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PROJECT OUTLINE

29 September 1954

Project Cryptonym or Subject: AEVIRGIL

Sub-Project Cryptonym or Identification: NA

Amendment No.: NA

Originating Division : SR

a. Division Chief: [ ] Ext. 2421

b. Branch Chief : [ ] Ext. 2178

c. Case Officer : [ ] Ext. 2242

Target Areas : USSR  
Soviet occupation forces in Germany and Austria  
Soviet officials stationed throughout the  
Western World

Type of Project : PP/Operational

Financial Mechanism : Subsidy

Funds Requested : [ ] or Fiscal Year 1955  
(including \$24,000.00 for AECACOTOL)

Current Status : Approved and operative during previous fiscal year;  
Original Projects HBDUCKPIN approved 10 April 1953  
by DD/P; HTBALDUR approved 8 July 1952 by DD/P;  
AEBROOM approved 22 May 1953 by DD/P.  
Project AEVIRGIL currently includes the following  
former projects: AEPAWN, AESROLL, AEBROOM, and  
AECACOTOL.

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

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PROJECT AEVIRGIL

1. OBJECTIVE:

To conserve, develop and utilize for the political and psychological struggle against the USSR the unique human resource constituted by the post-war emigration. To this end, to support and strengthen the Central Association of Post-War Emigres (TsOPE), organized and controlled by CIA for exploitation as:

- a. an organizational framework for all post-war Soviet emigres;
- b. an incentive to potential defectors;
- c. a vehicle for enlisting the talents of present and future defectors in the anti-Soviet struggle, and a means for assessment, orientation and training for this purpose;
- d. an attributable source and working mechanism for the conduct of psychological warfare operations against the population of the USSR and Soviet occupation forces in Germany and Austria.

2. ORIGIN AND POLICY GUIDANCE:

a. Origin.

The authority for this project is contained in NSC 5412, approved 15 March 1954; NSC 162/2, approved 30 October 1953; and NSC 160/1, approved 13 August 1953. Within CIA, specific authority for project activities will be found in Project HBDUCKPIN, approved by A/DD/P, 10 April 1953; Project HTBALDUR, approved by DD/P, 8 July 1952; and Project AEBROOM, approved by DD/P, 22 May 1953.

b. Whence Proposed.

Original projects proposed by field; consolidation of activities proposed herein by Headquarters.

3. SITUATION:

a. Project AEVIRGIL (formerly AEPAWN; previous to that, HBDUCKPIN).

TsOPE, organized as a result of CIA initiative in November 1952, has established itself as the leading organization for post-war Soviet emigres. An executive committee, or working staff, guides the organization's activities, and in turn receives its direction from CIA case officers acting through the two contract agents.

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(1) TsOPE.

This group, whose headquarters are in Munich, currently numbers some 250 loosely organized members. The majority resides in Western Germany; a few members are scattered among other free world countries. Although the membership has more than doubled since TsOPE's founding, the rank and file is not an active force in the organization. TsOPE is ostensibly run by a board of directors or Presidium, elected by the deputies to the organizational conference from a list of candidates selected by CIA case officers in consultation with witting personnel. The Presidium does not in fact direct the organization; it limits its activities to occasional formal approval of the program conducted by the President and the full-time salaried Executive Committee.

(2) The Executive Committee.

The staff actually responsible for TsOPE's anti-Soviet psychological warfare program, the Executive Committee, also constitutes the operational nucleus through which CIA control is exercised. It presently consists of 13 members, of whom seven are specifically witting of United States (but not CIA) control and direction. Operational clearances on all members of the committee are processed as a matter of routine.

(3) Operational Program.

(a) Leaflet Production.

The bulk of the REDCAP Russian-language leaflets distributed by the German mission is constituted of propaganda leaflets produced by and attributable to TsOPE. Experience argues that, by and large, attribution to a real organization lends propaganda a legitimate authenticity which notional attribution cannot achieve. Indigenous press and radio coverage of TsOPE's activities help, along this line, to reinforce the basic leaflet campaign. TsOPE staff members write the leaflets under the close supervision of a contract agent, who transmits policy guidances and related directions of the case officers. Leaflet production in this Russian-language propaganda shop located in Munich is co-ordinated with the Psychological Warfare Chief in Frankfurt and with SR/CPP in Headquarters. Both these offices have been reviewing the leaflets from political and literary angles, offering suggestions and approving the final product before distribution. Currently, SR/CPP has waived his review of

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leaflets for forces in East Germany because of the delay in distribution necessitated by the round trip between the field and Headquarters and also because of the Headquarters desire to grant an increasing degree of independence to TsOPE operatives as they prove their mettle. All leaflets designated for distribution in the USSR proper, however, still require SR/CPD review. (see p. 10)

(b) SVOBODA.

