## AMENDMENT TO THE AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 4507 **OFFERED BY MR. MCCAUL OF TEXAS**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

#### 1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the "Protection of Saudi 3 Dissidents Act of 2020".

### 4 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

5 Congress finds the following:

6 (1) Jamal Khashoggi, a United States resident, 7 Saudi journalist, and Washington Post columnist, was killed and dismembered in the Saudi consulate 8 9 in Istanbul, Turkey on October 2, 2018, by at least 10 14 intelligence officers of the Government of Saudi 11 Arabia. Khashoggi was lured to the consulate under 12 the false cover of needing to address a consular mat-13 ter. Following the killing, 17 officers from the Saudi 14 intelligence service, or Mabahith, reportedly visited 15 Istanbul and cleansed the crime scene.

16 (2) At the time of his murder, Khashoggi was living in Virginia under an "O" visa and was in the 17 18 process of applying for a permanent residency.

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(3) A subsequent, highly-credible investigation
 by the United Nations concluded that Khashoggi's
 killing was premeditated and that the mission was
 endorsed, planned, and overseen by senior Saudi of ficials.

# 6 SEC. 3. SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS VIO7 LATIONS AGAINST SAUDI DISSIDENTS 8 ABROAD.

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall sub-10 mit to the appropriate congressional committees a deter-11 12 mination of whether, during the 120-day period preceding the date of submission of the determination, the Govern-13 ment of Saudi Arabia conducted any activities through its 14 15 intelligence, internal security, or law enforcement agencies or instrumentalities that constitute forced repatriation, si-16 lencing, or killing of dissidents in other countries. 17

(b) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS.—If the President determines that the Government of Saudi Arabia has conducted any activities described in subsection (a), the President shall impose one or more of the sanctions described
in section 1263(b) of the Global Magnitsky Human Rights
Accountability Act (22 U.S.C. 2656 note) with respect to
one of more officials of the Government of Saudi Arabia

whom the President determines has engaged in such ac tivities.

3 (c) EXCEPTIONS.—

4 (1) TO COMPLY WITH UNITED NATIONS HEAD-5 AGREEMENT.—Sanctions under para-QUARTERS 6 graph (1) of section 1263(b) of the Global 7 Magnitsky Human Rights Accountability Act shall 8 not apply with respect to a foreign person who is an 9 official of the Government of Saudi Arabia described 10 in subsection (b) if admitting or paroling the foreign 11 person into the United States is necessary to permit 12 the United States to comply with the Agreement re-13 garding the Headquarters of the United Nations, 14 signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947, and entered 15 into force November 21, 1947, between the United 16 Nations and the United States, or other applicable 17 international obligations.

18 (2) TO COMPLY WITH NATIONAL SECURITY.—
19 The following activities shall be exempt from sanc20 tions under this section:

21 (A) Activities subject to the reporting re22 quirements under title V of the National Secu23 rity Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.).

24 (B) Any authorized intelligence or law en-25 forcement activities of the United States.

1 (d) IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.—

(1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may exercise all authorities provided under sections 203
and 205 of the International Emergency Economic
Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out
this section and shall issue such regulations, licenses, and orders as are necessary to carry out this
section.

9 (2) PENALTIES.—Any person that violates, at-10 tempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a 11 violation of this section or any regulation, license, or 12 order issued to carry out paragraph (1) shall be sub-13 ject to the penalties provided for in subsections (b) 14 and (c) of section 206 of the International Emer-15 gency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the 16 same extent as a person that commits an unlawful 17 act described in subsection (a) of that section.

18 (e) WAIVER.—The President may waive the require-19 ment in subsection (b) if the President determines and 20 submits to the appropriate congressional committees writ-21 ten notice and justification not later than 15 days before 22 the granting of such waiver, that such a waiver is in the 23 national security interests of the United States.  $\mathbf{5}$ 

1 (f) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-2 FINED.—In this section, the term "appropriate congressional committees" means-3 4 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Per-5 manent Select Committee on Intelligence, and the 6 Committee on Armed Services of the House of Rep-7 resentatives; and 8 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the 9 Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Com-10 mittee on Armed Services of the Senate. SEC. 4. REPORT ON CONSISTENT PATTERN OF ACTS OF IN-11 12 TIMIDATION OR HARASSMENT DIRECTED 13 AGAINST **INDIVIDUALS** IN THE UNITED 14 STATES. 15 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following: 16 (1) Section 6 of the Arms Export Control Act 17 (22 U.S.C. 2756) states that no export licenses or 18 other authorizations may be issued for the export of 19 goods or services to any country determined by the 20 President to be engaged in a consistent pattern of 21 acts of intimidation or harassment directed against 22 individuals in the United States. 23 (2) Section 6 of the Arms Export Control Act 24 further requires the President to report any such de-

Representatives, the Committee on Foreign Affairs
 of the House of Representatives, and to the chair man of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the
 Senate.

5 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 60 days after the date
6 of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit
7 to the appropriate congressional committees a report on—

8 (1) whether any official of the Government of 9 Saudi Arabia engaged in a consistent pattern of acts 10 of intimidation or harassment directed against 11 Jamal Khashoggi or any individual in the United 12 States; and

13 (2) whether any United States-origin defense
14 articles were used in the activities described in para15 graph (1).

