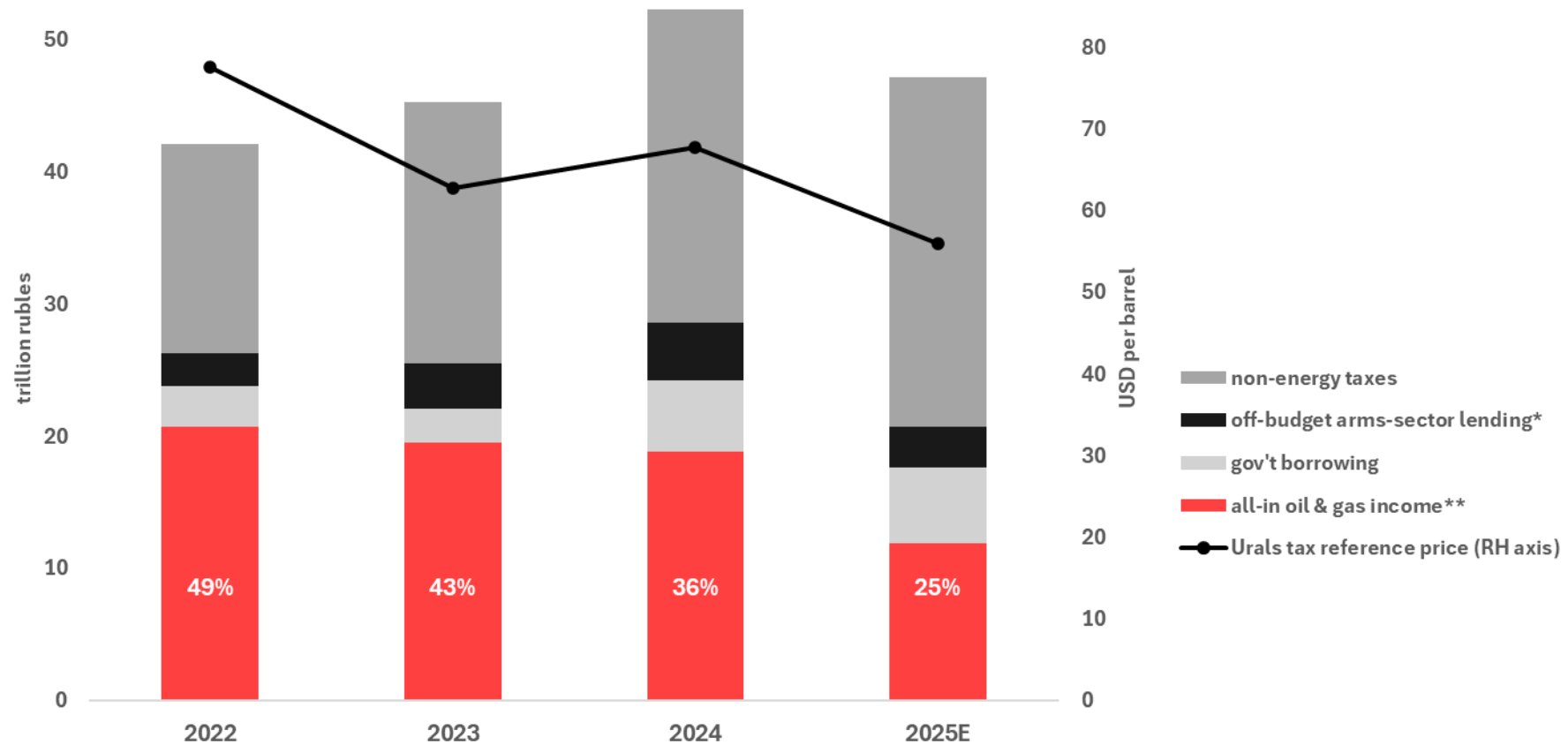


Restraining Russian Oil: Strategies against the Shadow Fleet



Craig Kennedy
December 16, 2025

The energy sector's deteriorating health has sharply eroded its contribution to the Kremlin's war-time finances



