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in a strong military and political alliance, sharing principles and a belief in freedom as well as a common interest in the security and prosperity of our nations. If two World Wars showed us that this was a single world as far as freedom was concerned, the Great Depression of the 1930's showed the same to be true in the economic sphere. The great international institutions created after the second World War, the UN, IMF, World Bank and GATT, not to mention the North Atlantic Alliance, were created precisely to prevent a repetition of the mistakes of the then recent past.

The world prospered under those institutions. There were many reasons but the recognition of the one-world thesis was an important one. This was the period of booming economics based on rising world trade based in turn on greater international cooperation and breaking down the technical and political barriers which prevented the efficient flow of products, ideas, capital and technology.

For a number of reasons, since 1973 the world has been a more difficult place and all our countries have been subjected to political, economic and social pressures. With the passage of the years, and under the pressure of short-term problems—notably the effects of volatile exchange rates—we have come close to ignoring the lessons of the past. Protectionist trade pressures grow: back in Britain in 1980/81 when the pound was strong, in the United States over the past two years; with major protectionist trade legislation actually passed both Houses of Congress. The North Atlantic Alliance is questioned here and there. The European Community becomes bogged down in internal squabbles. Some in the United States—I hasten to say not in the Administration—critical of others and perhaps not enough of themselves, threaten that the United States must pull in its horns in the security field or in the trade and economic field.

The word goes out that the serious problems facing the nation are problems from abroad. Other countries are not carrying their share of the defence burden. Other countries buy Iranian oil and refuse to help protect tankers in the Gulf. Other countries won't buy American goods or flood the American market with their goods. Other countries are buying up US industry. Other countries are bankrupting US farmers. If the diagnosis takes this form, then the solution seems obvious: somehow or other get the other countries to change the behavior and the problems will go away.

Of course, they won't, because, as the famous saying goes, we have seen the problem and the problem is us: We are all part of the problem, and all part of the solution. We all share the defense burden—some could do more and some deserve to do less, but the fact is that most of the west's armed forces in Europe, in all arms, are European. British ships, including minesweepers, are in the Gulf, along with the US Navy. US farmers increased output by 25 percent between 1975-85, contributing mightily to the world's agricultural surpluses. US consumption, investment and government expenditure are more than the nation produces. But the effect is that you have to import the difference, running a trade deficit, as well as a large budget deficit, and foreigners have to lend you the money to pay for it and to make up the shortfall in US domestic savings. That is why the world has waited with bated breath to see by how much, and how, the President and the Congress would move to reduce the US budget deficit.

There are faults on both sides of the Atlantic, and plenty of blame to go round. I would not want particularly to defend the common agricultural policy. And in Europe

some—not the UK—could do more by stimulating their domestic economies to maintain world demand. But if Black Monday wiped unimaginable sums off individual's wealth, it also reminded us again of our interdependence. The one lesson we have learned from the 1930s, and that we must not forget now, is that we can only compound our problems if we try to solve them separately, and can solve them only if we work together.

That does not absolve us from solving our own problems and I think Mrs. Thatcher's Britain has set about that in a striking and successful way. Our growth rate at 4 percent is the highest in the industrial world. During the Reagan years the British economy has grown more than the US economy. Barriers to economic efficiency have been removed, the excessive power of the trade unions has been broken, nationalized industries are being privatized, share ownership has spread to a fifth of the population, inflation has been brought under control, the budget deficit has been reduced from over 9 percent of GDP 11 years ago to close to balance today. So Britain is proving a good place to invest, as many American firms, with total investments of some \$36 billion have found. And in the reserve direction Britain has become a substantial source of investment in this country, some \$70 billion and is the largest foreign investor in the U.S.—a two way flow which is to the great benefit of both countries.

I would like to think that that sums up our relationship: a two-way flow of great benefit to us both—whether in terms of military and political cooperation, in arms control negotiations with the Russians or making the Gulf safer for shipping, in economic affairs by promoting the consolidation and expansion of the world's open trading system, or at the level of personal exchanges and sentiment, like tomorrow's Regatta. I am sorry that there are no British boats but there are lots of good British boats available, as I saw for myself at the Annapolis boat show last month. I look forward to a time when a British boat wins the Regatta, thus redeeming 1776. Meanwhile I am delighted to be here and thank you all for listening.

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES IN THE UNITED STATES—AN UPDATED REPORT BY THE FBI

HON. C.W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1987

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, yesterday President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev signed a treaty that will for the first time in history eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons.

As the Soviets themselves have said, however, this agreement is only a beginning and only addresses short-range nuclear weapons. There are still many other areas of concern we have with the Soviets including their reliance on active measures operations to discredit our Nation in the eyes of our allies and, in fact, in the eyes of our own people.

Throughout my 6-year tenure on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and also as member of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, I have done everything I can to provide the American people with information about previously little-known or little-understood Soviet active measures operations

designed to give them a diplomatic and political advantage over the United States by undermining United States credibility with our allies throughout the world and advancing their own foreign policy objectives.

The Intelligence Committee has held extensive hearings over the years with United States intelligence and counterintelligence officials testifying about the wide range of active measures techniques employed by the Soviets here and abroad. These include the use of forged documents, written and oral disinformation, agents of influence, political influence operations, Communist parties, and an international network of Soviet-controlled front groups.

The committee also has received testimony from Soviet and East-bloc defectors who directed many of the active measures campaigns against the United States. Among these defectors, who have been an invaluable source of information to our intelligence community, was Ladislav Bittman, the former Deputy Chief of the Disinformation Department of the Czechoslovakia Intelligence Service, and Stanislav Levchenko, a former high-ranking officer in the Soviet KGB who was responsible for active measures campaigns in Japan.

In an effort to increase public awareness of these Soviet activities, I persuaded the chairman of the Intelligence Committee to declassify and release large portions of these hearings, and the FBI to declassify a 1983 report by its intelligence division detailing Soviet active measure relating to the United States peace movement. Increasing public awareness and understanding of Soviet active measures operations will improve our ability, and that of our allies, to expose Soviet active measures operations and diminish their effectiveness. American journalists and scholars are becoming increasingly aware of Soviet forgery and disinformation campaigns and are taking great care in checking their authenticity. Similar caution is being exercised in Europe, a favorite target for the Soviets to initiate active measures operations.

Although we are experiencing increasing success at uncovering and derailing these Soviet efforts, we still have a long way to go if we are to expose the thousands of forgeries and countless Soviet agents and contacts that are damaging United States credibility throughout the world. There is no way to know precisely how much the Soviets spend on their active measures operations, but the CIA estimates that it is in excess of \$4 billion per year.

In an effort to further increase public awareness of Soviet active measures, the FBI has provided me with an update of its 1983 report on Soviet active measures operations here in the United States. The complete report entitled "Soviet Active Measures in the United States 1986-87" follows my remarks.

Mr. Speaker, while I share the hope of all Americans that this week's summit meetings will be productive and lead to a better understanding between United States and Soviet leaders, I caution my colleagues to be aware of Soviet active measures efforts, especially at a time when the world's media is focused on these negotiations. Active measures such as forgeries and disinformation are an important foreign policy tool of the Soviet Union and I commend this latest FBI report to my

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colleagues so that they might better understand Soviet efforts to alter United States policy and world opinion and to increase public awareness of this Soviet effort in the months and years ahead.

The text of the report follows:

SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1986-87. PREPARED BY THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

I. OVERVIEW OF SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES OPERATIONS

Definition and Objectives

The term active measures is a literal translation of a Russian phrase used to describe overt and covert techniques and intelligence operations designed to advance Soviet foreign policy objectives and to influence events in foreign countries. In the United States, Soviet active measures operations utilized a wide range of techniques which include: forged documents, written and oral disinformation, agents of influence, political influence operations, use of Communist parties, and an international network of Soviet-controlled front groups.

Although most Soviet active measures occur overseas, those activities that occur in this country contribute to advancing Soviet foreign policy interests and in general discredit the United States. The Soviet leadership in Moscow takes a long-term view of its active measures operations directed against the United States. Through these operations, the Soviets attempt to: directly influence the policies and actions of the U.S. Government; undermine public confidence in U.S. leaders and institutions; influence public opinion against certain U.S. military, economic, and political programs; disrupt relations between the United States and its allies; and demonstrate that the policies and goals of the United States are incompatible with the growth of developing nations.

The Soviet leadership views active measures as an important instrument to carry out its foreign policy goals and objectives. The highest level of the Soviet government, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC, CPSU), ultimately approves the major themes of Soviet foreign policy and active measures operations. Under the Politburo's general direction, a large and complex bureaucracy designs and implements specific active measures campaigns. The Politburo still considers the United States the "main enemy" and therefore directs a large percentage of its total resources against the U.S. Government.

The Soviet Government's Active Measures Apparatus

During 1986 and early 1987, the Soviet Union restructured but did not reduce its vast active measures apparatus in Moscow. They reorganized the International Department (ID), abolished the International Information Department of the CPSU, and named new experts on Canada and the United States to top leadership positions. Alexander Yakovlev, who was the Soviet Ambassador to Canada from 1973-1983, was named as a candidate member of the Politburo in January 1987. Yakovlev also heads the Propaganda Department of the CPSU. Anatoliy Dobrynin, the former Soviet Ambassador to the United States, was appointed by General Secretary Gorbachev to head the reorganized ID. In addition, Dobrynin was appointed to the senior position of CPSU Secretary.

Both Yakovlev and Dobrynin lived and worked in the West for many years and perhaps understand the culture and Governments of Canada and the United States better than any other high-level Soviet offi-

cial. They also are acutely aware of previous weaknesses in Soviet tactics and operations directed against the West and will likely modernize the active measures apparatus to make it function more effectively.

The ID is responsible for the overall supervision of active measures operations and designs many of the specific active measures operations and campaigns. The ID also implements active measures operations through its mandate to control and direct pro-Soviet Communist parties, international front organizations, and friendship societies such as the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF). These organizations are largely financed and controlled by the Soviet Union, and their campaigns are principally directed at the policies of the United States and other NATO countries. Because they pretend to be non-aligned, independent organizations that promote causes such as peace and disarmament, these front organizations often attract broader public support and are usually more effective than openly pro-Soviet Communist parties or organizations.

