

AMENDMENT NO.\_\_\_\_\_

Calendar No.\_\_\_\_\_

Purpose: In the nature of a substitute.

**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—119th Cong., 2d Sess.****S. 2904**

To impose sanctions with respect to the shadow fleet of the Russian Federation, and for other purposes.

Referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_ and ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE intended to be proposed by Mr. RISCH (for himself and Mrs. SHAHEEN)

Viz:

1 Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

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

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5 “Sanctioning Harbormasters And Dodgers Of Western Sanctions  
6 Act of 2026” or the “SHADOW Fleet Sanctions Act  
7 of 2026”.

8 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents for  
9 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

**TITLE I—SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION**

Sec. 101. Definitions.

## Subtitle A—Sanctions With Respect to Russian Shadow Fleet

## PART I—IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS

- Sec. 111. Imposition of sanctions with respect to vessels suspected of participation in or support of the Russian shadow fleet.
- Sec. 112. Imposition of sanctions with respect to foreign persons that support Russian illicit shipping with vessels subject to United States sanctions.
- Sec. 113. Imposition of sanctions with respect to port terminals accepting oil from Russian shadow fleet vessels.

## PART II—DISCLOSURES, PUBLICATIONS, AND REPORTS

- Sec. 121. Alignment of designation authorities with European Union and United Kingdom regarding Russian shadow fleet.
- Sec. 122. Support of efforts of the Joint Expeditionary Force.
- Sec. 123. Report on specific licenses granted under Executive Order 14024.

## PART III—FLAG STATES REQUIREMENTS AND STRATEGY

- Sec. 131. Minimum standards for operating as a flag state registry and assessment of efforts to prevent the circumvention of sanctions and other crimes.
- Sec. 132. Strategy for countries that do not make sufficient efforts to comply with minimum standards for operating as a flag state.

## PART IV—DENYING ACCESS TO UNITED STATES MARKETS FOR RUSSIAN-ORIGIN OIL

- Sec. 141. International efforts to enforce price cap on oil exports from the Russian Federation.
- Sec. 142. Report on crude oil price cap.

## PART V—OTHER MATTERS

- Sec. 151. International efforts to identify vessels transporting Russian-origin oil.

## Subtitle B—Sanctions With Respect to Russian-origin Energy Products

- Sec. 161. Imposition of sanctions with respect to persons with certain interests in Russian energy projects.
- Sec. 162. Strategy to counter role of the People's Republic of China in evasion of sanctions with respect to Russian-origin petroleum products.

## Subtitle C—Sanctions With Respect to Russian Defense Industrial Base

- Sec. 171. Imposition of sanctions with respect to persons that sell, lease, or provide goods or services relating to the defense industrial base of the Russian Federation.

## Subtitle D—Modifications of Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act of 2019

- Sec. 181. Modifications of Protecting Europe's Energy Security Act of 2019.

## Subtitle E—General Provisions

Sec. 191. Sanctions described.  
Sec. 192. Exceptions; waivers.  
Sec. 193. Implementation.  
Sec. 194. Termination of sanctions authorities.

## TITLE II—OTHER MATTERS

Sec. 201. Determination with respect to Russian military actions in support of Russian shadow fleet.  
Sec. 202. Resources for sanctions implementation at the Department of State.  
Sec. 203. Modification of limitation on military cooperation between the United States and the Russian Federation.  
Sec. 204. Emergency appropriations for the Countering Russian Influence Fund.  
Sec. 205. Report on presidential drawdown authority and Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative.  
Sec. 206. Support for Ukraine arms sales.

## 1 **TITLE I—SANCTIONS WITH RE- 2 SPECT TO THE RUSSIAN FED- 3 ERATION**

### 4 SEC. 101. DEFINITIONS.

5 In this title:

6 (1) ADEQUATE MARITIME INSURANCE.—  
7 (A) IN GENERAL.—The term “adequate  
8 maritime insurance” means—  
9 (i) verified documentation evidencing  
10 protection and indemnity insurance, cargo  
11 insurance, and hull and machinery insur-  
12 ance, with audited financial statements of  
13 the insurer;  
14 (ii) records demonstrating compliance  
15 with relevant statutes and regulations re-  
16 garding the insured subject matter; and

1 (iii) a commitment to provide, upon  
2 reasonable request, evidence needed by the  
3 insurer, reinsurer, or broker to satisfy  
4 themselves or any regulator of such com-  
5 pliance.

(B) EXCLUSION.—The term “adequate maritime insurance” does not include insurance provided by an insurer that—

9 (i) is organized under the laws of the  
10 Russian Federation; and

15 (A) exercises substantial control over the  
16 vessel; or

17 (B) owns not less than 25 percent of the  
18 vessel

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

19 (10) PRICE CAP COALITION.—The term “Price  
20 Cap Coalition” means the international coalition  
21 made up of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the  
22 European Union, France, Germany, Italy, Japan,  
23 the United Kingdom, and the United States and  
24 known as the “Price Cap Coalition”.

1 (11) RUSSIAN-ORIGIN PETROLEUM PRODUCT.—

2 The term “Russian-origin petroleum product” means  
3 a petroleum product extracted, refined, processed, or  
4 otherwise produced in the Russian Federation.

5 (12) RUSSIAN PERSON.—The term “Russian  
6 person” means—

9 (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
10 the Russian Federation or otherwise subject to  
11 the jurisdiction of the Government of the Rus-  
12 sian Federation.

1 energy facilities, or subsea power lines and tele-  
2 communications cables and associated landing sta-  
3 tions and facilities.

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

13 (C) a person in the United States.

## to Russian Shadow Fleet

## 16 PART I—IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS

17 SEC. 111. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO  
18 VESSELS SUSPECTED OF PARTICIPATION IN  
19 OR SUPPORT OF THE RUSSIAN SHADOW  
20 FLEET.