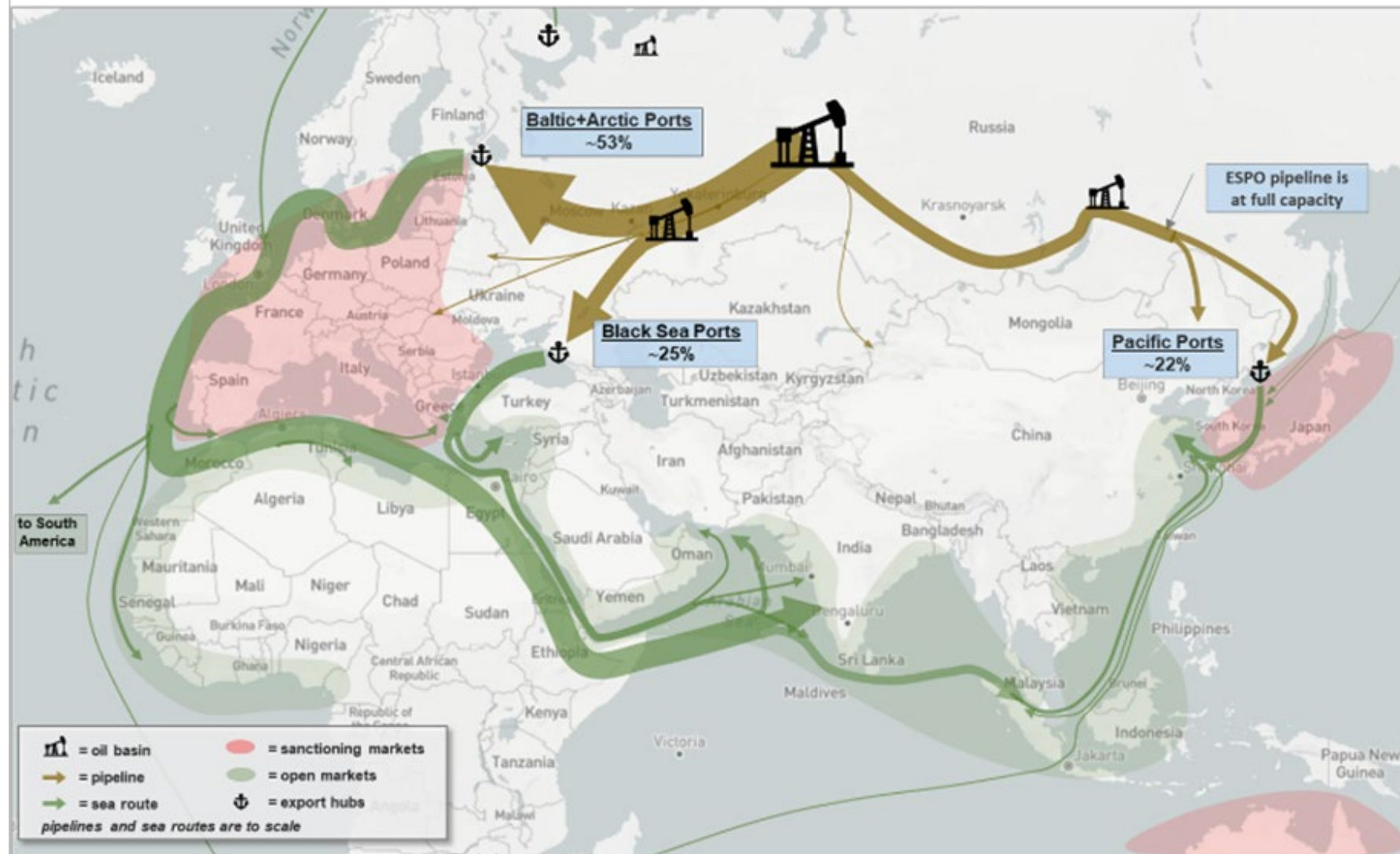
Breakdown of state's war-time funding structure
(in 2025 rubles)

* includes soft, state-directed bank loans to the 5 core arms producing sectors

**includes royalties, duties, other corporate taxes, dividends plus net drawdowns from state oil & gas fund, including allocations to non-liquid assets

Source: Ministry of Finance, company financial reports, author analysis (*Navigating Russia*)

