Outcast: The Case for Russia as a "State Sponsor of Terrorism"

By Luke Seykora

***Resolved: The United States Federal Government should substantially reform its policy towards one or more countries in Europe.***

This case seeks to show how Russia meets the definition of a State Sponsor of Terrorism (SST). They meet that definition by having more than the required number of proven terrorist acts (the Secretary of State needs at least two, but the 1AC presents four). Russia has been continuing these acts, not just in Ukraine, but all through out recent history, and will continue to do so if they aren’t stopped. We can slow it by devastating the Russian economy through increased Sanctions and more Court Liability for the Russian Federation. Many of the experts have been calling to do this plan for some time.

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Outcast: The Case for Russia as a "State Sponsor of Terrorism"

Russia made international headlines in early 2022. Since attacking Ukraine, Russia has committed human rights abuses and horrendous acts that have killed millions. But Russia has been committing these acts for a long time, longer than some debaters this season have been alive. In order to fully recognize the extent of this evil, we beg you to join us in affirming that “The United States Federal Government should substantially reform its policy towards one or more countries in Europe.”

OBSERVATION 1. DEFINITIONS

Substantial

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Fully, amply; to a great extent or degree; considerably, significantly, much.

Policy

Merriam Webster Online Dictionary copyright 2022. [https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/policy](about:blank) (accessed May 10, 2022)

a high-level overall plan embracing the general goals and acceptable procedures especially of a governmental body

State Sponsor of Terrorism or "SST"

US State Department, Copyright 2022 (Bureau of Counterterrorism; mission is to promote U.S. national security by taking a leading role in developing coordinated strategies and approaches to defeat terrorism abroad and securing the counterterrorism cooperation of international partners.) Copyright 2022 “State Sponsor of Terrorism” <https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/> (Accessed July 19, 2022)

Countries determined by the Secretary of State to have repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism are designated pursuant to three laws: section1754(c) of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2019, section 40 of the Arms Export Control Act, and section 620A of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. Taken together, the four main categories of sanctions resulting from designation under these authorities include restrictions on U.S. foreign assistance; a ban on defense exports and sales; certain controls over exports of dual use items; and miscellaneous financial and other restrictions. Designation under the above-referenced authorities also implicates other sanctions laws that penalize persons and countries engaging in certain trade with state sponsors. Currently there are four countries designated under these authorities: Cuba, the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea), Iran, and Syria.

OBSERVATION 2. INHERENCY. Two simple facts about the Status Quo

FACT 1. Russia not designated. Russia is not on the State Dept.'s list of "State Sponsors of Terrorism"

Mark Temnycky 2022 (master’s degree in public administration and master of arts in international relations from the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse Univ.; certificate in international relations from Georgetown Univ.) 15 Aug 2022 Will the United States designate Russia a state sponsor of terrorism? <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/will-america-designate-russia-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/> (accessed 29 Aug 2022)

Designating countries as state sponsors of terrorism is the responsibility of the US State Department and depends on whether the actions of the country in question meet US definitions of international terrorism. At present, only four countries are officially labelled by the United States as state sponsors of terrorism: Cuba, North Korea, Iran and Syria. Designation brings with it a series of new sanctions measures including bans on defense industry and dual use exports along with a range of [financial and other restrictions](https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/).

FACT 2. Substantial escalation. SST would inflict massively more financial impact on Russia than any existing sanctions

*Stuart Anderson 2022 (executive director of the National Foundation for American Policy, a non-partisan public policy research organization) July 5, 2022 “Why Russia Should Fear Being Declared a State Sponsor of Terror”* [*https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2022/07/05/why-russia-should-fear-being-declared-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/?sh=530a80b92b6e*](https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2022/07/05/why-russia-should-fear-being-declared-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/?sh=530a80b92b6e) *(Accessed July 19, 2022) (Brackets added; Camp is an international attorney)*

“Once the United States finally designates Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism, Russia will be stripped of any immunity under the U.S. Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act,” said [Charles H.] Camp in an interview. “This will result, most importantly, in litigants being able to obtain not just compensatory damages, but punitive damages against Russia. In my view, such judgments that will be able to be entered against Russia will be nearly infinite in amount and will cripple Russia’s ability to operate financially outside of Russia for decades to come, inflicting more financial suffering upon Russia than any sanctions currently being imposed or sanctions that would be imposed upon Russia when it is designated as a state sponsor of terrorism.”

OBSERVATION 3. THE PLAN, implemented by Congress and the President

1. The Secretary of State officially designates Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism.
2. All Sanctions that come with the SST designation are applied.
3. Enforcement through the Secretary of State, the President, Congress, and any other necessary agencies. Penalties for violation the same as under existing law for existing SST countries.
4. No Funding Needed as the Plan is purely legislative.
5. Plan takes effect two weeks after an Affirmative ballot.
6. All Affirmative speeches may clarify.

OBSERVATION 4. The JUSTIFICATIONS.

Justification 1. Syria. Russia targeted Civilians in the Syrian Civil War

Human Rights Watch 2020 (international human rights advocacy group) October 15, 2020 “Targeting Life in Idlib: Syrian and Russian Strikes on Civilian Infrastructure” <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/10/15/targeting-life-idlib/syrian-and-russian-strikes-civilian-infrastructure> (Accessed July 19, 2022)

In April 2019, the Syrian government and its ally, Russia, launched a major military offensive to retake Idlib governorate and surrounding areas in northwest Syria— one of the last areas controlled by anti-government armed groups. Over the next 11 months, the Syrian-Russian alliance showed callous disregard for the lives of the roughly 3 million civilians in the area, many of them people displaced by the fighting in other parts of the country. The alliance launched dozens of air and ground attacks on civilian objects and infrastructure in violation of the laws of war, striking homes, schools, healthcare facilities, and markets – the places where people live, work, and study. They used cluster munitions, incendiary weapons, and improvised “barrel bombs” in populated areas to deadly effect. The attacks killed at least 1,600 civilians, destroyed and damaged civilian infrastructure, and forced the displacement of an estimated 1.4 million people. **[END QUOTE]  
[LATER ON IN THE ARTICLE IT SAYS QUOTE]**For these grave violations, no one in Syria or Russia has been held to account. Compounding the abuse, both countries have actively worked to hinder humanitarian aid from reaching civilians in need.