Communist front organizations have also played a prominent role in Soviet efforts to establish reliable channels of influence in the United Nations (UN) and in Third World countries. The Soviets' commitment to "anti-imperialism" often establishes a common focal point of interest for independent organizations of women, peace groups, youth, and students. Some U.S. and Third World organizations, normally under financial stress and lacking organizational expertise, see benefits in conducting joint programs with well-organized Soviet controlled front groups.

Soviet Active Measures Operations Against the United States

The Soviet Union continues to conduct espionage and active measures operations against its main enemy—the United States. These activities are carried out in the United States and abroad by Soviet intelligence officers (IOs) from the Committee of State Security, which is commonly known by its initials KGB, and by the lesser known Soviet military intelligence organization, the Chief Intelligence Directorate (GRU), of the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense. Both of these powerful organizations operate on a world-wide basis and have IOs stationed in each Soviet embassy. The FBI estimates the number of known or suspected Soviet IOs stationed in the United States is approximately one-third of the total number of Soviet officials assigned to this country.

The KGB and GRU report directly and indirectly to the CPSU leadership and to the Politburo through their respective chiefs. Viktor M. Chebrikov is the current Chairman of the KGB and has been a full voting member of the Politburo since April 1985. In May 1987, Dimitri T. Yazov replaced Sergey L. Sokolov as Minister of Defense. General Petr I. Ivashutin has been Chief of the GRU since 1963.

Although foreign covert operations are conducted by both the KGB and the GRU, it is the KGB's First Chief Directorate that is primarily responsible for implementing covert active measures operations. The First Chief Directorate of the KGB is organized by both geographical and functional departments. The geographic department that operates against the United States and Canada is known as the First Department. In addition, one functional and specialized component of the KGB's First Chief Directorate, Service A, plans, coordinates, and supports active measures operations worldwide.

In addition to KGB and GRU IOs, the Soviets also rely on the Eastern European in-

telligence services to assist them in their operations against the United States. The intelligence services of each of these Soviet-Bloc countries serve in varying degrees to assist the Soviet Union in its intelligence collection and active measures operations.

The FBI is cognizant of recent active measures operations against the United States that have been carried out by Eastern European intelligence services under the direct Soviet guidance. While these Bloc services are not large in comparison to the total number of Soviet officers, they significantly increase the total number of hostile IOs in the United States. The FBI estimates that approximately one-third of the Soviet-Bloc officials in the United States are professional IOs.

In the United States, those KGB officers responsible for political and economic intelligence operations support the International Department's mission by handling many of the monitoring and liaison functions in connection with Soviet front organizations. Certain KGB officers currently assigned to the United States are in regular contact with officials from the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), the NCASF, and other front groups. In addition, the KGB is responsible for developing agents of influence, planting media stories, and surfacing forgeries in support of active measures campaigns.

Before examining recent active measures operations impacting on the United States, it is important to note that many active measures operations utilize overt or semi-overt elements as well as clandestine or covert ones. Although many active measures are planned and executed by Soviet IOs, it should be emphasized that all Soviet officials, journalists, scholars, trade union officials, scientists, and even some students who visit the United States could be used for active measures and influence operations. Most of these individuals are not professional intelligence officers, but rather are co-opted by the KGB or GRU for certain purposes. If any Soviet citizen refuses to cooperate, he will not be allowed to travel, and if he does not fulfill the intelligence requirements set for him, he will never be permitted to travel outside the Soviet Union again.

Representatives of other Soviet public organizations, and a network of pro-Soviet international front organizations, communist parties, and individuals are also used to implement these active measures operations. Thus, active measures operations involve individuals from virtually every element of the Soviet society and are closely integrated and coordinated with traditional diplomatic activities and long-term Soviet foreign policy objectives.

II. SOVIET FORGERY OPERATIONS

The Soviet Union conducts forgery operations to discredit the United States and its allies, influence political action and public opinion in America and abroad, and promote worldwide Soviet foreign policy goals. These forgeries are often designed to supply the "factual evidence" needed to prove the disinformation that Moscow has already advanced through other active measures operations and propaganda. Many of the Soviet forgeries are aimed at influencing Third World countries as well as the United States. The Soviets try to get forgeries and disinformation stories printed in the non-communist media. If the Soviets are successful in these efforts, they usually will then reprint these news accounts in their own media. Even when the U.S. Government issues prompt denials of the authenticity of a forged document, the Soviets believe that the denial will never entirely offset the

damage caused by the initial release of the news story based upon the forgery.

Many U.S. Government officials and organizations have been targets of Soviet disinformation and forgery operations. Although most forgeries surface overseas, the information and documents used in these operations are often acquired in the United States. Through defector sources and FBI investigation of KGB operations in the United States, the FBI has determined that KGB Residencies collect the types of documents and information that subsequently surface, in altered form, in forgery and disinformation operations.

During August 1986, a fabricated letter, believed to be a Soviet forgery, was mailed anonymously to *The Washington Post* and *U.S. News and World Report*. This document purports to be a letter by United States Information Agency (USIA) official Herbert Romerstein to Senator David F. Durenberger, former Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The letter, dated April 29, 1986, described an alleged USIA campaign to spread disinformation on the Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster. The forgery was designed to discredit the U.S. Government and damage its relations with Western Europe.

On August 19, 1986, *The Washington Post* reported some of the details of the USIA forgery. The forged letter suggested that USIA would attempt, among other things, to spread reports that the Chernobyl disaster had claimed 2,000 to 3,000 victims. Only 29 persons are said to have died from acute radiation sickness due to the accident. Although such inflated death statistics did appear in subsequent news reports on Chernobyl, USIA officials stated "the reports stemmed from the confusion and rumors that swept Europe in the days immediately after the disaster." USIA officials insist that they made no effort to encourage or spread the rumors and that neither Mr. Romerstein nor anyone else at USIA advocated such an idea to Senator Durenberger or to anyone else. An employee of Senator Durenberger's office reported that according to the Senator's office records no such letter from USIA was ever received by the Senator.

Mr. Romerstein reported some additional details concerning this particular forgery which makes it an especially interesting example of Eastern-Bloc support of a Soviet active measures operation. The USIA letterhead and the signature block on the forgery were taken from a genuine letter Romerstein had previously written to Lt. General Robert Schweitzer concerning the analysis of another Soviet forgery allegedly written by Schweitzer. During September 1985, Romerstein testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Soviet forgeries and offered to provide them with a copy of his letter to Schweitzer for Congressional publication. Subsequently, the Press Attache of the Czechoslovakian Embassy, Vaclav Zluva, requested a copy of Romerstein's unclassified letter to Schweitzer. Romerstein provided him with a copy, but uniquely marked the one copy he gave Zluva.

When the forgery bearing Romerstein's name surfaced in the United States, it was obvious because of the unique markings Romerstein had put on the Schweitzer letter that it had been used as the exemplar to fabricate the Chernobyl forgery. When Romerstein confronted Zluva with the forgery, Zluva denied being involved in its preparation but admitted sending a copy of the Schweitzer letter supplied by Romerstein to Prague. Romerstein, who is an expert on active measures operations, believes Prague officials sent the Schweitzer letter to Moscow where it was used as the exemplar

for the Chernobyl forgery. This forgery technique of photocopying a genuine letterhead and signature onto a document that contains a bogus text is common among Soviet forgeries. It facilitates preparation of the forged document and generally makes the task of analysis more difficult.

Another document believed to be a Soviet forgery surfaced in the United States and overseas during 1986. This forgery was identified by its drafters as "a copy of a summary paper on U.S. foreign policy approved by the National Security Council in February 1985." It was sent to a number of embassies in the Washington, D.C. area and to news services overseas. The forged document is ten pages in length and discusses U.S. foreign policy objectives. It reported the alleged United States' goal of strategic domination over the Soviet Union by accelerating the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research program and thus establishing "an effective first-strike capability by the year 1995 which would mean victory in a nuclear war and survival thereafter."

This second forgery did not receive widespread dissemination or publication in the United States. It was, however, sent to embassies in Washington, D.C. in an apparent effort to damage U.S. relations with various foreign countries. It appears to also have been designed to negatively affect world opinion on the real purposes of the SDI program. The Soviet Union has long maintained that the real purpose of the SDI program is to develop preemptive nuclear-strike capability. This document certainly intended to help reinforce that perception, although the U.S. Government publicly denounced the document as a forgery in August 1986.

III. SOVIET EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE THE ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT MOVEMENTS

The Soviet Union continues to devote manpower and resources in overt and covert attempts to influence the arms control and disarmament movements in the United States. The KGB has covertly requested its contacts in the peace and nuclear disarmament movements to continue to report on meetings, participate in upcoming conferences, and obtain information on individuals who are active within the movement. Several KGB officers currently assigned to the United States have been in regular contact with the leaders of Soviet controlled organizations such as the CPUSA, the U.S. Peace Council (USPC), and the NCASF. In addition, the KGB is particularly interested in information concerning the U.S. peace movement's plans for conferences or demonstrations, its organizations and leaders, and its relations with European anti-war groups.

The current campaign against SDI seems to be aimed at the U.S. Congress, which must approve the funding of SDI. The Soviets hope to convince Congressional leaders that the SDI program is technically unachievable, prohibitively expensive, and easily countered by the Soviet Union.

Communist Party, USA

The CPUSA has historically been one of the most loyal, pro-Soviet communist parties in the world and has received substantial financial support from the Soviet Union. Although relatively small and politically weak, the CPUSA continues to systematically promote Soviet views on arms control proposals and the peace movement through its overt publications and Party operations. The CPUSA also operates a small network of front organizations in the United States.

Since the late 1970s, the ID, CPSU has provided direction to international Communist front organizations and their U.S. affiliates, the CPUSA, and CPUSA front organi-

zations concerning the issues of arms control and disarmament. The Soviets have urged these organizations to mount campaigns against the neutron bomb, NATO theatre nuclear force modernization, U.S. defense policies, and more recently the SDI. The CPUSA has sponsored and participated in demonstrations and rallies, formed coalitions with other peace organizations, and sponsored seminars and workshops to promote Soviet views and influence the American peace movement.

The CPUSA has also directed its major front organizations to support Soviet arms control and disarmament initiatives. The FBI has determined that there are several groups in which CPUSA members have leadership roles or take an active part. Some of these groups are spin-offs from traditional CPUSA fronts, and some deal with arms control and peace. These organizations are often more effective than CPUSA in reaching and forming coalitions with other organizations because they are not always easily identified as CPUSA-controlled or pro-Soviet organizations.

