
BUSINESS MEETING

Thursday April 26, 2012

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN
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WASHINGTON, D.C.

1 The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:06 p.m. in Room S-116, The Capitol,
2 Hon. John Kerry, chairman of the committee, presiding.

3 **PRESENT:** Senators Kerry [presiding], Menendez, Cardin, Casey, Durbin, Udall,
4 Lugar, Corker, Risch, Rubio, DeMint, Isakson, and Barrasso.

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I would like to call this meeting of the committee to order.

6 I know that with our time change we have some additional business at 4:00
7 today, so it should work out. But there are just a few items on the agenda. Four
8 legislative items: three nominations and two Foreign Service officer lists, other than
9 S.Res. 435, which is the Syrian resolution, which we have to work on and make some
10 changes on.

11 I am grateful to Senator Casey and Senator Rubio.

12 Does anyone else have anything?

13 [No response.]

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** But at any rate, I do not think there is any debate on all of the
2 other items, with the exception of what we may yet have to do with respect to the
3 Syrian resolution.

4 I know that Senator Rubio has some constraints, some concerns.

5 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Mr. Chairman, I apologize, but I do have a question on this. Bill
6 number 2224.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Oh, Okay. Well we will come to that.

8 And Senator Webb is chairing a subcommittee hearing in about an hour, and we
9 will be done well before that.

10 Let me just say one thing quickly about something that is not on the agenda
11 today -- some legislation. I want to make sure that people understand exactly what is at
12 hand. Senator Cardin has been working overtime with the administration, and I do not
13 know if you recall. At the last business meeting, we had a discussion. We were heading
14 in that direction late last week, it being clear that we still needed more time to get
15 everybody on the same page on this. Seeing peoples' efforts in trying to deal with this,
16 there is not any question in my mind whether or not we are going to take this up. That
17 is not the issue. It may well happen. I really would like to make certain that we can
18 hear as many of the differences of opinion as there are. And there are a couple of other

1 committee matters I want to bring up at the end of the meeting.

2 The stakes in Syria are very, very high. I am going to be traveling out to that
3 region during this next break, and will be meeting with a lot of the players involved in
4 that. I am going to learn from them so that I can understand some of the options for the
5 Gulf States, the Jordanians, and others. But I think that the prospects of a full-fledged
6 civil war are obviously very real. There is intel, which I encourage everybody to get
7 their own briefing on. Some of the bad actors are getting involved in Syria at this time.
8 And so our choices become a little more serious in that context. It is sort of a bad set of
9 choices overall, to be honest with you.

10 I think it is clear to most of the members of the committee that if Asad were to
11 remain in power and continue killing his own people with impunity, it would really
12 mark a turning point in this Arab Awakening and really we would probably have a lot
13 of difficulties dealing with that reality for a long time to come.

14 So there are not any quick solutions, and the violence may well continue for
15 many months. But we have to find a way to try to get a transition of political power in
16 as reasonable and rapid and plausible a way as possible.

17 The bill before us and the resolution that we have are seeking to try to clarify
18 U.S. policy towards Syria, and I hope colleagues will feel that -- you know, the effort

1 does not come easily because, frankly, the options are complicated and the answers do
2 not come easily.

3 As all of you know, there were a number of amendments to the Syria resolution,
4 and I want to thank Senator Casey and Senator Rubio for working with the sponsors of
5 those amendments to narrow down the areas of disagreement.

6 So we have before us now a substitute amendment that, frankly, incorporates the
7 bulk of those amendments that were offered. And I went over the language this
8 morning and found a number of different pieces that I personally felt needed additional
9 clarification, and I am grateful that I think we have reached agreement on almost all of
10 them.

11 So the substitute will be the vehicle that we are going to work off of today, and I
12 think there are three amendments that we are going to need to debate with respect to
13 that. There is Corker number 8, a Corker number 2, and a second degree amendment to
14 Corker number 2 which is offered by Senator Casey.

15 So before we turn to those, let me ask the principal sponsors, Senator Casey and
16 Senator Rubio, if they want to make any remarks about the resolution.

17 **SENATOR CASEY.** Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for this opportunity. I also
18 thank you for your leadership on this.

1 I want to commend the work of Senator Rubio on his work on this resolution and
2 the committee. Many, many weeks now, even months of work on this, and I am
3 grateful for that.

4 Let me say by way of a preface I have a longstanding commitment to chair a Joint
5 Economic Committee meeting. I have to run to that. So after I speak to Senator
6 Corker's amendment, I will be out the door.

7 But let me just make a couple of points about the resolution.

8 Number one is I think it speaks to a real stirring in the hearts of the people in this
9 room and probably in places all over the country that we are frustrated when we turn
10 on the news and see the ongoing massacre, which is now about 10,000 people. We have
11 all been frustrated. We have all wanted to do more, and I think this resolution is one
12 measure for one way to respond to that frustration that we feel and the pleas that we
13 have from around the world to try to do something.

14 Number one, I will not go through all the provisions, but I think if you look at
15 whether it is section 4 of the resolve clause, section 5, we speak about humanitarian
16 assistance, humanitarian emergency support, emergency medical support,
17 humanitarian assistance to displaced persons. We speak very clearly to the opposition
18 that they must renew their commitment to a representative government, to an inclusive

1 society based upon rule of law, commitment to human rights, protection for ethnic and
2 religious minorities.

3 We direct some of the language to the Friends of Syria to promote cohesion of
4 democratically oriented organizations in Syria. It encourages the groups to make clear
5 their intention to represent and protect the interests of all Syrians.

6 We call on the President to do more, to provide support of various kinds, and we
7 outline that very clearly.

8 So I think whether your concern is pushing others and other organizations to do
9 more or whether your concern is about what the President can do and what the
10 Congress can do, I think it speaks to all of them.

11 And this is one of those rare moments that we can come together in a bipartisan
12 fashion to do this. Senator Rubio and I have worked on this. Senator Corker, I
13 appreciate your work and making the suggested changes that you have made. The
14 chairman, I know, Senator Barrasso and Senator Shaheen as well. And if I left someone
15 out, Damian will tell me who that was. But I am grateful for this work, and I offer it
16 with a lot of satisfaction for finally making some substantial progress on this issue.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you, Senator Casey.

18 Senator Rubio?

1 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Thank you, Mr. Chairman, first of all for your patience and your
2 focus on this issue. We are all interested to see what you bring back to us from the
3 visits.

4 And Senator Casey, thank you for your leadership and for all of you that have
5 had patience and focused on such an important issue.

6 First of all, I say that I think the concerns that I have heard from many of you
7 about this are very legitimate. I know some of your concerns are about what a post-
8 Asad Syria would look like, and others are concerned about involving the U.S. in yet
9 another overseas engagement of some sort. These are all very, very legitimate.

