

116TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

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

To impose sanctions with respect to Turkey, and for other purposes.

---

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

---

Mr. GRAHAM (for himself, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Ms. ERNST, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mr. TOOMEY, Mr. COONS, Mrs. BLACKBURN, Mrs. SHAHEEN, Mr. ALEXANDER, Ms. DUCKWORTH, Mr. PORTMAN, Ms. HASSAN, Mr. ROMNEY, and Mr. CARPER) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_

---

**A BILL**

To impose sanctions with respect to Turkey, and for other purposes.

1        *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4        This Act may be cited as the “Countering Turkish  
5 Aggression Act of 2019”.

6 **SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

7        It is the sense of Congress that—

8            (1) the decision to pull back United States  
9        troops along the Turkey-Syria border area has grave

1 consequences for the national security of the United  
2 States and allies and partners of the United States;

3 (2) the President of Turkey, Recep Tayyip  
4 Erdogan, should immediately cease unilateral mili-  
5 tary action in Northeast Syria and respect existing  
6 agreements related to Syria;

7 (3) the United States should continue to sup-  
8 port the Syrian Kurdish communities, who have  
9 been key partners of the United States in the ongo-  
10 ing fight the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria; and

11 (4) the President should—

12 (A) call on Turkey to end its offensive op-  
13 erations against the Syrian Kurds and return to  
14 the framework agreement between the United  
15 States and Turkey to establish a safe zone  
16 along the Turkish-Syrian border;

17 (B) withdraw the invitation for the Presi-  
18 dent of Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, to trav-  
19 el to the United States for meetings at the  
20 White House; and

21 (C) seek unity with European and other  
22 key partners to condemn Turkey's military of-  
23 fensive in northeastern Syria.

24 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

25 In this Act:

1           (1) FINANCIAL INSTITUTION.—The term “fi-  
2           nancial institution” means a financial institution  
3           specified in subparagraph (A), (B), (C), (D), (E),  
4           (F), (G), (H), (I), (J), (M), or (Y) of section  
5           5312(a)(2) of title 31, United States Code.

6           (2) FOREIGN FINANCIAL INSTITUTION.—The  
7           term “foreign financial institution” has the meaning  
8           given that term in regulations prescribed by the Sec-  
9           retary of the Treasury.

10          (3) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
11          son” means an individual or entity that is not a  
12          United States person.

13          (4) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
14          respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
15          means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
16          have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
17          result.

18          (5) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
19          “United States person” means—

20                 (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
21                 fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
22                 United States; or

23                 (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
24                 the United States or any jurisdiction within the

1 United States, including a foreign branch of  
2 such an entity.

3 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO TUR-**  
4 **KEY.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date of the en-  
6 actment of this Act, the President shall—

7 (1) impose the sanctions described in subsection  
8 (c) with respect to—

9 (A) each official of the Government of Tur-  
10 key described in subsection (b);

11 (B) any foreign person that the President  
12 determines knowingly sells or provides financial,  
13 material, or technological support to, or know-  
14 ingly conducts a transaction with, the Turkish  
15 Armed Forces, including—

16 (i) aircraft or aircraft parts or ma-  
17 chinery used by the Turkish Air Force;

18 (ii) automotive equipment and services  
19 used by the Turkish Land and Naval  
20 Forces; and

21 (iii) defense articles, services, tech-  
22 nology, or materials used by the Turkish  
23 Armed Forces; or

24 (C) any foreign person that the President  
25 determines knowingly supplies goods, services,

1           technology, information, or other support that  
2           maintains or supports the production of crude  
3           oil, natural gas, or refined petroleum or natural  
4           gas products, in Turkey for use by the Turkish  
5           Armed Forces; and

6           (2) prohibit any United States person from en-  
7           gaging in any transaction with a person described in  
8           paragraph (1).

9           (b) OFFICIALS DESCRIBED.—An official of the Gov-  
10          ernment of Turkey described in this subsection is any of  
11          the following:

12           (1) The President of Turkey.

