

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 6309

To impose sanctions with respect to designated critical cyber threat actors,  
and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 25, 2025

Mr. PFLUGER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committees on Financial Services, Oversight and Government Reform, and the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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## A BILL

To impose sanctions with respect to designated critical cyber  
threat actors, and for other purposes.

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 “Cyber Deterrence and  
5 Response Act of 2025”.

1 **SEC. 2. ACTIONS TO ADDRESS STATE-SPONSORED CYBER**  
2 **ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE UNITED STATES.**

3 (a) DESIGNATION AS A CRITICAL CYBER THREAT  
4 ACTOR.—

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—The President, acting  
6 through the National Cyber Director, and in coordi-  
7 nation with the heads of other relevant Federal de-  
8 partments and agencies, shall designate pursuant to  
9 the National Attribution Framework under para-  
10 graph (2) as a critical cyber threat actor—

11 (A) each foreign person and each agency  
12 or instrumentality of a foreign state that the  
13 President determines to be knowingly respon-  
14 sible for or complicit in, or have engaged in, di-  
15 rectly or indirectly, state-sponsored cyber activi-  
16 ties originating from, or directed by persons lo-  
17 cated, in whole or in substantial part, outside  
18 the United States that are reasonably likely to  
19 result in, or have contributed to, a significant  
20 threat to the national security, foreign policy, or  
21 economic health or financial stability of the  
22 United States and that have the purpose or ef-  
23 fect of—

24 (i) causing a significant disruption to  
25 the availability of a computer or network  
26 of computers;

1           (ii) harming, or otherwise significantly  
2           compromising the provision of service by, a  
3           computer or network of computers that  
4           support one or more entities in a critical  
5           infrastructure sector;

6           (iii) significantly compromising the  
7           provision of services by one or more enti-  
8           ties in a critical infrastructure sector;

9           (iv) causing a significant misappro-  
10          piation of funds or economic resources,  
11          trade secrets, personal identifiers, health  
12          or financial information for commercial or  
13          competitive advantage or private financial  
14          gain;

15          (v) destabilizing the financial sector of  
16          the United States by tampering with, alter-  
17          ing, or causing a misappropriation of data;

18          (vi) causing a significant disruption to  
19          the energy sector of the United States by  
20          tampering with or altering data or equip-  
21          ment necessary for the operation of the en-  
22          ergy sector in the United States; or

23          (vii) interfering with or undermining  
24          election processes or government institu-

1           tions by tampering with, altering, or caus-  
2           ing misappropriation of data;

3           (B) each foreign person that the President  
4           has determined to have knowingly, significantly,  
5           and materially assisted, sponsored, or provided  
6           financial, material, or technological support for,  
7           or goods or services to or in support of, any ac-  
8           tivities described in subparagraph (A) by a for-  
9           eign person or agency or instrumentality of a  
10          foreign state designated as a critical cyber  
11          threat actor under subparagraph (A);

12          (C) each agency or instrumentality of a  
13          foreign state that the President has determined  
14          to have significantly and materially assisted,  
15          sponsored, or provided financial, material, or  
16          technological support for, or goods or services  
17          to or in support of, any activities described in  
18          subparagraph (A) by a foreign person or agency  
19          or instrumentality of a foreign state designated  
20          as a critical cyber threat actor under subpara-  
21          graph (A); and

22          (D) any person determined by the Presi-  
23          dent to be responsible for or complicit in, or to  
24          have engaged in, the receipt or use for commer-  
25          cial or competitive advantage or private finan-

1           cial gain, or by a commercial entity, outside the  
2           United States of data or information, including  
3           trade secrets, misappropriated through cyber-  
4           enabled means, knowing they have been mis-  
5           appropriated, where the misappropriation of  
6           such trade secrets is reasonably likely to result  
7           in, or has materially contributed to, a signifi-  
8           cant threat to the national security, foreign pol-  
9           icy, or economic health or financial stability of  
10          the United States or personal safety of Amer-  
11          ican citizens.