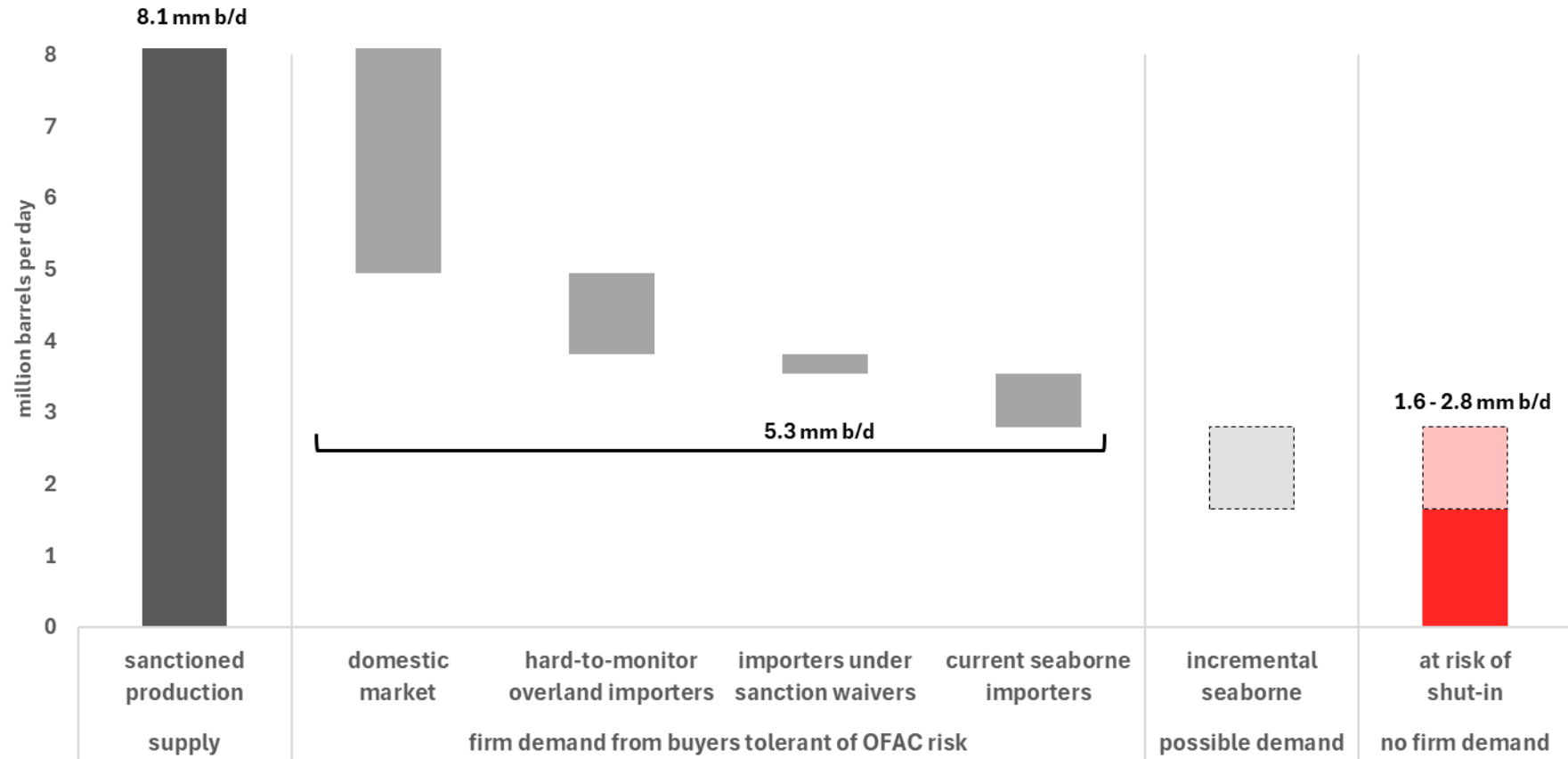
Through October 2025, Russia exported 80% of its oil by sea, with India, China and Turkey as the primary destinations



Sources: author analysis (*Navigating Russia*) of open-source vessel tracking data; Transneft, OpenStreetMap

