

**SUBSTITUTE FOR THE AMENDMENT IN THE
NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE TO H.R. 7632
OFFERED BY MR. MEEKS OF NEW YORK**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

1 SEC. 1. SHORT TITLE.

2 This Act may be cited as the “Strategic Hybrid Ac-
3 tivities Defense and Operations for the West Act” or the
4 “SHADOW Act”.

**5 SEC. 2. ASSESSMENT AND ENGAGEMENT RELATING TO HY-
6 BRID WARFARE ACTIVITIES AGAINST UNITED
7 STATES INTERESTS.**

8 The Secretary of State may—

9 (1) in consultation with other relevant officials
10 of the Department of State and, as applicable, the
11 heads of other relevant Federal department and
12 agencies, assess the persistent and growing threat of
13 hybrid warfare activities, including in Europe
14 against United States interests as a matter of im-
15 portance to the foreign policy of the United States;

16 (2) engage diplomatically with foreign govern-
17 ments including in Europe to promote transatlantic
18 cooperation in countering and addressing hybrid

1 warfare activities that may threaten transatlantic
2 stability, the security of United States citizens and
3 institutions abroad, and the stability of the North
4 Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); and

5 (3) encourage closer United States information
6 sharing with NATO allies on hybrid warfare activi-
7 ties, including on Chinese and Russian cyber cam-
8 paigns including in Europe, through measures such
9 as the adoption of common attribution language,
10 shared red lines for disruptive activities, coordinated
11 non-kinetic response options, and common defini-
12 tions for gray zone activities, to strengthen shared
13 understanding, preparedness, and mitigation efforts.

14 **SEC. 3. COORDINATOR FOR HYBRID WARFARE ACCOUNT-**
15 **ABILITY.**

16 (a) DESIGNATION.—Not later than 90 days after the
17 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State
18 is authorized to designate a senior official from among ex-
19 isting officers or employees of the Department of State,
20 who shall report to the Under Secretary for Political Af-
21 fairs, to serve as the principal official responsible for co-
22 ordinating all Department of State activities and allied en-
23 gagement on hybrid warfare (in this section referred to
24 as the “Coordinator”).

1 (b) DUTIES.—The Coordinator shall oversee the ef-
2 forts of the Department of State relating to the following:

3 (1) Assessing, integrating, and disseminating
4 information on hybrid warfare activities, including
5 Chinese and Russian-linked efforts as well as those
6 of non-state actors, for use in diplomatic engage-
7 ment, interagency strategy, and allied coordination.

8 (2) Identifying analytic and operational gaps in
9 the United States understanding of hybrid threats
10 and developing recommendations to address those
11 gaps.

12 (3) Coordinating within NATO and among
13 NATO allies, as well as with other key partners,
14 such as South Korea, Japan, Australia, and New
15 Zealand, to facilitate timely information sharing, in-
16 cluding the exchange of assessments, and to support
17 the development of aligned response strategies
18 among allied and partner countries.

19 (4) Supporting resilience and de-risking efforts
20 with allies and partners in sectors vulnerable to for-
21 eign coercion, including critical infrastructure, tele-
22 communications, energy, and strategic materials.

23 (c) PLAN.—Not later than 60 days after the designa-
24 tion of a Coordinator pursuant to subsection (a), the Sec-

1 retary of State shall submit to the appropriate congres-
2 sional committees—

3 (1) the name of the official designated as the
4 Coordinator; and

5 (2) a strategy describing the manner in which
6 the Coordinator will support the Department of
7 State and interagency efforts to address hybrid
8 threats.

9 (d) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the des-
10 ignation of a Coordinator pursuant to subsection (a), and
11 annually thereafter for 3 years, the Coordinator shall sub-
12 mit to the appropriate congressional committees a report
13 detailing the following:

14 (1) Key assessments and findings on hybrid
15 warfare activities.

16 (2) Progress on interagency and allied coordina-
17 tion.

18 (3) Measures taken to support resilience and
19 de-risking efforts with allies and partners.

20 (e) FORM.—Each report required by this section may
21 be submitted in classified form as necessary to protect sen-
22 sitive sources and methods.

23 (f) HYBRID WARFARE ACTIVITIES DEFINED.—For
24 purposes of this section, the term “hybrid warfare activi-
25 ties” refers to the use of a combination of military and

1 non-military, as well as covert and overt, means to influ-
2 ence, destabilize, or undermine United States interests
3 abroad.

4 **SEC. 4. REPORT ON THE NEXUS OF CHINESE ENTITIES**
5 **THAT MATERIALLY SUPPORT RUSSIA'S DE-**
6 **FENSE INDUSTRIAL BASE.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the
8 date of the enactment of this Act, the Coordinator des-
9 ignated pursuant to section 3(a), in consultation with the
10 relevant heads of other Federal departments and offices,
11 shall submit to the appropriate congressional committees
12 a report that—

13 (1) identifies each Chinese entity the Coordi-
14 nator determines materially supports Russia's de-
15 fense industrial base; and

16 (2) recommends sanctions, export controls, or
17 other measures the Coordinator determines are nec-
18 essary or appropriate to address such support.

19 (b) FORM.—The report required by subsection (a)
20 shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may include
21 a classified annex only for the protection of intelligence
22 sources and methods relating to the matters contained in
23 such report.

24 (c) PUBLICATION.—The Secretary of State shall pub-
25 lish on a publicly available website of the Department of

1 State the unclassified portion of the report required by
2 subsection (a).

3 **SEC. 5. APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES DE-**
4 **FINED.**

5 In this Act, the term “appropriate congressional com-
6 mittees” means the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the
7 House of Representatives and the Committee on Foreign
8 Relations of the Senate.