Justification 2. Ukraine in 2014. Russian agents committed acts of terrorism multiple Ukraine cities

Prof. Alexander J. Motyl 2014 (professor of political science at Rutgers Univ.-Newark; associate director of the Harriman Institute at Columbia Univ from 1992 to '98) April 14, 2014 “Putin’s Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism” <https://web.archive.org/web/20150222054803/http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blog/alexander-j-motyl/putin%E2%80%99s-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism> (Accessed July 19, 2022)

There is overwhelming evidence of Russia’s direct and indirect involvement in the violence that rocked several eastern Ukrainian cities on April 12–13. Russian intelligence agents and spetsnaz special forces are directly involved; the weapons and uniforms worn by the terrorists are of Russian origin (a point made by the US ambassador to Kyiv, Geoffrey Pyatt); and the assaults on government buildings in Slavyansk, Mariupol, Makiivka, Kharkiv, Yenakievo, Druzhkivka, Horlivka, Krasny Lyman, and Kramatorsk were clearly coordinated by Russian intelligence.

Justification 3. Ukraine in 2022. Russia commits ongoing terrorist violence in the current war with Ukraine

Anne Applebaum 2022 (staff writer at The Atlantic; senior fellow at the Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University) July 13, 2022 “Russia’s War Against Ukraine Has Turned Into Terrorism” <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/russia-war-crimes-terrorism-definition/670500/> (Accessed July 19. 2022)

We Americans and Europeans are used to thinking of terrorism as something involving fertilizer bombs or improvised weapons, and of terrorists as fringe extremists who operate conspiratorially in irregular gangs. When we speak of state-sponsored terrorism, we are usually talking about clandestine groups that are supported, covertly, by a recognized state, in the way that Iran supports Hezbollah. But Russia’s war in Ukraine blurs the distinction among all of these things—terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, war crimes—for nothing about the bombing of Serhiivka, or Kremenchuk, or Kharkiv, is surreptitious, conspiratorial, or fringe. Instead Russia, a legitimate, recognized world power—a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council—is directing constant, repetitive, visible terrorist violence against civilians, many of whom are nowhere near the fighting. The attacks are not errors or accidents.

OBSERVATION 5. The ADVANTAGES. SST would be better than the Status Quo in 3 ways

ADVANTAGE 1. Weaken the war machine

SST prevents Russia from getting equipment needed to prosecute the Ukraine war

*Peter Koropey 2022 (contributor to the Connecticut Mirror) May 16, 2022 “Russia is a State Sponsor of Terrorism. Designate it so.” https://ctmirror.org/2022/05/16/designate-russia-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/ (Accessed July 23, 2022)*

Since 2014, Russian force structures have terrorized Ukrainian citizens in occupied Crimea and occupied Donbas. Russia’s recent full-scale assault has expanded its zone of occupation and its scope for violence and terror against Ukrainian civilians. Had the State Department designated Russia a State Sponsor of Terrorism in 2014 or 2015, when academics such as [Alexander Motyl](https://web.archive.org/web/20150222054803/http:/www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blog/alexander-j-motyl/putin%E2%80%99s-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism) and [Taras Kuzio](https://neweasterneurope.eu/2015/01/22/russia-state-sponsor-terrorism/) first called for it, Russia would have fallen under a strict sanctions regime that may have prevented, or would have slowed, its military expansion and modernization. It certainly would have prevented Russia from acquiring the dual-use technologies which give flight to its warplanes and guided missiles.

ADVANTAGE 2. Victims compensated

Russia fears the SST designation because it's the one way victims of their aggression can get compensated

Julia Davis 2022 (journalist) 16 Aug 2022 " Russia’s Panicked Confession: This Is What Scares Us Most" <https://www.thedailybeast.com/russia-confesses-this-is-what-scares-us-most-in-the-war-on-ukraine> (accessed 29 Aug 2022)

Unquestionably, all the sanctions they can impose against us are already in place. That’s not the scary part. What’s going to hurt is that the families harmed by the country that is a sponsor of terrorism have the right to file claims in American courts. Masses of Ukrainian citizens will be able to file suits. Where will the resources come from to pay out these claims?” Referring to $300 billion out of the $640 billion that Russia had in its gold and forex reserves, which have been frozen by Western sanctions, host Vladimir Solovyov opined: “They’re looking for the way to grab our $300 billion.” Sidorov agreed: “They’ll take that $300 billion pursuant to court orders.” Russian experts openly cherish the idea of[taking](https://twitter.com/JuliaDavisNews/status/1558544508404617222?s=20&t=EbP8Uo50Vnifv7dFz-FxBw) Ukraine’s vast mineral and energy resources, which they predict will boost Russia’s failing economy. In addition to stealing Ukraine’s riches, pro-Putin propagandists have been openly hoping to get their seized funds and properties back—even threatening nuclear strikes in order to secure their release. The prospect of losing these billions for good is infinitely more worrisome than any label Putin’s regime so richly deserves.

ADVANATAGE 3. Justice upheld

Russia needs to be blacklisted and shamed for its bad behavior

Mike Lofgren January 2022 (former congressional staff member, and the author of The Party Is Over: How Republicans Went Crazy, Democrats Became Useless, and the Middle Class Got Shafted and The Deep State: The Fall of the Constitution and the Rise of a Shadow Government) January 25, 2022 “Put Russia on the State Sponsor of Terrorism List” <https://washingtonmonthly.com/2022/01/25/put-russia-on-the-state-sponsored-terrorism-list/> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

To be sure, putting Russia on the list of state sponsors of terror is no panacea. Indeed, the four weaker regimes show no signs of collapsing. But the United States and its partners are caught in a dilemma: They must try to dissuade Russia from launching an invasion with measures more effective than conventional economic sanctions, even as they have a manifest distaste for a military response. No sanctions regime will stop Putin from sending his tanks. But consigning Russia to the terrorist list would be a blow to pride and identity as well as the wallet. America’s diplomats should warn the Kremlin now that by invading Ukraine they will place on themselves the label of a terrorist backwater, to be shunned like North Korea, Syria, and the other small and small-minded outliers of the 21st century.

2A Evidence: Russia SST

DEFINITIONS & TOPICALITY

Terrorism

FBI Copyright 2022 (The U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigations) Copyright 2022 “What We Investigate” <https://www.fbi.gov/investigate/terrorism> (Accessed July 26, 2022)

[**International terrorism﻿**](https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/USCODE-2009-title18/html/USCODE-2009-title18-partI-chap113B-sec2331.htm)**:** Violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups who are inspired by, or associated with, designated foreign terrorist organizations or nations (state-sponsored).

[**Domestic terrorism**](https://www.fbi.gov/file-repository/fbi-dhs-domestic-terrorism-definitions-terminology-methodology.pdf/view)**:** Violent, criminal acts committed by individuals and/or groups to further ideological goals stemming from domestic influences, such as those of a political, religious, social, racial, or environmental nature.