12           (2) NATIONAL ATTRIBUTION FRAMEWORK.—  
13          Not later than 180 days after the date of the enact-  
14          ment of this Act, the Director, in consultation with  
15          the Secretary of Homeland Security, the Secretary  
16          of Defense, the Director of National Intelligence, the  
17          Secretary of State, the Attorney General, and the  
18          head of any other Federal agency the Director deter-  
19          mines appropriate, shall submit to the appropriate  
20          congressional committees a framework, to be known  
21          as the “National Attribution Framework” to carry  
22          out the following:

23                   (A) Establish a uniform, criteria-based  
24                   process for evaluating and determining attribu-  
25                   tion of state-sponsored cyber activities.

1           (B) Define technical, operational, and stra-  
2           tegiic evidentiary standards, including thresholds  
3           for reliability, corroboration, and technical  
4           verification, that must be satisfied for such an  
5           attribution determination.

6           (C) Require assessments based on the  
7           quality of available evidence to assign a con-  
8           fidence level with respect to such an attribution  
9           determination.

10          (D) Provide for the consideration of pri-  
11          vate sector threat intelligence if such intel-  
12          ligence satisfies such evidentiary standards.

13          (E) Establish procedures for coordination  
14          with allied and partner countries, including re-  
15          garding processes for information sharing, vali-  
16          dation of evidence, and efforts to develop con-  
17          sistent public attribution statements to enhance  
18          international consensus relating to determining  
19          attribution of state-sponsored cyber activities.

20          (F) Establish timelines and reporting  
21          thresholds to ensure that attribution determina-  
22          tions are conducted promptly after the detection  
23          of any state-sponsored cyber activity.

24          (G) Ensure the National Attribution  
25          Framework is consistent with the National

1 Cyber Incident Response Plan under section  
2 2210 of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6  
3 U.S.C. 660) and other relevant policies gov-  
4 erning cyber attribution and response processes  
5 of the following:

6 (i) The Department of Homeland Se-  
7 curity.

8 (ii) The Office of the National Cyber  
9 Director.

10 (iii) The Department of Defense.

11 (iv) The Department of State.

12 (v) Any other appropriate Federal de-  
13 partment or agency.

14 (H) Ensure attribution determinations ac-  
15 count for exemptions, waivers, and removals de-  
16 scribed in subsection (g), including mandatory  
17 exemptions for United States intelligence activi-  
18 ties and case-by-case waivers granted in the na-  
19 tional interest of the United States, for law en-  
20 forcement purposes, or for humanitarian rea-  
21 sons.

22 (I) Establish procedures for the designa-  
23 tion of a foreign person and each agency or in-  
24 strumentality of a foreign state as a critical  
25 cyber threat actor under paragraph (1) to pro-

1           vide for a reassignment of such designation if  
2           the original designee is subject to an exception  
3           described in subsection (g)(4) to the next oper-  
4           ationally responsible foreign person and each  
5           agency or instrumentality of a foreign state ma-  
6           terially involved in the state-sponsored cyber ac-  
7           tivity at issue.

8           (3) TRANSMISSION TO CONGRESS.—Not later  
9           than seven calendar days after designating a foreign  
10          person or agency or instrumentality of a foreign  
11          state as a critical cyber threat actor under para-  
12          graph (1), the President shall transmit to the appro-  
13          priate congressional committees in classified or un-  
14          classified form a report identifying the designee.

15          (b) NON-TRAVEL-RELATED SANCTIONS.—

16               (1) IN GENERAL.—The President shall impose  
17               one or more of the applicable sanctions described in  
18               paragraph (2) with respect to each foreign person  
19               and each agency or instrumentality of a foreign  
20               state designated as a critical cyber threat actor  
21               under subsection (a).

22               (2) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions de-  
23               scribed in this paragraph are the following:

24                       (A) The President may provide for the  
25                       withdrawal, limitation, or suspension of non-hu-

1           manitarian United States development assist-  
2           ance under chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign  
3           Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et  
4           seq.).

