

on Earth has committed to deploying men and women in American uniforms to Turkey to protect Turkey if they are attacked by an outside aggressor. We have a commitment to protect the Turkish people. We have a commitment to our men and women in harm's way to protect the Turkish people, but we have a Turkish President who is acting less like a NATO ally and more like an adversary.

By the way, this is not an argument with the Turkish people who are great people. I have been to Turkey several times—they are wonderful people—but this President is taking a position that has to have a consequence.

Again, we can go back and talk about what our obligations are under the treaty. First and foremost, it is to treat an ally that has that very heavy obligation to defend another Nation—to go to some other soil and defend that Nation—to treat them with respect, to treat their citizens with respect. If they are a criminal, present the evidence and prosecute them.

There are Americans in Turkish prisons. They have committed murders, robbery, and other crimes, and there was legitimate evidence put forth for me to be OK with that, but I am not at all OK with the way Pastor Brunson has been treated by the Turkish judiciary.

We tried everything we could for about 1½ years on a diplomatic basis and that has gone nowhere. After my last trip to Turkey, I decided we had to get Turkey's attention, and on a bipartisan basis, we started that by passing an amendment in the National Defense Authorization Act that will ask for the answers to very important questions. Some of those have to do with the illegal detainment of American persons in Turkey. The other one has to do with a very important—in fact, the most sophisticated tactical fighter that has ever flown through the air, the Joint Strike Fighter, or the F-35.

Turkey is a very important part of the supply chain to the Joint Strike Fighter and Turkey has requested Joint Strike Fighters to be put into their arsenal. On the surface, because they are a NATO ally, I don't object to it, but, today, I strongly object to it.

We passed language in the national defense authorization that we will be voting on fairly soon that will actually put Turkey on notice: Choose what you want to be. Do you want to be an ally that treats your other ally citizens with respect; do you want to be an ally that actually builds defense systems that come from allies, not from a would-be adversary like Russia; or do you want to actually go down the path and lose the support of the American people along the way?

I thank Chairman INHOFE for his support of the amendment. I want to thank the members of the Senate subcommittee—the Senate full Committee on Armed Services who voted for this amendment. I look forward to getting this passed into law when we finally

confer with the House and sending a message to Turkey: We want to be your ally. We want to be there in your darkest hour to defend your security. Convince Members of the Senate that you want to be our ally, that you want to treat our citizens with respect, and that you will free Pastor Brunson.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New Hampshire.

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I am pleased to join Senator TILLIS on the floor today as he discusses Turkey and Pastor Andrew Brunson. I applaud Senator TILLIS for his continued commitment in seeking justice for Pastor Brunson. Since March, Senator TILLIS, Senator LANKFORD, and I have joined together to keep pressure on Turkish President Erdogan.

We are not driven by diaspora politics, we have no hidden agendas, and we are not agents for Gulen or other actors like the Turkish papers have claimed—quite the contrary. As co-chairs of the Senate NATO Observer Group, Senator TILLIS and I are ardent supporters of NATO. We value Turkey's importance as an ally. We want U.S.-Turkey relations to improve. Yet, supporting Turkey and the Turkish people should not mean appeasing the Turkish President.

It is clear that the less we push back as a nation against Turkish President Erdogan, the more emboldened he becomes.

Five years ago, if you had asked any diplomat or military official whether Turkey would stoop so low as to take innocent Americans hostage and leverage them for political gain, no one would have said that this was a possibility. Yet that is where we are today.

Turkey has not only joined the ranks of Iran, Syria, North Korea, and Venezuela as a hostage-taker, but it has shifted its orientation away from NATO and toward Russia for no other reason except for Erdogan's financial and electoral gain.

Even with the near-constant propaganda, however, there are things the Turkish Government can't hide: Turkey's rapidly falling currency, the faltering state of their judiciary, the inexplicable enrichment of President Erdogan, his family, and his inner circle. All these issues are well-known concerns. In fact, according to New World Wealth—the research outfit that tracks millionaire migrations—in 2017, the largest exodus of millionaires was seen in Turkey—a clear indication that those who can leave Turkey are choosing to do so.

