

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this question will be postponed.

□ 1530

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on the motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or votes objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

PROTECT AGAINST CONFLICT BY TURKEY ACT

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4695) to impose sanctions with respect to Turkey, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

H.R. 4695

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act” or the “PACT Act”.

SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is the sense of Congress that—

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

(2) being a NATO member means that Turkey is treaty bound to safeguard the principles of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law and, importantly, should be united with other NATO allies in efforts for collective defense and the preservation of peace and security;

(3) Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019, is an unacceptable and unnecessary escalation of tensions with the potential to cause a severe humanitarian crisis and undo the collective gains made in the fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) by the United States and the 81 countries and organizations of the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS, including NATO and the European Union (EU);

(4) Turkey should immediately cease attacks against the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), Kurdish and Arab civilians, and other religious and ethnic minority communities in northern Syria and recall its forces back to Turkey;

(5) targeted sanctions against Turkey are an appropriate response in order for Turkey to be held accountable for its military invasion of northern Syria;

(6) Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria is the latest example of the weakening and problematic United States-Turkey bilateral relationship and undermines the security of the United States and its NATO allies, including that of Turkey;

(7) the SDF have been critical partners to United States and allied counter-ISIS and broader counterterrorism efforts in Syria, and the United States should continue this partnership with the SDF;

(8) the United States Government should utilize diplomatic and military tools to ensure the enduring defeat of ISIS;

(9) the United States should stand by critical allies and partners;

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

(11) the United States Government, in concert with the international community, should hold accountable members of the Syrian regime and the Governments of the Russian Federation and Iran for atrocities against the Syrian people.

SEC. 3. SANCTIONS AGAINST SENIOR TURKISH OFFICIALS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 15 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14 with respect to the following foreign persons in connection with Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019:

(1) The Minister of National Defense of Turkey.

(2) The Chief of the General Staff of the Turkish Armed Forces.

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

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

(b) ADDITIONAL SANCTIONS.—

(1) LIST.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President and appropriate congressional committees a list of the following foreign persons in connection with Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019:

(A) Senior Turkish defense officials involved in the decision to invade northern Syria.

(B) Senior Turkish military officials leading attacks against the Syrian Democratic Forces (SDF), Kurdish and Arab civilians, or other religious or ethnic minority communities in northern Syria.

(C) Turkish officials significantly facilitating Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria.

(D) Any Turkish official or member of the Turkish Armed Forces who is responsible for, complicit in, or has directly or indirectly engaged, or has attempted to engage, in any of the following relating to Turkey’s military invasion of northern Syria:

(i) A violation of the law of armed conflict.

(ii) A gross violation of internationally recognized human rights.

(2) UPDATES.—The list required under paragraph (1) shall be updated every 60 days, until the sanctions under this section are terminated in accordance with section 7.

(3) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—Not later than 15 days after submission of the list required under paragraph (1) and each update relating thereto in accordance with paragraph (2), the President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14 with respect to foreign persons identified in such list and related updates.

(c) WAIVER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive, on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more than 90 days, the imposition of sanctions under this section with respect to a foreign person if the President determines it is important to the national security interests of the United States to do so and, not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

(2) RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.—The President may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver

gious and ethnic minority communities in northern Syria; and

(II) is not hindering counter-terrorism operations against ISIS; and

(B) not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

(2) RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.—The President may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver under paragraph (1) for an additional period of not more than 90 days if, not later than 15 days before such a waiver expires, the President determines it is vital to the national security interests of the United States to do so and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

SEC. 4. PROHIBITION ON ARMS TRANSFERS TO TURKISH MILITARY UNITS IN SYRIA.

(a) PROHIBITION.—No United States defense articles, defense services, or technology under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) may be transferred to the Government of Turkey if such articles, services, or technology could be used in operations by the Turkish Armed Forces in northern Syria.

(b) EXCEPTION.—The prohibition under subsection (a) shall not apply to transfers for ultimate end use by the United States military or for use in military operations approved by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(c) NO USE OF EMERGENCY AUTHORITY.—The authority of the President to waive statutory congressional review periods under the Arms Export Control Act in cases in which an emergency exists shall not apply to the transfer of defense articles, defense services, or technology to the Government of Turkey.

SEC. 5. SANCTIONS AGAINST FOREIGN PERSONS PROVIDING ARMS TO TURKISH ARMED FORCES IN SYRIA.

(a) REPORT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the President and appropriate congressional committees a list of any foreign persons determined to knowingly have provided, on or after such date of enactment, defense articles, defense services, or technology (as such terms are defined and described in the Arms Export Control Act) to the Government of Turkey if such articles, services, or technology could be used in operations by the Turkish Armed Forces in northern Syria.

(2) UPDATES.—The list required under paragraph (1) shall be updated every 60 days or as new information becomes available, until the sanctions under this section are terminated in accordance with section 7.

(b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—The President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14 with respect to any foreign persons identified on the list and related updates required under subsection (a).

(c) EXCEPTION.—The sanctions imposed pursuant to this section shall not apply to transfers for ultimate end use by the United States military or for use in military operations approved by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

(d) WAIVER.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive, on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more than 90 days, the imposition of sanctions under this section with respect to a foreign person if the President determines it is important to the national security interests of the United States to do so and, not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

(2) RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.—The President may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver

under paragraph (1) for an additional period of not more than 90 days if, not later than 15 days before such a waiver expires, the President determines it is important to the national security interests of the United States to do so and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

SEC. 6. TARGETED FOREIGN FINANCIAL SANCTIONS.

(a) **HALK BANKASI OR HALKBANK.**—Not later than 15 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the President shall impose the sanctions described in section 14(1) with respect to Halk Bankası or Halkbank or any successor entity thereof.

(b) **FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—If the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, Secretary of Treasury, and Director of National Intelligence, determines that any foreign financial institution, in addition to the foreign financial institutions specified in subsection (a), has knowingly facilitated significant transactions for the Turkish Armed Forces or defense industry relating to Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019, the President shall, not later than 60 days after any such determination, impose the sanctions described in section 14(1) with respect to any such foreign financial institution.

(2) **WAIVER.**—

(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The President may waive, on a case-by-case basis and for a period of not more than 90 days, the imposition of sanctions under this subsection if the President—

(i) determines that—

(I) it is vital to the national security interests of the United States to do so; and

(II) Turkey—

(a) has halted attacks against the Syrian Democratic Forces, Kurdish and Arab civilians, and other religious and ethnic minority communities in northern Syria; and

(b) is not hindering counter-terrorism operations against ISIS; and

(ii) not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

(B) **RENEWAL OF WAIVERS.**—The President may, on a case-by-case basis, renew a waiver under subparagraph (A) for an additional period of not more than 90 days if, not later than 15 days before such a waiver expires, the President determines it is vital to the national security interests of the United States to do so and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a justification relating to such determination.

SEC. 7. TERMINATION AUTHORITY.

