

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional) FY-85 Approval of Operational Activity QRDYNAMIC				
FROM: David D. Gries C/PPS 3D0109 D			EXTENSION	NO. DATE
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. CI/PPS 2B44			D	
2. C/CCS 6B4401	16 JAN 1985		23 ¹⁵ JAN 1985 D	
3. C/SE/OPS 5B48		24 JAN 1985	D	
4. C/EUR/G 4B26			D	
5. C/EUR 4B4405			D	(Coordinated in draft with EUR/CA)
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9. C/EPS 2D32			3/1 D	
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11. PPS/PP/PA 3D0109				
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 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2007

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OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY ACTION

QRDYNAMIC

TYPE OF ACTION	F1/C	X	CA	OTHER
NEW OPACT APPROVAL	DIVISION Political & Psychological Staff		OBJECTIVE T	
AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION		TARGET COUNTRY	
X RENEWAL FY 19 85	BRANCH PPS/SEO/SIB		DESK	
EXTENSION	CASE OFFICER		DATE	
TERMINATION	ROOM NO. 3D0119	BUILDING Hqs	TELL EXT. 1703	RED BLACK 6118
INTENDED SOLELY FOR COLLECTION PER SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT		NOT INTENDED SOLELY FOR COLLECTION PER SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT		

NOTE: ATTACH COPY OF DCI CERTIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT WHERE ACTIVITY IS NOT INTENDED FOR COLLECTION

CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and Signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/PPS/SIB	[Signature], Chief	23 Dec 84	23 Dec 84		✓
DC/PPS/SEO	[Signature]		28 Dec 84		✓
PPS/PP/PA	[Signature]				✓
PPS/B&F	[Signature]				✓
C/PPS/PP	[Signature]	25 Jan	2		✓
C/PPS	David D. Gries [Signature]	02 JAN 1985	02 JAN 1985		-

CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS

(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only when Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)		DATE		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
CI/PPS	[Signature]		15/1/85		✓
C/CCS	[Signature]		22 Jan 85		✓
C/SE/OPS	[Signature]		24 JAN 1985		✓
C/EUR/G	[Signature]		25 Jan 85		✓
C/EUR	[Signature]		25 JAN 1985		✓
C/EPS	[Signature]				✓

APPROVAL

PERIOD	AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION
FROM 1 October 84 TO 30 September 85	\$C	19 85	\$ []
APPROVED BY (Title & Signature)			DATE
DDO [Signature]			28 Feb 1985
FOR DDO USE ONLY			
EXEMPT FROM P/S REVIEW	COMPARTMENTED P/S REVIEW		

S E C R E T

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT: FY-85 Approval of Operational Activity QRDYNAMIC

Purpose

1. Operational Activity QRDYNAMIC is an operation in the Political and Psychological Staff's Soviet East Europe Covert Action Program. It provides support for a major proprietary corporation, Prolog Research Corporation, which is located in New York, and its affiliates in Munich, London, Paris, and Tokyo that serve as printing places and diverse distribution networks. QRDYNAMIC publishes a Ukrainian-language journal, books and pamphlets, and other forms of printed and recorded materials for distribution into the Soviet Ukraine and other Eastern Bloc countries. QRDYNAMIC, through its affiliates, publishes the journal Suchasnist, the quarterly Russian-language journal Forum, selected books and pamphlets which seek to exploit and increase nationalist and other anti-Soviet dissident tendencies in the Soviet Ukraine. The Agency has been supporting QRDYNAMIC Activity since 1953. Since then, the activity has established a reputation for a wide variety of operational activities aimed at the Soviet Ukrainian target.

2. This activity is in furtherance of DDO Objective T and is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, in that it is covered by a Presidential Finding dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported to the appropriate Congressional committees.

Accomplishments

3. In furtherance of the Presidential Finding of 7 June 1978 and 7 March 1979, which provide guidance on themes for propaganda and related political action against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, QRDYNAMIC Activity has been instrumental in supporting those Ukrainian opposition groups and individuals in the Soviet Ukraine who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who oppose the repressive Soviet policy of enforced Russification. To accomplish its objectives, QRDYNAMIC Activity has been involved in production and distribution not only of printed materials but also taped cassettes, stamping devices, stickers, and

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S E C R E T

T-shirts. Given the scope of this Activity and the budgetary constraints under which it operates, the QRDYNAMIC operation has been both cost efficient and effective. QRDYNAMIC Activity is consistently attacked in the Soviet Ukrainian press and, on the other hand, is seen in a very positive manner by both dissidents and non-dissidents not only in the Soviet Ukraine but also in other Soviet Bloc countries.

