

SECRET

23 February 1990

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
DATE 2007

FLAWS IN ATTACHED OPINION  
SUCASNIST - UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE PUBLICATION

-- Para 1: In an ostensibly commercial publication, it is not possible to "drop" "certain current subscribers."

-- Para 2: Targets: "Harvard and some Ukrainian church-affiliated groups" because "potential for influencing U.S. domestic opinion is greater given Harvard's impact in the academic community and the activism of the church-affiliated groups."

-- Can be argued in case of Harvard that Sucasnist is only one of many Ukrainian publications read by such specialists seeking many points of view for scholarly purposes, thus diminishing the potential impact of any one.

-- In case of Ukrainian church-affiliated groups, it should be remembered that QRPLUMB is merely one of several such Ukrainian organizations producing literature on Ukrainian topics thus again diminishing the potential impact of any one.

-- Para 3: Guidelines to be followed in "accepting subscriptions from U.S. subscribers." This again reiterates a flawed concept. A journal welcomes subscription and is obliged to honor them once they are paid for. For cover reasons above, picking and choosing could lead to serious cover erosion when/if questions are raised as to the reason for so doing. The Executive Order 12333 is an unclassified, public document, available to all.

-- Para 4: To be sure, we need to watch the number of U.S. subscribers, historically over 25% of total circulation constituted a problem. The way to do this is to avoid soliciting/advertising for subscriptions in the U.S. We should be very rigorous with respect to this. However, we can't pick and choose, VIP or no, in honoring legitimate subscriptions. To make a flat statement that we should not permit any subscribers in whole categories -- U.S. Congressmen, cabinet members, White House officials, U.S. media, foreign correspondents of the U.S. media, universities, lobbying groups or church-affiliated groups -- is totally unrealistic and would place us in an untenable operational/cover situation.

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OGC-90-50369

16 February 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Political Propaganda Staff  
THROUGH: Chief, Operations Support Division  
FROM: [ ]  
Assistant General Counsel  
SUBJECT: U.S. Subscribers to QRPLUMB Publications

1. As a result of a recent audit of QRPLUMB conducted by the Inspector General's office, the I.G. has recommended that PPS obtain a written opinion from the Office of General Counsel and PCS to "ensure that the circumstances of U.S. subscriptions to the "Sucasnist" journal are in compliance with E.O. 12333." This memorandum is in response to this audit recommendation. [ ]  
[ ] Chief, Special Activities Division/OGC, [ ]  
[ ] PCS/PGG and I met to review the subscription list of the Sucasnist journal. Provided certain current subscribers are dropped from the subscription list and the guidance provided below is followed, we believe that the Sucasnist journal is in compliance with Executive Order 12333.

2. Executive Order 12333 prohibits CIA from undertaking any activities which are intended to influence U.S. political processes, public opinion, policies, or media. This prohibition has been interpreted to mean that CIA may only publish articles or books intended for distribution outside the U.S. It is recognized that, with any intended distribution of a publication overseas, there may be unintended "blowback" distribution in the United States. Whether this unintended distribution violates Executive Order 12333 must be determined on a case-by-case basis, taking into consideration the total number of subscribers, the number of subscribers within the U.S. and the identity of the U.S. subscribers. After reviewing the U.S. subscriber list to Sucasnist, C/SAD, PCS/PGG, and I believe that the number of U.S. subscribers in comparison to the total number of subscribers is not so great as to violate E.O. 12333. The identity of the U.S. subscribers must also be reviewed, however. On the list of subscribers are Harvard and some Ukrainian church-affiliated groups. The subscriptions to these subscribers must be dropped as the potential for influencing U.S. domestic opinion is greater given Harvard's impact in the academic community and the activism of the church-affiliated groups.

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SUBJECT: U.S. Subscribers to QRPLUMB Publications

3. As future guidance for reviewing U.S. subscribers to PPS-affiliated publications, the following guidelines have been developed by PCS and OGC. Each PPS publication must be reviewed on a case-by-case basis, but these guidelines should be used when accepting subscriptions from U.S. subscribers.

4. To the extent possible, the distribution of PPS publications should be restricted within the U.S. and, in any event, should be a fairly small percentage of the total number of world-wide subscriptions. If subscriptions within the U.S. are unavoidable, the following groups should not be permitted to be subscribers. There should be no U.S. Congressmen, cabinet members or White House officials. There should be no subscriptions to members of the U.S. media or foreign correspondents of the U.S. media. In addition, there should be no subscriptions to universities, lobbying groups or church-affiliated groups. Subscriptions to private individuals who are apparently acting only on their behalf are allowable and can be justified as necessary to maintain cover as long as the total number of U.S. private individuals is small and the private individual is not a VIP or other important individual.

