## AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H. Res. 758

## OFFERED BY MR. ENGEL OF NEW YORK

Strike the preamble and insert the following:

- Whereas the Russian Federation has subjected Ukraine to a campaign of political, economic, and military aggression for the purpose of establishing its domination over the country and progressively erasing its independence;
- Whereas the Russian Federation's invasion of, and military operations on, Ukrainian territory represent gross violations of Ukraine's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity and a violation of international law, including the Russian Federation's obligations under the United Nations Charter;
- Whereas the Russian Federation has, since February 2014, violated each of the 10 principles of the 1975 Helsinki Accords in its relations with Ukraine;
- Whereas the Russian Federation's forcible occupation and illegal annexation of Crimea and its continuing support for separatist and paramilitary forces in eastern Ukraine are violations of its obligations under the 1994 Budapest Memorandum on Security Assurances, in which it pledged to respect the independence and sovereignty and the existing borders of Ukraine and to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of Ukraine;

- Whereas the Russian Federation has provided military equipment, training, and other assistance to separatist and paramilitary forces in eastern Ukraine that has resulted in over 4,000 civilian deaths, hundreds of thousands of civilian refugees, and widespread destruction;
- Whereas the Ukrainian military remains at a significant disadvantage compared to the armed forces of the Russian Federation in terms of size and technological sophistication;
- Whereas the United States strongly supports efforts to assist Ukraine to defend its territory and sovereignty against military aggression by the Russian Federation and by separatist forces;
- Whereas the terms of the cease-fire specified in the Minsk Protocol that was signed on September 5, 2014, by representatives of the Government of Ukraine, the Russian Federation, and the Russian-led separatists in the eastern area of Ukraine have been repeatedly violated by the Russian Federation and the separatist forces it supports;
- Whereas separatist forces in areas they controlled in eastern Ukraine prevented the holding of elections on May 25, 2014, for a new President of Ukraine and on October 26, 2014, for a new Rada, thereby preventing the people of eastern Ukraine from exercising their democratic right to select their candidates for office in free and fair elections;
- Whereas on November 2, 2014, separatist forces in eastern Ukraine held fraudulent and illegal elections in areas they controlled for the supposed purpose of choosing leaders of the illegitimate local political entities they have declared;

- Whereas the Russian Federation continues to provide the military, political, and economic support without which the separatist forces could not continue to maintain their areas of control;
- Whereas the reestablishment of peace and security in Ukraine requires the full withdrawal of Russian forces from Ukrainian territory, the resumption of the government's control over all of the country's international borders, the disarming of the separatist and paramilitary forces in the east, an end to Russia's use of its energy exports and trade barriers to apply economic and political pressure, and an end to Russian interference in Ukraine's internal affairs;
- Whereas Malaysia Airlines Flight 17, a civilian airliner, was destroyed by a Russian-made missile provided by the Russian Federation to separatist forces in eastern Ukraine, resulting in the loss of 298 innocent lives;
- Whereas the Russian Federation has used and is continuing to use coercive economic measures, including the manipulation of energy prices and supplies, as well as trade restrictions, to place political and economic pressure on Ukraine;
- Whereas the Russian Federation invaded the Republic of Georgia in August 2008, continues to station military forces in the regions of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and is implementing measures intended to progressively integrate these regions into the Russian Federation;
- Whereas the Russian Federation continues to subject the Republic of Georgia to political and military intimidation, economic coercion, and other forms of aggression in an effort to establish its control of the country and to pre-

- vent Georgia from establishing closer relations with the European Union and the United States;
- Whereas the Russian Federation continues to station military forces in the Transniestria region of Moldova in violation of the express will of the Government of Moldova and of its Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) commitments;
- Whereas the Russian Federation continues to provide support to the illegal separatist regime in the Transniestria region of Moldova;
- Whereas the Russian Federation continues to subject Moldova to political and military intimidation, economic coercion, and other forms of aggression in an effort to establish its control of the countries and to prevent efforts by Moldova to establish closer relations with the European Union and the United States;
- Whereas under the terms of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), a flight-test or deployment of any INF-banned weapon delivery vehicle by the Russian Federation constitutes a violation of the INF Treaty;
- Whereas on July 29, 2014, the United States Department of State released its report on the Adherence to and Compliance with Arms Control, Nonproliferation, and Disarmament Agreements and Commitments, as required by Section 403 of the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, for calendar year 2013, which found that, "[t]he United States has determined that the Russian Federation is in violation of its obligations under the INF Treaty not to possess, produce, or flight-test a ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM) with a range capability of 500 km to