(a) **SECTIONS 3, 4, AND 5.**—The authority to impose sanctions under sections 3 and 5 (and the sanctions imposed pursuant to such sections) and the prohibitions under section 4 shall terminate if the President determines and submits to the appropriate congressional committees a finding that—

(1) Turkey has halted attacks against the Syrian Democratic Forces, Kurdish and Arab civilians, and other religious and ethnic minority communities in northern Syria;

(2) Turkish forces not involved in coordinated operations with NATO allies or the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS have withdrawn from northern Syria; and

(3) Turkey is not hindering counter-terrorism operations against ISIS.

(b) **SECTION 6.**—The authority to impose financial sanctions under section 6 (and the sanctions imposed pursuant to such section) shall terminate if the President determines and submits to the appropriate congressional committees the finding described in subsection (a)(1).

SEC. 8. IMPOSITION OF CERTAIN SANCTIONS UNDER COUNTERING AMERICA'S ADVERSARIES THROUGH SANCTIONS ACT AGAINST TURKEY.

(a) **DETERMINATION.**—For the purposes of section 231 of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (22 U.S.C. 9525), Turkey's acquisition of the Russian S-400 air and missile defense system beginning July 12, 2019, shall be considered to be a significant transaction described in such section.

(b) **SANCTIONS.**—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall impose five or more of the sanctions described in section 235 of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (22 U.S.C. 9529) with respect to the Government of Turkey.

SEC. 9. PLANS AND REPORTS TO ADDRESS NATIONAL SECURITY THREATS CAUSED BY TURKEY'S MILITARY INVASION OF NORTHERN SYRIA.

Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act—

(1) the Secretary of Defense shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees—

(A) a plan to ensure that ISIS detainees and families held in Syria remain under proper custody, in accordance with internationally recognized human rights requirements, and in a manner that does not threaten United States security interests; and

(B) a report on the impact that Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria is having on counterterrorism operations in Syria; and

(2) the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a plan for how the United States will assist the Syrian Democratic Forces, Kurdish and Arab civilians, and other religious and ethnic minority communities affected by Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019.

SEC. 10. REPORT ON NET WORTH OF TURKISH PRESIDENT RECEP TAYYIP ERDOĞAN.

Not later than 120 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Director of National Intelligence, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on the estimated net worth and known sources of income of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his family members (including spouse, children, parents, and siblings), including assets, investments, other business interests, and relevant beneficial ownership information.

SEC. 11. REPORT ON TURKEY'S MILITARY INVASION OF NORTHERN SYRIA.

(a) **SENSE OF CONGRESS.**—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the Russian Federation and Iran continue to—

(A) exploit a security vacuum in Syria; and

(B) pose a threat to vital United States national security interests; and

(2) continued Turkish military activity inside Syria will negatively impact the national security interest and regional stability of the United States.

(b) **REPORT REQUIRED.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and the heads of other appropriate Federal agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria on October 9, 2019, including the impact of the withdrawal of United States troops from northern Syria. The Secretary of State shall provide an updated report or briefing to the appropriate

congressional committees as circumstances warrant.

(2) **ELEMENTS OF THE REPORT.**—The report, and any update thereto, required under paragraph (1) shall include the following elements:

(A) A description of the impact of Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria on the ability of ISIS to reconstitute a physical caliphate.

(B) A description of the impact of the invasion on the Russian Federation's military and political influence in Syria.

(C) A description of the impact of the invasion on Iran's ability to increase its military and political influence in Syria.

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

(E) An outline of planned joint actions by the Department of State and the Department of Defense, in consultation with the heads of the other appropriate Federal agencies, regarding all stabilization funds or activities for Syria, and an explanation of how such funds and activities can contribute to stabilization in the current environment and without limited United States troop presence in northern Syria.

(F) The creation and use by the Government of Turkey of "safe zones" to justify the involuntary or uninformed return of Syrian refugees from Turkey to Syrian territory, to justify the forced displacement of Syrians inside Syria, or to prevent Syrians from seeking international protections.

(G) The role of the Government of Turkey and Turkish-backed forces in facilitating humanitarian actors, including international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs), for cross-border work from Turkey and in ensuring efficient, open supply lines for humanitarian assistance and personnel through border crossing points on the Turkey-Syria and Iraq-Syria borders, and facilitating safe passage of humanitarian assistance to Syrians inside Syria based on need.

(H) The actions of the Government of Turkey and Turkish-backed forces in the operation of all camps for families displaced by conflict as civilian facilities, and ensuring that camp residents, in particular women and children, are treated as civilian victims of conflict in accordance with international law and standards.

(I) The actions of the Government of Turkey and Turkish-backed forces in taking effective measures to protect civilians and civilian infrastructure, including health facilities, water pumping stations, and restricting use of explosive weapons in populated areas.

SEC. 12. STRATEGY TO PREVENT THE RESURGENCE OF THE ISLAMIC STATE OF IRAQ AND SYRIA (ISIS) AND ITS AFFILIATES.

(a) **STRATEGY REQUIRED.**—Not later than 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Defense, the Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, and the heads of other appropriate Federal agencies, shall jointly submit to the appropriate congressional committees a strategy to prevent the resurgence of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in Iraq and Syria.

(b) **ELEMENTS OF THE STRATEGY.**—The strategy required under subsection (a) shall include the following elements:

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

(2) A assessment of current training and support programs by Federal agency or department, specifically focused on countering

ISIS and other terrorist organizations, including non-lethal assistance, training, and organizational capacity for the Syrian Democratic Forces, the Iraqi Security Forces, the Kurdish Peshmerga, and others to counter gains by ISIS and its affiliates.

(3) A description of United States Government efforts to support, develop, and expand local governance structures in areas in Syria previously liberated from ISIS control.

(4) An estimate of the number of current, active ISIS members in Iraq and Syria, including an assessment of those being held in detainee camps or prisons.

(5) A comprehensive plan to address ISIS detainees currently being held in Syria and Iraq, including the following elements:

(A) The designation of an existing official within the Department of State to serve as a senior-level coordinator to coordinate, in conjunction with the lead and other relevant agencies, all matters for the United States Government relating to the long-term disposition of ISIS foreign terrorist fighter detainees, including all matters in connection with—

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

(ii) coordinating a whole-of-government approach with other countries and international organizations, including INTERPOL, to ensure secure chains of custody and locations of ISIS foreign terrorist fighter detainees;

(iii) coordinating technical and evidentiary assistance to foreign countries to aid in the successful prosecution of ISIS foreign terrorist fighter detainees; and

(iv) all multilateral and international engagements led by the Department of State and other agencies that are related to the current and future handling, detention, and prosecution of ISIS foreign terrorist fighter detainees.

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

(C) A comprehensive description of United States activities utilizing social media and other communication technologies to counter ISIS's propaganda, influence, and ability to recruit fighters domestically and internationally, including with private technology companies, and how such activities are being coordinated across the United States Government.

(D) A description of the efforts of the United States Government, including economic sanctions, to deny financial resources, including revenues from natural resources extraction, sale of antiquities, kidnapping, extortion, taxation, smuggling, access to cash storage sites, and access to international financial networks, to ISIS and its affiliates, in conjunction with international partners and financial institutions.

(E) A description of United States Government efforts to support credible war crimes prosecutions against ISIS fighters.