4. During FY-84, the QRDYNAMIC organization was involved in the following projects:

a. Publishing Ukrainian-language literature (with a nominal number of Russian-language titles) geared toward a readership in the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR, and the Eastern Bloc countries.

b. Distributing the above publications in the Ukrainian SSR and other republics of the USSR and East Europe.

c. Debriefing emigres and tourists who recently arrived from the Ukrainian SSR.

d. Maintaining links with the dissident movement in the Ukraine and helping it to develop.

e. Maintaining links with dissident groups in other East European countries.

f. Promoting an awareness of the nationalities problem in the USSR in non-U.S. press publications.

g. Systematically following the Soviet Ukrainian press and publications to provide continuous analysis of the current situation in the Ukrainian SSR.

h. Maintaining contacts to other governments, such as the PRC, to inform them of the Ukrainian question.

5. Publishing activities of the QRDYNAMIC project continued with the Ukrainian-language monthly journal Suchasnist, the Russian-language quarterly journal Forum, the English-language journal Soviet Nationality Survey (a pamphlet of 8 pages), 10 to 15 titles (books) in the Ukrainian language, and a number of Baltic-language books for distribution into Baltic States.

A. Suchasnist

--In FY-84 QRDYNAMIC continued its regular monthly publishing Suchasnist to present to the Soviet Ukrainian reader a balanced picture of the internal situation in the Ukrainian

S E C R E T

SSR, give an overview of the development of the Ukrainian culture in the West, provide information on Western political ideas, and promote the concept of cooperation with other movements in the USSR and East Europe which are striving for national independence and democracy. It is edited in New York and produced in our Munich office.

--The major change in FY-84 was that a new editorial board took over the journal consisting of younger people who, in their approach to editorial work, combine that which is in the past with new elements that are changing the scope of the journal. For example: the new editorial board is placing more materials dealing with the situation in Poland--designed to foster Ukrainian/Polish cooperation; more reviews of Soviet Ukrainian publications to create more of a dialogue with the Soviet Ukrainian elite; more articles about life in the West, in the United States--the trends in art, literature, politics, etc., to provide the Soviet Ukrainian elite with a greater understanding of how political change (as well as social change) is achieved in the U.S.

--All the above elements are positive improvements for this program and have the ability not only of continuing publication of Suchasnist, but also of improving its contents by making the journal more contemporary and relevant to the Soviet Ukrainian reader.

--As mentioned earlier, Suchasnist is often the focus of attacks in the Soviet press, and continued to be in FY-84. For example: A book published in 1983 and distributed in 1984, entitled With Whom and Against Whom, by Yuriy RYMARENKO, Kiev, Dnipro Publishers, made the following comments concerning Suchasnist: "A few words about the journal Suchasnist--the printed organ of the ZPUHVR. Its literary camouflage was created specially, in accordance with the plans of the imperialist secret services..." and, "The journal Suchasnist is advertised by the nationalists as something centrist between literary studies and information. The surface 'intellectual' profile of the journal is meant to distinguish it from the primitive bandera publications...." In another book published in Lvov in 1984 entitled We Have Only One Country, by Ivan DZYUBA, the author mentions Suchasnist a number of times while engaging in polemics with the Ukrainian emigre community. What is significant about this attack is that DZYUBA, who is the author of the book Internationalism or Russification?, which when published in 1968 created enormous controversy in the Ukraine, was arrested for a brief period and subsequently was forced to recant. In the past year, there was feedback about Suchasnist from Soviet Ukrainian travelers in the West. For example, one of the leading Soviet Ukrainian writers, while on

S E C R E T

a trip to Canada earlier this year, met with the new editor of Suchasnist and told him that Suchasnist is regarded very highly by him and his colleagues in the Ukraine. This source also suggested that Suchasnist engage in greater polemics with Soviet Ukrainian writers and thus provide them with ammunition for producing more worthwhile publications inside the Ukraine. In another example, a traveler to the Ukraine who was invited by the Institute of Theoretical Physics in Kiev met with numerous Ukrainians working in this Institute--they confided to him that they read Suchasnist, which is available to them in the library of the Institute (for select readers).

--Since the formation of SOLIDARITY in Poland and the eventual imposition of martial law, Suchasnist has been going into Poland in large quantities--designed to achieve two missions: (1) to infiltrate it via Poland into the Ukraine, and (2) to show the Polish opposition that the Ukrainian question is a vital one for their own thinking. In FY-84 there were a number of articles from Suchasnist being republished in the Polish underground press (in Polish translation). In July 1984 an interview was held by a Polish underground publication KOS with QRDYNAMIC/57, the president of QRDYNAMIC, about Suchasnist and Polish/Ukrainian relations.

