

### APPENDIX III.

#### SOVIET INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND OPERATIONS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

##### A. INTRODUCTION

The U.S.S.R. conducts espionage and "active measures" or covert action operations on a large scale against its main enemy—the United States.<sup>1</sup> These activities are carried out in the U.S. and abroad by the Soviet intelligence and security services—the KGB and the GRU—and by the intelligence and security services of Soviet-influenced Eastern European countries, via their officers and agents in the United States and in other countries.

The main targets are U.S. Government officials, members of the business, scientific and political communities with access to the U.S. Government, and other influential entities such as youth, journalist and trade organizations.

According to the CIA, the United States is still the major target of the Soviet Union, Soviet intelligence and security services regard the greater degree of contact between the United States and the U.S.S.R. resulting from detente both as an increased counter-intelligence threat and as an opportunity for recruitment of more intelligence sources.

##### *1. General Structure and Command*

The intelligence and security structure of the Soviet Union today consists of two main elements. The first is the Committee of State Security—known in the U.S.S.R. and abroad by its initials—KGB. The second element is the lesser-known military intelligence organization—the Chief Directorate of Intelligence of the General Staff—whose initials are GRU. Both of these organizations operate on a world-wide basis. There is no Soviet embassy abroad which does not have its contingent of KGB officers, and it is doubtful whether there are more than one or two without GRU officers. Furthermore, the diplomatically-accredited personnel in Soviet Embassies are generally from 40 percent to 60 percent GRU and KGB officers. However, while there are many similarities between the operations of these two organizations overseas, there is one basic difference between them. The GRU engages only in foreign intelligence collection and has no domestic functions. The KGB, however, exists to safeguard national security. It interprets this mandate in the broadest sense, and therefore both its foreign activities and its domestic mission are multi-faceted.

The KGB and GRU are nominally controlled by the Soviet Government but are actually commanded by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Officially, both intelligence services report to the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Government: the KGB reports

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<sup>1</sup> The People's Republic of China is now almost as important a target to the Soviet Union as is the United States.

directly and the GRU through the General Staff of the Ministry of Defense. It appears that the role of the Council of Ministers in overseeing these organizations is limited to administrative control, while the actual control of operations is a Party function. Both organizations report indirectly and directly to the CPSU leadership through their respective chiefs: Iurii Vladimirovich Andropov, Chairman of the KGB; and Marshal Andrei Antonovich Grechko, Minister of Defense. Both are full voting members of the Politburo, the highest ruling body of the CPSU.

## 2. Budget

Accurate estimates of Soviet expenditures on intelligence are difficult to arrive at, because of rigid security and because of the peculiarities of Soviet accounting practices. The available evidence indicates that both the KGB and GRU receive high priority in the allocation of funds and other resources.

## 3. The Soviet Intelligence and Security Services—The KGB

As noted above, the KGB has both domestic and foreign functions. Abroad, the KGB is responsible for the collection of foreign intelligence; for the control of all official Soviet installations and personnel; for the penetration of all hostile intelligence and security services; and for conducting covert and "executive action" programs. However, it concentrates a far greater share of its attention on its internal functions, which include: uncovering espionage, subversion and dissidence; censorship of all international, and selected internal communications; investigating crimes against the state and presenting evidence for prosecution; protecting the borders of the country; providing physical protection for the leaders and important installations of the Party and state, and for visiting foreign dignitaries; disrupting and neutralizing the activity of hostile intelligence services and *émigré* organizations by aggressive counterintelligence operations; supervising the development and installation of secure communications systems, and providing maintenance and security for those systems.

The number of KGB personnel engaged in clandestine activity directed against foreign countries is estimated by the CIA at 10,000 while the counterintelligence and security components operating inside the Soviet Union are much larger. With the inclusion of a sizeable administrative and support apparatus, the total number of all-Union or national-level personnel has been estimated at a total of 410,000. Of this total, the Border Troops have been credited with over 175,000 employees; the Kremlin Guards and possibly other uniformed components, while not individually reported, may number over 65,000.

