

118TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

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

To impose sanctions with respect to the Government of Türkiye, and for other purposes.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

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Mr. GRAHAM (for himself and Mr. VAN HOLLEN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

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**A BILL**

To impose sanctions with respect to the Government of Türkiye, and for other purposes.

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

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

4 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the  
5 “Countering Turkish Aggression Act of 2024”.

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

- Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
- Sec. 2. Sense of Congress.
- Sec. 3. Definitions.
- Sec. 4. Imposition of sanctions with respect to the Government of Türkiye.
- Sec. 5. Imposition of sanctions with respect to financial institutions that facilitate transactions for Turkish Armed Forces.

- Sec. 6. Imposition of sanctions with respect to energy production in Syria.  
Sec. 7. Imposition of CAATSA section 231 sanctions against the Government of Türkiye.  
Sec. 8. Prohibition on United States military assistance to Turkish Armed Forces.  
Sec. 9. Prohibition on purchases of Turkish sovereign debt by United States persons.  
Sec. 10. Exceptions.  
Sec. 11. Implementation; penalties.  
Sec. 12. Exception to comply with international obligations.  
Sec. 13. Termination authority.

**1 SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

2 It is the sense of Congress that—

3 (1) the presence of United States troops within  
4 Syria is critical to the safety of the United States  
5 and allies and partners of the United States;

6 (2) the United States should continue to work  
7 with the Syrian Kurdish communities that have been  
8 key partners of the United States in the ongoing  
9 fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria  
10 (commonly known as “ISIS”);

11 (3) the Syrian Democratic Forces oversee more  
12 than 20 detention facilities in Syria that contain  
13 thousands of ISIS fighters;

14 (4) attacks on the Syrian Democratic Forces by  
15 the Government of Türkiye or Turkish-backed forces  
16 jeopardize United States interests in the region and  
17 risk the reemergence of ISIS, which would threaten  
18 the homeland and allies and partners of the United  
19 States across the globe; and

1           (5) the United States Government should work,  
2           through diplomatic means, with the Government of  
3           Türkiye to help facilitate a sustained ceasefire and  
4           a demilitarized zone along the border between  
5           Türkiye and Syria, particularly the city of Kobani.

6 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

7           In this Act:

8           (1) ADMITTED; ALIEN.—The terms “admitted”  
9           and “alien” have the meanings given those terms in  
10          section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act  
11          (8 U.S.C. 1101).

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

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

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

24          (5) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
25          respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,

1 means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
2 have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
3 result.

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

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

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

13 **SEC. 4. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE**  
14 **GOVERNMENT OF TÜRKIYE.**

15 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 15 days after the  
16 date of the enactment of this Act, and every 90 days there-  
17 after, the President shall—

18 (1) impose the sanctions described in subsection

19 (c) with respect to—

20 (A) each official of the Government of  
21 Türkiye described in subsection (b);

22 (B) any foreign person that the President  
23 determines knowingly sells, otherwise provides,  
24 or conducts a transaction to provide, financial,

1 material, or technological support to the Turk-  
2 ish Armed Forces, including—

3 (i) aircraft, aircraft parts, or machin-  
4 ery, equipment, or services used by the  
5 Turkish Air Force;

6 (ii) aircraft or automotive machinery,  
7 equipment, or services used by the Turkish  
8 Land Forces;

9 (iii) vessels, aircraft, equipment, or  
10 services used by the Turkish Navy; and

11 (iv) defense articles, services, tech-  
12 nology, or materials used by the Turkish  
13 Armed Forces; and

14 (C) any foreign person that the President  
15 determines knowingly supplies goods, services,  
16 technology, information, or other support that  
17 maintains or supports the production of crude  
18 oil, natural gas, or refined petroleum or natural  
19 gas products, in Türkiye for use by the Turkish  
20 Armed Forces; and

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

1 (b) OFFICIALS DESCRIBED.—An official of the Gov-  
2 ernment of Türkiye described in this subsection is any of  
3 the following:

4 (1) The President of the Government of  
5 Türkiye.

6 (2) The Vice President of the Government of  
7 Türkiye.

8 (3) The Minister of National Defense of the  
9 Government of Türkiye.

10 (4) The Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Gov-  
11 ernment of Türkiye.

