

113TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

**S.** \_\_\_\_\_

To foster stability in Syria, and for other purposes.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. MENENDEZ (for himself and Mr. CORKER) introduced the following bill;  
which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

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**A BILL**

To foster stability in Syria, 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5 “Syria Transition Support Act of 2013”.

6 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for  
7 this Act is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Appropriate congressional committees defined.
- Sec. 3. Findings.
- Sec. 4. Purposes of assistance.
- Sec. 5. No authorization for the use of military force.

TITLE I—UNITED STATES STRATEGY AND CONGRESSIONAL  
OVERSIGHT

## 2

- Sec. 101. Report on United States strategy on Syria.  
 Sec. 102. Congressional oversight of United States Government activities in Syria.

## TITLE II—HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

- Sec. 201. Humanitarian assistance to the people of Syria.  
 Sec. 202. Sense of Congress.  
 Sec. 203. Report on strategy to communicate to the Syrian people about assistance provided by the United States Government.

## TITLE III—PROMOTING AN EFFECTIVE TRANSITION

- Sec. 301. Syria Transition Fund.  
 Sec. 302. Adjusting sanctions provisions in preparation for a political transition.  
 Sec. 303. Report on Syrian weapons stockpiles.  
 Sec. 304. Pre-transition international consensus.

## TITLE IV—SANCTIONS

- Sec. 401. Definitions.  
 Sec. 402. Imposition of sanctions with respect to selling, transferring, or transporting defense articles, defense services, or military training to the Assad regime of Syria.  
 Sec. 403. Imposition of sanctions with respect to persons providing petroleum or petroleum products to the Assad regime of Syria.  
 Sec. 404. Sanctions described.  
 Sec. 405. Waivers.  
 Sec. 406. Sense of Congress on sanctions.

## TITLE V—INCREASED SUPPORT FOR THE OPPOSITION

- Sec. 501. Lethal and increased non-lethal support for the vetted opposition.

1 **SEC. 2. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**  
 2 **FINED.**

3 In this Act, except as specifically provided in title IV  
 4 of this Act, the term “appropriate congressional commit-  
 5 tees” means the Committee on Foreign Relations of the  
 6 Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the  
 7 House of Representatives.

8 **SEC. 3. FINDINGS.**

9 Congress makes the following findings:

1           (1) Since mass peaceful demonstrations started  
2           in Syria on March 15, 2011, the Government of  
3           Syria, led by Bashar al-Assad, has responded by  
4           committing human rights abuses and launching a  
5           violent crackdown that has claimed an estimated  
6           70,000 lives and degenerated into a civil war.

7           (2) The civil war has caused a humanitarian  
8           crisis. According to the United Nations, there are  
9           more than 1,400,000 Syrian refugees registered in  
10          Lebanon, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, and Iraq and  
11          more than 2,600,000 Syrians displaced within the  
12          country. More than three-quarters of refugees and  
13          internally displaced persons are women and children.

14          (3) The refugee crisis threatens the stability of  
15          the Middle East, putting immense burdens on Syr-  
16          ia's neighbors, most notably Lebanon and Jordan,  
17          but also Turkey and Iraq.

18          (4) The civil war has increased the danger that  
19          the Assad regime could lose control of its chemical  
20          weapons stockpile, with the chemical weapons poten-  
21          tially falling into the hands of terrorist groups like  
22          Hizballah and al Qaeda.

23          (5) On April 25, 2013, the White House issued  
24          a letter to Congress stating that "our intelligence  
25          community does assess with varying degrees of con-

1        fidence that the Syrian regime has used chemical  
2        weapons on a small scale in Syria, specifically the  
3        chemical agent Sarin”.

4            (6) The security vacuum in Syria has created a  
5        safe haven for both Shia and Sunni extremists,  
6        which could threaten the security of the United  
7        States and its partners in the region.

8            (7) Instability in Syria has threatened Israel’s  
9        security, particularly on the shared border along the  
10       Golan Heights.

11           (8) A change of government in Syria could be  
12        a significant blow to the Government of Iran and  
13        Hizballah, which would lose a strong ally and which  
14        have also been aggressively providing military and  
15        other assistance to Bashar al-Assad’s forces, includ-  
16        ing through the trafficking of weapons and supplies  
17        on commercial flights originating from or termi-  
18        nating in Iran.

19           (9) The commitments made by the National Co-  
20        alition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition  
21        Forces at the international meeting in Istanbul on  
22        April 20 and 21, 2013, constitute an important en-  
23        dorsement of shared principles and objectives that  
24        should guide United States Government cooperation  
25        with the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary

1 and Opposition Forces and affiliated forces. These  
2 principles include a commitment to the territorial in-  
3 tegrity of Syria, a rejection of sectarianism and ex-  
4 tremism, and pledges to secure chemical weapons  
5 and support nonproliferation efforts.

6 (10) It is vital to the national security interests  
7 of the United States to ensure that the United  
8 States' planning and programs, specifically those  
9 conducted under the authorities or funding provided  
10 in or authorized under this Act, are focused on en-  
11 suring a stable and appropriate political transition  
12 in Syria and limiting the threats posed by extremist  
13 groups, weapons proliferation, sectarian and ethnic  
14 violence, and refugee flows in the aftermath of the  
15 current conflict.