Suchasnist is printed mainly in a medium-size edition; at times a pocket-size edition is published exclusively for distribution into the Ukrainian SSR. The journal has subscribers in most major West European countries, Canada, Australia, South America, as well as in the U.S. It is distributed to the Ukraine, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and China.

--In FY-84 QRDYNAMIC reproduced certain articles from Suchasnist as off-prints, usually a print run of 3,000 to 4,000, for distribution into the Ukraine by hand-carry methods and mailings from Poland and other Eastern bloc countries. In addition, articles from Suchasnist have been translated into German and published as brochures by independent organizations not affiliated with QRDYNAMIC. In FY-84 three such brochures appeared.

--Following is a breakdown of Suchasnist journal distribution:

To the Ukraine	2,359 copies
To Poland	3,450
To Soviet travelers in the West	467
To other Eastern Bloc countries	372
To China	123
Total	6,771 copies

B. Forum

The Forum journal is a Russian-language quarterly which QRDYNAMIC began publishing in Munich in 1983. It is edited by Vladimir MALENKOVICH, a Russian by nationality and former member of the Helsinki Group in the Ukraine. He developed the concept of Forum as a journal which would concentrate upon Soviet nationality issues in the Russian-language to foster cooperation between different non-Russian nationalities and inform Russians of the demands and aspirations of non-Russians. The journal also includes articles about Poland, the democratic movement in the USSR, world events, and documents from samizdat. Most of the distribution of Forum into the USSR is handled by International Literary Associates, but QRDYNAMIC also distribute a good deal of it.

Since Forum is a relatively new publication, it has not established itself completely in the USSR--but already there is a positive response to it from inside. Ludmila ALEKSEYEVA, the Western Representative of the Moscow Helsinki Group has reported receiving news from Moscow that the journal is circulating and that people inside want to contribute to it. Our London and Tokyo offices have been very active in distributing the publication into the USSR, Poland, and Eastern Europe. The Russian emigre press (mostly among the more democratic publications) has responded positively, and its circle of readers is increasing. In FY-84 QRDYNAMIC produced an off-print from Forum (4,000 copies) for distribution into the USSR.

--Below is a breakdown of distribution for the journal Forum:

Into the USSR	741 copies
Into Poland	213
To Soviet travelers in the West	307
To other Eastern Bloc countries	217
To China	<u>123</u>
Total	1,601 copies

(The above total does not include the distribution figures from the QRPORAL operation.)

C. Soviet Nationality Survey

--A new project, begun in FY-84 and published monthly in London in English, the 8-page Soviet Nationality Survey concentrates on the problems facing non-Russian nationalities in the USSR, their demands, their status within Soviet society and how dissent manifests itself in these Soviet republics. The

S E C R E T

pamphlet, for distribution into Third World countries, is meant to show Third World peoples that the USSR is, in fact, a colonial empire where the non-Russian nations find themselves in a subjugated role. Thus far ten issues of Survey have come out and received very favorable reviews. QRDYNAMIC sees it as a very cost-efficient product which they want to maintain on a longer-term basis. Copies of Survey are mailed extensively into East Europe and it is evident that many people involved in opposition want to continue receiving the pamphlet.

--Following is the distribution breakdown for the Soviet Nationality Survey:

To the USSR	350 copies
To Poland	167
To other Eastern Bloc countries	289
To Third World countries	375
To China	<u>70</u>
Total	1,251 copies

D. Book Program

--QRDYNAMIC's book publication program is designed to produce about 10-15 titles per year, mostly in the Ukrainian language and upon occasion a Russian-language title. The program is a varied one in that it tries to maintain a balance between strictly political topics, historical, literary and dissident materials. This is done because the audience inside the Ukraine demands a variety of topics. Historically, it has seen that literary works have a great impact upon Ukrainian national awareness, and therefore QRDYNAMIC devotes about half of its book program to literary works.

--In FY-84, QRDYNAMIC produced eight titles, and another six are in different stages of production--all to come out in 1984. Broken down into topics, five of these books deal with literary topics; two are memoirs of the concentration camps; one deals with economic questions, one is on Ukrainian history; one about life in the USSR; two about Soviet language policy in the Ukraine; one is a translation from Polish into Ukrainian (The Captive Mind, by Milosz); and one is a reprint of one of QRDYNAMIC's earlier books which is out of print.

--The average press run of these titles is about 2,000; most of them are meant for distribution into the USSR. The QRDYNAMIC organization takes care of all the distribution for these books.