Differences in Definitions of War and Terrorism

Edited by Alvin Y. So, Mark Selden 2003 (Alvin Y. So is professor in the Division of Social Science at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology. Mark Selden is professor of sociology and history at Binghamton Univ and professorial associate in the East Asia Program at Cornell Univ.) Published December 9, 2003 “War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan, and the Asia-Pacific in the Long Twentieth Century” <https://books.google.com/books/content?id=D0icvm2EQLIC&pg=PA4&img=1&zoom=3&hl=en&bul=1&sig=ACfU3U20-zZENt_4sotXpPY33XdVu8tNmA&w=1280> (Accessed July 26, 2022)

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SST would be a "significant" reform over existing sanctions

Alexander Ward and Betsey Woodruff Swan 2022 (Alex Ward is a national security reporter and anchor of “National Security Daily.” Betsy Woodruff Swan is a national correspondent focused on federal law enforcement, including the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security.) July 20, 2022 “Pelosi to Blinken: Label Russia as terrorist state, or else Congress will” <https://www.politico.com/news/2022/07/20/pelosi-to-blinken-label-russia-as-terrorist-state-or-else-congress-will-00047076> (Accessed July 26, 2022)

“The sanctions we have in place and have taken are the same steps that would be entailed by the designation of a state sponsor of terrorism,” State Department spokesperson Ned Price told reporters in April, adding: “We’ll take a close look at all potential authorities. This is one of them.” Some experts, though, say the move would ratchet up the pressure on the Kremlin and make all dealings with Russia for U.S. persons near impossible. “Labeling Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism would be significant because it’s a blanket measure,” said Edward Fishman, an expert on sanctions at the Atlantic Council think tank in Washington, D.C. “It injects a risk into all dealings with Russia.”

The UN Lists Russia as a part of Europe

United Nations Copyright 2022 (UN Department for General Assembly and Conference Management.) “Regional Groups of Member States” <https://www.un.org/dgacm/en/content/regional-groups> (Accessed July 27, 2022)

Eastern European States  
Albania, Estonia, Republic of Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Romania, Azerbaijan, Hungary, Russian Federation, Belarus, Latvia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Lithuania, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Slovenia, Croatia, North Macedonia, Ukraine, Czechia, Poland.

Russia cannot be excluded from European Order

*Anatol Lieven 2022 (senior fellow at the Quincy Institute for Responsible Statecraft) February 10, 2022 “NATO and the European Union have reached their limits. Here’s what should come next”* [*https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/10/russia-europe-ukraine-west-security-council/*](https://foreignpolicy.com/2022/02/10/russia-europe-ukraine-west-security-council/) *(Accessed July 23, 2022)*

The Western attempt to expel Russia from Europe has failed. That there was such an attempt was always implicit in the strategy of seeking to admit every European country but Russia into NATO and the European Union. In this context, the NATO slogan “A Europe Whole and Free” is an explicit statement that Russia is not part of Europe. But as French President Emmanuel Macron has reminded us, Russia *is* part of Europe and is simply too big, too powerful, and too invested in its immediate neighborhood to be excluded from the European security order. A continued strategy along these lines will lead to repeated Russian attempts to force its way back in. At best, this will lead to repeated and very damaging crises; at worst, to war.

A Country can be added to the SST list if there are AT LEAST Two Examples of terrorism

Jason M. Blazakis 2022 (professor of practice at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies. He was director of the State Department’s Counterterrorism Finance and Designations Office in the Bureau of Counterterrorism from 2008 to 2018.) March 1, 2022 “Op-Ed: The ultimate sanction: Listing Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism” <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2022-03-01/russia-state-sponsor-terrorism-ukraine-invasion> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

A country can be added to the list only if there are at least two examples of state-supported terrorism. We don’t have to look far, though, to find another clear-cut example. Even today, Russia provides sanctuary to a U.S.-designated terrorist group, the Russian Imperial Movement, which operates with impunity in Russian territory. It is a group that has trained terrorists to carry out an attack in Sweden, and it has served as a proxy force for Russia in Crimea.

INHERENCY

SST on Russia would substantially increase sanctions compared to Status Quo

Stuart Anderson 2022 (executive director of the National Foundation for American Policy, a non-partisan public policy research organization focusing on trade, immigration and related issues based in Arlington, Virginia.) July 5, 2022 “Why Russia Should Fear Being Declared a State Sponsor of Terror” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2022/07/05/why-russia-should-fear-being-declared-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/?sh=530a80b92b6e> (Accessed July 19, 2022) (Brackets in original article)

“The impacts would be quite severe,” said Jason M. Blazakis, professor of practice at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey, in an interview. “It would likely expand the types of materiel that could not go to Russia. Dual-export restrictions are a key aspect of the SST [State Sponsor of Terrorism] regime.

“Second, and perhaps even more important, adding Russia to the State Sponsor of Terrorism regime would have implications for every government that continues to engage in any exchange, especially defense-related, with Russia. The SST listing would have secondary effects for countries engaged in such exchanges and they would become a target of secondary sections unless the President issued a waiver to exempt the activity.”

JUSTIFICATIONS

UN says Russian attacks in Syria are war crimes

Jason Breslow 2022 (He’s a reporter for NPR) March 1, 2022 “Russia showed its playbook in Syria. Here’s what it may mean for civilians in Ukraine” <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/01/1083686606/ukraine-russia-civilian-casualties-syria#:~:text=Some%20of%20Russia's%20most%20intense,according%20to%20Human%20Rights%20Watch> (Accessed July 27, 2022)

Investigators for the United Nations would later conclude that Russia was responsible for multiple war crimes during the 11-month campaign in Idlib. In one attack, more than 43 civilians were killed when Russian aircraft launched a series of airstrikes on a market. Civilians and other rescuers soon rushed to the scene, but within minutes they were met by a "double-tap" airstrike on the same area, killing scores more. About a month later, a separate airstrike hit a compound for displaced civilians, killing at least 20 people, including six children. "In both incidents, the Russian air force did not direct the attacks at a specific military objective, amounting to the war crime of launching indiscriminate attacks in civilian areas," according to the U.N.

Russian Terrorism example: Flight 17. Russia provided the weapon that shot down Malaysian Flight 17, killing 298 people

Somini Sengupta and Andrew E. Kramer 2016 (Both are Reporters for the New York Times) September 28, 2016 “Dutch Inquiry Links Russia to 298 Deaths in Explosion of Jetliner Over Ukraine” <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/29/world/asia/malaysia-air-flight-mh17-russia-ukraine-missile.html> (Accessed July 21, 2022)

A Dutch-led investigation has concluded that the powerful surface-to-air missile system used to shoot down a Malaysia Airlines plane over Ukraine two years ago, killing all 298 on board, was trucked in from Russia at the request of Russian-backed separatists and returned to Russia the same night. The report largely confirmed the Russian government’s already widely documented role not only in the deployment of the missile system — called a Buk, or SA-11 — but also in the subsequent cover-up, which continues to this day.