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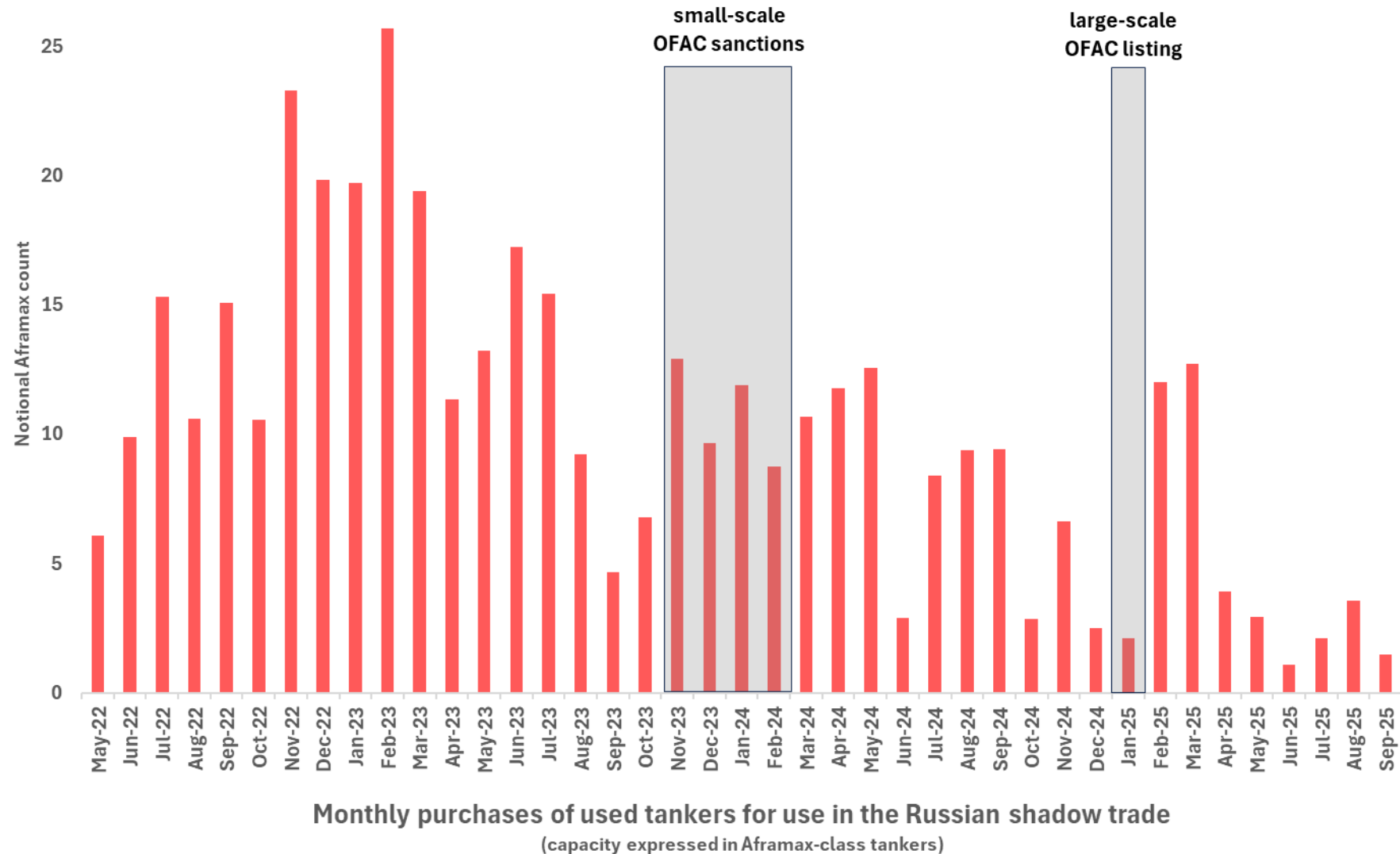
Sanctioned production exceeds likely risk-friendly demand. Some 1.6 to 2.8 mm b/d of output could get stranded without a buyer and shut in.



Sanctioned Russian production volumes vs. est'd pools of risk-friendly market demand

sanctioned production
 firm demand from buyers tolerant of OFAC risk
 at risk of shut-in

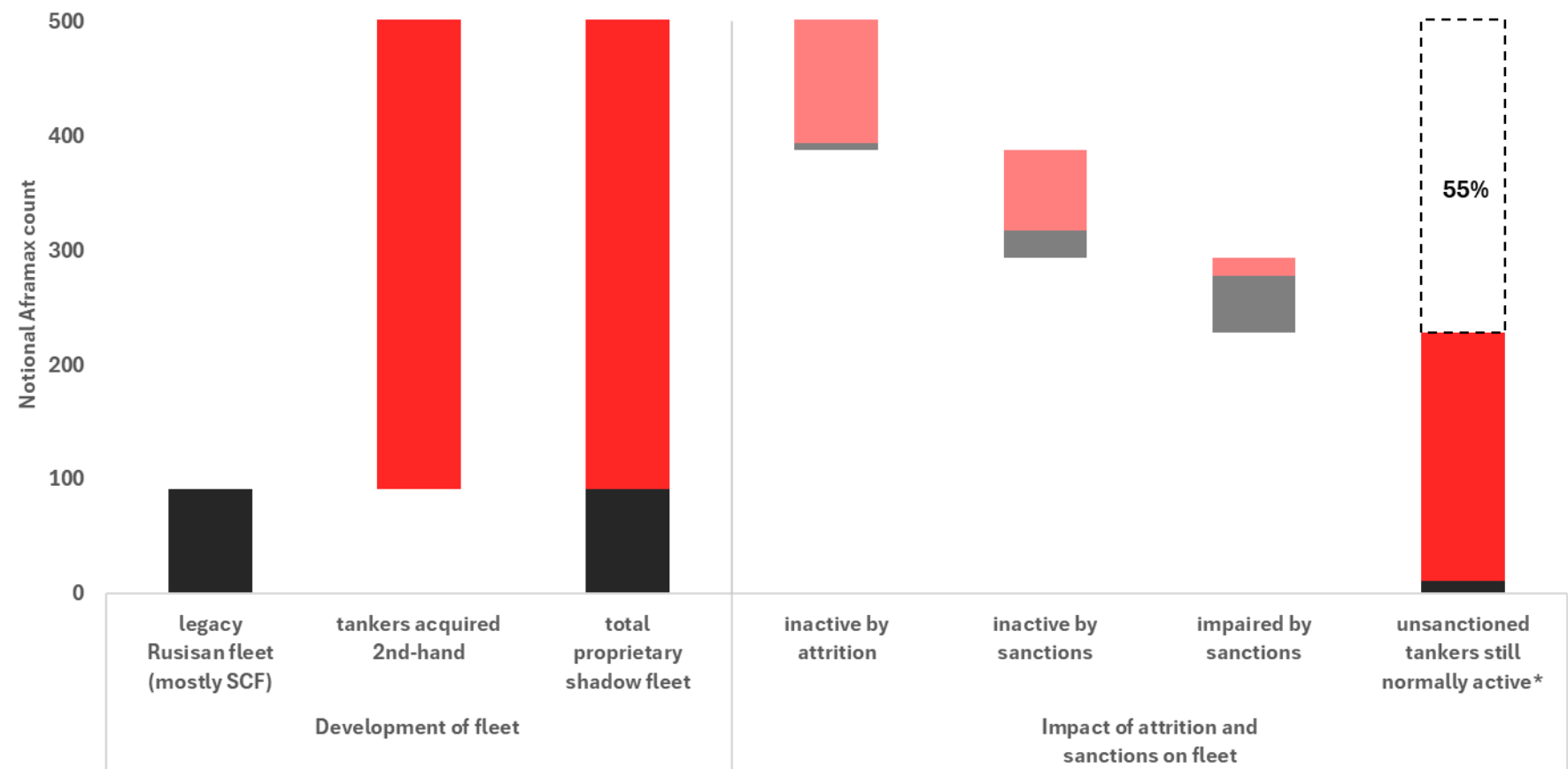
Since 2022, over 400 vintage tankers have been bought second-hand for
Moscow's proprietary shadow fleet. Est'd cost: ~\$15.2 bn