5. I realize that a determination of whether a subscription within the U.S. is permissible is not an easy question in all cases. OGC and PCS are ready to provide any detailed guidance necessary in a particular case. I will be happy to review the subscriptions lists of other PPS publications. I have already reviewed the subscriptions list for [ ] and the Ukranian Press Agency. Please call me on 76162 if you any questions.

[ ] ]

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20 December 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM:

[ ]  
PPS/SIB

SUBJECT: Subscription Lists for QRPLUMB English Language Publications

1. This is to make a record of the conversation I held on 19 December 1989, with Susan Watkins, PCS/PGG/CB, regarding subscriptions by U.S. persons to English language publications produced by the PPS project QRPLUMB, formerly a proprietary and now a controlled subsidy.

2. Background: During FY-84, QRPLUMB began publishing an English language monthly newsletter, "Soviet Nationalities Survey". It was intended for third world audiences, with part of the press run being distributed in Western Europe and infiltrated into the USSR and Eastern Europe. In 1986, the English language quarterly, "Soviet Ukrainian Affairs", was started. It dealt with Soviet Ukrainian topics and was aimed at East and West European audiences. In recent years, with the growing world interest in the nationalities issues in the Soviet Union, the interest in these publications also increased. A number of U. S. persons, including some members of the media, requested subscriptions. For operational cover reasons, these requests could not be denied and were treated as "unavoidable spillover". Recent examination of the subscription list indicated that the number of U.S. subscribers has reached the level beyond what could simply be considered "spillover". This was discussed with the QRPLUMB principal agents and a decision was made to cease publication of the "Soviet Nationalities Survey" and "Soviet Ukrainian Affairs" by March 1990 at the latest.

3. Per agreement with [ ] during the 19 December conversation, the current subscription list for the "Soviet Nationalities Survey" and "Soviet Ukrainian Affairs" will be held in the QRPLUMB file in PPS.

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SUBJECT: Subscription Lists for QRPLUMB English Language  
Publications

DDO/PPS/SIB

(20 December 1989)

Distribution:

Orig & 1 - Addressee (QRPLUMB File)

1 - C/PPS/SIB

1 - PPS/PMO

1 - PCS/PGG/CB

1 - OGC/OSD

1 - PPS/PP

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20 December 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR: [ ]  
C/PCS/PGG/CB

FROM: [ ]  
C/PPS/SIB

SUBJECT: Ukrainian Press Agency

1. Referring to the telephone conversation between you and an officer of this branch, [ ] on 19 December 1989, following is the background on the Ukrainian Press Agency in London and its connection to the QRPLUMB project.

2. For a number of years now, the QRPLUMB organization has employed Taras Kuzio in London, primarily as a distributor and organizer of infiltration of the QRPLUMB product into the USSR. Kuzio heads the Society for Soviet Nationalities Studies which publishes "Soviet Nationalities Survey" and "Soviet Ukrainian Affairs". While Kuzio's salary, office rent and expenses are provided by the QRPLUMB project, he is not witting of the Agency's connection with QRPLUMB. The liaison has been briefed at the highest level on our indirect involvement with Kuzio.

3. In 1986, Kuzio began compiling and translating information on current event in Ukraine and providing it to the media in the form of the Ukrainian Press Agency (UPA) releases. These releases were offered to the public by subscription and the cost of their production is being covered by the subscription fees. Portion of the press run is distributed free of charge in Eastern Europe and the USSR. Although majority of the subscribers are in Western Europe, the current subscription list contains twenty-eight addressees who are either located in the U.S. or are members of U.S. media assigned in Western or Eastern Europe. This constitutes less than six percent of the 164 listed subscribers, not counting the free copies distributed from the 200 copy press run.

4. It should be noted that the QRPLUMB organization has no editorial input into the UPA releases. In fact, for the most part, they consist of translations of information provided

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directly from inside Ukraine on events occurring there.

5. While we recognize that even the indirect involvement of QRPLUMB in the UPA may be interpreted as providing information to U.S. public by our assets, it would be extremely difficult to deny subscriptions requested by U.S. persons for two compelling operational reasons. First, because of Kuzio's unwitting status, he cannot be instructed to refuse U.S. subscriptions without a reason. Second, as the product is available to the public, there is no plausible reason to deny subscription to anyone who requests it.