(F) A plan to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

SEC. 13. REPORT ON ACCOUNTABILITY FOR VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, INCLUDING THE LAW OF ARMED CONFLICT, AND OTHER HARM TO CIVILIANS IN SYRIA DURING TURKEY'S MILITARY INVASION.

(a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) Turkish and pro-Turkish forces should end all practices involving arbitrary arrests, enforced disappearances, torture, arbitrary executions, and other unlawful treatment; and

(2) all stakeholders in Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria should reveal the fate or the location of all persons who have

been subjected to enforced disappearance by such stakeholders.

(b) REPORT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report that describes the causes and consequences of civilian harm occurring during Turkey's military invasion of northern Syria, including violations of the law of armed conflict and gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, as a result of the actions of all parties to the conflict.

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

(A) A description of civilian harm occurring in the context of Turkey's military invasion, including—

(i) mass casualty incidents; and
(ii) damage to, and destruction of, civilian infrastructure and services, including—
(I) hospitals and other medical facilities;
(II) electrical grids;
(III) water systems; and
(IV) other critical infrastructure.

(B) A description of violations of the law of armed conflict committed during Turkey's military invasion by all forces involved in the Turkish-led coalition and all forces fighting on its behalf and by any other combatants in the conflict, including—

(i) alleged violations of the law of armed conflict;

(ii) specific instances of failure by the parties to the conflict to exercise distinction, proportionality, and precaution in the use force in accordance with the law of armed conflict;

(iii) arbitrary denials of humanitarian access and the resulting impact on the alleviation of human suffering;

(iv) extra-judicial executions and detention-related abuses; and

(v) other acts that may constitute violations of the law of armed conflict.

(C) Recommendations for establishing accountability mechanisms for civilian harm, violations of the law of armed conflict, and gross violations of internationally recognized human rights perpetrated by Turkish and pro-Turkish forces in Syria, including the potential for prosecuting individuals perpetrating, organizing, directing, or ordering such violations.

SEC. 14. SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.

The sanctions described in this section are the following:

(1) ASSET BLOCKING.—The President shall exercise all of the powers granted by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the requirements of section 202 of such Act (50 U.S.C. 1701) shall not apply) to the extent necessary to block and prohibit all transactions in all property and interests in property of a person if such property and interests in property are in the United States, come within the United States, or are or come within the possession or control of a United States person.

(2) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—

(A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—A foreign person is—

(i) inadmissible to the United States;

(ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other documentation to enter the United States; and

(iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted or paroled into the United States or to receive any other benefit under the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

(B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—The visa or other entry documentation of a foreign person shall be revoked, regardless of when such

visa or other entry documentation is or was issued. A revocation under this subparagraph shall take effect immediately and automatically cancel any other valid visa or entry documentation that is in the foreign person's possession.

(C) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH UNITED NATIONS HEADQUARTERS AGREEMENT.—Sanctions under this paragraph shall not apply to an individual if admitting such individual into the United States is necessary to permit the United States to comply with the Agreement regarding the Headquarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force November 21, 1947, between the United Nations and the United States, or other applicable international obligations of the United States.

SEC. 15. IMPLEMENTATION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The President—

(1) may exercise all authorities provided to the President under sections 203 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this Act; and

(2) shall issue such regulations, licenses, and orders as are necessary to carry out this Act.

(b) PENALTIES.—The penalties provided for in subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to any person who violates, attempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of any prohibition of this Act, or an order or regulation prescribed under this Act, to the same extent that such penalties apply to a person that commits an unlawful act described in subsection (a) of that section.

SEC. 16. EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF GOODS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The authorities and requirements to impose sanctions under this Act or any amendments made by this Act shall not include the authority or requirement to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

(b) GOOD DEFINED.—In this section, the term "good" means any article, natural or man-made substance, material, supply or manufactured product, including inspection and test equipment and excluding technical data.

SEC. 17. HUMANITARIAN WAIVER.

The President may waive the application of any provision of this Act (other than section 16) for the purpose of providing humanitarian assistance if the President certifies to the appropriate congressional committees that such a waiver is important to address a humanitarian need and consistent with the national security interests of the United States, not later than 15 days before issuing such a waiver, the President submits to such committees a justification relating to such determination.

SEC. 18. UNITED STATES REFUGEE PROGRAM PRIORITIES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of State, in consultation with the Secretary of Homeland Security shall designate, as Priority 2 refugees of special humanitarian concern—

(1) Syrian Kurds, stateless persons who habitually resided in Syria, and other Syrians, who partnered with, or worked for or directly with, the United States Government in Syria for an aggregate period of not less than 1 year;

(2) Syrian Kurds, stateless persons who habitually resided in Syria, and other Syrians, who were employed in Syria, for an aggregate period of not less than 1 year, by—

(A) a media or nongovernmental organization based in the United States;

(B) an organization or entity that has received a grant from, or entered into a cooperative agreement or contract with, the United States Government; or

(C) an organization that—

(i) was continuously physically present in Northeast Syria between 2011 and the date of the enactment of this Act; and

(ii) has partnered with an organization described in subparagraph (A) or (B);

(3) the spouses, children, sons, daughters, siblings, and parents of aliens described in paragraph (1); or

(4) Syrian Kurds, stateless persons who habitually resided in Syria, and other Syrians, who have an immediate relative (as defined in section 201(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1151(b)(2)(A)(i)) or a family member described in section 203(a) of such Act (8 U.S.C. 203(a)) who is physically present in the United States.

(b) **ELIGIBILITY FOR ADMISSION AS A REFUGEE.**—An alien may not be denied the opportunity to apply for admission as a refugee under this section solely because such alien qualifies as an immediate relative of a national of the United States or is eligible for admission to the United States under any other immigrant classification.

(c) **MEMBERSHIP IN CERTAIN SYRIAN ORGANIZATIONS.**—An applicant for admission to the United States under this section may not be deemed inadmissible solely because the applicant was a member of, or provided support to, the Syrian Democratic Forces.

(d) **EXCLUSION FROM NUMERICAL LIMITATIONS.**—Aliens provided refugee status under this section shall not be counted against any numerical limitation under section 201, 202, 203, or 207 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1151, 1152, 1153, and 1157).

(e) **IDENTIFICATION OF OTHER PERSECUTED GROUPS.**—The Secretary of State, or the designee of the Secretary, is authorized to classify other groups of Syrians, including vulnerable populations, as Priority 2 refugees of special humanitarian concern.

(f) **SATISFACTION OF OTHER REQUIREMENTS.**—Aliens designated as Priority 2 refugees of special humanitarian concern under this section shall be deemed to satisfy the requirements under section 207 of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1157) for admission to the United States.

SEC. 19. DEFINITIONS.

In this Act:

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

(2) **APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.**—The term “appropriate congressional committees” means—

(A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on Financial Services of the House of Representatives; and

(B) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs of the Senate.

(3) **FOREIGN PERSON.**—The term “foreign person” means an individual or entity that is not a United States person.

(4) **GROSS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED HUMAN RIGHTS.**—The term “gross violations of internationally recognized human rights” has the meaning given such term in section 502B(d)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2304(d)(1)).

