

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

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

To support democracy and the rule of law in Georgia, and for other purposes.

---

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

---

Mrs. SHAHEEN (for herself and Mr. RISCH) introduced the following bill;  
which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

---

---

**A BILL**

To support democracy and the rule of law in Georgia, 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 TITLES.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Mobilizing and En-  
5 hancing Georgia’s Options for Building Accountability,  
6 Resilience, and Independence Act” or the “MEGOBARI  
7 Act”.

8 **SEC. 2. DEFINITIONS.**

9 In this Act:

1           (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
2           TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
3           mittees” means—

4                   (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations of  
5           the Senate;

6                   (B) the Committee on Appropriations of  
7           the Senate;

8                   (C) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
9           the House of Representatives; and

10                   (D) the Committee on Appropriations of  
11           the House of Representatives.

12           (2) NATO.—The term “NATO” means the  
13           North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

14           (3) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary” means  
15           the Secretary of State.

16 **SEC. 3. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

17           It is the sense of Congress that—

18                   (1) the progress made by the people of Georgia  
19           in forging an innovative and productive society since  
20           the country’s independence from the Soviet Union  
21           should be applauded;

22                   (2) the consolidation of democracy in Georgia is  
23           critical for regional stability and United States na-  
24           tional interests;

1           (3) Georgia has seen significant democratic  
2           backsliding in recent years, as evidenced by numer-  
3           ous independent assessments and measures;

4           (4) the current Georgian government is increas-  
5           ingly hostile towards independent domestic civil soci-  
6           ety and its chief Euro-Atlantic partners while in-  
7           creasingly embracing enhanced ties with the Russian  
8           Federation, the People's Republic of China, and  
9           other anti-Western authoritarian regimes;

10          (5) the United States has an interest in pro-  
11          tecting and securing democracy in Georgia; and

12          (6) the Secretary should suspend the United  
13          States-Georgia Strategic Partnership Commission,  
14          established through the United States-Georgia Char-  
15          ter on Strategic Partnership on January 9, 2009,  
16          until after the Government of Georgia takes meas-  
17          ures—

18                 (A) to represent the democratic wishes of  
19                 the citizens of Georgia; and

20                 (B) to uphold its constitutional obligation  
21                 to advance the country towards membership in  
22                 the European Union and NATO.

23 **SEC. 4. STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

24          It is the policy of the United States—

1           (1) to support the constitutionally stated aspi-  
2           rations of Georgia to become a member of the Euro-  
3           pean Union and NATO, which is made clear under  
4           Article 78 of the Constitution of Georgia and is sup-  
5           ported by the overwhelming majority of the citizens  
6           of Georgia;

7           (2) to continue supporting the capacity of the  
8           Government of Georgia to protect its sovereignty  
9           and territorial integrity from further Russian ag-  
10          gression or encroachment within its internationally  
11          recognized borders;

12          (3) to call on all political parties and elected  
13          Members of the Parliament of Georgia to continue  
14          working on addressing the reform plan outlined by  
15          the European Commission to resume Georgia's re-  
16          cently granted candidate status through an inclusive  
17          and transparent consultation process that involves  
18          opposition parties and civil society organizations,  
19          which the people of Georgia have freely elected to  
20          pursue;

21          (4) to reevaluate its relationship with the Gov-  
22          ernment of Georgia and review all forms of foreign  
23          and security assistance made available to the Gov-  
24          ernment if it takes the required steps—

1 (A) to reorient itself toward its European  
2 Union accession agenda; and

3 (B) to advance policy or legislation reflect-  
4 ing the express wishes of the Georgian people;  
5 (5) to emphasize the importance of contributing  
6 to international efforts—

7 (A) to combat Russian aggression, includ-  
8 ing through sanctions on trade with Russia and  
9 the implementation and enforcement of world-  
10 wide sanctions on Russia; and

11 (B) to reduce, rather than increase, trade  
12 ties between Georgia and Russia;

13 (6) to continue supporting the ongoing develop-  
14 ment of democratic values in Georgia, including free  
15 and fair elections, freedom of association, an inde-  
16 pendent and accountable judiciary, an independent  
17 media, public-sector transparency and accountability,  
18 the rule of law, countering malign influence, and  
19 anti-corruption efforts and to impose swift con-  
20 sequences on individuals who are directly responsible  
21 for leading or have directly and knowingly engaged  
22 in leading actions of policies that significantly un-  
23 dermine those standards;

