

Comments on "KARKAS"

1. Introduction: Approximately one year ago, GSO representatives of the A.S.S. a plan for the training, dispatch and direction within the U.S.S.R. of NTS personnel. Since that time we have dispatched one group of "KARKASNIKI" and are preparing for the dispatch of a second, more qualified group. Our experience to date with the KARKASNIKI and in other aspects of our work with the NTS, notably in Berlin and Austria, has shown us that the NTS is truly a dedicated organization and one which will play a leading role in bringing about a national revolution in the U.S.S.R. In the year that has passed we have also learned much and wish to bring this knowledge to bear on Plan KARKAS and the revolutionary program with which it is connected, (Only by constantly examining our planning in the light of experience can we insure that our techniques and principles remain effective).

2. Evaluation of Plan KARKAS: In the original version of Plan KARKAS we received from GSO, the following paragraph stands out as the most significant:

"Ultimate Objective of KARKAS:

The final purpose of KARKAS is the establishment of an organized force in the U.S.S.R. which, under the Center's instructions, could start operations of

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE/METHOD EXEMPTION 25X25
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

one type or another directed at the physical destruction of the Government. Forms of these operations, i.e. civil war, insurrection, uprising, etc., are to be determined by the Center depending on the conditions and course of historical events."

From this it would seem that the KARKASNIKI are to perform a very special task requiring personnel of the highest caliber. They must receive proper training, detailed instructions and once in their assigned areas, can allow nothing to detract them from the purpose stated above. This purpose, it seems to us, is to remain in place so that when "historical events" demand it, there will be available, in communication with the Center, a force of "officer cadres" ready to carry out whatever tasks the situation may demand. Naturally, while awaiting this call, these cadres do not remain entirely inactive. They have work to perform which will enable the Center to better determine what to do, when to act, and once the decision has been taken, to insure a successful conclusion to the operation decided upon.

While KARKAS states that its ultimate objective is the establishment of a force inside the U.S.S.R. which can be called upon when necessary to spearhead revolutionary action, both the plan itself, and the nature of the training of the KARKASNIKI, indicate severe internal contradictions. For example, if the KARKASNIKI follow to the letter the instructions contained in the "Second Period" there is little chance that they will be on the spot and able to report to the Center as and when needed.

Activities such as mass distribution of leaflets, operation of hand presses, alteration of propaganda posters, spreading rumors, telling anti-regime anecdotes, etc., are not the sort of thing that a KARKASNIK, newly legalized and resident in his assigned area should engage in if he is to remain for long in communication with the Center. A more important example of this contradiction is the nature of the training at the KARKAS school. In a situation wherein the trainees have only a specified number of hours in which to learn those subjects which will permit them a fair chance to execute their primary task -- KARKAS' ultimate objective -- successfully, considerable time is spent on the techniques required to carry out the more dangerous and overt activities noted in the "Second Period" of KARKAS. There are two dangers in this. First, the students learn neither one nor the other really well, thus increasing the risk that they will fail in both fields. Second, the students themselves become confused and do not fully understand what is expected of them. They have little concept of their place in the revolutionary struggle and do not realize that if they, as the "internal officer cadres", perform effectively, their efforts and sacrifices, however undramatic, can never have been in vain.

It may be that the members of the NTS staff charged with implementing the KARKAS program do not agree with its avowed "ultimate objective". Or, it may be that these same staff members, feeling that the program may be cut off at any time are concerned to get into the U.S.S.R. personnel who are trained

and briefed to conduct all types of operations, even though they realize the dangers inherent in such a step. Whatever the case may be, we are convinced that the present approach does not adequately serve the needs of the revolution. It does not make the correct use of the available cadres, confuses trainees in the school, renders wasteful certain technical training, produces contradictory briefing and, finally, creates difficulties in the direction of the KARKASNIK once he is inside the U.S.S.R.

3. The Required Revolutionary Structure: In order to provide a broad basis for the recommendations we will make in the next paragraph, we will elaborate briefly at this point on what we consider is the ideal/^{structure}for the conduct of revolutionary work in the U.S.S.R. This structure would have three separate and distinct parts which we will call (a) the "officer cadres", (b) the "activists", and (c) the revolutionary "rank and file".

The "officer cadres" are the KARKASNIKI. They are the eyes and ears of the Center in the country itself, and it is on the basis of their advice and information that the Center plans its work and is apprised of its effectiveness. They are also the technicians for the revolution. They, and the "apparat" created inside by them can do everything from supplying a blank passport to a member of the Center who wishes to travel in the U.S.S.R., to insuring that the plans for the central power station of a key rail center are available for the training of a sabotage team

that will drop in the day the insurrection begins. The officer cadres are the work horses of the revolution and their work is not glamorous, but without them complete success will never be achieved.

The "activists" are the specialists. They include propagandists, partisan leaders, political organizers, saboteurs, etc. For the foreseeable future, propagandists will be in the majority, and the first efforts of the KARKASNIKI should be directed at indicating where and what type of propaganda would be effective. The "activists" will work as individuals and as teams. For example, a KARKASNIK in Leningrad will report that there have been several accidents in connection with the revamping of the facades of many government buildings in preparation for the 250th Anniversary of the founding of the city. These accidents act to increase the discontent felt because so much time, money and effort is being devoted to this work while living space for the average citizen is still at a premium. To capitalize on this situation, leaflets will be prepared at the Center, a trained "activist-propagandist" selected and dispatched to Leningrad. He will cache his material outside the city, pick up at a dead drop documents prepared for him by the local KARKASNIK, survey the situation and then carry out his task. When he has finished, he leaves the area and avoids MGB searches and reprisals. Or, as we gain in strength and knowledge supplied by our KARKASNIKI, we will be able to institute team operations whereby an entire city is covered and then the team disappears. Naturally, for

safety's sake, the KARKASNIK may find it necessary to be away during the actual operation, returning only in time to be able to report on its results.