10 On the other hand, there are some real benefits to a post-Asad Syria, not the least
11 of which, of course, is Iran and Iran's designs for the region, not the least of which, of
12 course, is what this means about the U.S.'s continued commitment to being a leader in
13 the Middle East which our allies in that region want us to continue to be.

14 And above all these things is our values. This is once again an opportunity for
15 this Nation to reassert its value that when we talk about democracy and freedom, we do
16 not just mean for people in North America. We mean we believe those principles apply
17 to people all over the world.

18 So I am just pleased, and I know we are going to have some amendments here in

1 a moment, but I wanted to thank all of you for your patience. It takes a while
2 sometimes to get there, but we are there and I think that speaks highly of all of us and
3 of the work of this committee which I am proud to be part of.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Thank you, Senator Rubio. Appreciate it.

5 I might make some other comments later when we get down the road here, but
6 let me see. We have Senator Corker and Senator Casey has a second degree
7 amendment to Corker. So, Senator Corker, the floor is yours.

8 **SENATOR CORKER.** Do you want me to talk about --

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I think you should talk about your amendment.

10 **SENATOR CORKER.** Okay.

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** You have an amendment.

12 **SENATOR CORKER.** I have several amendments.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Obviously, the floor is yours. If you want to talk first about the
14 general --

15 **SENATOR CORKER.** Yes, I think that would be best. That is why I was asking --

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** And then your amendment.

17 **SENATOR CORKER.** So I have a couple of amendments, and I too want to thank
18 Casey and Rubio for the good work they have done and to commend the chairman for

1 having some great committee hearings on this.

2 This is a statement about any administration, not the current one or any other
3 one, but this is what happens. What we found, I think, during the Libya discussion was
4 a resolution that passed on the floor one night at 9 o'clock was used by an
5 administration to actually say that the Senate supported us going to war in Libya. And
6 ever since that time, I have been -- even though we might have supported that, I do not
7 think we ever really had any debate of any kind on that issue.

8 And I have expressed concerns in the past about resolutions. Usually they pass
9 by unanimous consent. Usually there is no debate. And so when we do one, I think it is
10 very important to try to get it just right.

11 What I worry about in section 12 of this particular resolution is the way that it is
12 written. Should the administration choose if they want to be involved in kinetic
13 activity, arming rebels, doing whatever, they would have the ability to use this
14 resolution that again, I assume if it ever became law, would pass by unanimous consent
15 to actually go and use military action or to arm rebels. And so I would, obviously, like
16 to see that stricken from this.

17 You know, the fact is that the only way a resolution is ever going to happen, I
18 think, is for it to be done by unanimous consent. So it seems to me that we ought to

1 work in a way in this committee to reach unanimous consent on it here or it is likely
2 never to happen in the first place.

3 So I think if we want to authorize something, if it is our intention to authorize
4 military action, then we ought write up an authorization and we ought to debate it and
5 we ought to do the things that a Senate is charged with doing.

6 I will say that I do not think there is any real consensus about what to do on the
7 ground, and I think we heard testimony last week that our involvement, our known
8 involvement, in actually arming rebels or doing that type of thing could actually turn
9 this uprising in a very different direction because it would be seen as being supported
10 by Westerners.

11 So, you know, I think we have a responsibility, if we are going to try to authorize
12 military action, to authorize it. What I do not want to do is for us to, in a fashion that is
13 not debated, pass a resolution on the floor that gives the administration the ability to do
14 that and sending the wrong signal.

15 So, again, I thank everyone for their work. We have tried to work out section 12
16 in a manner that would keep it from being construed in that manner. We have not been
17 successful yet. I hope we are at some point. But, again, I want to thank both Senators
18 from either side of the aisle for their work on this issue.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, thank you, Senator Corker.

2 The relevant section that is of concern is, as we said, section 12 which calls on the
3 President to continue to provide support, including communications equipment for
4 organizations in Syria, and it goes on stating what they should do.

5 I sort of concur with Senator Corker's reading as it is now that to just say to
6 continue to provide support is pretty open-ended. But I think there is an amendment to
7 try to help deal with that, if I am correct.

8 So, Senator Corker, you have an amendment to 12. Is that correct?

9 **SENATOR CORKER.** I do.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Why do you not tailor your amendment and then Senator Casey
11 will be in a position to amend it, second degree it.

12 **SENATOR CASEY.** Mr. Chairman, it does not speak to this.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** It does not speak to this.

14 **SENATOR CASEY.** I know you had a suggestion.

15 I could argue that this is not comparable to an authorization, and we condition it
16 with these folks have to be representatives here and the people make demonstrable
17 efforts to protect human rights, reject terrorism, all that. So we can debate that.

18 But I know one suggestion you made was to insert the word "nonlethal."

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes.

2 **SENATOR CASEY.** I certainly would accept that.

3 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Yes, that is fine.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Corker?

5 **SENATOR CORKER.** I have not seen that. I would love to talk about that and
6 understand fully what we are saying here. I think what our amendment --

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** It would say provide nonlethal. Two words, "nonlethal," two
8 words. To continue to provide nonlethal support.

9 **SENATOR CORKER.** So our amendment strikes it entirely, and what you are saying
10 is you want to consider just putting "nonlethal."

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, I think it is important to provide the other kind of support
12 that we are providing, and I think there is a majority of the committee that probably
13 would feel that.

14 But I think your fear -- and I understand it -- is that you do not want a back door
15 authorization for support that we are not intending. It should not be a blanket approval
16 to do whatever you want, and I agree with that. It should not be.

17 **SENATOR RUBIO.** So when we use the word continue to provide, it is talking about
18 -- continue means to continue something you are actually doing. Your amendment just

1 clarifies what --

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, you could also say continue to provide the current --

3 **SENATOR RUBIO.** No, no. But I think it is fine. The way you put it just clarifies
4 what we are continuing to do.

5 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Mr. Chairman?

6 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Lugar?

7 **SENATOR LUGAR.** I am not sure whether either of the amendments covers this, but I
8 have a question about section 2. It says reaffirms the policy of the United States that
9 legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people cannot be realized so long as Bashar al-Asad
10 remains in power and that he must step aside. It says "reaffirms" that is the policy, and
11 I am not certain that we have ever as a country adopted that policy. The President has
12 made comments. The Secretary of State has made comments, but we have not debated
13 that issue here, nor has the administration really come forward with what amounts to a
14 declaration of war against a regime. It is just suggested happily that he might just
15 disappear.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Lugar, let me, if I can -- let us come back to paragraph 2. I
17 have an issue with paragraph 2 too. I thought we had dealt with that.

18 **SENATOR CORKER.** I have an amendment that deals with that.

1 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I think we can deal with it and it may help deal with your issue
2 about that. But let us try to complete section 12 with the amendment, if we can.

3 **SENATOR RISCH.** Mr. Chairman, you know, the language I have got in front of me
4 is actually marked section 11. This was the bill that was sitting here when I got here.