Sources: Kpler, Int'l Group of P&I Clubs, Equasis, shipping broker reports, author analysis (*Navigating Russia*)

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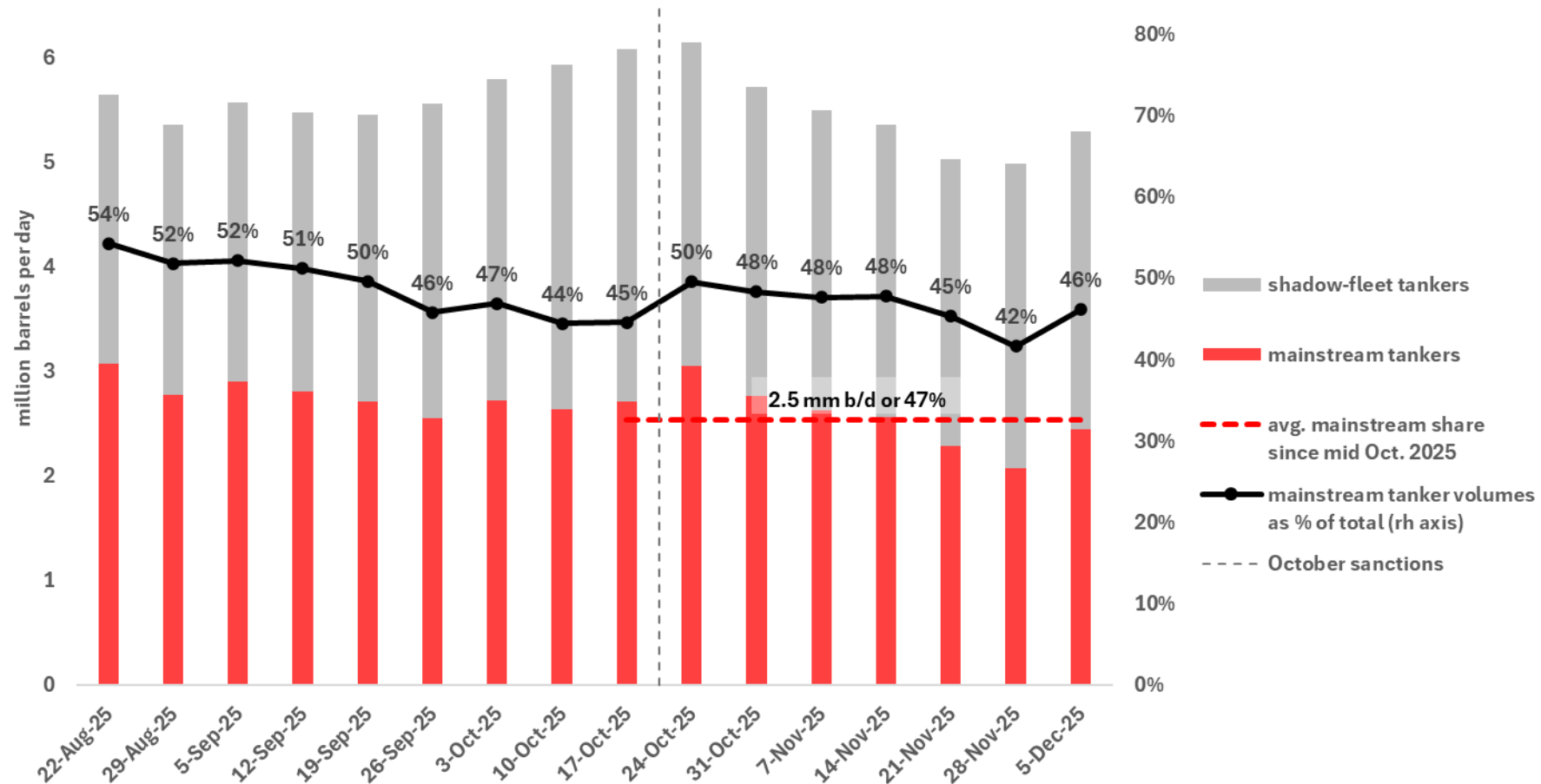
Rise and partial collapse of Russia's shadow fleet: ~55% of fleet tankers have dropped from normal service because of attrition and sanctions