5           (B) The President may provide for the  
6           withdrawal, limitation, or suspension of United  
7           States security assistance under part II of the  
8           Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.  
9           2301 et seq.).

10          (C) The President may direct the United  
11          States executive director to each international  
12          financial institution to use the voice and vote of  
13          the United States to oppose any loan from the  
14          international financial institution that would  
15          benefit the designated foreign person or the  
16          designated agency or instrumentality of a for-  
17          eign state.

18          (D) The President may direct the United  
19          States International Development Finance Cor-  
20          poration, or any other United States Govern-  
21          ment agency not to approve the issuance of any  
22          (or a specified number of) guarantees, insur-  
23          ance, extensions of credit, or participation in  
24          the extension of credit.

1           (E) The President may, pursuant to such  
2 regulations or guidelines as the President may  
3 prescribe, prohibit any United States person  
4 from purchasing or selling any publicly traded  
5 securities, or any publicly traded securities that  
6 are derivative of such securities or are designed  
7 to provide investment exposure to such securi-  
8 ties or investing in or purchasing significant  
9 amounts of equity or debt instruments of the  
10 designated foreign person.

11           (F) The President may, pursuant to proce-  
12 dures the President shall prescribe, which shall  
13 include the opportunity to appeal actions under  
14 this subparagraph, prohibit any United States  
15 agency or instrumentality from procuring, or  
16 entering into any contract for the procurement  
17 of, any goods, technology, or services, or classes  
18 of goods, technology, or services, from the des-  
19 ignated foreign person or the designated agency  
20 or instrumentality of a foreign state.

21           (G) The President may terminate—

22                   (i) sales to that country under the  
23 Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751  
24 et seq.) of any defense articles, defense

1 services, or design and construction serv-  
2 ices; and

3 (ii) sales to that country of any item  
4 on the United States Munitions List main-  
5 tained pursuant to part 121 of title 22,  
6 Code of Federal Regulations.

7 (H) The President may prohibit the entity  
8 and, when acting for or on the entity's behalf,  
9 its successors, assigns, directors, officers, em-  
10 ployees, representatives, or agents, from directly  
11 or indirectly participating in transactions in-  
12 volving any commodity, software, or technology  
13 subject to United States jurisdiction under the  
14 Export Administration Regulations (“EAR”) or  
15 any other activity subject to the EAR, includ-  
16 ing—

17 (i) applying for, obtaining, or using  
18 any license, license exception, or export  
19 control document;

20 (ii) carrying out negotiations con-  
21 cerning, ordering, buying, receiving, using,  
22 selling, delivering, storing, disposing of,  
23 forwarding, transporting, financing, or  
24 servicing in any way any item exported or

1 to be exported from the United States that  
2 is subject to the EAR; and

3 (iii) benefitting in any way from any  
4 transaction involving any item exported or  
5 to be exported from the United States that  
6 is subject to the EAR.

7 (I) The President may prohibit any person,  
8 whether a United States or non-United States  
9 person, from engaging in the following activi-  
10 ties, either directly or indirectly, with the entity:

11 (i) Exporting or reexporting to or on  
12 behalf of the entity any item subject to the  
13 EAR.

14 (ii) Facilitating the acquisition or at-  
15 tempted acquisition by the entity of the  
16 ownership, possession, or control of any  
17 item subject to the EAR that has been or  
18 will be exported from the United States,  
19 including financing or other support activi-  
20 ties related to a transaction whereby the  
21 entity acquires or attempts to acquire such  
22 ownership, possession or control.

23 (iii) Acquiring from or facilitating the  
24 acquisition or attempted acquisition from  
25 the entity or any item subject to the EAR

1 that has been exported from the United  
2 States.

3 (iv) Obtaining from the entity in the  
4 United States any item subject to the EAR  
5 with knowledge or reason to know that the  
6 item will be, or is intended to be, exported  
7 from the United States.