5 **SENATOR CORKER.** They changed it this morning I think. They changed section 11
6 to section 12 and 13.

7 **SENATOR RISCH.** We ought to have the copy in front of us.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I have the appropriate copy. I think our side does. There you go.
9 So here is my suggestion. Senator Corker, your amendment states what?

10 **SENATOR CORKER.** My statement strikes 12.

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Strikes 12 altogether.

12 **SENATOR CORKER.** Yes and 13. What used to be 11 is now 12 and 13.

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Rubio, would you accept and, Senator Casey, will you
14 accept -- you were going to modify that or not? Or you would accept the modification?
15 You would accept an amendment.

16 **SENATOR CASEY.** The insertion of the word "nonlethal."

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there any objection to the modification of the current substitute
18 so that it reads "calls upon the President to continue to provide nonlethal support"?

1 **SENATOR CORKER.** We are still authorizing, when we do this, monetary support.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** We are actually not authorizing it. This is a resolution.

3 **SENATOR CORKER.** It is a resolution that can be used by the administration to say
4 that we unanimously --

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** But no money can be spent on that, obviously, because there is no
6 authorization and there is no appropriation. It would have to go through other
7 channels to have that happen, Senator.

8 **SENATOR CORKER.** Let us just state that. So no monetary support. If you want to
9 put that, "no lethal or monetary support," then I am fine. I think we are better off not
10 doing that, but there are ways that the administration can make emergency funding
11 available. They have already done that in a humanitarian way. But if you want to put
12 "no funding for lethal support" --

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** If you say no funding, then you are stripping their ability to even
14 provide the humanitarian support to the humanitarian corridor.

15 I think we covered -- the language, as well as the record here, makes it clear that
16 we are talking about continuing to provide current support, nonlethal. And so there is
17 no growing of the pie, so to speak. This is limited to the current efforts and it is spelled
18 out pretty clearly that it is actually to protect human rights, religious freedom, et cetera.

1 Senator DeMint, do you have a question?

2 **SENATOR DEMINT.** I think I just have some of the concerns that Senator Corker
3 does. We know how things work. We can provide monetary support that is used to
4 buy lethal weapons, which is very likely what we will do. And I think what we are
5 trying to do is avoid the military or weaponry until we vote on it as the Congress.

6 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Correct.

7 How about this language? "Supports the efforts of the President to provide
8 nonlethal support." That could not be more clear. Okay? Would everybody accept
9 that modification? Senator Casey?

10 **SENATOR CASEY.** Yes.

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Rubio?

12 Senator Risch?

13 **SENATOR RISCH.** You know, I have got another question.

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, let me before --

15 **SENATOR RISCH.** But it is related. It is related to this.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Alright.

17 **SENATOR RISCH.** But it is really in the third line in paragraph 12, and it says that
18 they have got to be -- the help has got to be to organizations that are representative of

1 the people of Syria. The chairman has held some really outstanding hearings, I think,
2 on Syria and so have other committees. I think all of us have been involved in some of
3 the closed briefings.

4 The thing I struggled with when I read this the first time that hit me is who is this
5 that are representative of the people of Syria. I mean, we heard testimony that there are
6 about a dozen different sects there. The main fight seems to be between the Sunnis and
7 the group of which -- the Alawites. But I have trouble getting my arms around who it is
8 that we are going to help there. I want to help the right guys. I just do not know who
9 the right guys are, and we are certainly not identifying them here.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, they are actually identified in a different paragraph where it
11 talks about Friends of the Syrian People and the Arab League and UN, and I thought
12 there was a reference here. The United Nations, European Union. So I think that that is
13 -- I mean, I do not know. If you want to offer some alternative language, that is your
14 right. I do not think it is particularly troubling in the context of the discretion that the
15 administration has at this point in time anyway.

16 **SENATOR CORKER.** Mr. Chairman, I would just say that this clause is sort of "the
17 clause," if you will, other than the one Senator Lugar brought up. As I listen to people,
18 it just sounds like to me there is still a little work that ought to be done, and I would still

1 recommend striking it and then maybe before it comes to the floor there is something
2 that might be added back, we could do that. But I just hear differing comments in a lot
3 of different directions here.

4 Again, I think we are all just concerned. We do not fully understand what is
5 happening there. I think what Senator Casey said is right. Our hearts are stirring, but a
6 heart-stirring and authorizing something that may lead to lethal action is something
7 very different.

8 **SENATOR CASEY.** Mr. Chairman, let me just say I think I understand the argument
9 that Senator Corker is making, but I would hope -- I do not want to unduly accelerate
10 this. I hope we can just get a vote on this.

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** We can, but I think we can resolve the language. I will make a
12 commitment to you, Senator Corker. If we accept this language which reads as follows,
13 12 would read, "supports the efforts of the President to continue to provide nonlethal
14 support, including communications equipment, to organizations in Syria that are, one,
15 representative of the people of Syria; two, make demonstrable efforts to protect human
16 rights and religious freedom; three, reject terrorism; four, collaborate with international
17 counter-terrorism and nonproliferation efforts; and five, abstain from destabilizing
18 neighboring countries." That becomes, number one, a very limited group of people and,

1 number two, it is a group of options that would be very hard to find objection to.

2 So I would suggest that we adopt that language. And, Senator Corker, I will
3 work with you and with Senator Casey before we bring it to the floor to see that we are
4 comfortable with that and that the delimitation is appropriate. And I think that is the
5 better way. I think it is important to be inclusive about the continuation of the current
6 humanitarian funds and other things.

7 So I would ask colleagues to accept that modification. Is there any disagreement?
8 Can we have unanimous consent to accept that modification?

9 **SENATOR CORKER.** I mean, I do not know that I am fully capable of representing
10 everybody at the table on discussing those things. But to me there are problems with
11 the clause that I think many people have, and probably additional concerns have been
12 raised.

13 What I think I would feel more comfortable doing is let us vote on the
14 amendment that has been before us for some time to strike that and then if, prior to
15 coming to the floor, we can come up with language that works for everyone, let us do
16 that.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Then we will vote on the amendment. But I thought we had
18 agreement on the acceptance of the modification notwithstanding. So we will vote on

1 the amendment, as modified, as to whether or not we strike it. That is paragraph 12.

2 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Modified by the language you suggested.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Modified by the language that I suggested which is “supports the
4 efforts of the President to continue to provide nonlethal support,” and then as the
5 language flows. That is what we are voting on whether or not to strike.

6 All those in favor of the Corker amendment --

7 **SENATOR RUBIO.** I am confused. We are voting to strike as amended.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Paragraph 12, as amended.

9 **SENATOR RISCH.** If the motion fails, we still have the revised language --

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** That is correct. If the motion fails, the revised language is accepted
11 because it was accepted as a modification to the prior.