The "house organ" of TsOPE, SVOBODA is a 24-page monthly magazine distributed to TsOPE members and other interested Russian emigres throughout the Western world. The contextual emphasis of the journal rests on political and ideological discussion, current Soviet developments, organization activities and matters of special interest to the emigres, particularly regarding emigration welfare. An editor from the TsOPE staff directs the publication of the magazine. Both staff members and outside writers contribute articles. See attachment #1 for a sample issue of the magazine.

(c) AETROJAN Propaganda School.

The main and immediate value of the AETROJAN propaganda school lies in its provision of training for a limited number of TsOPE members in the techniques, methods and aims of psychological warfare. More intangibly, it may supply in the longer view a partial answer to the "disposal problem" in that it replaces the short-sighted concept of dispersal by the long-term theory of utilization. AETROJAN presents a means by which the most recent emigres, surrounded and advised by men close to them in spirit and background, can be rehabilitated and adapted to a new and strange environment. Simultaneously the school serves to enlist the talents and enthusiasm of the defectors in concrete anti-Soviet work, thereby conserving and training cadres against the time when they will be needed.

The school is staffed by two part-time instructors whose work is supplemented by "guest lecturers" drawn from the TsOPE staff and elsewhere. Eight students matriculate for a six-month course; they receive subsistence during the training period. Instruction is given in psychological warfare techniques, writing, public speaking, radio work, and Russian and world history. Classroom instruction is supplemented by on-the-job training with the organization proper. Classes are conducted in the TsOPE offices. (see p. 10)

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(d) General Organization Activity.

TsOPE conducts a varied program of organizational activities in propagandizing its anti-Soviet work. Propaganda meetings and press conferences, using recent defectors to point up major anti-Soviet themes, have met with excellent response. The German press has widely publicized TsOPE meetings. They have received further and broad radio coverage from VOA, Radio Liberation, BBC and German stations, all of which produce tapes to use in subsequent broadcasts. In addition, TsOPE members write and produce a weekly half-hour show over VOA entitled "Life in the Free West through Our Eyes."

(e) Welfare.

TsOPE serves as a vehicle to obtain, through liaison with USEP, Tolstoy Foundation, American Friends of Russian Freedom and other agencies, welfare assistance for the more unfortunate Russian emigrants, thereby helping to eliminate the deplorable conditions which still represent a propaganda blot on the record of the West. (*see p. 9*)

(f) TsOPE Berlin Office.

One of the potentially most fertile results of propaganda leaflet distribution lies in the contacts established with individual recipients. EE/REDCAP set up an office in West Berlin in May 1953, ostensibly as a TsOPE branch, to follow up and exploit such contacts, primarily for defection purposes, but also for intelligence and propaganda distribution operations. Initially the office was staffed only by an FI agent who channelled contacts to his REDCAP case officer. In order to maintain and strengthen the cover, a bona fide TsOPE member has been added to the office to perform the representative functions normal for a branch of an emigre organization. Although he has been briefed on the underlying purpose of the office, he is cut out entirely from the REDCAP contact operations. Project CARRERA (EE/FI), approved 7 December 1953, authorizes the REDCAP facets of the TsOPE/Berlin office.

The influx of contacts to the TsOPE/Berlin office has increased steadily since its inception, and its operational usefulness is demonstrated thereby, despite the at least initial inherent limitations which account for the low-level status of all the contacts thus far. The office is particularly valuable, however, in that it provides a means of

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approach to Soviet personnel in cases where a premature disclosure of American sponsorship of REDCAP efforts might scotch the operation before it has fairly begun. (see p. 10)

(4) Control.

Control of the project activities is exercised by two CIA case officers acting through the medium of two contract agents. Of the latter, one is responsible for all facets of operational control related to propaganda policy and content; he acts both as propaganda advisor to the case officers and as their means of transmitting instructions to TsOPE leaders. The second contract agent is assigned the duties connected with administrative and financial control.

b. Project AESCROLL (formerly HTBALDUR).

AESCROLL, approved (as HTBALDUR) 8 July 1953 provided authority for sustained financial support of the anti-Soviet satirical magazine, SATIRIKON, published monthly in West Germany by a group of Russian emigres. A four-color, 16 page magazine, SATIRIKON contained cartoons, poems, jokes and humorous articles ridiculing the Soviet regime. The overt edition was circulated in the Western world. At the same time, an abridged or pony edition employing material from the large edition was produced for clandestine distribution. Since the founding of TsOPE, the AEVIRGIL and AESCROLL projects have been closely associated. On the overt level, there has been some interchange of personnel. The two groups share common offices. On the covert level, the relationship has been even closer. The projects were developed, and have been run by, the same case officers. More to the point, both have fulfilled a single function, namely the production of propaganda material for clandestine East Zone distribution.