Unfortunately, the Turkish people can only do so much while living under a dictatorship—a dictatorship that is about to expand on June 24, the date of Turkey's next election. For this reason, the United States should not stay silent about what is happening in Turkey and what is happening to NATO because of Turkey.

Senator TILLIS and I both serve on the Senate Armed Services Committee,

and we successfully added a bipartisan and widely supported amendment to this year's Defense bill that is moving through the Senate. The amendment would stall the delivery or transfer of F-35 Joint Strike Fighters to Turkey.

I hope that both the Departments of State and Defense hear Congress loud and clear: We should have no signing ceremonies, no planes, and no moves to weaken NATO are acceptable at this time.

Our government is well aware of the serious security concerns that may come if Turkey takes control of any F-35 aircraft. My colleagues Senator DONNELLY and Senator TILLIS have already spoken eloquently to that.

First, the Turkish Government claims to have purchased a Russian air defense system designed to shoot these very planes down. NATO partners need these F-35s to counter Russian activity. We would be handing this technology over to the Kremlin if we granted Turkey these planes, and Congress will not stand for it.

Second and absolutely critical to this afternoon's discussion is that nothing should be more important than the safety of American citizens.

Pastor Brunson has been held in Turkey since October of 2016. The charges against him are clearly fabricated, and the legal proceedings have been a farce. His defense is not allowed to call up witnesses, and the identities of the secret witnesses in his indictment are known to be petty criminals.

What is happening to Pastor Brunson is an absolute shame, but it has become a sad reality for those living in Turkey because Turkey has already imprisoned over 50,000 of its own people. I wish we could do more for all of those people, but at the very least, our government has a duty to act when any American anywhere is held unjustly by a foreign government. We must do everything we can to bring Americans home, to bring Pastor Brunson home.

I encourage the administration to use every tool available in their diplomatic and economic toolbox to bring the pastor and all innocent Americans home at once. In the meantime, Senators TILLIS, LANKFORD, and I will continue to push for targeted sanctions against Erdogan and all officials who are involved in the unlawful detention of Americans in Turkey. We will not cease our efforts until Turkey rejoins the community of democracies it once belonged to. We all hope this day comes sooner rather than later.

SPECIAL IMMIGRANT VISA PROGRAM

Mrs. SHAHEEN. Mr. President, I wish to also talk about an issue that has not made it into the Defense authorization bill, unlike the amendment that Senator TILLIS and I support.

Sadly, help for the Afghans who aided our troops in the war in Afghanistan is not included in this Defense authorization bill. As most of us know in

the Senate, the Afghan special immigrant visa program allows Afghans who supported the U.S. mission in Afghanistan and who face threats of harm to themselves or their families because of their service—we allow them to apply for refuge in the United States through the special immigrant visa program, or SIV program.

Over the years, there has been strong bipartisan support for this effort to bring those Afghans in harm's way back to the United States. I am pleased to have worked with Senator TILLIS, Senator WICKER, Senator LEAHY, Senator GRAHAM, and, of course, Senator MCCAIN, who has been the champion in the Senate to address this issue. I am proud to partner yet again with these Senators, and we have introduced legislation to authorize 4,000 SIVs for 2019 so that we can continue to bring to the United States those people who are at risk.

Even as the administration sharply restricts immigration and refugee programs, President Trump has made an exception for those who serve alongside our soldiers and diplomats. He has included 4,000 Afghan SIVs in his budget request for this upcoming fiscal year. The support for this program truly is bipartisan.

I am here on the floor with Senator TILLIS today to try to put a face on this important program.

Afghan civilians who have assisted our military as interpreters, firefighters, construction workers, and community liaisons are being targeted by the Taliban for their willingness to work with the United States. Without congressional approval, our military and our diplomats will be powerless to help those Afghans. Moreover, U.S. officials in Afghanistan will be powerless to help themselves. Unless Congress acts, this program will lapse, and our Embassy and military will unnecessarily suffer the devastating effects of this decision.

