

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) SE DIVISION'S COVERT ACTION PROGRAM

FROM: EPDS/COMPT/MRB	EXTENSION: 1743	NO.:
		DATE: 7 November 1977

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED		

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
	RECEIVED	FORWARDED		
1. C/EPDS	11/14		EOB	PLEASE CALL 1743 FOR HAND CARRY Lt. E/CAS has seen and agrees with this covering memo. EOB
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3. EPDS/COMPT/MRB				
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DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 SOURCES METHOD EXEMPTION 3828
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2007

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14 NOV 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations
FROM : Chief, Evaluation & Program Design Staff
SUBJECT : SE Division's Covert Action Program

1. SE Division was asked to show the interrelationship of the nine Covert Action activities comprising this program. The attached memorandum from Chief, SE describes the program, and shows the percentage of effort devoted to Soviet and Eastern European targets (Attachment A). Attachment B is a table prepared by this Staff which shows, for each activity, the funds budgeted for FY 1978, those requested in the FY 1978 renewal, and the expansion proposed for some of the activities to the Special Coordination Committee (SCC). You will note that in a number of instances, SE has requested in the renewal more funds than are in the budget. The total unfunded shortfall is \$

2. Since SE submitted this request for the renewal of these OPACTS, the SCC has endorsed the expansion of four of the activities [] and a Release from the Reserve of [] will be requested to fund this expansion. Of the other two activities, PDDYNAMIC and PDGIDEON, for which unfunded requirements are shown, PDDYNAMIC is still before the SCC for consideration of an expanded effort, as is []. These expansions were requested from the base of the FY 1978 budget, and thus it would not seem politic to reprogram additional funds into these activities at this time. We therefore recommend that you approve each activity at its FY 1978 budgeted level. If additional funds are not obtained from the Reserve for these activities, we can consider reprogramming internally at a later date.

3. Specific comments and recommendations of this Staff are attached to each of the nine renewal actions in the attached SE Division CA Program submission.

Attachments: a/s

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) Introduction to SE Division's Covert Action Activities Against the Soviet Union and East Europe

FROM: [] Chief, Soviet/East European Division	EXTENSION 4307/ 9045R	NO. DATE
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TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)
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HAND CARRY

S E C R E T

13 OCT 1977

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Evaluation & Program Design Staff

FROM: []
Chief, Soviet/East European Division

SUBJECT: Introduction to SE Division's Covert
Action Activities Against the Soviet Union
and East Europe

1. The SE Division covert action program consists of nine primary ongoing activities targeted against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These nine activities are responsive to the Directorate of Operations Objectives A.2 and C.2. Objective A.2 directs the Division to "develop, maintain, and subject to specific policy direction, employ a clandestine capability to inform, support and encourage Soviet citizens who seek or favor moderation of the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Government." Objective C.2 deals with the moderation and liberalization of the internal and foreign policies of East European countries while C.2.b. calls for the promotion of "greater economic, political and ideological independence of East Europe from the USSR." These nine activities thus complement broader U.S. overt programs in support of national foreign policy objectives such as broadcasts by Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe and the educational, cultural, technical and scientific exchange programs with the USSR and East Europe, as well as the U.S. overt programs in support of human rights. All activities described in the attached papers were reviewed in essentially the same form and fiscal levels by the Special Coordination Committee and approved by President Carter on 4 March 1977.

2. The nine covert action activities when viewed collectively comprise three basic elements, namely:

a. Distribution: One of the most important concerns of the activities is the distribution of books and periodicals to the target countries. These include, among other items, the better writings of those dissidents or writers inside who seek moderation in their own country. Examples include the signers

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SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED

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of the Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, the Polish Workers' Defense Committee leaders in Poland, and the Orlov Committee in Moscow.

b. Publication: The selection and publication of relevant books and other materials suitable for advancing the cause of those individuals who are striving for change within their system is one of our primary concerns. Proscribed books which otherwise might not be commercially viable but which are significant because of the nature of their contents are published with an eye to distribution in the target area. In addition to offering alternative ideas to the Communist system, such publication also provides further moral support and incentive to the inside writer to continue such writing. This also prompts others inside the target countries to enter into the discussion, thus encouraging the spread of critical thought.

c. Publicity: By publicizing in the West human rights violations in the Soviet Union and East Europe, we attempt to inhibit the Communist regimes from repressing dissidents. Such publicity not only encourages wide-spread protest in the West but also provides strong moral support to those persecuted individuals inside the target countries.

3. The major effort, for which over half of our entire budget is devoted, goes toward the first item--distribution. This distribution is accomplished chiefly by direct "hand-outs" both in the West and inside the target countries.* Mailing operations account for approximately 20%-30% of the overall distribution. The second largest segment of our budget, accounting for approximately 30%-40%, goes toward the selection, editing, and publication of samizdat and other relevant materials in Russian and other East European languages (Item B, above). Finally, approximately 10% of our budget goes to support activities designed to expose and publicize Soviet violations

*During FY 77 over 250,000 items were distributed to target audiences in their own languages (primarily Russian). Of this number, approximately 155,000 were distributed person-to-person-- either to diplomats, functionaries, or travelers to the West, or smuggled into the target country for distribution inside. Books accounted for well over half of the distributed items; journals, periodicals and a Russian-language weekly newspaper accounted for the remainder.