Recent comments made by Gus Hall, the long-time CPUSA General Secretary, clearly indicate that the CPUSA is conducting active measures operations against the SDI program that are in line with the Soviet active measures campaign against SDI.

In response to CPUSA and NCASF national directives, local chapters of these organizations have initiated the following programs to combat SDI:

(1) Wider distribution and circulation of anti-nuclear, peace, nuclear test ban, and "Star Wars" literature and petitions.

(2) Attempts to influence and mobilize a broad movement with the participation of church groups, unions, and civic organizations to end the arms race.

(3) Initiation of a telephone calling program and letter writing campaign to Congressional representatives and to President Reagan calling for an end to SDI.

(4) Support of the aggressive efforts by the USPC, the U.S. affiliate of the World Peace Council, to halt the SDI research program and promote a comprehensive test ban on nuclear weapons.

(5) Placement of nuclear disarmament matters on the agenda of union and church groups.

The CPUSA and its various front organizations have been instructed to form coalitions with other peace organizations and sponsor workshops, seminars, and demonstrations to promote Soviet viewpoints, to influence the U.S. peace movement, and halt the SDI research program. The CPUSA continues to identify possible agents of influence and exploit unwitting contacts for the Soviet Union.

Soviet Intelligence Operations in the United States

KGB Residencies in the United States task their intelligence officers and co-optees to overtly and clandestinely collect a variety of political, economic, and military information about the United States for intelligence purposes. One of the KGB's top collection priorities is for its officers to obtain information on the SDI research program which can be utilized in certain active measures operations directed against the SDI program.

In 1986, the U.S. Government expelled or declared persona non grata 80 Soviet officials assigned to the United States. This action dramatically reduced the number of known intelligence officers of the United States and will likely result in at least a temporary reduction of operational activity. However, the Soviets are expected to at-

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tempt to rebuild their intelligence network in the United States during 1987.

One of the Soviets expelled in October 1986 from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., has been identified as a known KGB intelligence officer who specialized in nuclear disarmament, arms control negotiations, and U.S.-Soviet relations in general. This KGB officer often contacted numerous well placed individuals not only in the government but also in private sectors. When he arrived in the United States in 1982, he started to establish valuable contacts in such places as the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, the American Political Science Association, and the Brookings Institution. He seldom used hardline Soviet rhetoric with his contacts, but instead tried to portray himself as a scholar. If there was a strong disagreement on a particular topic, he often moved to another less controversial issue. The purpose of these contacts was to promote Soviet foreign policy objectives through the use of various active measures techniques.

During 1986, KGB officers stationed in the United States attempted to:

- (1) Gather information on U.S. peace initiatives, arms reduction proposals, and the Geneva arms talks.
- (2) Promote the creation of pro-Soviet U.S. peace and disarmament organizations that will discredit the United States and the SDI program.
- (3) Create anti-nuclear coalitions and encourage bilateral peace programs like the Sister Cities program.
- (4) Establish nuclear-free zones or ports in the United States.
- (5) Influence both U.S. and world opinion against SDI.
- (6) Utilize the SDI issue to divide the United States and NATO.
- (7) Influence and manipulate legitimate U.S. peace and friendship organizations in order to promote Soviet arms control policies and halt SDI research.
- (8) Influence U.S. religious leaders and groups to oppose U.S. military spending for new weapons systems like SDI.
- (9) Influence U.S. Government policies by creating a large, vocal, and influential body of public opinion that is based on Soviet disinformation.
- (10) Obtain SDI studies conducted by well-known foundations or "think-tanks."
- (11) Increase the use of active measures operations in the United States to disrupt or halt the SDI research program.

Soviet correspondents in the United States continue to have a particular interest in SDI research and the ongoing Geneva arms negotiations. Several correspondents have traveled extensively throughout the United States gathering information and speaking out on such topics as the growing concern of college campuses about accepting U.S. Government contracts to do SDI research. The articles written by these correspondents for worldwide dissemination frequently contain disinformation on SDI to discredit the United States and advance the foreign policy goals of the Soviet Union.

The People's Appeal for Peace

The People's Appeal for Peace (PAP) is one of the more recent Soviet efforts to influence public opinion in favor of current Soviet foreign policy priorities and to exert pressure on U.S. Government officials to effect changes that are favorable to Moscow. The goal of this operation is to collect millions of signatures on petitions circulated in the United States and the Soviet Union and then to present the petitions to President Reagan, General Secretary Gorbachev, and UN Secretary General Perez de

Cuellar on August 6, 1987, which is the anniversary of the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima.

The principal control and direction for this program comes from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace in the Soviet Union. This organization has utilized two Communist front organizations, the NCASF and the USPC, to carry out its objectives in the United States. On August 8, 1986, representatives from the Soviet Union and U.S. peace organizations gathered at the UN in New York City and signed the PAP. The signing ceremony took place before an audience of several hundred UN officials, diplomats, and members of the general public. This signing marked the beginning of a one-year campaign to collect millions of signatures from U.S. and Soviet citizens on the petitions. The Soviets estimate they will get 180 million signatures, while the U.S. goal is 15 million signatures.

An important fact, which is unknown to many endorsers and signers of the PAP, is that the document was secretly drafted by high-level Soviet officials months earlier and only received a "rubber stamp" approval from various front organizations in the United States. The following four initiatives are a major part of the PAP:

- (1) A verifiable comprehensive nuclear test ban.
- (2) A freeze, phased reduction and eventual elimination of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.
- (3) A transfer of resources from military to human needs.
- (4) An increase of people to people contact.

This major active measure campaign was touted by its supporters as a contribution by the U.S. and USSR peace movements to the United Nations International Year of Peace and was organized in cooperation with the United Nations Secretariat for the International Year of Peace.

Although the PAP did not receive much support from various U.S. organizations in 1986, it has thus far in 1987 received the endorsement of several large national organizations, religious groups, trade unions, state and national elected officials, and other individuals. The appeal has been publicized internationally by one well known Soviet front organization, the Christian Peace Conference. In February 1987, the NCASF claimed to have received a total of over 200,000 signatures from almost every state.

The People's Peace Appeal is perhaps the best example of a political influence operation which is run by front organizations in the United States and directed by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace in Moscow. Some of these front organizations have already been directed to send xerox copies of the signatures collected for the People's Peace Appeal to U.S. Congressmen. The CPUSA and some international Soviet front organizations with affiliated chapters in the United States had their members send preaddressed postcards to the President of the United States and to members of Congress.

The Generals for Peace Movement

In 1981, a group of former NATO generals and admirals formed an international organization known as the Generals for Peace and Disarmament (GPD). The GPD has been active in the peace and disarmament movements in Europe. Since its inception, the GPD has been targeted by the Soviet intelligence services and the International Department of the CPSU in Moscow. The GPD has echoed views consistent with Soviet arms control objectives and against NATO. In the past few years, there has been an increase in contact and cooperation

between the GPD and retired military leaders from the Eastern-Bloc and the Soviet Union. During 1987, several Polish and Hungarian generals formed into groups that affiliated themselves with the GPD movement.

The Center for Defense Information (CDI) is an organization of retired U.S. military officers that describes itself as one of the foremost independent research organizations which analyzes military spending, defense policies, and weapons systems. Although the CDI is not officially affiliated with the GPD, it engages in similar activities and supports the activities and statements of the GPD and former Soviet military officers.

The Soviets have effectively utilized statements made by GPD and CDI officials in their active measures campaigns. Some of these military officers possess a high degree of credibility not only with the general public but also with various government leaders. The statements and reports from these former military officers are often covered by the United States and foreign media. Some of these former military officers have access to the highest levels of foreign governments.

Mikhail Milshteyn is an excellent example of one Soviet general who enjoys extended media access in the West. Milshteyn, who speaks English, is a senior researcher at Georgi Arbatov's Institute of the USA and Canada and is considered by many to be one of the Soviet Union's foremost experts in the field of military policy. Milshteyn is a retired Lieutenant General in the Soviet Army who is affiliated with the Soviet intelligence services and occasionally represents the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.

Milshteyn has traveled to the United States on numerous occasions and usually promotes Soviet views and Soviet disinformation on arms-control issues. During 1986 and 1987, he made several television appearances on the major networks in the United States. On August 1, 1986, he was interviewed on the NBC's "Today" show in Hannibal, Missouri, as a member of the Mississippi River Peace Cruise. He has also appeared on "60 Minutes" and other television programs as an official Soviet spokesman. On August 8, 1986 he was one of the Soviet signers of the PAP at the UN who also spoke at a UN press conference following the signing of the Soviet directed active measures operation.

On April 21, 1987, The Washington Post reported Lieutenant General Milshteyn was one of seven high-ranking Soviet officers who visited the United States to discuss military policy at the Carnegie Endowment and at Notre Dame. Milshteyn was again featured on the nationwide television program "Today" to discuss arms-control, this time with the director of the CDI, Gene La Rocque. Milshteyn has met with La Rocque, who is a retired Rear Admiral of the U.S. Navy, on numerous occasions.

In December 1986, a new Soviet organization of nine high-level World War II officers was founded in Moscow. Known as the "Soviet Retired Admirals and Generals for Peace and Disarmament," this group's stated purpose is to make a contribution to the Soviet people's struggle to avert a possible nuclear war, prevent the militarization of space, and reduce the number of nuclear and conventional weapons. During a Soviet television interview on December 25, 1986, Lieutenant General Milshteyn made the following comments on the group's work:

"If we come out in support of the Soviet initiatives then it is not because we are some kind of conformist, or that we support all

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our Government's proposals without even thinking. Our stand simply mirrors the fact that the objectives of our movement are common with the objectives of the Soviet leadership."

In addition to his work in the arms-control area, Milshteyn also helps carry out other active measures campaigns on different topics. In his recent trip to the United States in April 1987, Milshteyn, who is Jewish, stated the problem of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has been solved. He declared that all Jews, except those with "state secrets" are free to go "if they want to." These statements to the press help to support Soviet foreign policy objectives.