12 So the question now is on both paragraphs 12 and 13 -- 13, correct? That is your
13 amendment.

14 **SENATOR CORKER.** Yes. I would like to actually separate 12 and 13 and vote on 13
15 as a standalone.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** You have a right to divide. We can divide it.

17 So we will have a vote. We will have the first on the first part of the amendment
18 which is to strike paragraph 12. Do we want a recorded vote?

1 All those in favor of striking --

2 **SENATOR CORKER.** I think we ought to have a roll call vote on that.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** A roll call vote is requested. The clerk will call the roll.

4 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Boxer?

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No by proxy.

6 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Menendez?

7 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** No.

8 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Cardin?

9 **SENATOR CARDIN.** No.

10 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Casey?

11 **SENATOR CASEY.** No.

12 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Webb?

13 [No response.]

14 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Shaheen?

15 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No by proxy.

16 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Coons?

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No by proxy.

18 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Durbin?

1 **SENATOR DURBIN.** No.

2 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Udall?

3 **SENATOR UDALL.** No.

4 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Lugar?

5 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Yes.

6 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Corker?

7 **SENATOR CORKER.** Yes.

8 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Risch?

9 **SENATOR RISCH.** Aye.

10 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Rubio?

11 **SENATOR RUBIO.** No.

12 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Inhofe?

13 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Aye by proxy.

14 **THE CLERK.** Mr. DeMint?

15 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Aye by proxy.

16 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Isakson?

17 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** No.

18 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Barrasso?

1 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** No.

2 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Lee?

3 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Aye by proxy.

4 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman?

5 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No.

6 **THE CLERK.** 12 noes, 6 yeas.

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** By a vote of 12 to 6, the amendment to strike fails.

8 We will now vote on the second division, paragraph 13. The clerk will call the
9 roll.

10 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** Mr. Chairman?

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Isakson?

12 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** Is this to strike paragraph 13?

13 **THE CHAIRMAN.** This is a motion to strike paragraph 13.

14 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** Would you just read the first part of what you are calling
15 paragraph 13?

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Paragraph 13 reads: “urges the President to work closely with
17 partners from the League of Arab States, the United Nations, the European Union, the
18 Friends of the Syrian People, and other interested international bodies to develop a plan

1 to identify weapons stockpiles and prevent the proliferation of conventional, biological,
2 chemical, and other types of weapons in Syria.”

3 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** And the motion is to strike that.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The motion is to strike that.

5 **SENATOR CORKER.** The way the meeting was going to take place, we were going to
6 deal with the authorizing bill first, which has this language in it. And so that was going
7 to pass unanimously I think. So that is the reason this is -- it did not really matter at this
8 point. But if you understand what I am saying, we were actually going to authorize this
9 in an authorization versus it being a resolution.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The Senator is accurate. There is language in the authorizing bill
11 which is noncontroversial, which we are going to vote on en bloc, that does exactly that.
12 But I think many people feel that -- certainly the sponsors feel it is important to have
13 this contained in the resolution.

14 Do you want to speak to it, Senator Rubio?

15 **SENATOR RUBIO.** No. I understand. I do not think there is any problem with it
16 being in both places.

17 **SENATOR CORKER.** And I do not even care if we vote on it now.

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Do you want to withdraw it?

1 **SENATOR CORKER.** I will withdraw it.

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So the request for the division then is withdrawn, and that takes
3 care of that Corker amendment.

4 Is there another amendment?

5 **SENATOR CORKER.** I think that Senator Lugar raised the question, I mean, do we
6 really state as a national policy that we want Asad gone? I mean, is that what we do
7 here in the United States Senate? Or do we talk about what we want our end game to
8 be? I just find that odd for us to say that our stated national policy is for Asad to be
9 gone. To me, I think what we would like to see is a democratic government there and
10 that is the end game that we are actually striving for. And so our amendment seeks to
11 clear up and actually take us to the end game instead of an interim game that could well
12 lead to that. So I think that addresses the issue that Senator Lugar may have raised just
13 a minute ago.

14 Would you like me to state what the amendment says? Instead of having the
15 language that says what the resolution says, it says that we reaffirm, as the policy of the
16 United States, that Syria must transition to a just and inclusive government selected by
17 the people of Syria.

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** And Senator Casey has a second degree to that which basically

1 asserts -- Senator Casey had to go, but I will assert his argument on his behalf, which is
2 that he shares the belief of Senator Corker that you have to work towards a democratic,
3 tolerant Syrian government but that you cannot ignore the violence that Asad is
4 wreaking on his own people, particularly in view of the fact that the President of the
5 United States, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense have all publicly
6 stated that it is the policy of the administration that Asad needs to relinquish his hold
7 on power. And he is pressing the notion here today that this committee ought to affirm
8 that it is our policy that President Asad ought to step aside, but he does it, I think, with
9 different language, Senator Lugar, particularly in terms of what you were concerned
10 about.

11 So Senator Casey's language is as follows. Insert in place of "then it is the
12 policy" -- insert the following, that it is the policy of the United States that the legitimate
13 aspirations of the Syrian people cannot be realized so long as Bashar al-Asad remains in
14 power and that he must step aside and that Syria must transition to a just,
15 representative, and inclusive government selected by the people of Syria. So it affirms,
16 Senator Corker -- do you want to look at the language?

17 **SENATOR CORKER.** I have seen it.

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** So it affirms your fundamental principle.

1 And I agree. I do not like the language of paragraph 2 as it is set out here. I
2 think Senator Lugar is appropriate. I think it is not sufficient to simply say that he must
3 step aside. I do not think that closes the loop in the way that we ought to here. So I will
4 support the second degree, if not some other language, if that does not meet the feeling
5 of the committee. But I think it is better language.

6 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Mr. Chairman?

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Lugar?

8 **SENATOR LUGAR.** I still feel that we ought not to include reference to Asad in the
9 paragraph. I say this because, unfortunately, all over the world there are authoritarian
10 governments, and you can make the case about the ways they have treated their people
11 in terms of casualties. For us to get into a situation in which, at least a resolution here in
12 the Foreign Relations Committee, we make these sorts of judgments, seems to me to be
13 overstepping without having really a fundamental debate that we, as a matter fact,
14 reject the Government of Syria and we are prepared to take steps to -- in the case of war,
15 we take steps. We declare war.

16 But we have crept up on this before in the Libyan situation in which clearly
17 Qadhafi must go or Mubarak must go in Egypt or whoever must go as we sort of step
18 along the line. And we have never really had a debate in behalf of the American public

1 as to whether this was the judgment. Now after everybody is gone, why, people are
2 having postmortem accounts as to how the people are being governed and whether
3 there is food available, and whether there is fuel available, the fact of whether there are
4 any prospects of democracy available. This is why it seems to me the personalization of
5 this situation is not a good idea.