Killing Civilians is in Russia’s Playbook

Jason Breslow 2022 (reporter for NPR) March 1, 2022 “Russia showed its playbook in Syria. Here’s what it may mean for civilians in Ukraine” <https://www.npr.org/2022/03/01/1083686606/ukraine-russia-civilian-casualties-syria#:~:text=Some%20of%20Russia's%20most%20intense,according%20to%20Human%20Rights%20Watch> (Accessed July 27, 2022)

"They don't hesitate to hit civilian targets. And then the second lesson is they lie about it constantly," said Robert Ford, who served as U.S. ambassador to Syria from 2011 to 2014. "Of course, Syria wasn't the first time they used this playbook," he reminded. "They used it in Grozny in that campaign in Chechnya. So I would assume it's their standard playbook and there will be times they use it in Ukraine."

The Statistics: Russia has killed over 14,000 Civilians and 5,000 children

Tabitha H. Sanders 2022 (London-based freelance journalist and master’s student at King’s College London.) March 2, 2022 “In Ukraine and Syria, Civilians Pay for Russia’s Crimes” <https://inkstickmedia.com/in-ukraine-and-syria-civilians-pay-for-russias-crimes/> (Accessed July 27, 2022)

With its partner in Damascus, Russia is responsible for some of the most heinous crimes committed in the Syrian war, including the intentional targeting of hospitals and medical personnel. The UK-based Airwars has estimated that Russia is responsible for as many as 39,000 [military strikes](https://airwars.org/conflict/russian-military-in-syria/) in Syria and for between 14,000 to 23,000 [civilian deaths](https://airwars.org/news-and-investigations/after-six-years-of-russian-airstrikes-in-syria-still-no-accountability-for-civilian-deaths/) from 2015 to 2021. Nearly five thousand of those deaths belong to children. Even by conservative estimates, children could account for as many as 34% of Syrian civilian deaths as a result of Russian strikes.

Russia Sponsored the Separatists who Shot Down Flight 17

Mike Lofgren 2022 (former congressional staff member) January 25, 2022 “Put Russia on the State-Sponsored Terrorism List” <https://washingtonmonthly.com/2022/01/25/put-russia-on-the-state-sponsored-terrorism-list/> (Accessed July 19, 2022)

The Flight 17 incident was likely the accidental downing of a civil airliner mistaken for a Ukrainian military transport by Russian-sponsored separatist forces; it could have been settled with an admission of error and financial restitution. Instead, Russia stonewalled an investigation, [spread](https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/ukrainealert/russias-mh17-web-of-lies-continues-to-unravel/) a fog of defamatory disinformation, and vetoed a UN resolution to create an investigative tribunal. Angry relatives of the victims are in [no doubt](https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/6/angry-families-accuse-russia-of-lying-at-mh17-crash-trial) about Russia’s culpability.

Parliamentary Council of Europe (PACE) says Russia was responsible for the Malaysian plane crash

Council of Europe 2022 (promotes human rights through international conventions; monitors member states' progress in these areas and makes recommendations through independent expert monitoring bodies.) June 23, 2022 “Flight MH17 shot down by a Russian-Supplied Buk missile ‘most convincing scenario by far’, says PACE” <https://www.coe.int/en/web/portal/-/flight-mh17-shot-down-by-a-russian-supplied-buk-missile-most-convincing-scenario-by-far-says-pace#:~:text=PACE%20has%20said%20that%2C%20based,controlled%20by%20the%20Russian%20Federation> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

PACE has said that, based on the evidence made available to its rapporteur by Ukrainian and Dutch authorities, it considers “as the most convincing scenario by far” that flight MH17 was shot down over Ukraine in 2014 by a Buk missile made available to military units controlled by the Russian Federation. Unanimously approving a resolution today, based on a report by Titus Corlatean (Romania, SOC), the Assembly said it was appalled at the “disinformation” spread by Russian authorities concerning the downing of the Malaysia Airlines flight, which has caused “pain and suffering” to the victims’ relatives and friends. “Instead of providing reliable information to the competent investigative bodies, the Russian authorities spread disinformation, including successive contradictory versions of the events designed to create confusion. As demonstrated by open-source intelligence published in numerous reports, the Russian authorities even went so far as to submit manipulated radar, satellite and other data in order to obfuscate the truth,” it said.

Ukraine was hit by a wave of Russian Backed Terrorism in 2015

Taras Kuzio 2015 (research associate at the Centre for Political and Regional Studies, Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, Univ of Alberta and non-resident fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Relations, Johns Hopkins Univ.) January 22, 2015 “Is Russia a state sponsor of terrorism?” <https://neweasterneurope.eu/2015/01/22/russia-state-sponsor-terrorism/> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

Europe’s focus on Russia’s hybrid war has ignored Russia’s second front of promoting terrorism in Ukraine. While the hybrid war in the Donbas seems far away for most Ukrainians, the terrorist campaign, which is spreading and becoming more deadly as seen in explosions in Kharkiv, which injured 20 people, and Zaporizhzhya which derailed a train, are very much closer to home. On January 20th the Ukrainian National Security and Defence Council introduced heightened security measures throughout the country because of the growing number of terrorist attacks. Intelligence reports point to these terrorist attacks as not being the work of “lone wolves”, as in Boston, Ottawa, and Paris, but a well-coordinated campaign orchestrated by Moscow. Coordinating centres ‘Novaya Rus’ (New Russia) are training groups of 3-5 Ukrainian and Russian citizens in Russia (Belgorod, Tambov, Taganrog, and Rostov), Crimea and Moldova’s frozen conflict zone of Transnistria.

Terrorists in Ukraine were trained in Russia

Taras Kuzio 2015 (research associate at the Centre for Political and Regional Studies, Canadian Institute for Ukrainian Studies, Univ of Alberta and non-resident fellow at the Center for Transatlantic Relations, School of Advanced International Relations, Johns Hopkins Univ.) January 22, 2015 “Is Russia a state sponsor of terrorism?” <https://neweasterneurope.eu/2015/01/22/russia-state-sponsor-terrorism/> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

A group of five terrorists were detained in Odesa in September of last year who had been trained in Russia. A second detained terrorist group had planned to copy the violent seizure of state buildings undertaken in the Donbas in the spring. One terrorist accidentally blew himself up last month while planting a bomb at a military academy. Other terrorist targets have included Euromaidan civil society support groups who collect supplies for Ukraine’s military, shops owned by these activists, train lines, and freight cars transporting oil. On January 20th, three were shot in Odesa, including a volunteer who had been collecting supplies for the Ukrainian army.