24 (7) to continue to support the Georgian people  
25 and civil society organizations that reflect the aspi-

1 rations of the Georgian people for democracy and a  
2 future with the people of Europe;

3 (8) to continue supporting the right of the  
4 Georgian people to freely engage in peaceful protest,  
5 determine their future, and make independent and  
6 sovereign choices on foreign and security policy, in-  
7 cluding regarding Georgia's relationship with other  
8 countries and international organizations, without  
9 interference, intimidation, or coercion by other coun-  
10 tries or those acting on their behalf;

11 (9) to call on all political parties, elected Mem-  
12 bers of the Parliament of Georgia, and officers of  
13 the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Georgia to respect  
14 the freedoms of peaceful assembly, association, and  
15 expression, including for the press, and the rule of  
16 law, and encourage a vibrant and inclusive civil soci-  
17 ety;

18 (10) to call on the Government of Georgia to  
19 release all persons detained or imprisoned on politi-  
20 cally motivated grounds and drop any pending  
21 charges against them;

22 (11) to call on the Government of Georgia to  
23 thoroughly investigate all allegations emerging from  
24 the recent national elections, which took place on  
25 October 2024, make a determination whether the

1 elections should be judged as illegitimate and hold  
2 those responsible for interference in the elections;  
3 and

4 (12) to continue impressing upon the Govern-  
5 ment of Georgia that the United States is committed  
6 to sustaining and deepening bilateral relations and  
7 supporting Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic aspirations.

8 **SEC. 5. REPORTS AND BRIEFINGS.**

9 (a) REPORT ON RUSSIAN INTELLIGENCE ASSETS IN  
10 GEORGIA.—

11 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
12 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Sec-  
13 retary of State, in coordination with the Director of  
14 National Intelligence and the Secretary of Defense,  
15 shall submit to the appropriate committees of Con-  
16 gress a classified report, prepared consistent with  
17 the protection of sources and methods, examining  
18 the penetration of Russian intelligence elements and  
19 their assets in Georgia, that includes an annex ex-  
20 amining Chinese influence and the potential inter-  
21 section of Russian-Chinese cooperation in Georgia.

22 (2) APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CON-  
23 GRESS.—In this section, the term “appropriate com-  
24 mittees of Congress” means—

1 (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations of  
2 the Senate;

3 (B) the Select Committee on Intelligence  
4 of the Senate;

5 (C) the Committee on Armed Services of  
6 the Senate;

7 (D) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
8 the House of Representatives;

9 (E) the Permanent Select Committee on  
10 Intelligence of the House of Representatives;  
11 and

12 (F) the Committee on Armed Services of  
13 the House of Representatives.

14 (b) 5-YEAR UNITED STATES STRATEGY FOR BILAT-  
15 ERAL RELATIONS WITH GEORGIA.—

16 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after  
17 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
18 and the Administrator of the United States Agency  
19 for International Development, in coordination with  
20 the heads of other relevant Federal departments and  
21 agencies, shall submit to the appropriate committees  
22 of Congress a detailed strategy that—

23 (A) outlines specific objectives for enhance-  
24 ing bilateral ties which reflect the current do-  
25 mestic political environment in Georgia;

1 (B) includes a determination of the tools,  
2 resources, and funding that should be available  
3 to achieve the objectives outlined pursuant to  
4 subparagraph (A) and an assessment whether  
5 Georgia should remain the second-highest re-  
6 cipient of United States funding in the Europe  
7 and Eurasia region;

8 (C) includes a determination of the extent  
9 to which the United States should continue to  
10 invest in its partnership with Georgia;

11 (D) includes a plan for how the United  
12 States can continue to support civil society and  
13 independent media organizations in Georgia;  
14 and

15 (E) includes a determination whether the  
16 Government of Georgia remains committed to  
17 expanding trade ties with the United States and  
18 Europe and whether the United States Govern-  
19 ment should continue to invest in Georgian  
20 projects.

21 (2) FORM.—The report required by paragraph  
22 (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, with a  
23 classified annex.

