

**S E C R E T**

**CA/PEG PROJECT DATA SHEET**

Date 22 MAY 1973

Div/Br/Desk	Country	Type of Action	Function	Project Cryptonym
SA/B2	USSR	FY 1974 Renewal	Propaganda	ORDYNAMIC

<u>Funds</u>	<u>Programmed</u>	<u>Requested</u>	<u>Approved</u>	<u>Obligated</u>
FY 1973	\$ [ ]	\$ [ ]	[ ]	\$ [ ]
FY 1974	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	(30 April 73)
FY 1975	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	

\*An excess of \$ [ ] over the programmed amount was requested in FY 1973 to offset costs of inflation and devaluation; an equal amount is requested in FY 1974 for the same purpose.

**2. Description**

ORDYNAMIC provides psychological and material support to Ukrainian dissidents in the USSR by assisting personal contacts between these targets and Ukrainian emigres from the West. Dissident underground literature received from the Ukraine is edited and published in New York and Munich, and re-introduced to the USSR covertly. There is a small positive intelligence by-product. The main vehicle for this activity is the emigre group Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (FP/UHVR), which CIA has funded since 1950; the Prolog Research Corporation in New York is a CIA proprietary handling research, writing and editorial tasks, while printing is done in Munich under guidance of the Ukrainische Gesellschaft fuer Auslandsstudien E.V. Dissident literature and propaganda are sent to the USSR by mail or personal contact using a network of ethnic Ukrainians in Europe. The principals of the New York and Munich corporations are FP/UHVR members, directed by a case officer from Headquarters; there is no case officer contact overseas.

**3. Funding**

Becker Regional Studies Associates of Denver, and International Survey Services of Los Angeles, both CCS notional

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facilities, have ostensible contracts hiring Prolog to do research. The Munich office has no corporate tie to Prolog and is funded by [ ] bank transfers backstopped by another CCS notional. Expenses of both New York and Munich offices are accounted for in accord with the QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

4. Interagency Coordination and Approval

The 40 Committee last approved the project on 22 September 1971; an updated paper including QRDYNAMIC has been submitted to the 40 Committee.

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**CA/PEG PROJECT EVALUATION**

Date 22 MAY 1973

	Initials	Date	Initials	Date
1. DC/CA/PEG	CW	22 May		
2. AC/CA/PEG	CW	22 May	5. MP/EG/CA	
3.			6. ADDP	
4.			7. SA/PEG	

  

PEG Eval.
Officer <u>E</u> <u>J</u>
Date
Received
Date Due in
MPS/DC/CA

**COMMENT:**

1. In the face of severely increased repression of Ukrainian dissidence carried out by the KGB since January 1972, QRDYNAMIC assets increased the flow of parcels, cash, gifts, medicine, and salable art objects into the Ukraine, while stepping up both Western publicity of the internal arrests and persecutions, and the covert insertion of proscribed writings into the target area. Nearly 16,000 pieces of literature were infiltrated during the first two-thirds of FY 1973, including copies of six books and the two regular periodicals produced by Prolog; this compares with 10,000 items during the corresponding period of FY 1972.

2. Project principals have contributed significantly to the production of a new SA Staff publication, QRDONIA, directed at minority nationalities in the USSR, a source of continuing concern to the Soviet regime. The Prolog Operations Officer, Anatol Kaminsky, has also kept us aware of developments in a Chinese Communist-sponsored group in Canada encouraging Ukrainian nationalism and separatism.

3. SA/PEG noted last year that salaries and office expenses comprised more than half of the QRDYNAMIC budget, and suggested that either the staff be reduced or a larger budget be requested to increase the money spent on operations. Some progress has been made, but fixed expenses still amount to 62% of the total; we can accept the view that ten full-time employees are not too many for New York and Munich combined, and we again urge that the question of an increased operational budget--apart from inflationary factors--be considered.

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Div/Br/Desk	Country	Type of Action	Function	Project Cryptonym
SA/B2	USSR	FY 1974 Renewal	Propaganda	QRDYNAMIC

A DDP Action:

Amount

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4. SB Division endorses the project strongly and underlines the importance of the nationalities problem to the Soviets as well as the vital role of QRDYNAMIC in exploiting that vulnerability. SB also notes the value of operational leads which have emerged from QRDYNAMIC in the past.

5. FI Staff concurs in the renewal and hopes that the intelligence potential will continue to be exploited. CCS concurs without comment, and CI Staff would like to see more debriefing of QRDYNAMIC assets regarding the personalities and philosophies of the dissidents in the Ukraine, as a way of emphasizing the CI problems inherent in the project.

6. The crucial question of effectiveness is addressed by SA Staff in the Media Effectiveness Annex, in paragraph B of the Accomplishments section, and in the SA/PROP review of the Prolog periodicals:

a. Twenty-seven hundred copies of Suchasnist (Contemporary), a monthly political literary journal were mailed or carried to the USSR in the first eight months of FY 1973. The total arriving is unknown, but letters and verbal reports attest to the receipt and clandestine circulation of some issues.

b. Eleven thousand copies of the bi-monthly Informatsiyniy Byulletin (Information Bulletin) and the irregularly-appearing Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent) were mailed or sent to the Ukraine in the same eight months.

c. Sixteen hundred Prolog-published books and about three hundred non-Prolog items were mailed or sent.

d. Four dissident Ukrainian manuscripts, plus ten other internal documents concerning Ukrainians were acquired by the project.

e. Increased attacks against Suchasnist appeared in official Ukrainian and Soviet publications. SA Staff quotes extensively from these in the Media Annex, and cites its file of Soviet press clippings attacking the Ukrainian separatist movement.

