

Calendar No. 160

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**S. 2805**

To provide for the designation of the Russian Federation as a state sponsor
of terrorism.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 15, 2025

Mr. GRAHAM (for himself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mrs. BRITT, and Ms.
KLOBUCHAR) introduced the following bill; which was read read the first time

SEPTEMBER 16, 2025

Read the second time and placed on the calendar

A BILL

To provide for the designation of the Russian Federation
as a state sponsor of terrorism.

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 TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Designating the Rus-
5 sian Federation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism Act”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7 Congress finds the following:

1 (1) The Russian Federation’s aggression in
2 Ukraine has targeted innocent civilians, including
3 children.

4 (2) The Government of Ukraine estimates that
5 at least 648 Ukrainian children have been killed and
6 at least 2,047 Ukrainian children have been wound-
7 ed since the start of President Vladimir Putin’s in-
8 vasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

9 (3) The Government of Ukraine estimates that
10 the Russian Federation has kidnapped, deported, or
11 displaced at least 19,546 Ukrainian children to the
12 Russian Federation, Russian-occupied territories,
13 and other locations since the invasion of Ukraine in
14 February 2022 and continues to practice such illegal
15 and inhumane actions.

16 (4) The Russian Federation has kidnapped, de-
17 ported, or displaced Ukrainian children as young as
18 a few months to 17 years of age according to reli-
19 able reports.

20 (5) President Putin’s regime seeks the “Rus-
21 sification” of Ukrainian children through kidnap-
22 ping, deportation, or displacement to destroy their
23 Ukrainian identity.

24 (6) Many of these Ukrainian children are forced
25 into “re-education” camps or youth paramilitary or-

1 ganizations in the Russian Federation and other lo-
2 cations, with the intent of training them for future
3 deployment as service members in the Russian
4 Armed Forces.

5 (7) In November 2024, the United Kingdom
6 stated that the Government of the Russian Federa-
7 tion seeks to accomplish “Russification” by
8 “expos[ing] Ukrainian children to a curriculum that
9 rewrites Russian and Ukrainian history, glorifies
10 Russian military actions, promotes allegiance to
11 Russia, and in some cases involves military train-
12 ing”.

13 (8) Ukraine has made efforts to repatriate
14 these kidnapped and deported children, including
15 during the peace talks that occurred in Istanbul,
16 Turkey in June 2025, where Ukraine presented the
17 Russian delegation with a list of 339 names of kid-
18 napped children to return home.

19 (9) In response to the proposal put forth by
20 Ukraine in Istanbul, Turkey, the Russian delegation,
21 led by Vladimir Medinsky, stated that these children
22 were “rescued” by Russian soldiers and dismissed
23 the request.

24 (10) United States law authorizes the designa-
25 tion of countries as state sponsors of terrorism if

1 they have repeatedly provided support for acts of
2 international terrorism.

3 (11) Section 2331(1) of title 18, United States
4 Code, defines international terrorism as activities
5 that—

6 “(A) involve violent acts or acts dangerous
7 to human life that are a violation of the crimi-
8 nal laws of the United States or of any State,
9 or that would be a criminal violation if com-
10 mitted within the jurisdiction of the United
11 States or of any State;

12 “(B) appear to be intended—

13 “(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian
14 population;

15 “(ii) to influence the policy of a gov-
16 ernment by intimidation or coercion; or

17 “(iii) to affect the conduct of a gov-
18 ernment by mass destruction, assassina-
19 tion, or kidnapping; and

20 “(C) occur primarily outside the territorial
21 jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend
22 national boundaries in terms of the means by
23 which they are accomplished, the persons they
24 appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the

1 locale in which their perpetrators operate or
2 seek asylum;”.

3 (12) At the direction of President Putin, the
4 Government of the Russian Federation has pro-
5 moted, and continues to promote, these acts of inter-
6 national terrorism, including the kidnapping of
7 Ukrainian children, which would constitute a crimi-
8 nal violation if committed within the jurisdiction of
9 the United States.

10 (13) During the 117th Congress, the Senate
11 unanimously adopted—

12 (A) Senate Resolution 623, which called
13 for the Secretary of State to designate the Rus-
14 sian Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism;
15 and

16 (B) Senate Resolution 546, which con-
17 demned the actions of the Russian Federation,
18 President Putin, members of the Russian Secu-
19 rity Council, the Russian Armed Forces, and
20 Russian military commanders for committing
21 atrocities and alleged war crimes against the
22 people of Ukraine.

23 (14) The United States continues to have a
24 range of tools available to hold the Russian Federa-
25 tion accountable for these egregious actions.

1 **SEC. 3. DESIGNATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AS A**
2 **STATE SPONSOR OF TERRORISM.**

3 (a) CERTIFICATION.—Not later than 60 days after
4 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of
5 State shall submit a report to Congress that certifies
6 whether—

7 (1) the Ukrainian children who were kidnapped,
8 deported, or forcibly removed from Ukrainian terri-
9 tory or temporarily occupied Ukrainian territory
10 since the Russian Federation’s invasion of Ukraine
11 in February 2022 have been reunited with their
12 families or guardians in a secure environment; and

13 (2) the process of full reintegration of such chil-
14 dren into Ukrainian society is underway.

15 (b) DESIGNATION.—If the Secretary of State cannot
16 certify the actions described in paragraphs (1) and (2) of
17 subsections (a) have occurred, the Secretary shall imme-
18 diately designate the Russian Federation as a state spon-
19 sor of terrorism pursuant to—

20 (1) section 1754(c) of the National Defense Au-
21 thorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (50 U.S.C.
22 4813(c));

23 (2) section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act
24 (22 U.S.C. 2780);

25 (3) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act
26 of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371); and

1 (4) any other relevant provision of law.

2 **SEC. 4. RESCISSION OF THE DESIGNATION OF THE RUS-**
3 **SIAN FEDERATION AS A STATE SPONSOR OF**
4 **TERRORISM.**

5 The Secretary of State may rescind the designation
6 required under section 3(b) on or after the date that is
7 45 days after the date on which the Secretary certifies
8 to Congress, pursuant to the provision of law under which
9 such designation was made, that—

10 (1) the Government of the Russian Federa-
11 tion—

12 (A) has not provided support for inter-
13 national terrorism during the preceding 3-
14 month period; and

15 (B) has provided assurances that such gov-
16 ernment will not support acts of international
17 terrorism in the future;

18 (2) all of the children kidnapped, deported, or
19 forcibly transferred from Ukrainian territory or tem-
20 porarily occupied Ukrainian territory since the Rus-
21 sian Federation's invasion of Ukraine in February
22 2022 have been reunited with their families and
23 guardians in a secure environment; and

24 (3) the process of full reintegration of such chil-
25 dren into Ukrainian society is underway.

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