The rise and partial collapse of Moscow's proprietary shadow fleet
(total capacity in Aframax tankers)
May 2022 - Nov. 2025

*"Unsanctioned tankers still normally active" = tankers not listed by OFAC and still normally active.
Sources: Kpler, Int'l Group of P&I Clubs, Equasis, author analysis (*Navigating Russia*)

Moscow remains reliant on mainstream tankers. They have lifted ~50% of Russia's exports in 2H 2025 & remain firm so far under the new sanctions.

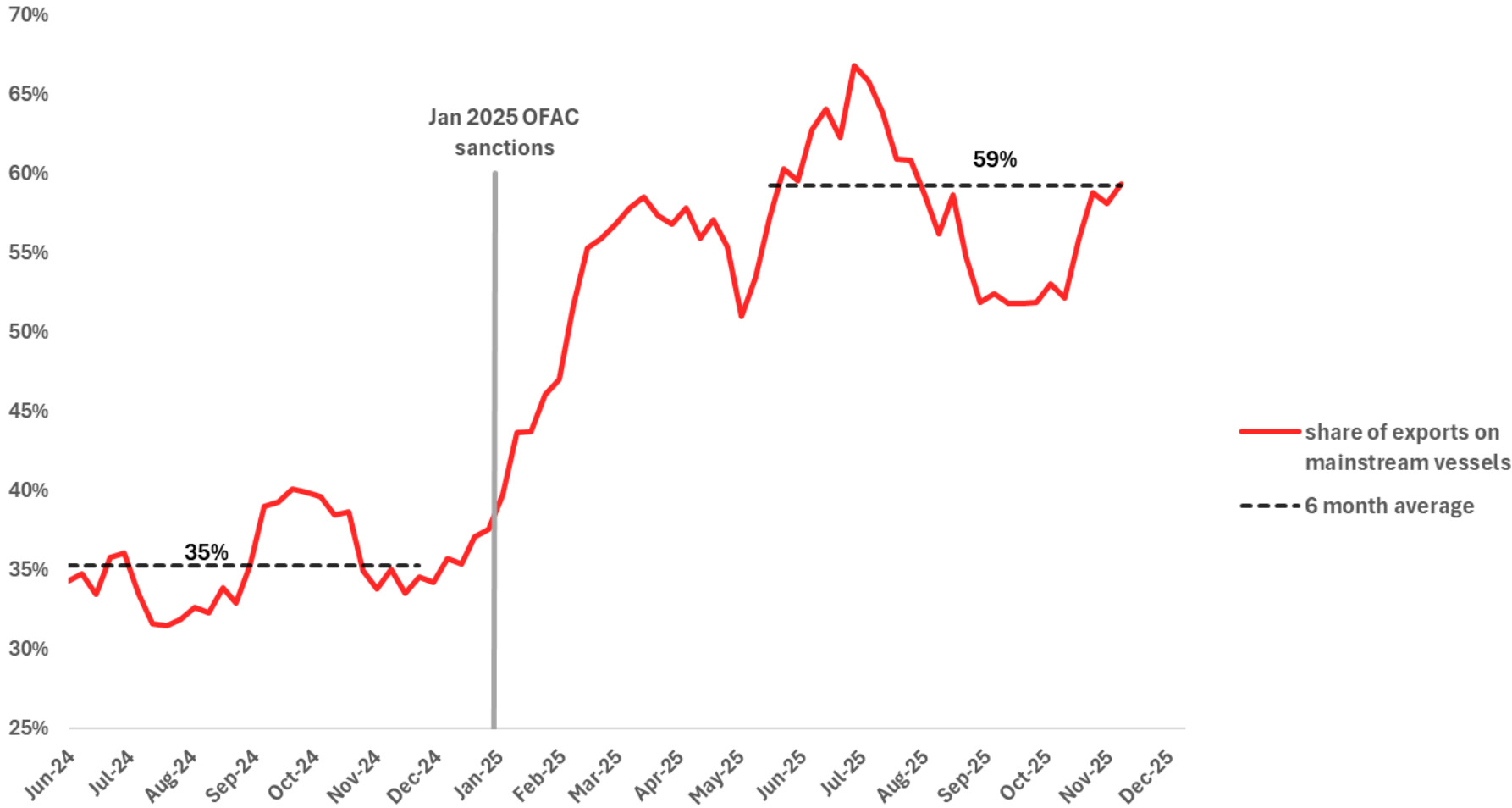


Mainstream fleet vs. shadow fleet: share of liftings from Russian ports
4 week moving averages of daily export volumes

Source: Kpler, International Group of P&I Clubs, Equasis, author analysis

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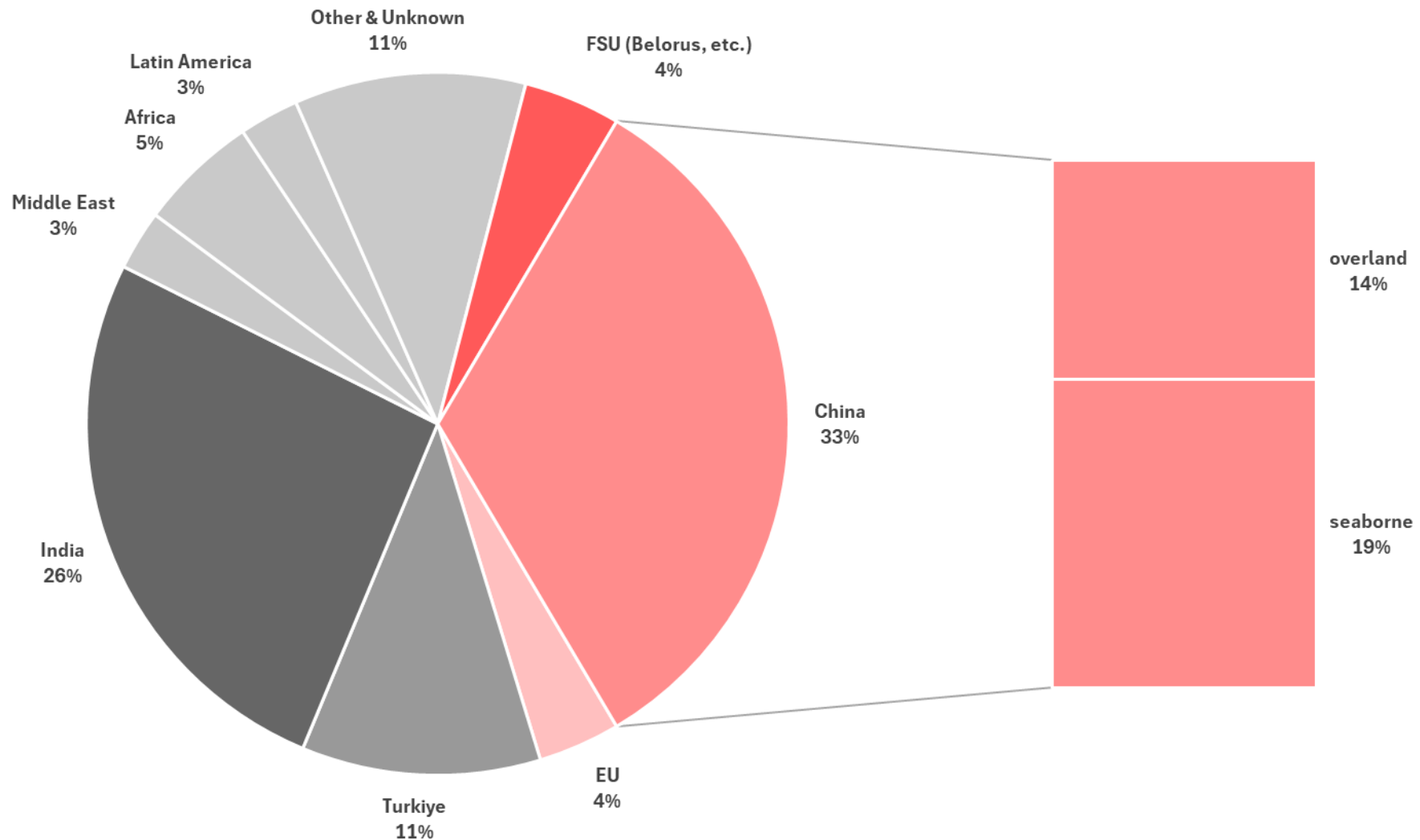
Partial collapse of the shadow fleet. In 2025, reliance on mainstream tankers for Baltic exports jumped from 35% to 59%.