24 **SEC. 6. SANCTIONS.**

25 (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

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

5           (2) APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CON-  
6           GRESS.—The term “appropriate committees of Con-  
7           gress” means—

8                   (A) the Committee on Foreign Relations of  
9                   the Senate;

10                   (B) the Committee on Banking, Housing,  
11                   and Urban Affairs of the Senate;

12                   (C) the Committee on the Judiciary of the  
13                   Senate;

14                   (D) the Committee on Foreign Affairs of  
15                   the House of Representatives;

16                   (E) the Committee on the Judiciary of the  
17                   House of Representatives; and

18                   (F) the Committee on Financial Services  
19                   of the House of Representatives.

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

23           (4) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBERS.—The term  
24           “immediate family members” has the meaning given  
25           the term “immediate relatives” in section

1       201(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Immigration and Nationality  
2       Act (8 U.S.C. 1201(b)(2)(A)(i)).

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

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

10           (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
11       fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
12       United States;

13           (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
14       the United States or any jurisdiction within the  
15       United States, including a foreign branch of  
16       such an entity; or

17           (C) any person within the United States.

18       (b) INADMISSIBILITY OF OFFICIALS OF GOVERN-  
19       MENT OF GEORGIA AND CERTAIN OTHER INDIVIDUALS  
20       INVOLVED IN BLOCKING EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRA-  
21       TION.—

22           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after  
23       the date of the enactment of this Act, the President  
24       shall determine whether each of the following foreign  
25       persons has knowingly engaged in significant acts of

1 corruption, or acts of violence or intimidation in re-  
2 lation to the blocking of Euro-Atlantic integration in  
3 Georgia:

4 (A) Any individual who, on or after Janu-  
5 ary 1, 2014, has served as a member of the  
6 Parliament of the Government of Georgia or as  
7 a current or former senior official of a Georgian  
8 political party.

9 (B) Any individual who is serving as an of-  
10 ficial in a leadership position working on behalf  
11 of the Government of Georgia, including law en-  
12 forcement, intelligence, judicial, or local or mu-  
13 nicipal government.

14 (C) An immediate family member of an of-  
15 ficial described in subparagraph (A) or a person  
16 described in subparagraph (B) who benefitted  
17 from the conduct of such official or person.

18 (2) SANCTIONS.—The President shall impose  
19 the sanctions described in subsection (d)(2) with re-  
20 spect to each foreign person with respect to which  
21 the President has made an affirmative decision  
22 under paragraph (1).

23 (3) BRIEFING.—Not later than 90 days after  
24 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary

1 shall brief the appropriate committees of Congress  
2 with respect to—

3 (A) any foreign person with respect to  
4 which the President has made an affirmative  
5 determination under paragraph (1); and

6 (B) the specific facts that justify each such  
7 affirmative determination.

8 (4) WAIVER.—The President may waive imposi-  
9 tion of sanctions under this subsection on a case-by-  
10 case basis if the President determines and reports to  
11 the appropriate committees of Congress that—

12 (A) such waiver would serve national secu-  
13 rity interests; or

14 (B) the circumstances which caused the in-  
15 dividual to be ineligible have sufficiently  
16 changed.

17 (c) IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO  
18 UNDERMINING PEACE, SECURITY, STABILITY, SOV-  
19 EREIGNTY OR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF GEORGIA.—

20 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may impose  
21 the sanctions described in subsection (d)(1) and  
22 shall impose the sanctions described in subsection  
23 (d)(2) with respect to each foreign person the Presi-  
24 dent determines, on or after the date of the enact-  
25 ment of this Act—

1 (A) is responsible for, complicit in, or has  
2 directly or indirectly engaged in or attempted to  
3 engage in, actions or policies, including order-  
4 ing, controlling, or otherwise directing acts that  
5 are intended to undermine the peace, security,  
6 stability, sovereignty, or territorial integrity of  
7 Georgia;

8 (B) is or has been a leader or official of an  
9 entity that has, or whose members have, en-  
10 gaged in any activity described in subparagraph  
11 (A); or

12 (C) is an immediate family member of a  
13 person subject to sanctions for conduct de-  
14 scribed in subparagraph (A) or (B) and bene-  
15 fitted from the conduct of such person.

16 (2) BRIEF AND WRITTEN NOTIFICATION.—Not  
17 later than 10 days after imposing sanctions on a for-  
18 eign person or persons pursuant to this subsection,  
19 the President shall brief and provide written notifi-  
20 cation to the appropriate committees of Congress re-  
21 garding the imposition of such sanctions, which shall  
22 describe—

23 (A) the foreign person or persons subject  
24 to the imposition of such sanctions;

1 (B) the activity justifying the imposition of  
2 such sanctions; and

3 (C) the specific sanctions imposed on such  
4 foreign person or persons.