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

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

(A) a United States citizen or an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence to the United States; or

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

SEC. 20. SUNSET.

This Act shall terminate on the date that is three years after the date on which sanctions imposed pursuant to this Act have terminated.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from New York (Mr. ENGEL) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. McCaul) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from New York.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on H.R. 4695.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I have described the administration’s approach to international affairs as “fly by the seat of your pants” foreign policy, but over time, we have seen a pattern emerge. The President of the United States stokes a crisis and then steps in with some sort of half measure in a failed attempt to look like a great deal is happening.

You can’t be the arsonist and the fireman at the same time. And the situation in Syria right now may be the clearest example of this and the most disastrous.

Around 2 weeks ago, President Trump gave Turkey’s President Erdogan the green light to launch a military invasion of northern Syria, and that is precisely what Turkey did.

What followed was a gruesome campaign slaughtering our Syrian Kurdish partners who fought alongside the United States against ISIS. Already nearly 200,000 people, including women, children, and families, have been displaced, driven from their ancestral homes—ethnic cleansing at its worst.

The deal we signed with Erdogan has led directly to this ethnic cleansing in northern Syria’s indigenous Kurdish region. It is really a disgrace. These people fought with us. These people took bullets for us. These people were our loyal and faithful allies. For the United States to turn our backs on them, or to start a chain of events that would hurt them, really is a very dark day in our country’s history.

As the Kurds fight to survive this onslaught, they have been forced to abandon their watch over the prisons holding thousands of ISIS fighters. Over 100 of these terrorists have reportedly escaped. Now, the situation in northeast Syria is a humanitarian and national security crisis.

In a region already rife with conflict, Turkey’s military operation is wreaking even more havoc. And rather than

hold Turkey accountable for how they have conducted this bloody campaign, President Trump has given them a free pass. When the head of ISIS was finally killed, President Trump, unfortunately, thanked the Turks, thanked the Turkish Government. That doesn’t sit right with me.

First, the administration arranged a sham cease-fire that gave Erdogan all he could have wanted. Then, Turkey entered into an agreement with Vladimir Putin that ceded America’s influence in the region to Russia. And then, President Trump lifted sanctions on Turkey once the Kurds fled.

President Trump has let Erdogan off scot-free for a heinous assault that is destabilizing the region and threatening international security. President Trump and President Erdogan are responsible for the catastrophe in northeast Syria. They both must be held accountable.

On October 16, the House passed a measure rebuking President Trump for this disastrous policy—passed, I will note, with overwhelming bipartisan support.

Now, the United States needs to make sure that Turkish President Erdogan faces consequences for his behavior. Because President Trump has failed to demonstrate American leadership in this regard, it is now on Congress to step up and impose consequences on Turkey.

The PACT Act, which is this act, underscores the devastating consequences of Turkey’s invasion and President Trump’s decision to step back and let it happen. It employs targeted smart sanctions to incentivize Erdogan to stop his military offensive, cease violence against Syrian Kurdish communities, and withdraw from Syria.

These sanctions are specifically designed to target the Turkish officials and institutions responsible for the bloodshed in Syria without senselessly hurting the Turkish people. After all, it is Erdogan, not the Turkish people, who is responsible for this horror.

Erdogan is an authoritarian thug. His rule has left a glaring black mark on Turkey’s historic secular, democratic traditions. We need to pressure him while ramping up diplomacy in the hopes of getting Turkey back on the right track as a NATO ally. That is one of the goals of this measure.

This bipartisan legislation also requires the Trump administration to develop concrete strategies for combating ISIS, protecting Syrian Kurdish communities, and ensuring Syrians who partnered with American forces, as well as NGOs and humanitarian organizations, can be safely resettled in the United States.

This is a smart response to address the calamity caused by Turkish forces in Syria. It is up to Congress to act to make it clear where the American Government stands.

I want to thank my friend Ranking Member McCaul for working with me to introduce this legislation, and I

hope all of our colleagues will join us in supporting it.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC, October 28, 2019.

Hon. RICHARD E. NEAL,
Committee on Ways and Means,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN NEAL: I am writing to you concerning H.R. 4695, the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act. I appreciate your willingness to work cooperatively on this legislation.

I acknowledge that provisions of the bill fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means under House Rule X, and that your Committee will forgo action on H.R. 4695 to expedite floor consideration. I further acknowledge that the inaction of your Committee with respect to the bill does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the matters contained in the bill that fall within your jurisdiction. I will also support the appointment of Committee on Ways and Means conferees during any House-Senate conference convened on this legislation.

Lastly, I will ensure that our exchange of letters is included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration of the bill. Thank you again for your cooperation regarding the legislation. I look forward to continuing to work with you as the measure moves through the legislative process.

Sincerely,

ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC, October 29, 2019.

Hon. ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN ENGEL: In recognition of the desire to expedite consideration of H.R. 4695, the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey (PACT) Act, the Committee on Ways and Means agrees to waive formal consideration of the bill as to provisions that fall within the rule X jurisdiction of the Committee on Ways and Means.

The Committee on Ways and Means takes this action with the mutual understanding that we do not waive any jurisdiction over the subject matter contained in this or similar legislation, and the Committee will be appropriately consulted and involved as the bill or similar legislation moves forward so that we may address any remaining issues within our jurisdiction. The Committee also reserves the right to seek appointment of an appropriate number of conferees to any House-Senate conference involving this or similar legislation.

Finally, I would appreciate your response to this letter confirming this understanding and would ask that a copy of our exchange of letter on this matter be included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration of H.R. 4695.

Sincerely,

RICHARD E. NEAL,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC, October 28, 2019.

Hon. MAXINE WATERS,
Committee on Financial Services, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRWOMAN WATERS: I am writing to you concerning H.R. 4695 the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act. I appreciate your willingness to work cooperatively on this legislation.

I acknowledge that provisions of the bill fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Financial Services under House Rule X, and that your Committee will forgo action on H.R. 4695 to expedite floor consideration. I further acknowledge that the inaction of your Committee with respect to the bill does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the matters contained in the bill that fall within your jurisdiction. I also acknowledge that your Committee will be appropriately consulted and involved as this or similar legislation moves forward, and will support the appointment of Committee on Financial Services conferees during any House-Senate conference convened on this legislation.

Lastly, I will ensure that our exchange of letters is included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration of the bill. Thank you again for your cooperation regarding the legislation. I look forward to continuing to work with you as the measure moves through the legislative process.

Sincerely,

ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCIAL SERVICES,
Washington, DC, October 29, 2019.

Hon. ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing concerning H.R. 4695, the "Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act" or the "PACT Act". In order to permit the H.R. 4695 to proceed expeditiously to the House Floor, I agree to forgo formal consideration of the bill.

The Committee on Financial Services takes this action to forego formal consideration of H.R. 4695 with our mutual understanding that, by foregoing formal consideration of H.R. 4695 at this time, we do not waive any jurisdiction over the subject matter contained in this or similar legislation, and that our Committee will be appropriately consulted and involved as this or similar legislation moves forward with regard to any matters in the Committee's jurisdiction. The Committee also reserves the right to seek appointment of an appropriate number of conferees to any House-Senate conference involving this or similar legislation that involves the Committee's jurisdiction and request your support for any such request.