12 (5) The Minister of Treasury and Finance of  
13 the Government of Türkiye.

14 (6) The Minister of Trade of the Government  
15 of Türkiye.

16 (7) The Minister of Energy and Natural Re-  
17 sources of the Government of Türkiye.

18 (8) The Chief of the National Intelligence Orga-  
19 nization of the Government of Türkiye.

20 (9) Any other official of the Government of  
21 Türkiye that the President determines should be  
22 subject to sanctions under subsection (a).

23 (c) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
24 scribed in this subsection are the following:

25 (1) PROPERTY BLOCKING.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—The exercise of all pow-  
2 ers granted to the President by the Inter-  
3 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
4 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent necessary to  
5 block and prohibit all transactions in property  
6 and interests in property described in subpara-  
7 graph (B), if such property and interests in  
8 property are in the United States, come within  
9 the United States, or are or come within the  
10 possession or control of a United States person.

11 (B) PROPERTY DESCRIBED.—The property  
12 and interests in property described in this sub-  
13 paragraph are—

14 (i) property and interests in property  
15 of a person determined by the President to  
16 be subject to subsection (a)(1); and

17 (ii) property and interests in property  
18 of any other individual, if a person subject  
19 to subsection (a)(1) transferred the prop-  
20 erty or interests in property to the indi-  
21 vidual after the date on which the Presi-  
22 dent imposed sanctions under this section  
23 with respect to the person.

24 (2) ALIENS INADMISSIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMIS-  
25 SION, PAROLE.—

1 (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An  
2 alien described in subsection (a)(1) is—

3 (i) inadmissible to the United States;

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

6 and

7 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
8 or paroled into the United States or to re-  
9 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
10 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
11 seq.).

12 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

13 (i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other  
14 entry documentation of an official specified  
15 in subsection (b) shall be revoked, regard-  
16 less of when such visa or other entry docu-  
17 mentation is or was issued.

18 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
19 tion under clause (i) shall—

20 (I) take effect immediately; and

21 (II) automatically cancel any  
22 other valid visa or entry documenta-  
23 tion that is in the possession of such  
24 official.



1 **SEC. 5. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO FI-**  
2 **NANCIAL INSTITUTIONS THAT FACILITATE**  
3 **TRANSACTIONS FOR TURKISH ARMED**  
4 **FORCES.**

5 If the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with  
6 the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, and the  
7 Director of National Intelligence, determines that any for-  
8 eign financial institution has knowingly facilitated trans-  
9 actions for the Turkish Armed Forces or defense industry  
10 in Türkiye relating to the military operations of Türkiye  
11 in Syria, the President shall, not later than 60 days after  
12 that determination—

13 (1) impose the sanctions described in section  
14 4(c) with respect to that financial institution; and

15 (2) prohibit any United States person from en-  
16 gaging in any transaction with that financial institu-  
17 tion.

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

20 On and after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
21 the President shall—

22 (1) impose the sanctions described in section  
23 4(c) with respect to any foreign person that the  
24 President determines knowingly sells or provides sig-  
25 nificant goods, services, technology, information, or  
26 other support that significantly facilitates the main-

1 tenance or expansion of the production of natural  
2 gas, petroleum, or petroleum products in Syria for  
3 use by the Russian Federation, Iran, Türkiye, or  
4 Turkish-backed militias; and

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

8 **SEC. 7. IMPOSITION OF CAATSA SECTION 231 SANCTIONS**  
9 **AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF TÜRKIYE.**

10 (a) DETERMINATION.—For the purposes of section  
11 231 of the Countering America’s Adversaries Through  
12 Sanctions Act (22 U.S.C. 9525), Türkiye’s acquisition of  
13 the Russian S–400 air and missile defense system begin-  
14 ning July 12, 2019, shall be considered to be a significant  
15 transaction described in such section.

16 (b) SANCTIONS.—Not later than 30 days after the  
17 date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall im-  
18 pose, under section 231 of the Countering America’s Ad-  
19 versaries Through Sanctions Act (22 U.S.C. 9525), 5 or  
20 more sanctions described in section 235 of that Act ( 22  
21 U.S.C. 9529) with respect to the Government of Türkiye,  
22 which shall be in addition to the sanctions imposed with  
23 respect to the Government of Türkiye under such section  
24 231 as of such date of enactment.