21 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
22 date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall im-  
23 pose the sanctions described in section 191 with respect  
24 to any Russian shadow fleet vessel that, on or after the  
25 date of the enactment of this Act, transports Russian-ori-

1 gin petroleum products in circumvention of sanctions im-  
2 posed with respect to the Russian Federation by the  
3 United States, the United Kingdom, the European Union,  
4 or other countries, including—

5 (1) any Russian shadow fleet vessel the owner  
6 or operator of which knowingly—

7 (A) exhibits or engages in unsafe or non-  
8 standard maritime behavior in furtherance of  
9 the transportation of Russian-origin petroleum  
10 products that originated in the Russian Federa-  
11 tion;

12 (B) lacks adequate maritime insurance for  
13 the transport of goods described in subparagraph  
14 (A); or

15 (C) evades compliance with the crude oil  
16 price cap; and

17 (2) any foreign person that the President deter-  
18 mines knowingly—

19 (A) owns, operates, or manages a vessel  
20 described in paragraph (1);

21 (B) provides underwriting services or in-  
22 surance or reinsurance necessary for such a  
23 vessel after sanctions are imposed with respect  
24 to the vessel;

1 (C) facilitates deceptive or structured  
2 transactions to support a vessel described in  
3 paragraph (1);

4 (D) provides services or facilities for tech-  
5 nology upgrades or installation of equipment  
6 for, or retrofitting or tethering of, a vessel de-  
7 scribed in paragraph (1) for the purpose of  
8 evading sanctions;

9 (E) provided services for the testing, in-  
10 spection, or certification for a vessel described  
11 in paragraph (1) for the purpose of evading  
12 sanctions;

13 (F) serves as a master of such a vessel; or  
14 (G) transfers to the Russian Federation  
15 any foreign vessel designed to transport Rus-  
16 sian-origin petroleum products.

17 (b) VESSELS SUBJECT TO SANCTIONS BY THE  
18 UNITED KINGDOM OR THE EUROPEAN UNION.—Not later  
19 than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
20 the President may impose the sanctions described in sec-  
21 tion 191 with respect to any vessel that, on or after such  
22 date of enactment, is—

23 (1) subject to sanctions with respect to the  
24 Russian Federation imposed by the United King-

1        dom, the European Union, the Group of 7, or a  
2        member of the Five Eyes intelligence alliance; or

3                (2) owned or operated by a person subject to  
4        such sanctions.

5        (c) INDICATORS OF UNSAFE OR NONSTANDARD MAR-  
6        ITIME BEHAVIOR.—In determining under subsection  
7        (a)(1)(A) if a vessel is exhibiting or engaged in unsafe or  
8        nonstandard maritime behavior, the President may use as  
9        *prima facie* evidence that the vessel is exhibiting or en-  
10        gaged in such behavior if the vessel has exhibited 3 or  
11        more indicators of such behavior, including the following:

12                (1) Has refused to take on a pilot in accordance  
13        with best practices of the International Maritime Or-  
14        ganization.

15                (2) Does not respond when hailed by appro-  
16        priate maritime authority.

17                (3) Turns off the Automatic Identification Sys-  
18        tem of the vessel without explanation or report to  
19        the appropriate maritime authority within a reason-  
20        able period of time.

21                (4) Engages in unsafe maritime maneuvers with  
22        another vessel.

23                (5) Is uninsured or underinsured, including any  
24        vessel that is insured by an insurance company orga-

1       nized under the laws of the Russian Federation or  
2       the Islamic Republic of Iran.

3           (6) Is single-hulled contrary to standards of the  
4       International Maritime Organization.

5           (7) Has changed ownership or flag registry  
6       more than once in the previous year.

7           (8) Has a history of deliberately losing power or  
8       turning off transmitters without a compelling secu-  
9       rity need.

10          (9) Has not been properly maintained, based on  
11       credible evidence.

12          (10) Has been involved in a recent maritime or  
13       environmental incident.

14          (11) Is escorted by the military of the Russian  
15       Federation.

16          (12) Has engaged in sabotage activities.

17          (d) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date  
18       of the enactment of this Act, and every 180 days there-  
19       after, the President shall submit to the appropriate con-  
20       gressional committees a report that describes any sanc-  
21       tions imposed under this section, including a brief descrip-  
22       tion of each foreign person and foreign vessel with respect  
23       to which sanctions are imposed and the justification for  
24       such sanctions.

1   **SEC. 112. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
2                   **FOREIGN PERSONS THAT SUPPORT RUSSIAN**  
3                   **ILLICIT SHIPPING WITH VESSELS SUBJECT**  
4                   **TO UNITED STATES SANCTIONS.**

5       (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than 180 days after the  
6   date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall im-  
7   pose the sanctions described in section 191 with respect  
8   to a foreign person if the President determines that the  
9   foreign person, on or after the date of the enactment of  
10   this Act, has engaged in a transaction described in sub-  
11   section (b) with a Russian shadow fleet vessel that is sub-  
12   ject to sanctions imposed by the United States.

13       (b) **TRANSACTIONS DESCRIBED.**—A transaction de-  
14   scribed in this subsection is any of the following:

15               (1) The conduct of any ship-to-ship transfer in-  
16   volving Russian-origin petroleum products with a  
17   Russian shadow fleet vessel.

18               (2) The provision of significant goods or serv-  
19   ices in support of a Russian shadow fleet vessel with  
20   the knowledge that the vessel is subject to sanctions  
21   imposed by the United States, unless such goods or  
22   services are provided to respond to an emergency.

23               (3) In the case of the owner or operator of a  
24   foreign port, allowing a Russian shadow fleet vessel  
25   to port or otherwise receive services at the foreign

1       port, unless that vessel needs to port or receive serv-  
2       ices as a result of an emergency.

3                   (4) In the case of a foreign person that is the  
4       owner or operator of a refinery, knowingly engaging  
5       in a transaction to process, refine, or otherwise deal  
6       in any Russian Federation-origin petroleum products  
7       that were transported on a Russian shadow fleet  
8       vessel.

