

Calendar No. \_\_\_\_\_

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION**S. 2978****[Report No. 119-\_\_\_\_\_]**

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

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## 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 \_\_\_\_\_ (legislative day, \_\_\_\_\_), 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 ping, 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*

1                   (B) *Senate Resolution 546, which con-*  
2                   *demned the actions of the Russian Federation,*  
3                   *President Putin, members of the Russian Secu-*  
4                   *rity Council, the Russian Armed Forces, and*  
5                   *Russian military commanders for committing*  
6                   *atrocities and alleged war crimes against the*  
7                   *people of Ukraine.*

8                   (17) *The United States continues to have a range*  
9                   *of tools available to hold the Russian Federation ac-*  
10                  *countable for these egregious actions.*

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

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

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

22                  (2) *the process of full reintegration of such chil-*  
23 *dren into Ukrainian society is underway; and*

24                  (3) *the Government of the Russian Federation*  
25 *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.*