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NIO # 1669-74

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USIB/IRAC-D-22.1/20
30 July 1974

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UNITED STATES INTELLIGENCE BOARD
INTELLIGENCE RESOURCES ADVISORY COMMITTEE

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MEMORANDUM FOR : USIB Principals
IRAC Members *Doc/ Gundersen file*

SUBJECT : Perspectives for Intelligence

REFERENCES : a. USIB/IRAC-D-22.1/18, 18 June 1974
b. USIB-M-671, 27 June 1974, Item 6

Pursuant to the discussion at the USIB meeting of 27 June (reference b.), the attached final version of the Perspectives are forwarded herewith for information. Copies have also been provided to the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board and the members of the National Security Council Intelligence Committee.

[Redacted Signature]

Executive Secretary

Attachment

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DIRECTOR of CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

Perspectives for Intelligence
1975-1980

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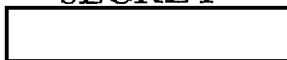
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PERSPECTIVES FOR INTELLIGENCE
1975 - 1980**

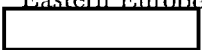
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Introduction	1
Part I—Major World Problems	1
General	1
The USSR	2
China	2
Western Europe	3
Eastern Europe	3
	3
New Powers	4
The Third World	4
Social Change	4
The Acceleration of Events	5
Part II—The Role of Intelligence	5
General	5
The USSR	6
China	6
Europe	6
Economics	7
Other Priorities	7
Part III—Implications for Intelligence Planning	8
General	8
Collection vs. Exploitation	8
Demands vs. Resources	9
Technical Systems	10
Requirements and Evaluation	11
Manpower Implications	11
Security	12

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Introduction

1. These Perspectives for Intelligence 1975-1980 are issued by the Director of Central Intelligence to provide general guidance for planning for all elements of the Intelligence Community for the next five years. They are particularly designed to stimulate early action on programs requiring long-term research, development, or planning—such as complex technical systems, language training, skills augmentation, etc. They are designed to influence Fiscal Year 1975 decisions whose effects will be felt only after several years. For Fiscal Year 1975, near-term guidance is provided in the Director's Objectives submitted to the President, which include both Substantive Objectives (further detailed in Key Intelligence Questions) and Resource Management Objectives. The Director's Annual Report to the President on the work of the Intelligence Community will include comment on steps taken during FY 75 to meet future requirements.

2. These Perspectives open with a general overview of the political, economic and security environment anticipated during the coming five years (Part I). This is followed by an overall statement of the anticipated role of intelligence in these situations during that period (Part II). Finally, more specific guidance is given with respect to activities which should be planned or initiated in order to meet the needs of the period ahead (Part III).

3. The Perspectives are focused primarily on major national intelligence problems and guidance. They recognize but do not deal extensively with three additional categories of important problems:

(a) Continuing lower priority national responsibilities which must be satisfied with a limited allocation of resources;

(b) Departmental or tactical intelligence support of civilian and military elements of the United States Government. This will also require continuing investment of attention and resources;

(c) Unexpected problems or crises which can pose major political, economic or security problems to the United States. To the extent that these requirements cannot be met by reallocation of resources from less urgent activities, some reserve capability must be included in planning to meet them.

Part I—Major World Problems

1. *General.* The balance of power between the US and USSR is unlikely to change fundamentally. Perception of the balance, however, may change importantly in either Moscow or Washington, or both. Beyond this, many other nations will play major roles in the international arena. Additional nations possessing nuclear weapons or having significant control over critical economic resources will be capable of seriously upsetting the international equilibrium. The chang-

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ing balance between the world's supply of and demand for natural resources will strain the world's political, economic, and social institutions. Thus the US will be confronted not only with the steady-state Soviet threat to US national interests but turbulence in other world relationships as well.

2. *The USSR.* Notwithstanding the probable continuation of detente and an absence of armed conflict, the USSR will remain the principal adversary of the US during the next five years. It will regard the US as its major security threat, and act accordingly. In foreign policy, its continued efforts to expand its international influence will bring it into conflict with US interests. This will include political action in Western Europe, the Near East, and South Asia, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Latin America. In its economic policy, Moscow will continue to give high priority to the kinds of growth which increase national power and its projection abroad.