9   **SEC. 113. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**  
10                   **PORT TERMINALS ACCEPTING OIL FROM**  
11                   **RUSSIAN SHADOW FLEET VESSELS.**

12       Beginning on the date that is 15 days after the date  
13       of the enactment of this Act, the President may impose  
14       the sanctions described in section 191 with respect to any  
15       foreign person that owns or operates a port in the People's  
16       Republic of China or the Republic of India that accepts  
17       oil from—

18                   (1) foreign vessels transporting Russian-origin  
19       crude oil for sale at a price higher than the max-  
20       imum price agreed to by the Price Cap Coalition or  
21       any related price cap established by the United  
22       States; or

23                   (2) foreign vessels with respect to which the  
24       United States has imposed sanctions.

1       **PART II—DISCLOSURES, PUBLICATIONS, AND**2                   **REPORTS**3   **SEC. 121. ALIGNMENT OF DESIGNATION AUTHORITIES**4                   **WITH EUROPEAN UNION AND UNITED KING-**5                   **DOM REGARDING RUSSIAN SHADOW FLEET.**

## 6       (a) REPORT.—

7                   (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
8                   after the date of the enactment of this Act, and  
9                   every 180 days thereafter, the Secretary of State,  
10                  through the head of the Office of Sanctions Coordi-  
11                  nation and in coordination with the Secretary of the  
12                  Treasury and the Director of the Office of Foreign  
13                  Assets Control of the Department of the Treasury,  
14                  shall submit to the appropriate congressional com-  
15                  mittees a report that includes a list of each foreign  
16                  vessel subject to sanctions imposed by the European  
17                  Union or the United Kingdom that is determined to  
18                  operate as part of the Russian shadow fleet.

19                  (2) JUSTIFICATION.—For any vessel listed in a  
20                  report under paragraph (1) that is not subject to  
21                  sanctions imposed by the United States, the report  
22                  shall include the justification provided by the Euro-  
23                  pean Union or the United Kingdom, as the case may  
24                  be, for designation of the vessel (if that justification  
25                  is available to the public) and a brief justification of

1 the reason provided by the European Union or the  
2 United Kingdom.

3 (b) STRATEGY.—Not later than 180 days after the  
4 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State,  
5 through the head of the Office of Sanctions Coordination  
6 and in coordination with the Secretary of the Treasury  
7 and the Director of the Office of Foreign Assets Control,  
8 shall produce a strategy for enhancing alignment of sanc-  
9 tions designation authorities of the United States regard-  
10 ing vessels supporting the Russian shadow fleet with those  
11 authorities of the European Union and the United King-  
12 dom.

13 SEC. 122. SUPPORT OF EFFORTS OF THE JOINT EXPEDI-  
14 TIONARY FORCE.

15 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
16 gress that the United States supports the efforts of the  
17 Joint Expeditionary Force to track, monitor, deter, and  
18 if necessary, respond to operations and illicit activities of  
19 the Russian shadow fleet.

20 (b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It shall be the policy  
21 of the United States to use relevant maritime elements  
22 of the United States Government to support and amplify  
23 the authorized efforts of the Joint Expeditionary Force.

## 1 SEC. 123. REPORT ON SPECIFIC LICENSES GRANTED

## 2 UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER 14024.

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after the  
4 date of the enactment of this Act, and every 90 days there-  
5 after, the Secretary of State, in coordination with the Sec-  
6 retary of the Treasury, shall submit to the appropriate  
7 congressional committees a report listing any specific li-  
8 cense granted or in effect under Executive Order 14024  
9 (50 U.S.C. 1701 note; relating to blocking property with  
10 respect to specified harmful foreign activities of the Gov-  
11 ernment of the Russian Federation).

12 (b) FORM.—Each report required under subsection

13 (a) shall be submitted in classified form.

14 **PART III—FLAG STATES REQUIREMENTS AND**15 **STRATEGY**16 **SEC. 131. MINIMUM STANDARDS FOR OPERATING AS A**17 **FLAG STATE REGISTRY AND ASSESSMENT OF**18 **EFFORTS TO PREVENT THE CIRCUMVENTION**19 **OF SANCTIONS AND OTHER CRIMES.**

20 It is the policy of the United States that the govern-  
21 ment of a country is complying with the minimum stand-  
22 ards required by the United States for maintaining an  
23 open flag registry if, on balance, the government—

24 (1) has enacted and implemented laws and es-  
25 tablished government structures, policies, and prac-  
26 tices that prohibit and generally deter the use of its

1       flag registry as a mechanism to circumvent sanc-  
2       tions imposed by the United States, the United  
3       Kingdom, the European Union, or other Group of 7  
4       countries, including prohibiting its flag to continue  
5       to fly on vessels that are subject to sanctions im-  
6       posed by any such country or jurisdiction;

7               (2) has enacted and implemented laws and es-  
8       tablished government structures, policies, and prac-  
9       tices that prohibit and generally deter the use of its  
10      flag registry to avoid detection of illicit activities, in-  
11      cluding drug trafficking, illicit arms shipments,  
12      human trafficking, and illegal, unreported, and un-  
13      regulated fishing activities;

14               (3) enforces the laws described in paragraphs  
15      (1) and (2) by punishing any person found, through  
16      a fair judicial process, to have violated those laws;

17               (4) takes steps to ensure ships flying its flag  
18      comply with well-established industry standards and  
19      best practices relating to maritime activities, includ-  
20      ing adhering to resolutions and warnings promul-  
21      gated by the International Maritime Organization,  
22      such as Resolution A.1192(33) (December 6, 2023)  
23      relating to urging member states and all relevant  
24      stakeholders to promote actions to prevent illegal op-

1       erations in the maritime sector by the “dark fleet”  
2       or “shadow fleet”;