S E C R E T

--Following is the book distribution breakdown:

To the Ukraine	3,138 copies
To Poland	3,209
To Soviet travelers in the West	586
To other Eastern bloc countries	432
To China	<u>263</u>
Total	7,628 copies

E. Special Publications

--In FY-84 QRDYNAMIC began the process of preparing for publication a special issue of Suchasnist journal in the POLISH language. This issue is in addition to the normally planned, Ukrainian-language issues of the journal and is designed for distribution into Poland to further Polish/Ukrainian cooperation. (For details, see C D)

--With technical help from the Agency, a LITHUANIAN history book was produced in FY-84 which was distributed to QRDYNAMIC contacts in the Lithuanian community for further distribution into Soviet Lithuania. The response to this book has been very positive.

--Also with technical help from the Agency, an ESTONIAN-language history book was produced in FY-84. It was passed to QRDYNAMIC Estonian contacts for distribution into Soviet Estonia. Again the response was very positive.

--Following is the distribution breakdown for these special publications:

Off-prints from <u>Suchasnist</u> and <u>Forum</u>	
To the Ukraine	10,168 copies
To Poland	<u>1,561</u>
Total	11,729

Lithuanian Books	
To Lithuania	237
To Poland	274
Total	<u>511</u> copies

Estonian Books	
Into Estonia	179 copies

6. Special Projects

--In FY-84, the QRDYNAMIC organization became involved in producing new and different types of artifacts which could be

S E C R E T

distributed into the Ukraine and have a political impact--yet make these objects look as innocent as possible to minimize the dangers to those carrying in such objects and facilitate their infiltration to the USSR. In FY-84 QRDYNAMIC came up with the following special items:

A. Tape cassettes: Two were produced, one consisting of songs from the Ukrainian underground in World War II and after the war, the other consisting of both the Catholic and Orthodox masses. QRDYNAMIC found that the ease with which these items can be brought into the country, their popularity within the country, and the ease with which the tapes can be duplicated inside the USSR justify the future production by the QRDYNAMIC organization of tapes for distribution into the Ukraine.

B. Stamping devices: QRDYNAMIC produced for the Ukrainian, Polish and more recently the Czechoslovakian internal markets self-inking stamping devices with political, anti-government messages. These are portable, easy to conceal and easy to operate. Each device is good for 5,000-10,000 impressions of a slogan. They are cost effective, and if 10 devices are taken into a country, they are good for 50,000-100,000 impressions without being re-inked. The slogans include: "Why are our sons and husbands in Afghanistan?" in Ukrainian, "Solidarity" in Polish, and "Out with Soviet Rockets" in Czech. The success of these stamps has been reported by travelers to/from the target countries and by QRDYNAMIC sources. For example: after using the device on a phone book in Prague, it was discovered after a few days that a stronger handwritten slogan was next to the stamped slogan.

C. Stickers: QRDYNAMIC have produced a number of different "sticky back" stickers containing political messages which can be mass produced at low cost, brought into the target areas in bulk, and placed on different public places with ease. Individuals reading the sticker have been reported in the Ukraine and Czechoslovakia. This effort should also be continued on into FY-85.

D. T-Shirts: QRDYNAMIC produced a trial model of a T-shirt with the Ukrainian-lettered message "Will your children speak my language?" and a portrait of T. SHEVCHENKO. This has been inserted into the tourist trade market, and produced a very positive demand from among younger Ukrainians in the Ukraine during the summer of 1984. It is easy for tourists to take about five to ten T-shirts per person for their friends in the Ukraine. By the end of the 1984 tourist season, QRDYNAMIC should

S E C R E T

have fuller reports on the impact of these T-shirts and then decide whether this project should be continued.

The distribution breakdown of the special items follows:

<u>Cassette tapes</u>	
To the Ukraine	268
To Lithuania	57
<u>T-Shirts</u>	
To the Ukraine	223
<u>Stickers</u>	
To the Ukraine	2,308
To Lithuania	467
To the USSR	214
<u>Stamping Devices</u>	
To the Ukraine	4

7. Additional QRDYNAMIC Activities

--During FY-84, QRDYNAMIC activity was also involved in the following special projects:

A. It has administered a Polish distribution project and helped in actively supporting the transportation of machines and equipment needed in Poland. This activity, under the direction of [] , has been able to infiltrate a substantial number of items into Poland. (See [] for additional details.)