13           (2) The Vice President of Turkey.

14           (3) The Minister of National Defense of Tur-  
15          key.

16           (4) The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

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

19           (6) The Minister of Trade of Turkey.

20           (7) The Minister of Energy and Natural Re-  
21          sources of Turkey.

22           (8) The Chief of the National Intelligence Orga-  
23          nization of Turkey.

24           (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
25          scribed in this subsection are the blocking and prohibiting,

1 pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Pow-  
2 ers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.), of all transactions in  
3 property and interests in property of a person subject to  
4 subsection (a) if such property and interests in property  
5 are in the United States, come within the United States,  
6 or come within the possession or control of a United  
7 States person.

8 **SEC. 5. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO FI-**  
9 **NANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT FACILITATE**  
10 **TRANSACTIONS FOR TURKISH ARMED**  
11 **FORCES.**

12 (a) IN GENERAL.—On and after the date of the en-  
13 actment of this Act, the President shall—

14 (1) impose the sanctions described in section  
15 4(c) with respect to Turkiye Halk Bankasi AS or  
16 any successor entity; and

17 (2) prohibit any United States person from en-  
18 gaging in any transaction with Turkiye Halk  
19 Bankasi AS or any successor entity.

20 (b) ADDITION FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.—If the  
21 Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Sec-  
22 retary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the Director  
23 of National Intelligence, determines that any foreign fi-  
24 nancial institution (other than a financial institution spec-  
25 ified in subsection (a)), has knowingly facilitated trans-

1 actions for Turkish Armed Forces or defense industry in  
2 Turkey relating to the military operations of Turkey in  
3 Syria, the President shall, not later than 60 days after  
4 that determination—

5 (1) impose the sanctions described in section  
6 4(c) with respect to that financial institution; and

7 (2) prohibit any United States person from en-  
8 gaging in any transaction with that financial institu-  
9 tion.

10 **SEC. 6. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO EN-**  
11 **ERGY PRODUCTION IN SYRIA.**

12 On and after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
13 the President shall—

14 (1) impose the sanctions described in section  
15 4(c) with respect to any foreign person that know-  
16 ingly sells or provides significant goods, services,  
17 technology, information, or other support that sig-  
18 nificantly facilitates the maintenance or expansion of  
19 the production of natural gas, petroleum, or petro-  
20 leum products in Syria for use by the Russian Fed-  
21 eration, Iran, Turkey, or the Government of Syria;  
22 and

23 (2) prohibit any United States person from en-  
24 gaging in any transaction with a person described in  
25 paragraph (1).

1 **SEC. 7. IMPOSITION OF CAATSA SECTION 231 SANCTIONS**  
2 **AGAINST TURKEY.**

3 (a) DETERMINATION.—For the purposes of section  
4 231 of the Countering America’s Adversaries Through  
5 Sanctions Act (22 U.S.C. 9525), Turkey’s acquisition of  
6 the Russian S–400 air and missile defense system begin-  
7 ning July 12, 2019, shall be considered to be a significant  
8 transaction described in such section.

9 (b) SANCTIONS.—Not later than 30 days after the  
10 date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall im-  
11 pose 5 or more of the sanctions described in section 235  
12 of the Countering America’s Adversaries Through Sanc-  
13 tions Act (22 U.S.C. 9529) with respect to the Govern-  
14 ment of Turkey.

15 **SEC. 8. PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES MILITARY AS-**  
16 **SISTANCE.**

17 (a) PROHIBITION.—No funds may be obligated or ex-  
18 pended to sell or transfer any United States defense arti-  
19 cles, services, technology, or materials or ammunition to  
20 the Turkish Armed Forces.

21 (b) NO USE OF EMERGENCY AUTHORITIES.—The  
22 authority of the President to waive statutory congressional  
23 review periods under the Arms Export Control Act (22  
24 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) in cases in which an emergency exists  
25 shall not apply to the transfer of defense articles or serv-  
26 ices to Turkey.