8 (v) Engaging in any transaction to  
9 service any item subject to the EAR that  
10 has been or will be exported from the  
11 United States and which is owned, pos-  
12 sessed, or controlled by the entity if such  
13 service involves the use of any item subject  
14 to the EAR that has been or will be ex-  
15 ported from the United States (for pur-  
16 poses of this paragraph “service” means  
17 installation, maintenance, repair, modifica-  
18 tion, or testing).

19 (J)(i) The President may exercise all of  
20 the powers granted to the President under the  
21 International Emergency Economic Powers Act  
22 (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) (except that the re-  
23 quirements of section 202 of such Act (50  
24 U.S.C. 1701) shall not apply) to the extent nec-  
25 essary to block and prohibit all transactions in

1 property and interests in property of the des-  
2 ignated foreign person if such property and in-  
3 terests in property are in the United States,  
4 come within the United States, or are or come  
5 within the possession or control of a United  
6 States person.

7 (ii) The penalties provided for in sub-  
8 sections (b) and (c) of section 206 of the Inter-  
9 national Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
10 U.S.C. 1705) shall apply to a person that vio-  
11 lates, attempts to violate, conspires to violate,  
12 or causes a violation of regulations prescribed  
13 under clause (i) to the same extent that such  
14 penalties apply to a person that commits an un-  
15 lawful act described in subsection (a) of such  
16 section 206.

17 (K) The President may, pursuant to such  
18 regulations as the President may prescribe, pro-  
19 hibit any transfers of credit or payments be-  
20 tween one or more financial institutions or by,  
21 through, or to any financial institution, to the  
22 extent that such transfers or payments are sub-  
23 ject to the jurisdiction of the United States and  
24 involve any interest of the designated foreign  
25 person.

1 (c) TRAVEL-RELATED SANCTIONS.—

2 (1) ALIENS INELIGIBLE FOR VISAS, ADMISSION,  
3 OR PAROLE.—An alien who is designated as a crit-  
4 ical cyber threat actor under subsection (a) is—

5 (A) inadmissible to the United States;

6 (B) ineligible to receive a visa or other doc-  
7 umentation to enter the United States; and

8 (C) otherwise ineligible to be admitted or  
9 paroled into the United States or to receive any  
10 other benefit under the Immigration and Na-  
11 tionality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 et seq.).

12 (2) CURRENT VISAS REVOKED.—The issuing  
13 consular officer, the Secretary of State, or the Sec-  
14 retary of Homeland Security (or a designee of either  
15 such Secretaries) shall revoke any visa or other  
16 entry documentation issued to the foreign person  
17 designated as a critical cyber threat actor under sub-  
18 section (a) regardless of when issued. A revocation  
19 under this clause shall take effect immediately and  
20 shall automatically cancel any other valid visa or  
21 entry documentation that is in the possession of  
22 such foreign person.

23 (d) ADDITIONAL SANCTIONS WITH RESPECT TO  
24 FOREIGN COUNTRIES.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—The President may impose  
2 any of the sanctions described in paragraph (2) with  
3 respect to the government of each country that the  
4 President has determined aided, abetted, or directed  
5 a foreign person or agency or instrumentality of a  
6 foreign state designated as a critical cyber threat  
7 actor under subsection (a).

8           (2) SANCTIONS DESCRIBED.—The sanctions re-  
9 ferred to in paragraph (1) are the following:

10           (A) The President may provide for the  
11 withdrawal, limitation, or suspension of non-hu-  
12 manitarian or non-trade-related assistance  
13 United States development assistance under  
14 chapter 1 of part I of the Foreign Assistance  
15 Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.).

16           (B) The President may provide for the  
17 withdrawal, limitation, or suspension of United  
18 States security assistance under part II of the  
19 Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C.  
20 2301 et seq.).

21           (C) The President may instruct the United  
22 States Executive Director to each appropriate  
23 international financial institution to oppose, and  
24 vote against the extension by such institution of

1 any loan or financial assistance to the govern-  
2 ment of the country.