After an assessment of projects in the fall of 1953, Headquarters concluded that the money and effort devoted to the publication of the overt edition of SATIRIKON could be more profitably allotted to the production of exclusively clandestine materials. Accordingly publication of the large, overt edition was suspended in November 1953, effort was shifted to the production of a small edition suitable for behind-curtain distribution, and a de facto integration of the AEVIRGIL and AESCROLL projects was effected. The five members of the AESCROLL staff have effectively become, in consequence, participants in the AEVIRGIL "working group." (see p. 11)

c. Project AEBROOM.

Project AEBROOM, approved 14 May 1953, provided for the activities of contract agent [redacted] to assist case officers in development of a Russian-language propaganda shop in Munich. His activities

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cut across former project lines, in that he was concerned with both TsoPE and SATIRIKON, as well as REDCAP propaganda leaflets in general, in his duties of advisor to field case officers on:

- (1) elaboration of editorial policy, pamphlet content and compilation of material for all types of Russian-language leaflets;
- (2) editorial control of SVOBODA and SATIRIKON;
- (3) development of plans, guides and materials for the propaganda training school;
- (4) elaboration of plans for special TsoPE activities such as conferences, radio broadcasts, etc.

In view of the de facto integration of AEVIRGIL and AESCROLL, Rompot is in effect an advisor and an instrument for the transmission of policy guidance for the complex of activities which the combined project encompasses. (see p. 11)

#### 4. PROPOSAL:

It is proposed to continue financial support of TsoPE, to enable consolidation of present achievements and to provide for sound expansion of its anti-Soviet psychological warfare program. Specifically, it is proposed in Fiscal Year 1955:

- a. to undertake long-range balloon dispatch of leaflets aimed at our primary target, the peoples of the USSR under subproject AEPANDA;
- b. to carry out short-range balloon dispatch of leaflets aimed at Soviet occupation personnel in Germany;
- c. to increase both the quantity and quality of defection and disaffection leaflets, pamphlets and ideological materials;
- d. to provide the group with printing facilities to enable production by the organization itself of leaflets in sufficient quantity for the expanded distribution program;
- e. to continue the propaganda training school to assist in the grooming of leadership and development of technical skills;
- f. to continue TsoPE representation in Berlin, and expand the propaganda program there;

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- g. to bring the president of TsOPE (see under Operational Outline, Key Personnel) to the United States for a three-month visit; to aid him while in the United States to gain publicity for himself and his organization and thereby enhance the prestige of TsOPE and its authority and attraction in addressing potential defectors; to aid him in establishing an American chapter of TsOPE to help in achieving the above goals as well as providing a reserve cadre for the parent organization; to place him under sterile government contract to strengthen our good relations with, and control over, him.
- h. to continue the guidance and control of TsOPE's general program, including conferences, meetings, publication of its monthly journal SVOBODA and welfare activity.

It is further proposed, in the interests of economy, sound operation and effective administration, to initiate termination of projects AËSCROLL and AEBROOM effective 1 July 1954, and to integrate their operational assets and carry on their functions within the framework of the consolidated AEVIRGIL project.

5. OPERATIONAL OUTLINE:

a. Sub-proposals or "tasks".

(1) TsOPE General Program.

TsOPE's broad program of anti-Soviet propaganda and work among the post-war emigres will be continued and expanded as the organization gains in prestige and strength. Outlined below are main operational activities: long and short-range ballooning, propaganda production, the propaganda school, the Berlin office, and the printing shop. Activities envisaged in addition include periodic press conferences utilizing new defectors and/or capitalizing on major events within the Soviet Union; annual conferences of members or delegates; mass meetings for the German public as well as Soviet emigres on such problems as German-Russian friendship, nature of Soviet policy, work of the anti-Soviet emigre groups, and specific events within the Soviet Union which are appropriate for propaganda exploitation. TsOPE radio activity will be continued and its quality improved; a major effort will be devoted to the polishing of the weekly VOA program written and produced by TsOPE, "Life in the Free West through Our Eyes." As capabilities permit, the feasibility of TsOPE's acquiring its own broadcasting outlets will be investigated.

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(2) Welfare.