16 **SEC. 4. PURPOSES OF ASSISTANCE.**

17 The purposes of assistance authorized by this Act  
18 are—

19 (1) to support transition from the current re-  
20 gime to a just and democratic state that is inclusive  
21 and protects the rights of all Syrians regardless of  
22 religion, ethnicity, or gender;

23 (2) to assist the people of Syria, especially in-  
24 ternally displaced persons and refugees, in meeting

1       basic needs including access to food, health care,  
2       shelter, and clean drinking water;

3               (3) to provide political and economic support to  
4       those neighboring countries who are hosting refugees  
5       fleeing Syria and to international organizations that  
6       are providing assistance and coordinating humani-  
7       tarian relief efforts;

8               (4) to oppose the unlawful use of violence  
9       against civilians by all parties to the conflict in  
10       Syria;

11              (5) to use a broad array of instruments of na-  
12       tional power to expedite a negotiated solution to the  
13       conflict in Syria, including the departure of Bashar  
14       al-Assad;

15              (6) to recognize the National Coalition for Syr-  
16       ian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces (in this  
17       Act referred to as the “Syrian Opposition Coalition”  
18       or “SOC”) as a legitimate representative of the Syr-  
19       ian people;

20              (7) to engage with opposition groups that re-  
21       flect United States interests and values, most nota-  
22       bly the Syrian Opposition Coalition, any legitimate  
23       successor groups, including appropriate subgroups  
24       within the opposition that are representative of the  
25       Syrian people, as well as the broader international

1 community, that are committed to facilitating an or-  
2 derly transition to a more stable democratic political  
3 order, including—

4 (A) protecting human rights, expanding  
5 political participation, and providing religious  
6 freedom to all Syrians, irrespective of religion,  
7 ethnicity, or gender;

8 (B) supporting the rule of law;

9 (C) rejecting terrorism and extremist  
10 ideologies;

11 (D) subordinating the military to civilian  
12 authority;

13 (E) protecting the Syrian population  
14 against sectarian violence and reprisals;

15 (F) cooperating with international counter-  
16 terrorism and nonproliferation efforts;

17 (G) supporting regional stability and avoid-  
18 ing interference in the affairs of neighboring  
19 countries; and

20 (H) establishing a strong justice system  
21 and ensuring accountability for conflict-related  
22 crimes;

23 (8) to promote the territorial integrity of Syria  
24 and continuity of the Syrian state by supporting a  
25 post-Assad government that is capable of providing

1 security, services, and political and religious rights  
2 to its people;

3 (9) to provide foreign assistance, defense arti-  
4 cles, defense services, and training to specific mem-  
5 bers of the Syrian Supreme Military Council, par-  
6 ticular units of the Free Syrian Army, and other  
7 Syrian entities opposed to the government of Bashar  
8 al-Assad that have been properly and fully vetted  
9 and share common values and interests with the  
10 United States;

11 (10) to closely coordinate with key partners on  
12 contingency planning, including Turkey, Jordan,  
13 Israel, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and the Euro-  
14 pean Union, to ensure that these partners are pre-  
15 pared for an appropriate response to the evolving  
16 situation in Syria, including being ready and capable  
17 of securing of chemical or biological weapons or  
18 other proliferation emergencies, preventing the flow  
19 of fighters and weapons out of Syria into neigh-  
20 boring countries, or taking other measures against  
21 the Government of Syria, including contingency  
22 planning for a no fly zone;

23 (11) to support efforts to identify and docu-  
24 ment the activities of those individuals who target or  
25 lead units or organizations that target civilian popu-

1 lations and vulnerable populations, including women  
2 and children, or have engaged in otherwise unlawful  
3 acts, and to ensure that they are held accountable  
4 for their actions; and

5 (12) to ensure a stable and appropriate political  
6 transition in Syria and limit the threats posed by ex-  
7 tremist groups, weapons proliferation, sectarian and  
8 ethnic violence, and refugee flows in the aftermath  
9 of the current conflict.

10 **SEC. 5. NO AUTHORIZATION FOR THE USE OF MILITARY**  
11 **FORCE.**

12 Nothing in this Act shall be construed as providing  
13 authorization for the use of military force by the United  
14 States Armed Forces.

15 **TITLE I—UNITED STATES STRAT-**  
16 **EGY AND CONGRESSIONAL**  
17 **OVERSIGHT**

18 **SEC. 101. REPORT ON UNITED STATES STRATEGY ON SYRIA.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the  
20 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State  
21 shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees  
22 an unclassified report, with an classified annex, as nec-  
23 essary, on an integrated United States Government strat-  
24 egy to achieve the purposes set forth in section 4.

1 (b) METRICS.—The strategy referenced in subsection  
2 (a) should include specific proposed actions to be taken  
3 by each relevant government agency, a timeframe for be-  
4 ginning and completing such actions, and metrics for eval-  
5 uating the success of each proposed action relative to the  
6 purpose of such action.