1 **SEC. 9. PROHIBITION ON PURCHASES OF TURKISH SOV-**  
2 **EREIGN DEBT BY UNITED STATES PERSONS.**

3 The President shall prescribe regulations prohibiting  
4 any United States person from purchasing sovereign debt  
5 of the Government of Turkey.

6 **SEC. 10. VISA RESTRICTIONS ON CERTAIN OFFICIALS OF**  
7 **THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State may not  
9 issue a visa to, and the Secretary of Homeland Security  
10 shall exclude from the United States, an official of the  
11 Government of Turkey described in section 4(b).

12 (b) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL  
13 OBLIGATIONS.—Subsection (a) shall not apply to the ad-  
14 mission of an official described in section 4(b) if the ad-  
15 mission of that official is necessary to comply with United  
16 States obligations under the Agreement between the  
17 United Nations and the United States of America regard-  
18 ing the Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at  
19 Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force No-  
20 vember 21, 1947, under the Convention on Consular Rela-  
21 tions, done at Vienna April 24, 1963, and entered into  
22 force March 19, 1967, or under other international agree-  
23 ments.

1 **SEC. 11. REPORT ON NET WORTH OF RECEP TAYYIP**  
2 **ERDOGAN.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days after the  
4 date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall sub-  
5 mit to Congress a report on the estimated net worth,  
6 known sources of income, and assets of the President of  
7 Turkey, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and his family members  
8 (including spouses, children, and siblings), including as-  
9 sets, investments, other business interests, and relevant  
10 beneficial ownership information.

11 (b) FORM OF REPORT.—The report required by sub-  
12 section (a) shall be submitted in unclassified form but may  
13 include a classified annex.

14 **SEC. 12. REPORT ON STRATEGY TO DEFEAT THE ISLAMIC**  
15 **STATE OF IRAQ AND SYRIA.**

16 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following find-  
17 ings:

18 (1) The Syrian Democratic Forces (in this sec-  
19 tion referred to as the “SDF”) have been the closest  
20 and most effective partner of the United States in  
21 the fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria  
22 (in this section referred to as “ISIS”) in Syria.

23 (2) In a June 30, 2019, report of the lead in-  
24 spector general to Congress on Operation Inherent  
25 Resolve, the Inspectors General of the Department  
26 of Defense, the Department of State, and the United

1 States Agency for International Development re-  
2 ported that “ISIS remains a threat in Iraq and  
3 Syria” and that “[d]espite losing its territorial ‘ca-  
4 liphate,’ the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria solidi-  
5 fied its insurgent capabilities in Iraq and was re-  
6 surging in Syria this quarter”. The report estimated  
7 that ISIS has approximately 14,000 to 18,000  
8 “members” in Iraq and Syria, including up to 3,000  
9 foreigners.

10 (3) That report also indicated that conditions  
11 at the Al Hol camp in Syria provided “uncontested  
12 conditions to spread . . . ISIS ideology”. ISIS lead-  
13 er Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi has called on supporters  
14 to break fighters out of Al Hol and other detention  
15 facilities.

16 (4) General Joseph Votel, who served as the  
17 Commander of the United States Central Command  
18 from March 2016 to March 2019 and oversaw mili-  
19 tary operations in Iraq and Syria, has called the alli-  
20 ance between the United States and Kurdish forces  
21 in northeastern Syria “one of our most successful  
22 partnerships” and called the Kurdish People’s Pro-  
23 tection Units “the backbone of the fighting force  
24 against ISIS in Syria”.

1           (5) General Votel has also said, “A possible in-  
2           vasion from Turkey against the Kurdish elements of  
3           the SDF, coupled with a hasty U.S. departure, now  
4           threaten to rapidly destabilize an already fragile se-  
5           curity situation in Syria’s northeast.”.