TsOPE, through liaison with the United States Escapee Program, with the USEP contracting agencies Tolstoy Foundation and American Friends of Russian Freedom, and with various German agencies, is endeavoring to assist in the rehabilitation of post-war Soviet emigres. Since CIA cannot finance welfare activity, TsOPE itself cannot grant direct welfare assistance. However, through overt contacts with the agencies mentioned above, TsOPE brings needy cases to the attention of appropriate officials, assists emigres to qualify for and obtain assistance—medical, vocational, food, etc.—and in general seeks to alleviate the situation of poverty and hopelessness attending the bulk of the post-war emigres. The organization thereby plays an important role in reducing one vulnerability in our psychological warfare effort, and in mobilizing emigre support of active anti-Soviet work. (see p. 5)

(3) American Chapter of TsOPE.

An American chapter of TsOPE was formally founded in New York on September 11, 1954. Composed mostly of TsOPE members who have emigrated to the United States, this chapter will provide an American editorial board of SVOBODA, material for leaflets to be used in Germany, and a reserve cadre for the parent organization. It will also serve as a co-ordination point for informal welfare work and encouragement to post-war emigres in the United States. It is anticipated that plans will be formalized in Fiscal Year 1955 and thereafter for the establishment of TsOPE nuclei in various other countries throughout the free world where post-war defectors have been resettled. Such branches would, primarily, enhance the authenticity of TsOPE's claim to speak for all post-war Russian emigres. They would in general perform the functions now planned for the American chapter.

(4) AETROJAN.

The propaganda training school, for which this cryptonym stands, provides a medium for enlisting the talents and enthusiasm of the most recent defectors in the anti-Soviet psychological struggle. It also serves as a vehicle for orientation and training in order that the most effective use may be made of this unique resource, both in the present context of psychological warfare and in the event of the demands of a hot war. Started in September 1953, the school helps to answer the disposal problem in that it conserves and increases the potential of new defectors where they otherwise might, perforce, be left to shift for themselves and

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hence be lost for psychological warfare purposes. Each class is of six months' duration. The students, who receive a nominal stipend and for whom operational clearances are processed as a matter of routine, study the theory and tactics of Communism, Russian and world history, writing and public speaking. Those who may be useful for TsOPE's various balloon operations also receive operational training along this line during their term at the school. (see p. 4)

(5) Propaganda and Publications Staff.

This group is the mechanism for production of the bulk of the REDCAP leaflet distribution. Policy content and control is channelled through the case officer via a contract agent, who is a trained propagandist and fluent in Russian and English. With the addition to the staff of the most qualified graduates of the AETROJAN propaganda school, and with careful scrutiny and guidance on the part of Headquarters and the field, a clandestine leaflet-writing unit capable of producing top quality leaflets and pamphlets is being forged. (see p. 3)

(6) Printing Plant.

With the purchase of a multilith press and the contemplated addition of an inexpensive vari-type and, if necessary, appropriate photographic equipment, the printing plant, the heart of any productive emigre organization, is considered able to turn out the quantity of leaflets necessary for expanded distribution plans. Other than press and possibly varitype technicians, the work will be performed by TsOPE staff members.

(7) AEVIRGIL/CARRERA.

Past experience has demonstrated that one of the most significant achievements of propaganda leaflet distribution lies in the contacts established with individual recipients. Project CARRERA was established by EE Division as a channel to follow up such leads under the cover of a TsOPE office in Berlin. To ensure the security of the cover, a TsOPE staff member was sent to Berlin to carry out the normal, legitimate functions of a representative there. A former deputy for propaganda and public relations, this man is well-equipped to carry out his overt tasks in Berlin. See CARRERA project outline. (see p. 5)

(8) Long-range Balloons.

Leaflets dropped in the USSR proper can provide one of the few existing means for communicating with the peoples of the Soviet

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Union figuratively and literally over the heads of their rulers. See AECIRCUS project outline for the description of the planning of the first such operations; see AEPANDA sub-project outline for their contemplated continuation under AEVIRGIL.

(9) AEMANGO.

It is further proposed to conduct short-range balloon operations against Soviet personnel in the East Zone of Germany. Such distribution of AEVIRGIL leaflets is presently being conducted by DTLINEN; however, it is felt that this "farming out" process is cumbersome, complicates administration, and unnecessarily increases security hazards. The same crews will be used for short-range operations.

(10) AEVIRGIL/AESCROLL.

Since suspension of the overt edition of SATIRIKON in November 1953, effort has been re-directed to the production of a clandestine, pony edition for distribution in the East Zone. Two experimental issues have been produced; it is intended to produce at least six more before a final decision is reached concerning the value of this type of propaganda leaflet. (see p. 6)

(11) AEVIRGIL/AEBROOM.

The contract agent under Project AEBROOM (assimilated July 1, 1954) will continue to provide CIA case officers with advice and assistance on all propaganda materials produced under Project AEVIRGIL. See paragraph 3. c. above.