7 (c) INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT STRATEGY.—The  
8 strategy referenced in subsection (a) should specifically in-  
9 clude sections describing specific United States Govern-  
10 ment programs and efforts—

11 (1) to establish international consensus on the  
12 transition and post-transition period and government  
13 in Syria;

14 (2) to work with the Government of Russia on  
15 the situation in Syria and the transition and post-  
16 transition period and government in Syria, including  
17 how such programs can leverage the shared interests  
18 of the United States and Russia in avoiding the ex-  
19 pansion of extremist ideologies and terrorist groups  
20 in Syria and the region;

21 (3) to work with the Friends of Syria group to  
22 ensure that extremist and terrorist groups in Syria  
23 are isolated and that the core of the opposition can  
24 be brought to the negotiating table; and

1           (4) to build an international consensus to limit  
2           and, to the greatest extent possible eliminate, sup-  
3           port from the Government of Iran for the Syrian re-  
4           gime, including a potential ban on all commercial  
5           flights between Iran and Syria.

6           (d) CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATION.—The Presi-  
7           dent shall actively consult with the appropriate congres-  
8           sional committees prior to the submission of the report  
9           required under subsection (a).

10 **SEC. 102. CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT OF UNITED STATES**

11                                   **GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES IN SYRIA.**

12           (a) IN GENERAL.—The President shall keep Con-  
13           gress, through the appropriate congressional committees,  
14           fully and currently informed of all United States Govern-  
15           ment activities with respect to Syria, including activities  
16           and programs conducted or funded pursuant to this Act.

17           (b) REPORTING.—The President shall provide a clas-  
18           sified briefing not less than on a quarterly basis to the  
19           appropriate congressional committees detailing all United  
20           States Government activities with respect to Syria, includ-  
21           ing activities and programs conducted or funded pursuant  
22           to this Act.

1           **TITLE II—HUMANITARIAN**  
2                           **ASSISTANCE**

3   **SEC. 201. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF**  
4                           **SYRIA.**

5           (a) **AUTHORITY.**—Notwithstanding any other provi-  
6 sion of law that restricts the provision of United States  
7 economic or other non-military assistance in Syria, the  
8 President is authorized to provide economic and other  
9 non-military assistance to meet humanitarian needs to the  
10 people of Syria, either directly or through appropriate  
11 groups and organizations pursuant to the provisions of the  
12 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.)  
13 or the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act (22 U.S.C.  
14 2601 et seq.).

15           (b) **RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—Nothing in this sec-  
16 tion shall be construed to authorize new or additional  
17 funding for humanitarian needs.

18   **SEC. 202. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

19           Consistent with the policy objectives described in sec-  
20 tion 4, it is the sense of Congress that—

21                   (1) the United States should continue to coordi-  
22 nate with other donor nations, the United Nations,  
23 other multilateral agencies, and nongovernmental or-  
24 ganizations to enhance the effectiveness of humani-

1       tarian assistance to the people suffering as a result  
2       of the crisis in Syria;

3           (2) countries hosting Syrian refugees should be  
4       commended for their efforts and should be encour-  
5       aged to maintain an open border policy for fleeing  
6       Syrians;

7           (3) the United States Government should con-  
8       tinue to work with these partners to help their na-  
9       tional systems accommodate the population influx  
10      and also maintain delivery of basic services to their  
11      own citizens; and

12          (4) the United States Government should seek  
13      to identify humanitarian assistance as originating  
14      from the American people wherever possible and to  
15      the fullest extent practicable, while maintaining con-  
16      sideration for the health and safety of the implemen-  
17      ters and recipients of that assistance and the  
18      achievement of United States policy goals and the  
19      purposes set forth in section 4.

20 **SEC. 203. REPORT ON STRATEGY TO COMMUNICATE TO**  
21                   **THE SYRIAN PEOPLE ABOUT ASSISTANCE**  
22                   **PROVIDED BY THE UNITED STATES GOVERN-**  
23                   **MENT.**

24      (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
25      date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State

1 shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees  
2 an unclassified report with a classified annex, as nec-  
3 essary, on an integrated United States Government strat-  
4 egy to ensure that the people of Syria people are made  
5 aware to the maximum extent possible of the assistance  
6 that the United States Government provides to Syrians  
7 both inside Syria and those seeking refuge in neighboring  
8 countries.

9 (b) CONTENT.—The report should include the fol-  
10 lowing elements:

11 (1) A discussion of how the United States bal-  
12 ances three imperatives of—

13 (A) maximizing the efficacy of aid provided  
14 to the people of Syria;

15 (B) ensuring that there is awareness  
16 among the people of Syria on the amount and  
17 nature of this aid; and

18 (C) leveraging this aid to improve the  
19 credibility of the Syrian Opposition Coalition  
20 amongst the people of Syria.

21 (2) Methods by which the United States Gov-  
22 ernment and its partners plan to communicate to  
23 the people of Syria what assistance the United  
24 States has provided.

1           (3) A plan, with specific action, timelines, and  
2           evaluation metrics for promoting awareness of the  
3           United States Government’s assistance to the max-  
4           imum extent possible while taking into consideration  
5           and ensuring the safety of its implementing partners  
6           and personnel providing that assistance and the  
7           achievement of the United States policy goals and  
8           the purposes set forth in section 4.

9           (4) An assessment of the Syrian Opposition  
10          Coalition’s Assistance Coordination Unit (ACU)’s, or  
11          any appropriate successor entity’s, capacity to par-  
12          ticipate in the distribution of assistance, and a de-  
13          scription of steps the United States Government is  
14          taking to increase their profile so as to help build  
15          their credibility among Syrians.

