

AMENDMENT TO
RULES COMMITTEE PRINT 118-10
OFFERED BY MR. PFLUGER OF TEXAS

At the end of title XVIII, insert the following new subtitle:

1 **Subtitle _____—Gray Zone Defense**
2 **Assessment**

3 **SEC. 1. EVALUATION OF NATIONAL CAPACITIES FOR CON-**
4 **DUCTING GRAY ZONE OPERATIONS.**

5 (a) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date
6 of the enactment of this Act, the President shall conduct
7 a review and submit to the appropriate congressional com-
8 mittees a report on the processes and capabilities by which
9 the United States responds to gray zone campaigns and
10 recommendations to enhance such processes and capabili-
11 ties.

12 (b) ELEMENTS.—The report required by subsection
13 (a) shall include—

14 (1) an assessment of the capability and capacity
15 of the United States interagency to—

16 (A) identify adversary activity as a gray
17 zone campaign, including the adversary’s intent,

1 capabilities, interactive effects, and impact on
2 United States interests;

3 (B) devise effective theories of deterrence;
4 and

5 (C) coordinate instruments of United
6 States national power to consistently and effec-
7 tively respond to adversarial gray zone cam-
8 paigns against the United States or allies and
9 partners;

10 (2) a description of the process for determining
11 the threshold at which adversary gray zone activities
12 or campaigns targeting the United States, allies, or
13 partners threaten United States interests, including
14 the methods and mechanisms for—

15 (A) determining which such activities or
16 campaigns warrant a United States response;

17 (B) calibrating such response;

18 (C) communicating such thresholds to ad-
19 versaries; and

20 (D) establishing and regularly reviewing
21 protocols with allies and partners to respond to
22 such activities or campaigns; and

23 (3) recommendations for further enhancing the
24 ability of the United States to deter and respond to
25 adversarial gray zone campaigns, including—

1 (A) institutional reforms to enhance
2 United States interagency coordination in re-
3 sponse to adversarial gray zone campaigns and,
4 as necessary, additional statutory authorities
5 required to implement those reforms;

6 (B) additional resources, authorities, or in-
7 stitutional capacities necessary for United
8 States agencies to counter gray zone threats;
9 and

10 (C) budget estimates for the implementa-
11 tions of the recommendations made pursuant to
12 this paragraph.

13 (c) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)
14 shall be submitted in a classified form and shall contain
15 an unclassified summary.

16 (d) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES
17 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “appropriate con-
18 gressional committees” means—

19 (1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Per-
20 manent Select Committee on Intelligence, the Com-
21 mittee on Armed Services, the Committee on Finan-
22 cial Services, the Committee on Energy and Com-
23 merce, and the Committee on Homeland Security of
24 the House of Representatives; and

1 (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the
2 Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on
3 Armed Services, the Committee on Banking, Hous-
4 ing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Com-
5 merce, Science, and Transportation, and the Com-
6 mittee on Homeland Security and Governmental Af-
7 fairs of the Senate.

8 **SEC. 2. REPORT ON DEPARTMENT OF STATE CAPACITY TO**
9 **RESPOND TO GRAY ZONE AGGRESSION.**

10 (a) REPORT REQUIRED.—Not later than 180 days
11 after the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State
12 shall submit to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
13 House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign
14 Relations of the Senate a report discussing the capacity
15 of the Department of State to contribute to coordinated
16 United States responses to adversary gray zone campaigns
17 and the Department’s understanding of the gray zone
18 threat environment.

19 (b) ELEMENTS.—The report required by subsection
20 (a) shall also include the following:

21 (1) The capabilities, offices, and entities par-
22 ticularly suited to countering adversary gray zone
23 operations and a description of the roles each can
24 play.

1 (2) An evaluation of the adequacy and utility of
2 established Department of State definitions for un-
3 derstanding adversary gray zone activity.

4 (3) Recommendations, including proposed nec-
5 essary investments and the rationale and expected
6 costs of such investments, for further enhancing the
7 capacity of the Department of State to effectively re-
8 spond to adversary gray zone operations.

9 (4) An identification of 25 priority countries at
10 the front lines of adversary gray zone aggression
11 and a discussion, developed in consultation with rel-
12 evant embassy country teams, of the matters de-
13 scribed in paragraphs (1) through (3) with respect
14 to each such country.

15 (5) A list of activities that are currently being
16 undertaken to respond to adversary gray zone cam-
17 paigns conducted against such priority countries.

18 (c) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)
19 shall be submitted in a classified form and shall contain
20 an unclassified summary.

21 **SEC. 3. EXPANSION OF INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY AS-**
22 **SESSMENT REGARDING GRAY ZONE ASSETS.**

23 Section 6516 of the Intelligence Authorization Act for
24 Fiscal Year 2023 (division F of Public Law 117–263; 136
25 Stat. 3548) is amended—

1 (1) in the heading, by striking “Russian”;

2 (2) in subsection (a), by adding at the end the
3 following new paragraph:

4 “(4) COUNTRY OF CONCERN.—The term ‘coun-
5 try of concern’ means—

6 “(A) the People’s Republic of China;

7 “(B) the Russian Federation;

8 “(C) the Islamic Republic of Iran;

9 “(D) the Democratic People’s Republic of
10 Korea;

11 “(E) the Republic of Cuba; and

12 “(F) the Syrian Arab Republic.”; and

13 (3) in subsection (b)—

14 (A) in the heading—

15 (i) by inserting “**ANNUAL**” before

16 “**INTELLIGENCE**”; and

17 (ii) by striking “**RUSSIAN**”;

18 (B) in paragraph (1)—

19 (i) in the matter preceding subpara-
20 graph (A)—

21 (I) by inserting “annually” be-
22 fore “produce”; and

23 (II) by inserting “with respect to
24 each country of concern” after “intel-
25 ligence community assessment”; and

1 (ii) by striking “Russia” each place
2 the term appears and inserting “the coun-
3 try of concern”;

4 (C) in paragraph (2)—

5 (i) in the matter preceding subpara-
6 graph (A), by striking “Russia” and in-
7 serting “a country of concern”; and

8 (ii) in subparagraphs (B), (C), and
9 (D), by striking “Russia” each place it ap-
10 pears and inserting “the country of con-
11 cern”; and

12 (D) in paragraph (3)—

13 (i) in the matter preceding subpara-
14 graph (A), by striking “Russia” and in-
15 serting “each country of concern”; and

16 (ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking
17 “Russia” and inserting “the country of
18 concern”.