In addition to the 410,000 national-level personnel estimate, each Republic and autonomous region has its own KGB structure, and there are KGB offices, in every town of any size across the entire Soviet Union.

## B. ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE

### 1. Executive Level

The Chairman of the KGB, Iurii Vladimirovich Andropov, is assisted at the executive level by several deputies and by a senior policy-

making board known as the "collegium." This body meets at least once a month to discuss KGB activities. Other officials such as various specialists and the chairmen of the Republic-level KGB organizations participate in collegium discussions when specific problems are discussed.

## 2. Chief Directorate Level

The KGB has a highly-complex organizational structure, but it is generally correct to say that the First Chief Directorate is concerned with foreign operations and that the Second Chief Directorate has primary responsibility for internal security and counterintelligence.

a. *The First Chief Directorate*—The First Chief Directorate of the KGB is organized on both geographical and functional lines. The geographic departments are numbered, and the First Department operates against the United States and Canada. Traditionally, the numerical designation "First" has been assigned to the department that operates against the "main enemy" of the U.S.S.R. The United States has been that enemy since World War II; but the People's Republic of China has since been elevated almost to this status by current attitudes if not by formal organization.

The Second Department is responsible for Latin America, including Mexico. The Third Department concentrates on the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Scandinavia; the Fourth Department on West Germany, Austria and Switzerland, and so on for the thirteen additional departments.

The functional or specialized components of the KGB First Chief Directorate concern themselves with particular nongeographical targets, types of operations and types of information on a world-wide basis. There are several important components in this category:

—*The Counterintelligence Directorate* works directly against foreign intelligence and security services.

—*The Scientific and Technical Directorate* runs clandestine operations to collect information on technological advances and analyzes their application to military and industrial uses.

—*Department "A"* (Covert Action and Deception) plans, coordinates and supports those activities which are known as "active measures"—a name which approximates "covert action." [This group was formerly called Department "D"—disinformation and received extensive publicity in the West in the 1960s under that name.]

—*Department "V"*, formerly known as the Thirteenth Department, conducts assassinations, abduction, and other types of "executive action." It is known to have carried out assassinations abroad. Currently, this Department is primarily concerned with contingency planning for sabotage and partisan warfare operations.

—*The Intelligence Liaison Department* maintains liaison with the state security or intelligence services of the East European Communist countries and of other pro-Soviet states. It serves as a channel for levying requirements on those services and for coordinating their activities. While in recent years increased efficiency and diplomatic considerations have led to variations in the degree of Soviet control of the East European intelligence and security services, the CIA considers the services of these countries to be an effective extension

of the KGB. The CIA also considers the Cuban intelligence service (the DGI) to be effectively controlled by the KGB.

b. *The Second Chief Directorate.*—The primary responsibility of this group is internal security and counterintelligence, including penetration, detection and frustration of externally and internally supported anti-Soviet activities. All Soviet citizens, all foreign embassies and consulates, and the growing number of foreigners who visit and live in the U.S.S.R. each year are under its purview.

The Second Chief Directorate is broken down into several functional departments, including:

—The American Department, which conducts all operational activity directed at the official representatives of the United States, Canadian and Latin American governments in the Soviet Union. Its mission is two-fold: first, to minimize associations between diplomats and the Soviet citizenry and to monitor contacts that do take place; second, to attempt recruitment of American officials. One department is responsible for identifying, investigating, questioning and maintaining records on all Soviet citizens in authorized and unauthorized contact with United States officials in the U.S.S.R., including any Soviet citizen who wants to visit the U.S. Embassy for any reason. Another section arranges controlled contacts for U.S. Embassy officers during trips outside Moscow.

—The Foreign Tourists Department controls and attempts recruitment of tourists who visit the U.S.S.R. through a large informant network within all tourist services, including hotels, restaurants, campsites, service stations, etc.

### C. THE GRU

The GRU has a significantly smaller number of personnel in Moscow than the KGB since it has only one function—the collection of foreign strategic intelligence. Its headquarters is reported to have 2,000 officers.