16           **TITLE III—PROMOTING AN**  
17           **EFFECTIVE TRANSITION**

18           **SEC. 301. SYRIA TRANSITION FUND.**

19           (a) SYRIA TRANSITION FUND.—

20           (1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established a  
21           Syria Transition Fund (in this title referred to as  
22           the “Transition Fund”) from which funds may be  
23           made available, notwithstanding any other provision  
24           of law that restricts the provision of United States  
25           economic or non-military assistance in Syria, for as-

1       sistance and contributions to promote security and  
2       support the objectives described in section 4.

3           (2) OBLIGATION OF FUNDS; NOTIFICATION.—

4           (A) IN GENERAL.—The Transition Fund  
5       may rely upon the administrative authorities of  
6       the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.  
7       2151 et seq.), and obligation of such funds may  
8       not occur until 15 days after the date on which  
9       the President has provided notice of intent to  
10      obligate to the appropriate congressional com-  
11      mittees and the Committees on Appropriations  
12      of the Senate and the House of Representa-  
13      tives.

14          (B) WAIVER.—The notification required  
15      under subparagraph (A) may be waived if fail-  
16      ure to do so would pose a substantial risk to  
17      human health or welfare, in which case notifica-  
18      tion shall be provided as early as practicable,  
19      but in no event later than three days after tak-  
20      ing the action to which such notification re-  
21      quirement was applicable in the context of the  
22      circumstances necessitating such waiver. Any  
23      notification provided pursuant to such a waiver  
24      shall contain an explanation of the emergency  
25      circumstances.

1 (b) PURPOSE.—The purpose of the Transition Fund  
2 is to provide support in the early transition period to en-  
3 able an effective political transition to a more democratic  
4 and inclusive political structure and provide for initiatives  
5 that will improve the security of the United States, United  
6 States partners and allies, and the people of Syria. The  
7 Transition Fund may be used to support programs in the  
8 following areas and in priority order:

9 (1) SECURITY SECTOR SUPPORT.—Programs to  
10 train, equip, and professionalize law enforcement  
11 and military forces in Syria, including police and  
12 border protection forces, to protect the people of  
13 Syria.

14 (2) SUPPORT FOR REGIONAL STABILITY.—Pro-  
15 grams to support government agencies and law en-  
16 forcement and military forces in Syria, as well as  
17 those in neighboring countries, to provide support to  
18 refugees from Syria, to stem the flow of weapons  
19 and fighters out of Syria into other nations, and to  
20 prevent the proliferation of chemical or other weap-  
21 ons of mass destruction, including preventing such  
22 weapons from falling into the hands of al Qaeda,  
23 Hizballah, and other terrorist groups.

24 (3) TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE AND CONFLICT  
25 RESOLUTION.—Programs to reduce the likelihood of

1 retribution or sectarian violence in the aftermath of  
2 the end of the Assad regime and to promote the cre-  
3 ation of a stable center, including improving rela-  
4 tions between the moderate Sunni, Alawite, and  
5 Christian communities.

6 (4) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE DE-  
7 MOCRACY AND BUILDING DEMOCRATIC INSTITU-  
8 TIONS.—Technical assistance, capacity building, and  
9 training programs that—

10 (A) facilitate the development of an ac-  
11 countable, effective, and representative demo-  
12 cratic government;

13 (B) protect the rule of law during the tran-  
14 sition;

15 (C) support the development and adminis-  
16 tration of a modern justice system;

17 (D) assist with the development of a Syr-  
18 ian constitution that fosters a sense of unity  
19 and contributes to national reconciliation  
20 among different components of Syrian society;  
21 and

22 (E) support the establishment of an inclu-  
23 sive and transparent electoral system in Syria.

24 (5) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO SUPPORT ECO-  
25 NOMIC REVITALIZATION.—Technical assistance, ca-

1        capacity building, and training programs that support  
2        the resumption of economic activity, restore access  
3        to international markets, promote international in-  
4        vestment, provide for financial transparency and fis-  
5        cal stability, and empower the private sector.

6            (6) TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR BASIC SERV-  
7        ICES.—Technical assistance, capacity building, and  
8        training programs to provide basic civil government  
9        services to the people of Syria.

10           (7) COLLECTION OF EVIDENCE ON UNLAWFUL  
11        ACTIVITIES TARGETING CIVILIAN POPULATIONS.—  
12        Programs that support the collection of evidence re-  
13        lated to the activities of those individuals who target  
14        or lead units or organizations that target civilian  
15        populations and vulnerable populations, including  
16        women and children, or have engaged in otherwise  
17        unlawful acts, and to ensure that they are held ac-  
18        countable for their actions.

19           (c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addi-  
20        tion to other assistance authorized under law, there is au-  
21        thorized to be appropriated to the Transition Fund, out  
22        of amounts appropriated for the support of political and  
23        economic transition in the Middle East and North Africa,  
24        up to \$250,000,000 annually for fiscal years 2013 through  
25        2015.

1 (d) USES OF FUNDS FOR NONPROLIFERATION.—  
2 Notwithstanding any other provision of law that restricts  
3 the provision of United States assistance in Syria, up to  
4 \$100,000,000 of the funds authorized to be appropriated  
5 annually under subsection (c) may also be transferred to  
6 and merged with funds made available to carry out in  
7 Syria the purposes of chapter 9 of part II of the Foreign  
8 Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2349bb et seq.; non-  
9 proliferation and export control assistance).