16 (c) FORM.—The report required by subsection (b)
17 shall be submitted in unclassified form but may contain
18 a classified annex.

19 (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES
20 DEFINED.—In this section, the term "appropriate con21 gressional committees" means—

(1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the
House of Representatives; and

(2) the Committee on Foreign Relations and
 the Select Committee on Intelligence of the Senate.
 SEC. 5. REPORT AND CERTIFICATION WITH RESPECT TO
 SAUDI DIPLOMATS AND DIPLOMATIC FACILI TIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

6 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 120 days after the date 7 of the enactment of this Act, the President shall submit 8 to the appropriate congressional committees a report cov-9 ering the three-year period preceding such date of enact-10 ment regarding whether and to what extent covered persons used diplomatic credentials, visas, or covered facilities 11 12 to facilitate monitoring, tracking, surveillance, or harassment of, or harm to, other nationals of Saudi Arabia living 13 14 in the United States.

- 15 (b) CERTIFICATION.—
- 16 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days 17 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the 18 President shall, if the President determines that 19 such is the case, submit to the appropriate congres-20 sional committees a certification that covered per-21 sons are not using diplomatic credentials, visas, or 22 covered facilities to facilitate monitoring, tracking, 23 surveillance, or harassment of, or harm to, other na-24 tionals of Saudi Arabia living in the United States

1	during the time period covered by each such certifi-
2	cation.
3	(2) Failure to submit certification.—If
4	the President does not submit a certification under
5	paragraph (1), the President shall—
6	(A) utilize existing authorities to respond
7	appropriately to the monitoring, tracking, sur-
8	veillance, or harassment of, or harm to, other
9	nationals of Saudi Arabia within the United
10	States; and
11	(B) submit to the appropriate congres-
12	sional committee a report that contains—
13	(i) a detailed explanation of why the
14	President is unable to make such a certifi-
15	cation;
16	(ii) a list and summary of engage-
17	ments of the United States Government
18	with the Government of Saudi Arabia re-
19	garding the use of diplomatic credentials,
20	visas, or covered facilities described in
21	paragraph $(1)$ ; and
22	(iii) a description of actions the
23	United States Government has taken or in-
24	tends to take in response to the use of dip-

lomatic credentials, visas, or covered facili ties described in paragraph (1).

3 (c) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)
4 and the certification and report required by subsection (b)
5 shall be submitted in unclassified form but may contain
6 a classified annex.

7 (d) WAIVER.—The President may waive the require-8 ment in subsection (b) if the President determines and 9 submits to the appropriate congressional committees writ-10 ten notice and justification not later than 15 days before 11 the granting of such waiver, that such a waiver is in the 12 national security interests of the United States.

13 (e) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

14 (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT15 TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com16 mittees" means—

17 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and
18 the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
19 of the House of Representatives; and

20 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations
21 and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the
22 Senate.

23 (2) COVERED FACILITY.—The term "covered
24 facility" means a diplomatic or consular facility of
25 Saudi Arabia in the United States.

(3) COVERED PERSON.—The term "covered
 person" means a national of Saudi Arabia
 credentialed to a covered facility.

## 4 SEC. 6. REPORT ON THE DUTY TO WARN OBLIGATION OF 5 THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

6 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds that Intelligence
7 Community Directive 191 provides that—

8 (1) when an element of the intelligence commu-9 nity of the United States collects or acquires credible 10 and specific information indicating an impending 11 threat of intentional killing, serious bodily injury, or 12 kidnapping directed at a person, the agency must 13 "warn the intended victim or those responsible for 14 protecting the intended victim, as appropriate"; and

(2) when issues arise with respect to whether
the threat information rises to the threshold of
"duty to warn", the directive calls for resolution in
favor of warning the intended victim.

(b) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date
of the enactment of this Act, the Director of National Intelligence, in coordination with the heads of other relevant
United States intelligence agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report with respect
to—

1 (1) whether and how the intelligence community 2 fulfilled its duty to warn Jamal Khashoggi of threats 3 to his life and liberty pursuant to Intelligence Com-4 munity Directive 191; and (2) in the case of the intelligence community 5 6 not fulfilling its duty to warn as described in para-7 graph (1), why the intelligence community did not 8 fulfill this duty. 9 (c) FORM.—The report required by subsection (b) 10 shall be submitted in unclassified form but may contain 11 a classified annex. 12 (d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section: 13 APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-(1)14 TEES.—The term "appropriate congressional com-15 mittees" means— 16 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and 17 the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence 18 of the House of Representatives; and 19 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations 20 and the Select Committee on Intelligence of the 21 Senate. 22 (2) DUTY TO WARN.—The term "duty to warn" 23 has the meaning given that term in Intelligence 24 Community Directive 191, as in effect on July 21, 25 2015.

(3) INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—The term
 "intelligence community" has the meaning given
 such term in section 3(4) of the National Security
 Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003(4)).

5 (4) RELEVANT UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE
6 AGENCY.—The term "relevant United States intel7 ligence agency" means any element of the intel8 ligence community that may have possessed intel9 ligence reporting regarding threats to Jamal
10 Khashoggi.

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