Finally, I would appreciate your response to this letter confirming this understanding, and I would ask that a copy of our exchange of letters on this matter be included in the Congressional Record during Floor consideration of H.R. 4695.

Sincerely,

MAXINE WATERS,
Chairwoman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC, October 28, 2019.

Hon. JERROLD NADLER,
Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN NADLER: I am writing to you concerning H.R. 4695, the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act. I appreciate your willingness to work cooperatively on this legislation.

I acknowledge that provisions of the bill fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on the Judiciary under House Rule X, and that your Committee will forgo action on H.R. 4695 to expedite floor consideration. I further acknowledge that the inaction of your Committee with respect to the bill does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the matters contained in the bill that

fall within your jurisdiction. I will also support the appointment of Committee on the Judiciary conferees during any House-Senate conference convened on this legislation.

Lastly, I will ensure that our exchange of letters is included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration of the bill. Thank you again for your cooperation regarding the legislation. I look forward to continuing to work with you as the measure moves through the legislative process.

Sincerely,

ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, DC, October 28, 2019.

Hon. ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRMAN ENGEL: This is to advise you that the Committee on the Judiciary has now had an opportunity to review the provisions in H.R. 4695, the "Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act" that fall within our Rule X jurisdiction. I appreciate your consulting with us on those provisions. The Judiciary Committee has no objection to your including them in the bill for consideration on the House floor, and to expedite that consideration is willing to forgo action on H.R. 4695, with the understanding that we do not thereby waive any future jurisdictional claim over those provisions or their subject matters.

In the event a House-Senate conference on this or similar legislation is convened, the Judiciary Committee reserves the right to request an appropriate number of conferees to address any concerns with these or similar provisions that may arise in conference.

Please place this letter into the Congressional Record during consideration of the measure on the House floor. Thank you for the cooperative spirit in which you have worked regarding this matter and others between our committees.

Sincerely,

JERROLD NADLER,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
Washington, DC, October 28, 2019.

Hon. CAROLYN B. MALONEY,
Acting Chairwoman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR CHAIRWOMAN MALONEY: I am writing to you concerning H.R. 4695, the PACT Act. I appreciate your willingness to work cooperatively on this legislation.

I acknowledge that provisions of the bill fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Oversight and Reform under House Rule X, and that your Committee will forgo action on H.R. 4695 to expedite floor consideration. I further acknowledge that the inaction of your Committee with respect to the bill does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the matters contained in the bill that fall within your jurisdiction. I will also support the appointment of Committee on Oversight and Reform conferees during any House-Senate conference convened on this legislation.

Lastly, I will ensure that our exchange of letters is included in the Congressional Record during floor consideration of the bill. Thank you again for your cooperation regarding the legislation. I look forward to continuing to work with you as the measure moves through the legislative process.

Sincerely,

ELIOT L. ENGEL,
Chairman.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND REFORM,
Washington, DC, October 28, 2019.
Hon. ELIOT ENGEL,
Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I am writing to you concerning H.R. 4605, the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey (PACT) Act. There are certain provisions in the legislation which fall within the Rule X jurisdiction of the Committee on Oversight and Reform.

In the interest of permitting your Committee to proceed expeditiously on this bill, I am willing to waive this Committee's right to sequential referral. I do so with the understanding that by waiving consideration of the bill, the Committee on Oversight and Reform does not waive any future jurisdictional claim over the subject matters contained in the bill which fall within its Rule X jurisdiction. I request that you urge the Speaker to name Members of this Committee to any conference committee which is named to consider such provisions.

Please place this letter into the Congressional Record during consideration of the measure on the House floor. Thank you for the cooperative spirit in which you have worked regarding this matter and others between our respective Committees.

Sincerely,

CAROLYN B. MALONEY,
Acting Chairwoman.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 4695, the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act.

The death of Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi this past weekend is a major win in our counter-ISIS campaign, and I congratulate our brave special operators for a job well done, the men and women of our intelligence community, and our President for a bold decision.

The world is better off without this sick and deranged leader of the so-called caliphate. Baghdadi still has thousands of followers committed to terrorism. While their leader's death is a huge blow, we must stay vigilant to keep them from reconstituting or carrying out attacks in the West and to our homeland.

With that, we cannot allow Turkey's invasion to hinder, in any way, our counter-ISIS campaign.

My friend, Chairman ELIOT ENGEL, and I coauthored this legislation to give the White House additional congressional support to sanction Turkey for its recent actions and the leverage to ensure Turkey upholds the vital cease-fire negotiated by Vice President PENCE.

In the President's own words: "Should Turkey fail to honor its obligations, including the protection of religious and ethnic minorities . . . we reserve the right to reimpose crippling sanctions."

In addition, our bill ensures there are Presidential waivers to provide flexibility for the administration on how almost all the sanctions are administered.

This bill incentivizes Turkey to comply with the cease-fire. If they do not, there will be consequences in the form of crippling sanctions.

Turkey is also a vital NATO partner, and I am hopeful they will cease their

destabilizing actions and act as a responsible partner.

With that in mind, let's recap how we got here today.

On October 9, Erdogan's forces charged across the border, unleashing a potential humanitarian crisis for the people in northern Syria. The assault has expanded Assad and Putin's grip on Syrian territory.

As I said 2 weeks ago, I am concerned this incursion will damage U.S. interests in the Middle East and the Syrian people, including the Kurds, our ally. The only beneficiaries of more violence and more chaos in Syria are America's adversaries, and that is Vladimir Putin, Bashar al-Assad, Iran, and terrorist groups like ISIS.

On October 17, the administration brokered a cease-fire with Turkey, which has held to date. This has helped to stabilize the situation and prevent a worst-case scenario from taking place. I applaud the Vice President and Secretary Pompeo for that delicate negotiation with President Erdogan, and I believe that our bipartisan resolution, which disapproved of the Turkish incursion last week, I believe, helped in these negotiations.

Our bill today—my bill with Mr. ENGEL—codifies the administration's agreement in Ankara and will help to strengthen the President's hand in ensuring that Turkey upholds its commitments.

Our bill imposes penalties on Turkey if it continues its offensive in northern Syria. Specifically, it sanctions Turkish officials involved in the military operation in Syria. It blocks U.S. weapons sales to Turkey that could be used in Syria and sanctions foreign entities selling such weapons to Turkey. It sanctions banks supporting Turkey's defense sector in the Syria campaign.

Our bill also requires the administration to develop plans to adjust our counterterrorism strategy to respond to the changing situation on the ground.

I am pleased that the administration heard our call for a residual force in Syria. I can think of nothing more dangerous than withdrawing all of our troops in Syria, as we saw when we withdrew, under the previous administration, from Iraq to 10,000 forces. That is when we saw the rise of ISIS and the so-called caliphate.

We will have a residual force in Syria working with the SDF and the Kurds to help defeat and make sure ISIS is never again a threat to the homeland.

