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30 October 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR: The 303 Committee
SUBJECT : Political, Propaganda and Intelligence
Activity Directed Against Soviet Ukrainians

1. SUMMARY

CIA has supported the Ukrainian organization Prolog and its antecedents since 1950. Since the organization is American based, under the Katzenbach guidelines it must be reorganized if CIA's relationship to it is to continue. CIA proposes to move the publishing activities and funding and the official headquarters to Europe and to use the Prolog personnel remaining in the United States for contact operations with Soviets and to oversee the European activities. This informal supervision from the United States will result from the continued residence here of the head of the organization whose actual leadership will be recognized and accepted by all members of the organization regardless of the formal arrangements to be made by the reorganization. CIA has directed Prolog since its inception and has supplied all of its financial support except for a small amount derived from the sale of publications. Prolog's endeavors have been and

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
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remain a significant contribution to United States national interests because of the influence Prolog has had among Soviet Ukrainians, the importance of information produced through operations involving Prolog and its personnel, and the opportunities for contact with Soviet citizens that it provides. In fiscal year 1968 CIA support will amount to \$2.1 million available in the CIA budget. The project, including the proposed changes, has been reviewed with Mr. Walter Stoessel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, who concurs in this proposal.

2. PROBLEM

Over the past seventeen years, Prolog has been the vehicle for CIA's operations directed at the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the forty million Ukrainian citizens. It is at present the only CIA project specifically concerned with any minority nationality in the Soviet Union. The Katzenbach guidelines require that Prolog no longer be funded in the United States, that it no longer publish in the United States, and that it no longer be organizationally based in the United States. CIA proposes to remove from the United States all overt Prolog activities except for contact operations, in which citizens of Western countries with Ukrainian ethnic origin meet with Soviet citizens. Although

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these contacts are private and unpublicized, CIA does not usually have control over dissemination of the information from them. None of the Western contacts are given any indication of United States Government support to the Prolog people, who guide them and encourage them in their dialogues with the Soviets. It is planned to relocate all the overt Prolog activities in Germany.

3. FACTORS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

a. Identification and History of Prolog. Prolog Research and Publishing Association, Inc., now located in New York, was established in 1953 to conduct the clandestine activities of the ZP/UHVR (the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). The ZP/UHVR is a small, tightly knit group of individuals who were sent from the Ukraine in August 1944 by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council to make contact with Western intelligence representatives and to act in behalf of the homeland. The UHVR was formed by members of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in July 1944, in a forest in the Carpathian Mountains.

The OUN had resembled a secret fraternity of revolutionaries from its birth in 1929 until June 1941, at which time it came out in the open, seized the Lvov radio

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station, and announced the creation of a free Ukrainian state. The Germans immediately arrested the perpetrators who spent the next three years in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

In August 1944, four leading members of the UHVR were ordered to take refuge in Western Europe. This group became the ZP/UHVR. Unlike other political emigre organizations, the ZP/UHVR does not have a paid membership. It has refused to admit into its ranks anyone who arrived in the West after 1945, fearing penetration by Soviet intelligence.

In 1948 CIA surveyed the Ukrainian emigre organizations to select the most reliable and operationally experienced for use in supporting the then active internal Ukrainian resistance movement. The ZP/UHVR, then based in Munich, was selected and joint CIA-ZP/UHVR operations were mounted in order to develop clandestine communications with the resistance forces in the Ukraine. In 1949, ZP/UHVR's Executive Secretary was brought from Germany to the United States by CIA. ZP/UHVR representatives were dispatched overland and by air drop to the resistance forces, and operational contact was established. By 1954, however, all organized internal opposition to Soviet rule had been suppressed. Since then, operational activities have concentrated on achievement of political and propaganda objectives and on contact operations in the United States,

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Europe and the USSR, designed primarily to encourage Ukrainian nationalism and concepts of democracy among the Soviet Ukrainians.

By 1953 anti-Soviet propaganda activities began to be conducted from New York by a panel of the ZP/UHVR that was able to utilize the services of numerous other Ukrainian emigres in many countries who were members or, more commonly, sympathizers of the ZP/UHVR.

In November 1956, the panel was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as a non-profit research organization under the name Prolog Research and Publishing Association, Inc. The ZP/UHVR publishing establishment in Munich continued to be fully subsidized by CIA through Prolog in New York.

b. Prolog Operations. With a number of reliable contacts established in Germany and Poland, Prolog began sending books and other propaganda materials to Poland and by the end of 1957 a considerable number of books, newspapers, and other materials including its own publications had been relayed to the target area by the Ukrainian contacts in Poland. Other publications, primarily scholarly Ukrainian works banned in the Soviet Ukraine, were sent to Polish universities and libraries where they could be read by visiting Soviet Ukrainian scholars and students.