3           (5) responds to credible reports from other  
4       countries and private entities warning of vessels fly-  
5       ing its flag engaging in maritime behavior that poses  
6       safety risks, such as not allowing pilot access or  
7       turning off Automatic Identification Systems with-  
8       out adequate justification;

9           (6) takes steps to ensure vessels flying its flag  
10      adhere to measures that lawfully prohibit and regu-  
11      late ship-to-ship transfers of oil or petroleum prod-  
12      ucts subject to sanctions;

13           (7) takes steps to ensure vessels flying its flag  
14      possess adequate and credible insurance to cover the  
15      costs of maritime accidents;

16           (8) takes steps to ensure vessels are operating  
17      under transparent ownership structures, including  
18      by verifying the beneficial ownership and manage-  
19      ment of vessels; and

20           (9) takes steps to ensure vessels do not avoid  
21      flag state or port state control inspections or avoid  
22      commercial screenings and inspections.

1   **SEC. 132. STRATEGY FOR COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT MAKE**  
2                   **SUFFICIENT EFFORTS TO COMPLY WITH MIN-**  
3                   **IMUM STANDARDS FOR OPERATING AS A**  
4                   **FLAG STATE.**

5       Not later than one year after the date of the enact-  
6   ment of this Act, and annually thereafter through 2030,  
7   the Secretary of State, in consultation with the heads of  
8   appropriate Federal agencies, shall—

9               (1) conduct an assessment of countries that do  
10   not meet the minimum standards for operating as a  
11   flag state registry in compliance with United States  
12   policy, including the standards described in section  
13   131; and

14               (2) submit to the appropriate congressional  
15   committees a strategy for identifying and engaging  
16   with those countries.

17   **PART IV—DENYING ACCESS TO UNITED STATES**  
18                   **MARKETS FOR RUSSIAN-ORIGIN OIL**

19   **SEC. 141. INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO ENFORCE PRICE**  
20                   **CAP ON OIL EXPORTS FROM THE RUSSIAN**  
21                   **FEDERATION.**

22       The Secretary of the Treasury, in coordination with  
23   the Secretary of State, shall—

24               (1) fully monitor international compliance with  
25   the crude oil price cap within the jurisdiction of the  
26   United States, to the extent such a price cap re-

1 mains active and relevant to efforts of the United  
2 States and allies of the United States to constrain  
3 exports of Russian-origin petroleum products;

4 (2) engage, advise, and assist foreign govern-  
5 ments in joining and implementing efforts to enforce  
6 the crude oil price cap;

7 (3) engage with the governments of countries  
8 that import or facilitate the transport of crude oil of  
9 Russian Federation origin or refined petroleum  
10 products made from such oil to identify entities  
11 evading the crude oil price cap and deploy resources  
12 aimed at enforcement and compliance; and

13 (4) consider which countries play a significant  
14 role in exporting such oil or petroleum products or  
15 in evading sanctions when selecting locations to as-  
16 sign Treasury Financial Attachés under section 316  
17 of title 31, United States Code.

18 **SEC. 142. REPORT ON CRUDE OIL PRICE CAP.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
20 date of the enactment of this Act, and every 2 years there-  
21 after, the Secretary of the Treasury, in coordination with  
22 the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, and  
23 the Secretary of Energy, shall submit to the appropriate  
24 congressional committees a classified report that includes  
25 the following and all related material information:

17 (b) TERMINATION.—The requirement to submit re-  
18 ports under subsection (a) shall terminate on the earlier  
19 of—

20 (1) January 1, 2030; or

1                   **PART V—OTHER MATTERS**2   **SEC. 151. INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY VESSELS**3                   **TRANSPORTING RUSSIAN-ORIGIN OIL.**

4       It shall be the policy of the United States—

5                   (1) to fully promote the recommendations made  
6       by Resolution A.1192(33) of the International Mari-  
7       time Organization, adopted on December 6, 2023;8                   (2) to use the voice and vote of the United  
9       States in international organizations and engage  
10      other relevant multilateral bodies, such as the North  
11      Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European  
12      Union, to strongly encourage the governments of all  
13      countries to adopt those recommendations, including  
14      the recommendation that a port state, when the  
15      state becomes aware of a vessel intentionally taking  
16      measures to avoid detection, such as switching off  
17      its Automatic Identification System or long-range  
18      identification and tracking system transmissions or  
19      concealing its actual identity, should, following an  
20      initial investigation to verify that the vessel has not  
21      stopped transmitting signals for legitimate rea-  
22      sons—23                   (A) subject the vessel to enhanced inspec-  
24      tions as authorized through relevant mecha-  
25      nisms of the port state; and

3 (3) to encourage governments of all countries to  
4 deny access to ports and services for any vessel that,  
5 following an initial investigation, is found to have  
6 turned off its transponder or entered false informa-  
7 tion for the purpose of conducting a transfer of or  
8 transaction for crude oil of Russian Federation ori-  
9 gin or refined petroleum products made from such  
10 oil in violation of the crude oil price cap.

## 11 Subtitle B—Sanctions With Respect 12 to Russian-origin Energy Products

13 SEC. 161. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO  
14 PERSONS WITH CERTAIN INTERESTS IN RUS-  
15 SIAN ENERGY PROJECTS.

16 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the  
17 date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall im-  
18 pose the sanctions described in section 191 with respect  
19 to any foreign person the President determines is, on or  
20 after such date of enactment, a leader, official, senior ex-  
21 ecutive officer, or member of the board of directors of,  
22 or principal shareholder with a controlling or majority in-  
23 terest in, any of the following Russian energy projects:

24 (1) The Yamal Liquified Natural Gas Product  
25 or a successor project.

6 (b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
7 gress that—

19 SEC. 162. STRATEGY TO COUNTER ROLE OF THE PEOPLE'S  
20 REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN EVASION OF SANCTIONS  
21 WITH RESPECT TO RUSSIAN-ORIGIN  
22 PETROLEUM PRODUCTS.

