

**AMENDMENT IN THE NATURE OF A SUBSTITUTE  
TO H.R. 7443  
OFFERED BY MR. PFLUGER OF TEXAS**

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

**1 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “Countering  
3 Transnational Repression Act of 2024”.

**4 SEC. 2. TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.**

5 (a) FINDINGS AND SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING  
6 TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.—

7 (1) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following  
8 findings:

9 (A) The Department of Homeland Security  
10 (DHS) collaborates with Federal, State, and  
11 local partners to investigate allegations of  
12 transnational repression.

13 (B) DHS works to deter, dismantle, and  
14 mitigate criminal enterprises and hostile foreign  
15 government actors engaged in transnational re-  
16 pression.

17 (C) In October 2023, the Government Ac-  
18 countability Office (GAO) published a report

1           that found agency actions are needed to address  
2           harassment of dissidents and other tactics of  
3           transnational repression in the United States.

4           (D) According to GAO, several Federal  
5           agencies work to address transnational repres-  
6           sion, including DHS's Office of Intelligence and  
7           Analysis, which works to produce intelligence  
8           that support Federal, State, and local govern-  
9           ment entities to develop protective and support  
10          measures in response to threats of  
11          transnational repression, as well as DHS's Of-  
12          fice of Partnership and Engagement (OPE),  
13          which meets with stakeholders and victims of  
14          transnational repression to understand the  
15          range of transnational repression activities in  
16          the United States. For example, DHS hosted a  
17          listening session in March 2022 with stake-  
18          holders to learn about issues facing commu-  
19          nities in the United States. DHS has also  
20          issued reporting for State and local law enforce-  
21          ment agencies to raise awareness about acts of  
22          transnational repression.

23          (E) DHS's OPE also works to share avail-  
24          able Federal resources to help disrupt threats  
25          of transnational repression against United

1 States citizens, with Federal, State, local, Trib-  
2 al, and international partners so they coordi-  
3 nate countering acts of transnational repression  
4 and preparing best practices.

5 (2) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of  
6 Congress that—

7 (A) transnational repression and related  
8 terrorism threats by a foreign government or an  
9 agent of a foreign government to target individ-  
10 uals in the United States and persons outside  
11 of the United States are real and growing;

12 (B) agents acting on behalf of hostile for-  
13 eign governments employ a range of  
14 transnational repression tactics, including mak-  
15 ing threats, intimidation, harassment, surveil-  
16 lance, stalking, silencing, and planning physical  
17 harm or the kidnapping of individuals in the  
18 United States; and

19 (C) the Department of Homeland Security  
20 must take steps to recognize, assess, and help  
21 address this threat, thereby reducing risks to  
22 the people of the United States.

23 (b) TASK FORCE TO COUNTER TRANSNATIONAL RE-  
24 PRESSION.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle H of title VIII of  
2           the Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 451  
3           et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
4           lowing new section:

5   **“SEC. 890E. TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.**

6           “(a) TASK FORCE TO ANALYZE, MONITOR, AND IN-  
7   VESTIGATE TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.—

8           “(1) IN GENERAL.—There is established a Task  
9           Force, to be known as the ‘Transnational Repression  
10          Task Force’ (in this section referred to as the ‘Task  
11          Force’), within the Department of Homeland Secu-  
12          rity, which shall be responsible for, in coordination  
13          with the Office of Intelligence and Analysis, ana-  
14          lyzing and monitoring transnational repression and  
15          related terrorism threats.

16          “(2) DIRECTOR OF THE TASK FORCE.—

17                  “(A) APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR.—The  
18                  head of the Task Force shall be the Director of  
19                  the Transnational Repression Task Force, who  
20                  shall be appointed by the Director of Homeland  
21                  Security Investigations.

22                  “(B) REPORTING.—The Director of the  
23                  Transnational Repression Task Force shall re-  
24                  port to the Secretary of Homeland Security and  
25                  the Director of Homeland Security Investiga-

1           tions regarding all administrative, operational,  
2           and security matters of the Task Force.

3           “(3) STAFFING.—The Director of Homeland  
4           Security Investigations of the Task Force shall en-  
5           sure the Task Force—

6                   “(A) has a sufficient number of employees  
7                   to perform required duties; and

8                   “(B) has at least one employee dedicated  
9                   to ensuring compliance with privacy laws and  
10                  regulations.

11           “(4) DETAILEES AUTHORIZED.—The Task  
12           Force may accept and employ detailees with exper-  
13           tise in countering transnational repression and re-  
14           lated terrorism threats or related fields from any ele-  
15           ment of the intelligence community, or any other  
16           Federal agency the Director of the Transnational  
17           Repression Task Force determines appropriate, with  
18           or without reimbursement, consistent with applicable  
19           laws and regulations regarding such employees.

20           “(5) INFORMATION SHARING.—The Task Force  
21           shall review, in coordination with the Office of Intel-  
22           ligence and Analysis, information relating to  
23           transnational repression and related terrorism  
24           threats that is gathered by Federal, State, local,  
25           Tribal, and territorial partners, and the National

1 Network of Fusion Centers, and incorporate such in-  
2 formation, as appropriate, into the Task Force’s own  
3 information relating to transnational repression and  
4 related terrorism threats. The Task Force shall en-  
5 sure the dissemination to Federal, State, local, Trib-  
6 al, and territorial partners, and the National Net-  
7 work of Fusion Centers, of information related to  
8 transnational repression and related terrorism  
9 threats.