The circumstances which commend detente to the USSR, however, have complicated this picture. These are: the need to control local crises lest they lead to general war; the burden of the Sino-Soviet conflict; and the desire for economic and technological assistance from the West. The Soviets will have to deal in the coming years with a number of dilemmas as they attempt to square traditional attitudes with the requirements of a detente posture.

These dilemmas may take an acute form in the strategic field. While continuing to modernize its ground, naval, and tactical air forces, the USSR is vigorously pursuing the opportunities left open by SALT I. Except to the extent restrained by arms limitation agreements, the Soviets will make substantial improvements in their missile forces, including MIRVing, improved accuracy, increased throw-weight, and better survivability. At the same time, they will continue to maintain and to improve their defenses. They will be working to develop effective weapons and supporting systems in such areas as ASW, satellites, and lasers. Expecting strategic equality with the US, the USSR gives indications of angling further for a measure of strategic superiority, if that can be obtained at reasonable risk.

Domestically, the pressure for modernizing reforms of the Soviet system, and particularly its economic administrative structure, will grow. Prolonged detente may also eventually have some effect on the Communist Party's ability to wield its authority effectively in all areas of public life. But these are long-term possibilities, and over the next five years the essentials of the Soviet domestic system are not likely to be substantially altered.



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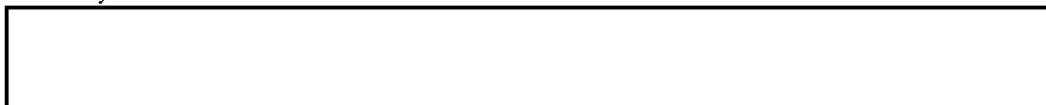


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5. *Eastern Europe.* While Eastern Europe will continue to be under Soviet control, recurrent pressures for some loosening of ties with Moscow will complicate the picture. The five-year period could see an explosion from within one or more East European countries against Soviet dominance, but Moscow would quickly reestablish its hegemony (by force if necessary), whatever the price in terms of other policies. Internal discipline may be alleviated somewhat in these countries so long as they adhere to Soviet guidance in diplomatic and security matters. Economic relations with the West and with the Third World will grow in quantity and in independence from Soviet control. The passing of Tito could open an arena of difficulty and contest over the succession internally and over the future orientation of Yugoslavia externally.



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7. *New Powers.* During the coming years, a number of nations will increase in absolute and relative strength and become at least regional great powers, plus playing more substantial roles in world international forums. An example is Brazil, whose economic and political power is increasingly felt in Latin America. Another is Iran, whose Shah is determined to build that country's relative strength in the region so as to play a full great power role there. Nigeria and Zaire could also develop this sort of role in Africa. Aside from these, several nations having considerable influence within regions will display greater independence from the close US relationship which has characterized them in the past. This will be particularly prevalent in the economic field, but it will also occur in various international relationships. Examples of such powers are Canada, Mexico, Australia, Thailand, and Saudi Arabia, plus several South American nations such as Venezuela, Panama, and Peru.

8. *The Third World* will present a variety of problems. A number of local disputes will preoccupy not only the leaders of individual countries but the international community. Examples are relationships between India and Pakistan, between black and white Sub-Sahara Africa, and within Southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf. Several existing disputes will continue to be a matter of concern to the international community and will sow the seeds of potential larger scale involvement (Arabs and Israel, North and South Vietnam, North and South Korea, Taiwan and China). A number of Third World countries will become increasingly antagonistic toward the great powers and their local presence in the economic, political and cultural spheres, e.g., in Africa, Latin America and South Asia. In this respect some identity of interest may grow between nations divided by the Cold War, developing into collaboration against both superpower complexes, e.g., the Arab nations, the rising black nations of Africa, and the nations of the Malay Archipelago. Internally, many Third World nations will suffer serious damage from tribal and regional differences, economic extremism, and ideological zealots (India, Cambodia, Ethiopia, *et al*). Some of the Third World will find an outlet for its frustrations in self-defeating assaults on great power economic relationships and in hamstringing the effectiveness of a variety of international forums.

