

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2158

To amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to authorize a dedicated transnational repression working group within the Department of Homeland Security to analyze and monitor transnational repression and terrorism threats related to transnational repression, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 14, 2025

Mr. PFLUGER (for himself, Mr. MAGAZINER, Mr. EVANS of Colorado, Mr. OGLES, Mr. MCCAUL, Mr. GUEST, and Ms. LEE of Florida) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Homeland Security, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To amend the Homeland Security Act of 2002 to authorize a dedicated transnational repression working group within the Department of Homeland Security to analyze and monitor transnational repression and terrorism threats related to transnational repression, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

2 This Act may be cited as the “Countering
3 Transnational Repression Act of 2025”.

4 **SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

5 It is the sense of Congress that—

6 (1) transnational repression and terrorism
7 threats related to transnational repression by a for-
8 eign government or an agent of a foreign govern-
9 ment to target individuals in the United States and
10 persons outside of the United States are real and
11 growing;

12 (2) agents acting on behalf of hostile foreign
13 governments employ a range of transnational repres-
14 sion tactics, including making threats, intimidation,
15 harassment, surveillance, stalking, silencing, and
16 planning physical harm or the kidnapping of individ-
17 uals in the United States; and

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

22 **SEC. 3. WORKING GROUP TO COUNTER TRANSNATIONAL**
23 **REPRESSION.**

24 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Subtitle H of title VIII of the
25 Homeland Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 451 et seq.)
26 is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

1 **“SEC. 890E. WORKING GROUP TO COUNTER**
2 **TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.**

3 “(a) WORKING GROUP.—

4 “(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established a
5 Working Group, to be known as the ‘Transnational
6 Repression Working Group’ (in this section referred
7 to as the ‘Working Group’), within the Department,
8 which shall be responsible for, in coordination with
9 the Office of Intelligence and Analysis, analyzing
10 and monitoring transnational repression and ter-
11 rorism threats related to transnational repression.

12 “(2) DIRECTOR.—

13 “(A) APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR.—The
14 head of the Working Group shall be a Director
15 of the Transnational Repression Working
16 Group, who shall be appointed by the Director
17 of Homeland Security Investigations.

18 “(B) REPORTING.—The Director of the
19 Transnational Repression Working Group shall
20 report to the Secretary and the Director of
21 Homeland Security Investigations regarding all
22 administrative, operational, and security mat-
23 ters of the Working Group.

24 “(3) STAFFING.—The Director of Homeland
25 Security Investigations shall ensure the Working
26 Group—

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

3 “(B) has at least one employee dedicated
4 to ensuring compliance with privacy laws and
5 regulations.

6 “(4) DETAILEES AUTHORIZED.—The Working
7 Group may accept and employ detailees with exper-
8 tise in countering transnational repression and ter-
9 rorism threats related to transnational repression or
10 related fields from any element of the intelligence
11 community, or any other Federal agency the Direc-
12 tor of the Transnational Repression Working Group
13 determines appropriate, with or without reimburse-
14 ment, consistent with applicable laws and regula-
15 tions regarding such employees.

16 “(5) INFORMATION SHARING.—The Working
17 Group, in coordination with the Office of Intelligence
18 and Analysis, shall review information relating to
19 transnational repression and terrorism threats re-
20 lated to transnational repression that is gathered by
21 Federal, State, local, Tribal, and territorial partners,
22 and the National Network of Fusion Centers, and
23 incorporate such information, as appropriate, into
24 the Working Group’s own information relating to
25 transnational repression and terrorism threats re-

1 lated to transnational repression. The Working
2 Group shall ensure the dissemination to Federal,
3 State, local, Tribal, and territorial partners, and the
4 National Network of Fusion Centers, of information
5 related to transnational repression and terrorism
6 threats related to transnational repression.

