

AMENDMENT NO. \_\_\_\_\_ Calendar No. \_\_\_\_\_

Purpose: In the nature of a substitute.

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—116th Cong., 1st Sess.**

**S. 2641**

To promote United States national security and prevent the resurgence of ISIS, and for other purposes.

Referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_ and ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE intended to be proposed by Mr. RISCH (for himself and Mr. MENENDEZ)

Viz:

1 Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:  
2

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5 “Promoting American National Security and Preventing  
6 the Resurgence of ISIS Act of 2019”.

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

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

**TITLE I—PROMOTING STABILITY IN SYRIA**

- Sec. 101. Appropriate congressional committees defined.
- Sec. 102. Findings.
- Sec. 103. Sense of Congress.

- Sec. 104. Strategy to prevent the resurgence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and its affiliates.
- Sec. 105. Briefings on Turkish incursion into northeast Syria.
- Sec. 106. Humanitarian assistance to the people of Syria.
- Sec. 107. Report on accountability for violations of international law, including war crimes, and other harm to civilians in Syria during the Turkish incursion.
- Sec. 108. Statement of policy on denouncing targeting of Kurdish community at the United Nations.
- Sec. 109. Participation of Turkey in NATO.
- Sec. 110. Report on net worth of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.
- Sec. 111. Sense of Congress on Geneva Convention prohibition against pillage.

#### TITLE II—ASSISTING VULNERABLE KURDISH PARTNERS

- Sec. 201. Findings.
- Sec. 202. United States refugee program priorities.
- Sec. 203. Special immigrant status for certain Syrian Kurds and other Syrians who worked for the United States Government in Syria.
- Sec. 204. Processing mechanisms.

#### TITLE III—SANCTIONS AND OTHER RESTRICTIVE MEASURES

- Sec. 301. Definitions.

##### Subtitle A—Measures to Deter Turkish Malign Activities in Syria

- Sec. 311. Effective date; termination.
- Sec. 312. Restriction on arms sales to Turkey.
- Sec. 313. Opposition to loans from international financial institutions that benefit the Government of Turkey.
- Sec. 314. Imposition of sanctions with respect to officials of the Government of Turkey relating to operations in Syria.
- Sec. 315. Imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons providing arms to Turkish forces in Syria.
- Sec. 316. Imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign financial institutions that facilitate transactions for Turkish Armed Forces.

##### Subtitle B—Other Sanctions and Restrictive Measures

- Sec. 321. Imposition of sanctions with respect to officials of the Government of Turkey involved in human rights abuses.
- Sec. 322. Imposition of CAATSA section 231 sanctions against Turkey.
- Sec. 323. Prohibition on transfer of F-35 aircraft to Turkey.
- Sec. 324. Limitations on future transfer of F-35 aircraft to Turkey.
- Sec. 325. Prohibition on export or transfer to Turkey of F-16 aircraft and related training, spare parts, and other support.
- Sec. 326. Imposition of sanctions with respect to support by the Russian Federation for the Assad regime.
- Sec. 327. Sense of Congress on civilian nuclear cooperation agreements with Turkey.

##### Subtitle C—General Provisions

- Sec. 331. Exceptions; waivers.
- Sec. 332. Implementation; regulations; penalties.

Sec. 333. Studies on effectiveness of sanctions in achieving foreign policy objectives.

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS

Sec. 401. Agreement for NATO members not to acquire defense technology incompatible with the security of NATO systems.

Sec. 402. No authorization for the use of military force.

TITLE V—TERMINATION

Sec. 501. Termination.

1 **TITLE I—PROMOTING STABILITY**  
2 **IN SYRIA**

3 **SEC. 101. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES**

4 **DEFINED.**

5 In this title, the term “appropriate congressional  
6 committees” means—

7 (1) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
8 Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee  
9 on Appropriations of the Senate; and

10 (2) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
11 Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee  
12 on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

13 **SEC. 102. FINDINGS.**

14 Congress makes the following findings:

15 (1) On July 12, 2019, the Government of Tur-  
16 key took delivery of the S-400 air defense system,  
17 which it purchased from the defense sector of the  
18 Government of the Russian Federation for a re-  
19 ported cost of \$2,500,000,000.

1           (2) The Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF) have  
2 fought on the frontlines against the Islamic State of  
3 Iraq and Syria (ISIS), in close partnership with the  
4 United States and United States allies.

5           (3) While territorial gains have been made, the  
6 Department of Defense, as of November 27, 2019,  
7 estimated that ISIS retains roughly 11,000 “fight-  
8 ers” in Iraq and Syria.

9           (4) Since 2015, the United States Government  
10 has deployed members of the United States Armed  
11 Forces to Syria for the purpose of the counter-ISIS  
12 campaign, in an advise, assist, and accompany role,  
13 working closely with the SDF.

14           (5) The congressionally-mandated Syria Study  
15 Group in September 2019 found, “Although the  
16 United States military mission in Syria is often  
17 lumped together with the Iraq and Afghanistan mis-  
18 sions in the ‘forever war’ category, the Syria case of-  
19 fers a different, and far less costly, model. A small  
20 United States military footprint, supported by  
21 United States air power and other high-end capabili-  
22 ties, reinforced by a global coalition of like-minded  
23 allies and partners, rallied a local partner force  
24 many times its size to liberate territory from a ter-  
25 rorist group.”

1           (6) According to the Department of Defense, as  
2 of August 2019, the SDF continued to hold about  
3 10,000 ISIS fighters in detention centers in north-  
4 east Syria this quarter. Of these, approximately  
5 2,000 are foreigners from more than 50 countries.  
6 The remaining 8,000 are Iraqi and Syrian.

7           (7) In August 2019, the United States Govern-  
8 ment and the Government of Turkey began imple-  
9 menting a security mechanism to address legitimate  
10 Turkish security concerns along the Turkish Syrian  
11 border in which United States and Turkey estab-  
12 lished a Combined Joint Operations Center and the  
13 SDF withdrew forces from certain areas.

14           (8) On October 9, 2019, Turkish military units  
15 began operations in Syrian territory.

16           (9) The Government of Turkey's October 9,  
17 2019, military offensive created new waves of dis-  
18 placed people, hindered humanitarian operations,  
19 and resulted in the escape of ISIS detainees from  
20 SDF-run prison camps.

21           (10) On October 13, 2019, the SDF announced  
22 a deal with President of Syria Bashar al-Assad's re-  
23 gime that would allow government forces to enter  
24 the Kurdish-controlled areas of northeast Syria for  
25 the first time in years.

1           (11) On October 14, 2019, the European Union  
2           unanimously announced that it would suspend weap-  
3           ons exports to Turkey in condemnation of their mili-  
4           tary action in northeast Syria.

5           (12) On October 17, 2019, the United States  
6           Government negotiated a temporary pause in fight-  
7           ing between the Government of Turkey and Syrian  
8           Kurdish fighters.

9           (13) On October 22, 2019, the Government of  
10          the Russian Federation and the Government of Tur-  
11          key signed a 10-point memorandum of under-  
12          standing, mandating the withdrawal of Syrian Kurd-  
13          ish fighters from areas targeted in Operation Peace  
14          Spring.

15          (14) In November 2019, the Turkish Armed  
16          Forces began testing the S-400 air defense system  
17          that the Turkish Armed Forces purchased from the  
18          Russian Federation.

19          (15) On November 25, 2019, the Department  
20          of Defense announced that it had resumed oper-  
21          ations against ISIS in Syria.

22          (16) As of December 2019, public reports indi-  
23          cated skirmishes continue between Syrian Kurdish  
24          fighters and Turkish forces and the Turkish Sup-  
25          ported Opposition.

1 **SEC. 103. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

2 It is the sense of Congress that—

3 (1) the United States and Turkey have been  
4 treaty allies since 1952, when Turkey became a  
5 member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization  
6 (NATO);

7 (2) being a NATO member means that Turkey  
8 is treaty bound to safeguard the principles of democ-  
9 racy, individual liberty, and the rule of law, and im-  
10 portantly, should be united with other NATO allies  
11 in efforts for collective defense and the preservation  
12 of peace and security;

13 (3) since the Korean War, Turkish troops have  
14 fought alongside the United States Armed Forces  
15 and have been key to the Resolute Support mission  
16 in Afghanistan;

17 (4) the Government of Turkey's military inva-  
18 sion of northeast Syria is an unacceptable and un-  
19 necessary escalation of tensions with the potential to  
20 cause a severe humanitarian crisis;

21 (5) the Government of Turkey's military offen-  
22 sive threatens to undo the collective gains made in  
23 the fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria  
24 (ISIS) by the United States and the 81 countries  
25 and organizations of the Global Coalition to Defeat

1       ISIS, including NATO and the European Union  
2       (EU);

3           (6) the Government of Turkey should imme-  
4       diately cease any further attacks against the Syrian  
5       Democratic Forces (SDF), Kurdish or Arab civil-  
6       ians, or other religious or ethnic minorities in north-  
7       east Syria, and recall its forces back to Turkey;

8           (7) targeted sanctions and other restrictive  
9       measures against Turkey are appropriate to  
10      incentivize the Government of Turkey to refrain  
11      from destabilizing activity in northeast Syria and to  
12      reevaluate its decision to purchase the S-400 air de-  
13      fense system from the Russian Federation;

14          (8) the Government of Turkey's military inva-  
15      sion into northeast Syria is the latest example of the  
16      weakening and problematic United States-Turkey bi-  
17      lateral relationship and undermines the security of  
18      the United States and its NATO allies, including  
19      that of Turkey;

20          (9) the SDF have been critical partners to  
21      United States-led counter-ISIS and broader counter-  
22      terrorism efforts in Syria, and the United States  
23      should continue this partnership with the SDF;



1           (10) the United States Government should uti-  
2           lize diplomatic and military tools to ensure the en-  
3           during defeat of ISIS;