6 I appreciate it was not a flip comment by the President, by the Secretary of State
7 that Bashar must go and so forth to sort of pitch the patterns around the clock in terms
8 of Arab Spring, but I hope that we stop it. I think that really we need to consider this
9 much more carefully and formally.

10 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Mr. Chairman?

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Rubio?

12 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Thank you.

13 First, let me just say, obviously, there are -- and I am well aware that there are
14 many authoritarian governments around the world. There are few, however, if any,
15 that have as much direct responsibility in the death of many Americans as this one does
16 as this individual and his father before him.

17 The second thing I would say about it is that there is a reason. Clearly the
18 President's policy and that of the White House and of the administration -- sometimes I

1 feel like I live in an alternative universe. But clearly it is the policy of the administration
2 that Asad should sep aside, and the reason is because I think it has now been
3 documented in open source reporting that the only way this is ever going to end, that
4 this is going to fall apart is if the people around him believe it is no longer sustainable,
5 that he cannot hold on and survive.

6 So the judgment of the President and of the Secretary and of Secretary Panetta
7 and others -- and I have all of their statements here -- consistently is that Asad should
8 step aside. I personally agree with that assessment and I think what we are trying to do
9 in this resolution is get the Senate to agree with them. So I understand some people
10 may disagree with that, and I hope it is why we will have a vote on whether we want
11 that to be included or not. I think Senator Lugar raises interesting and valid points.

12 But at the end, when I signed onto this resolution, one of the things I definitely
13 wanted to accomplish is to make an unequivocal statement to the world that it was
14 important that people know that it is our belief that Bashar al-Asad should step aside,
15 otherwise Syria is never going to have a chance for democracy.

16 **SENATOR DURBIN.** Mr. Chairman?

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Durbin?

18 **SENATOR DURBIN.** Let me follow up on Senator Rubio's comment and ask Senator

1 Lugar this question. If the statement of our policy leaders has been so unequivocal,
2 what does it say if our Senate Foreign Relations Committee takes the tactic and does not
3 state this clearly and unequivocally? Does this not give some solace to Asad that he
4 might be able to survive this and continue and perhaps perpetuate a regime which,
5 unfortunately, has resulted in the death of many innocent people?

6 **SENATOR LUGAR.** No. Let me respond respectfully that essentially when the
7 administration makes a comment of this variety -- and I respect Senator Rubio's view --
8 one can make a case that many thousands of people have been killed in Russia and in
9 China, maybe even in Burma, people down through a lot of authoritarian governments
10 in this world.

11 Now, conceivably our Presidents might say Putin must go or likewise the
12 Chinese leaders simply because they are committing crimes against humanity, lots of
13 them all the time. But we are not for some reason affirming that. I would just say when
14 you get to a situation where it has almost become habitual, given the Arab Spring
15 situation, that people must go, the thought is that -- and you begin to follow it up and
16 say now with nonlethal means, but nevertheless means that are trying to make sure that
17 he does go off the cliff.

18 You know, in a classic sense we used to have a declaration of war, hostilities. In

1 the Libya situation, we could never even get the administration to say there were
2 hostilities. We had affirmation before the committee there were no hostilities. This is a
3 shift in making foreign policy that I am very uncomfortable with.

4 So this is why I leave the issue at this particular point -- no objection to the
5 thought that we ought to be giving humanitarian relief to people. We ought to be
6 working with the United Nations. I think the monitor idea was a good one, although it
7 has all of its problems. But at the same time, the constant affirmation of "Asad must
8 go" appears to me is not a good policy for us to be adopting country by country, leader
9 by leader.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there further debate?

11 [No response.]

12 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Let me propose this then to the members. It is exceedingly hard
13 sitting here and looking at Syria today with 10,000 people killed and the nature of this
14 battle, an Alawite minority at 11 or 12 percent, with most of the positions of power in
15 the military and elsewhere in government managing a Sunni majority, with all that has
16 been unleashed in this. It is really exceedingly hard to envision how Bashar al-Asad
17 would continue in power. It is just very complicated to see how there is any legitimate -
18 - which is why they are fighting to the death the way they are, which is why he is trying

1 to crush this thing totally and outrightly because that is exactly what his father did 4
2 years ago and that is the way he thinks he has to hold on.

3 But -- and here is the "but" -- the United Nations through Kofi Annan and others
4 are engaged in an effort to try to bring about some resolution. It is conceivable that
5 diplomacy might -- who knows -- put in some transitional process in which Asad were
6 to, not unlike Saleh in Yemen, turn over power in some orderly way or something
7 happens. Who knows? I do not think any of us know.

8 I understand what Senator Lugar is saying. And there may be a way to embrace
9 both of these thoughts by not being quite so specific, unless the intent of the authors is
10 simply to say you want to lock yourself in to one particular course. But if you are
11 leaving it open to the people of Syria to decide, the people of Syria may accept that kind
12 of a transition because it provides an end to violence and it ultimately winds up in his
13 stepping aside but not immediately.

14 So you might want to embrace language to this effect that it is the policy of the
15 United States that legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people must be realized through a
16 transition of power to a legitimate, just, representative, and inclusive government
17 selected by the people of Syria. So you are leaving open to them to decide. It is clear
18 there has to be a transition of the current government. You can interpret it as the

1 inclusion of Asad or you can interpret as potentially it is not the transitional effort, but
2 the bottom line is it is a transition to a legitimate government.

3 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Mr. Chairman?

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Menendez?

5 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Mr. Chairman, I appreciate Senator Lugar.

6 I think it is so hard to condemn Asad's ongoing slaughter of his own people and
7 then somehow suggest that he can stay.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, we are not saying stay. The language I offered says
9 "transition." No staying.

10 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Well, if he cannot stay, then it is a nuance. It just seems to me
11 that I think that the purpose of -- from my perspective, the purpose of these resolutions
12 -- I know that Senator Corker once said why do we pass these resolutions. What does it
13 mean? I think it means a lot especially for those who are struggling for their lives and
14 their freedom.

15 And to somehow leave in vagueness that Asad, despite his slaughter, can still
16 somehow find a way to survive is at least to this Senator very difficult to accept. I think
17 that Senator Rubio's original intention was what I signed onto when I agreed to be a
18 cosponsor as well, which is to make it very clear that Asad is slaughtering his people

1 and that he does have to step aside. And then when that transition is from there, what
2 the Syrian people decide is, of course, their sovereign right. But it starts off with the
3 slaughterer moving out. I just think that, otherwise, it just undermines the purpose of
4 the power of these resolutions for people -- those who are struggling and risking their
5 lives while we debate.

6 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Menendez, I have great respect for that comment and I
7 know how I will vote if it comes down to that particular vote. But again, sometimes
8 getting unanimity requires -- if you want it. It may be that we are perfectly comfortable
9 not having it. I certainly am if that is the way we want to go. But my sense is that
10 sometimes we have those nuances and it creates a comfort level for people who might
11 not provide the unanimity otherwise.