9. *Social change* will cause turbulence and possibly create power vacuums in a number of areas. These will stem from increased expectations and a perception of the growing economic gap between less developed countries (and classes within countries) and the developed world. Areas particularly susceptible to this process will be the Persian Gulf, certain other Arab states such as Morocco,

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India, possibly Indonesia, the Philippines, and, in Latin America, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. Internally this turbulence may be temporarily stilled by some authoritarian governments, particularly those benefiting from increased oil revenues, but these will have difficulties in maintaining themselves over the longer term and transferring power to successors. The resulting turbulence can present temptations to neighboring states to exploit long-standing differences or to great powers desirous of extending their influence. Such turbulence will also exist within advanced nations, as economic, racial, ideological, or regional minorities turn to violence and terrorism to press their claims against more and more delicately tuned and interdependent societies.

10. *The acceleration of events* will be characteristic of the years ahead. This will come from improved communication and transportation, sharply reducing the time available to reflect on, negotiate, and resolve international problems. It will also raise many local events to international prominence and inflate national or political pride, posing further handicaps to successful negotiations. There will be a resulting tendency towards shorter attention spans for individual situations and a need for simultaneous perception and management of a multiplicity of international relationships. Many national or international institutions are simply not structured to cope with accelerating change. Such change will occur most conspicuously in the fields of science and technology, but the pace there will have substantial effects on the pace of sociological, industrial, and institutional change, with resultant political and economic impacts. Identification and accurate assessments of such changes and their effects will be needed on an increasingly rapid or even immediate basis.

Part II—The Role of Intelligence

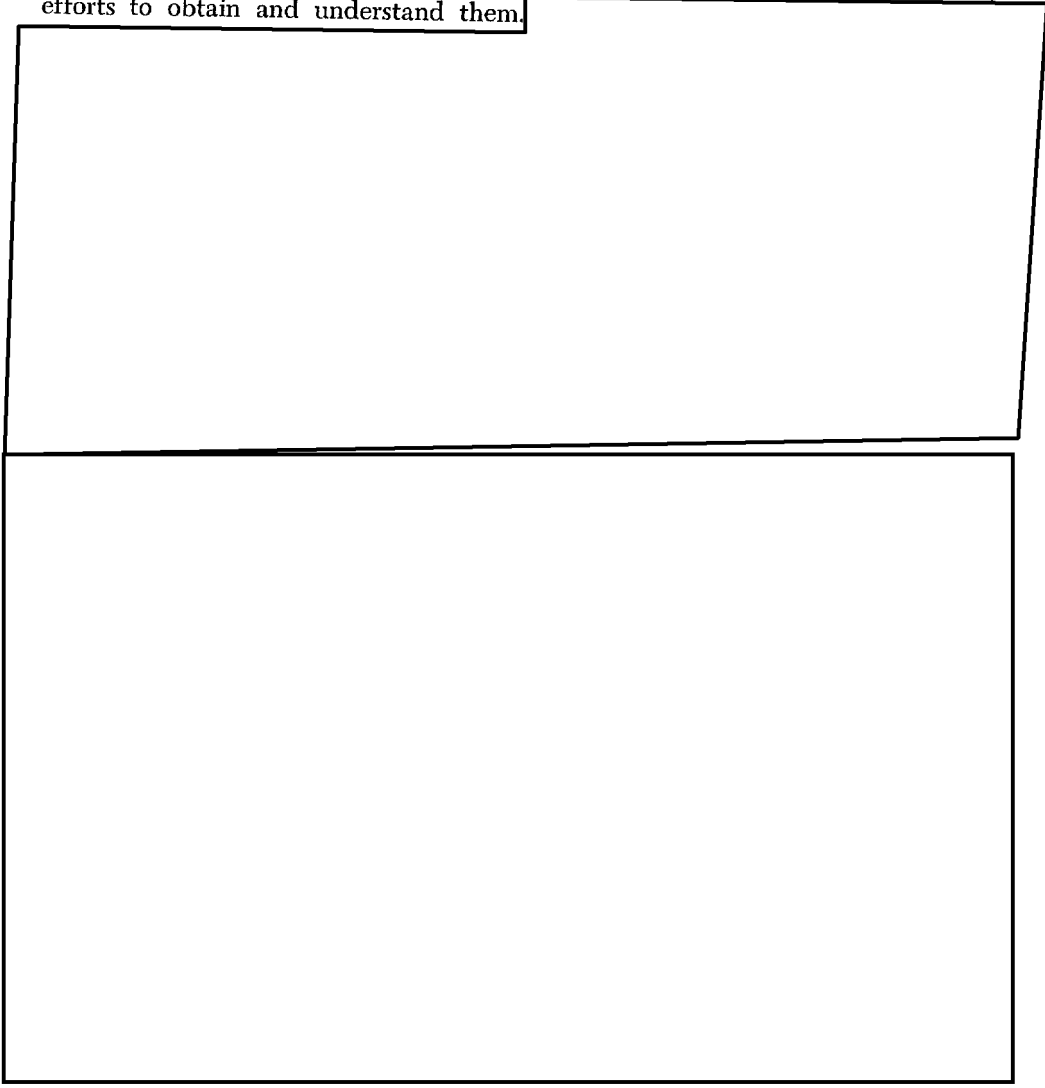
1. *General.* The primary charge on intelligence during these years will be to provide accurate and pertinent information and assessments with respect to the increased range of problems requiring US decision. In particular, the need will be for advance notifications of forthcoming policy problems and, of course, for tactical early warning as well. These responsibilities will be especially important in an era of accelerating events so that diplomacy, negotiation, or other benign initiatives can head off military confrontations between states or other disruptive events. The acceleration of events and the explosion of information will also require a major effort by the intelligence community to identify major policy and negotiating issues, to process raw information into manageable form, and to devise adequate techniques to identify for consumers the essential elements of foreign situations, the reliability of our assessments, and the likely impact of alternative policy decisions. Intelligence will increasingly be expected to provide assessments of the intentions and likely courses of action of foreign powers, in addition to their basic capabilities. To do this will require interdisciplinary analysis which melds economic, technological, sociological and cultural factors with political and military data.