5 (3) WAIVER.—The President may waive the ap-  
6 plication of sanctions under this subsection with re-  
7 spect to a foreign person for renewable periods not  
8 to exceed 180 days if, not later than 15 days before  
9 the date on which such waiver is to take effect, the  
10 President submits to the appropriate committees of  
11 Congress a written determination and justification  
12 that the waiver is in the national security interests  
13 of the United States.

14 (d) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
15 scribed in this subsection are the following with respect  
16 to a foreign person described in subsection (b) or (c), as  
17 applicable:

18 (1) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.—Notwith-  
19 standing the requirements under section 202 of the  
20 International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
21 U.S.C. 1701), the President shall exercise all au-  
22 thorities granted under the International Emergency  
23 Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to  
24 the extent necessary to block and prohibit all trans-  
25 actions in property and interests in property of the

1 foreign person if such property and interests in  
2 property are in the United States, come within the  
3 United States, or are or come within the possession  
4 or control of a United States person.

5 (2) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR  
6 PAROLE.—

7 (A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—A  
8 foreign person that is an alien shall be—

9 (i) inadmissible to the United States;

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

12 and

13 (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
14 or paroled into the United States or to re-  
15 ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-  
16 tion and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et  
17 seq.).

18 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—The for-  
19 eign person shall be subject to the following:

20 (i) Revocation of any visa or other  
21 entry documentation regardless of when  
22 the visa or other entry documentation is or  
23 was issued.

24 (ii) A revocation under clause (i) shall  
25 take effect immediately and automatically

1                   cancel any other valid visa or entry docu-  
2                   mentation that is in the foreign person's  
3                   possession.

4           (e) IMPLEMENTATION; PENALTIES.—

5                   (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may ex-  
6                   ercise all authorities provided under sections 203  
7                   and 205 of the International Emergency Economic  
8                   Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out  
9                   this section.

10                   (2) PENALTIES.—A person that violates, at-  
11                   tempts to violate, conspires to violate, or causes a  
12                   violation of subsection (d)(2)(A) or any regulation,  
13                   license, or order issued under that subsection shall  
14                   be subject to the penalties set forth in subsections  
15                   (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International Eco-  
16                   nomic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the same ex-  
17                   tent as a person that commits an unlawful act de-  
18                   scribed in subsection (a) of that section.

19                   (3) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this  
20                   Act, or any amendment made by this Act, may be  
21                   construed to limit the authority of the President to  
22                   designate or sanction persons pursuant to an appli-  
23                   cable Executive order or otherwise pursuant to the  
24                   International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
25                   U.S.C. 1701 et seq.).

1 (f) RULEMAKING.—

2 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days  
3 after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
4 President shall prescribe such regulations as are  
5 necessary for the implementation of this section.

6 (2) NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS.—Not later  
7 than 10 days before prescribing regulations pursu-  
8 ant to paragraph (1), the President shall notify the  
9 appropriate committees of Congress of the proposed  
10 regulations and the provisions of this section that  
11 the regulations are implementing.

12 (g) SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO BROADER COR-  
13 RUPTION IN GEORGIA.—

14 (1) DETERMINATION.—The President shall de-  
15 termine whether there are foreign persons who, on  
16 or after the date of the enactment of this Act, have  
17 engaged in significant corruption in Georgia or acts  
18 that are intended to undermine the peace, security,  
19 stability, sovereignty, or territorial integrity of Geor-  
20 gia for the purposes of potential imposition of sanc-  
21 tions pursuant to powers granted to the President  
22 under the International Emergency Economic Pow-  
23 ers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.).

24 (2) REPORT.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180  
2 days after the date of the enactment of this  
3 Act, the President shall submit a report to the  
4 appropriate committees of Congress that—

5 (i) identifies all foreign persons the  
6 President has determined, pursuant to this  
7 subsection, have engaged in significant cor-  
8 ruption in Georgia or committed acts that  
9 are intended to undermine the peace, secu-  
10 rity, stability, sovereignty, or territorial in-  
11 tegrity of Georgia;

12 (ii) the dates on which sanctions were  
13 imposed; and

14 (iii) the reasons for imposing such  
15 sanctions.