10 “(6) HOMELAND SECURITY ASSESSMENT ON  
11 TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.—

12 “(A) ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS.—Not later  
13 than 180 days after the date of the enactment  
14 of this section and annually thereafter for ten  
15 years, the Director of Homeland Security Inves-  
16 tigation, acting through the Director of the  
17 Transnational Repression Task Force, in co-  
18 ordination with the Office of Intelligence and  
19 Analysis and the Office of the Director of Na-  
20 tional Intelligence and the Federal Bureau of  
21 Investigation, as appropriate shall submit to the  
22 Committee on Homeland Security of the House  
23 of Representatives and the Committee on  
24 Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
25 of the Senate a report that assesses incidents of

1 transnational repression and related terrorism  
2 threats during the immediately preceding 12  
3 months.

4 “(B) CONTENTS.—Each assessment sub-  
5 mitted under subparagraph (A) shall also in-  
6 clude the following:

7 “(i) An analysis of attempted inci-  
8 dents of transnational repression and re-  
9 lated terrorism threats.

10 “(ii) A quantitative analysis of  
11 transnational repression and related ter-  
12 rorism threats, including the number of in-  
13 dividuals responsible for or associated with  
14 such transnational repression or related  
15 terrorism threats, and an identification of  
16 the country of citizenship or nationality of  
17 each such individual, and the roles of the  
18 foreign governments of such countries in  
19 enabling, preventing, mitigating, and re-  
20 sponding to transnational repression and  
21 related terrorism threats.

22 “(iii) Subject to appropriate protec-  
23 tions for sensitive information regarding  
24 law enforcement investigations and oper-  
25 ations, a description of efforts by the Fed-

1           eral Government to disrupt through inves-  
2           tigation transnational repression and re-  
3           lated terrorism threats.

4                   “(iv) Any other matters the Director  
5           of Homeland Security Investigations deter-  
6           mines relevant.

7                   “(C) FORM.—Each assessment under sub-  
8           paragraph (A) shall be submitted in unclassi-  
9           fied form, but may include a classified annex  
10          only for the protection of intelligence sources  
11          and methods relating to the matters contained  
12          in each such assessment. The Director of  
13          Homeland Security Investigations shall post on  
14          a publicly available website of the Department  
15          the unclassified portion of each such assess-  
16          ment.

17                  “(7) SUNSET.—The Task Force shall terminate  
18          on the date that is ten years after the date of the  
19          enactment of this section.

20                  “(b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

21                   “(1) AGENT OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.—  
22          The term ‘agent of a foreign government’ means an  
23          individual or entity that operates subject to the di-  
24          rection and control of—

25                   “(A) a foreign government; or



1                   “(B) an official or entity of such foreign  
2                   government.

3                   “(2) FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.—The term ‘for-  
4                   eign government’ means the government of a foreign  
5                   country.

6                   “(3) FUSION CENTER.—The term ‘fusion cen-  
7                   ter’ has the meaning given such term in subsection  
8                   (j) of section 210A of the Homeland Security Act of  
9                   2002 (6 U.S.C. 124h).

10                  “(4) INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—The term  
11                  ‘intelligence community’ has the meaning given such  
12                  term in section 3(4) of the National Security Act of  
13                  1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003(4)).

14                  “(5) NATIONAL NETWORK OF FUSION CEN-  
15                  TERS.—The term ‘National Network of Fusion Cen-  
16                  ters’ means a decentralized arrangement of fusion  
17                  centers intended to enhance individual State and  
18                  urban area fusion centers’ ability to leverage the ca-  
19                  pabilities and expertise of all such fusion centers for  
20                  the purpose of enhancing analysis and homeland se-  
21                  curity information sharing nationally.

22                  “(6) TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.—The term  
23                  ‘transnational repression’ means an action of a for-  
24                  eign government or an agent of a foreign govern-  
25                  ment that satisfies each of the following:

1 “(A) The action involves—

2 “(i) any effort intended to coerce, har-  
3 ass, or digitally or physically threaten, in-  
4 cluding by force or reasonable fear of  
5 death or serious bodily injury or imprison-  
6 ment of a person or an immediate family  
7 member of a person, a person to take an  
8 action in the interest of such a foreign gov-  
9 ernment;

10 “(ii) any effort intended to harass or  
11 coerce, including by force or fear, a person  
12 to forebear from exercising their First  
13 Amendment rights or any other right guar-  
14 anteed to the person by the Constitution or  
15 laws of the United States, or to retaliate  
16 against a person for having exercised such  
17 a right;

18 “(iii) an extrajudicial killing; or

19 “(iv) any act intended to further the  
20 efforts specified in clause (i), (ii), or (iii).

21 “(B) The action is engaged in for or in the  
22 interests of such a foreign government.

23 “(C) The action—

24 “(i) occurs, in whole or in part, in the  
25 United States; or

1                   “(ii) is committed against a United  
2                   States person.

3                   “(7) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term  
4                   ‘United States person’ has the meaning given such  
5                   term in section 1637(d)(10) of the Carl Levin and  
6                   Howard P. ‘Buck’ McKeon National Defense Au-  
7                   thorization Act for Fiscal year 2015 (50 U.S.C.  
8                   1708(d)(10)).”.

9                   (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of con-  
10                  tents in section 1(b) of the Homeland Security Act  
11                  of 2002 is amended by inserting after the item relat-  
12                  ing to section 890D the following new item:

“Sec. 890E. Transnational repression.”.

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to authorize a dedicated transnational repression task force within the Department of Homeland Security to analyze and monitor transnational repression and related terrorism threats and require the task force to take actions to prevent transnational repression.”.