23 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120 days after the  
24 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State,  
25 in consultation with the heads of other appropriate Fed-

1 eral agencies, shall submit to the appropriate congres-  
2 sional committees a written strategy, and provide to those  
3 committees an accompanying briefing, on the role of the  
4 People’s Republic of China in evasion of sanctions imposed  
5 by the United States with respect to Russian-origin petro-  
6 leum products that includes an assessment of options—

7 (1) to strengthen the enforcement of such sanc-  
8 tions; and

9 (2) to expand sanctions designations targeting  
10 the involvement of the People’s Republic of China in  
11 the production, transportation, storage, refining, and  
12 sale of Russian-origin petroleum products.

13 (b) ELEMENTS.—The strategy required by subsection  
14 (a) shall include—

15 (1) a description and assessment of the use of  
16 sanctions in effect before the date of the enactment  
17 of this Act to target individuals and entities of the  
18 People’s Republic of China that are directly or indi-  
19 rectly associated with smuggling of Russian-origin  
20 petroleum products;

21 (2) an assessment of—

22 (A) Russian-owned entities operating in  
23 the People’s Republic of China and involved in  
24 petroleum refining supply chains;

(B) the People's Republic of China's role in Russian petroleum refining supply chains;

3 (C) how the People's Republic of China  
4 leverages its role in Russian petroleum supply  
5 chains to achieve political objectives; and

(D) what percent of the energy consumption of the People's Republic of China is linked to imported Russian-origin petroleum products;

9 (3) a detailed plan for—

10 (A) monitoring the maritime domain for  
11 sanctionable activity related to the transpor-  
12 tation of Russian-origin petroleum products;

13 (B) identifying the individuals, entities,  
14 and vessels engaging in sanctionable activity re-  
15 lated to Russian-origin petroleum products, in-  
16 cluding—

17 (j) vessels—

18 (I) transporting petrochemicals  
19 of Russian Federation origin:

20 (II) conducting ship-to-ship  
21 transfers of such petrochemicals;

22 (III) with deactivated automatic  
23 identification systems; or

(IV) that engage in “flag hopping” by frequently changing national registries;

(ii) individuals or entities—

(I) storing petrochemicals subject to sanctions; or

(II) refining or otherwise processing such petrochemicals; and

(iii) through the use of port entry and  
exit permission of vessels subject to  
restrictions;

12 (C) deterring individuals and entities from  
13 violating sanctions by educating and engag-  
14 ing—

(i) insurance providers;

(ii) parent companies; and

(iii) vessel operators;

18 (D) collaborating with allies and partners  
19 of the United States engaged in the Northern  
20 Europe, including through standing or new  
21 maritime task forces, to build sanctions enforce-  
22 ment capacity through assistance and training  
23 to defense and law enforcement services; and

24 (E) using public communications and glob-  
25 al diplomatic engagements to highlight the role

1           of smuggling of Russian-origin petroleum prod-  
2           ucts in bolstering the Russian Federation's war  
3           efforts in Ukraine and support for other malign  
4           activity; and

5           (4) an assessment of—

6               (A) the total number of vessels trans-  
7           porting Russian-origin petroleum products;

8               (B) the total number of vessels smuggling  
9           such products destined for the People's Repub-  
10           lic of China;

11               (C) interference by the People's Republic  
12           of China with attempts by the United States,  
13           the United Kingdom, or the European Union to  
14           investigate or enforce sanctions with respect to  
15           Russian-origin petroleum products;

16               (D) the effectiveness of the use of sanc-  
17           tions with respect to insurers of entities that  
18           own or operate vessels involved in transporting  
19           Russian-origin petroleum products;

20               (E) the personnel and resources needed to  
21           enforce sanctions with respect to Russian-origin  
22           petroleum products; and

23               (F) the impact of smuggled Russian-origin  
24           petroleum products on global energy markets.

1       (c) FORM.—The strategy required by subsection (a)  
2 shall be submitted in unclassified form but may include  
3 a classified index.

4 **Subtitle C—Sanctions With Respect  
5 to Russian Defense Industrial Base**

6 **SEC. 171. IMPOSITION OF SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO**

7                   **PERSONS THAT SELL, LEASE, OR PROVIDE**  
8                   **GOODS OR SERVICES RELATING TO THE DE-**  
9                   **FENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE OF THE RUSSIAN**  
10                   **FEDERATION.**

11       (a) REPORT REQUIRED.—Not later than 60 days  
12 after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 90  
13 days thereafter, the Secretary of State, in consultation  
14 with the Secretary of the Treasury, shall submit to the  
15 appropriate congressional committees a report that identi-  
16 fies, for the period covered by the report each foreign per-  
17 son that the Secretary of State, in consultation with the  
18 Secretary of the Treasury and the Secretary of Commerce,  
19 determines has knowingly—

20                   (1) sold, leased, provided, or facilitated selling,  
21                   leasing, or providing goods or services relating to the  
22                   defense industrial base of the Russian Federation,  
23                   including—



(2) facilitated deceptive or structured transactions to provide the goods and services described by paragraph (1).

4 (b) INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PA-  
5 ROLE OF IDENTIFIED PERSONS AND CORPORATE OFFI-  
6 CERS.—

## 7 (1) IN GENERAL.—

(A) VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.—An alien described in paragraph (2) shall be—

10 (i) inadmissible to the United States;  
11 (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other  
12 documentation to enter the United States;  
13 and

19 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

20 (i) IN GENERAL.—The visa or other  
21 entry documentation of an alien described  
22 in paragraph (2) shall be revoked, regard-  
23 less of when such visa or other entry docu-  
24 mentation is or was issued.

1 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
2 tion under clause (i) shall—  
3 (I) take effect immediately; and  
4 (II) automatically cancel any  
5 other valid visa or entry documenta-  
6 tion that is in the possession of the  
7 alien.