(12) AEVIRGIL/CACOTOL.

The operation of this distribution net has been dormant since the dismissal of its principal agent in January 1954. Retaining salaries are being paid, another principal agent has been hired, and the assets are currently being re-evaluated in order to reach a decision whether to drop or reactivate the net. Should it be reactivated, it would provide the distribution arm for TsOPE. (See p. 11A)

b. Key Personnel.

(1) President.

Under the guidance of the CIA field case officer, directs and supervises the activities of TsOPE and represents the organization in all matters of official or unofficial public relations. Also the editor of SVOBODA. Has visited the United States on what

CACOTOL DISTRIBUTION NET (see item 5-2 (12) p.11)

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The CACOTOL Distribution Net was organized under BOB/REDCAP control in April 1953 (see field project outline EDGA-4373, date of origin 16 April 1953). Relying on the advantages of small scale personal distribution, this net was designed to distribute REDCAP propaganda materials to pin-pointed targets (mostly via rockets) in the Soviet zone in Germany.

This net operated on a full time basis from its inception until November 1953. The distributors were Germans, about half residing in the West and half in the East zones. The couriers were allocated to groups which were in turn divided into sections, each with its individual chief.

In November 1953, a LOFLUTTER test of the principal agent gave rise to later confirmed suspicions that he was guilty of embezzlement. He was thereupon dismissed, and the net to all intents purposes deactivated, although a group of couriers was kept on for future use on retainer salaries. Sufficient control was established over the dismissed principal agent so that the knowledge of the mechanism of the operation is not believed to be a security hazard.

A new and reliable principal agent was hired, and currently remains in KUBARK employ. This skeleton distribution mechanism remains an asset in being. In January 1954 jurisdiction over the KUBARK project was transferred to the SR Division, with the intention that it be utilized as an AEWIRGIL net. Project AECACOTOL is budgeted in the SR FY 55 country plan for \$24,000.

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was in effect a publicity tour (see under Proposals), and was instrumental in establishing the American chapter of TsOPE. It is considered desirable to place him under sterile government contract to insure his continuing interest in the organization and hence his important contributions to it at least until an adequate successor can be groomed. Concurrently, CIA control over him will be strengthened.

(2) Deputy for Welfare and Personnel.

Maintains personnel records, receives membership applications, performs liaison work with USEP, the Tolstoy Foundation, and AFRF in implementing the welfare program, a pre-requisite for any emigre organization's retention of the loyalty of its membership.

(3) Publisher of SVOBODA.

Directs the technical work involved in producing the magazine. Participates in leaflet writing.

(4) Administrative Officer.

Responsible for conduct of office work in support of TsOPE, including overt distribution of SVOBODA, bookkeeping, office records and business contacts.

(5) Secretary-typist.

Performs the necessary stenographic and clerical duties for members of the staff.

(6) Director of Propaganda School.

Responsible for over-all direction of propaganda school; also member of propaganda staff, writes leaflets.

(7) Director of Propaganda Staff.

Principle writer of clandestine leaflets; organizes, directs and edits work of other propaganda writers.

(8) Writer.

Member of propaganda staff, writes for SVOBODA; types and performs other miscellaneous duties in connection with publications and leaflet program.

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(9) Instructor in Propaganda School.

Lectures, evaluates work of students; experience in radio work helpful to TsOPE radio program. Qualified to take leading role in balloon operations.

(10) Instructor in Propaganda School.

Professor and scholar. Lectures.

(11) Berlin Representative.

(Formerly held post of Deputy for Public Relations and Propaganda). Public representative functions in Berlin office.

(12) Propaganda Trainees.

Eight students, assessed and trained for use primarily in AEVIRGIL; secondarily in other PP projects, e.g. TPLINGO.

(13) Security Officer.

Need for security officer felt upon receipt of unevaluated information indicating RIS interest in project. Cleared and partially trained man, available from another SR Division project, hired in August 1954.

c. Indigenous Groups and Leaders.

The broad membership of TsOPE, the post-war Soviet emigres in Germany and now in the United States, constitutes the indigenous group on which the project is based. TsOPE also co-operates on occasion and to a limited degree consonant with its apolitical nature, with KT'sAB, the rump center of the group which is attempting to unite the emigration, and with German indigenous groups similarly devoted to anti-Soviet goals, e.g., the German-Russian Friendship Society and the German League for Human Rights.

d. Target Groups.

Soviet personnel in the occupation forces in East Germany and Austria, and whatever segments of the population of the USSR proper reachable by currently approved methods constitute the primary target of the project. Secondarily, post-war emigres in Germany and wherever else they can be effective must be considered as targets in terms of enlisting their sympathies and abilities in the anti-Soviet struggle.

