AMENDMENT TO RULES COMM. PRINT 117–13
OFFERED BY MR. CHABOT OF OHIO

At the appropriate place in subtitle C of title XIII, insert the following:

SEC. 13. GRAY ZONE REVIEW ACT.

(a) Study Required.—Not later than 180 days after the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General shall submit to Congress a study on the capabilities of the United States to conduct and respond to gray zone campaigns.

(b) Elements With Respect to the Nature of Gray Zone Operations.—

(1) An evaluation of the adequacy and utility of the definitions set forth in subsection (h) for understanding gray zone activity and for operationalizing gray zone campaigns.

(2) Agencies, offices, and units of the Federal Government that are suited to gray zone operations or are at particular risk from gray zone operations that are not covered agencies for purposes of this section.
(c) Elements with Respect to Covered Agencies.—The study shall examine the following with respect to each covered agency:

(1) The capabilities, offices, and units that are especially suited to gray zone operations and a description of the roles each can play.

(2) Recommendations for addressing gaps within covered agencies for effectively conducting gray zone operations including proposed necessary investments to significantly increase these capabilities to mitigate gray zone threats, the rationale for each, and expected cost.

(d) Subdivisions with Respect to Certain Covered Agencies.—In addition to the elements described in paragraph (2) with respect to the agency as a whole, the report required under paragraph (1) shall also include specifically disaggregated information on the following:

(1) With respect to the section of the report relating to the Department of Defense, the information described in subsection (e) with respect to each military service and regional combatant command, as appropriate.

(2) With respect to the section of the study relating to the Department of State—
(A) an identification of 25 priority countries at the front lines of adversary gray zone aggression; and

(B) the adequacy of the Department of State’s public affairs elements, including the Global Engagement Center, for conducting and responding to information operations conducted as part of a gray zone campaign.

(e) Elements With Respect to Interagency.— The study shall examine the following with respect to interagency coordination of and capacity to conduct and respond to gray zone campaigns:

(1) The capacity of the interagency to marshal disparate elements of national power to effectively respond in a coordinated manner to adversary gray zone campaigns against the United States or partner nations.

(2) The capacity to recognize adversary campaigns from weak signals, including rivals’ intent, capability, impact, interactive effects, and impact on United States interests.

(3) A description of the process for determining the tolerance for adversary gray zone activity, including the methods and mechanisms for—
(A) determining which adversary gray zone activities are unacceptable;
(B) communicating these positions to adversaries;
(C) developing theories of deterrence; and
(D) establishing and regularly reviewing protocols with allies and partners to respond to such activities.

(4) Recommendations for addressing gaps between covered agencies as well as inadequacies and inefficiencies in the interagency coordination of covered agencies and their elements including a discussion of how such recommendations will be sufficient to achieve United States gray zone objectives and to counter adversary gray zone campaigns.

(f) FORM.—The report described in this subsection shall be submitted in an unclassified format insofar as possible and shall include a classified annex.

(g) COVERED AGENCIES DEFINED.—For purposes of the review and report described in paragraph (1), the term “covered agencies” means the following:

(1) The Department of State.
(2) The Department of Defense.
(3) The Department of Justice.
(4) The Department of Commerce

(6) The Department of the Treasury.

(7) The Office of the Director of National Intelligence.

(8) The Central Intelligence Agency.

(9) The National Security Agency.

(10) The United States International Development Finance Corporation.

(11) The United States Agency for Global Media.

(12) The United States Trade Representative.

(h) DEFINITION.—For purposes of this section:

(1) The term “gray zone operations” is defined as state-directed operations against another state that are not associated with routine statecraft and are meant to advance a country’s foreign objectives without crossing a threshold that results in a conventional military response or open hostilities. Such activities include the following:

(A) Information warfare, including the spreading of disinformation or propaganda.

(B) Encouraging internal strife within target countries.
(C) Coordinated efforts to unduly influence democratic elections or related political activi-
ties.

(D) Economic coercion.

(E) Cyber operations, below the threshold of conflict, aimed at coercion, espionage, or oth-
erwise undermining a target.

(F) Support of domestic or foreign proxy forces.

(G) Coercive investment and bribery for political aims.

(H) Industrial policy designed to monopo-
lize a strategic industry or to destroy such an industry in other nations, especially when co-
ordinated with other gray zone operations.

(I) Military, paramilitary, or similar provo-
cations and operations short of war.

(J) Government financing or sponsorship of activities described in subparagraphs (A) through (I).

(2) The term “gray zone campaigns” is the use of gray zone operations, including the coordination of gray zone operations against multiple domains,
with the goal of achieving a political or military objective.