

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# S. 2978

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

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## 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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 deployment as service members in the Russian  
2 Armed Forces.

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

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

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

22 (10) United States law authorizes the designa-  
23 tion of countries as state sponsors of terrorism if  
24 they have repeatedly provided support for acts of  
25 international terrorism.

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

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

10          “(B) appear to be intended—

11           “(i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian  
12 population;

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

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

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

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

8           (13) During the 117th Congress, the Senate  
9 unanimously adopted—

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

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

21           (14) The United States continues to have a  
22 range of tools available to hold the Russian Federa-  
23 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; and

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

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

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

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

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

26 (4) any other relevant provision of law.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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