16 (B) FORM.—The report required under  
17 subparagraph (A) shall be provided in unclassi-  
18 fied form, but may include a classified annex.

19 (h) TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS.—Any sanctions  
20 imposed on a foreign person pursuant to this section shall  
21 terminate on the earlier of—

22 (1) the date on which the President certifies to  
23 the appropriate committees of Congress that the for-  
24 eign person is no longer engaging in the activities  
25 that led to the imposition of such sanction; or

1 (2) the sunset date described in section 8.

2 (i) EXCEPTIONS.—

3 (1) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

4 (A) AGRICULTURAL COMMODITY.—The  
5 term “agricultural commodity” has the meaning  
6 given such term in section 102 of the Agricul-  
7 tural Trade Act of 1978 (7 U.S.C. 5602).

8 (B) GOOD.—The term “good” means any  
9 article, natural or man-made substance, mate-  
10 rial, supply, or manufactured product, including  
11 inspection and test equipment and excluding  
12 technical data.

13 (C) MEDICAL DEVICE.—The term “medical  
14 device” has the meaning given the term “de-  
15 vice” in section 201 of the Federal Food, Drug,  
16 and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

17 (D) MEDICINE.—The term “medicine” has  
18 the meaning given the term “drug” in section  
19 201 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic  
20 Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

21 (2) EXCEPTIONS.—

22 (A) EXCEPTION RELATING TO INTEL-  
23 LIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—Sanctions under this  
24 section shall not apply to—

1 (i) any activity subject to the report-  
2 ing requirements under title V of the Na-  
3 tional Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C.  
4 3091 et seq.); or

5 (ii) any authorized intelligence activi-  
6 ties of the United States.

7 (B) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTER-  
8 NATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—Sanctions under this  
9 section shall not apply with respect to a foreign  
10 person if admitting or paroling the person into  
11 the United States is necessary to permit the  
12 United States to comply with the Agreement re-  
13 garding the Headquarters of the United Na-  
14 tions, signed at Lake Success June 26, 1947,  
15 and entered into force November 21, 1947, be-  
16 tween the United Nations and the United  
17 States, or other applicable international obliga-  
18 tions.

19 (C) HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.—Sanc-  
20 tions under this section shall not apply to—

21 (i) the conduct or facilitation of a  
22 transaction for the provision of agricultural  
23 commodities, food, medicine, medical de-  
24 vices, or humanitarian assistance, or for  
25 humanitarian purposes; or

1                   (ii) transactions that are necessary  
2                   for, or related to, the activities described in  
3                   paragraph (1).

4           (j) EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
5 GOODS.—The requirement to block and prohibit all trans-  
6 actions in all property and interests in property under this  
7 section shall not include the authority or a requirement  
8 to impose sanctions on the importation of goods.

9 **SEC. 7. ADDITIONAL ASSISTANCE WITH RESPECT TO GEOR-**  
10 **GIA.**

11           (a) IN GENERAL.—Upon submission to Congress of  
12 the certification described in subsection (c)—

13               (1) the Secretary of State, in consultation with  
14               other heads of other relevant Federal departments  
15               and agencies, should seek to further enhance people-  
16               to-people contacts and academic exchanges between  
17               the United States and Georgia; and

18               (2) the President, in consultation with the Sec-  
19               retary of Defense, should maintain, and as appro-  
20               priate, expand military co-operation with Georgia,  
21               including by providing further security and defense  
22               equipment ideally suited for territorial defense  
23               against Russian aggression and related training,  
24               maintenance, and operations support elements.

1           (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
2 gress that, after the submission of the certification de-  
3 scribed in subsection (c), if the Government of Georgia  
4 takes steps to realign itself with its Euro-Atlantic agenda,  
5 including significant changes to the foreign influence law,  
6 the President should take steps to improve the bilateral  
7 relationship between the United States and Georgia, in-  
8 cluding actions to bolster Georgia’s ability to deter threats  
9 from Russia and other malign actors.

10           (c) CERTIFICATION DESCRIBED.—The certification  
11 described in this subsection is a certification submitted to  
12 Congress by the President that Georgia has shown signifi-  
13 cant and sustained progress towards reinvigorating its de-  
14 mocracy and advancing its Euro-Atlantic integration.

15 **SEC. 8. SUNSET.**

16           This Act shall cease to have any force or effect begin-  
17 ning on the date that is 5 years after the date of the enact-  
18 ment of this Act.