4           (11) the United States should stand by critical  
5           allies and partners;

6           (12) the Government of Turkey's decision to  
7           purchase the S-400 air defense system from the  
8           Government of the Russian Federation, despite clear  
9           warnings from the United States about that sys-  
10          tem's fundamental incompatibility with the United  
11          States and NATO systems currently operating in  
12          Turkey, threatens to undermine Turkey's relation-  
13          ship with the United States and NATO;

14          (13) Russian and Iranian political and military  
15          influence in Syria present a threat to United States  
16          national security interests;

17          (14) the United States Government, in concert  
18          with the international community, should hold ac-  
19          countable members of the Syrian regime and the  
20          Governments of the Russian Federation and Iran for  
21          atrocities against the Syrian people;

22          (15) the Government of Turkey should take  
23          steps to significantly improve the dire climate for  
24          journalists and those supporting the journalism pro-  
25          fession, including—

1 (A) ending the targeting and imprisoning  
2 of journalists and allowing for the press and  
3 independent media to operate freely without  
4 fear of retribution from their government; and

5 (B) releasing all journalists and media  
6 workers imprisoned for fulfilling their profes-  
7 sional responsibilities;

8 (16) press freedom is a fundamental human  
9 right and should be upheld and protected in Turkey  
10 and around the world;

11 (17) the Government of Turkey should release  
12 all individuals detained on politically motivated  
13 charges, including staff locally employed by the  
14 United States diplomatic missions;

15 (18) the Government of Turkey should halt its  
16 indiscriminate detention and prosecution of lawyers,  
17 judges, prosecutors, and court officials, and its tar-  
18 geting of lawyers' associations;

19 (19) the Government of Turkey should ensure  
20 that lawyers can visit detainees in police custody,  
21 and remind police and prosecutors of the protected  
22 role of lawyers under the International Covenant on  
23 Civil and Political Rights, done at New York Decem-  
24 ber 19, 1966; and

1           (20) the Government of Turkey should end the  
2           practice of prosecuting lawyers based on whom they  
3           have represented as clients.

4 **SEC. 104. STRATEGY TO PREVENT THE RESURGENCE OF**  
5                           **THE ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND SYRIA**  
6                           **(ISIS) AND ITS AFFILIATES.**

7           (a) STRATEGY REQUIRED.—Not later than 60 days  
8           after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
9           of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense,  
10          the Administrator of the United States Agency for Inter-  
11          national Development, and the heads of other appropriate  
12          Federal agencies, shall jointly develop and submit to the  
13          appropriate congressional committees a strategy to pre-  
14          vent the resurgence of ISIS and its affiliates in Iraq and  
15          Syria.

16          (b) ELEMENTS OF THE STRATEGY.—The strategy re-  
17          quired under subsection (a) shall include the following ele-  
18          ments:

19                 (1) A summary of the United States national  
20                 security interests in Iraq and Syria and the impact  
21                 a resurgence of ISIS would have on those interests.

22                 (2) A comprehensive assessment of current  
23                 training and support programs by agency or depart-  
24                 ment, specifically focused on countering ISIS and  
25                 other terrorist organizations, including non-lethal as-

1 assistance, training, and organizational capacity for  
2 the SDF, the Iraqi Security Forces, the Kurdish  
3 Peshmerga, and others to counter gains by ISIS and  
4 its affiliates.

5 (3) A detailed description of United States Gov-  
6 ernment efforts to support, develop, and expand  
7 local governance structures in areas in Syria pre-  
8 viously liberated from ISIS control.

9 (4) An estimate of the number of current, ac-  
10 tive ISIS members in Iraq and Syria, including an  
11 assessment of those being held in detainee camps or  
12 prisons.

13 (5) A comprehensive plan to address ISIS de-  
14 tainees currently being held in Syria and Iraq, in-  
15 cluding—

16 (A) the designation of an existing official  
17 within the executive branch or the Department  
18 of State to serve as a senior-level coordinator to  
19 coordinate, in conjunction with the lead and  
20 other relevant agencies, all matters for the  
21 United States Government relating to the long-  
22 term disposition of ISIS fighter detainees, in-  
23 cluding all matters in connection with—

24 (i) repatriation, transfer, prosecution,  
25 and intelligence-gathering;

1 (ii) coordinating a whole-of-govern-  
2 ment approach with other countries and  
3 international organizations, including  
4 INTERPOL, to ensure secure chains of  
5 custody and locations of ISIS foreign ter-  
6 rorist fighter detainees;

7 (iii) coordinating technical and evi-  
8 dentiary assistance to foreign countries to  
9 aid in the successful prosecution of ISIS  
10 foreign terrorist fighter detainees;

11 (iv) all multilateral and international  
12 engagements led by the Department of  
13 State and other agencies that are related  
14 to the current and future handling, deten-  
15 tion, and prosecution of ISIS foreign ter-  
16 rorist fighter detainees; and

17 (v) communicating developments re-  
18 lated to an ISIS detainee suspected of  
19 committing a criminal act against a United  
20 States citizen to the family of that citizen;

21 (B) engagement with international part-  
22 ners on legal, tenable mechanisms for repa-  
23 triating foreign fighters; and

24 (C) a plan for how funds in Acts making  
25 appropriations will support disarmament, demo-

1           bilization, disengagement, deradicalization, and  
2           reintegration of current and former members  
3           and affiliates of ISIS and their family members.

4           (6) A description, which may be in classified  
5           form, of ISIS senior leadership and infrastructure  
6           and efforts to target leadership figures.

7           (7) A comprehensive description of the activities  
8           of the United States Government, utilizing social  
9           media and other communication technologies, to  
10          counter ISIS's propaganda and influence and its  
11          ability to use such technologies to recruit fighters  
12          domestically and internationally, including through  
13          private technology companies, and a description of  
14          how such activities are being coordinated across the  
15          United States Government.

16          (8) A description of the steps taken by the  
17          United States Government, including through the  
18          use of economic sanctions to deny financial resources  
19          to ISIS and its affiliates, in conjunction with inter-  
20          national partners and financial institutions.

21          (9) A description of United States Government  
22          efforts to support credible war crimes prosecutions  
23          against ISIS fighters.

24          (10) A plan to ensure the delivery of humani-  
25          tarian assistance.

1 **SEC. 105. BRIEFINGS ON TURKISH INCURSION INTO**  
2 **NORTHEAST SYRIA.**

3 (a) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Con-  
4 gress that—

5 (1) the Russian Federation and Iran continue  
6 to exploit a security vacuum in Syria and continue  
7 to pose a threat to vital United States national secu-  
8 rity interests; and

9 (2) continued Turkish military activity in north-  
10 east Syria negatively impacts the national security  
11 interests of the United States.

12 (b) **BRIEFINGS REQUIRED.**—

13 (1) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 15 days after  
14 the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 15  
15 days thereafter, the Secretary of State, in coordina-  
16 tion with the Secretary of Defense and the Adminis-  
17 trator of the United States Agency for International  
18 Development, and in consultation with the heads of  
19 other appropriate Federal agencies, shall jointly  
20 brief the appropriate congressional committees on  
21 the October 2019 Turkish incursion into Syria, in-  
22 cluding the impact of the withdrawal of United  
23 States troops from northeast Syria.

24 (2) **ELEMENTS OF THE BRIEFING.**—The brief-  
25 ing required under paragraph (1) shall include the  
26 following elements:

1 (A) A description of the impact of the in-  
2 cursion on the ability of ISIS to reconstitute a  
3 physical caliphate.

4 (B) A description of the impact of the in-  
5 cursion on the Russian Federation's military  
6 and political influence in Syria.

7 (C) A description of the impact of the in-  
8 cursion on Iran's ability to increase its military  
9 and political influence in Syria.

10 (D) A comprehensive assessment of the  
11 United States Government's activities to  
12 counter Iranian and Russian influence in Syria.

13 (E) An outline of any planned joint actions  
14 by the Department of State and the Depart-  
15 ment of Defense, in consultation with the heads  
16 of other appropriate Federal agencies, regard-  
17 ing any and all stabilization funds or activities  
18 for Syria and an explanation of how such funds  
19 and activities can contribute to stabilization in  
20 the current environment.

21 (F) The creation and use by the Govern-  
22 ment of Turkey of "safe zones" to justify the  
23 involuntary or uninformed return of Syrian ref-  
24ugees from Turkey to Syrian territory or to jus-  
25tify the forced displacement of Syrians inside



1 Syria or to prevent Syrians from seeking inter-  
2 national protections.

3 (G) The role of the Government of Turkey  
4 and Turkish-backed forces in facilitating hu-  
5 manitarian actors, including the cross-border  
6 work of international nongovernmental organi-  
7 zations (INGOs), and in ensuring efficient,  
8 open supply lines for humanitarian assistance  
9 and personnel through border crossing points  
10 on the Turkey-Syria and Iraq-Syria borders and  
11 facilitating safe passage of humanitarian assist-  
12 ance inside Syria based on need.

13 (H) The impact of actions of the Govern-  
14 ment of Turkey and the Turkish Supported Op-  
15 position on the operation of camps in Syria for  
16 displaced people, in particular women and chil-  
17 dren, and the impact of such actions on wheth-  
18 er residents of such camps are treated as civil-  
19 ian victims of conflict in accordance with inter-  
20 national law and standards.

21 (I) The actions of the Government of Tur-  
22 key and Turkish-backed forces in taking effec-  
23 tive measures to protect civilians and civilian  
24 infrastructure, including health facilities, water-

1           pumping stations, and restricting use of explo-  
2           sive weapons in populated areas.

3 **SEC. 106. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO THE PEOPLE OF**  
4           **SYRIA.**

5           (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
6 gress that all parties to the conflict in Syria should uphold  
7 international humanitarian principles by facilitating and  
8 expanding humanitarian access across Syria and sup-  
9 porting the rapid, safe, and unhindered delivery of human-  
10 itarian assistance to those in greatest need.

