceful and democratic
21 calls for the withdrawal of the Syrian Army from
22 Lebanese soil.

23 (9) Israel has withdrawn all of its armed forces
24 from Lebanon in accordance with United Nations
25 Security Council Resolution 425 (March 19, 1978),

1 as certified by the United Nations Secretary Gen-
2 eral.

3 (10) Even in the face of this United Nations
4 certification that acknowledged Israel's full compli-
5 ance with Resolution 425, Syria permits attacks by
6 Hizballah and other militant organizations on Israeli
7 outposts at Shebaa Farms, under the false guise
8 that it remains Lebanese land. Syria also permits at-
9 tacks on civilian targets in Israel.

10 (11) Syria will not allow Lebanon, a sovereign
11 country, to fulfill its obligation in accordance with
12 Security Council Resolution 425 to deploy its troops
13 to southern Lebanon.

14 (12) As a result, the Israeli-Lebanese border
15 and much of southern Lebanon is under the control
16 of Hizballah, which continues to attack Israeli posi-
17 tions and allows Iranian Revolutionary Guards and
18 other militant groups to operate freely in the area,
19 destabilizing the entire region.

20 (13) The United States provides \$40,000,000
21 in assistance to the Lebanese people through private
22 nongovernmental organizations, \$7,900,000 of which
23 is provided to Lebanese-American educational insti-
24 tutions.

1 (14) In the State of the Union address on Jan-
2 uary 29, 2002, President George W. Bush declared
3 that the United States will “work closely with our
4 coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors
5 the materials, technology, and expertise to make and
6 deliver weapons of mass destruction”.

7 (15) The Government of Syria continues to de-
8 velop and deploy short- and medium-range ballistic
9 missiles.

10 (16) The Government of Syria is pursuing the
11 development and production of biological and chem-
12 ical weapons.

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

18 (18) Syrian President Bashar Assad promised
19 the Secretary of State in February 2001 to end vio-
20 lations of Security Council Resolution 661 but this
21 pledge has not been fulfilled.

22 (19) In direct violation of United Nations Sanc-
23 tions, Syria has been importing 200,000 barrels of
24 Iraqi oil on a daily basis since 2000, which has pro-
25 vided Iraq with up to \$1,200,000,000 annually.

1 (20) There are reports that Syria is pursuing
2 the development of chemical weapons, such as VX
3 and Sarin, and is harboring fugitive Iraqi officials.

4 (21) On April 20, 2003, President Bush said
5 there were positive signs that Syria will cooperate on
6 the issue of harboring fugitive Iraqi officials.

7 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

8 It is the sense of Congress that—

9 (1) the Government of Syria should imme-
10 diately and unconditionally halt support for ter-
11 rorism, permanently and openly declare its total re-
12 nunciation of all forms of terrorism, and close all
13 terrorist offices and facilities in Syria, including the
14 offices of Hamas, Hizballah, the Popular Front for
15 the Liberation of Palestine, and the Popular Front
16 for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command;

17 (2) in accordance with United Nations Security
18 Council Resolution 520 (September 17, 1982), which
19 calls for the strict respect for Lebanon’s sovereignty
20 and territorial integrity, the Government of Syria
21 should immediately declare its commitment to com-
22 pletely withdraw its armed forces, including military,
23 paramilitary, and security forces, from Lebanon, and
24 set a firm schedule for such withdrawal;

1 (3) the Government of Syria should halt the de-
2 velopment and deployment of short- and medium-
3 range ballistic missiles and cease the development
4 and production of biological and chemical weapons;

5 (4) the Government of Syria should halt illegal
6 imports and transshipments of Iraqi oil and come
7 into full compliance with United Nations Security
8 Council Resolution 661 and subsequent relevant res-
9 olutions;

10 (5) the Governments of Lebanon and Syria
11 should enter into serious unconditional bilateral ne-
12 gotiations with the Government of Israel in order to
13 realize a full and permanent peace; and

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

23 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

24 It is the policy of the United States that—

1 (1) Syria should bear responsibility for all at-
2 tacks committed by Hizballah and other terrorist
3 groups with offices or other facilities in Syria, or
4 bases in areas of Lebanon occupied by Syria;

5 (2) the United States will work to deny Syria
6 the ability to support acts of international terrorism
7 and efforts to develop or acquire weapons of mass
8 destruction;

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

17 (4) the full restoration of Lebanon's sov-
18 ereignty, political independence, and territorial in-
19 tegrity is in the national security interest of the
20 United States;

21 (5) Syria is in violation of United Nations Se-
22 curity Council Resolution 520 (September 17, 1982)
23 through its continued occupation of Lebanese terri-
24 tory and its eneroachment upon its political inde-
25 pendence;