Russia is Blurring the lines between Terrorism, State-Sponsored Terrorism and War Crimes in Ukraine

Anne Applebaum 2022 (staff writer at The Atlantic. She is also a senior fellow at the Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins Univ.) July 13, 2022 “Russia’s War Against Ukraine Has Turned Into Terrorism” <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/russia-war-crimes-terrorism-definition/670500/> (Accessed July 19. 2022)

We Americans and Europeans are used to thinking of terrorism as something involving fertilizer bombs or improvised weapons, and of terrorists as fringe extremists who operate conspiratorially in irregular gangs. When we speak of state-sponsored terrorism, we are usually talking about clandestine groups that are supported, covertly, by a recognized state, in the way that Iran supports Hezbollah. But Russia’s war in Ukraine blurs the distinction among all of these things—terrorism, state-sponsored terrorism, war crimes—for nothing about the bombing of Serhiivka, or Kremenchuk, or Kharkiv, is surreptitious, conspiratorial, or fringe. Instead Russia, a legitimate, recognized world power—a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council—is directing constant, repetitive, visible terrorist violence against civilians, many of whom are nowhere near the fighting. The attacks are not errors or accidents. The planes carrying bombs can be tracked on radar screens. Occasionally, Moscow issues denials—the shopping-mall bombing was, like many others, described by Russian state media as “faked”—but no apologies. The Russian army will not punish the murderers. On the contrary, the Russian president, Vladimir Putin, has already awarded medals to the brigade that committed so many atrocities in the town of Bucha.

War in Ukraine has become Terrorism

Anne Applebaum 2022 (staff writer at The Atlantic. She is also a senior fellow at the Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins Univ.) July 13, 2022 “Russia’s War Against Ukraine Has Turned Into Terrorism” <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/russia-war-crimes-terrorism-definition/670500/> (Accessed July 19. 2022)

If terrorism is defined as an intimidation campaign using violence, then the bombing of Serhiivka was terrorism. So was the June 27 bombing of Kremenchuk, in central Ukraine, when another Kh-22 anti-ship missile [hit a shopping mall](https://www.bbc.com/news/61967480), killing at least 20 people. Terrorism could also describe the [repeated use of cluster munitions](https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61778433) in residential areas of Kharkiv, bombs that splinter into hundreds of fragments, causing death and injury, leaving traces across playgrounds and courtyards. Terrorism is also a good word for the July 10 attack on Chasiv Yar, where multiple rockets [struck a five-story apartment building](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/jul/10/at-least-15-killed-in-rocket-strike-on-apartment-building-in-eastern-ukraine-chasiv-yar) and emergency services spent many hours digging residents out of the rubble.

Thousands of examples of Russian war crimes

Anne Applebaum 2022 (staff writer at The Atlantic. She is also a senior fellow at the Agora Institute at Johns Hopkins University) July 13, 2022 “Russia’s War Against Ukraine Has Turned Into Terrorism” <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2022/07/russia-war-crimes-terrorism-definition/670500/> (Accessed July 19. 2022)

With every bomb that Russian forces knowingly drop on an apartment building, and every missile they direct at a school or hospital, they are demonstrating their scorn and contempt for the global institutions Russia was once so desperate to join. The Ukrainian and international lawyers and prosecutors who are collecting the evidence will, in the end, be able to present not just one or two cases demonstrating war crimes, but thousands. Russia’s war is unprecedented, and the demand for justice in its aftermath will be unprecedented too.

**Terrorism in Ukraine Just like in Syria**

Peter Koropey 2022 (Peter Koropey is a contributor to the Connecticut Mirror) May 16, 2022 “Russia is a State Sponsor of Terrorism. Designate it so.” https://ctmirror.org/2022/05/16/designate-russia-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/ (Accessed July 23, 2022)

The text of SR623 includes a chronicle of Russian crimes dating back to the Chechen Wars in the 1990s, however, Russia’s continuing full-scale military assault on Ukraine has given new urgency to calls to designate Russia a state sponsor of terrorism. Since February, the Russian military has consistently and deliberately targeted Ukrainian civilians and civil structures, including hospitals, [schools](https://khpg.org/en/1608810528), and [museums](https://khpg.org/en/1608810529). Russian artillery and air strikes against densely-populated cities such as Mariupol and Kharkiv have left tens of thousands of Ukrainian civilians dead.

ADVOCACY / SOLVENCY

We need the plan: Without it, the U.S. Implicitly Endorses Terrorism

Prof. Alexander J. Motyl 2014 (professor of political science at Rutgers University-Newark, as well as a writer and painter. He served as associate director of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University from 1992 to 1998.) April 14, 2014 “Putin’s Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism” <https://web.archive.org/web/20150222054803/http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/blog/alexander-j-motyl/putin%E2%80%99s-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

That list should now consist of five rogue countries—unless, of course, both Washington and Brussels prefer to supplement their weak-kneed response to Putin’s violation of international norms with an implicit endorsement of terrorism.

SST ="significant" escalation of sanctions: Stricter penalties and opens door to lawsuits by Ukraine victims

Rob Garber 2022 (journalist) July 22, 2022 “Calls Rise in US Congress to Designate Russia a State Sponsor of Terrorism” <https://www.voanews.com/a/calls-rise-in-congress-to-designate-russia-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/6669225.html> (Accessed July 27, 2022)

Russia is already under crippling sanctions, imposed by the U.S. and a host of other countries, but official designation as a state sponsor of terrorism would up the ante in some significant ways. Where the international components of current sanctions have been carefully coordinated, the state sponsor of terrorism designation could trigger a stricter regime of penalties that could apply to third-country parties doing business with Russian individuals and companies. In addition, the designation would waive Russia’s sovereign immunity in the U.S., opening the door for Americans harmed by the war in Ukraine to file civil lawsuits against the Russian government in U.S. courts.

Creates MAJOR Disincentives for Businesses: Example, Sudan

Stuart Anderson 2022 (executive director of the National Foundation for American Policy, a non-partisan public policy research organization focusing on trade, immigration and related issues based in Arlington, Virginia.) July 5, 2022 “Why Russia Should Fear Being Declared a State Sponsor of Terror” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2022/07/05/why-russia-should-fear-being-declared-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/?sh=530a80b92b6e> (Accessed July 19, 2022)

“It would also have the added benefit of getting more companies to de-risk from Russia. That would likely include U.S. and non-U.S. companies. Businesses don’t like operating in countries that are state sponsors of terrorism. This is why Sudan pushed so hard to come off of the SST list during the Trump administration.”

