

Calendar No. 246

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**S. 2978**

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

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 7, 2025

Mr. GRAHAM (for himself, Mr. BLUMENTHAL, Mrs. BRITT, and Ms. KLOBUCHAR) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

OCTOBER 30, 2025

Reported by Mr. RISCH, with an amendment

[Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in *italic*]

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”.

1 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

2 Congress finds the following:

3 (1) The Russian Federation's aggression in
4 Ukraine has targeted innocent civilians, including
5 children.

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

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

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

22 (5) President Putin's regime seeks the "Rus-
23 sification" of Ukrainian children through kidnapp-
24 ing, deportation, or displacement to destroy their
25 Ukrainian identity.

1 (6) Many of these Ukrainian children are forced
2 into “re-education” camps or youth paramilitary or-
3 ganizations in the Russian Federation and other lo-
4 cations, with the intent of training them for future
5 deployment as service members in the Russian
6 Armed Forces.

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

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

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

1 (10) United States law authorizes the designa-
 2 tion of countries as state sponsors of terrorism if
 3 they have repeatedly provided support for acts of
 4 international terrorism.

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

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

14 “(B) appear to be intended—

15 “(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian
 16 population;

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

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

22 “(C) occur primarily outside the territorial
 23 jurisdiction of the United States; or transcend
 24 national boundaries in terms of the means by
 25 which they are accomplished, the persons they

1 appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the
2 locale in which their perpetrators operate or
3 seek asylum;”.

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

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

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

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

1 ~~(14)~~ The United States continues to have a
 2 range of tools available to hold the Russian Federa-
 3 tion accountable for these egregious actions.

4 **SEC. 3. DESIGNATION OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AS A**
 5 **STATE SPONSOR OF TERRORISM.**

6 ~~(a)~~ CERTIFICATION.—Not later than 60 days after
 7 the effective date of this Act, the Secretary of State shall
 8 submit a report to Congress that certifies whether—

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

15 ~~(2)~~ the process of full reintegration of such chil-
 16 dren into Ukrainian society is underway.

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

22 ~~(1)~~ section 1754(c) of the National Defense Au-
 23 thorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (50 U.S.C.
 24 4813(c));

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

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

5 ~~(4) any other relevant provision of law.~~

6 **SEC. 4. RESCISSION OF THE DESIGNATION OF THE RUS-**
 7 **SIAN FEDERATION AS A STATE SPONSOR OF**
 8 **TERRORISM.**

9 The Secretary of State may rescind the designation
 10 required under section ~~3~~(b) on or after the date that is
 11 45 days after the date on which the Secretary certifies
 12 to Congress, pursuant to the provision of law under which
 13 such designation was made, that—

14 ~~(1) the Government of the Russian Federa-~~
 15 ~~tion—~~

16 ~~(A) has not provided support for inter-~~
 17 ~~national terrorism during the preceding 3-~~
 18 ~~month period; and~~

19 ~~(B) has provided assurances that such gov-~~
 20 ~~ernment will not support acts of international~~
 21 ~~terrorism in the future;~~

22 ~~(2) all of the children kidnapped, deported, or~~
 23 ~~forcibly transferred from Ukrainian territory or tem-~~
 24 ~~porarily occupied Ukrainian territory since the Rus-~~
 25 ~~sian Federation's invasion of Ukraine in February~~

1 2022 have been reunited with their families and
 2 guardians in a secure environment; and

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

5 **SEC. 5. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

6 This Act shall take effect on the date that is 1 day
 7 after the date of the enactment of this Act.

8 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

9 *This Act may be cited as the “Designating the Russian*
 10 *Federation as a State Sponsor of Terrorism Act”.*

11 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

12 *Congress finds the following:*

13 *(1) The Russian Federation’s aggression in*
 14 *Ukraine has targeted innocent civilians, including*
 15 *children.*

16 *(2) The Government of Ukraine estimates that at*
 17 *least 648 Ukrainian children have been killed and at*
 18 *least 2,047 Ukrainian children have been wounded*
 19 *since the start of President Vladimir Putin’s invasion*
 20 *of Ukraine in February 2022.*

21 *(3) The Government of Ukraine estimates that*
 22 *the Russian Federation has kidnapped, deported, or*
 23 *displaced at least 19,546 Ukrainian children to the*
 24 *Russian Federation, Russian-occupied territories, and*
 25 *other locations since the invasion of Ukraine in Feb-*

1 ruary 2022 and continues to practice such illegal and
2 inhumane actions.