10 (e) TRANSFER AUTHORITY.—

11 (1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to other transfer  
12 authorities available to the Department of State, the  
13 Department of Defense, or other United States Gov-  
14 ernment agencies or departments, funds available for  
15 foreign assistance or funds of the Department of  
16 Defense or other United States Government agencies  
17 or departments that are specifically allocated to-  
18 wards addressing the situation in Syria may be  
19 transferred to the Transition Fund by the agencies  
20 or departments to which the funds are available,  
21 subject to existing reprogramming requirements and  
22 limitations, including congressional notification and  
23 approval requirements. Amounts so transferred shall  
24 be merged with funds otherwise made available

1 under this section and remain available until ex-  
2 pended for the purposes specified in subsection (b).

3 (2) LIMIT.—The total amount of funds made  
4 available to the Transition Fund may not exceed  
5 \$250,000,000 in any fiscal year.

6 (3) TRANSFER AUTHORITY.—Funds available to  
7 carry out assistance authorized by this section may  
8 be transferred to an agency or account determined  
9 most appropriate to facilitate the provision of assist-  
10 ance authorized by this section.

11 (4) ADDITIONAL TO OTHER AUTHORITIES.—  
12 The transfer authorities in paragraphs (1) and (3)  
13 are in addition to any other transfer authority avail-  
14 able to the Department of State or other United  
15 States Government agencies.

16 (f) SUNSET PROVISION.—Unless specifically renewed,  
17 the Transition Fund shall terminate on September 30,  
18 2015.

19 (g) ANNUAL REPORT.—

20 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
21 after the establishment of the Transition Fund, and  
22 annually thereafter for the duration of the Transi-  
23 tion Fund, the Secretary of State, in collaboration  
24 with the Secretary of Defense and other appropriate  
25 agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congres-

1 sional committees a report on United States efforts  
2 to assist the political transition in Syria with a spe-  
3 cific focus on the efforts supported by the Transition  
4 Fund. The Secretary shall also provide an update  
5 briefing to the appropriate congressional committees  
6 every 180 days.

7 (2) CONTENT.—The report required under  
8 paragraph (1) shall include the following elements:

9 (A) A description of the efforts undertaken  
10 and planned to be undertaken by the United  
11 States Government through the Transition  
12 Fund to support the policy objectives outlined  
13 in section 4.

14 (B) A description of the efforts supported  
15 by the Transition Fund to support an effective  
16 and secure political transition in Syria and how  
17 those activities align with the purposes de-  
18 scribed in subsection (b).

19 (C) A specific accounting of all monies ob-  
20 ligated through the Transition Fund by pro-  
21 gram and project.

22 (D) Metrics and benchmarks to make allo-  
23 cations from the Transition Fund and measure  
24 the performance of the Transition Fund and  
25 programs funded by the Transition Fund.

1                   (E) A description of efforts undertaken to  
2                   coordinate with other donors and ensure that  
3                   there is not a duplication of efforts, including  
4                   among Federal agencies.

5                   (3) FORM.—The report under paragraph (1)  
6                   shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may in-  
7                   clude a classified annex.

8   **SEC. 302. ADJUSTING SANCTIONS PROVISIONS IN PREPA-**  
9                   **RATION FOR A POLITICAL TRANSITION.**

10           (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
11           gress that the United States Government should begin a  
12           phased process to remove sanctions on Syria once the Gov-  
13           ernment of Syria has ceased its campaign of violence  
14           against the people of Syria and a transition has begun  
15           to a representative and inclusive government that is de-  
16           monstrably committed to the principles set forth in sub-  
17           paragraphs (A) through (H) of section 4(7) and is recog-  
18           nized by the United States.

19           (b) AMENDMENTS TO SYRIA ACCOUNTABILITY AND  
20           LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY RESTORATION ACT OF 2003.—  
21           Section 5 of the Syria Accountability and Lebanese Sov-  
22           ereignty Restoration Act of 2003 (Public Law 108–175;  
23           22 U.S.C. 2151 note) is amended—

24                   (1) in subsection (c)—

25                           (A) in paragraph (1)—

1 (i) by inserting “(A)” after “(1)”; and

2 (ii) by striking “paragraphs (1)  
3 through (4) of subsection (d)” and insert-  
4 ing “subparagraphs (A) through (D) of  
5 paragraph (1) of subsection (d)”;

6 (B) by redesignating paragraphs (2) and  
7 (3) as subparagraphs (B) and (C), respectively;  
8 and

9 (C) in subparagraph (C), as redesignated  
10 by subparagraph (B) of this paragraph, by  
11 striking the comma at the end and inserting the  
12 following: “or;

13 “(2) makes the determination that the Govern-  
14 ment of Syria meets the requirements described in  
15 paragraph (2) of such subsection and certifies such  
16 determination to Congress in accordance with such  
17 subsection,”; and

18 (2) in subsection (d)—

19 (A) in paragraph (1), by inserting “(A)”  
20 after “(1)”;

21 (B) by redesignating paragraphs (2), (3),  
22 and (4) as subparagraphs (B), (C), and (D), re-  
23 spectively; and