How It Works – Russia loses Immunity and can be held Accountable in Court

Charles Camp, Kiran Gore and Genna Portner 2022 ([Camp](https://www.charlescamplaw.com/attorneys/charles-h-camp/) is managing partner at the [Law Offices of Charles H. Camp PC](https://www.law360.com/firms/law-offices-of-charles-h-camp) and lecturer at [George Washington Univ Law School](https://www.law360.com/companies/george-washington-university).  [Gore](https://www.charlescamplaw.com/attorneys/kiran-n-gore/) is counsel at the Law Offices of Charles H. Camp PC and a lecturer at George Washington Univ Law School​​​​​​​. Portner is a law clerk at the firm.) April 8, 2022 “It’s Time to Designate Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism” <https://www.law360.com/articles/1482347/it-s-time-to-designate-russia-as-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism> (Accessed July 27, 2022)

Once a state is designated a state sponsor of terrorism, it is not immune from the jurisdiction of U.S. courts for claims arising from the harm or killing of a U.S. national, a member of the armed forces, or an employee or contractor of the U.S. through an act of international terrorism. In addition to losing immunity from the jurisdiction of U.S. courts, states that sponsor terrorism face severe sanctions, including restrictions on U.S. foreign assistance; a ban on defense exports and sales; certain controls over exports of dual-use items; and additional financial and other restrictions. Importantly, foreign states may only be held liable for these acts if they were designated as a state sponsor of terrorism at the time the act occurred.

Senate Resolution 623 – Calls on the State Department to do the Plan

*GovTrack.us 2022 (GovTrack.us began in 2004 as a project to use technology to make the U.S. Congress more open and accessible. Today we’re the leading non-governmental source of legislative information and statistics.) May 19, 2022 “Resolution calls on State Department to list Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism”* [*https://govtrackinsider.com/resolution-calls-on-state-department-to-list-russia-as-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism-9b8bfa5c8bcc*](https://govtrackinsider.com/resolution-calls-on-state-department-to-list-russia-as-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism-9b8bfa5c8bcc) *(Accessed July 27, 2022)*

A new congressional resolution would call on the president and the State Department to officially declare Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism.

As a nonbinding resolution, it wouldn’t have any direct public policy consequences, though it would certainly add a considerable amount of pressure on the State Department to follow suit. It was introduced in the Senate on May 9 as [S.Res. 623](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/117/sres623" \t "_blank), by [Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC)](https://www.govtrack.us/congress/members/lindsey_graham/300047).

Congress sees Russia as a State Sponsor of Terror, and want it made Official

*Alexander Ward and Betsey Woodruff Swan 2022 (Alex Ward is a national security reporter and anchor of “National Security Daily.” Betsy Woodruff Swan is a national correspondent focused on federal law enforcement, including the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security.) July 20, 2022 “Pelosi to Blinken: Label Russia as terrorist state, or else Congress will”* [*https://www.politico.com/news/2022/07/20/pelosi-to-blinken-label-russia-as-terrorist-state-or-else-congress-will-00047076*](https://www.politico.com/news/2022/07/20/pelosi-to-blinken-label-russia-as-terrorist-state-or-else-congress-will-00047076) *(Accessed July 26, 2022)*

Sens. Lindsey Graham (R-S.C.) and Richard Blumenthal (D-Conn.), for example, [introduced a bill](https://www.lgraham.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/2022/5/graham-blumenthal-introduce-resolution-on-russian-state-sponsorship-of-terrorism) in May that would both underline the Senate’s view that Russia engages in acts of terrorism, but it mainly calls on Blinken to make the designation official. They [traveled to Kyiv](https://www.reuters.com/world/europe/us-senators-visit-kyiv-promote-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism-bill-2022-07-07/) earlier this month to promote the measure alongside [Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, who supports](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/2022/04/15/zelensky-biden-russia-terrorism/) the U.S. officially placing the label on Russia. A [similar resolution](https://lieu.house.gov/media-center/in-the-news/us-lawmakers-push-biden-designate-russia-state-terror-sponsor) was also introduced in the House.

Advocacy: Ukraine Government endorses Russia SST designation

Leslie Castello, David Wolff and John L. Murino 2022 (attorneys) 20 Apr 2022 "What Designating Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism Would Mean" <https://www.crowell.com/NewsEvents/AlertsNewsletters/all/What-Designating-Russia-as-a-State-Sponsor-of-Terrorism-Would-Mean> (accessed 29 Aug 2022)

According to [recent reports](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2022/04/16/ukraine-russia-state-sponsor-terrorism-biden/), Ukrainian President Zelenskyy has directly requested that the United States designate Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism (“SST”), an action that the United States has been [considering](https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/3407/text#toc-id782ceae393604c87842d6db577d8ab53) for some time. The designation would have far-reaching implications and would automatically trigger some of the most aggressive unilateral sanctions in the United States’ arsenal, including restrictions on financial transactions, defense exports and sales, and foreign aid. These would further ramp up pressure from even the existing slew of sanctions imposed on Russia and its oligarchs.

Even if Russia refused to pay, victims would still get compensated under SST

Leslie Castello, David Wolff and John L. Murino 2022 (attorneys) 20 Apr 2022 "What Designating Russia as a State Sponsor of Terrorism Would Mean" <https://www.crowell.com/NewsEvents/AlertsNewsletters/all/What-Designating-Russia-as-a-State-Sponsor-of-Terrorism-Would-Mean> (accessed 29 Aug 2022)

Victims of other SSTs would also stand to benefit. The United States Victims of State Sponsored Terrorism Fund (“USVSST Fund”) was created by Congressional Act in 2015 and amended in 2019. The USVSST Fund provides compensation to victims of state-sponsored terrorism who have obtained federal district court judgments against an SST. It is set to exist until at least 2039 and pays eligible claimants a *pro rata* percentage of their judgments each year that it has collected enough funding to authorize a distribution. Funding arises primarily through the civil and criminal penalties assessed against violators of SST sanctions programs. Thus, if Russia is designated as an SST, penalties assessed against violators of the sanctions program will be used in part to satisfy the judgments of all eligible victims of terrorism.