B. Chinese project: In FY-84, QRDYNAMIC continued to be involved in sending literature into the PRC with the aim of influencing the Chinese perception of Soviet Union affairs. About 350 books were distributed into China through QRDYNAMIC's efforts in 1984. It is not clear who, in addition to PRC researchers, reads these books, but there are indications that the PRC is interested in receiving any materials dealing with Russian/Ukrainian matters. At the same time, QRDYNAMIC/57, with East Asia Division approval, cooperated with other agencies in spotting and reporting on PRC people in the U.S. who are of interest to East Asia Division as possible recruitment subjects.

C. During this reporting period, the QRDYNAMIC organization helped a Czech group infiltrate stamping devices and stick-on slogans into Czechoslovakia. In addition, it engaged a Czech group inside Czechoslovakia to translate into Czech some books which will be published by QRDYNAMIC in the West and by this

S E C R E T

Czech group inside the country. Response to the projects from the inside has been favorable.

D. QRDYNAMIC continued providing reports of meetings inside the target area with individuals who want to maintain contact with this organization and who want to help with its activities. QRDYNAMIC provided to the Agency trip reports from different travelers with independent reports about trends and tendencies inside the target area.

E. QRDYNAMIC maintained contact with a person in touch with the Yugoslav security service who has been providing information on their requirements and intentions.

F. With the approval of DDO/OGC, in 1984 the QRDYNAMICS signed an agreement with the Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe Audience Research group in Paris to do audience research of the Ukrainian population.

G. QRDYNAMIC/57 has been in contact with Afghan resistance groups in the West and provided them with literature in Russian and Ukrainian to pass on to Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. QRDYNAMIC/57 has also discussed with them distribution of anti-Afghan war literature into the target area.

H. In 1984 as in the past, QRDYNAMIC/57 has maintained contacts with Lithuanians, Estonians, and Latvians, and has promoted book distribution in their languages, provided a Lithuanian tape cassette for distribution, and made arrangements with them for distribution of some of QRDYNAMIC's Russian-language publications.

I. In 1984 QRDYNAMIC's Tokyo office initiated a major action in defense of Andrei Sakharov, arranging a series of press interviews with Sakharov's stepson and his wife, meetings with members of the Diet, and the formation of a Sakharov committee within the Diet. According to the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo and the Department of State, the amount of press and TV time these efforts generated was immense.

J. QRDYNAMIC continued, as in the past, to buy subscriptions to the Ukrainian-language newspaper published in Poland and sent through the mail to people in the Ukraine.

8. The distribution effort of the QRDYNAMIC organization is broken down geographically into the following regions:

A. The New York headquarters assigns the offices and individuals responsible for publishing and distributing the different books or items and receives update reports from all

S E C R E T

Stations on their distribution efforts, problems encountered, and recommendations on topics to be covered. (Usually all Stations receive copies of all QRDYNAMIC publications and items for distribution.) New York is also in charge of seeing that materials reach Soviets visiting the U.S. for hand-carrying back to the USSR.

B. The Munich office, which produces most of the QRDYNAMIC publications, sends the items to Stations and individuals according to New York's directions. It is also responsible for its own distribution into the Ukraine and East Europe.

C. The London office, in addition to its assigned books and publications, is mainly responsible for distribution into Poland (bound eventually for the Ukraine), Czechoslovakia (also bound for the Ukraine), and recently for providing books for Afghan resistance people. London also has its subcontractors who help with mailing programs and distribution to travelers.

D. The Tokyo office is responsible above all for infiltrating our publications, particularly Forum, into the Soviet Far East and Central Asian republics.

E. The Paris' QRDYNAMIC representative maintains liaison with a Lithuanian contact in that city with his own distribution into the Ukraine and is responsible now for organizing a distribution effort into the Ukraine via Yugoslavia.

F. The Toronto's QRDYNAMIC representative came on board in September 1984 and will be responsible, among other assigned duties, for distribution into the Ukraine from Canada.

In addition to the above paid representatives, QRDYNAMIC maintains a free-lance relationship with numerous individuals (not paid) in such places as Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, Israel, and Austria. These individuals help QRDYNAMIC with distribution, placing materials in newspapers in their various countries, write for QRDYNAMIC publications, and meet with Soviet tourists visiting their countries.

9. Distribution strategy: In FY-83 and into FY-84, it became evident that the Soviet side was erecting numerous barriers against the infiltration of literature into the Ukraine. This was seen in tighter border checks of Western tourists, a stringent internal campaign stressing "vigilance", a continuous campaign in the Soviet press against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," and further repression inside the Ukraine against dissidents. This has cut back QRDYNAMIC distribution figures in terms of books going directly into Ukraine and in turn is forcing QRDYNAMIC to make some changes in their publication efforts.