We cannot afford to break our promises to the Afghan people, to those who serve our mission with such loyalty and at such enormous risk, particularly at this time. U.S. forces—our military—and our diplomats have always relied on local people to help accomplish our mission. As we think about our future engagements, we will need this kind of support in other places in the future. What does it say to people if we renege on our promises to the Afghans? We must be aware of the message we are sending to partners around the world when we don't fulfill our duty to protect them after they have protected us. This is exactly why countless military commanders and Ambassadors have pleaded with Congress to extend the Afghan SIV program.

Behind me is a quote from Senator JOHN MCCAIN, a leader, as I said, in the effort to ensure the safety of Afghan SIVs. We have worked together each year since 2013, and his presence is sorely missed this year. During last year's NDAA debate, he said:

We're talking about the lives of men who have put it on the line for the men and women serving. . . . They're going to die if we don't pass this amendment and take them out of harm's way. Don't you understand the gravity of that?"

That is what Senator MCCAIN had to say in 2016 when we were trying to get this done in the Defense authorization bill. He is right. There is no plan B for these Afghans. Either we save them by authorizing additional special immigrant visas, or they will die. They will be killed. Their families will be killed.

If Senator MCCAIN were able to come to the floor today, I have no doubt that he would be right here with Senator TILLIS and me saying the same thing. I hope that we can do Senator MCCAIN a service by reauthorizing the program he cared so much about under the bill that bears his name.

We have also had many officials who have spoken out against attempts to limit the eligibility of applicants. Former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan Ryan Crocker said:

When deciding whom to kill, the Taliban do not make such distinctions in service—nor should we when determining whom to save.

Similarly, our former commander in Afghanistan, General Stanley McChrystal, said:

Afghans performing a variety of roles are vital to the U.S. mission, whether they work directly or indirectly with U.S. Forces. I would urge Congress not to further erode already limited eligibility guidelines.

In addition, our soldiers and marines are keenly interested in protecting Afghan civilians who served with them. Many of them owe their lives to the Afghans in various roles who went into combat with them.

The roles in which Afghans serve range from interpreter, to lawyer, to aid administrators, to cafeteria workers.

Abdul—who doesn't want his last name used because he fears for the safety of his family back home—worked as the head waiter for American troops in Afghanistan. Despite his classification as a cafeteria employee, he helped our troops translate documents and interpret conversations they were having both on and off the base. One night he came in, and someone jumped him, beat him up, and threatened to kill him and his family if he continued to help the United States.

Abdul was recommended for a special immigrant visa by the Army sergeant he reported to, who found him the night he was attacked. The chief of mission who approved his application thought that Abdul's heartfelt service to our Nation was worthy enough to help save his life. I believe that too. He wasn't an interpreter. He wasn't part of a narrow group of Afghans who helped us. But he was there, nevertheless, putting his life on the line for Americans serving in Afghanistan.

Last year, in Keene, NH, I met with a remarkable immigrant from Afghanistan named Patmana Rafiq Kunary. Patmana had worked closely with the

U.S. Agency for International Development in Kabul. She went door-to-door and encouraged women to take out microloans to start their own businesses. Patmana eventually became the vice president of operations for the USAID-sponsored microloan program.

Yet, for a woman in Afghanistan, going door-to-door and working closely with Americans, this was dangerous work. She drew unwelcome attention wherever she went, and she became a high-profile target for the Taliban and others. Then, one day in 2013, she received a call at her USAID office. It was from the distraught wife of a USAID colleague, an Afghan. The caller's husband had just been murdered, apparently, in retaliation for his work with the Americans.

In her realizing that her life was in danger, too, Patmana applied for a special immigrant visa. For 2 years, she and her husband were subjected to repeated interviews at the U.S. Embassy in Kabul. She told me that while those background checks were going on, they had to move periodically because, as soon as they settled someplace, the Taliban would find out where they were, and they would be threatened again. Her background was checked and rechecked before the visas were finally granted.

Now, thankfully, Patmana lives happily in Keene. Her husband has found work, and they have a 3-year-old daughter. They are welcomed as valued members of the Keene community.

When it comes to the SIV program, there is no shortage of inspiring narratives like the ones I am sharing today. It is no wonder that during his own confirmation process, the Secretary of Defense, Gen. James Mattis, said: "Most of our units could not have accomplished their missions without the assistance, often at the risk of their lives, of these courageous men and women."