The GRU Chief, General of the Army Petr Ivashutin, is assisted by several deputies, as is the Chief of the KGB. Also, like the KGB, the GRU has a collegium which examines current problems and proposed activities. The GRU is broken down into geographic components, although fewer than the KGB. Of the four geographical components, one is responsible for collection of strategic information about the United States, the United Kingdom and Latin America.

Of the GRU's functional components, two deserve mention. One directorate is responsible for signals intelligence (SIGINT) collection. The primary intercept targets of this directorate are the strategic air and ground forces of the United States, Western European countries, Japan, and the People's Republic of China. SIGINT units in the U.S.S.R., East European countries, and covert units in Soviet embassies and trade missions abroad intercept and analyze all types of electronic communications, including encrypted and clear-text official messages, and telephone calls.

Another functional directorate trains Africans, Arabs, Asians and Latin Americans in organizing underground nets and insurgent movements in their countries. The training is done at camps and bases in

the U.S.S.R., and this directorate works closely with the CPSU Central Committee which is responsible for selecting the individual students or political groups to be trained.

#### D. THE SCOPE AND METHODS OF ANTI-UNITED STATES OPERATIONS BY THE KGB AND GRU

KGB and GRU officers total approximately one-third of the 10,000 Soviets currently assigned to official Soviet installations abroad (excluding military and economic aid missions). Government control of all Soviet trade, business and media services provides an additional type of cover for KGB and GRU officers. Additionally, Soviet intelligence officers occupy many posts in the United Nations administrative structure and in the U.N.'s auxiliary organizations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Telecommunications Union.

The number of Soviet intelligence and operations officers is a misleading indicator of the scope of Soviet operations. Many Soviet officers are responsible for many informants or assets who provide intelligence, or carry out operations for the KGB and GRU.

A main objective of Soviet intelligence officers both in the United States and in countries in which U.S. installations exist and U.S. citizens live, is recruitment of Americans as intelligence assets. A 1959 Soviet directive which was reaffirmed as recently as 1975 states that "great attention" should be given to the recruitment of U.S. agents who have "access to encrypted and other secret correspondence, such as code clerks, secretaries and typists."

Another objective is the recruitment and cultivation of "agents of influence," or agents who can influence political events or decisions.

Soviet intelligence also mounts technical operations against U.S. installations and personnel. Planting of microphones and installation of telephone "taps" is done on a massive scale in the U.S.S.R. and Soviet-oriented countries. The Soviets are more selective in the West but they do conduct such operations. The primary targets are the officers and residences of U.S. ambassadors, senior foreign service personnel, CIA officers, and defense attaches.

#### E. EASTERN EUROPEAN SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE SERVICES

According to the CIA, counterparts of the KGB and GRU in Eastern European countries serve in varying degrees as extensions of Soviet anti-United States intelligence collection and covert action operations.

Of the eight Communist countries in Eastern Europe, five (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the German Democratic Republic) adhere closely to the Soviet line and their intelligence and security services are strongly influenced and, to a large extent, controlled by the KGB and the GRU. Soviet intelligence advisors are permanently assigned to their headquarters and the advisors have total access to all information collected by these services as well as to their "sources and methods" data. The U.S.S.R. is able to impose collection requirements on these Eastern European services for information not

needed by the country itself. The CIA knows of operations against U.S. citizens and installations carried out by Eastern European intelligence services under Soviet guidance.

The other three Communist countries in Eastern Europe (Romania, Yugoslavia, and Albania) have attained varying degrees of independence from the U.S.S.R., as is reflected by the absence of any significant liaison relationship between their security services and the KGB and GRU.

All Eastern European intelligence services concentrate heavily on the American target at home and abroad, frequently under direct Soviet guidance. While these services, by American or Soviet standards, are not large, in aggregate the number of officers they have assigned abroad approaches that of the Soviet intelligence services and they thus represent a significant enhancement of the already formidable capabilities of the KGB and GRU. They continue to exercise tight political control within their borders.