S E C R E T

In 1982-83 it was decided to increase the volume of literature going into Poland with the expectation that sooner or later the Polish Ukrainian border will reopen and it will be possible to distribute literature via this channel. In 1983-84 QRDYNAMIC's success is measured in part by its distribution of a large number of its publications into Poland and, more importantly, the reprint Inside Poland in two editions of one of its books. Thus by FY-84, about 12,000 items which QRDYNAMIC produced were inside Poland. In 1984 QRDYNAMIC began receiving reports from the western Ukraine and from Poland that Poles were again being allowed to travel into the Ukraine; other reports indicated that QRDYNAMIC books were being infiltrated into the Ukraine via this channel. Also in 1984, such Polish underground groups as "Fighting Solidarity" requested that we send Ukrainian-language books for distribution, leaflets in Ukrainian, and more information about the situation in the Ukraine. The same types of requests came from the group in Poland known as KOS in private discussions with QRDYNAMIC.

Because of the tightening of border controls on the Soviet western borders, QRDYNAMIC established the Tokyo office with the intention of infiltrating across the Far Eastern borders. Travelers from the Far East are less subject to close scrutiny upon entering the USSR than are Westerners. In response to this, some 340 items were distributed via Tokyo in FY-84.

10. In addition to the above, QRDYNAMIC continues to rely on the tried places and methods of distribution: travelers (mainly Ukrainian tourists) from the West into Ukraine; however, this channel is coming under very close observation of the KGB. Still, it is a viable means for bringing in the special items QRDYNAMIC has developed in the past year. The most fertile ground for this is still Canada with its large Ukrainian population.

The other methods of distribution QRDYNAMIC uses are mailings from East Europe into the Ukraine, some mailings from the West into the Ukraine (to institutions, libraries, etc.), and distributing materials to Soviet Ukrainian citizens visiting the West on business or tourisms.

In FY-84 (up to the end of August 1984), our distribution figures are as follows:

To the Ukraine (total amount of printed items)	16,756	copies
To Poland	8,874	
Into other countries of Eastern Europe	920	
To China	579	
To Lithuania	237	
To Estonia	179	
Tapes (into the Ukraine)	268	
T-Shirts " " "	207	
Stickers " " "	2,308	
Stamping devices " "	4	
Stamping devices (into Poland)	18	

Effectiveness

11. The response inside the Ukrainian SSR to QRDYNAMIC's activities can be broken down into two aspects: the response among ordinary Ukrainians and the response from the KGB and Communist Party officials.

a. It has been possible to judge the response from ordinary citizens to QRDYNAMIC activities in a limited fashion. Travelers to Ukraine have been able to ascertain to some limited degree in conversations with Soviet Ukrainians that some of QRDYNAMIC materials do get into the country, are circulated and read. For example, a source who was in Kiev in July 1984 and who met with physicists in the Institute of Theoretical Physics in Kiev was told that they do get and read Suchasnist.

b. A source from Belgrade, Yugoslavia, who is often visited by Soviet Ukrainian writers, told QRDYNAMIC representative in Paris in May 1984 that these people, when in Yugoslavia, ask him for QRDYNAMIC publications to read.

c. A Soviet Ukrainian delegation visiting Canada in March 1984 specifically asked for Suchasnist journal and other QRDYNAMIC publications and took them back to Ukraine with them.

d. A Ukrainian from Warsaw visiting Edmonton, Alberta, told another QRDYNAMIC representative that Soviet Ukrainian academicians who visit Warsaw ask about QRDYNAMIC books and evaluate them highly.

12. The best indication of QRDYNAMIC efforts is in the Soviet Ukrainian press and the attacks which appear there about its activities. For example, in 1984 the Soviet Ukrainian press launched a full-scale attack on Ukrainian nationalism under the name of "counter-propaganda campaign." This is part of an all-Union wide campaign to combat distribution of literature, the radio broadcasts of Radio Liberty and Voice of America and other activities. This counter-propaganda campaign in the Soviet Ukraine clearly aims to limit any information which is getting across the border--there are mentions of book distribution, mailings, tourism and broadcasting. If these activities did not present a danger to Soviet control over the Ukrainian population, it is doubtful if the government would launch such a large campaign to combat this activity. At the same time, QRDYNAMIC activities did increase in the past three years and the KGB must have taken notice of this factor.

In a related field, the sharp increase in attacks by the Polish press on Ukrainian nationalism, and the fact that in some cases the Polish SB have written that they have run joint operations with the KGB in combating Ukrainian nationalism is indicative that

S E C R E T

the KGB is asking the Polish services to help them in combating book infiltration activities.