We would never leave an American warrior behind on the battlefield. Likewise, we must not leave behind those Afghans who served side by side with our warriors and diplomats. We made a solemn promise to these brave men and women, and I know that those of us here who believe we need to keep that promise are going to do everything we can to make sure that those special immigrant visas are authorized and available next year for those thousands of Afghans who are still in the queue, who are still themselves facing threats and threats to their families because of their trying to help our military in Afghanistan.

I encourage all of my colleagues in the Senate to allow this program to continue and to not permit any ill-informed notions about the program's eligibility standards or the vetting process distract from its success and from the strong bipartisan support it receives each year. I urge my colleagues to keep our promise to our Afghan allies by supporting these efforts.

I am very pleased to be here with Senator TILLIS, who is also committed

to the effort of trying to get this done. I know my colleague Senator ERNST, who is here to speak, is also a supporter of this program. There is strong bipartisan support to make this happen. We should not allow one or two people to keep us from moving forward.

I thank the Presiding Officer. We will continue to work on this effort.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. TILLIS). The Senator from Iowa.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION BILL

Mrs. ERNST. Mr. President, the 2019 National Defense Authorization Act on the floor today is a bipartisan bill that is focused on ensuring our warfighters are prepared to operate across the full spectrum of conflict and to support the objectives laid out in the 2018 national defense strategy.

I am disappointed that we were not able to come together and work through a robust, bipartisan amendment process this year on the floor. We had a great markup, and I am thankful that my colleagues across the aisle were so willing to work together in a bipartisan manner on this piece of legislation.

As the chair of the Emerging Threats and Capabilities Subcommittee, I worked hard with my ranking member, Senator HEINRICH of New Mexico, to ensure the NDAA invests additional funding in innovative technologies so that we can maintain U.S. technological superiority over near-peer adversaries, particularly in the areas of hypersonics, unmanned systems, directed energy, and artificial intelligence.

The NDAA provides much needed funding to our Special Operations forces, which are playing a key role in combating terrorist networks and countering growing aggression by adversaries like Russia, China, and Iran. It also fully funds SOCOM's request for the Preservation of the Force and Families Initiative and expands key authorities to provide enhanced support to the families of our special operators.

By supporting a total of \$716 billion for our Nation's defense, the NDAA provides the flexibility that is needed for our military to make targeted investments for the future. It also addresses issues that deeply impact our servicemembers.

I especially thank Senator WARREN, of Massachusetts, for her work with me in addressing research and treatment options for traumatic brain injuries. This is an issue that is especially important to me as a veteran, for I have known and worked with individuals who have experienced blasts and rollovers in military vehicles, and we know the implications that come from those who suffer from traumatic brain injury.

I urge my colleagues to support the NDAA. This bill is absolutely vital to restoring the health of our military and supporting our national security

objectives. Again, I urge my colleagues to support this bill. It is vital we complete our NDAA.

ARMS SALES NOTIFICATION

Mr. CORKER. Mr. President, section 36(b) of the Arms Export Control Act requires that Congress receive prior notification of certain proposed arms sales as defined by that statute. Upon such notification, the Congress has 30 calendar days during which the sale may be reviewed. The provision stipulates that, in the Senate, the notification of proposed sales shall be sent to the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In keeping with the committee's intention to see that relevant information is available to the full Senate, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the notifications which have been received. If the cover letter references a classified annex, then such annex is available to all Senators in the office of the Foreign Relations Committee, room SD-423.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE SECURITY COOPERATION AGENCY, Arlington, VA.

Hon. BOB CORKER,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Relations,
U.S. Senate, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Pursuant to the reporting requirements of Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended, we are forwarding herewith Transmittal No. 18-18, concerning the Army's proposed Letter(s) of Offer and Acceptance to the Government of India for defense articles and services estimated to cost \$930 million. After this letter is delivered to your office, we plan to issue a news release to notify the public of this proposed sale.

Sincerely,

CHARLES W. HOOPER,
Lieutenant General, USA, Director.

Enclosures.

TRANSMITTAL NO. 18-18

Notice of Proposed Issuance of Letter of Offer Pursuant to Section 36(b)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act, as amended

(1) Prospective Purchaser: Government of India.