11          (b) AUTHORIZATION.—The President is authorized to  
12 provide assistance authorized to be appropriated or other-  
13 wise made available to carry out the purposes of the For-  
14 eign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), sec-  
15 tion 202 of the Food for Peace Act (7 U.S.C. 1722), and  
16 subsections (a) through (c) of section 2 of the Migration  
17 and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962 (22 U.S.C. 2601) to  
18 meet the urgent humanitarian needs of Syrian refugees  
19 and displaced persons, as well as communities hosting sig-  
20 nificant numbers of Syrian refugees and displaced per-  
21 sons, in accordance with established international humani-  
22 tarian principles.

1 **SEC. 107. REPORT ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR VIOLATIONS**  
2 **OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING WAR**  
3 **CRIMES, AND OTHER HARM TO CIVILIANS IN**  
4 **SYRIA DURING THE TURKISH INCURSION.**

5 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
6 gress that—

7 (1) Turkish and pro-Turkish forces should end  
8 all practices involving arbitrary arrests, enforced dis-  
9 appearances, torture, arbitrary executions, and other  
10 unlawful treatment; and

11 (2) all parties in the Turkish incursion should  
12 reveal the fate or the location of all persons who  
13 have been subjected to enforced disappearance.

14 (b) REPORT.—

15 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after  
16 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
17 of State shall review evidence of these crimes com-  
18 mitted by groups equipped and supported by Tur-  
19 key, as authorized by the Syrian war crimes provi-  
20 sion in section 1232 of the John S. McCain National  
21 Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019,  
22 and submit to the appropriate congressional commit-  
23 tees a report that describes the causes and con-  
24 sequences of civilian harm occurring during the  
25 Turkish incursion into northeast Syria, including  
26 violations of the law of armed conflict, and gross vio-

1       lations of human rights as a result of the actions of  
2       all parties to the conflict.

3           (2) ELEMENTS.—The report required under  
4       paragraph (1) shall include the following elements:

5           (A) A description of civilian harm occur-  
6       ring in the context of the Turkish incursion, in-  
7       cluding—

8           (i) mass casualty incidents; and

9           (ii) damage to, and destruction of, ci-  
10       vilian infrastructure and services, includ-  
11       ing—

12           (I) hospitals and other medical  
13       facilities;

14           (II) electrical grids;

15           (III) water systems; and

16           (IV) other critical infrastructure.

17       (B) A description of violations of the law  
18       of armed conflict committed during the Turkish  
19       incursion into northeast Syria by Turkish or  
20       pro-Turkish forces, including—

21           (i) alleged war crimes, including the  
22       alleged use of chemical weapons against ci-  
23       vilian targets;

24           (ii) specific instances of failure by the  
25       parties to the conflict to exercise distinc-

1                   tion, proportionality, and precaution in the  
2                   use force in accordance with the law of  
3                   armed conflict;

4                   (iii) arbitrary denials of humanitarian  
5                   access and the resulting impact on the alle-  
6                   viation of human suffering;

7                   (iv) extra-judicial executions and de-  
8                   tention-related abuses; and

9                   (v) other acts that may constitute vio-  
10                  lations of the law of armed conflict.

11                 (C) Recommendations for establishing ac-  
12                 countability mechanisms for civilian harm, war  
13                 crimes, other violations of the law of armed  
14                 conflict, and gross violations of human rights  
15                 perpetrated by Turkish and pro-Turkish forces  
16                 in northeast Syria, including the potential for  
17                 prosecuting individuals perpetrating, orga-  
18                 nizing, directing, or ordering such violations.

19     **SEC. 108. STATEMENT OF POLICY ON DENOUNCING TAR-**  
20                   **GETING OF KURDISH COMMUNITY AT THE**  
21                   **UNITED NATIONS.**

22                 It is the policy of the United States to use the voice  
23     and vote of the United States at the United Nations—

24                 (1) to denounce the targeting of the Kurdish  
25     community in northeast Syria; and

1           (2) to oppose activities of the Government of  
2           Turkey targeting the Kurdish community in Syria.

3 **SEC. 109. PARTICIPATION OF TURKEY IN NATO.**

4           (a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following find-  
5 ings:

6           (1) Article 1 of the North Atlantic Treaty,  
7           signed at Washington April 4, 1949, states, “The  
8           Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the  
9           United Nations, to settle any international dispute  
10          in which they may be involved by peaceful means in  
11          such a manner that international peace and security  
12          and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in  
13          their international relations from the threat or use  
14          of force in any manner inconsistent with the pur-  
15          poses of the United Nations.”

16          (2) Turkey has invaded northeast Syria with  
17          the intention of targeting the Kurdish minority in  
18          the country, in a manner inconsistent with Article 1  
19          of the North Atlantic Treaty.

20          (b) DEPARTMENT OF STATE REPORT ON PARTICIPA-  
21 TION OF TURKEY IN NATO.—Not later than 90 days  
22 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
23 of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
24 committees a report that includes the following elements:

1           (1) An assessment of the historical contribu-  
2           tions made by Turkey to the NATO alliance since it  
3           became a member in 1952 .

4           (2) An assessment of the impact of Turkey's  
5           October 2019 incursion into northeast Syria on the  
6           national security of its NATO allies.

7           (3) An assessment of Turkey's role in the alli-  
8           ance and the future prospects for Turkey to fully  
9           embrace and implement all 14 articles of the North  
10          Atlantic Treaty.

11 **SEC. 110. REPORT ON NET WORTH OF PRESIDENT RECEP**  
12 **TAYYIP ERDOĞAN.**

13          (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days after the  
14          date of the enactment of this Act, the Director of National  
15          Intelligence shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
16          committees a report on the estimated net worth and  
17          known sources of income of Turkish President Recep  
18          Tayyip Erdoğan and his family members (including  
19          spouse, children, parents, and siblings), including assets,  
20          investments, other business interests, and relevant bene-  
21          ficial ownership information.

22          (b) FORM.—The report required under subsection (a)  
23          shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include  
24          a classified annex.

1 **SEC. 111. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON GENEVA CONVENTION**  
2 **PROHIBITION AGAINST PILLAGE.**

3 It is the sense of Congress that the United States  
4 will uphold its commitment to the prohibition against pil-  
5 lage as referenced in Article 33 of the Geneva Convention  
6 relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of  
7 War, done at Geneva August 12, 1949 (commonly referred  
8 to as the Fourth Geneva Convention), particularly regard-  
9 ing oil.

10 **TITLE II—ASSISTING VULNER-**  
11 **ABLE KURDISH PARTNERS**

12 **SEC. 201. FINDINGS.**

13 Congress makes the following findings:

14 (1) As of November 14, 2019, according to the  
15 United Nations Office for the Coordination of Hu-  
16 manitarian Affairs, more than 190,000 Syrian  
17 Kurdish civilians are internally displaced and more  
18 than 400,000 civilians in the Syrian conflict zone  
19 will have significant humanitarian needs in Kurdish-  
20 controlled areas of northeastern Syria as a result of  
21 ongoing Turkish operations against Syrian Demo-  
22 cratic Forces.

23 (2) Members of the Syrian Democratic Forces  
24 have fought on the front lines against the Islamic  
25 State, in partnership and with the close support of  
26 the United States and its allies and partners.



1 **SEC. 202. UNITED STATES REFUGEE PROGRAM PRIORITIES.**

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, in con-  
3 sultation with the Secretary of Homeland Security, shall  
4 designate, as Priority 2 refugees of special humanitarian  
5 concern—

6 (1) Syrian Kurds and other Syrians who were  
7 or are employed by the United States Government in  
8 Syria in support of the United States military or hu-  
9 manitarian mission in Syria, as determined by the  
10 Secretary of State, for an aggregate period of at  
11 least 1 year beginning on or after January 1, 2014;

12 (2) Syrian Kurds and other Syrians who estab-  
13 lish, to the satisfaction of the Secretary of State,  
14 that they are or were employed in Syria for an ag-  
15 gregate period of at least 1 year beginning on or  
16 after January 1, 2014, by—

17 (A) a media or nongovernmental organiza-  
18 tion headquartered in the United States; or

19 (B) an organization or entity that—

20 (i) is closely associated with the  
21 United States military or humanitarian  
22 mission in Syria, as determined by the Sec-  
23 retary of State; and

24 (ii) has received a grant from, or en-  
25 tered into a cooperative agreement or con-  
26 tract with, the United States Government;

1           (3) the spouses, children, and parents of aliens  
2 described in paragraph (1); and

3           (4) Syrian Kurds and other Syrians who—

4                 (A) have been identified by the Secretary  
5 of State as a persecuted group; and

6                 (B) have close family members (as de-  
7 scribed in section 201(b)(2)(A)(i) or 203(a) of  
8 the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
9 1151(b)(2)(A)(i) and 1153(a)) in the United  
10 States.

11         (b) ELIGIBILITY FOR ADMISSION AS A REFUGEE.—

12 An alien may not be denied the opportunity to apply for  
13 admission as a refugee under this section solely because  
14 such alien qualifies as an immediate relative of a national  
15 of the United States or is eligible for admission to the  
16 United States under any other immigrant classification.

17         (c) MEMBERSHIP IN CERTAIN SYRIAN ORGANIZA-  
18 TIONS.—An applicant for admission to the United States  
19 may not be deemed inadmissible based on membership in,  
20 or support provided to, the Syrian Democratic Forces.

21         (d) IDENTIFICATION OF OTHER PERSECUTED  
22 GROUPS.—The Secretary of State is authorized to classify  
23 other groups of Syrians, including vulnerable populations,  
24 as Priority 2 refugees of special humanitarian concern.