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e. Duration. Continuing

f. Graphic Illustrations.

June 1954 issue of SVOBODA. (attached)

6. SECURITY

a. Cover.

Cover is inherent in the nature of the project. An ostensibly independent organization of post-war Soviet emigres, TsOPE should provide indefinitely adequate cover for that portion of our psychological warfare program which is carried on under its auspices.

b. Knowledgeability.

(1) Official Knowledgeability.

It is unlikely that any non-CIA personnel, except Army and State Department officials made specifically witting of CIA support of TsOPE, will in the future become knowledgeable of this relationship. Selected officials of the host country are undoubtedly aware of United States interest in and at least limited official or unofficial financial support of this emigre group. However, it is not anticipated that the host government will become witting of CIA interest per se, nor of the degree and precise source of the American support involved. Cover is secure enough so that United States Government as well as CIA sponsorship can be plausibly denied for official purposes.

(2) Indigenous Knowledgeability

The president of TsOPE while in the United States informed the Headquarters case officer that members of the post-war emigration whom he was soliciting here for membership in the American chapter had questioned him closely on the nature of TsOPE's support, particularly on its possible relationship to the United States Government. The president, who himself is aware of governmental but not CIA support, was instructed to tell them that TsOPE obviously enjoyed very favorable relations with the British, Bonn and United States governments because of the nature of the organization and its publicly acknowledged operations. Those so told are, of course, free to draw their own conclusions which may, in fact, have been tentatively drawn before their inquiries. These conclusions, however, remain strictly hypothetical and probably even on that basis do not envision the intimacy of TsOPE's actual relations with the government.

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## c. Operational Security.

### (1) Methods.

Any realistic discussion of operational security must recognize the fact that the more sophisticated individuals in West Germany undoubtedly assume some unspecified degree of American interest in and support of Russian emigre groups in the area. Realism must further concede that the RIS is at least aware of American intelligence interest in TsOPE. These facts are inherent in the nature of the project and its development. Within these limitations, however, operational security is carefully and soundly maintained. Precautions include:

#### (a) Funding.

Double books are maintained; transmission of some funds is through banking channels, and the belief is fostered that support comes from anonymous donors; provision for membership dues also provides cover for some part of the finances. The possibility of initiating a large-scale drive for funds to provide at least a measure of overt and definite attributability to TsOPE's funds is currently being studied.

#### (b) Case Officer Contact.

Control is exercised largely through two contract agents, themselves emigres. Case officer contact is covert, kept to a minimum, and limited to the smallest possible number of witting personnel.

#### (c) Clearances.

Operational clearances are processed on all paid staff members, of whom only a few are specifically witting, and on AETROJAN students. Name traces are conducted on all members.

#### (d) Propaganda Line.

The organization's propaganda, while remaining wholly pro-western, will avoid the precise imprint of U. S. policy.

Serious compromise is considered unlikely, since plausible cover exists for all overt activities of TsOPE; i.e., they are the type of activities which an anti-Soviet emigre group would

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undertake, while clandestine aspects (e.g., distribution of leaflets, the CARRERA office) are and will be kept strictly compartmented from the overt emigre organization.

(2) Specific Danger of President.

Recent unevaluated reports have indicated that the president of TsOPE has become a primary target for assassination by RIS. The field will provide him with a bodyguard and a weapon, and inaugurate a phone-in system. He will be informed appropriately of his possible danger and the necessity for extreme personal discretion.

d. Risks.

In the event of compromise, repercussions would be limited to the United States, West Germany, and possibly Soviet propaganda. The nature of the repercussion would of course depend on the circumstances of the compromise and the type of press exploitation of it. It is assumed that some influence over the latter could be exercised in the United States. With regard to West Germany, TsOPE and particularly its president has enjoyed excellent relations with government officials, with prominent organizations, and with the German public. Since TsOPE is devoted to a cause with which the West German government is heartily in accord, it is not anticipated that repercussions would be of a nature to harm U. S. interests. In regard to the USSR, it should be recognized that with or without specific evidence, Soviet propaganda can and will blame the U. S. for emigre activity if the Soviet government considers it in its interest to do so. However, the covert nature of our contact with TsOPE is sound and will effectively support denial of any United States participation. Further, the difficulty should be recognized for the Soviet government's crediting by name underground movements or anti-Soviet emigre groups without revealing to its own people the existence of opposition and thereby inviting further defiance from dissident elements within its own territory.

e. Personnel Disposal.

This should not present a problem; should the project be terminated, the personnel would return to the west German economy.

f. Disaster Plan. N.A.