3 (4) *The Russian Federation has kidnapped, de-*
4 ported, or displaced Ukrainian children as young as
5 a few months old to 17 years of age according to reli-
6 able reports.

7 (5) *President Putin’s regime seeks the “Rus-*
8 sification” of Ukrainian children through kidnap-
9 ping, deportation, or displacement to destroy their
10 Ukrainian identity.

11 (6) *Many of these Ukrainian children are forced*
12 into “re-education” camps or youth paramilitary or-
13 ganizations in the Russian Federation and other loca-
14 tions, with the intent of training them for future de-
15 ployment as service members in the Russian Armed
16 Forces.

17 (7) *In November 2024, the United Kingdom stat-*
18 ed that the Government of the Russian Federation
19 seeks to accomplish “Russification” by “expos[ing]
20 Ukrainian children to a curriculum that rewrites
21 Russian and Ukrainian history, glorifies Russian
22 military actions, promotes allegiance to Russia, and
23 in some cases involves military training”.

24 (8) *Ukraine has made efforts to repatriate these*
25 kidnapped and deported children, including during

1 *the peace talks that occurred in Istanbul, Turkey in*
2 *June 2025, where Ukraine presented the Russian dele-*
3 *gation with a list of 339 names of kidnapped children*
4 *to return home.*

5 *(9) In response to the proposal put forth by*
6 *Ukraine in Istanbul, Turkey, the Russian delegation,*
7 *led by Vladimir Medinsky, stated that these children*
8 *were “rescued” by Russian soldiers and dismissed the*
9 *request.*

10 *(10) Since the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by*
11 *the Russian Federation, the Kremlin has intensified*
12 *acts of sabotage, assassination, and other kinetic ac-*
13 *tions against civilian infrastructure and civilians*
14 *throughout Europe to undermine broader NATO*
15 *unity and coerce European governments into altering*
16 *their policies in response to Russia’s war in Ukraine.*

17 *(11) A report by the International Centre for*
18 *Counter-Terrorism identified at least 110 kinetic inci-*
19 *dents in Europe between January 2022 and July*
20 *2025 that are attributable to the Government of the*
21 *Russian Federation, including a plot to place explo-*
22 *sive devices on civilian aircraft in 2024.*

23 *(12) In May 2025, the Independent Inter-*
24 *national Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine con-*
25 *cluded that Russian armed forces “have committed*

1 *the crimes against humanity of murder and the war*
 2 *crimes of attacking civilians”, by deliberately tar-*
 3 *geting Ukrainian civilians with drone strikes, and*
 4 *that these attacks had “the primary purpose to spread*
 5 *terror among the civilian population, in violation of*
 6 *international humanitarian law.”.*

7 *(13) United States law authorizes the designa-*
 8 *tion of countries as state sponsors of terrorism if they*
 9 *have repeatedly provided support for acts of inter-*
 10 *national terrorism.*

11 *(14) Section 2331(1) of title 18, United States*
 12 *Code, defines international terrorism as activities*
 13 *that—*

14 *“(A) involve violent acts or acts dangerous*
 15 *to human life that are a violation of the crimi-*
 16 *nal laws of the United States or of any State, or*
 17 *that would be a criminal violation if committed*
 18 *within the jurisdiction of the United States or of*
 19 *any State;*

20 *“(B) appear to be intended—*

21 *“(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian*
 22 *population;*

23 *“(ii) to influence the policy of a gov-*
 24 *ernment by intimidation or coercion; or*

1 “(iii) to affect the conduct of a govern-
2 ment by mass destruction, assassination, or
3 kidnapping; and

4 “(C) occur primarily outside the territorial
5 jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend
6 national boundaries in terms of the means by
7 which they are accomplished, the persons they
8 appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the
9 locale in which their perpetrators operate or seek
10 asylum;”.