1 (6) Syria's obligation to withdraw from Leb-
2 anon is not conditioned upon progress in the Israeli-
3 Syrian or Israeli-Lebanese peace process but derives
4 from Syria's obligation under Security Council Reso-
5 lution 520;

6 (7) Syria's acquisition of weapons of mass de-
7 struction and ballistic missile programs threaten the
8 security of the Middle East and the national inter-
9 ests of the United States;

10 (8) Syria has violated United Nations Security
11 Council Resolution 661 (August 6, 1990) and subse-
12 quent relevant resolutions by purchasing oil from
13 Iraq; and

14 (9) the United States will restrict assistance to
15 Syria and will oppose multilateral assistance for
16 Syria until Syria withdraws its armed forces from
17 Lebanon, halts the development and deployment of
18 weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles,
19 and complies with Security Council Resolution 661
20 and subsequent relevant resolutions.

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

22 (a) SANCTIONS.—Unless the President makes the
23 certification described in subsection (d), the President
24 shall take the following actions:

1 (1) Prohibit the export to Syria, and prohibit
2 the issuance of a license for the export to Syria, of—

3 (A) any defense articles or defense services
4 for which special export controls are warranted
5 under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.
6 2751 et seq.), as identified on the United
7 States Munitions List maintained under section
8 121.1 of title 22, Code of Federal Regulations;
9 and

10 (B) any item identified on the Commerce
11 Control List maintained under part 774 of title
12 15, Code of Federal Regulations.

13 (2) Impose two or more of the following sanc-
14 tions:

15 (A) Prohibit the export of products of the
16 United States (other than food and medicine)
17 to Syria.

18 (B) Prohibit United States businesses from
19 investing or operating in Syria.

20 (C) Restrict travel of Syrian diplomats as-
21 signed to Washington, District of Columbia or
22 the United Nations in New York, New York, to
23 a 25-mile radius of Washington or the United
24 Nations headquarters building, respectively.

1 (D) Reduce United States diplomatic con-
2 tacts with Syria (other than those contacts re-
3 quired to protect United States interests or
4 carry out the purposes of this Act).

5 (E) Block transactions in any property in
6 which the Government of Syria has any inter-
7 est, by any person, or with respect to any prop-
8 erty, subject to the jurisdiction of the United
9 States.

10 (b) WAIVER.—The President may waive the applica-
11 tion of paragraph (2) of subsection (a) if—

12 (1) the President determines that it is in the
13 national security interest of the United States to do
14 so; and

15 (2) submits to the appropriate congressional
16 committees a report that contains the reasons for
17 such determination.

18 (c) AUTHORITY TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO SYRIA
19 AND LEBANON.—The President is authorized to provide
20 assistance to Syria and Lebanon under chapter 1 of part
21 I of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151
22 et seq.) (relating to development assistance), if the Presi-
23 dent—

24 (1) makes the certification described in sub-
25 section (d);

1 (2) determines that substantial progress has
2 been made in negotiations aimed at achieving—

3 (A) a peace agreement between Israel and
4 Syria; and

5 (B) a peace agreement between Israel and
6 Lebanon; and

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

15 (d) CERTIFICATION.—The President shall transmit
16 to the appropriate congressional committees a certification
17 of any determination made by the President that—

18 (1) the Government of Syria does not—

19 (A) provide support for international ter-
20 rorist groups; and

21 (B) allow terrorist groups, such as Hamas,
22 Hizballah, the Popular Front for the Liberation
23 of Palestine, and the Popular Front for the
24 Liberation of Palestine—General Command to
25 maintain facilities in Syria;

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

4 (3) the Government of Syria has ceased the de-
5 velopment and deployment of ballistic missiles and
6 has ceased the development and production of bio-
7 logical and chemical weapons; and

8 (4) the Government of Syria is no longer in vio-
9 lation of United Nations Security Council Resolution
10 661 or a subsequent relevant United Nations resolu-
11 tion.

12 **SEC. 6. REPORT.**

13 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the date
14 of the enactment of this Act, and every 12 months there-
15 after until the President makes the certification described
16 in section 5(d), the Secretary of State shall submit to the
17 appropriate congressional committees a report on—

18 (1) the progress made by the Government of
19 Syria toward meeting the conditions described in
20 paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 5(d); and

21 (2) any connection between individual terrorists
22 and terrorist groups that maintain offices, training
23 camps, or other facilities on Syrian territory, or op-
24 erate in areas of Lebanon occupied by the Syrian
25 armed forces, and the attacks against the United

1 States that occurred on September 11, 2001, and
2 other terrorist attacks on the United States or its
3 citizens, installations, or allies.

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

7 **SEC. 7. DEFINITION OF APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL**
8 **COMMITTEES.**

9 In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-
10 mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Relations of
11 the Senate and the Committee on International Relations
12 of the House of Representatives.

○