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

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

Subtitle ____—Gray Zone Defense Assessment

SEC. 1. EVALUATION OF NATIONAL CAPACITIES FOR CONDUCTING GRAY ZONE OPERATIONS.

(a) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the President shall conduct a review and submit to the appropriate congressional committees a report on the processes and capabilities by which the United States responds to gray zone campaigns and recommendations to enhance such processes and capabilities.

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

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

(A) identify adversary activity as a gray zone campaign, including the adversary’s intent,
capabilities, interactive effects, and impact on United States interests;

(B) devise effective theories of deterrence;

and

(C) coordinate instruments of United States national power to consistently and effectively respond to adversarial gray zone campaigns against the United States or allies and partners;

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

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

(B) calibrating such response;

(C) communicating such thresholds to adversaries; and

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

(3) recommendations for further enhancing the ability of the United States to deter and respond to adversarial gray zone campaigns, including—
(A) institutional reforms to enhance United States interagency coordination in response to adversarial gray zone campaigns and, as necessary, additional statutory authorities required to implement those reforms;

(B) additional resources, authorities, or institutional capacities necessary for United States agencies to counter gray zone threats; and

(C) budget estimates for the implementation of the recommendations made pursuant to this paragraph.

(e) Form.—The report required by subsection (a) shall be submitted in a classified form and shall contain an unclassified summary.

(d) Appropriate Congressional Committees Defined.—In this section, the term “appropriate congressional committees” means—

(1) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on Financial Services, the Committee on Energy and Commerce, and the Committee on Homeland Security of the House of Representatives; and
(2) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation, and the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate.

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

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

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

(1) The capabilities, offices, and entities particularly suited to countering adversary gray zone operations and a description of the roles each can play.
(2) An evaluation of the adequacy and utility of established Department of State definitions for understanding adversary gray zone activity.

(3) Recommendations, including proposed necessary investments and the rationale and expected costs of such investments, for further enhancing the capacity of the Department of State to effectively respond to adversary gray zone operations.

(4) An identification of 25 priority countries at the front lines of adversary gray zone aggression and a discussion, developed in consultation with relevant embassy country teams, of the matters described in paragraphs (1) through (3) with respect to each such country.

(5) A list of activities that are currently being undertaken to respond to adversary gray zone campaigns conducted against such priority countries.

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

SEC. 3. EXPANSION OF INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY ASSESSMENT REGARDING GRAY ZONE ASSETS.

Section 6516 of the Intelligence Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2023 (division F of Public Law 117–263; 136 Stat. 3548) is amended—
(1) in the heading, by striking “Russian”; 

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

“(4) COUNTRY OF CONCERN.—The term ‘country of concern’ means—

“(A) the People’s Republic of China;

“(B) the Russian Federation;

“(C) the Islamic Republic of Iran;

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

“(E) the Republic of Cuba; and

“(F) the Syrian Arab Republic.”; and

(3) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the heading—

(i) by inserting “ANNUAL” before “INTELLIGENCE”; and

(ii) by striking “RUSSIAN”;

(B) in paragraph (1)—

(i) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A)—

(I) by inserting “annually” before “produce”; and

(II) by inserting “with respect to each country of concern” after “intelligence community assessment”; and
(ii) by striking “Russia” each place the term appears and inserting “the country of concern”;

(C) in paragraph (2)—

(i) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “Russia” and inserting “a country of concern”; and

(ii) in subparagraphs (B), (C), and (D), by striking “Russia” each place it appears and inserting “the country of concern”; and

(D) in paragraph (3)—

(i) in the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by striking “Russia” and inserting “each country of concern”; and

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

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