IV. SOVIET INFLUENCE ON LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND TRADE UNIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

The Soviet Union has attempted for many years to mobilize labor organizations and trade unions in the United States to join the pro-Soviet peace and disarmament movement and to support Soviet foreign policy. The CPUSA and the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) were traditionally the main organizations that attempted to infiltrate and influence U.S. labor. American labor unions, for the most part, do not support activities that are put forth by known Soviet front organizations. As a result, in addition to the continued pressure directed toward labor unions by the WFTU and the CPUSA, the Soviets are also utilizing new channels in hopes of gaining additional support for their foreign policy objectives.

World Federation of Trade Unions

The WFTU is currently headquartered in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and is a pro-Soviet international trade union organization that claims a total membership of over 300 million. Of this number, 130 million members are from the Soviet Union, while about 90 percent of the total membership is from Communist controlled countries. The WFTU is controlled and directed by the International Department (ID) of the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), which is in turn, directed by the ID, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC, CPSU).

Since coming under Communist control in 1949, the WFTU has been a major Soviet propaganda agency, its ultimate aim being to set up a unified, worldwide, Communist trade organization and to support Soviet foreign policy. Fred Gaboury is the current WFTU representative to the United Nations (UN) in New York City.

There are at least two issues which will receive attention from the WFTU during the next year. The first issue will deal with Soviet efforts to denounce and neutralize the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research program. The second program, closely associated with the first, will concentrate on the issue of "economic conversion." This concept, to divert funds from military hardware to domestic spending, has been utilized in the past by Soviet-controlled organizations to combat Western military development by emphasizing the tremendous cost of defense programs. The highly publicized cost of SDI research has provided the necessary impetus to revive the viability of "economic conversion" in Soviet active measures operations that will be directed against SDI and the military budget program of the Reagan administration.

Labor Research Association

The Labor Research Association (LRA) which was founded by the CPUSA in 1927, is the U.S. component of the WFTU. Its self-stated goals are "to provide publica-

tions, research materials, and educational programs for U.S. labor and trade unions." LRA is headquartered in New York City, and employs at least four fulltime employees.

One of LRA's main functions is to publish a monthly newsletter called "Economic Notes" which portrays the Communist viewpoint on current economic conditions and labor matters in the United States. Copies of the newsletter are made available to many labor organizations throughout the United States.

LRA receives its direction from the Labor Department of the CPUSA and has an Advisory Board of Directors comprised of 13 individuals who are nearly all CPUSA members. The LRA continues to conduct research and investigation into economic and social questions in the interest of the labor movement in the United States. LRA espouses the official line of the CPUSA and has become increasingly more active in world labor matters. During 1986, LRA was actively involved in the peace and disarmament movement as it affects the labor movement in the United States. Specifically, LRA endorses peace events and publishes U.S. Government economic statistics purporting to show how much better off the United States would be economically if tax dollars were diverted from missiles to social programs.

LRA receives some of its funding from the CPUSA. However, finances are also raised through donations, subscriptions to "Economic Notes," and from labor seminars conducted by LRA officials. All contributions to LRA are tax-deductible and it is listed as a non-profit tax-exempt organization.

In 1986, the LRA advertised in various publications that its "special trade union research service" could supply national, regional, or local unions in the United States with the following items that would be useful during labor-management negotiations: corporate reports, in-depth industry studies, international contacts, various reference materials, plant shutdown-strategy studies, and speakers for educational programs.

In addition, LRA announced that it has computerized its operations during 1986 and now has the ability to network with other computers across the United States. They are now using this computer equipment to meet the growing demand for LRA's publications and research services. According to a recent LRA letter to "Economic Notes" readers, the LRA is attempting to purchase access to computer information banks on corporate financial records, and to build a specialized data base uniquely geared to trade union needs. LRA has asked for additional contributions so they will be able to afford the access fees and thus be able to respond to trade union requests from all parts of the country within a matter of hours.

Communist Party, USA

American labor unions, for the most part, do not actively support the WFTU. Consequently, the CPUSA and its front organizations conduct many of the activities on behalf of the WFTU in the United States. CPUSA National headquarters continues to task its districts to focus on the infiltration of labor and trade unions. CPUSA members have been able to join the locals of some trade unions.

One of the major priorities of the CPUSA is to mobilize trade unions in the United States to join the pro-Soviet peace and disarmament movements. Soviet officials continue to emphasize to American trade delegates the importance of mobilizing the trade unions to join the peace and disarmament movement in the United States.

The WFTU and CPUSA continue to believe that the time is propitious to influence trade unions because of the Reagan administration's economic policies and budget cuts, and the unemployment problems in the industrial sector of the United States. These topics and others are routinely discussed in monthly CPUSA-sponsored labor publications such as "Labor Today" and "Economic Notes."

Local CPUSA districts have also been active in creating new political organizations which are involved in labor matters. In 1973, the CPUSA, Wisconsin District was instrumental in creating an organization called the Labor Farm Party (LFP). This organization was basically dormant until the 1986 election year, when it ran a slate of candidates for public office in Wisconsin.

A long-time CPUSA member in Wisconsin ran on the LFP ticket as a candidate for an office in Milwaukee County. Other CPUSA leaders in Wisconsin have commented that LFP is challenging the legitimate labor movement by running its own candidates for political office.

On June 3, 1986, the CPUSA started publishing a new daily newspaper called the People's Daily World (PDW) to replace the Daily World, CPUSA's east coast paper, and the People's World, CPUSA's west coast paper. The PDW is published by Long View Publishing Company and is printed in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco. On May 8, 1986, the PDW stated the initial print run of the PDW was over 250,000 copies. Articles in the PDW remain strongly pro-Soviet and every issue contains "factual information" on the labor movement in the United States.

V. THE SOVIET CAMPAIGN TO INFLUENCE RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

It is clear from developments within the past few years that the Soviet Union is increasingly interested in influencing and/or manipulating American churches, religious organizations, and their leaders within the United States. This campaign represents Soviet awareness that churches and religious institutions are important factors in the formation of public opinion in the United States. The apparent Soviet objective is to generate a bloc of opposition against increased U.S. military spending for new weapons systems, specially SDI, and to influence religious opinion against only U.S. defense policies.

Previous Soviet efforts were directed more at limited elements within the Christian community. This new campaign has targeted the members and leaders of a broad range of religious institutions within the United States. In an effort to neutralize perceived anti-Soviet feelings, the Soviets have directed increased efforts against the more conservative religious groups and leaders in the United States. One example of this new active measures campaign is the Soviet use of disinformation about the degree of religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

Religion in the Soviet Union

The Soviets have several organizations at their disposal for the conduct of active measures campaigns:

1. The Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church.
2. The Foreign Relations Department of the Moscow Patriarchate.
3. The Special Commission for Contact with Foreign Religious Circles of the Soviet Peace Committee.
4. The USSR Council for Religious Affairs.
5. The USSR All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptists.

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The most significant and largest religious body in the Soviet Union is the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). The spiritual and administrative leader of the ROC is Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia. The ROC apparatus is carefully monitored and controlled by the Soviet Government through the Council for Religious Affairs which is under the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Therefore, only politically loyal and obedient church leaders and administrators reach positions of authority and are allowed to have contact with foreigners. In this way, the Soviet authorities are able to maintain strict control over the ROC.

Soviet church officials have convinced a significant number of their Western counterparts that the Soviet Government is committed to promoting the religious freedom of its citizens. In order to reinforce this facade, the Soviet Government and the ROC are preparing a sophisticated worldwide media campaign in 1988 to commemorate the 1,000th anniversary since the adoption of Christianity in Russia. The Moscow Patriarchate Publishers has announced that it will republish a fifth edition of the Bible to honor the millennium of Christianity in Russia. The number of copies printed will likely follow the example of the previous four editions and thus be very limited.

The Foreign Relations Department of the Moscow Patriarchate is the agency responsible for all relations the ROC has with the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the Christian Peace Conference, and other Soviet front organizations. It also coordinates activities with the U.S. Peace Council's Religious Circles Committee, the World Council of Churches, the U.S. National Council of Churches, and other religious organizations outside the Soviet Union. The Patriarchate's Foreign Relations Department has greatly expanded its international activities in recent years and has moved to a larger facility, the renovated Danilovsky Monastery, in Moscow. Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk is the Chairman of this influential body and is also the Chairman of the Special Commission for Contact with Foreign Religious Circles, which is in turn part of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace. The Soviet Government maintains strict control over the religious activities inside the Soviet Union and is able to spread propaganda or disinformation outside the USSR.

The USSR Council for Religious Affairs is responsible for maintaining overall control of church-state relations in the Soviet Union. During October 1986, Konstantin M. Kharchev, Chairman of the Council for Religious Affairs, visited the United States and participated in a three-day conference on religious tolerance which was held in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Krachev stated at the conference that the situation in the Soviet Union has improved and true religious freedom now exists. He indicated that additional Soviet Jews would be permitted to emigrate and also promoted the idea of a Soviet-hosted international conference on religion in 1987 or 1988.

Kharchev stated that mistakes may have been made in the past with regard to the suppression of religious activities in the Soviet Union, but things have changed and "real religious freedom" does exist in the Soviet Union today as long as its practice does not challenge the CPSU or the Soviet Government.

Kharchev was not scheduled to make a formal presentation during the conference, but he did hand out an 11-page paper, in English, which argued for peace and nuclear disarmament on moral grounds and presented selected examples of religious tolerance

in the Soviet Union. Kharchev was described as knowledgeable, articulate, and well-mannered during the conference. Kharchev's style in promoting active measures themes and supporting Soviet foreign policy issues appears to fit neatly into Kharchev's new "glasnost" or openness policy.

The All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptists (AUCECB) is officially recognized by the Soviet Government and is registered with the State Committee for Religious Affairs. It is composed of only those Baptist and Pentecostal congregations which collaborate with Soviet authorities on both the national and local level and should not be confused with the "unregistered" dissident Baptists and other Christians who are persecuted by the same Soviet authorities. Moscow utilizes the AUCECB in its contacts with evangelical and fundamentalist Christians in the United States. The AUCECB has its own International Department within its Moscow headquarters, which is the largest and best funded section in the AUCECB headquarters, and conducts extensive propaganda activities on behalf of the USSR. The AUCECB is also a constituent organization of the Soviet Peace Committee's Special Commission for Contacts with Foreign Religious Circles and with the Christian Peace Conference.