Current Sanctions aren’t Working and we need the AFF Plan

Stuart Anderson 2022 (executive director of the National Foundation for American Policy, a non-partisan public policy research organization) July 5, 2022 “Why Russia Should Fear Being Declared a State Sponsor of Terror” <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2022/07/05/why-russia-should-fear-being-declared-a-state-sponsor-of-terrorism/?sh=530a80b92b6e> (Accessed July 19, 2022) (Brackets added)

[Jason M.] Blazakis served as director of the U.S. State Department’s Counterterrorism Finance and Designations Office in the Bureau of Counterterrorism from 2008 to 2018. “I know firsthand from experience that this is a reason why countries are not often added to the SST list—it complicates these second-order relations,” he said. “Yet, in the case of Russia, adding it to the list is important for this very reason. The U.S. government should want to complicate every aspect of another country's relationship with Russia. It is pretty clear to me that the balance has shifted again in Russia's favor and that they have withstood sanctions to date, and while sanctions require time to have impact, that impact is unlikely to be achieved by the winter unless a much more significant sanction is imposed—the listing of Russia as a state sponsor of terrorism.

The Four Countries on the List Bear Similarity to Russa’s Actions

*Mike Lofgren January 2022 (Mike Lofgren is a former congressional staff member, and the author of The Party Is Over: How Republicans Went Crazy, Democrats Became Useless, and the Middle Class Got Shafted and The Deep State: The Fall of the Constitution and the Rise of a Shadow Government) January 25, 2022 “Put Russia on the State Sponsor of Terrorism List”* [*https://washingtonmonthly.com/2022/01/25/put-russia-on-the-state-sponsored-terrorism-list/*](https://washingtonmonthly.com/2022/01/25/put-russia-on-the-state-sponsored-terrorism-list/) *(Accessed July 23, 2022)(Highlights Added for Emphasis)*

There remains, however, one measure that has not yet been publicly discussed. It is the neutron bomb of international sanctions: the State Department’s designation of Russia as a state sponsor of international terrorism. Currently, there are only four countries on that list, all of them second- or third-tier powers that would probably be international pariahs in any case: Cuba, Iran, North Korea, and Syria. The behaviors of these smaller despotic regimes bear similarity to Russian behavior. North Korea and Iran have conducted assassinations of dissidents on foreign territory in the same manner as Russia. North Korea was originally placed on the State Department list in 1988 for blowing up a South Korean airliner. This charge could apply to Russia for the shoot-down of Malaysian Airlines Flight 17 in 2014.

Only the other State Sponsors of Terror have had Sanctions like Russia Does Now

Gary C. Hufbauer and Megan Hogan 2022 (Gary Clyde Hufbauer is a nonresident senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics. Megan Hogan is a research analyst, also at PIIE.) March 16, 2022 <https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economic-issues-watch/how-effective-are-sanctions-against-russia> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

By historic yardsticks, the economic hardship now inflicted on Russia ranks among the brutal episodes of modern times, far greater than the mild punishment inflicted for the annexation of Crimea in 2014. In recent decades, only North Korea, Cuba, Iraq, and Iran have suffered comparable losses from the imposition of sanctions.

The U.S. Would be Perfectly Justified in doing the Plan

Prof. Alexander J. Motyl 2022 (professor of political science at Rutgers University-Newark, as well as a writer and painter. He served as associate director of the Harriman Institute at Columbia University from 1992 to 1998.) June 8, 2022 “Is Russia – legally – a ‘state sponsor of terrorism’?” <https://euobserver.com/opinion/155155> (Accessed July 23, 2022)

In sum, Russia is both a terrorist state and, together with North Korea, Cuba, Syria, and Iran, a state sponsor of terrorism. Were Washington so inclined, it would be [perfectly justified](https://www.state.gov/state-sponsors-of-terrorism/) in designating Russia as such and imposing "restrictions on US foreign assistance; a ban on defence exports and sales; certain controls over exports of dual use items; and miscellaneous financial and other restrictions." So, too, would the Europeans.

Western interest favors increasing sanctions to punish Putin's disastrous policies

Steven Pifer 2022 (former US ambassador to Ukraine; Nonresident Senior Fellow - [Foreign Policy](https://www.brookings.edu/program/foreign-policy/), [Center for Security, Strategy, and Technology](https://www.brookings.edu/center/center-for-security-strategy-and-technology/), [Center on the United States and Europe](https://www.brookings.edu/center/center-on-the-united-states-and-europe/), [Arms Control and Non-Proliferation Initiative](https://www.brookings.edu/project/arms-control-and-non-proliferation-initiative/), Brookings Institution) 23 May 2022 " The Russia-Ukraine war at three months" <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2022/05/23/the-russia-ukraine-war-at-three-months/> (accessed 30 June 2022)

The war has a clear victim and a clear aggressor. It is in the West’s interest that the Kremlin fail in its attempt to subjugate Ukraine and deny Ukrainians the right to determine their own course. That means continuing to provide the Ukrainians the means to defend their country and drive back the invading Russian army. That also means ratcheting up sanctions to accelerate the havoc coming to the Russian economy due to Putin’s disastrous decisions.

Russia can't evade: US sanctions have global comprehensive impact, evasion is effectively impossible

Ben Walsh 2022 (freelance journalist focusing on business and finance) The unprecedented American sanctions on Russia, explained 9 March 2022 <https://www.vox.com/22968949/russia-sanctions-swift-economy-mcdonalds> (accessed 23 June 2022)

Unfortunately for Russia, the sanctions put in place by the US and the West are extremely comprehensive, and working around them to avoid a sustained economic downturn will be effectively impossible. An influential [2019 academic paper](https://www.lawfareblog.com/introducing-new-paper-weaponized-interdependence) written by Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman argued that decades of economic globalization, far from weakening the power of sanctions, has actually made them an even stronger tool because “some countries—most prominently the U.S.—are able to cut businesses or even entire countries out of these global networks, with profound economic consequences.”

A/T "China helps Russia evade" - Won't work. China can't offset US and European sanctions

Ben Walsh 2022 (freelance journalist focusing on business and finance) The unprecedented American sanctions on Russia, explained 9 March 2022 <https://www.vox.com/22968949/russia-sanctions-swift-economy-mcdonalds> (accessed 23 June 2022)

An attempt at forging greater economic and financial ties with China is likely, and because the two countries previously had lower levels of business ties than Iran and China did when Iran was recently hit with US sanctions, such a shift may offer a real growth opportunity. But even a marked uptick in Russia-China trade cannot offset American and European sanctions.

A/T "Sanctions won't end the war" - But they are a critical part of the necessary policies

Prof. Taisa Markus 2022 (U. of Illinois adjunct law professor, expert in securities law, cross-border capital markets and corporate finance transactions) 20 Apr 2022 "How effective have economic sanctions been against Russia?" <https://news.illinois.edu/view/6367/739476220> (accessed 30 June 2022)

Historically, it is not the case that sanctions always achieve political objectives. The U.S. embargo on Cuba is an obvious example. However, sanctions are a necessary component of any response to the current situation and will play an important role if imposed adequately and collectively. Sanctions may be even more effective than in past cases given their scope, the interdependence of the global economy, the interconnectedness of the world and instantaneous communications and, interestingly, the self-sanctioning that many large enterprises have voluntarily undertaken.

