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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

14 July 1954

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NIE 10-5-54: ANTI-COMMUNIST RESISTANCE
POTENTIAL IN THE SOVIET BLOC (Staff Draft for Consideration
by the Board of National Estimates)

THE PROBLEM

To appraise the bases, intensity and distribution of disaffection
and resistance in Soviet Bloc countries, and anti-Communist resistance
potential under cold war and hot war conditions.

SCOPE

This estimate will cover the USSR, the Satellites, Communist
China, and North Korea.¹

¹ With respect to Poland and Communist China, agency contributions
should cover only relevant developments (if any) subsequent to
those covered in the Resistance Intelligence Committee's studies
on those countries (RIR-1 and RIR-2) and contributions thereto.

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QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

Contributions are to cover each country severally, in addition to making any appropriate generalizations for groups of countries or for the Bloc as a whole.

I. Basic Factors and Elements of Dissidence

A. What economic, political, and social factors create ill-will toward the regime; e.g., persecution of socio-economic, religious, or ethnic groups, economic controls, economic distress, political controls, the regime's attacks on traditional values and practices, encroachments of the USSR on national sovereignty, etc.?

B. In what elements of the population is dissidence and actual or potential resistance found; e.g., in what religious, economic, political, military, ethnic, rural, urban, age, or occupational groups, or other categories?

C. How intense is dissidence and to what extent does it provide a favorable popular setting for actual resistance activity?

D. What trends in the basis and intensity of dissidence have been in evidence since the death of Stalin?

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II. Resistance Activities to Date

A. What has been the history of resistance groups and their activity since the end of World War II?

B. What organized resistance groups are believed to exist now?

In addition to identifying the groups, indicate:

1. Numerical strength, internal discipline, training, and cohesion, facilities, and equipment, etc.
2. Character and background of leadership.
3. Political orientation, e.g., nationalist, Titoist, anti-US.
4. Area of operations.
5. Trend of strength and activity.
6. Reasons for dissidence.
7. Immediate and ultimate objectives under peacetime and wartime conditions.
8. Extent of infiltration into armed forces, bureaucracy, war industry, etc.
9. Type and extent of activity to date, including active (sabotage, etc.), passive (slowdown, etc.), intelligence collection, etc.

C. What is the extent and nature of unorganized resistance? By what elements of the population is it displayed? How is it manifested?

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What trends appear in its prevalence or type of manifestation?

D. To what extent has organized and unorganized resistance been guided and materially assisted by emigre groups? Other external sources?

E. By what means does the regime seek to inhibit or counter dissidence and resistance organization and activities? What is the trend of effectiveness of counter-resistance?

III. Resistance Potential

A. Assuming continuation of cold war conditions:

1. What types and levels of resistance activity are now within the capability of organized resistance groups? Unorganized resistance?
2. To what extent could such activity be expanded or intensified?
3. Upon what factors will increase or decrease of resistance capability depend? e.g.,
 - (a) Improved cooperation among groups.
 - (b) External support by governments or groups, both overt and covert.
 - (c) Indicated possibilities for eventual improvement in, or replacement of the regime.

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- (d) Basic factors of dissidence (as covered in I).
- (e) State security controls and other factors inhibiting resistance.

B. Under conditions of open warfare, what would be the capabilities for initial action and for sustained action of the following lines?

1. Intensified resistance measures.
2. Independent military action. To what extent would this capability depend on outside support?
3. Assistance to enemy forces, in:
 - (a) Military or political warfare.
 - (b) Evasion and escape.
 - (c) Intelligence collection.
4. How would the capabilities indicated in 1, 2, and 3 above be affected by:
 - (a) The stage or trend of military action at the time?
(e.g., by whether military action, was actually in process within the country or area in question, whether such action included use of nuclear weapons, or whether one side or the other appeared to be gaining).
 - (b) Nationality of attacking forces.
 - (c) Indicated possibilities for eventual improvement in, or replacement of, the regime.

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- (d) Circumstances surrounding initiation of hostilities:
e.g., which side is held responsible for such initiation?
- (e) Occupation policies of attacking forces in occupied parts, if any, of the country.

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