6           (6) The sudden withdrawal of United States  
7           forces made way for Turkish offensive operations  
8           against the SDF. That withdrawal has serious con-  
9           sequences for United States security, including al-  
10          lowing allies and potential allies in counterterrorism  
11          efforts to question the resolve and commitment of  
12          the United States to its operations and allowing for  
13          the continued resurgence of ISIS in the region as  
14          SDF forces defend themselves against the Turkish  
15          offensive.

16          (b) REPORT REQUIRED.—Not later than 30 days  
17          after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President  
18          shall submit to Congress a report on the strategy to  
19          counter the ISIS resurgence and stabilize the region, in-  
20          cluding ensuring the secure detention of captured ISIS  
21          fighters and stopping recruitment efforts in refugee  
22          camps.

23          (c) FORM OF REPORT.—The report required by sub-  
24          section (b) shall be submitted in unclassified form but may  
25          include a classified annex.

1 **SEC. 13. REPORT ON UNITED STATES PERSONNEL IN TUR-**  
2 **KEY.**

3 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 30 days after the  
4 date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall sub-  
5 mit to Congress an interagency report assessing viable al-  
6 ternative military installations or other locations to host  
7 personnel and assets of the United States Armed Forces  
8 currently stationed at Incirlik Air Base in Turkey.

9 (b) **FORM OF REPORT.**—The report required by sub-  
10 section (a) shall be submitted in unclassified form but may  
11 include a classified annex.

12 **SEC. 14. EXCEPTIONS.**

13 (a) **SUPPORT FOR PEOPLE OF TURKEY.**—This Act  
14 shall not apply with respect to—

15 (1) the provision of humanitarian assistance  
16 (including medical assistance) to the people of Tur-  
17 key; or

18 (2) efforts to promote democracy in Turkey, in-  
19 cluding through providing election assistance.

20 (b) **INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.**—

21 (1) **IN GENERAL.**—This Act shall not apply  
22 with respect to activities subject to the reporting re-  
23 quirements under title V of the National Security  
24 Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.), or any au-  
25 thorized intelligence activities of the United States.

1           (2) REQUIREMENT.—Activities carried out  
2           under the exception under paragraph (1) may not be  
3           carried out in a manner that provides the Govern-  
4           ment of Turkey with targeting data regarding the  
5           location or disposition of Syrian Democratic Forces.

6           (c) EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
7           GOODS.—

8           (1) IN GENERAL.—The authorities and require-  
9           ments to impose sanctions authorized under this Act  
10          shall not include the authority or requirement to im-  
11          pose sanctions on the importation of goods.

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

17 **SEC. 15. IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.**

18          (a) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may exercise  
19          all authorities provided to the President under sections  
20          203 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
21          Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this  
22          Act.

23          (b) PENALTIES.—A person that violates, attempts to  
24          violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of this  
25          Act or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out

1 this Act shall be subject to the penalties set forth in sub-  
2 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
3 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the  
4 same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act de-  
5 scribed in subsection (a) of that section.

6 **SEC. 16. TERMINATION AUTHORITY.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—The President may terminate the  
8 application of sanctions, prohibitions, restrictions, and  
9 penalties under this Act if the President certifies to the  
10 appropriate congressional committees that—

11 (1) Turkey, and Syrian opposition groups sup-  
12 ported by Turkey, have halted attacks against the  
13 Syrian Kurdish community and other communities  
14 affected by Turkish military operations;

15 (2) Turkish forces, and Syrian opposition  
16 groups supported by Turkey, not involved in coordi-  
17 nated operations with members of the North Atlan-  
18 tic Treaty Organization or the Global Coalition to  
19 Defeat ISIS have withdrawn from all locations in  
20 Syria that Turkey did not occupy before October 09,  
21 2019; and

22 (3) Turkey, and Syrian opposition groups sup-  
23 ported by Turkey, are not hindering counterter-  
24 rorism operations against ISIS.

1           (b) REIMPOSITION.—If Turkey violates paragraph  
2 (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a) after the submission of  
3 a certification described in subsection (a), the President  
4 shall reimpose sanctions, prohibitions, restrictions, and  
5 penalties as described in this Act.