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By 1959, with the increase in the number of Soviet citizens traveling abroad, contacts between Prolog collaborators and Soviet citizens began to increase. Similarly, substantially greater amounts of anti-Soviet literature were placed directly in the hands of Soviet citizens. It became possible, to a greater extent than in previous years, to get evaluations of Prolog publications and its general propaganda line from Soviet citizens traveling abroad. Responses, even from Soviet Ukrainian officials of high rank, have been largely very favorable. Soviet Ukrainian cultural officials have recognized the effectiveness of Prolog activities by trying to court and influence many Prolog collaborators rather than simply denouncing them.

Because of the increased activity in contact operations, additional funds were allotted by CIA to Prolog for their expansion in 1959. Prolog displayed flexibility and CIA found the group to be cooperative, morally strong, and operationally secure. The contact operations have produced significant intelligence acquisition opportunities as well as voluminous information on Ukrainian politics and culture, dissidence in the Ukraine and repressive measures taken by the regime. Prolog's political philosophy has been and remains sufficiently liberal so that Soviet Ukrainians have

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proved quite willing to talk to its members and collaborators. Experience has shown that Prolog has been more able than other CIA assets to ferret out and approach disaffected Ukrainian nationalists from the USSR. In the past three years, Prolog has proved effective in establishing a dialogue with top Soviet Ukrainian officials at the United Nations. While not productive of significant intelligence, this dialogue is certainly an indication of the Soviet estimate of the influence of Prolog's leadership among Soviet Ukrainians. Prolog also has established in the past three years important contacts with Soviet citizens inside the UkSSR and with citizens of the Soviet Bloc countries who are of Ukrainian birth and actively involved in the struggle for Ukrainian national and cultural freedom.

Over twenty documents of significance on Soviet Ukrainian political developments have been obtained from these contacts, and with permission of the authors, many of them have been published in the Western press through Prolog auspices. Publication in the Prolog magazine Suchasnist, and in a pocket book of the diary and nationalist poetry of Vasyl' Symonenko, now deceased, resulted in Soviet press attacks on Prolog and the publication in the Soviet Union (in censored form) of some of the poet's works which had

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not previously been published. Prolog has been effective in obtaining important documentary proof of Soviet suppression of the current Ukrainian nationalist movement in the Ukraine. The recent trend toward tolerance of Ukrainianization results in part, we believe, from the efforts of Prolog through both its publications and direct contacts.

c. Value to United States Government. In addition to the positive intelligence gathered as a result of Prolog's contacts with Soviet citizens in the United States and abroad, biographical information on Soviets of interest has been made available and many members of the KGB have been identified. These contacts continue to produce important operational leads for CIA and FBI and should be kept alive for both foreign intelligence and counterintelligence reasons. Nationalist flare-ups during the past several years in widely scattered areas of the Soviet Union, and particularly in the Ukraine, give evidence that the complete cohesion of the Soviet peoples toward which the Soviet leadership has striven is far from accomplished. Resistance engendered by bitterness of the Stalin purges in the 1930's and fed by the continued policy of asserting Russian dominance in many spheres of activity in the Ukraine is unorganized and is conducted mainly by intellectuals. It is manifested mainly in resistance to

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russification. Recent attacks on Ukrainian writers as being nationalist deviationists tend to confirm these trends. Over sixty writers and intellectuals in the Ukraine have been arrested in the past two years. Were it not for Prolog's efforts, little would have been known of these arrests in the West.

The importance of Prolog to the United States Government is that it represents a channel of political and cultural influence from the Ukrainian emigration of several million strong all over the world to the Ukrainians in the UkSSR. Members of the ZP/UHVR constantly keep in touch with the homeland via correspondence and Soviet publications and via contacts with Soviet citizens. Its publications serve to keep them alive as an influential political force and as a center around which the group can work toward the dissemination of pro-Western ideologies and anti-Communist material.

d. Prolog's Publications. Suchasnist (The Present), a Ukrainian-language journal (1500 copies published monthly), is designed to appeal to Ukrainian intellectuals both in the Soviet Union and in the West. About 350 copies are mailed monthly to Ukrainians in the USSR and Eastern Europe. There are about 500 Suchasnist subscribers in the United States. Material is solicited from individuals qualified in the fields

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of literature and the arts. It seeks to encourage national-cultural identity among Soviet Ukrainians and intellectual liberalization within the USSR. This is ZP/UHVR's chief publication and a target of frequent Soviet attacks.

Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), the monthly organ of the splinter group, OUNz, is partially supported by CIA through ZP/UHVR's Munich branch. It publishes articles and commentaries of a political nature which are influenced to a large extent by ZP/UHVR. This journal is mailed to Ukrainians in the Soviet Union at the rate of about 210 copies monthly.

