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(Original Signature of Member)

119TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. _____

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

Mr. PFLUGER introduced the following bill; which was referred to the
Committee on _____

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,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Countering
5 Transnational Repression Act of 2025”.

1 **SEC. 2. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

2 It is the sense of Congress that—

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

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

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

19 **SEC. 3. WORKING GROUP TO COUNTER TRANSNATIONAL**
20 **REPRESSION.**

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

24 **“SEC. 890E. WORKING GROUP TO COUNTER**
25 **TRANSNATIONAL REPRESSION.**

26 **“(a) WORKING GROUP.—**

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

9 “(2) DIRECTOR.—

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

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

21 “(3) STAFFING.—The Director of Homeland
22 Security Investigations shall ensure the Working
23 Group—

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

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

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

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

1 State, local, Tribal, and territorial partners, and the
2 National Network of Fusion Centers, of information
3 related to transnational repression and terrorism
4 threats related to transnational repression.

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

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