12 Let me reread it to you. You have a first sentence that says, "condemn Syrian
13 President Bashar al-Asad's ongoing slaughter of his own people." The second sentence
14 could say that it is the policy of the United States that the legitimate aspirations of the
15 Syrian people must be realized through a transition of power to a legitimate, just,
16 representative, and inclusive government selected by the people of Syria. Under
17 anybody's interpretation, it is very hard to see how that would include Asad, but if it
18 allows people to feel comfortable with this, then that is a benefit.

1 So again, I do not see a lot of ambiguity in that, but I will go with whatever the
2 sense of the committee is on this.

3 Senator Isakson?

4 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** Mr. Chairman, I am one that condemns by the highest order
5 Assad and thinks he must go.

6 But I want to comment on your language because I do think that unanimity, or at
7 least as close as we can do it, is important. I think words do matter, and I think it is
8 clear enough and what you said that transition does not include Assad without
9 mimicking the exact words that he must go addresses most of the questions.

10 I voted against the first Corker amendment because, quite frankly, I think the
11 guy must go and I think we must make a clear and definitive statement and not parse
12 our words. But I do think Senator Lugar and Senator Corker make a statement that if
13 we can come together behind something we can unify on is better and in the best
14 interest of the United States because you do not need to be going to the Middle East this
15 next week with ambiguity or uncertainty or an inclusive commitment of this committee
16 in terms of how it feels about Syria. If it is clear that we feel that there needs to be a new
17 government, that the interests of the Syrian people need to be represented, and that we
18 ought to continue to supply the nonlethal support necessary to accomplish that, then I

1 think you have got a resolution that is strong enough to make the case. But if you go
2 away with a 7 to 6 vote over parsing the words at a time when you are going to the
3 Middle East on the issue, I worry that that might be in the news.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Corker?

5 **SENATOR CORKER.** And I would just say that I would support your language, and
6 as it relates to the other portions that we just discussed and incorporate where we move
7 to “nonlethal,” while at this moment, I just want to think that through, I would say that
8 as we think that through and we talk a little bit more -- and I certainly appreciate
9 Senator Rubio and Senator Casey being open to that. First of all, on this piece, I would
10 agree with what you just said, and on the other piece, I may well do that. I just want to
11 think that through. We spent a lot of time on this resolution making sure that there
12 were no unintended consequences, and I hated in this meeting to just agree with
13 something without thinking it through. But we may well agree with that too. And then
14 we end up in a situation, assuming Senator Lugar is in the same place, where maybe we
15 have something that would not take up floor time.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, I would hope so.

17 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Well, I would just comment on that two things. The first is that
18 clearly I understand the desire for unanimity. I am not convinced we are going to have

1 that anyway, given some of the language that is already part of this.

2 And the other thing I have to reaffirm again is when I signed on and became a
3 part of this resolution, it is because I wanted it to be meaningful. In my belief, in order
4 for this resolution to be meaningful, it has to clearly reaffirm the policy that this
5 individual -- this is not a committee of people deciding to do these things that he is
6 doing. This is him. And I continue to believe that for this resolution to live to the
7 intended principles that I signed on for -- I cannot speak for Senator Casey. I know he
8 had to go do some other chairmanship. But the point is I think it is important that he be
9 designated by name because he is responsible for what is happening there on an
10 individual basis, and it is a key part of our strategy and a key part of our policy in the
11 region.

12 So I am not trying to be recalcitrant, and I would love to have as much unanimity
13 as possible, but I do not want that at the expense of meaningfulness. And I am not
14 suggesting that the language you suggested is not meaningful, but I do not think it has
15 the impact of this language and I am not convinced that even if we accepted it, that it
16 would lead to unanimity anyway on this because I think there are other areas of this
17 resolution that some people are going to have heartburn on, including the section that
18 we just approved, number 12, where there were a significant number of votes against it.

1 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Mr. Chairman?

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Lugar?

3 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Let me just say that in the case of the leader of Syria, if you were
4 looking at it from his standpoint -- and I am not defending his standpoint, but looking
5 at it from his eyes and through the eyes then of the Alawite supporters of him -- a very
6 small minority we have seen in Syria -- they did not come to power by a democratic
7 vote. They have 11 percent. The Sunnis are 65 or thereabouts, others. Now, here is a
8 situation in which Asad could say that essentially these people are trying to overthrow
9 me. They do not like me, and as a matter of fact, they do not like the people around me.
10 We have heard some testimony, as I recall, from some people involved with our
11 military and with our intelligence that essentially the Alawites as a whole group feel
12 threatened by this situation. And so as a result of that, they have taken action to
13 suppress those that are going to kill them. Now, this is a grim situation in which there
14 is no certainty that we are going to have a resolution democratically for quite a long
15 while as all of the disparate groups fight it out, and depending on who gets armed, who
16 may defeat somebody else.

17 I appreciate your attempt to find some language that does not get us into the
18 "Asad must go" business and at the same time says ideally at the end of the trail, this is

1 a government that the people would want. But that is going to be a very, very long
2 trail. And I would just say that for the moment, assigning this sort of description of the
3 specific leaders is not a good policy. It is not a good idea.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Fair enough, Senator.

5 I think we are getting to the point where shortly -- I want to recognize Senator
6 Cardin -- but I think before too long, if there is not a consensus for moving towards the
7 nondescript approach, then we ought to vote on the descriptive. And I think that is
8 where we are going to wind up.

9 Senator Cardin?

10 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Yes, well, thank you, Mr. Chairman.

11 I want to identify myself with those, in the strongest possible terms, who believe
12 that Asad must go. I think the place he should really be is at The Hague for crimes
13 against humanity. And I do not see how the government -- how Syrians can survive to
14 meet these standards in any other way.

15 Having said that, I think there is merit to what the chairman is trying to do. If
16 this was the original language that he described, as the chairman described, if that was
17 the original language in his resolution we are looking at today, I think we all would be
18 comfortable. I think the problem is we are seeing it change from a stronger position. I

1 want the strongest possible position. Believe me, I do. But I do think there is merit to
2 having the broadest support for this resolution, again without compromising the
3 strength of the resolution.

4 I agree with Senator Rubio. I doubt that we will get unanimous consent on this.
5 I think we will end up there is going to be enough in here. But I would hope that we
6 will have an overwhelming majority that will be supporting this resolution. It requires
7 some massaging of language in order to get that without compromising the principle
8 that Asad has committed atrocities, he should be held accountable, and that he has no
9 legitimacy in the government of Syria representing the people of that country.

10 So I think the chairman is moving in a direction that I hope you will not give up
11 on because I do think it is important for the Senate to act. I think it is important for this
12 committee to act, and I am prepared to accept some language as long as long as it is
13 clear that our views are not being compromised.

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Let me ask you, Senator Rubio. I appreciate everybody's efforts.
15 First of all, we have been here a while, and I appreciate everybody's participation. It is
16 important in getting this done and done right.