13. In addition to the responses received from the target area already mentioned, the following can be cited:

a. One of QRDYNAMIC distributing points has been sending its publications, as well as Kontinent to different libraries in the USSR. In August, the Leningrad public library--international exchange section--began sending back to QRDYNAMIC address in London packages with only the Kontinent journals, keeping the others. Why they sent back only Kontinent is not known.

b. A Ukrainian/Canadian tourist group on a trip to the Ukraine in September 1984 were able to get T-shirts QRDYNAMIC had produced into the Ukraine (16 items). As the tour group leader attested, "Among other things, I took 16 Shevchenko shirts with me; and as you probably guessed, the people simply loved them."

c. A tourist who went to Moscow in August 1984 met a Ukrainian working in a Moscow institute which is under the jurisdiction of the Central Committee CPSU. This Ukrainian told the tourist that he had read two of QRDYNAMIC books: Internationalism or Russification?, and works by Valentyn MOROZ. These two books were the deciding factors in raising this Ukrainian's national awareness. At the meeting in Moscow, the Ukrainian offered his services to the QRDYNAMIC organization in terms of writing articles for its publication.

d. A message received from Czechoslovakia in September 1984 (written in August) read, "There is an increasingly big interest in the labels and stamps." In the later part of FY-84 QRDYNAMIC began receiving confirmation that materials which QRDYNAMIC sent to Poland were slowly being distributed into Ukraine by groups connected to the Polish Solidarity underground. This was confirmed by recent emigres who arrived in Paris (TARGALSKI from Oboz and the Niepodleglosc group). In fact, this group asked for more materials which it could distribute back into Ukraine.

e. A Soviet Ukrainian traveler to Toronto, Canada, in September 1984 met with one of QRDYNAMIC distributors who gave him Suchasnist journal. This traveler's response was very positive--he did not care very much for some of the poetry, but liked the political commentary, the reviews of books, and articles about Ukrainian life in the West. (Source was a Ukrainian CPSU member in his early 40's from Lutsk.)

f. According to a professor who visited the USSR in the summer of 1984 and who took with him a number of copies of Forum journal which he left in Moscow; the response was positive mainly because the journal does not get involved in polemics with other Russian groups and deals with topics which other Russian language journals do not bother to write about. (S.C. from Princeton University.)

g. A tourist from the Ukraine to Toronto, Canada, in September 1984 was shown QRDYNAMIC books and Suchasnist. She liked the literary books and the samizdat poetry published by QRDYNAMIC but was afraid to take the political books and Suchasnist. On the other hand, she felt that she could take back with her the purely literary books. (Source was a teacher from Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukrainian SSR in her 50's.)

Problems

14. There were no major administrative problems connected with QRDYNAMIC Activity during FY-84. However, as a result of Headquarters audit of the project, recommendations were made regarding cover documentation for Agency's funding and changes in ownership of QRDYNAMIC organization. During FY-84 these recommendations were implemented by establishing a funding mechanism through a number of Agency's devised facilities with which QRDYNAMIC organization signed nominal contracts. Furthermore, QRDYNAMIC organization's old stock certificates were terminated and new certificates issued to three members of the organization. The three stockholders promptly endorsed the certificates and turned them over to the Agency for safekeeping. To finalize the transfer of QRDYNAMIC organization from a controlled subsidy to a proprietary, a QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan was prepared and forwarded to DDO for his approval.

15. QRDYNAMIC/57's personal interaction with PRC nationals in New York increased in FY-84, particularly with one PRC national whom FR/New York sees as a recruitment target. [] case officers met with Headquarters officers to determine the CI implications to QRDYNAMIC organization and the direction and objectives of QRDYNAMIC/57's future contacts with the PRC nationals. A decision was made at that time on a role that QRDYNAMIC/57 could play in easing initiation of [] contact with the recruitment target while still protecting QRDYNAMIC/57's independent relationship with both the target and the other PRC nationals. It was also decided that QRDYNAMIC/57 should not expand his involvement with PRC nationals but instead proceed slowly to disengage himself and QRDYNAMIC organization from official involvement with PRC activities.

Plans

16. Because of restricted FY-85/86 budget, QRDYNAMIC Activity does not plan to launch any new major projects in FY-85, but instead will consolidate what was begun in the past year and thus increase its distribution channels. The first order of priority is to find new channels for Suchasnist and Forum journals. This has always been QRDYNAMIC's major concern and, given the new vigilance exhibited by the Soviet side, the most difficult aspect of QRDYNAMIC's work. The second concern is to keep Suchasnist at the level it has been over the past 24 years. With a new editorial board in place, QRDYNAMIC/57 thinks this is feasible.