1 **SEC. 203. SPECIAL IMMIGRANT STATUS FOR CERTAIN SYR-**  
2 **IAN KURDS AND OTHER SYRIANS WHO**  
3 **WORKED FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERN-**  
4 **MENT IN SYRIA.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (d)(1), for  
6 purposes of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
7 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.), the Secretary of Homeland Security  
8 may provide any alien described in subsection (b) with the  
9 status of a special immigrant under section 101(a)(27) of  
10 such Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(27)) if—

11 (1) the alien, or an agent acting on behalf of  
12 the alien, submits a petition to the Secretary under  
13 section 204 of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1154) for classi-  
14 fication under section 203(b)(4) of such Act (8  
15 U.S.C. 1153(b)(4));

16 (2) the alien is otherwise eligible to receive an  
17 immigrant visa;

18 (3) the alien is otherwise admissible to the  
19 United States for permanent residence (excluding  
20 the grounds for inadmissibility specified in section  
21 212(a)(4) of such Act (8 U.S.C. 1182(a)(4))); and

22 (4) clears a background check and appropriate  
23 screening, as determined by the Secretary of Home-  
24 land Security.

25 (b) ALIENS DESCRIBED.—An alien described in this  
26 subsection—

1           (1)(A) is a national of Syria or a stateless Kurd  
2           habitually residing in Syria;

3           (B) was or is employed by, or on behalf of, the  
4           United States Government in a role that was vital  
5           to the success of the United States' Counter ISIS  
6           mission in Syria, as determined by the Secretary of  
7           State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense,  
8           for a period of at least 1 year beginning on January  
9           1, 2014;

10          (C) obtained a favorable written recommenda-  
11          tion from the employee's senior supervisor (or the  
12          person currently occupying that position) or a more  
13          senior person, if the employee's senior supervisor has  
14          left the employer or has left Syria, in the entity that  
15          was supported by the alien;

16          (D) cleared a background check and screening  
17          before submitting a petition under subsection (a)(1),  
18          pursuant to the requirements set forth in subsection  
19          (c)(3); and

20          (E) has experienced or is experiencing an ongo-  
21          ing serious threat as a consequence of the alien's  
22          employment by the United States Government; or

23          (2)(A) is the spouse or a child of a principal  
24          alien described in paragraph (1); and

1           (B) is following or accompanying to join the  
2           principal alien in the United States.

3           (c) EVALUATION OF PETITIONS.—

4           (1) DESIGNATION OF OFFICER.—Not later than  
5           30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
6           the Secretary of State shall designate a senior for-  
7           eign service officer to provide an evaluation of poten-  
8           tial applicants before approving a petition under this  
9           section.

10          (2) GUIDELINES.—Not later than 60 days after  
11          the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
12          of State, in consultation with the Secretary of De-  
13          fense, shall publish guidelines for evaluating peti-  
14          tions under this section.

15          (3) APPROVAL PROCESS.—

16                (A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in  
17                subparagraph (B), a petition may not be ap-  
18                proved under this section unless the rec-  
19                ommendation described in paragraph (1)(C) is  
20                approved by the designee referred to in para-  
21                graph (1), after conducting a risk assessment of  
22                the alien petitioner and an independent review  
23                of relevant records maintained by the United  
24                States Government or hiring organization or  
25                entity to confirm that the alien was employed

1 by, and provided faithful service to, the United  
2 States Government.

3 (B) NOTIFICATION AND APPEAL.—An ap-  
4 plicant whose application has been denied under  
5 subparagraph (A)—

6 (i) shall receive a written decision that  
7 provides, to the maximum extent feasible,  
8 information describing the basis for the de-  
9 nial, including the facts and inferences un-  
10 derlying the individual determination; and

11 (ii) shall be provided an opportunity  
12 for not more than 1 written appeal,  
13 which—

14 (I) shall be submitted not more  
15 than 120 days after the date on which  
16 the applicant receives such written de-  
17 cision;

18 (II) may request the reopening of  
19 such denial; and

20 (III) shall provide additional in-  
21 formation, clarify existing informa-  
22 tion, or explain any unfavorable infor-  
23 mation.

24 (4) EVIDENCE OF SERIOUS THREAT.—In mak-  
25 ing a determination under subsection (b)(1)(E), a

1 credible sworn statement depicting dangerous coun-  
2 try conditions and official evidence of such country  
3 conditions from the United States Government shall  
4 be considered as a factor in determining whether an  
5 alien petitioner has experienced or is experiencing an  
6 ongoing serious threat as a consequence of the  
7 alien's employment by the United States Govern-  
8 ment.

9 (d) NUMERICAL LIMITATIONS.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise pro-  
11 vided under this subsection, the total number of  
12 principal aliens who may be provided special immi-  
13 grant status under this section may not exceed 400  
14 in any fiscal year beginning on or after the date of  
15 the enactment of this Act.

16 (2) EXCLUSION FROM NUMERICAL LIMITA-  
17 TIONS.—Aliens provided special immigrant status  
18 under this section shall not be counted against any  
19 numerical limitation under section 201(d), 202(a),  
20 or 203(b)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act  
21 (8 U.S.C. 1151(d), 1152(a), and 1153(b)(4)).

22 (3) CARRY FORWARD.—If the numerical limita-  
23 tion set forth in paragraph (1) is not reached during  
24 a fiscal year, the numerical limitation under such  
25 paragraph for the following fiscal year shall be in-

1        creased by a number equal to the difference be-  
2        tween—

3                (A) the number of visas authorized under  
4                paragraph (1) for such fiscal year; and

5                (B) the number of principal aliens provided  
6                special immigrant status under this section dur-  
7                ing such fiscal year.

8        (e) VISA AND PASSPORT ISSUANCE AND FEES.—An  
9        alien described in subsection (b) may not be charged any  
10       fee in connection with an application for, or the issuance  
11       of, a special immigrant visa under this section.

12       (f) PROTECTION OF ALIENS.—The Secretary of  
13       State, in consultation with the heads of other appropriate  
14       Federal agencies, shall make a reasonable effort to provide  
15       protection to each alien described in subsection (b) who  
16       is seeking special immigrant status under this section or  
17       to immediately remove such alien from Syria, if possible,  
18       if the Secretary determines, after consultation, that such  
19       alien is in imminent danger.

20       (g) SECURITY.—An alien is not eligible for admission  
21       as a special immigrant under this section if the alien is  
22       otherwise inadmissible to the United States under section  
23       212(a)(3) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8  
24       U.S.C. 1182(a)(3)).

25       (h) APPLICATION PROCESS.—



1           (1) REPRESENTATION.—An alien applying for  
2 admission to the United States as a special immi-  
3 grant under this section may be represented during  
4 the application process, including at relevant inter-  
5 views and examinations, by an attorney or other ac-  
6 credited representative. Such representation shall  
7 not be at the expense of the United States Govern-  
8 ment.

9           (2) COMPLETION.—The Secretary of State and  
10 the Secretary of Homeland Security, in consultation  
11 with the Secretary of Defense, shall ensure that ap-  
12 plications for special immigrant visas under this sec-  
13 tion are processed in such a manner to ensure that  
14 all steps under the control of the respective depart-  
15 ments incidental to the issuance of such visas, in-  
16 cluding required screenings and background checks,  
17 are completed not later than 9 months after the date  
18 on which an eligible alien submits all required mate-  
19 rials to apply for such visa.

20           (3) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Notwith-  
21 standing paragraph (2), any Secretary referred to in  
22 such paragraph may take longer than 9 months to  
23 complete the steps incidental to issuing a visa under  
24 this section if the Secretary—

1 (A) determines that the satisfaction of na-  
2 tional security concerns requires additional  
3 time; and

4 (B) notifies the applicant of such deter-  
5 mination.

6 ~~(i) ELIGIBILITY FOR OTHER IMMIGRANT CLASSI-~~  
7 ~~FICATION.—An alien may not be denied the opportunity~~  
8 ~~to apply for admission under this section solely because~~  
9 ~~such alien—~~

10 (1) qualifies as an immediate relative of a na-  
11 tional of the United States; or

12 (2) is eligible for admission to the United  
13 States under any other immigrant classification.

14 (j) RESETTLEMENT SUPPORT.—An alien who is  
15 granted special immigrant status under this section shall  
16 be eligible for the same resettlement assistance, entitle-  
17 ment programs, and other benefits as are available to refu-  
18 gees admitted under section 207 of the Immigration and  
19 Naturalization Act (8 U.S.C. 1157).

20 (k) AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT ADMINISTRATIVE  
21 MEASURES.—The Secretary of Homeland Security, the  
22 Secretary of State, and the Secretary of Defense shall im-  
23 plement any additional administrative measures they con-  
24 sider necessary and appropriate—

1 (1) to ensure the prompt processing of applica-  
2 tions under this section;

3 (2) to preserve the integrity of the program es-  
4 tablished under this section; and

5 (3) to protect the national security interests of  
6 the United States related to such program.

7 (l) SAVINGS PROVISION.—Nothing in this section  
8 may be construed to affect the authority of the Secretary  
9 of Homeland Security under section 1059 of the National  
10 Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2006 (Public  
11 Law 109–163; 8 U.S.C. 1101 note).

12 **SEC. 204. PROCESSING MECHANISMS.**

13 The Secretary of State shall use existing refugee  
14 processing mechanisms in Iraq and in other countries in  
15 the region, as appropriate, through which—

16 (1) aliens described in section 202(a) may apply  
17 and interview for admission to the United States as  
18 refugees; and

19 (2) aliens described in section 203(b) may apply  
20 and interview for admission to the United States as  
21 special immigrants.

22 **TITLE III—SANCTIONS AND**  
23 **OTHER RESTRICTIVE MEASURES**

24 **SEC. 301. DEFINITIONS.**

25 In this title:

1           (1) ADMISSION; ADMITTED; ALIEN.—The terms  
2           “admission”, “admitted”, and “alien” have the  
3           meanings given those terms in section 101 of the  
4           Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101).