1 **SEC. 8. PROHIBITION ON UNITED STATES MILITARY AS-**  
2 **SISTANCE TO TURKISH ARMED FORCES.**

3 (a) PROHIBITION ON TRANSFERS.—The President  
4 shall prohibit the transfer of defense articles and services  
5 under section 21 of the Arms Export Control Act (22  
6 U.S.C. 2761) to the Turkish Armed Forces.

7 (b) NO USE OF EMERGENCY AUTHORITIES.—The  
8 authority of the President to waive statutory congressional  
9 review periods under the Arms Export Control Act ( 22  
10 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) in cases in which an emergency exists  
11 shall not apply to the transfer of defense articles or serv-  
12 ices to Türkiye.

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

15 The President shall prescribe regulations prohibiting  
16 any United States person from purchasing sovereign debt  
17 of the Government of Türkiye.

18 **SEC. 10. EXCEPTIONS.**

19 (a) SUPPORT FOR PEOPLE OF TÜRKIYE.—This Act  
20 shall not apply with respect to—

21 (1) the provision of humanitarian assistance  
22 (including medical assistance) to the people of  
23 Türkiye; or

24 (2) efforts to promote democracy in Türkiye,  
25 including through providing election assistance.

26 (b) INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—

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

6           (2) REQUIREMENT.—Activities carried out  
7 under the exception under paragraph (1) may not be  
8 carried out in a manner that provides the Govern-  
9 ment of Türkiye with targeting data regarding the  
10 location or disposition of Syrian Democratic Forces.

11       (c) EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
12 GOODS.—

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

17           (2) GOOD DEFINED.—In this subsection, the  
18 term “good” means any article, natural or manmade  
19 substance, material, supply or manufactured prod-  
20 uct, including inspection and test equipment, and ex-  
21 cluding technical data.

22 **SEC. 11. IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.**

23       (a) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may exercise  
24 all authorities provided to the President under sections  
25 203 and 205 of the International Emergency Economic

1 Powers Act ( 50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this  
2 Act.

3 (b) PENALTIES.—A person that violates, attempts to  
4 violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of this  
5 Act or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry out  
6 this Act shall be subject to the penalties set forth in sub-  
7 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
8 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the  
9 same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act de-  
10 scribed in subsection (a) of that section.

11 **SEC. 12. EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTERNATIONAL**  
12 **OBLIGATIONS.**

13 Sanctions under this Act shall not apply to the admis-  
14 sion of an alien if the admission of that alien is necessary  
15 to comply with United States obligations under the Agree-  
16 ment between the United Nations and the United States  
17 of America regarding the Headquarters of the United Na-  
18 tions, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered  
19 into force November 21, 1947, under the Convention on  
20 Consular Relations, done at Vienna April 24, 1963, and  
21 entered into force March 19, 1967, or under other inter-  
22 national agreements.

23 **SEC. 13. TERMINATION AUTHORITY.**

24 (a) IN GENERAL.—The President may terminate the  
25 application of sanctions, prohibitions, restrictions, and

1 penalties under this Act if the President certifies to Con-  
2 gress that—

3           (1) the Government of Türkiye, the Syrian Na-  
4 tional Army, and other militias supported by the  
5 Government of Türkiye have halted attacks against  
6 the Syrian Kurdish community and other commu-  
7 nities affected by Turkish or Turkish-backed mili-  
8 tary operations;

9           (2) Turkish forces, Syrian National Army  
10 forces, and other militias supported by the Govern-  
11 ment of Türkiye not involved in coordinated oper-  
12 ations with members of the North Atlantic Treaty  
13 Organization or the Global Coalition to Defeat ISIS,  
14 have withdrawn from all locations in Syria that they  
15 did not occupy before the launch of any action  
16 against the Syrian Democratic Forces on November  
17 27, 2024; and

18           (3) the Government of Türkiye, the Syrian Na-  
19 tional Army, and other militias supported by the  
20 Government of Türkiye are not hindering counter-  
21 terrorism operations against ISIS.

22           (b) REIMPOSITION.—If the Government of Türkiye  
23 violates paragraph (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a) after  
24 the submission of a certification described in subsection

1 (a), the President shall reimpose sanctions, prohibitions,  
2 restrictions, and penalties as described in this Act.