

AMENDMENT NO. _____ Calendar No. _____

Purpose: In the nature of a substitute.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES—119th Cong., 1st Sess.

S. 2978

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

Referred to the Committee on _____ and
ordered to be printed

Ordered to lie on the table and to be printed

AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE intended
to be proposed by Mr. RISCH

Viz:

1 Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the fol-
2 lowing:

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:

8 (1) The Russian Federation’s aggression in
9 Ukraine has targeted innocent civilians, including
10 children.

11 (2) The Government of Ukraine estimates that
12 at least 648 Ukrainian children have been killed and

1 at least 2,047 Ukrainian children have been wound-
2 ed since the start of President Vladimir Putin’s in-
3 vasion of Ukraine in February 2022.

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

11 (4) The Russian Federation has kidnapped, de-
12 ported, or displaced Ukrainian children as young as
13 a few months old to 17 years of age according to re-
14 liable reports.

15 (5) President Putin’s regime seeks the “Rus-
16 sification” of Ukrainian children through kidnap-
17 ping, deportation, or displacement to destroy their
18 Ukrainian identity.

19 (6) Many of these Ukrainian children are forced
20 into “re-education” camps or youth paramilitary or-
21 ganizations in the Russian Federation and other lo-
22 cations, with the intent of training them for future
23 deployment as service members in the Russian
24 Armed Forces.

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

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

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

20 (10) Since the full-scale invasion of Ukraine by
21 the Russian Federation, the Kremlin has intensified
22 acts of sabotage, assassination, and other kinetic ac-
23 tions against civilian infrastructure and civilians
24 throughout Europe to undermine broader NATO
25 unity and coerce European governments into alter-

1 ing their policies in response to Russia’s war in
2 Ukraine.

3 (11) A report by the International Centre for
4 Counter-Terrorism identified at least 110 kinetic in-
5 cidents in Europe between January 2022 and July
6 2025 that are attributable to the Government of the
7 Russian Federation, including a plot to place explo-
8 sive devices on civilian aircraft in 2024.

9 (12) In May 2025, the Independent Inter-
10 national Commission of Inquiry on Ukraine con-
11 cluded that Russian armed forces “have committed
12 the crimes against humanity of murder and the war
13 crimes of attacking civilians”, by deliberately tar-
14 geting Ukrainian civilians with drone strikes, and
15 that these attacks had “the primary purpose to
16 spread terror among the civilian population, in viola-
17 tion of international humanitarian law.”.

18 (13) United States law authorizes the designa-
19 tion of countries as state sponsors of terrorism if
20 they have repeatedly provided support for acts of
21 international terrorism.

22 (14) Section 2331(1) of title 18, United States
23 Code, defines international terrorism as activities
24 that—

1 “(A) involve violent acts or acts dangerous
2 to human life that are a violation of the crimi-
3 nal laws of the United States or of any State,
4 or that would be a criminal violation if com-
5 mitted within the jurisdiction of the United
6 States or of any State;

7 “(B) appear to be intended—

8 “(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian
9 population;

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

12 “(iii) to affect the conduct of a gov-
13 ernment by mass destruction, assassina-
14 tion, or kidnapping; and

15 “(C) occur primarily outside the territorial
16 jurisdiction of the United States, or transcend
17 national boundaries in terms of the means by
18 which they are accomplished, the persons they
19 appear intended to intimidate or coerce, or the
20 locale in which their perpetrators operate or
21 seek asylum;”.

22 (15) At the direction of President Putin, the
23 Government of the Russian Federation has pro-
24 moted, and continues to promote, these acts of inter-
25 national terrorism, including the kidnapping of

1 Ukrainian children, the destruction of civilian infra-
2 structure throughout Europe, and the assassination
3 and attempted assassination of civilians and political
4 targets throughout Europe, all of which would con-
5 stitute criminal violations if committed within the ju-
6 risdiction of the United States.

7 (16) During the 117th Congress, the Senate
8 unanimously adopted—

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

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

20 (17) The United States continues to have a
21 range of tools available to hold the Russian Federa-
22 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 effective date of this Act, the Secretary of State shall
5 submit a report to Congress that certifies whether—

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

12 (2) the process of full reintegration of such chil-
13 dren into Ukrainian society is underway; and

14 (3) the Government of the Russian Federation
15 has ceased—

16 (A) its attacks against European civilian
17 infrastructure and assassination attempts on
18 political targets; and

19 (B) all attacks on civilians and civilian in-
20 frastructure in Ukraine.

21 (b) DESIGNATION.—If the Secretary of State cannot
22 certify that all of the actions described in paragraphs (1),
23 (2), and (3) of subsection (a) have occurred, the Secretary
24 shall immediately designate the Russian Federation as a
25 state sponsor of terrorism pursuant to—

1 (1) section 1754(c) of the National Defense Au-
2 thorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (50 U.S.C.
3 4813(c));

4 (2) section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act
5 (22 U.S.C. 2780);

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

8 (4) any other relevant provision of law.

9 **SEC. 4. RESCISSION OF THE DESIGNATION OF THE RUS-**
10 **SIAN FEDERATION AS A STATE SPONSOR OF**
11 **TERRORISM.**

12 The Secretary of State may rescind the designation
13 required under section 3(b) on or after the date that is
14 45 days after the date on which the Secretary certifies
15 to Congress, pursuant to the provision of law under which
16 such designation was made, that—

17 (1) the Government of the Russian Federa-
18 tion—

19 (A) has not provided support for inter-
20 national terrorism during the preceding 3-
21 month period; and

22 (B) has provided assurances that such gov-
23 ernment will not support acts of international
24 terrorism in the future;

1 (2) all of the children kidnapped, deported, or
2 forcibly transferred from Ukrainian territory or tem-
3 porarily occupied Ukrainian territory since the Rus-
4 sian Federation's invasion of Ukraine in February
5 2022 have been reunited with their families and
6 guardians in a secure environment; and

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

9 **SEC. 5. LIMITATION.**

10 (a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provi-
11 sion of law, no blocked or immobilized Russian sovereign
12 asset (as defined in section 2(6) of the REPO for Ukrain-
13 ians Act (division F of Public Law 118–50 (22 U.S.C.
14 9521 note))) shall be subject to attachment in aid of exe-
15 cution or execution of any judgment entered by a court
16 of the United States against the Russian Federation aris-
17 ing from its designation as a state sponsor of terrorism
18 pursuant to section 3(b).

19 (b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-
20 tion may be construed to limit the rights of victims of ter-
21 rorism to seek compensation from other sources available
22 under law.

23 **SEC. 6. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

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