17 Senator Rubio, it seems to me -- can you envision any way possible that you have
18 a transition of power and a legitimate, representative, inclusive government that

1 includes Asad?

2 **SENATOR RUBIO.** No, and I understand that. And I understand the point you are
3 trying to make. I think the point I am trying to make is that I think that what I wanted
4 was this resolution to very clearly identify the fact that not only does there have to be a
5 transition but that this individual needs to be gone as soon as possible to let that process
6 begin to happen. I thought that was important.

7 The second thing I would say is I am not sure that even if we accept the language
8 that you are trying to put in, that it adds any votes to this at end of the day. In essence,
9 I am not convinced that this resolution picks up votes either here or on the floor because
10 we weaken the language. So we end up weakening the language and not adding any
11 votes and not getting any unanimity added to it. Now, if that is not true, then we can
12 discuss it differently. But my sense of it is that some of the Senators who have
13 expressed concern about Asad being on here are probably not going to support the
14 resolution anyway, and so we are going to weaken the resolution and not really add
15 anything to the resolution.

16 **SENATOR CORKER.** I would not make assumptions like that.

17 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Well, we need to discuss them.

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I was about to say it seems to me that Senator Corker has already

1 offered that this would change his view of this. I do not know about Senator Lugar.
2 But if we have unanimity here, we are going to have very good debate on the floor of
3 the Senate. A very good debate. And I think there is value in that personally.

4 Now, would it make a difference if we were to say it must be realized through “a
5 speedy transition of power to a legitimate” or “an expeditious transition”?

6 **SENATOR RUBIO.** I mean, look, when I jumped onto this resolution, I thought it was
7 -- and I understand Asad is mentioned in the first paragraph, and maybe that is the one
8 we should be working on instead of the second one, and maybe there is something we
9 can do in that first paragraph since he is already mentioned in it and not have to
10 mention him in the second one. But the point is that I think it is important that not only
11 do we condemn Asad but somehow acknowledge how difficult it is going to be for that
12 transition to happen so long as he is around.

13 We already condemned the slaughter. I think they are going to change it to
14 “atrocities.”

15 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, it was another suggestion which can further strengthen what
16 I have offered, which is that you strike the number 2 and you simply have paragraph 1
17 and you condemn President Bashar al-Asad’s ongoing slaughter of his own people and
18 state that it is the policy of the U.S. that you have transition of power as rapidly as

1 possible and modifying the other to some degree. But again, it is not the overtness that
2 Senator Corker and the others are concerned about.

3 It seems to me you are accomplishing the purpose here, folks. I do not think
4 there is any misreading the notion that a transition of power to a legitimate, just,
5 representative government cannot include Asad.

6 **SENATOR DURBIN.** Mr. Chairman?

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Senator Durbin?

8 **SENATOR DURBIN.** Maybe I do not see this as some others do, but here is the way I
9 see it. The starting point is the stated policy of this administration of several officials
10 that Asad must go. That has been said and re-said over and over as the slaughter has
11 gotten worse, progressively worse. We say in the first paragraph here he is guilty of
12 slaughtering his own people, and in the second paragraph, we say and he cannot be
13 their legitimate leader. That to me is not a leap of logic. That is entirely consistent.

14 You are trying to judiciously work your way through to bring people aboard.
15 My fear, as I stated before, is that at the end of the day, they will say what did the
16 Senate Foreign Relations Committee just do. I thought the policy was clear that Asad
17 had to go, and yet they could not agree on it. They had to come up with very vague
18 language to get through that section. Has American foreign policy changed about the

1 future of Asad? I would rather have it clear and unequivocal even it were not
2 unanimous.

3 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Okay. On that note, which I think is a good and fitting comment
4 here, I think the appropriate thing to do here is to let the votes fall where they fall. I am
5 comfortable with the idea that if we have a strong majority with the Senators, that is the
6 way it is, and we have made the statement that the authors originally set out to make.

7 So, therefore, I would suggest that we vote at this point, unless there is further
8 debate, on the Casey second degree amendment, and then we would vote on Corker as
9 amended by Casey.

10 Just to remind everybody where that puts us, this is the language we would be
11 voting on. On the current page where it says that it is the policy, we would strike
12 everything after that and insert the following: "that it is the policy of the United States
13 that the legitimate aspirations of the Syrian people cannot be realized so long as Bashar
14 al-Asad remains in power and that he must step aside and that Syria must transition to
15 a just, representative, and inclusive government selected by the people of Syria." So
16 that is the Casey second degree amendment to the Corker.

17 And the clerk will call the roll. That is all those in favor of the amendment as I
18 read it.

1 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Boxer?

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

3 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Menendez?

4 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Aye.

5 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Cardin?

6 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Aye.

7 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Casey?

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

9 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Webb?

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No vote.

11 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Shaheen?

12 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

13 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Coons?

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

15 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Durbin?

16 **SENATOR DURBIN.** Aye.

17 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Udall?

18 **SENATOR UDALL.** Aye.

1 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Lugar?

2 **SENATOR LUGAR.** No.

3 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Corker?

4 **SENATOR CORKER.** No.

5 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Risch?

6 **SENATOR RISCH.** No.

7 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Rubio?

8 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Aye.

9 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Inhofe?

10 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Votes no by proxy.

11 **THE CLERK.** Mr. DeMint?

12 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Votes no by proxy.

13 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Isakson?

14 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** Aye.

15 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Barrasso?

16 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** Aye.

17 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Lee?

18 **SENATOR LUGAR.** No by proxy.

1 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman?

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye.

3 **THE CLERK.** 12 ayes, 6 nays.

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** By a vote of 12 ayes to 6 nays, the Corker second degree is
5 adopted.

6 We now vote on the Corker, as amended by -- by Casey. Right.

7 So I think we can do this by voice vote. All those in favor, say aye.

8 [Chorus of ayes.]

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Opposed, nay?

10 [Chorus of nays.]

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The ayes have it and the amendment is adopted.

12 So now we proceed to a vote on final passage. I just want to raise a couple of
13 other minor changes, if I can. I also want to reserve this. I am not comfortable. There
14 are a couple of places in here where I think we can still sharpen the language a little bit,
15 with all due respect, and I would like to sit, if I can, with the authors -- Senator Casey is
16 not here, but Senator Rubio -- before we bring it to the floor. I think we might be able to
17 work through a few things that could still advance this. I want to try to do that. So we
18 ask permission to reserve that right.

1 In paragraph 1, I wonder if the word -- and I apologize if this is coming late, but
2 other things inspired to make it thus. In paragraph 1, I am personally concerned about
3 whether the word "slaughter" is in fact broad enough to cover everything that the
4 Syrian regime is doing to its own people because it is not just killing. It is torturing. It
5 is raping and so forth. So I thought perhaps we should substitute it with the ongoing
6 "atrocities" against its own people. Does anybody have any objection to that? Delete
7 "slaughter" and replace it with "atrocities against." Are you comfortable with that,
8 Senator Rubio?