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

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

11                   (B) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and  
12                  the Committee on Financial Services of the  
13                  House of Representatives.

14           (3) FINANCIAL INSTITUTION.—The term “fi-  
15           nancial institution” means a financial institution  
16           specified in subparagraph (A), (B), (C), (D), (E),  
17           (F), (G), (H), (I), (J), (M), or (Y) of section  
18           5312(a)(2) of title 31, United States Code.

19           (4) FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTION.—The  
20           term “foreign financial institution” has the meaning  
21           given that term in regulations prescribed by the Sec-  
22           retary of the Treasury.

23           (5) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
24           son” means an individual or entity that is not a  
25           United States person.

1           (6) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly” with  
2           respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
3           means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
4           have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
5           result.

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

8                   (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
9                   fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
10                  United States; or

11                   (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
12                  the United States or any jurisdiction within the  
13                  United States, including a foreign branch of  
14                  such an entity.

15           **Subtitle A—Measures to Deter**  
16           **Turkish Malign Activities in Syria**

17           **SEC. 311. EFFECTIVE DATE; TERMINATION.**

18           (a) REQUIREMENT FOR FINDING.—

19                   (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 45 days after  
20                  the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 90  
21                  days thereafter, the Secretary of State, the Sec-  
22                  retary of Defense, and the Director of National In-  
23                  telligence, shall jointly submit to the appropriate  
24                  congressional committees the finding and certifi-  
25                  cation described in paragraph (2).

1           (2) FINDING AND CERTIFICATION DE-  
2        SCRIBED.—The finding and certification described in  
3        this paragraph is a finding and certification that the  
4        Government of Turkey is not—

5           (A) engaged in or knowingly supporting of-  
6        fensive operations against the Syrian Demo-  
7        cratic Forces, Kurdish or Arab civilians, or  
8        other religious or ethnic minority communities  
9        in northeast Syria;

10          (B) committing, directing, or knowingly fa-  
11        cilitating the commission of serious violations of  
12        internationally recognized human rights in  
13        northeast Syria;

14          (C) hindering counterterrorism operations  
15        against ISIS and its affiliates; and

16          (D) engaged in the forcible repatriation of  
17        Syrian refugees from Turkey to Syria.

18        (h) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The requirements of this  
19        subtitle shall take effect on the first date on which the  
20        Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Di-  
21        rector of National Intelligence are unable or otherwise fail  
22        to submit jointly the finding and certification described  
23        in paragraph (2) of subsection (a) as required by para-  
24        graph (1) of that subsection.

1 (c) TERMINATION.—The requirements of this subtitle  
2 shall terminate if, after the effective date described in sub-  
3 section (b), the Secretary of State, the Secretary of De-  
4 fense, and the Director of National Intelligence jointly  
5 submit to the appropriate congressional committees the  
6 finding and certification described in subsection (a)(2).

7 **SEC. 312. RESTRICTION ON ARMS SALES TO TURKEY.**

8 (a) PROHIBITION ON ARMS TRANSFERS TO TUR-  
9 KEY.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—On and after the effective  
11 date described in section 311(b), no United States  
12 defense articles, services, or technology may be  
13 transferred under the Arms Export Control Act (22  
14 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) or any other provision of law  
15 to Turkey if such articles, services, or technology are  
16 likely to be used in operations by the Turkish Armed  
17 Forces in Syria.

18 (2) EXCEPTION.—The prohibition under para-  
19 graph (1) does not apply to transfers for ultimate  
20 end use by the United States Armed Forces or in  
21 military operations approved by NATO, or for  
22 verified incorporation into defense articles for re-ex-  
23 ports to other countries.

24 (b) LIMITATION ON LICENSES TO TRANSFER DE-  
25 FENSE ARTICLES OR DEFENSE SERVICES TO TURKEY.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 3  
2           or 36 of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.  
3           2753 and 2776) or any other provision of law, the  
4           President may not, on and after the effective date  
5           described in section 311(b), issue a license to export,  
6           or letter of offer or consent for the transfer of de-  
7           fense articles or defense services to Turkey unless—

8                   (A) the President notifies Congress of the  
9                   President’s intention to issue the license or let-  
10                  ter of offer or consent;

11                  (B) a period of not less than 30 days  
12                  elapses after Congress receives that notification;  
13                  and

14                  (C) during the period described in sub-  
15                  paragraph (B), a joint resolution disapproving  
16                  the issuance of the license or letter of offer or  
17                  consent is not enacted in accordance with para-  
18                  graph (2).

19           (2) CONSIDERATION OF JOINT RESOLUTIONS.—

20                   (A) SENATE.—A joint resolution under  
21                   paragraph (1) shall be considered in the Senate  
22                   in accordance with the provisions of section  
23                   601(b) of the International Security Assistance  
24                   and Arms Export Control Act of 1976 (Public  
25                   Law 94–329; 90 Stat. 765).



1           (B) HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—For  
2           the purpose of expediting the consideration and  
3           enactment of a joint resolution under paragraph  
4           (1), a motion to proceed to the consideration of  
5           any such joint resolution after it has been re-  
6           ported by the appropriate committee shall be  
7           treated as highly privileged in the House of  
8           Representatives.

9           (3) EXCEPTION.—The limitation under para-  
10          graph (1) does not apply to licenses required for  
11          transfers described in subsection (a)(2). The Sec-  
12          retary of State shall provide to the Committee on  
13          Foreign Relations of the Senate and the Committee  
14          on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives  
15          a monthly report summarizing each license approved  
16          under this exemption.

17 **SEC. 313. OPPOSITION TO LOANS FROM INTERNATIONAL**  
18                   **FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT BENEFIT**  
19                   **THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY.**

20          (a) IN GENERAL.—The President shall direct the  
21          United States executive director to each international fi-  
22          nancial institution to use the voice and vote of the United  
23          States to oppose any loan from the international financial  
24          institution that would benefit the Government of Turkey  
25          on and after the effective date described in section 311(b).

1           (b) INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTION DE-  
2 FINED.—In this section, the term “international financial  
3 institution” has the meaning given that term in section  
4 1701(c) of the International Financial Institutions Act  
5 (22 U.S.C. 262r(c)).

6           (c) EXCEPTION FOR HUMANITARIAN PURPOSES.—  
7 The restrictions under subsection (a) shall not apply with  
8 respect to loans or financial or technical assistance pro-  
9 vided for basic human needs.

10          (d) WAIVER FOR ENERGY DIVERSIFICATION  
11 PROJECTS.—The Secretary of the Treasury may waive, on  
12 a case-by-case basis, the application of the restrictions  
13 under subsection (a) only if , not later than 15 days after  
14 issuing the waiver, the Secretary submits to the appro-  
15 priate congressional committees a written determination  
16 that the waiver will be used to support a project to diver-  
17 sify energy resources in Turkey and to lessen the depend-  
18 ence of Turkey on oil or gas from the Russian Federation  
19 or Iran, or to support a project to diversify energy re-  
20 sources in Europe and to lessen the dependence of Europe  
21 on oil or gas from the Russian Federation or Iran.

1 **SEC. 314. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
2 **OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY**  
3 **RELATING TO OPERATIONS IN SYRIA.**

4 (a) CERTAIN SENIOR OFFICIALS.—On and after the  
5 effective date described in section 311(b), each of the fol-  
6 lowing officials shall be subject to the same sanctions as  
7 a person included on the list of specially designated na-  
8 tionals and blocked persons maintained by the Office of  
9 Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the Treas-  
10 ury:

11 (1) The Minister of National Defense of Tur-  
12 key.

13 (2) The Chief of the General Staff of the Turk-  
14 ish Armed Forces.

15 (3) The Commander of the 2nd Army of the  
16 Turkish Armed Forces.

17 (4) The Minister of Treasury and Finance of  
18 Turkey.

19 (b) ADDITIONAL OFFICIALS.—

20 (1) LIST REQUIRED.—Not later than 30 days  
21 after the effective date described in section 311(b),  
22 and every 60 days thereafter, the Secretary of State,  
23 in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and  
24 the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to  
25 the appropriate congressional committees a list of  
26 individuals that the Secretary of State, in consulta-

1           tion with the Secretary of Defense and the Director  
2           of National Intelligence, determines are—

3                   (A) senior officials of the Turkish Armed  
4           Forces leading offensive operations against the  
5           Syrian Democratic Forces, Kurdish or Arab ci-  
6           vilians, or other religious or ethnic minority  
7           communities in northeast Syria; and

8                   (B) officials of the Government of Turkey  
9           significantly facilitating such operations.

10           (2) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—On and after  
11           the date that is 15 days after the submission of the  
12           most recent list required by paragraph (1), the  
13           President shall impose the following sanctions with  
14           respect to each foreign person identified on the list:

15                   (A) PROPERTY BLOCKING.—The President  
16           shall exercise all of the powers granted by the  
17           International Emergency Economic Powers Act  
18           (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the re-  
19           quirements of section 202 of such Act (50  
20           U.S.C. 1701) shall not apply) to the extent nec-  
21           essary to block and prohibit all transactions in  
22           all property and interests in property of a for-  
23           eign person if such property and interests in  
24           property are in the United States, come within

1 the United States, or are or come within the  
2 possession or control of a United States person.

3 (B) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, AD-  
4 MISSION, OR PAROLE.—

5 (i) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—

6 An alien is—

7 (I) inadmissible to the United  
8 States;

9 (II) ineligible to receive a visa or  
10 other documentation to enter the  
11 United States; and

12 (III) otherwise ineligible to be  
13 admitted or paroled into the United  
14 States or to receive any other benefit  
15 under the Immigration and Nation-  
16 ality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

17 (ii) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

18 (I) IN GENERAL.—The visa or  
19 other entry documentation of an alien  
20 shall be revoked, regardless of when  
21 such visa or other entry documenta-  
22 tion is or was issued.

