

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:

1 **SEC. 13 ____ . GRAY ZONE REVIEW ACT.**

2 (a) STUDY REQUIRED.—Not later than 180 days
3 after the enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General
4 shall submit to Congress a study on the capabilities of the
5 United States to conduct and respond to gray zone cam-
6 paigns.

7 (b) ELEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE NATURE OF
8 GRAY ZONE OPERATIONS.—

9 (1) An evaluation of the adequacy and utility of
10 the definitions set forth in subsection (h) for under-
11 standing gray zone activity and for operationalizing
12 gray zone campaigns.

13 (2) Agencies, offices, and units of the Federal
14 Government that are suited to gray zone operations
15 or are at particular risk from gray zone operations
16 that are not covered agencies for purposes of this
17 section.

1 (c) ELEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO COVERED AGEN-
2 CIES.—The study shall examine the following with respect
3 to each covered agency:

4 (1) The capabilities, offices, and units that are
5 especially suited to gray zone operations and a de-
6 scription of the roles each can play.

7 (2) Recommendations for addressing gaps with-
8 in covered agencies for effectively conducting gray
9 zone operations including proposed necessary invest-
10 ments to significantly increase these capabilities to
11 mitigate gray zone threats, the rationale for each,
12 and expected cost.

13 (d) SUBDIVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO CERTAIN COV-
14 ERED AGENCIES.—In addition to the elements described
15 in paragraph (2) with respect to the agency as a whole,
16 the report required under paragraph (1) shall also include
17 specifically disaggregated information on the following:

18 (1) With respect to the section of the report re-
19 lating to the Department of Defense, the informa-
20 tion described in subsection (c) with respect to each
21 military service and regional combatant command,
22 as appropriate.

23 (2) With respect to the section of the study re-
24 lating to the Department of State—

1 (A) an identification of 25 priority coun-
2 tries at the front lines of adversary gray zone
3 aggression; and

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

9 (e) ELEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO INTERAGENCY.—
10 The study shall examine the following with respect to
11 interagency coordination of and capacity to conduct and
12 respond to gray zone campaigns:

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

18 (2) The capacity to recognize adversary cam-
19 paigns from weak signals, including rivals' intent,
20 capability, impact, interactive effects, and impact on
21 United States interests.

22 (3) A description of the process for determining
23 the tolerance for adversary gray zone activity, in-
24 cluding the methods and mechanisms for—

1 (A) determining which adversary gray zone
2 activities are unacceptable;

3 (B) communicating these positions to ad-
4 versaries;

5 (C) developing theories of deterrence; and

6 (D) establishing and regularly reviewing
7 protocols with allies and partners to respond to
8 such activities.

9 (4) Recommendations for addressing gaps be-
10 tween covered agencies as well as inadequacies and
11 inefficiencies in the interagency coordination of cov-
12 ered agencies and their elements including a discus-
13 sion of how such recommendations will be sufficient
14 to achieve United States gray zone objectives and to
15 counter adversary gray zone campaigns.

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

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

22 (1) The Department of State.

23 (2) The Department of Defense.

24 (3) The Department of Justice.

25 (4) The Department of Commerce

1 (5) The Department of Homeland Security.

2 (6) The Department of the Treasury.

3 (7) The Office of the Director of National Intel-
4 ligence.

5 (8) The Central Intelligence Agency.

6 (9) The National Security Agency.

7 (10) The United States International Develop-
8 ment Finance Corporation.

9 (11) The United States Agency for Global
10 Media.

11 (12) The United States Trade Representative.

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

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

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

22 (B) Encouraging internal strife within tar-
23 get countries.

1 (C) Coordinated efforts to unduly influence
2 democratic elections or related political activi-
3 ties.

4 (D) Economic coercion.

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

8 (F) Support of domestic or foreign proxy
9 forces.

10 (G) Coercive investment and bribery for
11 political aims.

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

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

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

21 (2) The term “gray zone campaigns” is the use
22 of gray zone operations, including the coordination
23 of gray zone operations against multiple domains,

- 1 with the goal of achieving a political or military ob-
- 2 jective.