Finally, it identifies Turkey's purchase of the Russian S-400 system as a transaction subject to sanctions under the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act, or CAATSA. That is very important. How can you be a NATO ally and purchase Russian military equipment?

We let Turkey into NATO to protect them from the Soviet Union, and now our NATO ally is buying Russian military equipment and, through its invasion into Syria, threatening our allies.

For these reasons, I urge support of this bill and thank Chairman ENGEL for, once again, coming to a bipartisan resolution. When, once again, they said it couldn't be done, we got it done, and I thank him for that.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for his kind words.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON LEE).

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I again rise with appreciation for the chairman of this committee and the ranking member of this committee and echo the importance of this bipartisan resolution.

I would like us to go down memory lane, for those of us who have had the privilege of being here, including Mr. ENGEL.

We are reminded of a secular Turkey, a Turkey where all were welcomed. We remember visiting some of the beautiful and wonderful treasures of Turkey, as we met with government officials and heard them reinforce their commitment to democracy, to the idea of freedom of religion, and that is appropriate for a 70-year member of NATO.

We are very grateful for their commitment to NATO. There are many who continue to advocate for Turkey's presence in NATO so that NATO could be comprehensive and unique. But we find ourselves now in the grips of a single-minded individual who does not see the beauty of democracy, does not see the beauty of diversity and the welcoming of those from many places to Turkey, or the orderly process and the strong role they can play in the Middle East.

Yet, on a midnight call or a late-night call on a Sunday night, speaking to this administration, the Turkish President didn't consult or maybe offer options. What we have gleaned from the media is that they said: We are coming into Syria.

In the midst of them coming into Syria, they created a humanitarian crisis with fleeing women and children, destroying homes, taking people away from their homeland, and just doing havoc.

There must be order in the world, respect and dignity, and a respect for the sanctity of life.

I am glad to rise in support of this legislation, to target Turkey for sanctions that will not be lifted until Turkey withdraws from northern Syria.

The bill requires concrete strategies from the administration for combating ISIS and protecting Syrian Kurdish communities and an analysis of human rights violations committed by Turkish forces, as well as a refugee program.

It goes with my earlier designation that this is a humanitarian crisis in response to the needs of the people.

□ 1545

This is not an act of war. This is to seek peace. This bill freezes assets and imposes a mandatory visa ban against senior officials of Turkey, including the Minister of National Defense, who apparently would not listen.

Additionally, the PACT Act prohibits all arms transfers that Turkey could use in Syria—bloodshed against the people, not peace.

Finally, the PACT Act imposed targeted sanctions on Halkbank, a Turkish bank with ties to President Erdogan.

We would have wished to be around the diplomatic table to resolve the issues in Syria. We might have been on the verge of doing that. There was a calmness on the border, the northern border. We had a certain number of troops.

Great opportunities remained before Turkey, but unwise and unilateral decisions were made. Part of that was the withdrawing of our Armed Forces from northern Syria.

But I think it is clear to those of us who do want peace that there was a way of doing it. These sanctions should send a very strong message to Syria that we are, one, recognizing the Kurds.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CROW). The time of the gentlewoman has expired.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentlewoman from Texas an additional 30 seconds.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. These sanctions should send a strong message to Syria that, one, we in the United States take seriously the intrusion of Turkey into the Kurdish area.

It should send a strong message to President Erdogan to recognize that he cannot bully his way through in the region.

It should also send a strong message to Iran and Russia and to our ISIS foes that America is serious about peace, but doing it in a manner that provides as safe a pathway for peace as possible.

I would hope and would have wanted the decision that the President made on the phone call never to have occurred. It did occur.

Unfortunately, President Erdogan was a partner in this, and we must make a very strong statement that the United States will not stand for this kind of bullying and that we will ensure that we will find peace, but in the right way.

Mr. Speaker, with that, I support H.R. 4695.

Mr. Speaker, as a senior member of the Committees on the Judiciary and on Homeland Security, and as a sponsor of the legislation, I rise in strong support of H.R. 4695, the “Protect Against Conflict By Turkey” or PACT Act, and I thank the Chairman and Ranking Member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for their bipartisan collaboration and hard work in bringing this important legislation to the floor.

I strongly support the PACT Act because it holds Turkey accountable for its brutal inva-

sion of northern Syria and imposes against it tough, targeted sanctions and highlights the negative consequences of Turkey's invasion and the President's acquiescence to this act of aggression.

Under the legislation, most of the sanctions will not be lifted until Turkey withdraws from northern Syria and the bill requires concrete strategies from the Administration for combatting ISIS, protecting Syrian Kurdish communities, an analysis of human rights violations committed by Turkish forces as well as a refugee program designation for Syrians who partnered with or worked directly for the U.S. in Syria.

Specifically, the PACT Act freezes assets and imposes a mandatory visa ban against senior officials of Turkey, including the Minister of National Defense, the Chief of General Staff of Turkish military, the Commander of Turkish 2nd Army, which has led the Syrian incursion; the Minister of Treasury and Finance, who by the way is Turkey President Erdogan's son-in-law; and additional senior Turkish defense officials involved in the invasion of Syria and anyone committing human rights abuses.

Additionally, the PACT Act prohibits all arms transfers that Turkey could use in Syria and makes unavailable the use of the emergency provision of Arms Export Control Act (AECA) that the President might otherwise have used to get around congressional holds on arms sales to Turkey.

Finally, the PACT Act imposed targeted sanctions on Halkbank, a Turkish bank with ties to President Erdogan, and additional Turkish banks facilitating transactions for the Turkish military's operations in Syria.

Mr. Speaker, I have devoted my congressional career working to advance initiatives that will bring peace to troubled regions of the globe.

For example, I strongly supported the two-state solution to bring peace between Palestinians and Israelis.

Similarly, I worked with my colleagues and the executive branch to end the genocide and bloodshed in Darfur and for peace, stability, and reconciliation in Afghanistan.

About this time two years ago, I had just returned from important meetings in the Middle East where I was part of an eight-member congressional delegation to the United Arab Emirates and Egypt.

Mr. Speaker, the unwise and unilateral decision to withdraw U.S. armed forces from Northern Syria and abandon the Kurds, perhaps our most indispensable ally in the region is a mistake of incalculable damage.

Instead of furthering United States interests, the decision to withdraw American troops from Northern Syria undermines them and emboldens Russia, Iran, Syria, and ISIS, all implacable foes of the United States.

At the same time the decision squanders the progress made to date by the United States, working with the Kurds, to defeat ISIS and destroy its caliphate and props up the bloody Assad regime in Syria and puts at risk thousands of innocent men, women, and children.

Mr. Speaker, the President's decision weakens the United States because trusted allies will no longer rely upon the commitment of our country to defend freedom or keep its word, and worst of all, it consigns the Kurds, our devoted and dedicated friends, to certain death

and carnage at the hands of the Turkish military under the leadership of autocrat President Recep Erdogan.

I urge the President, as Commander-in-Chief, to reinstate and resume the tried and true practice of orderly and systematic consultation with national security professionals, specifically the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the intelligence community, our key allies and foreign policy experts.