(ii) Total Estimated Value:

Major Defense Equipment * \$340 million.

Other \$590 million.

Total \$930 million.

(iii) Description and Quantity or Quantities of Articles or Services under Consideration for Purchase: The Government of India has requested the sale of the following items in support of a proposed direct commercial sale of six (6) AH-64E Apache helicopters:

Major Defense Equipment (MDE):

Fourteen (14) T700-GE-701D

Four (4) AN/APG-78 Fire Control Radars

Four (4) Radar Electronic Units (REU) Block III

Four (4) AN/APR-48B Modernized Radar Frequency Interferometers (M-RFI's)

One hundred eighty (180) AGM-114L-3 Hellfire Longbow Missiles

Ninety (90) AGM-114R-3 Hellfire II Missiles

Two hundred (200) Stinger Block I-92H Missiles

Seven (7) Modernized Target Acquisition and Designation Sights (MTADS)/Pilot Night Vision Sensors (PNVS)

Fourteen (14) Embedded Global Positioning System/Inertial Navigation Systems (EGI)

Non-MDE: Also included are 2.75" HE M151 rockets, training and dummy missiles, 30mm cannons and ammunition, transponders, simulators, communication equipment, spare and repair parts, tools and test equipment, support equipment, repair and return support, personnel training and training equipment, publications and technical documentation, U.S. Government and contractor engineering and logistics support services, and other related elements of logistic and program support.

(iv) Military Department: Army (IN-B-UAN).

(v) Prior Related Cases, if any: IN-B-UAH.

(vi) Sales Commission, Fee, etc., Paid, Offered, or Agreed to be Paid: None.

(vii) Sensitivity of Technology Contained in the Defense Article or Defense Services Proposed to be Sold: See Attached Annex.

(viii) Date Report Delivered to Congress: June 12, 2018.

* As defined in Section 47(6) of the Arms Export Control Act.

POLICY JUSTIFICATION

India—Support for Direct Commercial Sale of AH-64E Apache Helicopters

The Government of India has requested to buy the following items in support of a proposed direct commercial sale of six (6) AH-64E Apache helicopters: fourteen (14) T700-GE-701D engines; four (4) AN/APG-78 Fire Control Radars; four (4) Radar Electronic Units (REU) Block III; four (4) AN/APR-48B Modernized Radar Frequency Interferometers (M-RFI's); one hundred eighty (180) AGM-114L-3 Hellfire Longbow missiles; ninety (90) AGM-114R-3 Hellfire II missiles; two hundred (200) Stinger Block I-92H missiles; seven (7) Modernized Target Acquisition Designation Sight/Pilot Night Vision Sensors (MTADS-PNVS); and fourteen (14) Embedded GPS Inertial Navigation Systems (EGI). Also included are rockets, training and dummy missiles, 30mm cannons and ammunition, transponders, simulators, communication equipment, spare and repair parts, tools and test equipment, support equipment, repair and return support, personnel training and training equipment, publications and technical documentation, U.S. Government and contractor engineering and logistics support services, and other related elements of logistic and program support. The total estimated program cost is \$930 million.

This proposed sale will contribute to the foreign policy and national security of the United States by helping to strengthen the U.S.-Indian strategic relationship and to improve the security of an important partner which continues to be an important force for political stability, peace, and economic progress in South Asia.

The proposed sale is in conjunction with and in support of a proposed direct commercial sale of six (6) AH-64E Apache helicopters, and will strengthen India's ability to defend its homeland and deter regional threats. This support for the AH-64E will provide an increase in India's defensive capability to counter ground-armored threats and modernize its armed forces. India will have no difficulty absorbing the helicopters and support equipment into its armed forces.

The proposed sale of this equipment and support will not alter the basic military balance in the region.

The prime contractors will be Lockheed Martin Corporation, Orlando, FL; General Electric Company, Cincinnati, OH; Lockheed Martin Mission Systems and Sensors, Owego, NY; Longbow Limited Liability Corporation, Orlando, FL; and Raytheon Company, Tucson, AZ. There are no known offset agreements proposed in connection with this potential sale.