23 (II) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A rev-  
24 ocation under subclause (I) shall—

1 (aa) take effect immediately;  
2 and  
3 (bb) automatically cancel  
4 any other valid visa or entry doc-  
5 umentation that is in the alien's  
6 possession.

7 **SEC. 315. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
8 **FOREIGN PERSONS PROVIDING ARMS TO**  
9 **TURKISH FORCES IN SYRIA.**

10 (a) LIST REQUIRED.—Not later than 90 days after  
11 the effective date described in section 311(b), and every  
12 120 days thereafter and as new information becomes avail-  
13 able, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Sec-  
14 retary of Defense and the Director of National Intel-  
15 ligence, shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-  
16 mittees a list of any foreign persons the Secretary of  
17 State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and  
18 the Director of National Intelligence, determines to have  
19 knowingly provided, on or after such effective date, signifi-  
20 cant defense articles, services, or technology to Turkey  
21 likely to be used in operations by the Turkish Armed  
22 Forces in Syria.

23 (b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—On and after the  
24 date on which the first list required by subsection (a) is  
25 submitted, the President shall impose 3 or more of the

1 sanctions described in subsection (c) with respect to each  
2 foreign person identified on the list.

3 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions that  
4 may be imposed with respect to a foreign person under  
5 subsection (b) are the following:

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

13 (2) EXPORT SANCTION.—The President may  
14 order the United States Government not to issue  
15 any specific license and not to grant any other spe-  
16 cific permission or authority to export any goods or  
17 technology to the foreign person under—

18 (A) section 1754(c)(1)(A)(i) of the Export  
19 Control Reform Act of 2018 (50 U.S.C.  
20 4813(c)(1)(A)(i));

21 (B) the Arms Export Control Act (22  
22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.);

23 (C) the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 (42  
24 U.S.C. 2011 et seq.); or

1                   (D) any other statute that requires the  
2                   prior review and approval of the United States  
3                   Government as a condition for the export or re-  
4                   export of goods or services.

5                   (3) LOANS FROM UNITED STATES FINANCIAL  
6                   INSTITUTIONS.—The President may prohibit any  
7                   United States financial institution from making  
8                   loans or providing credits to the foreign person total-  
9                   ing more than \$10,000,000 in any 12-month period  
10                  unless the person is engaged in activities to relieve  
11                  human suffering and the loans or credits are pro-  
12                  vided for such activities.

13                  (4) LOANS FROM INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL  
14                  INSTITUTIONS.—The President may direct the  
15                  United States executive director to each inter-  
16                  national financial institution to use the voice and  
17                  vote of the United States to oppose any loan from  
18                  the international financial institution that would  
19                  benefit the foreign person.

20                  (5) PROHIBITIONS ON FINANCIAL INSTITU-  
21                  TIONS.—The following prohibitions may be imposed  
22                  against the person if that person is a financial insti-  
23                  tution:

24                         (A) PROHIBITION ON DESIGNATION AS  
25                         PRIMARY DEALER.—Neither the Board of Gov-



1 errors of the Federal Reserve System nor the  
2 Federal Reserve Bank of New York may des-  
3 ignate, or permit the continuation of any prior  
4 designation of, the financial institution as a pri-  
5 mary dealer in United States Government debt  
6 instruments.

7 (B) PROHIBITION ON SERVICE AS A RE-  
8 POSITORY OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS.—The fi-  
9 nancial institution may not serve as agent of  
10 the United States Government or serve as re-  
11 pository for United States Government funds.

12 The imposition of either sanction under subpara-  
13 graph (A) or (B) shall be treated as one sanction for  
14 purposes of subsection (b), and the imposition of  
15 both such sanctions shall be treated as two sanctions  
16 for purposes of subsection (b).

17 (6) PROCUREMENT SANCTION.—The United  
18 States Government may not procure, or enter into  
19 any contract for the procurement of, any goods or  
20 services from the foreign person.

21 (7) FOREIGN EXCHANGE.—The President may,  
22 pursuant to such regulations as the President may  
23 prescribe, prohibit any transactions in foreign ex-  
24 change that are subject to the jurisdiction of the

1 United States and in which the person has any in-  
2 terest.

3 (8) BANKING TRANSACTIONS.—The President  
4 may, pursuant to such regulations as the President  
5 may prescribe, prohibit any transfers of credit or  
6 payments between financial institutions or by,  
7 through, or to any financial institution, to the extent  
8 that such transfers or payments are subject to the  
9 jurisdiction of the United States and involve any in-  
10 terest of the foreign person.

11 (9) PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS.—The President  
12 may, pursuant to such regulations as the President  
13 may prescribe, prohibit any person from—

14 (A) acquiring, holding, withholding, using,  
15 transferring, withdrawing, transporting, import-  
16 ing, or exporting any property that is subject to  
17 the jurisdiction of the United States and with  
18 respect to which the foreign person has any in-  
19 terest;

20 (B) dealing in or exercising any right,  
21 power, or privilege with respect to such prop-  
22 erty; or

23 (C) conducting any transaction involving  
24 such property.

1           (10) BAN ON INVESTMENT IN EQUITY OR DEBT  
2           OF SANCTIONED PERSON.—The President may, pur-  
3           suant to such regulations or guidelines as the Presi-  
4           dent may prescribe, prohibit any United States per-  
5           son from investing in or purchasing significant  
6           amounts of equity or debt instruments of the foreign  
7           person.

8           (11) EXCLUSION OF CORPORATE OFFICERS.—  
9           The President may direct the Secretary of State to  
10          deny a visa to, and the Secretary of Homeland Secu-  
11          rity to exclude from the United States, any alien  
12          that the President determines is a corporate officer  
13          or principal of, or a shareholder with a controlling  
14          interest in, the foreign person.

15          (12) SANCTIONS ON PRINCIPAL EXECUTIVE OF-  
16          FICERS.—The President may impose on the prin-  
17          cipal executive officer or officers of the sanctioned  
18          person, or on persons performing similar functions  
19          and with similar authorities as such officer or offi-  
20          cers, any of the sanctions under this subsection.

21          (d) EXCEPTION.—Sanctions imposed under this sec-  
22          tion shall not apply to transfers of defense articles, serv-  
23          ices, or technology for ultimate end use by the United  
24          States Armed Forces or in military operations approved

1 by NATO or for verified incorporation into defense articles  
2 for re-export to other countries.

3 **SEC. 316. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
4 **FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT FA-**  
5 **CILITATE TRANSACTIONS FOR TURKISH**  
6 **ARMED FORCES.**

7 (a) HALK BANKASI OR HALKBANK.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—On and after the effective  
9 date described in section 311(b), the President shall  
10 impose 3 or more of the sanctions described in sub-  
11 section (c) with respect to—

12 (A) Halk Bankasi;

13 (B) Halkbank; and

14 (C) any successor entity to an entity speci-  
15 fied in subparagraph (A) or (B).

16 (2) FAILURE TO IMPOSE SANCTIONS ON HALK  
17 BANKASI OR HALKBANK.—If, as of the date that is  
18 90 days after the effective date described in section  
19 311(b), the President has not imposed 3 or more of  
20 the sanctions described in subsection (c) with respect  
21 to a financial institution described in paragraph (1),  
22 that institution shall be subject to the same sanc-  
23 tions as a person included on the list of specially  
24 designated nationals and blocked persons maintained

1 by the Office of Foreign Assets Control of the De-  
2 partment of the Treasury.

3 (b) ADDITIONAL FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITU-  
4 TIONS.—

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—If the President determines,  
6 on and after the effective date described in section  
7 311(b), that any foreign financial institution (other  
8 than a financial institution specified in subsection  
9 (a)(1)), has knowingly facilitated a significant trans-  
10 action for the Turkish Armed Forces for the purpose  
11 of supporting the military operations of Turkey in  
12 Syria, the President shall, not later than 60 days  
13 after that determination, impose 3 or more of the  
14 sanctions described in subsection (c) with respect to  
15 that foreign financial institution.

16 (2) REGULATIONS REQUIRED.—Not later than  
17 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
18 the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe regula-  
19 tions to implement paragraph (1).

20 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions that  
21 may be imposed under subsection (a) or (b) with respect  
22 to a foreign financial institution are the following:

23 (1) EXPORT-IMPORT BANK ASSISTANCE FOR  
24 EXPORTS.—The President may direct the Export-  
25 Import Bank of the United States not to give ap-

1       proval to the issuance of any guarantee, insurance,  
2       extension of credit, or participation in the extension  
3       of credit in connection with the export of any goods  
4       or services to the foreign financial institution.

5               (2) LOANS FROM UNITED STATES FINANCIAL  
6       INSTITUTIONS.—The United States Government  
7       may prohibit any United States financial institution  
8       from making loans or providing credits to the for-  
9       eign financial institution totaling more than  
10       \$10,000,000 in any 12-month period unless the for-  
11       eign financial institution is engaged in activities to  
12       relieve human suffering and the loans or credits are  
13       provided for such activities.

14               (3) LOANS FROM INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL  
15       INSTITUTIONS.—The President may direct the  
16       United States executive director to each inter-  
17       national financial institution to use the voice and  
18       vote of the United States to oppose any loan from  
19       the international financial institution that would  
20       benefit the foreign financial institution.

21               (4) PROHIBITION ON DESIGNATION AS PRIMARY  
22       DEALER.—Neither the Board of Governors of the  
23       Federal Reserve System nor the Federal Reserve  
24       Bank of New York may designate, or permit the  
25       continuation of any prior designation of, the foreign

1 financial institution as a primary dealer in United  
2 States Government debt instruments.