For nearly 75 years, since the end of World War II, the United States has been the indispensable nation in the world and because of the leadership asserted by the United States, international peace has been preserved and global conflagration avoided.

This task has never been easy or inexpensive, except when compared to the alternative of violence, bloodshed, and chaos.

President Kennedy recognized this and observed in his 1961 Inaugural Address that “In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it.”

I urge all Members to join me in voting for this critically important bipartisan legislation, vote to pass the PACT Act.

Mr. McCaul. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Florida (Mr. BILIRAKIS).

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, I offer congratulations again to Chairman ENGEL and Ranking Member McCaul for this very important Turkey sanctions bill.

Mr. Speaker, for nearly 13 years, I have felt like I have been one of the lone voices in the wilderness decrying the actions of Turkey as it systematically denies its citizens basic human rights by invading and occupying an EU country, the Republic of Cyprus; stripping religious minorities of their religious freedom; persecuting journalists and academics for writing about the Armenian genocide; and invading and provoking hostilities on a daily basis in the Eastern Mediterranean.

As co-chair of the International Religious Freedom Caucus, I am especially grateful for this PACT Act calling for the administration to outline how it will assist religious and ethnic minorities affected by war crimes perpetrated by Prime Minister Erdogan.

Additionally, in my role as co-chair of the Hellenic Caucus, I have called for the administration to halt the delivery of F-35s to Turkey, given its purchase of Russia's S-400 missile defense system.

I am pleased this bill goes further and imposes 231 sanctions for Turkey's intransigence.

I urge support of this legislation so that we can send a unified, bipartisan message to Turkey that, if you want to be considered a strategic ally of the United States, a true ally, you have to act like one.

Mr. Speaker, I want to again thank the chairman, the ranking member, and the entire Foreign Affairs Committee for bringing up this very important bill.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. McCaul. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. HURD).

Mr. HURD of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I thank my friend from Texas for yielding, and I am proud to rise today in support of the bipartisan PACT Act to hold Turkey accountable for its destabilizing and dangerous decision to invade northern Syria and attack America's Kurdish allies.

After years of fighting side by side with American forces against ISIS, Syrian Kurds are now under siege and fleeing their homes. According to the United Nations, over 180,000 people have been displaced, including 80,000 children. Many are fleeing to the Kurdistan region of Iraq, which already hosts over 200,000 refugees from the Syrian civil war.

Turkey's reckless actions have created a humanitarian crisis that will strain our partners in the region and provide ISIS with an opportunity to re-emerge as a threat to the United States.

The international community must come together to provide assistance to Kurds and refugees in both Syria and Iraq.

The U.S. Special Envoy for Syria also told Congress last week that there have been several incidents of potential war crimes committed by Turkey or its proxies, including the use of white phosphorus, which can be used as a chemical weapon on civilians and in extrajudicial killings.

We cannot stand idly by while Turkey undermines the fight against ISIS, attacks our Kurdish allies, and puts hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians in harm's way.

These sanctions are an appropriate response that holds Turkey responsible for its actions and provides incentives for President Erdogan to change course.

One thing I learned during my time as an undercover officer in the CIA is that America only succeeds when our enemies fear us and our allies trust us.

As members of NATO, both the U.S. and Turkey have committed to unite their efforts for collective defense and for preservation of peace and security. I hope our Turkish counterparts will recommit to these principles and work with us to address shared security concerns and protect the successes of joint U.S.-Kurdish efforts to drive ISIS out of Syria.

Mr. Speaker, I thank my friends, the gentleman from New York and the gentleman from Texas, for their work and their commitment on this important, bipartisan bill, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I continue to reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. McCaul. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. KINZINGER), a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. KINZINGER. Mr. Speaker, I thank the ranking member for yielding.

It is sad that we are here. As a military member, I spent some time at the Incirlik Air Base in Turkey in '06, or maybe a little before in '05. I think we all, as Members of this body, have probably been there in our travels and see some amazing potential for a country that really straddles two continents and plays such an important role in the future. But it is sad to see what has happened.

So, I reluctantly have to rise today in support of H.R. 4695, the Protect Against Conflict by Turkey Act, also known as the PACT Act.

I cosponsored this because I am worried about the direction of President Erdogan and the direction he is taking the Republic of Turkey.

The leader of a country with so much to offer the world should not be cozying up to the likes of Vladimir Putin and Bashar al-Assad—Vladimir Putin, who oversees a failing nation, quite honestly, and is not the future. Yet that is exactly what Erdogan is doing when he decided to invade Syria.

Far too many men, women, and children have died at the hands of Assad, Putin, and Khamenei.

It is unthinkable that a leader of a NATO nation will be joining the list of murderous thugs; but, given the latest developments in Syria, many of our Kurdish partners will likely die because of Erdogan's offensive.

These are the same Kurdish fighters who, while we lost less than 20 soldiers in the fight against ISIS from combat, lost over 10,000 of their own men and women.

These are the same Kurdish fighters who spent the past 5 years hunting ISIS leader Abu al-Baghdadi alongside our men and women in uniform, and we saw that come to fruition in a great way this weekend.

Without their constant pressure on the ISIS networks, our operators may have never had the chance to bring him to justice—not to mention the fact that Turkey, inevitably, threatened to attack our troops in northern Syria.

That is why I am proud to cosponsor this. By applying targeted sanctions against those directly responsible for the operations, we are sending a message to the Erdogan government that the U.S. will hold them liable for their actions. If he does not want to act like a NATO nation, then his government will feel the repercussions of such decisions.

I thank Chairman ENGEL and Ranking Member McCaul for their steadfast leadership of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and I commend them for their ability to work in a bipartisan manner to advance measures in America's interest.

Mr. ENGEL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), our Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank Mr. ENGEL, distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the

distinguished ranking member of the committee, Mr. McCaul, for their leadership in bringing this important, bipartisan bill to the floor.

Mr. Speaker, as we all know, 3 weeks ago the President unleashed an escalation of chaos and insecurity in Syria when he gave Turkey the green light to attack our Kurdish partners, threatening lives, risking regional security, and undermining America's credibility as a trustworthy ally.

And then, instead of holding Turkey accountable for its aggression, the President reversed his sanctions in exchange for a so-called cease-fire, which the Turks clearly stated was not a cease-fire.

Today, Democrats and Republicans come together to demonstrate the strong, smart leadership that has sorely been lacking from the White House, as the House passed this tough, targeted sanctions bill to hold the Turks accountable for their attacks on our Kurdish partners.

We salute Chairman ENGEL and Ranking Member McCaul once again for their leadership on this PACT Act and on the resolution opposing President Trump's decision on Syria, including H.J. Res. 77, a bipartisan, bicameral resolution which passed the House on a 354-60 vote.

Here are the facts:

Our Kurdish partners freed millions of people and tens of thousands of square miles from the grip of ISIS. Throughout the fight, they sustained nearly 11,000 casualties.

Until recently, our Kurdish partners protected America's security and the security of the region as more than 10,000 ISIS fighters and tens of thousands of ISIS family members were under their control.