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7. COORDINATION:

a. Relation to other Projects.

As indicated above, the TsOPE Berlin office provides cover for Project CARRERA, which operates for follow-up of REDCAP contact leads resulting from distribution of TsOPE leaflet propaganda. Should Project AECACOTOL constitute a distribution arm for TsOPE leaflets, coordination will be between Berlin and Munich case officers, with TsOPE personnel strictly cut out from any contact with the distribution net. TsOPE and its journal SVOBODA provide the principal source of attributability for our REDCAP Russian-language propaganda leaflet program.

b. Significance within Over-all Program in Area.

TsOPE possesses an innate attraction peculiar among emigre groups because of its youthful and vigorous approach to the anti-Communist struggle. Its members, having defected since the war, are perhaps in closer touch with the prevailing states of mind among the Soviet population than any other residents of the free world. Hence the propaganda they produce should provide a telling contribution to our efforts in the stimulation and intensification of the Soviet people's discontent with their government, the resistance-type manifestations thereof, and in our defection inducement program.

The organization is currently growing. Its increasing prestige as an apolitical and militant organization is attracting considerable favor among the emigration; as TsOPE becomes more and more of a household word, it should provide an increasingly magnetic point of attraction for Soviets behind the Iron Curtain. The presently high degree of control exercised over TsOPE's activities guarantees for the time its amenability to the policy of the United States Government. As the organization expands and its members become expert in their allotted work, they will necessarily be granted more independence. As our control diminishes, however, so proportionately will the time and expense we must devote to the project, and we will be presented with an organization able to act strongly and relatively independently in furthering our ends of fostering large-scale disaffection towards the Soviet regime.

c. Extent of Coordination.

The project has been and will continue to be coordinated with the Senior Representative in Germany. Specific activities will be coordinated as appropriate:

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7a. Continued

Because of the similarity of targets and methods AEWINGIL will coordinate in headquarters with project QKACTIVE of the IC Division as appropriate.

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- (1) CARRERA - with Munich and Berlin in field; with appropriate BE and SR Divisions in Headquarters; **SECRET**
- (2) AEPANDA and AEMANGO - meteorological support from USAFE; with TSS and AMD;
- (3) All propaganda policy and content with Headquarters SR/CPP and with the Political and Psychological Warfare Desk in Frankfurt;
- (4) All distribution activities coordinated with Political and Psychological Warfare Desk in Frankfurt;
- (5) All distribution activities into the USSR including timing and area will be submitted for approval to the Chief of Operations, SR Division.

8. CONTROL:

a. Nature of.

Control of all aspects of the project is exercised by field case officers acting through two contract agents, who in turn deal with witting members of the TsOPE staff on whom OC's have been processed. CIA financing of TsOPE and detailed control of all expenditures provide the ultimate basis of control. This factor is reinforced by the ideological motivation of project personnel. Case officers exercise direction of TsOPE's external activities, control of propaganda line and editorial policy of publications. Headquarters, SR/CPP, guides and controls policy and content of all leaflets bearing TsOPE attributability.

b. Administrative Plan.

Plan being requested.

c. Reports.

No unusual reports procedure is involved. Monthly progress reports are submitted to Headquarters on all major phases of project activity. Other reports as needed.

9. BUDGET DATA:

a. Total over-all CIA funds required for Fiscal Year 1955:

[ ] (Financial breakdown attached herewith)  
In the SR Country Program for FY 1955, AEWIRGIL (then AEPANN) and AECACOTOL were budgeted for [ ] and [ ] respectively. This above figure represents the amalgamation of the two projects.

b. Availability of CIA funds required.

Provided under FY 1955 SR Country Program.

c. Non-CIA Funds. N.A.

d. Foreign Currency.

Salaries and other expenses connected with the operation in Germany are paid in Deutschmarks, according to procedures established by the German mission.

e. Funding.

Funds are passed from case officer through contract agent to a TsOPE staff member; receipts are collected and vouchers prepared by the contract agent. On some occasions, funds are also transferred through regular banking channels from Switzerland to TsOPE, solely as a cover device to add bona fide sources for income listed in TsOPE overt books. These books show only those expenditures which can be easily traced. Funds are issued to TsOPE only as required to meet specific expenditures familiar to case officers; each expenditure must be approved or justified in advance.

f. Financial History.

During 1953, the component elements obligated [ ] in 1954 obligations amounted to [ ]

g. Future Requirements.

FY 1956 [ ] Increase over FY 1955 based on continued development of project and expansion of distribution of propaganda by balloons, both long and short range. (At this time, it is impossible to provide a meaningful break-down.)