10 (A) identified in a report required by sub-  
11 section (a);

12 (B) a corporate officer of a foreign entity  
13 identified in that report; or

14 (C) a principal shareholder with a control-  
15 ling interest in a foreign entity described in  
16 subparagraph (A).

17 (c) BLOCKING OF PROPERTY OF IDENTIFIED PER-  
18 SONS.—The President shall exercise all powers granted to  
19 the President by the International Emergency Economic  
20 Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent nec-  
21 essary to block and prohibit all transactions in all property  
22 and interests in property of any person identified in a re-  
23 port required by subsection (a) if such property and inter-  
24 ests in property are in the United States, come within the

1 United States, or are or come within the possession or  
2 control of a United States person.

3 (d) WIND-DOWN PERIOD.—The President may not  
4 impose sanctions under this section with respect to a per-  
5 son identified in the first report submitted pursuant to  
6 subsection (a) if the President certifies in such report that  
7 the person has, not later than 30 days after the date of  
8 the enactment of this Act, engaged in good faith efforts  
9 to wind down operations that would otherwise subject the  
10 person to the imposition of sanctions under this section.

11 **Subtitle D—Modifications of Pro-  
12 tecting Europe’s Energy Secu-  
13 rity Act of 2019**

14 **SEC. 181. MODIFICATIONS OF PROTECTING EUROPE’S EN-  
15 ERGY SECURITY ACT OF 2019.**

16 Section 7503 of the Protecting Europe’s Energy Se-  
17 curity Act of 2019 (title LXXV of Public Law 116–92;  
18 22 U.S.C. 9526 note) is amended—

19 (1) in subsection (a)(1)(B)(v), by striking “the  
20 Nord Stream 2 pipeline” and inserting “the Nord  
21 Stream 1 pipeline, the Nord Stream 2 pipeline, or  
22 a successor to either such pipeline”;

23 (2) in subsection (e)—

24 (A) by striking paragraph (4); and

5        "(f) NATIONAL SECURITY WAIVER.—

6               “(1) IN GENERAL.—The President may waive  
7       the application of sanctions under this section if—

17                   “(B) a joint resolution prohibiting the  
18 waiver is not enacted into law during the 30-  
19 day period described in subparagraph (A)(ii).

20               “(2)    CONSIDERATION    OF    JOINT    RESOLU-  
21               TIONS.—

22                         “(A) IN GENERAL.—A joint resolution de-  
23                         scribed in paragraph (1)(B) introduced in ei-  
24                         ther House of Congress shall be considered in  
25                         accordance with the provisions of section 601(b).

1           of the International Security Assistance and  
2           Arms Export Control Act of 1976 (Public Law  
3           94–329; 90 Stat. 765), except that the resolu-  
4           tion shall be subject to germane amendments.

5           “(B) CONSIDERATION OF VETO MES-  
6           SAGES.—If joint resolution described in para-  
7           graph (1)(B) is vetoed by the President, the  
8           time for debate in consideration of the veto  
9           message on the resolution shall—

10           “(i) in the Senate, be limited to 20  
11           hours; and

12           “(ii) in the House of Representatives,  
13           be determined in accordance with the  
14           Rules of the House.”; and

15           (4) in subsection (h)—

16           (A) by striking paragraph (2);

17           (B) by striking “terminate” and all that  
18           follows through “the date on which” and insert-  
19           ing “terminate on the date on which”;

20           (C) by redesignating subparagraphs (A)  
21           and (B) as paragraphs (1) and (2), respectively,  
22           and by moving such paragraphs, as so redesi-  
23           gnated, 2 ems to the left; and

24           (D) in paragraph (2), as redesignated, by  
25           striking “; or” and inserting a period.

## 1      **Subtitle E—General Provisions**

### 2      **SEC. 191. SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.**

3      The sanctions described in this section to be imposed  
4      with respect to a foreign person are the following:

5                (1) **BLOCKING OF PROPERTY.**—The President  
6      shall exercise all of the powers granted to the Presi-  
7      dent under the International Emergency Economic  
8      Powers Act ( 50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) to the extent  
9      necessary to block and prohibit all transactions in  
10     property and interests in property of the foreign per-  
11     son if such property and interests in property are in  
12     the United States, come within the United States, or  
13     are or come within the possession or control of a  
14     United States person.

15               (2) **INELIGIBILITY FOR VISAS, ADMISSION, OR**  
16     **PAROLE.**—

17               (A) **VISAS, ADMISSION, OR PAROLE.**—A  
18     foreign person that is an alien is—  
19               (i) inadmissible to the United States;  
20               (ii) ineligible to receive a visa or other  
21     documentation to enter the United States;  
22               and  
23               (iii) otherwise ineligible to be admitted  
24     or paroled into the United States or to re-  
25     ceive any other benefit under the Immigra-

3 (B) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—

4 (i) IN GENERAL.—A foreign person  
5 that is an alien is subject to revocation of  
6 any visa or other entry documentation re-  
7 gardless of when the visa or other entry  
8 documentation is or was issued.

9 (ii) IMMEDIATE EFFECT.—A revoca-  
10 tion under clause (i) shall take effect im-  
11 mediately and automatically cancel any  
12 other valid visa or entry documentation  
13 that is in the alien's possession.

## 14 SEC. 192. EXCEPTIONS; WAIVERS.

15 (a) EXCEPTIONS.—

16 (1) EXCEPTION RELATING TO IMPORTATION OF  
17 GOODS.—

23 (B) GOOD.—In this paragraph, the term  
24 “good” means any article, natural or manmade  
25 substance, material, supply, or manufactured

1           product, including inspection and test equipment,  
2           and excluding technical data.