3 (5) PROHIBITION ON SERVICE AS A REPOSI-  
4 TORY OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS.—The foreign finan-  
5 cial institution may not serve as an agent of the  
6 United States Government or serve as a repository  
7 for United States Government funds.

8 (6) FOREIGN EXCHANGE.—The President may,  
9 pursuant to such regulations as the President may  
10 prescribe, prohibit any transactions in foreign ex-  
11 change that are subject to the jurisdiction of the  
12 United States and in which the foreign financial in-  
13 stitution has any interest.

14 (7) BANKING TRANSACTIONS.—The President  
15 may, pursuant to such regulations as the President  
16 may prescribe, prohibit any transfers of credit or  
17 payments between financial institutions or by,  
18 through, or to any financial institution, to the extent  
19 that such transfers or payments are subject to the  
20 jurisdiction of the United States and involve any in-  
21 terest of the foreign financial institution.

22 (8) PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS.—The President  
23 may, pursuant to such regulations as the President  
24 may prescribe, prohibit any person from—

1           (A) acquiring, holding, withholding, using,  
2           transferring, withdrawing, transporting, import-  
3           ing, or exporting any property that is subject to  
4           the jurisdiction of the United States and with  
5           respect to which the foreign financial institution  
6           has any interest;

7           (B) dealing in or exercising any right,  
8           power, or privilege with respect to such prop-  
9           erty; or

10          (C) conducting any transaction involving  
11          such property.

12          (9) BAN ON INVESTMENT IN EQUITY OR DEBT  
13          OF SANCTIONED PERSON.—The President may, pur-  
14          suant to such regulations or guidelines as the Presi-  
15          dent may prescribe, prohibit any United States per-  
16          son from investing in or purchasing significant  
17          amounts of equity or debt instruments of the foreign  
18          financial institution.

19          (10) EXCLUSION OF CORPORATE OFFICERS.—  
20          The President may direct the Secretary of State to  
21          deny a visa to, and the Secretary of Homeland Secu-  
22          rity to exclude from the United States, any alien  
23          that the President determines is a corporate officer  
24          or principal of, or a shareholder with a controlling  
25          interest in, the foreign financial institution.



1           (11) SANCTIONS ON PRINCIPAL EXECUTIVE OF-  
2           FICERS.—The President may impose on the prin-  
3           cipal executive officer or officers of the foreign fi-  
4           nancial institution, or on persons performing similar  
5           functions and with similar authorities as such officer  
6           or officers, any of the sanctions under this sub-  
7           section.

8           **Subtitle B—Other Sanctions and**  
9           **Restrictive Measures**

10       **SEC. 321. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
11                               **OFFICIALS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY**  
12                               **INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES.**

13       (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date that is 90  
14       days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every  
15       120 days thereafter, the President shall impose the sanc-  
16       tions described in subsection (b) with respect to any offi-  
17       cial of the Government of Turkey or member of the Turk-  
18       ish Armed Forces that the President determines is respon-  
19       sible for serious abuses of internationally recognized  
20       human rights relating to Turkey's invasion of northeast  
21       Syria.

22       (b) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions to be  
23       imposed with respect to an official described in subsection  
24       (a) are the following:

1           (1) PROPERTY BLOCKING.—The President shall  
2           exercise all of the powers granted by the Inter-  
3           national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
4           U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the requirements  
5           of section 202 of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1701) shall  
6           not apply) to the extent necessary to block and pro-  
7           hibit all transactions in all property and interests in  
8           property of a foreign person if such property and in-  
9           terests in property are in the United States, come  
10          within the United States, or are or come within the  
11          possession or control of a United States person.

12          (2) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMIS-  
13          SION, OR PAROLE.—

14                (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An  
15          alien is—

16                   (i) inadmissible to the United States;  
17                   (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other  
18                   documentation to enter the United States;  
19                   and  
20                   (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
21                   or paroled into the United States or to re-  
22                   ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
23                   tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
24                   seq.).

25          (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

1 (i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other  
2 entry documentation of an alien shall be  
3 revoked, regardless of when such visa or  
4 other entry documentation is or was  
5 issued.

6 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
7 tion under clause (i) shall—

8 (I) take effect immediately; and

9 (II) automatically cancel any  
10 other valid visa or entry documenta-  
11 tion that is in the alien's possession.

12 **SEC. 322. IMPOSITION OF CAATSA SECTION 231 SANCTIONS**  
13 **AGAINST TURKEY.**

14 (a) TREATMENT OF PURCHASE OF S-400 AIR AND  
15 MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM AS SANCTIONABLE TRANS-  
16 ACTION.—For the purposes of section 231 of the Coun-  
17 tering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (22  
18 U.S.C. 9525), Turkey's acquisition of the S-400 air de-  
19 fense system from the Russian Federation beginning July  
20 12, 2019, shall be considered to be a significant trans-  
21 action described in that section.

22 (b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—Not later than 30  
23 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Presi-  
24 dent shall, in accordance with section 231 of the Coun-  
25 tering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (22

1 U.S.C. 9525), impose 5 or more of the sanctions described  
2 in section 235 of that Act (22 U.S.C. 9529) with respect  
3 to each person that knowingly engaged in the acquisition  
4 of the S-400 air defense system from the Russian Federa-  
5 tion.

6 **SEC. 323. PROHIBITION ON TRANSFER OF F-35 AIRCRAFT**  
7 **TO TURKEY.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided under sub-  
9 sections (b) and (c), no funds may be obligated or ex-  
10 pended—

11 (1) to transfer, facilitate the transfer, or au-  
12 thorize the transfer of an F-35 aircraft to Turkey;

13 (2) to transfer intellectual property or technical  
14 data necessary for or related to any maintenance or  
15 support of F-35 aircraft in Turkey; or

16 (3) to construct a storage facility for, or other-  
17 wise facilitate the storage in Turkey of, an F-35 air-  
18 craft transferred to Turkey.

19 (b) WAIVER.—The President may waive the limita-  
20 tion under subsection (a) upon a written certification to  
21 Congress that—

22 (1) the Government of Turkey no longer oper-  
23 ates, possesses, exercises effective control over, or is  
24 pursuing any activity to reacquire the S-400 air de-  
25 fense system or a successor system; and



1 to the Government of Turkey, and no United States de-  
2 fense articles or services may be provided for such pur-  
3 poses, until 15 days after the President certifies in writing  
4 to Congress that—

5 (1) the Government of Turkey no longer oper-  
6 ates, possesses, exercises effective control over, or is  
7 pursuing any activity to reacquire the S-400 air de-  
8 fense system or a successor system; and

9 (2) no S-400 air defense system or successor  
10 system is operated or maintained by Russian nation-  
11 als, or persons acting on behalf of the Russian Fed-  
12 eration, inside Turkey.

13 **SEC. 326. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
14 **SUPPORT BY THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION FOR**  
15 **THE ASSAD REGIME.**

16 (a) LIST REQUIRED.—Not later than 90 days after  
17 the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 120 days  
18 thereafter, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the  
19 Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intel-  
20 ligence, shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-  
21 mittees a list of each Russian person that the Secretary  
22 of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and  
23 the Director of National Intelligence, determines, on or  
24 after such date of enactment, knowingly exports, trans-  
25 fers, or otherwise provides to Syria significant financial,

1 material, or technological support that contributes materi-  
2 ally to the ability of the Government of Syria to acquire  
3 defense articles, defense services, and related information.

4 (b) SANCTIONS.—A Russian person identified on the  
5 list required by subsection (a) shall be subject to the same  
6 sanctions as a person included on the list of specially des-  
7 ignated nationals and blocked persons maintained by the  
8 Office of Foreign Assets Control of the Department of the  
9 Treasury.

10 (c) WAIVER.—

11 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
12 case-by-case basis and for renewable periods of not  
13 to exceed 60 days, waive the application of this sec-  
14 tion with respect to a Russian person if the Presi-  
15 dent determines and certifies to the appropriate con-  
16 gressional committees that such a waiver is in the  
17 vital national security interests of the United States.

18 (2) CERTIFICATION.—The certification ref-  
19 erenced in paragraph (1) shall include a detailed ex-  
20 planation of the specific factors upon which the de-  
21 termination was made that a waiver is in the vital  
22 national security interests of the United States.

23 (3) BRIEFING.—Not later than 10 days after  
24 the issuance of a waiver under paragraph (1), and  
25 every 90 days thereafter while the waiver remains in

1 effect, the President shall brief the appropriate con-  
2 gressional committees on the justification for the  
3 waiver.

4 (d) **RUSSIAN PERSON DEFINED.**—In this section, the  
5 term “Russian person” has the meaning given that term  
6 in section 256(c) of the Countering America’s Adversaries  
7 Through Sanctions Act (22 U.S.C. 9545(c)).

8 **SEC. 327. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON CIVILIAN NUCLEAR CO-**  
9 **OPERATION AGREEMENTS WITH TURKEY.**

10 (a) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Con-  
11 gress that—

12 (1) the statement by President Erdogan on  
13 September 4, 2019, that he “cannot accept” a state  
14 of affairs in which Turkey has no missiles armed  
15 with nuclear warheads, along with other concerning  
16 statements from senior officials that Turkey may  
17 pursue a nuclear-weapons capability, runs counter to  
18 Turkey’s obligations under the Nuclear Non-  
19 proliferation Treaty;

20 (2) concerns have been raised about Turkey’s  
21 adherence to international nonproliferation agree-  
22 ments, including the Chemical Weapons Convention;

23 (3) Congress should exercise oversight of the  
24 2008 United States-Turkey civilian nuclear coopera-  
25 tion agreement (“123 agreement”) prior to its auto-



1       matic renewal in 2023 if credible evidence emerges  
2       that the Government of Turkey may pursue develop-  
3       ment of a nuclear weapon; and

4           (4) a new or renewed civilian-nuclear coopera-  
5       tion agreement with the Government of Turkey  
6       should be made in accordance with the requirements  
7       of section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954  
8       (42 U.S. 2153) and Congress should be afforded the  
9       opportunity to vote on the renewal of such an agree-  
10      ment if circumstances surrounding Turkey's nuclear  
11      program or United States-Turkey relations undergo  
12      a substantial change.