1 (C) in subparagraph (D), as redesignated  
2 by subparagraph (B), by striking the period at  
3 the end and inserting the following: “or;

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

6 “(B) the Government of Syria has ceased its  
7 campaign of violence against the people of Syria and  
8 begun the transition to a representative and inclu-  
9 sive government that is demonstrably committed to  
10 the principles of—

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

15 “(ii) supporting the rule of law;

16 “(iii) rejecting terrorism and extremist  
17 ideologies;

18 “(iv) subordinating the military to civilian  
19 authority;

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

22 “(vi) cooperating with international  
23 counterterrorism and nonproliferation efforts;

1           “(vii) supporting regional stability and  
2           avoiding interference in the affairs of neigh-  
3           boring countries;

4           “(viii) establishing a strong justice system  
5           and ensuring accountability for conflict-related  
6           crimes; and

7           “(ix) recognizing the Golan Heights ‘Sepa-  
8           ration of Forces Agreement Between Israel And  
9           Syria,’ signed on May 31, 1974, and the related  
10          protocol regarding United Nations Disengage-  
11          ment Observer Force (UNDOF) functions.”.

12 **SEC. 303. REPORT ON SYRIAN WEAPONS STOCKPILES.**

13          (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the  
14          date of enactment of this Act, the President shall submit  
15          to Congress an assessment of the size and security of con-  
16          ventional and non-conventional weapons stockpiles in  
17          Syria.

18          (b) CONTENT.—The report required under subsection

19          (a) shall include the following elements:

20                  (1) A description of who has or may have ac-  
21                  cess to the stockpiles.

22                  (2) A description of the sources and types of  
23                  weapons flowing from outside Syria to both govern-  
24                  ment and opposition forces.

1           (3) A detailed plan to prevent the proliferation  
2           of conventional, biological, chemical, and other types  
3           of weapons in Syria.

4 **SEC. 304. PRE-TRANSITION INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS.**

5           The Secretary of State should establish international  
6           consensus on the transition and post-transition period and  
7           government in Syria by—

8           (1) working with the government of Russia on  
9           the situation in Syria and the transition and post-  
10          transition period and government in Syria, including  
11          how such programs can leverage the shared interests  
12          of the United States and Russia in avoiding the ex-  
13          pansion of extremist ideologies and terrorist groups  
14          in Syria and the region;

15          (2) working with the Friends of Syria group to  
16          ensure that extremist and terrorist groups in Syria  
17          are isolated and that the core of the opposition can  
18          be brought to the negotiating table; and

19          (3) building an international consensus to limit  
20          and, to the greatest extent possible, eliminate sup-  
21          port from the Government of Iran for the Syrian re-  
22          gime, including a potential ban on all commercial  
23          flights between Iran and Syria.

1                   **TITLE IV—SANCTIONS**

2   **SEC. 401. DEFINITIONS.**

3       In this title:

4               (1) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-**  
5       **TEES.**—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
6       mittees” means—

7               (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
8               the Committee on Finance, and the Committee  
9               on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the  
10              Senate; and

11              (B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
12              Committee on Ways and Means, and the Com-  
13              mittee on Financial Services of the House of  
14              Representatives.

15              (2) **DEFENSE ARTICLE; DEFENSE SERVICE.**—  
16       The terms “defense article” and “defense service”  
17       have the meanings given those terms in section 47  
18       of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2794).

19              (3) **PERSON.**—The term “person” means an in-  
20       dividual or entity.

21              (4) **PETROLEUM.**—The term “petroleum” in-  
22       cludes crude oil and any mixture of hydrocarbons  
23       that exists in liquid phase in natural underground  
24       reservoirs and remains liquid at atmospheric pres-

1       sure after passing through surface separating facili-  
2       ties.

3               (5) PETROLEUM PRODUCTS.—The term “petro-  
4       leum products” includes unfinished oils, liquefied pe-  
5       troleum gases, pentanes plus, aviation gasoline,  
6       motor gasoline, naphtha-type jet fuel, kerosene-type  
7       jet fuel, kerosene, distillate fuel oil, residual fuel oil,  
8       petrochemical feedstocks, special naphthas, lubri-  
9       cants, waxes, petroleum coke, asphalt, road oil, still  
10      gas, and miscellaneous products obtained from the  
11      processing of crude oil (including lease condensate),  
12      natural gas, and other hydrocarbon compounds.

13              (6) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
14      “United States person” means—

15              (A) a natural person who is a citizen or  
16              resident of the United States or a national of  
17              the United States (as defined in section 101(a)  
18              of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
19              U.S.C. 1101(a))); and

20              (B) an entity that is organized under the  
21              laws of the United States or a jurisdiction with-  
22              in the United States.

1 **SEC. 402. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
2 **SELLING, TRANSFERRING, OR TRANS-**  
3 **PORTING DEFENSE ARTICLES, DEFENSE**  
4 **SERVICES, OR MILITARY TRAINING TO THE**  
5 **ASSAD REGIME OF SYRIA.**

6 On or after the date that is 30 days after the date  
7 of the enactment of this Act, the President may impose  
8 sanctions from among the sanctions described in section  
9 404 with respect to any person that the President deter-  
10 mines has, on or after such date of enactment, knowingly  
11 participated in or facilitated a significant transaction re-  
12 lated to the sale, transfer, or transportation of defense ar-  
13 ticles, defense services, or military training to the Assad  
14 regime of Syria or any successor regime in Syria that the  
15 President determines is not a legitimate transitional or re-  
16 placement government.

