

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. 868

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

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 5, 2025

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

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) UNITES 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 cooperation with Georgia, in-
21 cluding 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.

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