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2. *The USSR.* The USSR will remain as the major intelligence target. Its military power, its economic role in the world, and its foreign policies will continue to pose major problems for American leadership. Intelligence will be expected to provide precise data on Soviet military capabilities and economic activity. It must follow Soviet efforts to acquire advanced scientific and technological assistance and the potential impact on both military and economic capabilities. It will be expected also to supply reliable assessments of Soviet political dynamics and intentions. These must be supplemented by clear and accurate forecasts of likely Soviet courses of action in the political, economic, and military fields. While a small percentage of this material will become available through open exchange and access, vast fields of highly important information will be kept by the Soviets within a closed society, requiring extraordinary efforts to obtain and understand them.



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5. *Economics.* Economic intelligence will increase in importance world-wide. This will include economic situations in nations having a major impact on the world economy and on relationships with the United States, such as the Arab oil states, major economic powers such as Japan, major suppliers of food and raw materials, and nations where internal economic chaos can create major world problems out of sympathy or resonance (e.g., India). Economic intelligence of value to US policy makers is necessarily international in scope, including such topics as the activities of multi-national corporations, international development programs, regional economic arrangements, and the working of international commodity markets. In some cases, nations with close political and military bonds to the United States may become important economic intelligence targets,  etc., raising complicated problems for intelligence coverage.

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6. *Other Priorities.* Intelligence will increasingly be expected to warn of and explain new situations posing problems to American interests. An example will be to identify the causes of social change, turbulence, and political terrorism in Third World countries, so the component elements of these problems can be isolated, negotiated about or countered with appropriate mechanisms. This may require intensified efforts on our part to understand and communicate the differences between societies, cultures, and nation personalities. Intelligence will be called upon more often to assess the threat of terrorists against US installations and private enterprises abroad and, beyond that, the risk that some terrorists may acquire nuclear weapons.

7. A few of the major problems which will be either the subject of dispute or negotiation, or sometimes both, and consequently will be priority intelligence requirements, can be listed:

- (a) Rates of production, consumption, and pricing of raw materials and energy sources and international commodity arrangements;
- (b) Price and non-price restrictions on international trade, including transportation and communication services;
- (c) The international payments mechanism and the coordination of national fiscal-monetary policies;
- (d) National policies with respect to military sales and foreign business activity and investment, including policies toward multi-national corporations;
- (e) Arms limitation, nuclear proliferation, and crisis avoidance;
- (f) Jurisdiction, exploitation, and relationships in the oceans and on sea beds.

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public's right to information about its Government's activities. This may require new legislation, the development of new ways of informing the Congress and the public of the substantive conclusions of the intelligence process and clear standards for compliance with the Freedom of Information Act and Executive Order 11652 (and their exceptions) in the Intelligence Community.

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