Even if sanctions don't force Russia to drop the invasion, they discourage other aggressors from doing the same thing later

Leila Fadel (journalist) interviewing Dr. Ian Bremmer (founder of the Eurasia Group) 2022. (E.Group is a political risk consultancy firm; Bremmer - PhD from Stanford on Russian ethnicity in Ukraine) "Breaking down the effectiveness of the latest sanctions on Russia" 6 June 2022 (accessed 30 June 2022) https://www.npr.org/2022/06/06/1103270266/breaking-down-the-effectiveness-of-the-latest-sanctions-on-russia

FADEL: Right. And they're looking elsewhere to make up for the eventual Europe loss, namely China and India. You talked about punishing Russia. In the few seconds we have left, the long-term goal - punishing Russia on the global stage. What does that accomplish?   
BREMMER: The long-term goal is that a - an invasion of a democratic country to forcibly change their borders and wipe them off the map is not going to be tolerated by the United States and its global allies, either in NATO or in Asia. And I think that that sends a message not just to Russia but to other countries that consider further invasions in the future.

Sanctions on Russia deter other countries, like China, from aggression

Gary C. Hufbauer and Megan Hogan 2022 (Hufbauer - Senior Resesarch Staff, Peterson Institute for International Economics. Hogan - Research Analyst, PIIE) 16 Mar 2022 "How effective are sanctions against Russia?" <https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economic-issues-watch/how-effective-are-sanctions-against-russia> (accessed 1 July 2022)

Although deterrence clearly failed to stop Russia's aggression, the sanctions imposed after the Russian invasion of Ukraine could still deter other countries like China from undermining the sanctions. The sanctions may also deter China from carrying out its own aggressive acts against Taiwan. As for effectiveness, the sanctions have proven among the most powerful in modern history, largely because so many countries have gone along with them.

Sanctions deter Russia from any more future aggression as well as China

Gary C. Hufbauer and Megan Hogan 2022 (Hufbauer - Senior Resesarch Staff, Peterson Institute for International Economics. Hogan - Research Analyst, PIIE) 16 Mar 2022 "How effective are sanctions against Russia?" <https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economic-issues-watch/how-effective-are-sanctions-against-russia> (accessed 1 July 2022) (brackets in original)

Despite their failure in deterring the invasion, current sanctions may serve future deterrence: Putin might, for example, desist from threatening Moldova, Finland, and Sweden (not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO]) in his quest for a grander Russian empire. As well, Beijing might draw a sobering lesson from the worldwide condemnation of Russia and reconsider military plans for eventual unification with Taiwan. China is more integrated with the world economy than Russia: Two-way Chinese trade was [36 percent](https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NE.TRD.GNFS.ZS?end=2019&name_desc=false&start=1960) of GDP in 2019 while two-way Russian trade, excluding oil and gas exports, was [25 percent](https://oec.world/en/profile/country/rus/). The prospect of Russia-style sanctions on China would entail a drastic fall in living standards.

DISADVANTAGE RESPONSES

Duty to stop funding the war outweighs risk of harm to Russian people

Prof. [Avia Pasternak](https://www.newstatesman.com/author/aviapasternak) and Prof. [Zofia Stemplowska](https://www.newstatesman.com/author/zofiastemplowska) 2022 (Pasternak is Associate Professor in Political Theory at University College London. Stemplowska is Professor of Political Theory and Asa Briggs Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford) 19 Apr 2022 "Are severe sanctions on Russia morally justified?" <https://www.newstatesman.com/ideas/agora/2022/04/are-severe-sanctions-on-russia-morally-justified> (accessed 1 July 2022)

Citizens, investors and governments who continue to trade as usual with Russia run the risk that their contributions to the Russian economy will facilitate various atrocities, even if they do not wish for this to be the case. As a result, people have a duty to cease economic co-operation with Russian businesses through the imposition of trade sanctions. Such a duty is stringent in cases of grave harm, and this suggests that even very high burdens on Russian citizens, including risks of unemployment and hardship, cannot be invoked as a reason to continue economic cooperation with Russia.

Moral duty to not participate in funding the war with our trade outweighs other considerations

Prof. [Avia Pasternak](https://www.newstatesman.com/author/aviapasternak) and Prof. [Zofia Stemplowska](https://www.newstatesman.com/author/zofiastemplowska) 2022 (Pasternak is Associate Professor in Political Theory at University College London. Stemplowska is Professor of Political Theory and Asa Briggs Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford) 19 Apr 2022 "Are severe sanctions on Russia morally justified?" <https://www.newstatesman.com/ideas/agora/2022/04/are-severe-sanctions-on-russia-morally-justified> (accessed 1 July 2022)

To see this, consider the following case: you discover to your horror that the owner of your local corner shop invests what he earns into violent crime. Clearly, you are not to blame for the shopkeeper’s nefarious investments and for the harm you just learnt about. Nevertheless, you have a duty to stop using his business if you can. Being implicated in grave harm to others is a terrible thing, even if we did not intend it. So, we each have a stringent duty to try and avoid being in that position when we are aware of such harm. In the corner shop case, this means you have a duty to stop shopping there, even if shopping elsewhere is burdensome and even if shifting your business means someone in the shop loses their job.

Russian people are supporting the war, so yes - they do deserve to suffer from sanctions

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Our analysis points to one final justification for sanctions: the extent to which ordinary Russians play a part in Russia’s war effort. After all, it is Russian families who support the soldiers attacking Ukraine, Russian taxpayers who fund some of the tanks, and Russian citizens’ everyday actions that make the Russian state function. Many of those involved cannot help but act as they do: few can emigrate, and protest is costly. Nevertheless, they are implicitly helping the war effort. So perhaps they too can be expected to incur some harm if such harm could stop the war.

Harms to ordinary Russians currently don't outweigh benefit of sanctions. In fact, Russian atrocities justify increasing sanctions

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Of course, our analysis does not lead to the conclusion that any magnitude of harm is acceptable or that innocent Russians are not entitled to assistance if in dire need. At some point, the economic sanctions on Russia may have such devastating effects, economic and political, that they would need to be scrapped. But we are still far from that point. In fact, the recent reports of Russian atrocities in Ukraine suggest that [further economic restrictions](https://www.newstatesman.com/business/2022/03/stop-financing-the-aggressor-ukraines-former-finance-minister-natalie-jaresko-on-how-to-stop-putin) ought to be imposed. Those living outside of Russia can help Ukrainians by pressuring their governments to take this line.