Three high level AUCECB officials, who are also actively involved in Christian Peace Conference activities, frequently visit the United States at the invitation of such Soviet front organizations as the NCASF and Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe (CAREE). Alexey Bichkov, Alexi Stoyan, and Anatoly Sokolov are all fluent in English and act as spokesmen for the Soviet Government. They are occasionally invited to attend meetings of various Baptist groups while they are in the United States, and therefore are able to spread propaganda or disinformation about religious freedom in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government believes it has been successful in utilizing the visits of prominent, conservative, and anti-Communist Christian leaders to show that it encourages religious freedom. By obtaining statements from prominent conservative American religious leaders while they are in the Soviet Union, the AUCECB is attempting to encourage the development of a more favorable attitude toward the Soviet Government.

It is likely the AUCECB will continue these operations to support various propaganda and active measures campaigns. It appears that the Soviets have acquired an appreciation of the vast audiences and substantial political influence of conservative religious leaders in the United States. They correctly understand that if the anti-Soviet sentiments can be diminished or neutralized within this particular section of the American public, they will have gained a noteworthy success.

Christian Peace Conference

The Christian Peace Conference (CPC) is a major Soviet-backed international front organization that has, since its founding in 1958, sought to influence opinion within church-related groups on a variety of topics. The CPC has its headquarters in Prague, Czechoslovakia and always has been directed by a prominent Soviet or East European theologian or religious figure.

The current President of the CPC is Bishop Karoly Toth of Hungary, who is also a member of the Presidential Committee of the World Peace Council (WPC), another well-known Soviet front organization. Bishop Toth is adroit at presenting Soviet policies and actions in such a way that they will be viewed favorably by American and

other Western church officials, clergy, and laymen. Toth has many contacts in the American religious community and enlarging and developing those contacts is a principal reason for his visits to the United States. Bishop Toth is an unfailing and consistent defender of all Soviet actions, though his methods are less crude than most Soviet propagandists. In international religious circles he has defended the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, martial law in Poland, and the shooting-down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007.

The CPC continues to support a variety of Soviet active measures operations in the United States. It has actively supported and endorsed the People's Peace Appeal, which is an active measures operation directed by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace. Philip Oke is the CPC permanent representative at the UN in New York who utilizes his position and status to support all Soviet active measures in the international community. Several U.S. citizens hold prominent positions in the CPC hierarchy.

The U.S. affiliate to the CPC is known as Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe (CAREE). This organization carefully follows CPC directives and has increasing contacts with the National Council of Churches and other U.S. religious organizations.

The USPC, which is the U.S. affiliate of the WPC, also contributes to Soviet efforts to influence and manipulate the American religious community by actively establishing and promoting a Religious Circles Committee. This organization was formed in 1985 at the request of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace to involve U.S. church members in more USPC activities and to provide a degree of legitimacy to the USPC in the eyes of the church community. The USPC named one of its top leaders as the Religious Circles Coordinator.

The ultimate Soviet objective is to influence U.S. Government policies by influencing a large, influential, and vocal body of public opinion. The Soviets apparently recognize the strong support that religious organizations can lend to the disarmament movement and to any perceptions concerning the Soviet threat. Many individuals with sincere desires for disarmament, human rights protection, and religious freedom in the Soviet Union are purposely being misinformed by the powerful Soviet organizations that control the activities and actions of all state-sponsored organizations in the Soviet Union.

VI. USE OF SOVIET MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES

Soviet communications media are controlled either by the Soviet Government or the CPSU. All Soviet media, including radio and television stations, news agencies and printing facilities, are state-owned and are therefore subordinate to Soviet political and intelligence goals. News is frequently suppressed and oftentimes distorted and manipulated for active measures purposes.

The Novosti Press Agency (APN) was established in 1961 to disseminate news and feature articles, commentaries, and photographs about Soviet life to foreign countries. It also publishes books, brochures, magazines, and a variety of other materials in many foreign languages. Novosti claims to be commercial and unofficial, but is under Soviet Government control. The leading Soviet newspapers are *Pravda*, the official organ of the CPSU, *Izvestiya*, the official newspaper of the Soviet Government, and *Literary Gazette*, one of the country's largest newspapers with a circulation of 3 million copies.

The Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union (TASS) is the official news agency of the Soviet Government and is administered by the USSR Council of Ministers. Both TASS and Novosti send large numbers of correspondents on foreign assignments around the world; however, *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, Radio Moscow and other Soviet media organizations also have limited numbers of correspondents in many countries, including the United States. TASS also prepares special classified background reports on foreign countries and their leaders, as well as digests of the uncensored foreign media, for use by high-ranking Soviet officials.

As of April 1987, there were over 35 Soviet correspondents working in the United States. While all the correspondents are employees of the Soviet Government and must support Soviet foreign policy objectives, approximately one-third of those correspondents are actually known or suspected KGB intelligence officers. Their overt assignments as correspondents permits them easy access to all areas of the United States. It should be emphasized that it is the direct assignment of these KGB officers and co-optees to influence public opinion and U.S. Government policy through active measures operations approved in Moscow.

On the ABC News program "Nightline," which aired on March 5, 1987, Ted Koppel reported that he and other members of the U.S. media had received a direct communication from Moscow concerning the hunger strike of an American scientist who opposed SDI and all nuclear weapons. The telex was from Georgi Arbatov, the Director of the Institute of the USA and Canada, who is a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee and one of the leading Soviet experts on the United States. Because of his status, he receives numerous requests for interviews and invitations from television talk shows when he visits the United States. This media exposure allows him to present Soviet active measures themes to a vast American audience. Arbatov is a skillful propagandist who uses disinformation, intelligently designed half-truths, and factual omissions to support his contentions. Ted Koppel, who is well aware of Arbatov's background, stated that he was indeed surprised to receive such a blatant anti-SDI telex from Arbatov.

The hard-line Soviet rhetoric of older and oftentimes arrogant spokesmen such as Arbatov and Joe Adamov, a Radio Moscow commentator, are being replaced by the more refined approach of younger and articulate Soviet spokesmen. Recent television appearances by Vladimir Pozner, who appeared on the "Donahue" television show in 1986, Dmitry Titov, of the Soviet Mission to the UN, and Vitaliy Churkin, a First Secretary to the Soviet Embassy who spoke before Congress on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, are three examples of Soviets who speak almost perfect English and present their messages in a Western style that the American public and media can better identify with and appreciate. This new generation of scholars, journalists, and Soviet officials is more knowledgeable about the West and the importance of the media. They realize that American television can be useful and that they can have an impact on the public's impression of certain issues just by appearing candid and forthright in their contacts.

Soviets Allege U.S. Has Political Prisoners

The Soviet Union continues to allege that the U.S. Government has hundreds of political prisoners in correctional facilities across the United States. These stories are part of a carefully organized Soviet active measures campaign to divert attention from Soviet

political prisoners. During 1986, Andrei Sakharov, the well-known Soviet dissident, was on a hunger strike to protest the unwillingness of Soviet officials to allow his wife, Yelena Bonner, to leave the USSR to seek medical treatment. To counter world opinion directed against the Soviet Government, Moscow attempted to convey the impression to its own citizens and to the world that the United States also had political prisoners. Soviet correspondents in the United States began to write articles about Leonard Peltier, the U.S. "political prisoner" and "victim of American injustice."

Leonard Peltier was a leader of the American Indian Movement who was convicted of the 1975 shooting deaths of two FBI Special Agents on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Peltier is currently serving two consecutive life sentences for these murders. He contends that he did not receive a fair trial and that the evidence used against him was fabricated by the FBI in order to ensure a conviction. Support for Peltier's most recent request for a new trial, which is now pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals, includes some Members of the U.S. Congress and the Canadian Parliament.

In December 1986, Peltier was awarded the International Human Rights Prize for 1986 by the Human Rights Commission of Spain. The Human Rights Prize has been given each year since 1982 to people who are outstanding in the defense of human rights. Carmen Caroro, spokeswoman for the Human Rights commission said: "The award was given to Leonard Peltier because he defended the rights of his people, because he defended their rights to hold onto their land, and because he defended the culture of the American Indian People. Leonard Peltier symbolizes the whole Indian struggle in America." Peltier's case has received worldwide attention based largely upon the Soviet disinformation program.

VII. SOVIET FRONT ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States, the Soviet Union effectively implements active measures operations through its ability to direct and manipulate Communist front organizations. In order to mislead the public and circumvent the requirements to register as agents of a foreign government under U.S. law, these front organizations attempt to conceal Soviet financial support. In many cases, this concealment process extends to nearly all the general membership of these front organizations. Only the top leadership positions are aware of the extensive Soviet funding and control over these organizations.

A standing Soviet requirement of the front groups in the United States is to unite as many different groups as possible under the general causes of "nuclear disarmament, peace, jobs, and justice." Front organizations often attract broader public support because they pretend to be non-aligned and independent. In this way they are able to manipulate larger collections of individuals and groups into supporting ideas and actions that consistently support Soviet foreign policy objectives and are directed against U.S. and NATO policies. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF) and the United States Peace Council (USPC) are two of the more active front groups in the United States today.

National Council of American-Soviet Friendship

The NCASF, originally formed in 1943 by the CPUSA, currently consists of approximately 25 active chapters in the United States. Future plans call for at least one chapter in each of the 50 states. The NCASF claims to be an independent and impartial organization that depends entirely

on legitimate contributions for financial support. In actuality, the Soviet Union provides funding for NCASF operations.

Publicly, the NCASF continues to state that its purpose is to promote friendship and understanding between Soviets and Americans through cultural, educational, and travel exchange programs. In practice, however, the NCASF works to advance the foreign policy and propaganda objectives of the USSR. The NCASF operates as a Soviet front group which provides the Soviets with an excellent conduit to promote its active measures campaigns, meet with U.S. persons of influence, spot and assess U.S. persons for recruitment operations, and influence certain groups of activists in the U.S. peace movement. The NCASF is used by the Soviets as a bridge to reach people who would be reluctant to participate in an openly pro-Soviet disarmament organization.

Soviet direction of the NCASF is channeled through the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (SOD), with ultimate authority resting with the International Department. Soviet representatives of SOD are in regular contact with NCASF officials and direct the NCASF to conduct activities to support Soviet active measures campaigns.