The revolutionary "rank and file" are those individuals, who, having read NTS propaganda, are carrying out the principles of "molecular" work. This propaganda can reach Soviet citizens in any one of the following ways: (a) through the Soviet Zones of Germany and Austria from whence it is brought by military personnel returning to the U.S.S.R; via Poland where personnel of the Northern Group of Forces and those serving with the Polish Armed Forces and Government are targets for leaflet work; through peripheral operations in Spitzbergen, Italy, Finland, etc; via radio "FREE RUSSIA", etc. Also, the work done by the "activists" will provide its quota of material which can have the desired effect on those reading or hearing it. Agreed, the "rank and file" is a gray mass and if it adheres to the "molecular theory", which it should to survive, there is little chance of achieving decisive action in which it would play a major role. However, if the KARKASNIKI observe carefully their milieu, they will detect the tentative, often timid, actions of the "rank and file" and thus may be able either (a) to bring them into the local KARKAS "apparat", or (b) to make note of their whereabouts for future exploitation by activists either in the immediate future or in the event the historical situation demands mass action.

4. Recommendations: In order to achieve a revolutionary structure of the type outlined above, we recommend that the following program be accepted:

a. Plan KARKAS: So that KARKAS may remain consonant with its original "ultimate objective", the duties of KARKASNIKI should be limited to:

(1) the establishment of permanent resident status (through legalization, if possible) in or near an assigned center of recognized importance in the political, economic, transportation or military fields.

(2) the maintenance of regular, secure communications with the NTS Center to include adequate provision for emergency, alternate communications.

(3) provide the information required by the Center on the assigned locality along the lines laid down in the working instructions for the "First Period" of the original Plan KARKAS.

(4) prepare a plan for revolutionary action within the locality in the event this is required by the Center. This plan will be approved by the Center.

(5) develop an "apparat" which will be capable of executing the plan whenever required by the Center. Such an "apparat" should consist wholly of persons whose relationship with the given KARKASNIK is unwitting or with whom there has been no political discussion whatsoever. The extent to which a

KARKASNIK is permitted to carry out a witting recruitment, i.e. whereby the recruit knows the KARKASNIK is a member of the NTS, must be rigidly controlled by the Center.

The training and briefing of KARKASNIKI will reflect these duties and instructors will take care to avoid inserting into the training programs material which could confuse or bewilder the trainees. Ideological training will attempt to plant and nurture the idea in the trainees that their contribution to the Revolution, although wholly clandestine in character, is completely necessary to victory.

The selection of KARKASNIKI should be conducted in a manner which will insure that primarily those individuals with real maturity, a grasp for covert operations and a talent for technical work, i.e. W/T, documentation, etc., are brought into the training.

b. Plan AKTIVIST: To take full advantage of the information provided via KARKAS' to insure that action operations are carried out effectively and professionally, and to train personnel to perform this type of work, we recommend that a separate school be established in the future which will have as its primary function the preparation of "activists". Realization of the AKTIVIST school will depend on:

(1) The success of the first three cycles of KARKAS. The second cycle will be dispatched in the early spring of 1953 (April-May). The third cycle will begin in March-April, with dispatch in the fall of 1953 and early 1954.

(2) The availability of adequate cadres for both KARKAS and AKTIVIST.

(3) The availability of instructors for both schools (it is recognized that some of the subject matter will be duplicated, but much will be entirely different).

As noted above, the greatest need at present in the activist line is for adequately trained propagandists. Since probably the next in line would be saboteurs, it will probably be possible in later cycles of the AKTIVIST school to combine propagandist and sabotage training so that personnel so trained can perform either activity. Initially, the broad outlines of the AKTIVIST training program would include:

- (1) Basic Tradecraft
- (2) Fieldcraft
- (3) Ideology
- (4) Sovietization
- (5) Propaganda Content
- (6) Propaganda Production and Format
- (7) Distribution Techniques
- (8) Mission Briefing

This training program would experiment with every available new idea and mechanical aid in the propaganda field. Its principal and only task would be to graduate activists who would really know their business so that activist operations whether mounted by teams or singletons might have a telling effect on the target area.

5. Conclusions: After re-reading the original version of Plan KARKAS, it might be said, with justification, that the original plan envisaged operational development along the above lines because it does generally limit the KARKASNIKI to conspiratorial work and requires that they secure Center permission before any active work is instituted. However, the plan is not crystal clear on this point and therefore, in the training school, the staff has gone to considerable length to provide the KARKAS trainees with considerable amounts of instruction in propaganda content, production and format, distribution, etc. We have already pointed out what we consider to be the dangers inherent in this ambivalent approach. Therefore, it seems important at this juncture to probe further the thinking of the NTS operational staff. It may be that up till now the latter, recognizing that the A.S.S. could terminate its support of KARKAS at any time, decided to make the KARKASNIKI well-rounded revolutionaries even though it undoubtedly recognized that to do so might mean that the program would conceivably fall between two stools and end up with neither a solid "officer cadre" structure inside the U.S.S.R. nor effective propagandists. If so, we hope the NTS leadership now has greater confidence in our desire to pursue a long term program although we realize that upon occasion in the recent past this has not appeared entirely clear! However, regardless of the ups and downs we may encounter in the future, we strongly believe that the revolutionary structure outlined above is the only feasible program for work against the Soviet power.