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f. SA/PROP evaluates the content of Suchasnist as likely to "provoke discussion among its intended audience," and to "contribute towards maintaining a Ukrainian nationality consciousness." SA/PROP also suggests that the journal be independently assessed by one or more U.S. scholars, an idea which we believe has merit.

7. This is not overwhelming proof that QRDYNAMIC publications and support are getting effectively to their targets or that they are having major impact on the intellectual and political life of the Ukrainian dissident movement. On the other hand, the repeated naming of Suchasnist in Soviet articles attacking separatism, and the specific mention of Prolog in these articles shows that the Soviet regime is seriously bothered by project activities; the suggestion is strong that enough of our propaganda gets through to require the regime to take public and hostile notice of it.

8. SA/PEG recommends renewal of QRDYNAMIC for FY 1974, with the proviso that renewed attention be given to increasing the portion of project funds devoted to operations as opposed to overhead.

9. It is also recommended that representatives of SA Staff and SB Division be present when this proposal is considered.

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8 May 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR C/SA/B2

SUBJECT: QRDYNAMIC Project Renewal Comment

1. SBOP/PO strongly endorses the QRDYNAMIC Project, but could have wished that the case for Ukrainian nationalism had been stated more forcefully. The following points should be emphasized in any consideration of the QRDYNAMIC project:

A. Historically, nationalism has been a continuing problem in Tsarist Russia as well as throughout the period of Soviet rule. No amount of repression (and the current KGB campaign is of course minor compared to the Stalinist purges) has ever managed to destroy the phenomenon. During World War II and on into the postwar period the Ukrainians maintained a large and effective guerilla force which controlled considerable real estate in its day; the last pitched battle between the guerillas and Soviet forces, where the latter used regimental units supported by tactical air strikes and artillery, occurred in 1953, eight years after the end of World War II. While this in effect broke the back of the armed resistance, the sentiments that supported it have smouldered not very far below the surface ever since.

B. Nationalism in general today is of prime concern to the Soviet leadership. Recent shakeups in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and (most recently) in the Ukraine itself have been based ostensibly in large part on "corruption", but in fact are aimed at striking down nationalist sentiments. (Corruption is equally wide spread in the RSFSR, but is treated less as a national than as an individual phenomenon.) Soviet propaganda is more and more concerned with nationalism, except where it concerns Russian nationalism, which is now more acceptable. Note the recent demotion of a highly placed critic of the latter, YAKOVLEY. Anything of such concern to the Soviet leadership in the field of internal security should obviously be of SA and operational concern to this agency.

C. As well as being among the most active, the Ukrainians are the largest national minority, with a population of over 40,000,000. As Khrushchev once said of Stalin, he would

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have deported the entire Ukrainian people except that there were too many of them. They occupy high posts in the Party, the government, and the intelligentsia, and while most support the regime at least outwardly, there is a significant minority which does not. Even among those who apparently conform, there may be hidden nationalist sentiments.

D. There has been an upswing in legal emigration from the Ukraine in recent years, most of it going to Canada where there is a large Ukrainian minority. QRDYNAMIC exploitation of this group should be mentioned.

E. Finally, in the past QRDYNAMIC has provided significant operational leads to SR and SB Division. At least one internal Soviet recruitment known to this writer was made by the close cooperation of QRDYNAMIC and a CIA case officer working on a specific human target. In this respect QRDYNAMIC has a much better track record than other emigre groups. Its security and compartmentation also seem to be of a higher caliber than usually encountered in emigre groups.

2. While the above may appear to be too obvious for those immediately engaged in Ukrainian operations, they are factors which may not be known to officers responsible for passing on the project at higher levels. Most of the points have been at least touched on in this renewal, but should have received more emphasis.

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C/SBOP/PO

14 MAY 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations  
THROUGH: MPS/BG  
SUBJECT: Renewal of SA Project QRDYNAMIC

1. This SA Staff project, based in New York and Munich, Germany, supports the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. It is the only non-Russian nationality group to be targeted by a CIA project. The FI potential of this operation consists of Ukrainian dissidents in Western Europe who provide underground literature which is edited, published, and infiltrated into the USSR.

2. FI/INT comments that the small amount of positive intelligence fallout (9 reports in FY 1973) is well received in OCI where it enables analysts to "get a fix on Ukrainian politics". The claim in the project outline that some of the reporting has appeared in the CIB is not supported by Staff records or by OCI analysts, but it has been used in OCI intelligence memoranda. Also, one OCI analyst consulted noted that history usually proves the reporting from these sources to be accurate.

3. The FI Staff would like to encourage a continued exploitation of this enticing channel into the Ukraine. The costs of the project are of such a level, however, that we must defer to the SA Staff for further evaluation of the project's effectiveness.

☐  
*[Signature]* ☐  
Chief  
Foreign Intelligence

Attachment:  
Project

Reviewing officers:

FI/OPS - ☐

FI/INT - ☐

WARNING NOTICE  
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES  
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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18 May 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: Assistant Deputy Director for Operations  
THROUGH : MPS/BG/SA  
SUBJECT : Project QRDYNAMIC

CI Staff recommends that more emphasis be placed on the CI problems inherent in Project QRDYNAMIC. Specifically, there should be more input from QRDYNAMIC sources, especially their travellers, concerning the personalities and philosophy of the dissidents in the Ukraine. With the recent crack-down on dissidents throughout the USSR, concrete facts and sources are so limited that we cannot afford to ignore another source. We are not suggesting any new operational effort but rather debriefing of existing sources and the acquisition of information during the normal course of business.

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