The NCASF is currently sponsoring more visits by Soviet groups to the United States. These groups are generally referred to as "Goodwill Tours" and are composed of culturally oriented Soviets traveling under tourist visas. In the past, many of these tours have been "peace" oriented and illustrate a Soviet attempt to present themselves as friendly, peace-loving people. One KGB officer expressed a clear and strong interest in having more Soviet entertainment groups visit in order to encourage more contact with larger U.S. audiences and with persons in the U.S. entertainment business. The recent increase in local NCASF chapters in various cities affords these Soviet groups an expanded geographic range within the United States.

These NCASF local chapters act as sponsors, handle logistical requirements such as hotel reservations, etc., and arrange various fora and functions with a variety of domestic groups. During these visits, the NCASF is in a position to assist the Soviet groups visiting the United States. The NCASF provides a mechanism which allows Soviet representatives the freedom to travel to various American cities where they previously had limited access or to travel in areas closed to Soviet diplomats assigned in the United States. The Soviet officials who are visiting the United States under NCASF assistance are also in a position to provide assessments of Americans for possible targeting and recruitment by the KGB.

During 1986, the NCASF sponsored a number of Soviet visitors to the United States that supported existing active measures operations. Two such events that were designed to influence the nuclear disarmament movement were the Mississippi Peace Cruise and the signing of the People's Peace Appeal at the United Nations. Both of these events which were previously described in this report, attracted extensive media coverage and were considered successes by the Soviets.

There appears to be an increased utilization of Soviet international front organizations and their affiliated U.S. organizations to support Soviet active measures operations in the United States. Some front groups are filing for tax exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). The New York City Chapter of the NCASF has apparently obtained such beneficial status from the IRS, as has the LRA.

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World Peace Council and U.S. Peace Council

The World Peace Council (WPC) is the largest and most active Soviet international front organization, with affiliates in approximately 140 countries. The WPC is one of the Soviet Union's major instruments for political action and propaganda in the nuclear disarmament movement and its current campaign is clearly directed at U.S. defense and arms control policies. The WPC's highest priority is the mobilization of opposition against the SDI research program.

The president of the WPC is Romesh Chandra, who is a long-time member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India. Chandra has received many awards, including the Order of Lenin, from the Soviet Union for his work at the WPC. He travels extensively around the world coordinating WPC activities and addressing meetings of the UN in New York City.

WPC activities in the United States are coordinated by its affiliate organization, the USPC. Key leadership positions in the USPC have always been held by trusted CPUSA members who carefully guide their organization along Soviet lines.

The USPC, founded in November 1979, has consistently worked to promote the causes of the WPC and has regularly supported the policies of the Soviet Union. Because the USPC increasingly suffers from being exposed as a Communist front, it has become less open about its Communist affiliations. Early USPC letterheads openly showed affiliation to the WPC, yet a 1985 letterhead no longer shows it. By examining some of the organization's activities, the links between the USPC, the WPC, and Soviet interests are revealed.

Robert Prince, founding member of the USPC, is the U.S. representative on the Secretariat of the WPC in Helsinki, Finland. Prince replaced Karen Talbot who returned to the United States to become the WPC representative at the UN in New York City. After she returned to the United States in 1986, Talbot was elected to the USPC's Executive Board. There are other high-level leaders of the USPC who also regularly travel from the United States to attend WPC meetings around the world.

The USPC, under the direction of the Soviet Peace Council, played an active role in the formation of the People's Peace Treaty. The purpose of this operation is to influence American public opinion on nuclear disarmament, halt all SDI research, and exert pressure on the U.S. Government to accept Soviet arms-control reductions. Leaders of the USPC were also instrumental in forming the Religious Circles Committee, which is another effort initiated by the Soviet Peace Council to involve U.S. religious organizations in activities of the USPC. The underlying theme of these two operations, as well as many other USPC activities, is to get the USPC involved as an umbrella organization for all peace and social movements. Once the USPC gets other groups involved, it can step-back and allow these other organizations to run the program. In this way the USPC, which is widely known as a Communist front organization, can act as a catalyst and have its programs carried out while not appearing to be actively involved.

VIII. SOVIET INFLUENCE IN THE UNITED NATIONS

The Soviet Union is effectively utilizing the United Nations and its specialized agencies to further Soviet foreign policy goals and intelligence-gathering objectives. At UN Headquarters in New York, the Soviets not only have intelligence officers under diplomatic cover in the Soviet Mission to the

United Nations (SMUN), the Ukrainian Mission, and the Byelorussian Mission, but also in the UN Secretariat. All individuals employed by the UN Secretariat must take an oath to carry out their duties and responsibilities as a "international civil servant of the United Nations" and not accept instruction or guidance from any government. In actuality, the Soviets assigned to the UN Secretariat report directly to the SMUN and thus are part of the Soviet bureaucracy which is controlled by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the Soviet intelligence services, and the CC, CPSU in Moscow.

The Soviet intelligence services use their UN staff assignments to support worldwide intelligence and active measures operations; monitor and manipulate UN activities; collect scientific and technical information of value to the Soviet Union; and spot, assess, and recruit intelligence sources and agents of influence.

The Soviet Union has effectively exploited the system of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) at the UN for active measures objectives. Although NGO representatives cannot vote at the UN, they may attend conferences, sessions, and meetings as observers, submit papers which become part of the official record, and at times speak at meetings. The NGOs are prime targets for Soviet penetration and/or control because of their potential to influence voting members in the UN, worldwide public opinion, and the internal politics of their own countries.

NGOs may become affiliated with the UN system in a variety of ways. For example, an NGO may be granted affiliation by a committee within the Secretariat or receive consultative status with a particular UN agency such as United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) or the Department of Disarmament Affairs. However, the form of affiliation which is the most desirable and carries the highest degree of recognition throughout the UN system is Category I consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

The Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations (CONGO), which has consultative status with the ECOSOC, is the largest and most influential nongovernmental institution within the UN system and is officially recognized as such by the UN, its Secretariat, and various agencies. It is the spokesman for about 200 international organizations associated with the UN. Most of the organizations belonging to CONGO are neutral, nonpolitical groups representing a wide range of viewpoints. Religious organizations, professional societies, and public service associations form the bulk of CONGO's membership. However, the following major international Soviet fronts are also members:

Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO).

Christian Peace Conference (CPC).

International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL).

International Organization of Journalists (IOJ).

International Union of Students (IUS).

World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY).

World Federation of Scientific Workers (WFSW).

World Federation of Teachers Unions (WFTU).

World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF).

World Peace Council (WPC).

On April 15, 1987, the Office of Research and Information Collection replaced the

Soviet controlled Political Information and News Service (PINS) at the UN. PINS was established by the UN in 1982 to provide Secretariat staff and member states with summaries of media reports. However, the Soviets used their influence over PINS to select and edit press articles that only reflected an anti-U.S. bias. With the creation of a new research facility at the UN, the Soviets have lost their ability to manipulate the news at the UN through PINS.

During 1986, the Russian Book Club (RBC) at the UN celebrated its 20th anniversary as a UN Staff Recreational Council (UNSRC) club. From 1962 to 1980, the RBC appeared to serve as little more than a gathering point for Soviet emigres and UN Third Country national staff members interested in learning more about the USSR. However, since 1980 the RBC has become a much more aggressive propaganda tool for the Soviet Government. The RBC, following the UN's lead, dedicated the year 1986 as the International Year of Peace and disseminated disinformation and propaganda regarding alleged Soviet peace initiatives throughout the world.

Current RBC direction and control comes from the SMUN and more specifically from the International Department, CPSU, and the KGB. Since 1986, the RBC activities are directed at creating an overall favorable impression of the Soviet Union to the UN community and, to a lesser extent, the general public. The RBC is the only club within the UNSRC that has propaganda and intelligence objectives; no other member state has a similar organization within the UN staff.

In January 1986, the UNSRC informed the RBC that it must reduce the size of its membership, as the large RBC meetings were causing increased confusion and congestion around the Dag Hammarskjold Library auditorium at the UN complex in New York City. The UNSRC sent the RBC a letter reminding them that UNSRC clubs were established exclusively for UN employees and their immediate families. Based upon the UNSRC constitution, all individuals who were not members of the UN Secretariat were ineligible to continue attending the RBC meetings. During the second half of 1986, the RBC, in violation of the UNSRC directive, continued to send personal invitations to large numbers of CPUSA and NCASF members. It appears that the RBC officials have chosen to violate the UNSRC guidelines because they need these individuals to support their active measures operations.

IX. SOVIET POLITICAL INFLUENCE OPERATIONS

Soviet political influence operations against the United States have steadily increased in the past few years. These operations often utilize several types of agents of influence and tend to be one of the more sophisticated active measures programs. The U.S. citizens involved in political influence operations are not usually recruited agents in the strict sense of the term. Instead, Soviet intelligence officers try to secure the assistance of certain individuals to assist them in advancing established foreign policy goals on certain issues. Oftentimes, these individuals are unaware that the Soviet citizen they are dealing with, who they believe is a religious leader, trade representative, journalist, UN official, or diplomat, is in fact covertly working for the Soviet intelligence services.

Soviet Embassy Contacts Public Relations Firms

A new twist in political influence operations recently surfaced in the United States. On January 11, 1986, the Washington Post, reported that the Soviet Embassy

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had contacted several private consulting firms in Washington, DC to explore the possibility of obtaining public relations advice. The vice president at one firm was quoted as saying: "We were contacted by a Mr. Al Levine of the information department of the Soviet Embassy and asked if we were interested in discussing the marketing of certain information. He was told we do not represent foreign governments for political propaganda purposes."

The Washington Post also talked to a spokesman for the Soviet Embassy who stated that the Soviet Government normally handles its own relations with the American news media and dismissed the aforementioned reports as "talk around town."

X. FUTURE TRENDS OF SOVIET ACTIVE MEASURES OPERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

The FBI believes the following events will receive priority attention in active measures operations conducted by the Soviet Union and its front organizations in the United States.

People's Peace Appeal

On August 6, 1987, the People's Peace Appeal is scheduled to conclude a one-year campaign to collect millions of signatures on petitions supporting Soviet arms control positions. There will likely be an official ceremony at the United Nations when the petitions are presented to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Copies of the petition are intended to be presented to General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan on the same day.

Chautauqua Conference in New York

The Chautauqua Institute of Chautauqua, New York, has scheduled a large conference from August 23-28, 1987. This conference will be the third in a series of conferences alternatively held each year in the United States and USSR.