- 5,500 km, or to possess or produce launchers of such missiles";
- Whereas according to reports, the Government of the Russian Federation has repeatedly engaged in the infiltration of, and attacks on, computer networks of the United States Government, as well as individuals and private entities, for the purpose of illicitly acquiring information and disrupting operations, including by supporting Russian individuals and entities engaged in these actions;
- Whereas the political, military, and economic aggression against Ukraine and other countries by the Russian Federation underscores the enduring importance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as the cornerstone of collective Euro-Atlantic defense;
- Whereas the United States reaffirms its obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty, especially Article 5 which states that "an armed attack against one or more" of the treaty signatories "shall be considered an attack against them all";
- Whereas the Russian Federation is continuing to use its supply of energy as a means of political and economic coercion against Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and other European countries;
- Whereas the United States strongly supports energy diversification initiatives in Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and other European countries to reduce the ability of the Russian Federation to use its supply of energy for political and economic coercion, including the development of domestic sources of energy, increased efficiency, and substituting Russian energy resources with imports from other countries;

- Whereas the Russian Federation continues to conduct an aggressive propaganda effort in Ukraine in which false information is used to subvert the authority of the legitimate national government, undermine stability, promote ethnic dissension, and incite violence;
- Whereas the Russian Federation has expanded the presence of its state-sponsored media in national languages across central and western Europe with the intent of using news and information to distort public opinion and obscure Russian political and economic influence in Europe;
- Whereas expanded efforts by United States international broadcasting across all media in the Russian and Ukrainian languages are needed to counter Russian propaganda and to provide the people of Ukraine and the surrounding regions with access to credible and balanced information;
- Whereas the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), Incorporated continue to represent a minority market share in Ukraine and other regional states with significant ethno-linguistic Russian populations who increasingly obtain their local and international news from Russian state-sponsored media outlets;
- Whereas the United States International Programming to Ukraine and Neighboring Regions Act of 2014 (PL 113–96) requires the Voice of America and RFE/RL, Incorporated to provide programming content to target populations in Ukraine and Moldova 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, including at least 8 weekly hours of total original video and television content and 14 weekly hours of total audio content while expanding cooperation with local media outlets and deploying greater content through multimedia platforms and mobile devices; and

Whereas Vladimir Putin has established an increasingly authoritarian regime in the Russian Federation through fraudulent elections, the persecution and jailing of political opponents, the elimination of independent media, the seizure of key sectors of the economy and enabling supporters to enrich themselves through widespread corruption, and implementing a strident propaganda campaign to justify Russian aggression against other countries and repression in Russia, among other actions: Now, therefore, be it

Strike all after the resolving clause and insert the following:

## That the House of Representatives—

(1) strongly supports the efforts by President Poroshenko and the people of Ukraine to establish a lasting peace in their country that includes the full withdrawal of Russian forces from its territory, full control of its international borders, the disarming of separatist and paramilitary forces eastern Ukraine, the adoption of policies to reduce the ability of the Russian Federation to use energy exports and trade barriers as weapons to apply economic and political pressure, and an end to interference by the Russian Federation in the internal affairs of Ukraine;

(2) affirms the right of Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova, and all countries to exercise their sovereign

1	rights within their internationally recognized borders
2	free from outside intervention and to conduct their
3	foreign policy in accordance with their determination
4	of the best interests of their peoples;
5	(3) condemns the continuing political, economic,
6	and military aggression by the Russian Federation
7	against Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova and the con-
8	tinuing violation of their sovereignty, independence,
9	and territorial integrity;
10	(4) states that the military intervention by the
11	Russian Federation in Ukraine—
12	(A) is in breach of its obligations under
13	the United Nations Charter;
14	(B) is in clear violation of each of the 10
15	principles of the 1975 Helsinki Accords;
16	(C) is in violation of the 1994 Budapest
17	Memorandum on Security Assurances in which
18	it pledged to respect the independence, sov-
19	ereignty, and existing borders of Ukraine and
20	to refrain from the threat of the use of force
21	against the territorial integrity or political inde-
22	pendence of Ukraine; and
23	(D) poses a threat to international peace
24	and security;