6. Copy of the current subscription list to the UPA press releases is attached for your review.

[ " ]  
C/PPS/SIB ] ]

Attachment

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SUBJECT: Ukrainian Press Agency

DDO/PPS/SIB [ ] x72444

(20 December 1989)

Distribution:

Orig & 1 - Addressee

- 1 - C/PPS/SIB
- 1 - PPS/PMO
- 1 - OGC/OSD
- 1 - PPS/PP
- 1 - PPS/SIB (QRPLUMB File)

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11 October 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with OGC and PCS Reps on English Language Publications

1. On 3 October 1989, PPS/SIB case officer [ ] and the undersigned met with OGC attorney [ ] and PCS/PGG officer [ ] to discuss publication in English of the [ ] journal "Baltic Forum" and its distribution by subscription. After reviewing available materials for the English edition, [ ] and [ ] opined that the publication of the English edition and its distribution are essentially in compliance with CIA regulations. A formal memo so stating will be forthcoming from OGC.

2. This informal review was initiated following the 21 September meeting on the [ ] case with EUR, PPS and ORMS officers. During the session, Chief/EUR questioned the legality of the English language edition and its distribution within the U.S. On 3 October, [ ] and [ ] reviewed the journal's latest (1988) subscription list for the English edition. There are 279 subscribers to this edition, 79 of which are in the U.S. The current subscription list is still in the hands of [ ], a Stockholm asset scheduled for termination from the [ ] project. Since the journal is printed in and distributed from Europe, and although some copies of the publication are sent to [ ] in the U.S., there is no formal office here where walk-ins or others can go to obtain copies of the English language issue.

3. [ ] and [ ] made several recommendations about the journal's U.S. subscribers:

a. Subscription requests from universities, the news media, political and emigre groups, including those with religious affiliations, congress, the administration and other political figures should be discouraged. Watkins recommended that [ ] not respond to, i.e., "lose" or "misplace" these orders.

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b. It was suggested that all libraries be weaned off the list by not responding to subscription orders. However, if follow up orders or letters are received, the subscriptions could be accepted to maintain cover.

c. Specifically, we were urged to cut Harvard and University of Chicago libraries and "Elta," a U.S.-based emigre newsletter, from the subscription list at the next opportunity. The move of the publication from Sweden to Switzerland could be used as cover for "losing" these particular renewals.

4. C/O explained that [ ] has personal academic contacts who might comment about the non-availability of the journal in their universities' libraries. In this instance and only to preserve cover, [ ] could send the publication to individual professors as a courtesy. Otherwise, [ ] and [ ] agreed, [ ] should not make any distribution of the English journal from his home to recipients in the U.S.

5. It was also recommended that C/O brief [ ] on the above guidelines and have him sign a Memorandum for the File to the effect that these guidelines have been explained and that he understands them. C/O had [ ] sign this memorandum on 11 October 1989; a copy is attached as a sample.

6. These same considerations are applicable to other PPS English language publications. [ ] and [ ] suggested:

a. PPS should initiate an annual review of all English language publications and their distribution to U.S. persons or addresses. These reviews should be made a matter of record for the file. When there is any doubt about compliance, a formal opinion should be sought from OGC and PCS.

b. Subscriptions and distribution of publications in the U.S. to college and university libraries, the Library of Congress, the news media, politicians, members of the administration, political action organizations, including emigre and emigre religious groups, and members of Congress should be discouraged. Subscription requests should be "lost" or "misplaced." If anyone from these groups already appear on subscription lists, they should be weaned as soon as cover permits without arousing suspicion. Persistent subscription or renewal requests may be honored for cover reasons only after several requests have been ignored. These exceptions should be made a matter of record.

c. Requests for individual copies of publications from or visits by politicians, members of Congress, their staffs or the administration, as well as the news media should be reported

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immediately to Hqs. Assets should be instructed not to provide copies of English language materials in response to these requests if it can be avoided consistent with cover. An appropriate, polite response might be: "I'm sorry, we don't have any extra copies here. If you leave your address, we will mail you one." The person's address should be conveniently misplaced. Any "bugging" by this group of individuals should be reported immediately to Hqs.

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SUBJECT: Meeting with OGC and PCS Reps on  
English Language Publications

Distribution:

Original - C/PPS  
1 - DC/PPS  
1 - PPS/PP  
1 - AC/PPS/SEO

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