

**AMENDMENT TO**  
**RULES COMMITTEE PRINT 118-36**  
**OFFERED BY MR. PFLUGER OF TEXAS**

At the end of subtitle C of title XVII, insert the following new sections:

1 **SEC. 17\_\_\_ . EVALUATION OF NATIONAL CAPACITIES FOR**  
2 **COUNTERING GRAY ZONE OPERATIONS.**

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

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

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

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

1 (B) devise effective deterrence strategies;  
2 and

3 (C) coordinate instruments of United  
4 States national power to consistently and effec-  
5 tively detect and respond to adversarial gray  
6 zone campaigns against the United States or al-  
7 lies and partners;

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

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

15 (B) calibrating such response;

16 (C) communicating such thresholds to ad-  
17 versaries; and

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

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

24 (A) institutional reforms to enhance  
25 United States interagency coordination in re-

1           sponse to adversarial gray zone campaigns and,  
2           as necessary, additional statutory authorities  
3           required to implement those reforms;

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

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

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

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

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

23           (2) the Committee on Foreign Relations, the  
24           Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on  
25           Armed Services, the Committee on Banking, Hous-

1 ing, and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Com-  
2 merce, Science, and Transportation, and the Com-  
3 mittee on Homeland Security and Governmental Af-  
4 fairs of the Senate.

5 **SEC. 17\_\_\_\_. REPORT ON DEPARTMENT OF STATE CAPACITY**  
6 **TO RESPOND TO GRAY ZONE AGGRESSION.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