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of human rights (Item C, above). In terms of targeting, approximately 75% of our entire budget goes to support activities directed against the Soviet Union; the remaining 25% is directed against the East European regimes, primarily in Poland and Czechoslovakia. (See attachment.)

4. Numerous well-known persons, organizations, as well as some governments are involved in areas where we are active. Most interest of this kind is narrowly focused and limited to certain individuals or ethnic or religious causes. No single individual or organization, however, has yet demonstrated the capability or broad concern needed to coordinate the overall effort to expose the continuing violations of human rights occurring in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Similarly, no private individual or organization has been able to sustain the financial and organizational responsibilities needed to print and distribute in these Communist countries the information, ideas, and alternate policies that the U.S. Government can through SE Division's covert action activities.

5. At the 10 May 1977 session of the Special Activities Working Group of the SCC, Mr. David Aaron, on behalf of Dr. Brzezinski, requested that the existing covert action against the Soviet Union and East Europe be beefed up, and also that ideas for new initiatives be submitted. Four separate SE Division proposals were submitted to cover a) expansion of book distribution to the USSR and Eastern Europe; b) expansion of book publishing in Russian and East European languages; c) expansion of CA targeted at Soviet and Eastern European violations of human rights; and d) expansion of CA activity targeted against national minority groups in the USSR. An additional paper, authored by the CA Staff, on possible CA activity against the Muslim minorities of Central Asia was also submitted for Special Activities Working Group approval. If the proposed expansion of the four SE Division proposals is approved, additional funds in the amount of \$ [redacted] for FY 1978 would be needed. On 5 October 1977, the Working Group decided that the proposals on book distribution and publishing should be recommended for approval by the SCC. JAD

6. In FY 1977, the sum of \$ [redacted] was required to conduct the nine SE Division activities. In FY 1978 we are requesting \$ [redacted] to include allowances of inflationary JAD

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costs in publishing and personnel salaries after two years of straight line budgets. This increase will not allow for significant expansion in the scope or intensity of these activities but will provide the possibility to maintain the current level of operational activity.

7. The attached chart shows the allocation of effort and funds devoted to the Soviet and East European targets. Please note that an additional sum of \$[] is budgeted for these activities under the Objective: Management Support/Field Support for personnel costs of career associates and contract employees.

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[]

Attachment:
chart

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APPROXIMATE PERCENT OF FUNDS AND ENERGY DEVOTED TO TARGET

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>USSR</u>	<u>EAST EUROPEAN</u>
PDPORTAL ()	60%	40% (mainly Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania & Yugoslavia)
PDLEDGER ()	95%	5%
PDGAMMON ()	90%	10%
PDQUARTO ()	65%	35% (mainly Poland)
PDDYNAMIC (Prolog Research Corporation) (Suchasnist)	90% (mainly to the Soviet Ukraine)	10% (mainly Poland and Czechoslovakia)
PDGIDEON (NTS-National Labor Congress, Possev)	90%	10%
KSGGLAD ()	5%	95% (mainly Czechoslovakia)
QTBERRETTA ()	5%	95% (mainly Poland)
PDMETEOR ()	75%	25%

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ATTACHMENT B

SE DIVISION COVERT ACTION PROGRAM FOR FY 1978

(\$ in thousands)

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>FY'78 BUDGET</u>	<u>FY'78 RENEWAL</u>	<u>UNFUNDED SHORTFALLS</u>	<u>PROPOSED EXPANSION</u>
PDPORAL	\$ [
PDLEDGER Personal Services			-----	
PDGAMMON			-----	
PDQUARTO Personal Services			-----	
PDDYNAMIC				
PDGIDEON				
KSGGLAD Personal Services				
QTBERRETTA				
PDMETEOR				
TOTAL	\$ _____	_____	_____	_____]

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~~SECRET~~ APPROXIMATE % OF FUNDS AND ENERGY DEVOTED TO TARGET

ACTIVITY	FY 77 REQUESTED BUDGET	USSR	EAST EUROPEAN
()	\$ ()	60%	40% (mainly Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania & Yugoslavia)
()	\$ ()	95%	5%
()	\$ ()	90%	10%
()	\$ ()	65%	35% (mainly Poland)
DYNAMIC (Chronolog Research Corporation) (uchasnist)	\$ ()	90% (mainly to the Soviet Ukraine)	10% (mainly Poland and Czechoslovakia)
GIDEON (TS-National Labor Congress, Possev)	\$ ()	90%	10%
()	\$ ()	5%	95% (mainly Czechoslovakia)
()	\$ ()	5%	95% (mainly Poland)
()	\$ ()	75%	25%
Proposed Activities	\$ ()		
TOTAL	\$ ()		

This is original chart that was typed up, but it was retyped in similar format deleting column: "FY 77 Requested Budget."