1	(5) calls on the Russian Federation to reverse
2	its illegal annexation of Crimea, to end its support
3	of the separatist forces in Crimea, and to remove its
4	military forces from that region other than those op-
5	erating in strict accordance with its 1997 agreement
6	on the Status and Conditions of the Black Sea Fleet
7	Stationing on the Territory of Ukraine;
8	(6) calls on the President to cooperate with
9	United States allies and partners in Europe and
10	other countries around the world to refuse to recog-
11	nize any de jure or de facto sovereignty of the Rus-
12	sian Federation over Crimea, its airspace, or its ter-
13	ritorial waters;
14	(7) calls on the Russian Federation to remove
15	its military forces and military equipment from the
16	territory of Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova, and to
17	end its political, military, and economic support of
18	separatist forces;
19	(8) calls on the Russian Federation and the
20	separatist forces it controls in Ukraine to end their
21	violations of the cease-fire announced in Minsk on
22	September 5, 2014;
23	(9) calls on the President to cooperate with
24	United States allies and partners in Europe and
25	other countries around the world to impose visa

1	bans, targeted asset freezes, sectoral sanctions, and
2	other measures on the Russian Federation and its
3	leadership with the goal of compelling it to end its
4	violation of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial in-
5	tegrity, to remove its military forces and equipment
6	from Ukrainian territory, and to end its support of
7	separatist and paramilitary forces;
8	(10) calls on the President to provide the Gov-
9	ernment of Ukraine with defense articles, services,
10	and training required to effectively defend its terri-
11	tory and sovereignty;
12	(11) calls on the President to provide the Gov-
13	ernment of Ukraine with appropriate intelligence
14	and other relevant information to assist the Govern-
15	ment of Ukraine to defend its territory and sov-
16	ereignty;
17	(12) calls on North Atlantic Treaty Organiza-
18	tion (NATO) allies and United States partners in
19	Europe and other nations around the world to sus-
20	pend all military cooperation with Russia, including
21	prohibiting the sale to the Russian Government of
22	lethal and non-lethal military equipment;
23	(13) reaffirms the commitment of the United
24	States to its obligations under the North Atlantic
25	Treaty, especially Article 5, and calls on all Alliance

1	member states to provide their full share of the re-
2	sources needed to ensure their collective defense;
3	(14) urges the President, in consultation with
4	Congress, to conduct a review of the force posture,
5	readiness, and responsibilities of United States
6	Armed Forces and the forces of other members of
7	NATO to determine if the contributions and actions
8	of each are sufficient to meet the obligations of col-
9	lective self-defense under Article 5 of the North At-
10	lantic Treaty and to specify the measures needed to
11	remedy any deficiencies;
12	(15) urges the President to hold the Russian
13	Federation accountable for violations of its obliga-
14	tions under the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
15	(INF) Treaty and to take action to bring the Rus-
16	sian Federation back into compliance with the Trea-
17	ty;
18	(16) calls on Ukraine and other countries to
19	support energy diversification initiatives to reduce
20	the ability of the Russian Federation to use its en-
21	ergy exports as a means of applying political or eco-
22	nomic pressure, including by promoting increased
23	natural gas exports from the United States and
24	other countries;

1	(17) calls on Ukraine and European countries
2	and former Soviet Republics to support energy diver-
3	sification initiatives to reduce Russian control of en-
4	ergy exports, including by promoting energy effi-
5	ciency and reverse natural gas flows from Western
6	Europe, and calls on the United States to promote
7	increased natural gas exports and energy efficiency;
8	(18) calls on the President and the United
9	States Department of State to develop a strategy for
10	multilateral coordination to produce or otherwise
11	procure and distribute news and information in the
12	Russian language to countries with significant Rus-
13	sian-speaking populations which maximizes the use
14	of existing platforms for content delivery such as the
15	Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Lib-
16	erty (RFE/RL), Incorporated, leverages indigenous
17	public-private partnerships for content production,
18	and seeks in-kind contributions from regional state
19	governments;
20	(19) calls on the United States Department of
21	State to identify positions at key diplomatic posts in
22	Europe to evaluate the political, economic, and cul-
23	tural influence of Russia and Russian state-spon-
24	sored media and to coordinate with host govern-
25	ments on appropriate responses;

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