17 **SEC. 403. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
18 **PERSONS PROVIDING PETROLEUM OR PE-**  
19 **TROLEUM PRODUCTS TO THE ASSAD REGIME**  
20 **OF SYRIA.**

21 On or after the date that is 30 days after the date  
22 of the enactment of this Act, the President shall impose  
23 the sanction described in paragraph (5) of section 404 and  
24 2 or more of the other sanctions described in that section  
25 with respect to each person that the President determines  
26 has, on or after such date of enactment, knowingly partici-

1 pated in or facilitated a significant transaction related to  
2 the sale or transfer of petroleum or petroleum products  
3 to the Assad regime of Syria or any successor regime in  
4 Syria that the President determines is not a legitimate  
5 transitional or replacement government.

6 **SEC. 404. SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.**

7 The sanctions the President may impose with respect  
8 to a person under sections 402 and 403 are the following:

9 (1) EXPORT-IMPORT BANK ASSISTANCE.—The  
10 President may direct the Export-Import Bank of the  
11 United States not to give approval to the issuance  
12 of any guarantee, insurance, extension of credit, or  
13 participation in the extension of credit in connection  
14 with the export of any goods or services to the per-  
15 son.

16 (2) PROCUREMENT SANCTION.—The President  
17 may prohibit the United States Government from  
18 procuring, or entering into any contract for the pro-  
19 curement of, any goods or services from the person.

20 (3) ARMS EXPORT PROHIBITION.—The Presi-  
21 dent may prohibit United States Government sales  
22 to the person of any item on the United States Mu-  
23 nitions List under section 38(a)(1) of the Arms Ex-  
24 port Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2778(a)(1)) and require  
25 termination of sales to the person of any defense ar-

1        ticles, defense services, or design and construction  
2        services under that Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.).

3            (4) DUAL-USE EXPORT PROHIBITION.—The  
4        President may deny licenses and suspend existing li-  
5        censes for the transfer to the person of items the ex-  
6        port of which is controlled under the Export Admin-  
7        istration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 et seq.)  
8        (as in effect pursuant to the International Emer-  
9        gency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et  
10       seq.)) or the Export Administration Regulations  
11       under subchapter C of chapter VII of title 15, Code  
12       of Federal Regulations.

13           (5) BLOCKING OF ASSETS.—The President  
14       may, pursuant to such regulations as the President  
15       may prescribe, block and prohibit all transactions in  
16       all property and interests in property of the person  
17       if such property and interests in property are in the  
18       United States, come within the United States, or are  
19       or come within the possession or control of a United  
20       States person.

21           (6) VISA INELIGIBILITY.—In the case of a per-  
22       son that is an alien, the President may direct the  
23       Secretary of State to deny a visa to, and the Sec-  
24       retary of Homeland Security to exclude from the  
25       United States, the person, subject to regulatory ex-

1 ceptions to permit the United States to comply with  
2 the Agreement between the United Nations and the  
3 United States of America regarding the Head-  
4 quarters of the United Nations and other applicable  
5 international obligations.

6 **SEC. 405. WAIVERS.**

7 (a) **GENERAL WAIVER AUTHORITY.**—The President  
8 may waive the application of section 402 or 403 to a per-  
9 son or category of persons for a period of 180 days, and  
10 may renew the waiver for additional periods of not more  
11 than 180 days, if the President determines and reports  
12 to the appropriate congressional committees every 180  
13 days that the waiver is in the vital national security inter-  
14 ests of the United States.

15 (b) **WAIVER FOR HUMANITARIAN NEEDS.**—The  
16 President may waive the application of section 403 to a  
17 person for a period of not more than 180 days, and may  
18 renew the waiver for additional periods of not more than  
19 180 days, if the President determines and reports to the  
20 appropriate congressional committees every 180 days that  
21 the waiver is to necessary to permit the person to conduct  
22 or facilitate a transaction that is necessary to meet hu-  
23 manitarian needs of the people of Syria.

1 (c) FORM.—Each report submitted under subsection  
2 (a) or (b) shall be submitted in unclassified form but may  
3 include a classified annex.

4 **SEC. 406. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON SANCTIONS.**

5 It is the sense of Congress that the President should  
6 work closely with allies of the United States to obtain  
7 broad multilateral support for countries to impose sanc-  
8 tions that are equivalent to the sanctions set forth in this  
9 title under the laws of those countries.

10 **TITLE V—INCREASED SUPPORT**  
11 **FOR THE OPPOSITION**

12 **SEC. 501. LETHAL AND INCREASED NON-LETHAL SUPPORT**  
13 **FOR THE VETTED OPPOSITION.**

14 (a) AUTHORIZATION TO PROVIDE LETHAL AND IN-  
15 CREASED NON-LETHAL ASSISTANCE TO VETTED ELE-  
16 MENTS OF THE SYRIAN OPPOSITION.—Subject to sub-  
17 section (b), the President is authorized, notwithstanding  
18 any other provision of law that restricts military, non-mili-  
19 tary, or economic assistance to Syria, to provide defense  
20 articles, defense services, and military training to specific  
21 members of the Syrian Supreme Military Council, par-  
22 ticular units of the Free Syrian Army, and other Syrian  
23 entities opposed to the government of Bashar al-Assad,  
24 with funds made available for foreign assistance.