3           (2) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH UNITED NA-  
4           TIONS HEADQUARTERS AGREEMENT AND LAW EN-  
5           FORCEMENT ACTIVITIES.—Sanctions under this title  
6           shall not apply with respect to the admission of an  
7           alien to the United States if admitting or paroling  
8           the alien into the United States is necessary—

9                   (A) to permit the United States to comply  
10                  with the Agreement regarding the Head-  
11                  quarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake  
12                  Success June 26, 1947, and entered into force  
13                  November 21, 1947, between the United Na-  
14                  tions and the United States, or other applicable  
15                  international obligations of the United States;  
16                  or

17                   (B) to carry out or assist authorized law  
18                  enforcement activity in the United States.

19           (3) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH INTEL-  
20           LIGENCE ACTIVITIES.—Sanctions under this title  
21           shall not apply to any activity subject to the report-  
22           ing requirements under title V of the National Secu-  
23           rity Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3091 et seq.) or any au-  
24           thorized intelligence activities of the United States.

25           (4) HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—Sanctions under this  
2 title shall not apply to—

3 (i) the conduct or facilitation of a  
4 transaction for the provision of agricultural  
5 commodities, food, medicine, medical de-  
6 vices, humanitarian assistance, or for hu-  
7 manitarian purposes; or

8 (ii) transactions that are necessary for  
9 or related to the activities described in  
10 clause (i).

11 (B) DEFINITIONS.—In this paragraph:

12 (i) AGRICULTURAL COMMODITY.—The  
13 term “agricultural commodity” has the  
14 meaning given that term in section 102 of  
15 the Agricultural Trade Act of 1978 (7  
16 U.S.C. 5602).

17 (ii) MEDICAL DEVICE.—The term  
18 “medical device” has the meaning given  
19 the term “device” in section 201 of the  
20 Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21  
21 U.S.C. 321).

22 (iii) MEDICINE.—The term “medicine”  
23 has the meaning given the term  
24 “drug” in section 201 of the Federal Food,  
25 Drug, and Cosmetic Act (21 U.S.C. 321).

5 (A) a person providing provisions to a ves-  
6 sel otherwise subject to sanctions under this  
7 title if the provisions are intended for—

10 (ii) the protection of human life  
11 aboard the vessel; or

12 (iii) the maintenance of the vessel to  
13 avoid any environmental or other signifi-  
14 cant damage; or

15 (B) a person providing services to a vessel  
16 otherwise subject to sanctions under this title  
17 if—

18 (i) the vessel fails to meet inter-  
19 national maritime vessel safety standards;  
20 and

21 (ii) the services are necessary to en-  
22 sure the safe decommissioning or destruc-  
23 tion of the vessel.

1 nually thereafter, the President shall submit to the  
2 appropriate congressional committees a report that  
3 describes each activity that would be sanctionable  
4 under this title if not covered by an exception under  
5 this subsection.

6 (b) WAIVER.—

7 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may, on a  
8 case-by-case basis and for periods not to exceed 180  
9 days each, waive the application of sanctions im-  
10 posed with respect to a foreign vessel or a foreign  
11 person under this title if the President certifies to  
12 the appropriate congressional committees, not later  
13 than 15 days after such waiver is to take effect, that  
14 the waiver is in the national security interests of the  
15 United States.

16 (2) CERTIFICATION.—The President shall not  
17 be required to impose sanctions under this title with  
18 respect to a foreign person who has engaged in ac-  
19 tivity subject to sanctions under this title if the  
20 President certifies in writing to the appropriate con-  
21 gressional committees that the foreign person—

22 (A) is no longer engaging in such activi-  
23 ties; or

(B) has taken and is continuing to take significant, verifiable steps toward permanently terminating such activities.

4 (c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
5 tion shall be construed to affect the availability of any ex-  
6 isting authorities to issue waivers, exceptions, exemptions,  
7 licenses, or other authorization.

## 8 SEC. 193. IMPLEMENTATION.

9 (a) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may exercise  
10 all authorities under sections 203 and 205 of the Inter-  
11 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C.  
12 1702 and 1704) for purposes of carrying out this title.

13 (b) PENALTIES.—A person that violates, attempts to  
14 violate, conspires to violate, or causes a violation of this  
15 title or any regulation, license, or order issued to carry  
16 out this title shall be subject to the penalties set forth in  
17 subsections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the International  
18 Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1705) to the  
19 same extent as a person that commits an unlawful act de-  
20 scribed in subsection (a) of that section.

## 21 SEC. 194. TERMINATION OF SANCTIONS AUTHORITIES.

22 The requirements and authorities to impose sanctions  
23 under subtitles A, B, and C, and any sanctions imposed  
24 under those subtitles, shall terminate on the date that is  
25 10 years after the date of the enactment of this Act.

## 1       **TITLE II—OTHER MATTERS**

### 2   **SEC. 201. DETERMINATION WITH RESPECT TO RUSSIAN**

### 3           **MILITARY ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF RUSSIAN**

### 4           **SHADOW FLEET.**

5       (a) IN GENERAL.—The President may determine, at  
6 such times as are required under subsection (b), whether—

8                   (1) the Government of the Russian Federation,  
9 including through any of its proxies, is engaged in  
10 or knowingly supporting an escalation of military  
11 measures in the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Sea, or  
12 the Straits of Denmark, including to deter members  
13 of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from in-  
14 specting vessels transporting Russian-origin petro-  
15 leum products or posing a threat to undersea infra-  
16 structure to ensure such vessels are adhering to ac-  
17 cepted maritime standards; and

18                   (2) if the President makes a positive determina-  
19 tion under paragraph (1), whether that escalation  
20 increases the risk of an incident at sea, including  
21 damage to undersea cable infrastructure.

22       (b) TIMING OF DETERMINATIONS.—The President  
23 may make the determination described in subsection (a)—

24                   (1) not later than 15 days after the date of the  
25 enactment of this Act;

(3) after the end of that 1-year period, not less frequently than every 90 days.