11 (15) *At the direction of President Putin, the*
12 *Government of the Russian Federation has promoted,*
13 *and continues to promote, these acts of international*
14 *terrorism, including the kidnapping of Ukrainian*
15 *children, the destruction of civilian infrastructure*
16 *throughout Europe, and the assassination and at-*
17 *tempted assassination of civilians and political tar-*
18 *gets throughout Europe, all of which would constitute*
19 *criminal violations if committed within the jurisdic-*
20 *tion of the United States.*

21 (16) *During the 117th Congress, the Senate*
22 *unanimously adopted—*

23 (A) *Senate Resolution 623, which called for*
24 *the Secretary of State to designate the Russian*
25 *Federation as a state sponsor of terrorism; and*

(B) *Senate Resolution 546, which condemned the actions of the Russian Federation, President Putin, members of the Russian Security Council, the Russian Armed Forces, and Russian military commanders for committing atrocities and alleged war crimes against the people of Ukraine.*

(17) *The United States continues to have a range of tools available to hold the Russian Federation accountable for these egregious actions.*

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

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

(1) *the Ukrainian children who were kidnapped, deported, or forcibly removed from Ukrainian territory or temporarily occupied Ukrainian territory since the Russian Federation’s invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 have been reunited with their families or guardians in a secure environment;*

(2) *the process of full reintegration of such children into Ukrainian society is underway; and*

(3) *the Government of the Russian Federation has ceased—*

1 (A) its attacks against European civilian
2 infrastructure and assassination attempts on po-
3 litical targets; and

4 (B) all attacks on civilians and civilian in-
5 frastructure in Ukraine.

6 (b) *DESIGNATION*.—If the Secretary of State cannot
7 certify that all of the actions described in paragraphs (1),
8 (2), and (3) of subsection (a) have occurred, the Secretary
9 shall immediately designate the Russian Federation as a
10 state sponsor of terrorism pursuant to—

11 (1) section 1754(c) of the National Defense Au-
12 thorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (50 U.S.C.
13 4813(c));

14 (2) section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act
15 (22 U.S.C. 2780);

16 (3) section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act of
17 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2371); and

18 (4) any other relevant provision of law.

19 **SEC. 4. RESCISSION OF THE DESIGNATION OF THE RUS-**
20 **SIAN FEDERATION AS A STATE SPONSOR OF**
21 **TERRORISM.**

22 The Secretary of State may rescind the designation re-
23 quired under section 3(b) on or after the date that is 45
24 days after the date on which the Secretary certifies to Con-

1 *gress, pursuant to the provision of law under which such*
 2 *designation was made, that—*

3 *(1) the Government of the Russian Federation—*

4 *(A) has not provided support for inter-*
 5 *national terrorism during the preceding 3-month*
 6 *period; and*

7 *(B) has provided assurances that such gov-*
 8 *ernment will not support acts of international*
 9 *terrorism in the future;*

10 *(2) all of the children kidnapped, deported, or*
 11 *forcibly transferred from Ukrainian territory or tem-*
 12 *porarily occupied Ukrainian territory since the Rus-*
 13 *sian Federation’s invasion of Ukraine in February*
 14 *2022 have been reunited with their families and*
 15 *guardians in a secure environment; and*

16 *(3) the process of full reintegration of such chil-*
 17 *dren into Ukrainian society is underway.*

18 **SEC. 5. LIMITATION.**

19 *(a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provi-*
 20 *sion of law, no blocked or immobilized Russian sovereign*
 21 *asset (as defined in section 2(6) of the REPO for Ukrain-*
 22 *ians Act (division F of Public Law 118–50 (22 U.S.C. 9521*
 23 *note))) shall be subject to attachment in aid of execution*
 24 *or execution of any judgment entered by a court of the*
 25 *United States against the Russian Federation arising from*

1 *its designation as a state sponsor of terrorism pursuant to*
2 *section 3(b).*

3 **(b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**—*Nothing in this section*
4 *may be construed to limit the rights of victims of terrorism*
5 *to seek compensation from other sources available under*
6 *law.*

7 **SEC. 6. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

8 *This Act shall take effect on the date that is 1 day*
9 *after the date of the enactment of this Act.*

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119TH CONGRESS
1ST Session
S. 2978

A BILL

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

OCTOBER 30, 2025

Reported with an amendment