13      (b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

14           (1) CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION.—The  
15      term “Chemical Weapons Convention” means the  
16      Convention on the Prohibition of the Development,  
17      Production, Stockpiling and use of Chemical Weap-  
18      ons and on their Destruction, done at Paris January  
19      13, 1993.

20           (2) NUCLEAR NONPROLIFERATION TREATY.—  
21      The term “Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty” means  
22      the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear  
23      Weapons, done at Washington, London, and Moscow  
24      July 1, 1968.

## 1       **Subtitle C—General Provisions**

### 2       **SEC. 331. EXCEPTIONS; WAIVERS.**

#### 3           (a) EXCEPTION FOR INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—

4       Sanctions under this title shall not apply to any activity  
5       subject to the reporting requirements under title V of the  
6       National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.),  
7       or to any authorized intelligence activities of the United  
8       States.

9           (b) EXCEPTION FOR OFFICIAL BUSINESS OF UNITED  
10       STATES GOVERNMENT.—Sanctions under this title shall  
11       not apply to the conduct of the official business of the  
12       United States Government by employees, contractors, or  
13       grantees of the United States Government.

14          (c) EXCEPTIONS FOR COMPLIANCE WITH INTER-  
15       NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT AC-  
16       TIVITIES.—Sanctions under this title shall not apply with  
17       respect to an alien if admitting or paroling the alien into  
18       the United States is necessary—

19           (1) to permit the United States to comply with  
20       the Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the  
21       United Nations, signed at Lake Success June 26,  
22       1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947,  
23       between the United Nations and the United States,  
24       or other applicable international obligations; or

1           (2) to carry out or assist law enforcement activ-  
2           ity in the United States.

3           (d) EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
4           GOODS.—

5           (1) IN GENERAL.—The authorities and require-  
6           ments to impose sanctions authorized under this  
7           title shall not include the authority or a requirement  
8           to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

9           (2) GOOD DEFINED.—In this subsection, the  
10          term “good” means any article, natural or manmade  
11          substance, material, supply or manufactured prod-  
12          uct, including inspection and test equipment, and ex-  
13          cluding technical data.

14          (e) NATIONAL SECURITY WAIVER.—

15          (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
16          case-by-case basis, waive for a period of not more  
17          than 90 days, the imposition of sanctions under sec-  
18          tion 314, 315, 316, or 321 with respect to a foreign  
19          person if the President submits to the appropriate  
20          congressional committees—

21                  (A) a written determination that the waiv-  
22                  er is important to the national security interests  
23                  of the United States;

24                  (B) a detailed explanation of how the waiv-  
25                  er is important to those interests; and

1 (C) a report addressing whether the Gov-  
2 ernment of Turkey is—

3 (i) engaged in offensive operations  
4 against the Syrian Democratic Forces,  
5 Kurdish or Arab civilians, or other reli-  
6 gious or ethnic minority communities in  
7 northeast Syria;

8 (ii) committing, directing, or know-  
9 ingly facilitating the commission of gross  
10 violations of internationally recognized  
11 human rights in northeast Syria;

12 (iii) hindering counterterrorism oper-  
13 ations against ISIS and its affiliates; or

14 (iv) engaged in the forcible repatri-  
15 ation of Syrian refugees from Turkey to  
16 Syria.

17 (2) RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.—The President  
18 may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver under  
19 paragraph (1) for additional periods of not more  
20 than 90 days each if, not later than 30 days before  
21 the waiver expires, the President submits to the ap-  
22 propriate congressional committees—

23 (A) a written determination that the re-  
24 newal of the waiver is important to the national  
25 security interests of the United States;

1 (B) a detailed explanation of how the re-  
2 newal of the waiver is important to those inter-  
3 ests; and

4 (C) a report addressing whether the Gov-  
5 ernment of Turkey is—

6 (i) engaged in offensive operations  
7 against the Syrian Democratic Forces,  
8 Kurdish or Arab civilians, or other reli-  
9 gious or ethnic minority communities in  
10 northeast Syria;

11 (ii) committing, directing, or know-  
12 ingly facilitating the commission of gross  
13 violations of internationally recognized  
14 human rights in northeast Syria;

15 (iii) hindering counterterrorism oper-  
16 ations against ISIS and its affiliates; or

17 (iv) engaged in the forcible repatri-  
18 ation of Syrian refugees from Turkey to  
19 Syria.

20 (f) HUMANITARIAN WAIVER.—The President may  
21 waive the application of section 314, 315, 316, or 321 for  
22 the purpose of providing humanitarian assistance if the  
23 President submits to the appropriate congressional com-  
24 mittees—

1           (1) a written determination that such a waiver  
2           is important to address a humanitarian need and  
3           consistent with the national security interests of the  
4           United States; and

5           (2) a justification relating to such determina-  
6           tion.

7   **SEC. 332. IMPLEMENTATION; REGULATIONS; PENALTIES.**

8           (a) **IMPLEMENTATION.**—The President may exercise  
9           all authorities provided to the President under sections  
10          203 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
11          Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this  
12          title.

13          (b) **REGULATIONS.**—The President shall issue such  
14          regulations, licenses, and orders as are necessary to carry  
15          out this title.

16          (c) **PENALTIES.**—A person that violates, attempts to  
17          violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of this  
18          title or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry  
19          out this title shall be subject to the penalties set forth in  
20          subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
21          Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the  
22          same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act de-  
23          scribed in subsection (a) of that section.

1 **SEC. 333. STUDIES ON EFFECTIVENESS OF SANCTIONS IN**  
2 **ACHIEVING FOREIGN POLICY OBJECTIVES.**

3 (a) INDEPENDENT STUDIES.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State shall  
5 provide for the performance of 2 independent studies  
6 on the use of sanctions by the United States Govern-  
7 ment and the effectiveness of sanctions in achieving  
8 foreign policy objectives that includes an assessment  
9 of the following:

10 (A) Whether the United States Govern-  
11 ment is appropriately organized, staffed, and  
12 resourced to effectively develop and implement  
13 sanctions as a tool of foreign policy and coordi-  
14 nate sanctions policy and implementation with  
15 allies and other like-minded governments.

16 (B) The effect of sanctions on the decision-  
17 making calculus of the countries, entities, or in-  
18 dividuals subject to sanctions.

19 (C) The effect of the threat of sanctions  
20 on, and cases in which the threat of sanctions  
21 have affected, the decision-making calculus of  
22 countries, entities, or individuals subject to such  
23 threat.

24 (D) The effect on United States national  
25 security, including the ability to deter problem-

1           atic behavior, when mandatory statutory sanc-  
2           tions are not implemented.

3           (E) Cases in which sanctions have led to a  
4           desired change in behavior by the country, enti-  
5           ty, or individual subject to the sanctions.

6           (F) Cases in which sanctions have led to  
7           an undesirable change in behavior by the coun-  
8           try, entity, or individual subject to the sanc-  
9           tions.

10          (G) The effect of sanctions on United  
11          States businesses and businesses in countries  
12          that are allies of the United States.

13          (H) Whether extensive or exhaustive sanc-  
14          tions have been a precursor to increased mili-  
15          tary actions.

16          (I) Whether unilateral sanctions have been  
17          effective in changing behavior or otherwise ad-  
18          vancing national security or foreign policy ob-  
19          jectives.

20          (J) Cases in which sanctions used in com-  
21          bination with extensive diplomacy have had led  
22          to desired changes in behavior.

23          (K) The collateral effects of sanctions on  
24          civilians and their welfare.



1           (L) The record of all sanctions imposed by  
2           the United States currently in effect, by coun-  
3           try, and how long those sanctions have been in  
4           effect.

5           (M) The history of sanctions imposed with  
6           respect to allies of the United States and the  
7           result of those sanctions.

8           (2) CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS.—Each  
9           entity performing a study mandated under para-  
10          graph (1) shall consult with the Committee on For-  
11          eign Relations of the Senate and the Committee on  
12          Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives  
13          while conducting the study.

14          (3) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS.—

15           (A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than June 1,  
16           2020, the Secretary shall submit the results of  
17           each study required by paragraph (1) to the ap-  
18           propriate congressional committees.

19           (B) FORM.—The results of each study sub-  
20           mitted under subparagraph (A) shall be sub-  
21           mitted in unclassified form, but may include a  
22           classified annex.

23          (b) ENTITIES TO PERFORM STUDIES.—The Sec-  
24          retary shall provide for the studies required by subsection  
25          (a) to be performed as follows:

1           (1) One study shall be performed by the Comp-  
2 troller General of the United States.

3           (2) One study shall be performed by a federally  
4 funded research and development center that has  
5 recognized credentials and expertise in national secu-  
6 rity and foreign policy.

## 7       **TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS**

### 8       **SEC. 401. AGREEMENT FOR NATO MEMBERS NOT TO AC-** 9                               **QUIRE DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY INCOMPAT-** 10                              **IBLE WITH THE SECURITY OF NATO SYSTEMS.**

11       The U.S. mission to NATO shall pursue an agree-  
12 ment that members will not acquire defense technology in-  
13 compatible with the security of NATO systems.

### 14       **SEC. 402. NO AUTHORIZATION FOR THE USE OF MILITARY** 15                              **FORCE.**

16       Nothing in this Act shall be construed as an author-  
17 ization for the use of military force.

## 18       **TITLE V—TERMINATION**

### 19       **SEC. 501. TERMINATION.**

20       This Act shall terminate on the date that is 5 years  
21 after the date of the enactment of this Act.