7 (c) REPORT REQUIRED.—Upon making a determina-  
8 tion under subsection (a), the President shall submit a re-  
9 port on the determination to—

10 (1) the committees specified in subsection (d);  
11 (2) the majority leader and the minority leader  
12 of the Senate; and

13 (3) the Speaker and the minority leader of the  
14 House of Representatives.

15 (d) COMMITTEES SPECIFIED.—The committees spec-  
16 ified in this subsection are—

17 (1) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
18 Committee on Armed Services, and the Select Com-  
19 mittee on Intelligence of the Senate; and

20 (2) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
21 Committee on Armed Services, and the Permanent  
22 Select Committee on Intelligence of the House of  
23 Representatives.

**1 SEC. 202. RESOURCES FOR SANCTIONS IMPLEMENTATION****2 AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.**

3 (a) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Con-  
4 gress that sanctions are a vital foreign policy and national  
5 security tool, and as such, it is critical that the Depart-  
6 ment of State and other agencies with responsibilities re-  
7 lating to sanctions across the executive branch—

8 (1) are fully staffed, including through the  
9 prompt confirmation by the Senate of a qualified  
10 head of the Office of Sanctions Coordination of the  
11 Department of State; and

12 (2) have the resources and infrastructure nec-  
13 essary for the successful development and implemen-  
14 tation of sanctions.

15 (b) INCREASING RESOURCES AND IMPROVING MOD-  
16 ERNIZATION FOR SANCTIONS IMPLEMENTATION.—The  
17 head of the Office of Sanctions Coordination shall take  
18 steps to modernize the sanctions infrastructure and in-  
19 crease resources dedicated to implementing sanctions, in-  
20 cluding by—

21 (1) ensuring the Department of State has nec-  
22 essary subscriptions and access to open-source data-  
23 bases for purposes of making determinations to sup-  
24 port the designation of persons for the imposition of  
25 sanctions;

6 (3) increasing the number of personnel dedi-  
7 cated to making and reviewing such designations.

8 (c) REPORT ON MODERNIZATIONS EFFORTS.—Not  
9 later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of  
10 this Act, the head of the Office of Sanctions Coordination  
11 shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the  
12 Senate and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the  
13 House of Representatives a report describing steps the De-  
14 partment of State is taking to address challenges in the  
15 ability of the Department to support the designation of  
16 persons for the imposition of sanctions.

17 (d) AUTHORIZATIONS OF APPROPRIATION.—

1 Treasury for each of fiscal years 2026 and 2027  
2 \$15,000,000 to carry out this section.

6 Section 1232 of the National Defense Authorization  
7 Act for Fiscal Year 2017 (Public Law 114–328; 130 Stat.  
8 2488) is amended—

9 (1) by striking subsections (c) and (d); and  
10 (2) by redesignating subsections (e) and (f) as  
11 subsections (c) and (d), respectively.

12 SEC. 204. EMERGENCY APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE COUN-  
13 TERING RUSSIAN INFLUENCE FUND.

14 (a) EMERGENCY APPROPRIATIONS.—

1       sabotage activities, cyber threats, and security  
2       threats.

3                   (2) EMERGENCY DESIGNATION.—

4                   (A) IN GENERAL.—The amounts provided  
5       under paragraph (1) are designated as an emer-  
6       gency requirement pursuant to section 4(g) of  
7       the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (2  
8       U.S.C. 933(g)).

9                   (B) DESIGNATION IN THE SENATE AND  
10       THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—This sub-  
11       section is designated as an emergency require-  
12       ment pursuant to subsections (a) and (b) of  
13       section 4001 of S. Con. Res. 14 (117th Con-  
14       gress), the concurrent resolution on the budget  
15       for fiscal year 2022.

16       (b) REPORT REQUIRED.—

17                   (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 90 days after  
18       the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 180  
19       days thereafter, the Secretary of State shall submit  
20       to the appropriate committees of Congress a report  
21       that contains a description of the activities carried  
22       out pursuant to this section.

23                   (2) FORM.—The strategy required by para-  
24       graph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form,  
25       but may include a classified annex if necessary.

9 SEC. 205. REPORT ON PRESIDENTIAL DRAWDOWN AUTHOR-  
10 ITY AND UKRAINE SECURITY ASSISTANCE  
11 INITIATIVE.

12 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the  
13 date of the enactment of this Act, and every 30 days there-  
14 after, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defense  
15 shall jointly submit to the appropriate committees of Con-  
16 gress a report that includes—

24 (2) a description of all defense articles and  
25 services provided to Ukraine under Presidential

1 drawdown authority, Foreign Military Financing,  
2 and the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative under  
3 section 1250 of the National Defense Authorization  
4 Act for Fiscal Year 2016 (Public Law 114–92; 129  
5 Stat. 1068); and

6 (3) a description of the readiness requirements,  
7 valuations, and replenishment calculations used to  
8 determine the availability of inventory to transfer to  
9 Ukraine.

10 (b) APPROPRIATE COMMITTEES OF CONGRESS DE-  
11 FINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate commit-  
12 tees of Congress” means—

13 (1) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
14 Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee  
15 on Appropriations of the Senate; and

16 (2) the Committees on Foreign Affairs, the  
17 Committee on Armed Services, and the Committee  
18 on Appropriations of the House of Representatives.

19 **SEC. 206. SUPPORT FOR UKRAINE ARMS SALES.**

20 For any letter of offer to sell or license to export de-  
21 fense articles or defense services to Ukraine that would  
22 require a numbered certification to Congress required by  
23 section 36 of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C.  
24 2776), the President shall not offer such letter of offer  
25 or issue such license until 15 days have elapsed from the

1 time such numbered certification is provided to Congress,  
2 notwithstanding the requirements of such section for 30  
3 days, and any joint resolution of disapproval shall be eligi-  
4 ble for a motion to discharge from the Committee on For-  
5 eign Relations of the Senate 5 days after introduction.