3 (D) No item on the United States Muni-  
4 tions List (maintained pursuant to part 121 of  
5 title 22, Code of Federal Regulations) or the  
6 Commerce Control List set forth in Supplement  
7 No. 1 to part 774 of title 15, Code of Federal  
8 Regulations, may be exported to the govern-  
9 ment of the country or any entity under its in-  
10 fluence, control, or ownership.

11 (E)(i) No intrusion software or IP network  
12 communications surveillance systems or related  
13 items that are subject to the Export Adminis-  
14 tration Regulations, whether or not enumerated  
15 on the Commerce Control List, may be ex-  
16 ported, reexported, or transferred, directly or  
17 indirectly, to the government of the country or  
18 any entity under its influence, control, or own-  
19 ership.

20 (ii) For purposes of this subparagraph, the  
21 terms “intrusion software” and “IP network  
22 communications” mean any—

23 (I) systems, equipment, or compo-  
24 nents specially designed for the generation,

1 operation or delivery of, or communication  
2 with, with intrusion software;

3 (II) software specially designed or  
4 modified for the development or production  
5 of such systems, equipment or components;

6 (III) software specially designed for  
7 the generation, operation or delivery of, or  
8 communication with, intrusion software;  
9 technology required for the development of  
10 intrusion software; and

11 (IV) internet protocol network com-  
12 munications surveillance systems or equip-  
13 ment and test, inspection, production  
14 equipment, specially designed components  
15 therefor, and development and production  
16 software and technology therefor.

17 (e) IMPLEMENTATION.—The President may exercise  
18 all authorities provided under sections 203 and 205 of the  
19 International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50  
20 U.S.C. 1702 and 1704) to carry out this section.

21 (f) COORDINATION.—To the extent practicable—

22 (1) actions taken by the President pursuant to  
23 this section should be coordinated with United  
24 States allies and partners; and

1           (2) the Secretary of State should work with  
2           United States allies and partners, on a voluntary  
3           basis, to lead an international diplomatic initiative  
4           to—

5                     (A) deter critical cyber threat actors and  
6                     state-sponsored cyber activities; and

7                     (B) provide mutual support to such allies  
8                     and partners participating in such initiative to  
9                     respond to such state-sponsored cyber activities.

10          (g) EXEMPTIONS, WAIVERS, AND REMOVALS OF  
11          SANCTIONS AND DESIGNATIONS.—

12                     (1) MANDATORY EXEMPTIONS.—Activities sub-  
13                     ject to the reporting requirements of title V of the  
14                     National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 413 et  
15                     seq.), and any authorized intelligence activities of  
16                     the United States, shall be exempt from the imposi-  
17                     tion of sanctions under this section.

18                     (2) WAIVER.—The President may waive, on a  
19                     case-by-case basis, the imposition of sanctions de-  
20                     scribed in this section for a period of not more than  
21                     one year, and may renew such waiver for additional  
22                     periods of not more than one year, if the President  
23                     transmits to the appropriate congressional commit-  
24                     tees a written determination that such waiver meets  
25                     one or more of the following requirements:

1           (A) Such waiver is in the national interests  
2 of the United States.

3           (B) Such waiver will further the enforce-  
4 ment of this Act or is for an important law en-  
5 forcement purpose.

6           (C) Such waiver is for an important hu-  
7 manitarian purpose.

8           (3) REMOVALS OF SANCTIONS AND DESIGNA-  
9 TIONS.—The President may prescribe rules and reg-  
10 ulations for the removal of sanctions under sub-  
11 sections (b), (c), and (d) and the removal of designa-  
12 tions under subsection (a) if the President deter-  
13 mines that a foreign person, agency or instrumen-  
14 tality of a foreign state, or government of a country  
15 subject to such sanctions or such designations, as  
16 the case may be, has verifiably ceased its participa-  
17 tion in any of the conduct with respect to which  
18 such foreign person, agency or instrumentality of a  
19 foreign state, or government was subject to such  
20 sanctions or designation, as the case may be, under  
21 this section, and has given assurances that such for-  
22 eign person, agency or instrumentality of a foreign  
23 state, or government, as the case may be, will no  
24 longer participate in such conduct.