10. SUPPORT DATA:

a. Total CIA Personnel.

One headquarters case officer, one intelligence assistant and one secretary; two field case officers. More headquarters and station personnel are needed to handle the project.

b. Materiel.

- 1 passenger car
- 2 second-hand all-purpose trucks
- 1 photo offset multilith press
- 1 varitype

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Paper for 10,000,000 leaflets  
Paper for twelve regular issues SVOBODA  
40 polyethelene balloons (25') and associated equipment  
Short-range balloons and hydrogen as indicated, not to  
exceed 2400  
800 cylinders hydrogen

All materiel, with the exception of the long-range balloons, is available on German economy. Long-range balloons with associated equipment have been purchased from General Mills.

c. Communications.

No communications facilities beyond those already existing will be required in support of this project.

d. Other CIA Support.

TSS re balloons.

e. Support required from other United States agencies.

USAF meteorological support, required in connection with the long-range ballooning, obtained through already established channels.

11. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS:

a. Current Status.

Already operative.

b. Commitments.

Commitments of limited duration are implied in operative project, e.g., lease of office premises, salaries to personnel, obligations contracted for purchase of services and commodities. Contracts have been let with General Mills for purchase of balloons and associated equipment. Project is conceived as continuing, but no problems are envisaged in event of termination.

c. Effectiveness.

(1) Public Relations.

The reputation of TsOPE has been firmly established as the leading organization of post-war emigres. In 18 months membership has increased from 110 to 250. TsOPE enjoys, by and large,

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excellent relationships with other organizations, particularly the German press and public. Coincident with the visit of its president to the United States, the organization has attracted some favorable publicity in the American press.

(2) Effectiveness behind the Iron Curtain.

By and large, it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of TsOPE's propaganda work behind the Iron Curtain. Reports necessarily are sporadic; many are unevaluated. It is well established, however, that the leaflet distribution operation against the Soviet maneuvers conducted in East Germany in October 1953 effectively blanketed Soviet forces, and it is considered better than a guess that the leaflets caused the abrupt termination, ten days before schedule, of the exercises. Several defectors have stated that they heard about TsOPE through reading its leaflets and/or listening to its regular VOA broadcast. Other reports indicate that considerable numbers of Soviet soldiers have been seen reading leaflets presumably of TsOPE origin, and one indicated that a soldier had been arrested for so doing. The continuing, though unevaluated, reports of the increased interest on the part of RIS in TsOPE as a target presents possible evidence that TsOPE's activities are seriously disturbing the Soviet authorities.

d. Anticipated Results.

(1) Harrassment of Regime.

In line with the project's place within the scheme of our anti-Soviet efforts, it is anticipated that TsOPE's propaganda will, as appropriate, induce defection, promote general disaffection towards the regime and thereby cause defections in place and create an atmosphere favorable to future FI operations. This will prove particularly effective and very possibly conducive to organized resistance efforts with the contemplated balloon operations under sub-project AEPANDA directed at the soil of the Soviet Union itself.

(2) Welfare.

Secondarily, the welfare liaison conducted by TsOPE will continue to aid in improving the lot of defectors, thus removing a negative situation which is a propaganda blot and a deterrent to defection.

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## (3) Training.

Specifically through the propaganda school and indirectly through the on-the-job training acquired by the TsOPE staff, individuals and cadres will become continually better versed in psychological warfare methods and will provide a reserve in the event of hot war.

## (4) FI Potentialities.

The Berlin office (CARRERA) presents the focal point for potential FI operations. It is anticipated that the intensification of the propaganda campaign will produce an increasing number of contacts at that office, and that eventually some of the contacts will be sufficiently high-level to provide a basis for a successful series of FI operations.

## e. Evaluation.

Progress achieved will be measured periodically by Headquarters and field in terms of:

- (1) quality of TsOPE anti-Soviet propaganda output;
- (2) other independently reported indications of effectiveness;
- (3) evidence from defectors that TsOPE propaganda reaches and affects Soviet personnel or policies in the East Zone;
- (4) development of leadership, trained and motivated for anti-Soviet work;
- (5) improvement in material and psychological situation of Soviet emigres in Germany;
- (6) TsOPE prestige as measured in the press, in reports by other U. S. agencies, and in the general reaction of other groups, both emigre and indigenous German organizations;
- (7) ultimately, TsOPE potential for agent recruitment.

## f. Policy Questions.

No new or unrefined policy questions are involved.

## g. Congress.

No Congressional implications are envisaged.

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- h. Extra-Agency Action. N.A.
- i. Proprietary Companies. N.A.
- j. Special Considerations. None
- k. Liquidation. N.A.

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