The only new publication for which there is apparent need and which could be revived is the Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press, a monthly ten-page newsletter about developments in the Soviet Ukraine. This would not involve any new costs--it can all be done in-house, set on existing computer systems and published out of the Munich office. QRDYNAMIC/57 feels that this is very important to promote the Ukrainian question in such places as the Third World, China, and other countries where English is understood by the political elite. By having a monthly review of major developments in the Ukrainian Republic, it will be possible to see the trends which are developing inside and be better geared to present QRDYNAMIC solutions and alternatives in the Ukrainian-language publications. At the same time, by increasing the awareness of others to the Ukrainian problem, QRDYNAMIC will be fostering the image that the USSR is not a monolith, that it has serious nationality problems which should be focused on by policy makers in other countries.

Miscellaneous projects: In FY-85 QRDYNAMIC plans to place increased attention on such things as video cassettes, both production and distribution, as well as to continue experimenting with T-shirts, stick-on slogans and other such devices easily infiltrated into the USSR. In addition, a QRDYNAMIC representative will be sent to Toronto, Canada, to work with the large Ukrainian community there to increase book distribution through the many Ukrainian/ Canadians visiting the Soviet Ukraine. There are also plans for FY-85 to explore possibilities of distributing QRDYNAMIC materials to the many Soviet tourists visiting Budapest through a contact QRDYNAMIC has in that city. Similar plans are being considered for targeting material at Soviet personnel stationed in Cuba by learning their access to potential distribution points and social contacts. The Toronto office would again be used as the Ukrainian/Canadians are allowed to travel to Cuba freely. QRDYNAMIC will take additional steps to procure target audience reaction to its products, and efforts will be made to measure how much of its material is getting into target areas.

S E C R E T

In terms of administrative/overhead costs, by computerizing in 1984, QRDYNAMIC cut production costs of books and journals by 10 percent and expects greater savings in FY-85. The money saved has been and will be applied to on-going distribution operations. Another cost savings in overhead should be realized in FY-85 if QRDYNAMIC finds cheaper quarters (possibly in New Jersey).

Source of Funds/Costs

17. PPS's Congressional budget reflects [] in FY-85 and [] in FY-86. Reprogramming action is underway to reduce the FY-85 amount to []. This OPACT renewal requests approval of [] for FY-85.

Funding

18. Transfer of funds for Operational Activity QRDYNAMIC is conducted through devised funding facilities provided by Central Cover Staff. Covert payments are made by bank transfers to the QRDYNAMIC corporation bank account.

Foreign Funds

19. There are no foreign currency problems with this Activity at this time.

Commitments

20. There are no special commitments involved in this Activity other than funding through FY-85.

Accountability

21. All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan. Chief, PPS affirms that the previously approved provisions of the QRDYNAMIC Fiscal/Administrative Plan remains adequate and valid.

S E C R E T

SUBJECT: FY-85 Renewal of Operational Activity QRDYNAMIC

QRDYNAMIC BUDGET

FY-85

	<u>FY-84</u>	<u>FY-85</u>	<u>FY-86</u>
Operational Budget	[]	[]	[]
Headquarters Expenses	[]	[]	[]
Agency Proprietary Funding	[]	[]	[]
Total Budget	[]	[]	[]

S E C R E T

SUBJECT: FY-85 Renewal of Operational Activity QRDYNAMIC

QRDYNAMIC BUDGET BREAKDOWN

FY-85

	FY-84	FY-85	FY-86
<u>Cash Resources</u>			
Beginning Cash Balance	\$ 5,000	\$ 5,000	\$ 5,000
Agency Subsidy	[]	[]	[]
Book Sales & Subscriptions	90,000	95,000	100,000
Total Cash Available	()	()	()
 <u>Expenditures</u>			
Fixed Expenditures:			
Salaries & Benefits	\$ 260,000	\$ 275,000	\$ 280,000
New York Office	126,000	126,000	126,000
Subtotal Fixed Expenses	\$ 386,000	\$ 401,000	\$ 406,000
Operating Expenses:			
Publishing Costs	\$ 210,000	\$ 205,000	\$ 200,000
Microfilm System & Materials	10,000	6,000	7,000
Purchase of Books & Periodicals	8,000	7,000	7,000
Distribution Costs	68,000	85,000	90,000
Affiliated Group--Munich	106,000	106,000	106,000
London Office	60,000	63,000	60,000
Tokyo Office	76,000	50,000	50,000
Research & Contact Operations	70,000	75,000	76,000
Operational Travel/Entertainment	21,000	22,000	23,000
Subtotal Operating Expenses	629,000	619,000	619,000
Total Expenditures	\$1,015,000	\$1,020,000	\$1,025,000
Ending Cash Balance	()	()	()