Impact of tanker sanctions on the share of exports shipped on mainstream vessels
(crude tankers, Baltic ports, 8-week moving average, June 2024 - early December 2025)

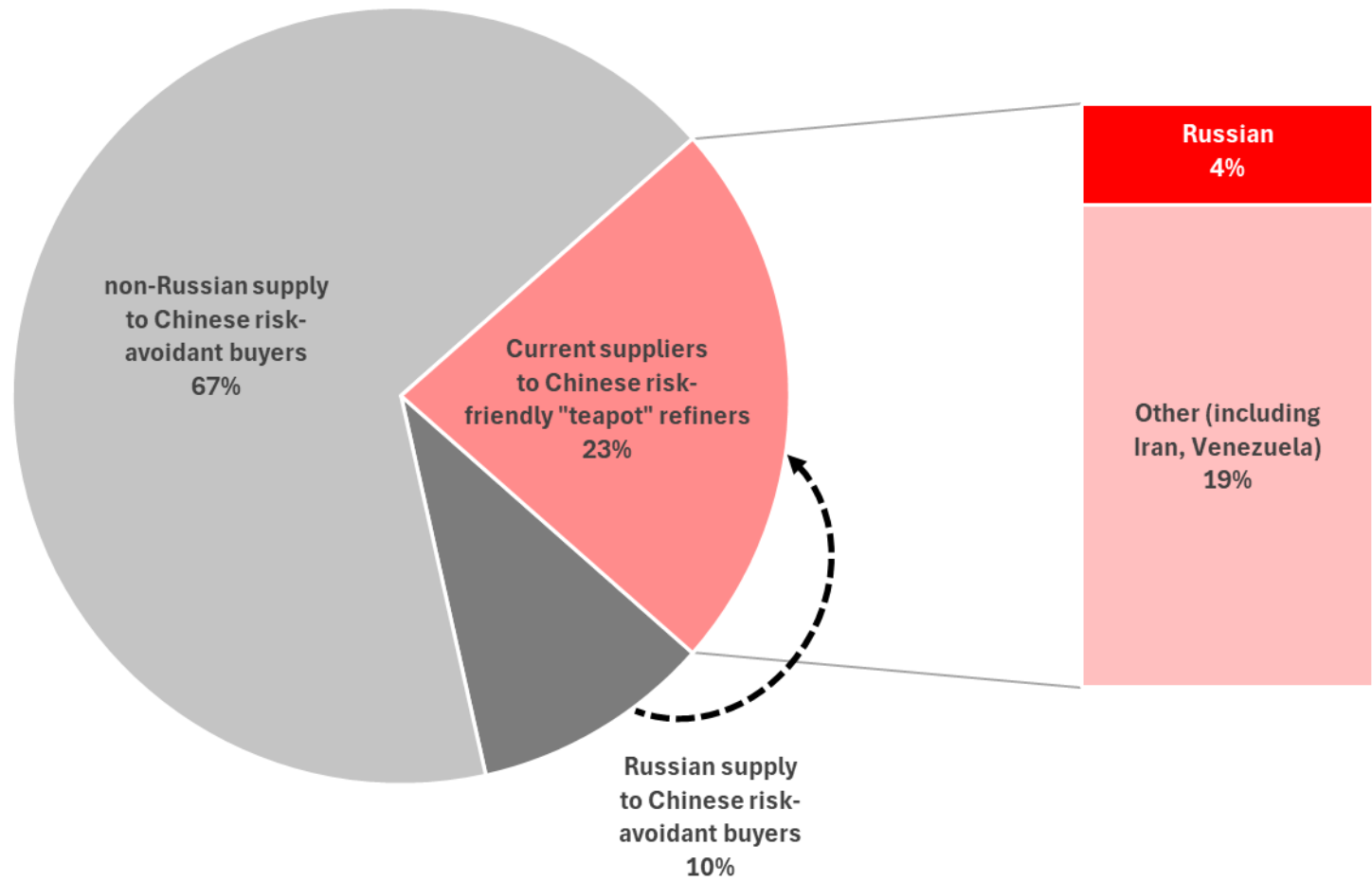
Source: Kpler, Int'l Group of P&I Clubs, Equasis, author analysis

India is Russia's largest buyer of seaborne exports, followed by China and Turkey



Source: Ministry of Energy, IEA, Kpler, *Nefte Kompass*, *Reuters*, author analysis.

To help prevent seaborne deliveries to China from falling, Russia needs to displace around half of Iran & Venezuela's sales to risk-friendly, "teapot" refiners



Est'd import breakdown between risk-avoidant and risk-friendly Chinese refiners
(Pre-October 2025)

Source: Kpler, Vortexa, Bloomberg, Reuters, S&P Global, author analysis

Nearly 80% of Russia's oil production is now effectively under sanctions