The English-language monthly Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press, which has served as partial cover for Prolog's clandestine activities, is distributed to 73 subscribers. Complimentary and promotional copies are sent to various United States and European government agencies and institutional libraries. The publication is the only digest of the Soviet Ukrainian press available. It is a by-product of Prolog's daily research on the UkSSR.

There is a French-language edition of the Digest, Echos d'Ukraine, published by ZP/UHVR's representative in Paris. Approximately 800 copies are distributed monthly to scholars and diplomatic personnel in French-speaking areas,

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including Africa, and South America. The bulletin carries commentary on the Soviet press and current events in the Soviet Union.

The Ukrainian-language Information Bulletin is published about six times a year and targetted specifically at Soviet Ukrainian citizens. It is mailed in increments of approximately 1,000 copies each month to Soviet Ukrainian citizens.

In addition to its regular publications, Prolog publishes books and pamphlets in the Ukrainian language on various topics, such as underground or suppressed literature and distortions in the official Soviet version of Ukrainian history, which it mails and distributes by hand to Soviet citizens, usually travelers and officials visiting or stationed in Europe or North America. Copies of these publications are also sold in the West.

4. PROPOSAL

a. CIA proposes to make the following changes to conform to the rulings of the Katzenbach Committee:

(1) All publications will be produced outside the United States with no attribution to United States based activities. Prolog activities will overtly be based on its organization in Munich, Germany.

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(2) Funding will be conducted through European channels and by secure covert means.

(3) Prolog, Inc. of New York will be dissolved. The name Prolog with a European address, probably in Germany, will be used on certain publications.

(4) The six or seven salaried Prolog members who are American citizens and who would remain in the United States will receive their salaries individually from Europe.

(5) Contact with Soviet citizens in the United States and other countries by Prolog members and collaborators will continue with close monitoring by the FBI and CIA respectively.

b. Security and Risks, As stated in the foregoing, Prolog administrators are the charter members of the ZP/UHVR. The group has not admitted into its inner circle anyone who arrived in the West after 1945, in order to preclude penetration of the organization by Soviet intelligence. The Foreign Secretary of the UHVR and President of Prolog, CIA's principal agent, has conducted Prolog's activities on a strictly need-to-know basis. Of the eight full-time employees in the New York office, five have been witting of CIA

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involvement. Although the remaining three employees have never been told of United States Government involvement, it must be realized that they would assume, after the long years of collaboration, that it exists. Of the Munich office employees, only one is witting of United States Government involvement. It must be assumed that one other employee of the Munich office, the chief editor, would suspect United States Government involvement.

Prolog has been attacked by Soviet authorities on many occasions over the past year as being a "lackey" of Western imperialists; in the spring of 1967 they alleged that Prolog was financed by the CIA. They have never been able to produce any documentary evidence of such collaboration.

In the United States, right-wing Ukrainians in the UCCA (Ukrainian Congress Committee of America), have also denounced Prolog and its leader as soft on communism and as CIA tools. CIA has never supported the UCCA.

5. PROLOG'S PUBLICATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

All of Prolog's periodical publications, with the exception of the English-language press digest, are published in Europe. Prolog's New York address is used on the three or four Ukrainian books published each year. Under the European based reorganization, books will be published and

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in the United States who contact Soviet diplomatic and United Nations personnel are either advised to report their contacts to the Federal Bureau of Investigation or such contact is coordinated through CIA.

b. Ambassador. Not applicable at present. The Ambassador in Prolog's new country of residence, probably Germany, will be briefed when appropriate.

c. Host Country. German intelligence officers have been made aware of CIA sponsorship of the Prolog organization and its activities in Munich.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

CIA recommends that the 303 Committee approve continuation of the CIA relationship, support and direction of Prolog's activities and, in principle, the plan outlined above to relocate its activities in Europe. It is also recommended that the 303 Committee take note of the fact that Prolog publications find a limited market in the United States.

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distributed exclusively from Europe, as the periodicals are now. A certain amount of spillover to the United States-- particularly with Suchasnist, the literary journal, and the books--is inevitable regardless of where the publications originate. The United States and Canada have by far the largest numbers of Ukrainian immigrants in the world and interest in the publications is widespread. The modest size of the printings, however, insures that the number of copies distributed through commercial channels in the United States can never become larger than a few hundred copies of any one item. No effort or expense will be expended in the future to push sales in the United States. The Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press, a by-product produced at negligible cost, would continue to be published in the United States for its limited readership, mainly libraries, research institutes and scholars. It would be distributed without charge.

6. COORDINATION

a. Intragovernmental

(1) The Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs of the Department of State concurs in this proposal.

(2) The Federal Bureau of Investigation is aware of CIA support to Prolog. Prolog collaborators

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