1           (b) NOTIFICATION.—Not later than 15 days before  
2 obligating funds, otherwise providing any assistance, or  
3 otherwise making any commitment to provide the assist-  
4 ance described in subsection (a), the President shall sub-  
5 mit to the appropriate congressional committees—

6           (1) a certification that—

7                   (A) assistance to any individual, unit, or  
8 entities will be provided consistent with section  
9 620M of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961  
10 (22 U.S.C. 2378d);

11                   (B) the individual to whom assistance is  
12 being provided or is planned to be provided, or  
13 leader or leaders of any unit or entity, including  
14 all senior members of such unit or entity, to  
15 which assistance is being provided or is planned  
16 to be provided, are, based on the information  
17 available to the United States Government—

18                           (i) not an organization or person that  
19 has been designated, or is affiliated with  
20 any organization or person that has been  
21 designated, as a foreign terrorist organiza-  
22 tion pursuant to section 219 of the Immi-  
23 gration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
24 1189) or a “Specially Designated Global

1 Terrorist” pursuant to Executive Order  
2 13224 (66 Fed. Reg. 49079);

3 (ii) committed to rejecting terrorism  
4 and extremist ideologies;

5 (iii) opposed to the carrying out of  
6 sectarian violence and revenge killings;

7 (iv) committed to civilian rule, includ-  
8 ing subordinating the military to civilian  
9 authority, and the rule of law for Syria;

10 (v) committed to cooperating with  
11 international counterterrorism and non-  
12 proliferation efforts; and

13 (vi) supporting regional stability and  
14 avoiding interference in the affairs of  
15 neighboring countries;

16 (C) any military education and training  
17 should include information and training on ap-  
18 propriate leadership and command skills, pro-  
19 tection of critical infrastructure, observance of  
20 and respect for applicable laws of armed con-  
21 flict, respect for the rule of law, and the impor-  
22 tance of civilian control of the military, and,  
23 when appropriate, on securing chemical weap-  
24 ons sites and other important sites; and

1           (D) assistance provided under this section  
2           to any specific individual or entity shall imme-  
3           diately be terminated if the United States Gov-  
4           ernment receives information that indicates that  
5           the individual or entity is not in compliance  
6           with the terms laid out in subparagraph (B);  
7           and

8           (2) a written policy justification, budget, execu-  
9           tion plan and timeline, and anticipated completion  
10          date for the planned activity.

11          (c) RESTRICTION ON ANTI-AIRCRAFT DEFENSIVE  
12          SYSTEMS.—

13           (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided under  
14           paragraph (2), no anti-aircraft defensive systems  
15           may be transferred as part of the assistance author-  
16           ized under this section.

17           (2) WAIVER.—The President may waive the re-  
18           striction under paragraph (1) if—

19                   (A) it is in the vital national security inter-  
20                   est to do so;

21                   (B) the President notifies Congress not  
22                   later than 15 days before exercising such waiv-  
23                   er;

24                   (C) not later than 15 days before exer-  
25                   cising such waiver, the President transmits to

1 the appropriate congressional committees a re-  
2 port described in subsection (e), together with  
3 the certification required under subsection  
4 (b)(1) specifically with respect to anti-aircraft  
5 defensive systems;

6 (D) the President certifies that—

7 (i) the systems provided have been  
8 equipped with appropriate tracking, dis-  
9 abling, or anti-tamper devices; or

10 (ii) effective end use monitoring, in-  
11 cluding appropriate disposition of systems,  
12 is in place; and

13 (E) the President certifies that the United  
14 States has consulted with regional allies regard-  
15 ing the systems provided.

16 (d) CODE OF CONDUCT.—The United States Govern-  
17 ment shall encourage any entity receiving assistance pur-  
18 suant to subsection (a) to commit to a code of conduct  
19 that includes respect for applicable laws of armed conflict,  
20 respect for the rule of law, and a commitment to refrain  
21 from sectarian violence and revenge killings.

22 (e) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—In the event that  
23 the President exercises the authority in subsection (a), the  
24 President shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
25 committees every 90 days thereafter until such time as

1 the authority is no longer being exercised, a detailed re-  
2 port on—

3 (1) the education, training or assistance pro-  
4 vided;

5 (2) the vetting conducted to satisfy the certifi-  
6 cation requirement in subsection (b)(1);

7 (3) steps taken to encourage the development of  
8 a code of conduct outlined in subsection (c);

9 (4) an assessment of the current military capac-  
10 ity of opposition forces receiving assistance;

11 (5) an assessment of the ability of opposition  
12 forces inside and outside of Syrian to establish mili-  
13 tary activities impacting Syria, together with a prac-  
14 ticable timetable for accomplishing these objectives;

15 (6) an assessment of the ability of opposition  
16 groups to establish effective military control over  
17 Syria; and

18 (7) a description of the financial and materiel  
19 resources currently available to opposition forces.

20 (f) SUNSET PROVISION.—Unless specifically renewed,  
21 the authority described in subsection (a) shall terminate  
22 on September 30, 2015.