The Chautauqua Institute and the U.S./USSR Friendship Society in Moscow have sponsored these events to provide a forum for discussion and debate on a wide range of issues that affect relations between both countries. Certainly the issues of arms reduction, SDI research, and a possible Reagan/Gorbachev Summit will be discussed. Approximately 200 Soviets and 5,000 Americans are expected to attend this major conference which will feature several high-level officials from both countries. It is expected that a number of ranking CPUSA officials and Soviet Government leaders will attend. This event is expected to generate substantial public interest and media attention. Inasmuch as the ID controlled U.S./USSR Friendship Society is sponsoring this event, the Soviets undoubtedly will try to use this forum to advance Soviet arms control objectives and influence the American public.

Projected Active Measures Operations Against a Future Summit

The Soviet Union will probably initiate a series of active measures operations designed to support Soviet foreign policy objectives in any future Summit meeting between President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev. Local chapters of the CPUSA, NCASF, and other Soviet front organizations will direct some of the active measures campaigns against the U.S. Government.

Prior to the 1985 Summit meeting, one state's local CPUSA and NCASF chapters initiated a campaign to send 8,000 pre-addressed postcards to U.S. Senators, Congressmen, and President Reagan. These postcards were not identifiable with either organization, and public stands were set up so the general public could donate 25 cents

and send the following message to President Reagan:

"The summit meeting with Soviet leader Gorbachev holds the key to a future of peace. A halt to all nuclear tests, and end to Star Wars, and deep cuts in strategic missiles will mean more security for all Americans and all humanity. The world is waiting and watching for a meaningful agreement to end the nuclear arms race! Don't come home without it!"

The 13th World Festival of Youth and Students

The World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and the International Union of Students (IUS) are the two Soviet front organizations which have jointly sponsored a series of 12 World Youth Festivals since 1947. The 12th World Festival of Youth and Students was held in Moscow from July 27 to August 3, 1985, and estimates indicate 20,000 delegates from 157 countries took part in the activities. These Soviet-subsidized, large-scale events mix politics with sports, entertainment and international friendship. The United States National Preparatory Committee (USNPC), which was staffed by high-ranking CPUSA and NCASF members, sponsored 300 delegates and 250 observers to attend the festival.

The Soviets used this festival as a political stage for the USSR to attack President Reagan, U.S. "imperialism," the American military buildup, and to attempt to influence world opinion on peace issues and nuclear disarmament. Soviet organizations such as Soviet Friendship Societies, the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, and the Rodina Society were directed to commit their resources and personnel to the World Youth Festival and the theme of nuclear disarmament. The Rodina Society, a Moscow-based organization which develops and maintains cultural relations with Soviet emigres worldwide, is known to be dominated by the KGB, which utilizes these cultural exchanges as a cover for its illicit operation. This event brought the Soviets into close contact with numerous influential political, academic, religious, and media leaders, as well as thousands of politically active youths from around the world.

Through CPUSA and the CPUSA front organization representatives in the USNPC, Soviet officials carefully screened the Americans who applied to participate in the World Youth Festival. It is known that the KGB exploits such events to spot and assess youth who appear to be sympathetic to communism and/or the USSR. The ultimate KGB goal is to recruit individuals who may eventually acquire positions where they are able to collect intelligence information, support Soviet intelligence operations or otherwise be useful. In addition, the Soviet officials did not want disruptions or serious disagreements to arise during the conference and therefore they carefully screened U.S. applicants to determine their attitudes toward the USSR.

In the summer of 1989, the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students is scheduled to be held in Pyongyang, the capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The WFDY attaches special significance to this world festival which for the first time will be held in an Asian country. Various Soviet front organizations have already started to promote the 13th Festival to youths around the world. In the United States, the NCASF and the CPUSA's youth group, the Young Communist League, have already started to promote the festival. These groups play a major role in determining who attends the festival as representatives of the United States. In addition, these groups will attempt to secure as many endorsements for

the festival as possible from local governments, public officials, and prominent citizens.

Soviet Efforts to Influence the 1988 Presidential Elections

Soviet intelligence officers have already started to collect information on the 1988 Presidential candidates and their positions on various issues. It is possible that the Soviet Union will institute a new series of active measures operations designed to discredit those candidates who have platforms that are not acceptable to the Soviet Government. These operations can also be directed against Congressmen and other elected officials by front organizations, agents of influence, Soviet influenced organizations, and the CPUSA.

The FBI publicly denounced a Soviet forgery that surfaced in the United States in January 1984. The forgery, dated 1947, purported that Ronald Reagan was working in collusion with the FBI and the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning Communist infiltration into the Hollywood film world. This forgery was designed to discredit President Reagan by raising the issue of "McCarthyism" during an election year.

The CPUSA announced in 1984 that nothing was more important than the defeat of President Reagan. They utilized their front organizations and publications to attempt to convince the American public that the reelection of President Reagan would be a grave mistake and would have significant political and economic ramifications.

An Assessment of Future Active Measures Operations in the United States

In the United States, Soviet intelligence officers will continue to actively target and seek to cultivate influential American citizens, U.S. Government officials, journalists, and political activists. Much of this activity will be overt in nature, although Soviet intelligence officers are always alert for the opportunity to recruit Americans who are in positions to facilitate or assist Soviet active measures operations. The Soviet Union relies extensively on the CPUSA and other front organizations to support Soviet active measures campaigns in the United States. Front organizations of the CPUSA tend to be more effective than the Communist Party because they are not as easily identified as pro-Soviet or Communist-dominated organizations.

One of the major Soviet active measures campaigns currently underway in the United States and Europe is the Soviet campaign to undermine the SDI research programs. The Soviets are specifically interested in exploiting disagreements and creating divisiveness between the United States and its NATO allies on this issue. In the United States, the CPUSA and other front organizations have been directed to undertake operations to influence the activities of independent peace organizations. One objective of the Soviet campaign is to influence U.S. and European peace and disarmament organizations to focus only on the American SDI program, while ignoring Soviet strategic defense programs.

One of the best known and most frequently used Soviet active measures techniques is the surfacing of forged documents. However, in the United States this technique is not being used as effectively or as often as it is in other countries. Although most forged documents do surface overseas, there have been some recent forgeries which have first surfaced in the United States. The Soviets believe that even when the U.S. Government issues prompt denials of the authenticity of a forged document, the denial will

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never entirely offset the damage caused by the initial release.

Although it is often difficult to judge the effectiveness of specific active measures operations, the Soviets believe these operations have a cumulative effect and are detrimental to U.S. foreign policy and national security interests. Furthermore, the Soviets believe that their active measures operations in the United States do contribute to their overall strategy to advance Soviet foreign policy interests, influence U.S. Government policies, and in general discredit the United States.

**THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE BLUE RIDGE HAVEN EAST
CONVALESCENT CENTER**

HON. GEORGE W. GEKAS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1987

Mr. GEKAS. Mr. Speaker, Blue Ridge Haven East Convalescent Center recently celebrated its 25th anniversary. Blue Ridge East opened its doors on March 4, 1962, and was the first new facility in the greater Harrisburg area designed to give 24 hour nursing care. The facility was built by Morris and Etta Abrams, administrators, and Dr. Donald B. Freedman, the medical director. Ruth E. Mumma, RN, was the first director of nursing and retained this position until her retirement on June 1, 1977.

Blue Ridge Haven East, with a bed capacity of 67 beds, is certified to participate in the Medicare and Medical Assistance programs. The center also has a contract with the Veterans' Administration to accept veterans from the VA Medical Center in Lebanon.

In addition to 24 hour nursing care, Blue Ridge East offers audiological services, speech therapy, physical therapy, and various medical and personal services. The social services and activities departments offer a wide range of social and recreational activities with a therapeutic emphasis. The center encourages community involvement through its Adopt-a-Grandparent Program, community gardening project, and its annual campaign for the Arthritis Foundation. The facility welcomes volunteers of all ages to participate in one of its already existing programs, or to create a unique program of their own design.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to offer my congratulations to Blue Ridge Haven East Convalescent Center on its 25th anniversary. Its employees and volunteers have provided its patients and our community with many years of faithful service and support and for that we thank them and salute them.

**SEAT BELTS IN SAN GABRIEL
SAVE LIVES**

HON. MATTHEW G. MARTINEZ

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1987

Mr. MARTINEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commend the San Gabriel City Council for the adoption of a resolution declaring December 1987 as "Seat Belts Work Month" in San Gabriel. Mayor Janis Cohen, along with city council members Sabino Cici, Mike Falabrino, Ed Lara, and Jeanne Parrish, should be rec-

ognized as leaders in promoting the benefits of seat belts as a means of improving public safety in our communities. In conjunction with this resolution, the San Gabriel City Council, with the help of the San Gabriel Chamber of Commerce, the San Gabriel Police Department, and the Automobile Club of Southern California, is conducting a citywide campaign this month to both improve community awareness and increase the usage of seat belts in automobiles.

In my home State, California, 3,000 are killed and over 240,000 are injured as a result of automobile accidents. It is in our neighborhood streets where many of these accidents take place as a result of everyday driving; 75 percent of these accidents within 25 miles of home, with more than 50 percent of all injury producing accidents occurring at speeds lower than 40 miles per hour; 20 percent of all serious injuries suffered in accidents result from nonbelted occupants being thrown into each other. The most frightening statistic is that traffic accidents are now the leading cause of death among people under the age of 45.

The benefits of seat belts are well documented. Seat belts worn properly cut fatalities by 45 percent and reduce the probability of suffering a moderate to serious injury by 50 percent. Seat belts also help drivers in emergency situations maintain vehicle control as well as avoid being thrown from their vehicles. Seat belts are now designed to allow riders to move freely in their cars, but are also designed to lock in place when cars come to sudden halt. Most alarming is the fact that, though nearly all cars now have seat belts, less than 20 percent of all Americans buckle up when they operate their cars.

Mr. Speaker, actions such as to encourage the use of seat belts should be commended. It is my hope that other local governments will follow San Gabriel's lead, and remind their communities that seat belts work and save lives.

**WHO IS WATCHING OUR
CHILDREN'S HEALTH**

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1987

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, today, a very important report "Who Is Watching Our Children's Health?" was issued by the Children's Defense Fund. The report found that U.S. leadership in the vaccination of the Nation's children is floundering, and that we will not meet the Surgeon's General's 1990 immunization goal of having 90 percent of all children complete a basic series of immunizations by age 2.