1           (4) EXCEPTION TO COMPLY WITH UNITED NA-  
2           TIONS HEADQUARTERS AGREEMENT.—Sanctions  
3           under subsection (c) shall not apply to a foreign per-  
4           son if admitting such foreign person into the United  
5           States is necessary to permit the United States to  
6           comply with the Agreement regarding the Head-  
7           quarters of the United Nations, signed at Lake Suc-  
8           cess June 26, 1947, and entered into force Novem-  
9           ber 21, 1947, between the United Nations and the  
10          United States, or other applicable international obli-  
11          gations.

12          (h) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
13          tion may be construed to limit the authority of the Presi-  
14          dent under the International Emergency Economic Powers  
15          Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 et seq.) or any other provision of  
16          law to impose sanctions to address critical cyber threat  
17          actors and malicious state-sponsored cyber activities.

18          (i) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

19                (1) ADMITTED; ALIEN.—The terms “admitted”  
20                and “alien” have the meanings given such terms in  
21                section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act  
22                (8 U.S.C. 1101).

23                (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
24                TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
25                mittees” means—

1 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
2 Committee on Financial Services, the Com-  
3 mittee on the Judiciary, the Committee on  
4 Oversight and Reform, and the Committee on  
5 Homeland Security of the House of Representa-  
6 tives; and

7 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
8 the Committee on Banking, Housing, and  
9 Urban Affairs, the Committee on the Judiciary,  
10 and the Committee on Homeland Security and  
11 Governmental Affairs of the Senate.

12 (3) AGENCY OR INSTRUMENTALITY OF A FOR-  
13 EIGN STATE.—The term “agency or instrumentality  
14 of a foreign state” has the meaning given such term  
15 in section 1603(b) of title 28, United States Code.

16 (4) CRITICAL INFRASTRUCTURE SECTOR.—The  
17 term “critical infrastructure sector” means any of  
18 the designated critical infrastructure sectors identi-  
19 fied in the Presidential Policy Directive entitled  
20 “Critical Infrastructure Security and Resilience”,  
21 numbered 21, and dated February 12, 2013.

22 (5) DIRECTOR.—The term “Director” means  
23 the National Cyber Director.

1           (6) FOREIGN PERSON.—The term “foreign per-  
2           son” means a person that is not a United States  
3           person.

4           (7) FOREIGN STATE.—The term “foreign state”  
5           has the meaning given such term in section 1603(a)  
6           of title 28, United States Code.

7           (8) KNOWINGLY.—The term “knowingly”, with  
8           respect to conduct, a circumstance, or a result,  
9           means that a person has actual knowledge, or should  
10          have known, of the conduct, the circumstance, or the  
11          result.

12          (9) MISAPPROPRIATION.—The term “misappro-  
13          priation” means taking or obtaining by improper  
14          means, without permission or consent, or under false  
15          pretenses.

16          (10) STATE-SPONSORED CYBER ACTIVITIES.—  
17          The term “state-sponsored cyber activities” means  
18          any malicious cyber-enabled activities that—

19                 (A) are carried out by a government of a  
20                 foreign country or an agency or instrumentality  
21                 of a foreign state; or

22                 (B) are carried out by a foreign person  
23                 that is aided, abetted, or directed by a govern-  
24                 ment of a foreign country or an agency or in-  
25                 strumentality of a foreign state.

1           (11) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
2 “United States person” means—

3           (A) a United States citizen or an alien law-  
4 fully admitted for permanent residence to the  
5 United States; or

6           (B) an entity organized under the laws of  
7 the United States or of any jurisdiction within  
8 the United States, including a foreign branch of  
9 such an entity.

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