9 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Yes.

10 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Then paragraph 6. The President is already engaging with the
11 League of Arab States and the European Union. So I thought we ought to amend that
12 to say "continue to engage" rather than just "engage" because Secretary Clinton was
13 just in the Middle East at a meeting with Friends of Syria, with Turkey, and others, and
14 I think that should accurately reflect that.

15 Similarly, paragraph 13. The President is working on a partners' plan to identify
16 the weapons and stockpiles. We had the classified briefing on some of that recently. I
17 will not go into that here, but I think it should say "accelerate efforts." We should
18 accelerate the efforts.

1 And then the last suggestion is on paragraph 9. I thought we had to do more
2 there than just encourage the opposition to renew its commitment to a representative
3 government. I think we ought to be more precise and that is delete the word "renew" --
4 it has to believe that they have not -- and replace it with set forth a timetable for
5 implementation on it so that it is very specific about what they have got to engage in.

6 **SENATOR LUGAR.** As a practical matter, though, Mr. Chairman, how do you define
7 "opposition"? Who is it that is going to go through all of this that you are describing?

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, Senator, the opposition right now is the Friends of Syria and
9 the Free Syrian Army. Those are the two entities with which the outside world is
10 dealing. And we have taken our lead, to some degree, from the Arab League and the
11 Gulf States and Turkey who are defining sort of who those entities are and who they are
12 comfortable working with. So there seems to be unanimity about that. That is not that
13 much in question.

14 **SENATOR LUGAR.** From the outside world, but inside Syria is there really evidence
15 that there is unanimity with the different groups?

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, there is not unanimity. There is evidence that there
17 distinctly is not. But these are the groups that at the current moment are engaged in the
18 struggle.

1 Why do we not reserve -- why do we not make this one of the things we continue
2 to work through a little before we get to the floor and hopefully meet your needs there.
3 I understand exactly where you are coming from.

4 Is there any objection to those modifications? They are not really amendments. I
5 call them modifications.

6 [No response.]

7 **THE CHAIRMAN.** If not, then those modifications will be in this.

8 **SENATOR CORKER.** Mr. Chairman?

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Yes.

10 **SENATOR CORKER.** I know we are getting ready to vote. I just want to thank you
11 for a great discussion. And to Senator Rubio and Senator Casey, as this moves along, I
12 am still hoping. I thought you actually came up with a pretty good resolve, and I am
13 not sure what we did on 12 does not resolve the concerns that we had before. But we
14 had to have a policy discussion like this on Syria, and I think it has been outstanding.
15 And I think this has furthered everybody's understanding, and I just want to thank you
16 for that.

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Well, I thank everybody, Senator Corker, and I thank you
18 particularly and Senator Rubio. Casey is not here. But you know, this is what the

1 committee is supposed to do, and I think it is terrific that we have spent the time
2 digging into this. This is very, very important. A lot of people will take note of what
3 we say on these things and it is important to get the language correct. So I really
4 appreciate the extra effort to do that.

5 So what I propose is we do a quick voice vote en bloc. Well, we just adopted
6 those. So now we need a voice vote on the resolution, as amended, unless there is a
7 request for a roll call.

8 **SENATOR RISCH.** Mr. Chairman, I would like a roll call please.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Then the clerk will call the roll.

10 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Boxer?

11 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

12 This is the Syrian resolution, as amended.

13 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Menendez?

14 **SENATOR MENENDEZ.** Aye.

15 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Cardin?

16 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Aye.

17 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Casey?

18 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

1 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Webb?

2 **THE CHAIRMAN.** No vote.

3 **THE CLERK.** Mrs. Shaheen?

4 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

5 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Coons?

6 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye by proxy.

7 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Durbin?

8 **SENATOR DURBIN.** Aye.

9 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Udall?

10 **SENATOR UDALL.** Aye.

11 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Lugar?

12 **SENATOR LUGAR.** No.

13 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Corker?

14 **SENATOR CORKER.** No.

15 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Risch?

16 **SENATOR RISCH.** No.

17 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Mr. Rubio?

18 **SENATOR RUBIO.** Aye.

1 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Inhofe?

2 **SENATOR LUGAR.** Votes aye by proxy.

3 **THE CLERK.** Mr. DeMint?

4 **SENATOR LUGAR.** No by proxy.

5 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Isakson?

6 **SENATOR ISAKSON.** Aye.

7 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Barrasso?

8 **SENATOR BARRASSO.** Aye.

9 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Lee?

10 **SENATOR LUGAR.** No by proxy.

11 **THE CLERK.** Mr. Chairman?

12 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Aye.

13 And the record needs to be corrected to reflect that Senator Webb does have a
14 proxy and he votes no.

15 **THE CLERK.** The vote is 13 to 6.

16 **THE CHAIRMAN.** By a vote of 13 to 6, the resolution is approved, as amended.

17 And I want to emphasize that I want to work with colleagues before this comes
18 to the floor and see if we cannot advance it a little bit more. I think it has been a good

1 session, but we may be able to --

2 We now have a vote with respect to the rest of the agenda. The bill itself on
3 reporting to the Congress the nominations of Scott H. DeLisi of Minnesota, Uganda;
4 Michael Raynor of Maryland to be Ambassador to the Republic of Benin; and Makila
5 James of the District of Columbia to be Ambassador to the Kingdom of Swaziland, and
6 the Foreign Service lists.

7 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Mr. Chairman, I would like to raise a question on 2224 for one
8 moment. You can take a vote first, if you want to.

9 **THE CHAIRMAN.** I would like to do that so we do not lose a quorum. So can we do
10 this en bloc? A voice vote. All those in favor, say aye.

11 [Chorus of ayes.]

12 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Opposed, nay?

13 [No response.]

14 **THE CHAIRMAN.** The ayes have it unanimously.

15 Thank you all very, very much.

16 **SENATOR CARDIN.** Mr. Chairman? The information we are requesting in 2224 --

17 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Order, order, please.

18 **SENATOR CARDIN.** A lot of that information I expect to be confidential and will be

1 given in a classified forum. I know there is a requirement for a public report here. It is
2 going to be presented, if they comply with the law, within 15 days after enactment.

3 The reason that I mention this is that I propose that the chairman and this
4 committee have the ability to analyze the information that is presented in a useful way,
5 recognizing full well that that may be in a closed session. And I just really wanted to
6 emphasize that because the information is very important. It is pretty strategic and I
7 expect a good part of it cannot be made public.

8 **THE CHAIRMAN.** Fair enough. So I assume that is discretionary and we can make
9 sure that we proceed accordingly. Terrific.

10 Thank you all very much. Appreciate it. Have a great break.

[Whereupon, at 3:17 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]