Most startling is the erosion of the immunization status of the Nation's youngest children. For each of the seven targeted diseases, immunization rates for children age 2 years fell during the 1980-85 period.

These findings are particularly disturbing in light of UNICEF's worldwide campaign to immunize children against preventable diseases. The United States already lags far behind other industrialized nations in our rates of teenage pregnancy and parenthood, in infant mortality rates, and in other important indicators of the Nation's health. Once again, we

have been given the dubious distinction of running behind the pack, instead of in front.

This is inexcusable when we have the knowledge to prevent poor health status, especially among the Nation's most vulnerable children. We also know that when prevention strategies are implemented, money is returned to the Federal Treasury. The Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families documented in its report on cost-effective prevention strategies that for every dollar spent on the Childhood Immunization Program, the Government saves \$10 in medical costs.

For 1 million 2-year-olds, rubella vaccination would save \$9.8 million in net medical costs and an additional \$7.4 million in productivity. The cost of lifetime institutional care for a child left retarded by measles is between \$500,000 and \$1 million. A Center for Disease Control study indicated that the \$180 million spent over several years on a measles vaccination program saved \$1.3 billion in medical and long-term care by reducing hearing impairment, retardation, and other problems.

I urge my colleagues to study the report's findings, and to take immediate action to prevent a national tragedy by continuing to support all of the report's recommendations, including enactment of the full authorization levels for the childhood immunization program, the maternal and child health block grant, and the Community Health Centers' infant mortality initiative. The introduction from "Who Is Watching Our Children's Health?" follows:

At a time when UNICEF and third world nations are conducting a world-wide campaign to immunize children against preventable diseases, U.S. leadership in the vaccination effort at home is floundering. The immunization rates of American children are stagnating overall and even declining for some crucial age groups. Congress and the Administration must act immediately to reverse this course.

As a result of more than a century of research, today vaccines are available to prevent illness, disability, or death from a number of the most common communicable diseases of childhood. The use of vaccines to prevent disease has been one of the major success stories in public health and modern medicine. Across the world, similar interventions have been proposed to save the lives of millions of children. Yet, because this nation has not eliminated any major childhood disease except smallpox, the potential for infection still exists in every community. Thus, in order to maintain past successes and achieve further progress, the nation must continue its efforts to provide adequate immunization levels for children.

In the past, successful efforts to improve immunization status and reduce preventable childhood diseases have used a three-pronged approach. The key elements of these efforts were: (1) achievement and maintenance of high immunization levels; (2) development of strong and effective surveillance systems; and (3) aggressive response to disease outbreaks. As a result of problems in the vaccine delivery system and inadequate funding levels, the nation's efforts in each of these critical areas have been reduced since 1980.

We are moving backward rather than forward:

The nation will fail to meet many of the Surgeon General's 1990 Immunization Objectives for the Nation, including goals for reductions in the incidence of measles, mumps, pertussis, and tetanus; and the goal

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for having 90 percent of all children complete a basic series of immunizations by age two years.

General levels of immunization for preschool-age children worsened or showed no improvement between 1980 and 1985. For example, the proportion of one- to four-year-olds receiving no doses of polio vaccine rose by 40 percent for children of all races and 80 percent for nonwhite children; and the percentage of children who were not immunized against rubella before age five rose during this period.

The erosion of the immunization status of the youngest children is particularly troubling. The proportion of infants inadequately immunized against diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis increased for all races and for nonwhites. Furthermore, for each of the seven targeted diseases (polio, measles, rubella, mumps, diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis) immunization rates for children age two years fell during the 1980-1985 period, and none is approaching the goal of 90 percent.

While there is no danger of soon returning to the levels of disease experienced before 1970, during the 1980-1985 period the nation experienced a significant increase in the number of reported cases of measles, mumps, and pertussis.

The number of cases of measles reported in the United States has risen dramatically since 1983, and there were more cases in 1986 than in any year since 1980. Preschool-age children had the highest reported rates in 1985 and 1986. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC) found that 83 percent of the cases among children age 16 months to four years were preventable through adequate immunization.

In 1986, after 15 years of continuous decline, there was a nationwide increase in the reported number of cases of mumps. For the first six months of 1987 more than 9,000 cases of mumps were reported. This is more than four times the number reported during the comparable period of 1986.

Pertussis, commonly known as whooping cough, can be a serious and even fatal disease. With immunization efforts, the incidence of pertussis dropped to an all-time low of 1,248 cases in 1981. However, the number of reported cases nearly tripled between 1981 and 1985, reaching 3,589, the highest reported number since 1970. During the upswing, the rates of pertussis were highest among children younger than one. Over half of these infants were hospitalized and one in five suffered the complication of pneumonia. As with measles, inadequate immunization is a key factor in recent outbreaks of pertussis.

Surveillance of immunization status virtually has been eliminated. In 1985 the U.S. Immunization Survey, which had been conducted by the Census Bureau for the CDC, was discontinued. No nationwide immunization statistics were collected by the federal government for 1986 or 1987.

The cost of vaccines has increased dramatically during the first half of this decade. Even in constant dollars, the cost of the combined measles, mumps, and rubella (MMR) vaccine more than doubled between 1979 and 1986. And the actual cost of the combined diphtheria, tetanus, and pertussis (DTP) vaccine rose by more than 2,000 percent in a two-year period.

In the face of skyrocketing inflation in vaccine costs, federal funding for the purchase of vaccines has become inadequate. In FY 1979, funding through grants to states totaled \$25 million and was used for purchase of 17.4 million doses of vaccine. In FY 1986, federal immunization grant dollars totaled \$45 million, yet only an estimated 16.2 million doses of vaccine could be purchased.

As a result of limited numbers of manufacturers that continue to supply vaccines, the liability concerns of manufacturers, and the limited stockpiling (storage and preservation) of vaccines have created increases in costs and vaccine shortages. The system for production and distribution of vaccines is suffering under extreme pressure and already has reached one point of crisis during which childhood immunization schedules were cutback.

WHAT MUST BE DONE NOW: SIX STEPS

The Congress and the Administration must show a sense of urgency about protecting children from preventable illness. Six immediate actions are necessary:

Inclusion in the final federal FY 1988 appropriations bill of funding up to the full authorization levels for the Childhood Immunization Program (\$94 million), the Title V Maternal and Child Health Block Grant (\$557 million), and the Community Health Centers' Infant Mortality Initiative (\$25 million, with a total of \$425 million for health centers). Full funding for these programs is essential to the provision of an adequate system for assuring that vaccines, and providers to administer vaccines, are available for all children.

Immediate enactment of S. 422 and H.R. 1018, the Medicaid Infant Mortality Amendments of 1986. These bills would continue Medicaid coverage for the poorest five-year-olds, permit immediate coverage of children younger than five living below 100 percent of the federal poverty level, and raise the optional level of coverage for pregnant women and infants to 185 percent of federal poverty. Enactment of these provisions could ensure the financing of immunizations for tens of thousands of low-income children.

Appropriation of sufficient funds to enable the CDC to maintain an adequate vaccine stockpile. The stockpile authorization level for FY 1988 is set at \$5 million.

Enactment of the National Childhood Vaccine Compensation Act with recent modifications. This will require passage of a small excise tax provision adopted by the House Ways and Means Committee. The new vaccine compensation program is a first, and essential, step toward reducing vaccine cost inflation.

Restoration of the immunization surveillance system or replacement of the prior system with a new annual survey. Other national health surveys do not provide adequate information regarding immunization status. Given certain adverse trends in immunization status and recent outbreaks of diseases across the nation, abandoning this system is a serious mistake in public health terms. Surveillance activities should be resumed as soon as possible to chart progress for the end of this decade.

Congress and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services should begin now to adopt policies and provide funding which can assure an adequate system for providing childhood immunizations by 1992. Meeting the Surgeon General's Objectives, by even that late date, will require a commitment such as was made during the late 1970s: continued increases in funding levels for key child health programs to compensate for vaccine price inflation and growing need for publicly-provided vaccination; aggressive efforts to improve and sustain immunization levels; studies of disease outbreaks and their causes; public education campaigns regarding the importance of childhood immunizations; and ongoing surveillance of a specific and detailed nature.

Every American ought to ask what kind of government would seek to hide, rather than

energetically watch, the health status of its young.

STATEMENT IN OPPOSITION TO
THE DORNAN AMENDMENT ON
MILITARY AID TO GUATEMALA

SPEECH OF

HON. DON BONKER

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, December 8, 1987

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3100) to authorize international security and development assistance programs and Peace Corps programs for fiscal years 1988 and 1989, and for other purposes.

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong opposition to this amendment, which would eliminate the present statutory prohibition on lethal military aid to Guatemala and permit United States weapons and ammunition to flow to that country's armed forces.

At the time this provision was enacted into law in 1985, the Congress was disturbed by Guatemala's inability to achieve control over the military and security forces; to eliminate kidnappings, disappearances, forced recruitment, and other human rights abuses; and to respect the basic human rights of the country's indigenous Indian population. Today, despite President Cerezo's efforts to establish mechanisms for investigating and prosecuting human rights violations, and despite a number of witnesses' and even victims' positive identification of the police or military forces as perpetrators of abuses, not a single member of the police or military has been tried.

Incidents of political violence in Guatemala unfortunately remain very high. The respected human rights monitoring group America's Watch found press reports on 1,201 political killings and 28 cases of torture between January 1986 and August of this year.

We in the Congress must lend our wholehearted support to President Cerezo's attempts to instill civilian control over the armed forces and police. However, I believe the provision of lethal assistance to the Guatemalan Armed Forces would serve neither this goal and the cause of accountability for human rights violations, nor the achievement of a regional peace settlement under the Guatemala accord. Moreover, I fail to see how any military aid can be justified when the country faces such severe economic problems.

I urge my colleagues to vote down this amendment, and to support the committee bill, which extends for an additional 2 years the current statutory prohibition on weapons and equipment for Guatemala.

RESTORE RAILROAD RETIRE-
MENT BENEFITS INCORRECT-
LY SEQUESTERED

HON. BOB WHITTAKER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, December 9, 1987

Mr. WHITTAKER. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a concurrent resolution today express-