7 “(6) HOMELAND SECURITY ASSESSMENT ON
8 TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.—

9 “(A) ANNUAL ASSESSMENTS.—Not later
10 than 180 days after the date of the enactment
11 of this section and annually thereafter for seven
12 years, the Director of Homeland Security Inves-
13 tigation, acting through the Director of the
14 Transnational Repression Working Group, in
15 coordination with the Office of Intelligence and
16 Analysis and the Office of the Director of Na-
17 tional Intelligence and the Federal Bureau of
18 Investigation, as appropriate, shall submit to
19 the Committee on Homeland Security of the
20 House of Representatives and the Committee
21 on Homeland Security and Governmental Af-
22 fairs of the Senate a report that assesses inci-
23 dents of transnational repression and terrorism
24 threats related to transnational repression dur-
25 ing the immediately preceding 12 months.

1 “(B) CONTENTS.—Each assessment sub-
2 mitted under subparagraph (A) shall also in-
3 clude the following:

4 “(i) An analysis of attempted inci-
5 dents of transnational repression and ter-
6 rorism threats related to transnational re-
7 pression.

8 “(ii) A quantitative analysis of
9 transnational repression and terrorism
10 threats related to transnational repression,
11 including the number of individuals re-
12 sponsible for or associated with such
13 transnational repression or terrorism
14 threats related to transnational repression,
15 and an identification of the country of citi-
16 zenship or nationality of each such indi-
17 vidual, and the roles of the foreign govern-
18 ments of such countries in enabling, pre-
19 venting, mitigating, and responding to
20 transnational repression and terrorism
21 threats related to transnational repression.

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 ter-
3 rorism threats related to transnational re-
4 pression.

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

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

17 “(7) SUNSET.—The Working Group shall ter-
18 minate on the date that is seven years after the date
19 of the enactment of this section.

20 “(b) RESEARCH.—Not later than one year after the
21 date of the enactment of this section, the Secretary, in
22 coordination with the Under Secretary for Science and
23 Technology of the Department, the Director of the
24 Transnational Repression Office, and the Director of
25 Homeland Security Investigations, shall, to the extent

1 practicable, carry out research and development, including
2 operational testing, of technologies and techniques for en-
3 hancing the Department’s support to Federal, State, local,
4 Tribal, and territorial officials relating to countering
5 transnational repression and terrorism threats related to
6 transnational repression.

7 “(c) IMPLEMENTATION.—All activities carried out
8 pursuant to this section—

9 “(1) shall be carried out in accordance with ap-
10 plicable constitutional, privacy, civil rights, and civil
11 liberties protections; and

12 “(2) may not infringe upon the lawful exercise
13 of free speech by United States persons.

14 “(d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

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

19 “(A) a foreign government; or

20 “(B) an official or entity of such foreign
21 government.

22 “(2) FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.—The term ‘for-
23 eign government’ means the government of a foreign
24 country.

1 “(3) FUSION CENTER.—The term ‘fusion cen-
2 ter’ has the meaning given such term in subsection
3 (j) of section 210A.

4 “(4) INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.—The term
5 ‘intelligence community’ has the meaning given such
6 term in section 3(4) of the National Security Act of
7 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003(4)).

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

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

20 “(A) The action involves—

21 “(i) any effort intended to coerce, har-
22 ass, or digitally or physically threaten, in-
23 cluding by force or reasonable fear of
24 death or serious bodily injury or imprison-
25 ment of a person or an immediate family

1 member of a person, a person to take an
2 action in the interest of such a foreign gov-
3 ernment;

4 “(ii) any effort intended to harass or
5 coerce, including by force or fear, a person
6 to forebear from exercising the First
7 Amendment rights of such person or any
8 other right guaranteed to such person by
9 the Constitution or laws of the United
10 States, or to retaliate against a person for
11 having exercised such a right;

12 “(iii) an extrajudicial killing; or

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

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

17 “(C) The action—

18 “(i) occurs, in whole or in part, in the
19 United States; or

20 “(ii) is committed against a United
21 States person.

22 “(7) UNITED STATES PERSON.—The term
23 ‘United States person’ has the meaning given such
24 term in section 1637(d)(10) of the Carl Levin and
25 Howard P. ‘Buck’ McKeon National Defense Au-

1 thorization Act for Fiscal year 2015 (50 U.S.C.
2 1708(d)(10)).”.

3 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents
4 in section 1(b) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 is
5 amended by inserting after the item relating to section
6 890D the following new item:

“Sec. 890E. Working group to counter transnational repression.”.

