

117TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

H. R. 276

To establish a national commission to investigate the seditious attack on the United States Capitol and Congress on January 6, 2021, address the systemic failures in the United States Capitol security and intelligence apparatus to accurately assess outside threats, and study and propose recommendations to realign the mission of the United States Capitol Police, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 12, 2021

Mr. Bowman (for himself, Mrs. Beatty, Mr. Blumenauer, Ms. Bush, Ms. Clarke of New York, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Danny K. Davis of Illinois, Mr. Espaillat, Mr. García of Illinois, Mr. Horsford, Ms. Jacobs of California, Mr. Johnson of Georgia, Mr. Jones, Mr. Kahele, Ms. Lee of California, Ms. Meng, Ms. Newman, Ms. Ocasio-Cortez, Ms. Omar, Ms. Pressley, Mr. Rush, Mr. Torres of New York, Ms. Velázquez, Ms. Williams of Georgia, Ms. Schakowsky, Mr. Green of Texas, and Mrs. Napolitano) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, 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 establish a national commission to investigate the seditious attack on the United States Capitol and Congress on January 6, 2021, address the systemic failures in the United States Capitol security and intelligence apparatus to accurately assess outside threats, and study and propose recommendations to realign the mission of the United States Capitol Police, 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.** This Act may be cited as the "Congressional Over-4 5 sight of Unjust Policing Act". SEC. 2. FINDINGS. 6 7 Congress finds the following: 8 (1) On January 6, 2021, organized individuals 9 violently attacked the United States Capitol while 10 both chambers of Congress were in session, putting 11 the lives of Members, Congressional staff, and sup-12 port staff at risk. 13 (2) Various media reports suggest that certain 14 members of rank and file law enforcement officers 15 aided and abetted individuals who breached security 16 at the Capitol on January 6. 17 (3) Various media reports indicate that neither 18 the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) nor the 19 Department of Homeland Security (DHS) conducted 20 a risk assessment of demonstration activities, nor 21 issued a joint department bulletin as is customary 22 for large and notable public events. 23 (4)Officers Brian Sicknick and Howard
- 24 Liebengood died after defending the Capitol Com-

- plex and protecting those serving and working there on January 6, 2021.
 - (5) The United States Capitol Police provides limited information to the public about employee misconduct, and the Office of the Inspector General of the United States Capitol Police does not publicly disclose its reports, unlike the vast majority of other Inspectors General.
 - (6) In recent decades, community organizers have formed social justice and criminal reform movements to call for substantive changes in response to various incidents across the country in which law enforcement has used excessive force against civilians, often resulting in the death of those who present or identify as Black or Brown.
 - (7) In the Nation's Capital, and on the United States Capitol grounds, the disparate treatment of individuals is ever-present, as various Members of Congress and Congressional staff who come from communities of color have documented instances of refusal of entry and mistreatment by United States Capitol Police (USCP) officers.
 - (8) Further, in 2013, agents from the United States Secret Service and United States Capitol Police shot Miriam Carey, an unarmed individual, more

- than 20 times while she was in her car with her infant, hitting Carey five times and killing her.
 - (9) In 2018, United States Secret Service agents took Jessica Ford into custody without excessive force, even though she intentionally rammed a White House checkpoint with a gun in her hand.
 - (10) In 2017, during debates about Public Law 115–97, United States Capitol Police officers forcibly dragged peaceful demonstrators from the disability community out of wheelchairs and other supportive medical devices.
 - (11) In 2020, armed members of the District of Columbia National Guard were dispatched to stand guard on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial amidst peaceful protests.
 - (12) In 2020, United States Park Police and National Guard troops forced people into unmarked vans and used tear gas and fired rubber bullets to disperse peaceful protestors for the President's planned visit to St. John's Episcopal Church.
 - (13) In 2017, the FBI reported that white supremacists posed a "persistent threat of lethal violence" that has produced more fatalities than any other category of domestic terrorists since 2000.

1	(14) In 2015, the FBI's Counterterrorism Pol-
2	icy Directive and Policy Guide warned that subjects
3	of "domestic terrorism investigations focused on mi-
4	litia extremists, white supremacist extremists, and
5	sovereign citizen extremists often have identified ac-
6	tive links to law enforcement officers".
7	(15) A 2006 intelligence assessment, based on
8	FBI investigations and open sources warned of
9	"white supremacist infiltration of law enforcement .
10	by organized groups and by self-initiated infiltra-
11	tion by law enforcement personnel sympathetic to
12	white supremacist causes".
13	(16) Since 2000, hundreds of Federal, State,
14	and local law enforcement officials have been caught
15	expressing racist, nativist, and sexist views on social
16	media.
17	SEC. 3. ESTABLISHMENT OF U.S. COMMISSION ON UNJUST
18	POLICING.
19	(a) Establishment.—There is established a com-
20	mission to be known as the "U.S. Commission on Unjust
21	Policing" (in this Act referred to as the "Commission").
22	(b) Membership.—
23	(1) Composition.—The Commission shall be
24	composed of 19 members appointed as follows:

1	(A) 8 members shall be appointed by the
2	leadership of Congress, of whom—
3	(i) 2 shall be appointed by the major-
4	ity leader of the Senate;
5	(ii) 2 by the minority leader of the
6	Senate;
7	(iii) 2 by the Speaker of the House of
8	Representatives; and
9	(iv) 2 by the minority leader of the
10	House of Representatives.
11	(B) 8 members shall be appointed by the
12	Chairs of the following caucuses—
13	(i) 2 shall be appointed by the Con-
14	gressional Black Caucus;
15	(ii) 2 by the Congressional Hispanic
16	Caucus;
17	(iii) 2 by the Congressional Asian Pa-
18	cific American Caucus; and
19	(iv) 2 by the Congressional Progres-
20	sive Caucus.
21	(C) 3 members shall be appointed by the
22	President, each of whom shall be individuals
23	who are not officers or employees of the Fed-
24	eral Government and who are experts in at
25	least one of the following categories:

1	(i) Racial equity in law enforcement.
2	(ii) Preventing white nationalist ex-
3	tremist violence.
4	(iii) Large-scale reform of law en-
5	forcement agencies.
6	(2) Qualifications.—
7	(A) Areas of expertise.—Each member
8	of the Commission shall have knowledge or ex-
9	pertise, whether by education, experience, train-
10	ing, or activism, in at least one of the following
11	areas:
12	(i) Justice and civil rights.
13	(ii) Law enforcement and intelligence
14	oversight and reform.
15	(iii) Diverse and inclusive personnel
16	management.
17	(iv) Social and emotional development.
18	(v) Effective education and training
19	methods to combat implicit and uncon-
20	scious bias.
21	(vi) Behavioral economics.
22	(vii) Combating white supremacist,
23	and other extremist groups, movements,
24	and organizing efforts.

- 1 (B) SPECIAL RULE FOR MEMBERS AP2 POINTED BY CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP.—
 3 Each of the persons appointing members of the
 4 Commission under paragraph (1) shall ensure
 5 that one of the members so appointed is an in6 dividual who is not an officer or employee of the
 7 Federal Government.
 - (C) CIVILIAN REPRESENTATION.—Not fewer than 4 members of the Commission shall be individuals who are not officers of law enforcement agencies.
 - (D) DIVERSITY.—It is the intent of Congress that persons appointed to the Commission under paragraph (1) be persons who represent diverse economic, professional, and social backgrounds.

(3) Consultation and appointment.—

(A) In General.—The President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, minority leader of the House of Representatives, majority leader of the Senate, and minority leader of the Senate shall consult among themselves before appointing the members of the Commission in order to achieve, to the maximum extent practicable, representation of various fields of exper-

tise to ensure maximum impact by the Commission.

- (B) Completion of appointments.—
 The President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, minority leader of the House of Representatives, majority leader of the Senate, and minority leader of the Senate shall conduct the consultation under subparagraph (A) and make their respective appointments not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act.
- (C) VACANCIES.—A vacancy in the membership of the Commission shall not affect the powers of the Commission and shall be filled in the same manner as the original appointment not later than 30 days after the vacancy occurs.
- (4) Terms.—Each member of the Commission shall serve for a term of one year, and may be reappointed to additional terms.
- (5) Removal.—Subject to the approval of a majority of the members of the Commission, a member of the Commission may be removed for cause at any time by the person who appointed the member if the member fails to meet responsibilities of the commission.

(c) Meetings.—

(1) Initial meeting.—Not later than 30 days after the date on which all members of the Commission have been appointed, the Commission shall hold its first meeting.

(2) Subsequent meetings.—

- (A) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chair.
- (B) FREQUENCY.—The Chair shall call a meeting of the members of the Commission not less frequently than once every 3 months.
- (3) QUORUM.—Ten members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum, but a lesser number may hold hearings.
- (4) CHAIR AND VICE CHAIR.—The Commission shall select a Chair and Vice Chair from among its members. The Chair and Vice Chair shall serve in that position for a term of 1 year and may be reappointed for additional terms.
- (5) Transparency and public input.—Each meeting of the Commission for which a quorum is present shall be open to the public, either in person or remotely through digital technology, and the Commission shall establish procedures for members of the public to submit testimony at Commission

- 1 meetings regarding the topics presented during such
- 2 meetings.

3 SEC. 4. DUTIES OF COMMISSION.

- 4 (a) In General.—The duties of the Commission are 5 as follows:
- 6 (1) To carry out a comprehensive investigation 7 into decisions of leadership at the United States 8 Capitol Police, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 9 the United States Secret Service, and the Depart-10 ment of Homeland Security, leading up to and dur-11 ing the siege of the United States Capitol on Janu-12 ary 6, 2021, including an assessment on whether 13 conscious and unconscious bias was a factor in the 14 gross miscalculation of the risk posed by protestors 15 to Members of Congress and staff on that date.
 - (2) To carry out a comprehensive investigation in coordination with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other Federal entities as appropriate into whether current members of the United States Capitol Police have ties to white supremacist and other extremist groups, movements, and organizing efforts; and whether any members of the United States Capitol Police neglected their duty and colluded with protestors or other law enforcement entities.

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- 1 (3) To recommend specific measures and re2 forms to Congress and other stakeholders on how
 3 the United States Capitol Police must realign prior4 ities and practice to address disparate use of force
 5 and surveillance targets in and around the Capitol
 6 Complex, including changes to existing law, changes
 7 to Federal programs, and suggestions for actions the
 8 private sector can take.
- 9 (4) To recommend specific measures and re-10 forms to Congress and other stakeholders to realign 11 recruitment, hiring, and retention policies and prac-12 tices of the United States Capitol Police to address 13 both conscious and unconscious biases, including 14 changes to existing law, changes to Federal pro-15 grams, and suggestions for actions the private sector 16 can take.
- 17 (b) Consultation With Other Departments
 18 and Agencies.—In carrying out its duties, the Commis19 sion shall consult with officials of appropriate departments
 20 and agencies of the Federal Government, including each
 21 of the following:
- (1) The Federal Bureau of Investigation.
- 23 (2) The United States Secret Service.
- 24 (3) The Department of Homeland Security.
- 25 (4) The Department of Justice.

(c) Reports.—

- (1) Ongoing reports.—Because it is the intent of Congress that the Commission expeditiously and carefully identify and rectify inequities in how law enforcement at the Capitol Complex surveils and protects members of the Congressional community, not later than 9 months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Commission shall submit to Congress and the President an initial report on the issues described in subsection (a) and related issues.
 - (2) Annual Report.—In the year following its first meeting and annually thereafter, the commission shall provide to Congress and the public a report on the status of its work.
- (3) Internet available to the public via a publicly accessible Federal website that is prominently marketed and shared by the Commission.

19 SEC. 5. POWERS OF COMMISSION.

20 (a) Hearings.—The Commission may hold such 21 hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take such 22 testimony, and receive such evidence as the Commission 23 considers appropriate to carry out its duties under this 24 Act.

- 1 (b) Powers of Members and Agents.—If author-
- 2 ized by the Commission, any member or agent of the Com-
- 3 mission may take any action which the Commission is au-
- 4 thorized to take under this Act.
- 5 (c) Information From Federal Agencies.—
- 6 (1) In General.—The Commission shall secure 7 directly from any Federal department or agency 8 such information as the Commission considers nec-9 essary to carry out the provisions of this Act. Upon 10 the request of the Chair of the Commission, the 11 head of such department or agency shall furnish 12 such information to the Commission as expeditiously 13 as practicable.
 - (2) Treatment of classified information sought by the Commission under paragraph (1) that is classified, the Federal department or agency involved shall provide the Commission with an unclassified summary of the information, except that any Member of the Commission who has received an appropriate security clearance that is commensurate with the sensitivity of the classified information involved may receive such classified information.
- 24 (d) Administrative Support Services.—Upon 25 the request of the Commission, the Administrator of the

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General Services Administration shall provide to the Commission, on a reimbursable basis, administrative support 3 services necessary for the Commission to carry out its re-4 sponsibilities under this Act. 5 (e) Contract Authority.— 6 (1) In General.—Except as provided in para-7 graph (2), the Commission is authorized— 8 (A) to procure supplies, services, and prop-9 erty; and 10 (B) to make or enter into contracts, leases, 11 or other legal agreements. (2) Limitation.—The Commission may not 12 13 enter into any contract, lease, or other legal agree-14 ment that extends beyond the date of the termi-15 nation of the Commission under section 7(a). 16 (f) Postal Services.—The Commission may use the United States mail in the same manner and under the same conditions as other departments and agencies of the 18 19 Federal Government. 20 (g) GIFTS, BEQUESTS, AND DEVISES.—The Commis-21 sion is authorized to solicit, accept, use, and dispose of gifts, bequests, or devises of money, services, or property, 23 both real and personal, for the purpose of covering the costs incurred by the Commission to carry out its duties

under this Act.

SEC. 6. COMMISSION PERSONNEL MATTERS.

- 2 (a) Compensation of Members.—Members of the
- 3 Commission shall serve without compensation for their
- 4 service, but may receive travel expenses, including per
- 5 diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with applicable
- 6 provisions under subchapter I of chapter 57 of title 5,
- 7 United States Code.
- 8 (b) Staff.—
- 9 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Chair of the Commis-
- sion shall, in consultation with the members Com-
- mission, appoint an executive director and such
- other additional personnel as may be necessary to
- enable the Commission to perform its duties.
- 14 (2) Compensation.—The Chair of the Com-
- mission may appoint the executive director and other
- personnel without regard to the provisions of title 5,
- 17 United States Code, governing appointments in the
- competitive service, and may fix their pay without
- regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and sub-
- 20 chapter III of chapter 53 of that title relating to
- 21 classification and General Schedule pay rates, except
- 22 that an individual so appointed may not receive pay
- in excess of the annual rate of pay for level IV of
- the Executive Schedule under section 5315 of title
- 5, United States Code.

1	(3) Application of congressional ac-
2	COUNTABILITY ACT OF 1995.—For purposes of the
3	Congressional Accountability Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C.
4	1301 et seq.)—
5	(A) the Commission shall be considered an
6	employing office; and
7	(B) the employees of the Commission shall
8	be considered covered employees.
9	(c) Detail of Government Employees.—Upon
10	request of the Commission, the head of any Federal de-
11	partment or agency may detail, on a reimbursable basis,
12	any employee of that department or agency to the Com-
13	mission to assist it in carrying out its duties under this
14	Act.
15	(d) Acceptance of Voluntary Services.—Not-
16	withstanding section 1342 of title 31, United States Code,
17	the Commission may accept and use voluntary and uncom-
18	pensated services as the Commission deems necessary.
19	SEC. 7. TERMINATION OF COMMISSION.
20	(a) In General.—The Commission shall terminate
21	on the earlier of—
22	(1) the date that is 2 calendar years after the
23	initial meeting of the Commission; or
24	(2) upon completion and presentation of all re-
25	ports to Congress from the Commission.

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1	(b) Application of Federal Advisory Com-
2	MITTEE ACT.—
3	(1) In general.—Except as provided in para-
4	graph (2), the provisions of the Federal Advisory
5	Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.) shall apply to the
6	activities of the Commission under this Act.
7	(2) Exception.—Section 14(a)(2) of such Act
8	(5 U.S.C. App.) shall not apply to the Commission.
9	SEC. 8. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.
10	(a) In General.—There are authorized to be appro-
11	priated to carry out this Act such sums as may be nec-
12	essary for each of the first 2 fiscal years which begin after
13	the date of the enactment of this Act.
14	(b) Amounts Available.—Amounts appropriated

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16 remain available until the termination of the Commission.

15 in accordance with this section for any fiscal year shall