

**AMENDMENT TO RULES COMM. PRINT 115-23**  
**OFFERED BY MR. CARBAJAL OF CALIFORNIA**

At the end of subtitle D of title XII, add the following new section:

1 **SEC. 12\_\_ . ASSESSMENT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES BY**  
2 **THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.**

3 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

4 (1) In 1986, an interagency working group  
5 issued a report assessing “active measures” by the  
6 former Soviet Union against the United States.

7 (2) The working group concluded that “there is  
8 a massive and highly organized effort by the Soviet  
9 Union and its proxies to influence world opinion”.

10 (3) The working group further observed that  
11 “this effort includes public diplomacy to enhance the  
12 Soviet image abroad and . . . also includes a per-  
13 sistent, widespread program of disinformation and  
14 deception designed to discredit the U.S. image  
15 abroad and disrupt U.S. policy objectives.”.

16 (4) Active measures by the Russian Federation  
17 have shown no diminution since the last report  
18 issued by the working group in 1987, including—

1 (A) to undercut democratic processes and  
2 institutions in the United States and partner  
3 nations;

4 (B) to challenge the international liberal  
5 order; and

6 (C) to establish an unfettered sphere of in-  
7 fluence.

8 (5) The Director of National Intelligence con-  
9 cluded in light of the Russian Federation's hacking  
10 of the 2016 presidential election that "Russian ef-  
11 forts to influence the 2016 U.S. presidential election  
12 represent the most recent expression of Moscow's  
13 longstanding desire to undermine the U.S.-led liberal  
14 democratic order."

15 (6) The Russian Federation utilizes an array of  
16 military, cyber, intelligence, and economic tactics to  
17 weaken United States democratic institutions, divide  
18 Europe from the United States, divide Europe from  
19 within, undermine organizations such as the North  
20 Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European  
21 Union, and coerce partners to cooperate with Rus-  
22 sia.

23 (7) Militarily, the Russian Federation forced  
24 the illegal occupation of Crimea in March 2014 and  
25 the invasion of Georgia in 2008.

1           (8) The Russian military continues to engage in  
2 acts of aggression and intimidation against United  
3 States allies across Europe.

4           (9) The Russian Federation's subversive activi-  
5 ties undermine trust in democratic systems, giving  
6 rise to political instability.

7           (b) ASSESSMENT OF SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES BY  
8 THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION.—

9           (1) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after  
10 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary  
11 of State, in coordination with the Secretary of De-  
12 fense, shall submit to Congress a report setting forth  
13 an assessment, obtained by the Secretaries for pur-  
14 poses of the report, of subversive activities by the  
15 Russian Federation.

16           (2) INDEPENDENT ASSESSMENT.—

17           (A) IN GENERAL.—The assessment ob-  
18 tained for purposes of paragraph (1) shall be  
19 conducted by a federally funded research and  
20 development center (FFRDC), or another ap-  
21 propriate independent entity with expertise in  
22 diplomatic and military developments in Europe  
23 and the Russian Federation, selected by the  
24 Secretary for purposes of the assessment.

1 (B) USE OF PREVIOUS STUDIES.—The en-  
2 tity conducting the assessment may use and in-  
3 corporate information from previous studies on  
4 matters appropriate to the assessment.

5 (3) ELEMENTS.—The assessment obtained for  
6 purposes of paragraph (1) shall include the fol-  
7 lowing:

8 (A) An assessment of disinformation and  
9 propaganda activities of the Russian Federa-  
10 tion, including an assessment of—

11 (i) legal and financial support for  
12 disinformation and propaganda activities  
13 with respect to the United States and for-  
14 eign countries;

15 (ii) the overall structure of the Rus-  
16 sian Government’s disinformation and in-  
17 fluence apparatus, including its defense  
18 and intelligence agencies and propaganda  
19 outlets; and

20 (iii) propaganda techniques, including  
21 forgery, use of media representatives and  
22 proxies, use of front organizations, and ef-  
23 forts to influence international organiza-  
24 tions.

1 (B) An assessment of support by the Rus-  
2 sian Federation for separatist activities and  
3 other aggressive actions aimed at undermining  
4 the sovereignty of foreign countries, particularly  
5 in Ukraine and the Baltic countries.

6 (C) An assessment of cyber intrusions by  
7 the Russian Federation to influence the infra-  
8 structure and democratic processes in the  
9 United States and other countries.

10 (D) An assessment of the use of energy ex-  
11 ports by the Russian Federation for purposes of  
12 political or economic coercion.

13 (E) An assessment of suppressive demo-  
14 cratic conditions in the Russian Federation, in-  
15 cluding—

16 (i) suppression of freedom of the  
17 press;

18 (ii) treatment of political activists and  
19 opposition leaders;

20 (iii) suppression of minority rights;

21 (iv) suppression of human rights; and

22 (v) efforts to undermine nongovern-  
23 mental organizations and Russian civil so-  
24 ciety.

1           (4) FORM.—The report required under para-  
2           graph (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form,  
3           but may include a classified annex.