Yet, in a matter of weeks, the President has put our progress at risk. Even with the death of al-Baghdadi, ISIS remains a serious and resurgent threat. The death of a top ISIS leader does not mean the death of ISIS.

Scores of fighters remain under uncertain conditions in Syrian prisons and at risk of a jailbreak. Nearly 800 ISIS supporters and family members have reportedly escaped. To say that Turkey and Syria still adequately guard the prisoners is outrageous and dangerous.

At the same time, more than 250,000 Kurdish civilians have fled their homes because of Turkish attacks. Dozens of civilians, in addition to possibly hundreds of brave Kurdish fighters, have been killed.

The only winners from the President's disastrous decision in Syria are ISIS, the Syrian Government, Iran, and Russia.

With these targeted, strong sanctions, America is holding accountable top Turkish officials responsible for human rights abuses, including attacking our Kurdish partners.

We are penalizing Turkish financial institutions that perpetuate President Erdogan's corruption and abuses, and

H.R. 1623

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; FINDINGS; PURPOSE.

(a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the “Help America Run Act”.

(b) **FINDINGS.**—Congress finds the following:

(1) Everyday Americans experience barriers to entry before they can consider running for office to serve their communities.

(2) Current law states that campaign funds cannot be spent on everyday expenses that would exist whether or not a candidate were running for office, like rent and food. While the law seems neutral, its actual effect is to privilege the independently wealthy who want to run, because given the demands of running for office, candidates who must work to pay for childcare or to afford health insurance are effectively being left out of the process, even if they have sufficient support to mount a viable campaign.

(3) Thus current practice favors those prospective candidates who do not need to rely on a regular paycheck to make ends meet. The consequence is that everyday Americans who have firsthand knowledge of the importance of stable childcare, a safety net, or great public schools are less likely to get a seat at the table. This governance by the few is antithetical to the democratic experiment, but most importantly, when lawmakers do not share the concerns of everyday Americans, their policies reflect that.

(4) These circumstances have contributed to a Congress that does not always reflect everyday Americans. The New York Times reported in 2019 that fewer than 5 percent of representatives cite blue-collar or service jobs in their biographies. A 2015 survey by the Center for Responsive Politics showed that the median net worth of lawmakers was just over \$1 million in 2013, or 18 times the wealth of the typical American household.

(5) These circumstances have also contributed to a governing body that does not reflect the nation it serves. For instance, women are 51% of the American population. Yet even with a record number of women serving in the One Hundred Sixteenth Congress, the Pew Research Center notes that more than three out of four Members of this Congress are male. The Center for American Women And Politics found that one third of women legislators surveyed had been actively discouraged from running for office, often by political professionals. This type of discouragement, combined with the prohibitions on using campaign funds for domestic needs like childcare, burdens that still fall disproportionately on American women, particularly disadvantages working mothers. These barriers may explain why only 10 women in history have given birth while serving in Congress, in spite of the prevalence of working parents in other professions. Yet working mothers and fathers are best positioned to create policy that reflects the lived experience of most Americans.

(6) Working mothers, those caring for their elderly parents, and young professionals who rely on their jobs for health insurance should have the freedom to run to serve the people of the United States. Their networks and net worth are simply not the best indicators of their strength as prospective public servants. In fact, helping ordinary Americans to run may create better policy for all Americans.

(c) **PURPOSE.**—It is the purpose of this Act to ensure that all Americans who are otherwise qualified to serve this Nation are able to run for office, regardless of their economic status. By expanding permissible uses of campaign funds and providing modest assurance that testing a run for office will not

are preventing the sale of arms to Turkey for use in Syria.

As the House passes this legislation, we again call upon the President to support the Kurdish communities and work to ensure that the Turkish military acts with restraint, and we require the Trump administration to finally present a clear strategy to defeat ISIS.

Mr. Speaker, I know we have bipartisan support for this legislation. Again, I salute Ranking Member McCaul and Chairman Engel for bringing this legislation to the floor, which is a vote to support the sacrifice of our military and our allies and a vote to restore strength, strategy, and sanity to our national security policy.

I think that a very strong, bipartisan vote in the House, similar to the one we had on H.J. Res. 77, will send a very clear message that we can come together—and we will come together—in the interest of our national security; in the interest of Americans’ values, which are part of our strength; and, again, to fight terrorism wherever it exists so that it does not reach our shores.

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Mr. McCaul. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I want to echo Madam Speaker’s comments. When we stand united on the floor of the Congress, as Americans, that is when we send the strongest message overseas to adversaries.

I want to thank Mr. Engel for his strong work in working with me to get to a positive place where we can actually get to a solution to what has been a challenging and very fluid situation. It is always an honor to work with the gentleman on the Foreign Affairs Committee.

In these times of crises we are, I believe, strongest on the world stage when the executive and legislative branch speak in one voice.

In his testimony before our committee, Ambassador Jeffrey, the Special Envoy to Syria said:

I saw firsthand the effect of congressional sanctions when we visited with the Turkish negotiating team; that these sanctions have been helpful in getting the Turks to agree to the cease-fire.

And I believe the resolution that we passed helped get Turkey to the cease-fire as well.

Finally, I want to thank our partners in the Syrian Democratic Forces for their ongoing dedication to countering ISIS. And I want to say to the SDF, from the Nation’s Capitol, on the House floor, that the American people are grateful for everything you have done for us, for everything you have worked for, and everything you have sacrificed to keep the world safer.

Mr. Speaker, I urge all Members to support this important legislation, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. Engel. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume for the purpose of closing.

I would like to again thank Ranking Member McCaul for his partnership in

writing this important bipartisan bill. And it is even more than just a partnership. It is working together on both sides of the aisle to do good for the American people. That is really what this should all be about, particularly when we are talking about foreign affairs. So I want to thank Mr. McCaul for working closely with me and for really making this a real collaborative bill.

The measure before us represents what the Foreign Affairs Committee does best, bipartisan, commonsense legislation that advances American interests and American values on the global stage.

The PACT Act holds Turkey accountable for its bloodshed in Syria. It calls on Erdogan to immediately stop his campaign of ethnic cleansing to expel Syrian Kurds and other minority groups from their homeland, and to start living up to the democratic values that we expect from a NATO ally, values that, right now, are under constant attack in Turkey.

Mr. Speaker, it is a sad coincidence. Today is the 96th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Turkey. For nearly a century, the Turkish people have fought hard to grow and preserve democracy in their country, and Erdogan has done such incredible damage to that legacy.

I call on all my colleagues to join me and Mr. McCaul in supporting this legislation and sending a strong message that the United States Congress will not condone Turkey’s horrific atrocities against the Kurds. Not only will we not condone it, we oppose it; we will speak out about it; and we will try in every way we can to stop it.

I urge my colleagues to support this very important measure, and I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Engel) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, H.R. 4695, as amended.

The question was taken.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. In the opinion of the Chair, two-thirds being in the affirmative, the ayes have it.

Mr. Engel. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, further proceedings on this motion will be postponed.

HELP AMERICA RUN ACT

Ms. LOFGREN. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 1623) to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide for the treatment of payments for childcare and other personal use services as an authorized campaign expenditure, and for other purposes, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows: