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Description and empirical analysis of the interrogation process as applied to East European defectors, bona fide and mala.

THE INTERROGATION OF DEFECTORS

Stanley B. Farndon

In time of war the most massive source of information regarding the enemy is the flow of prisoners and deserters from his ranks. In a cold war era an important segment of positive and operational intelligence is similarly derived from defectors, refugees, and would-be agents. Their offering of information, however, is not laid freely and untainted at our feet. It must be extracted from them, sometimes against the utmost resistance, and the authentic sorted out from the deceptive, the useless from what fills our needs. This process, the job of the interrogator, is made less difficult in wartime by our having the prisoner wholly at our mercy for the duration; over peacetime enemy sources the equivalent control must for the most part be achieved by psychological means.

Particularly the critical first phase of an interrogation—that undertaken to determine whether the defector is genuine, an enemy agent, or just a swindler—demands much poise, knowledge, human understanding, dexterity, and perseverance. The interrogator must have the manner and bearing to impress his subject as a person of authority. His knowledge of the subject's country should be such as to evoke respect, and his command of the language so fluent as to permit easy, natural conversation and an instant grasp of subtleties. He needs to sense the kind of person he is dealing with and discern quickly any change of attitude reflecting uneasiness, relief, reserve, or unrestraint. He must be able to convince the subject of his deep personal interest in his welfare. He must be tactically skilled and flexible in his approach, keeping the spun threads of the story effortlessly in mind, spotting inconsistencies, exploiting openings, recognizing significant information, learning without revealing his interest. With some subjects he needs inordinate patience and determination.

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Interrogation

Aims and Precepts

In all three types of defector interrogation—the initial counterintelligence probing of the subject's bona fides, debriefing a bona fide defector of his knowledge useful to intelligence, and the extraction of operational information from the purported defector in intelligence employ—the interrogator's aim is to get the subject to give information willingly and without reserve. This he can accomplish best by achieving a harmonious atmosphere and creating a close personal rapport with the subject, a rapport based on the subject's respect for the interrogator and confidence in his good will. To this end he must on the one hand be understanding, just, and friendly, and on the other maintain the psychological superiority essential to control.

During the early stages of an interrogation, the interrogator's main objective is to discover exactly what sort of person he is dealing with, and so how best to use his own personality to get the subject to answer questions willingly and truthfully. But the subject also tries to use his personality. He usually assumes a number of poses by means of which he hopes to gain the good will and trust of his interrogator in order to assure his own future well-being, or if he is an agent, in order to pass safely through the security channel and end up in position to fulfill his mission. Regardless of the capability of the interrogator and the character of the subject, these assumed poses make it very difficult to achieve frankness and sincerity during the initial interrogation periods.

The process can be hastened, however, by preparation in advance, and the interrogator should try to forearm himself with all available information on the subject's professional interests and the details of his everyday existence in his homeland. Thus he can start a flow of conversation on topics within the range of the subject's knowledge and interest. Then as he senses the subject's outlook on life and his views on matters discussed, his sympathetic understanding of these will lead the subject to talk more freely. Every effort should be made to induce him to speak freely rather than merely answer questions. Uninterrupted privacy is an important condition at this stage. Once the interrogator has gained his own

impressions of the subject's personality and character, his background knowledge of the case and his first-hand observations will enable him to sort out the various poses from his true characteristics, motives, and intentions.

The tension of the interrogation situation makes the subject wide awake and perceptive to everything that goes on. The interrogator must therefore also maintain a state of keen perceptiveness in the battle of wits, fitting his observations quickly into the emerging picture as the interrogation progresses. An interrogator not physically rested and mentally alert will have a most difficult time gaining psychological superiority. Even intellectually inferior defectors have a fine instinct for sensing the interrogator's qualities and spotting flaws in his attitude or reasoning which tend to destroy the respect necessary for psychological control.

The fact that a defector is dependent on the West's good will for his future well-being is a lever which the interrogator can utilize to control him; it does not take a defector long to realize that he enjoys favors in direct proportion to his cooperation. Yet the prospective source may be under physical control and still fight the interrogator with his brains and spirit. At least he may be sizing the interrogator up, carefully observing his statements and mannerisms, in order to find an area for maneuvering. And if he should be an agent, he can be expected to have been carefully trained and briefed in anticipation of questions he'll be asked. The problem is one of motivating the subject to cooperate, usually of developing confidence in the integrity of the interrogator and assurance that his future will be adequately taken care of in resettlement.

The best results are obtained when the subject is impressed with his interrogator's good judgment and sense of justice. The interrogator should make only such commitments as lie within his authority and ability to keep. One of the worst possible practices is that of making promises that he cannot or knows he will not keep. The reversal of promises indiscriminately made destroys the subject's respect for him and the rapport between them. The interrogator should have enough authority and latitude to approve or disapprove most

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Interrogation

of the requests made by a subject; he needs to create the impression that he is a person of consequence, not just a linguist who must check everything out with his boss. When faced with a request beyond his authority he should give the subject a logical reason for delay without revealing that he must ask permission from above, explaining perhaps that this is a matter to which he must give some thought before deciding. In rejecting a request he should be careful not to leave any suspicion that he is discriminating against the subject (unless he is using this tactic as a device in the process of breaking an agent subject).

It is best for the subject to be brought into the interrogation room after the interrogator is already seated there in a good position to observe him during the interrogation. A common error made by some interrogators is to keep the subject waiting for some time for them in the interrogation room: waiting gives the subject too much chance to get a comfortable familiarity with his surroundings. The questioning should be done in carefully chosen phrases on the subject's own language and vocabulary level. The questions should be clear, direct, and simple: a subject is often unwilling to expose his ignorance by asking for clarification of intricate ones. Leading questions should be avoided; they generally result in the subject's giving an answer he thinks is wanted, and so, frequently, to a good deal of fabrication.

The subject's behavior must be interpreted in the light of the interrogator's observations of his personality. A fundamental point is whether he is naturally communicative or hard to draw out. If an inhibited man is taciturn when questioned on personal aspects of his life, that reticence is significant only in showing the interrogator that he must work the harder to gain his confidence. But if an uninhibited subject becomes suddenly taciturn, the interrogator can conclude that his reticence, not being characteristic of his personality, hides deception. Some subjects, particularly Russians, pretend to be quite simple-minded and stupid in order to avoid talking too much, but reveal their native intelligence once they are induced to talk freely.

Defector Behavior Patterns

With the hazards that always attend thinking in terms of types and with the reservation that the essential thing is to understand the individual subject's background and psychology, it is helpful to have in mind some behavior patterns observed in the East European defector and several distinct variant types of personality which occur among the Slavs.

Like all human beings, Slavs are particularly talkative after a harrowing experience such as that which they have usually had in escaping from their homeland. Whatever their beliefs and loyalties may have been in the past, the treatment they experience in the West creates a tremendous psychological impact. They realize how much better Western standards of life are than those in the Soviet orbit. Since self-preservation is a strong factor in defection motivation, they can be expected to try to ingratiate themselves with their interrogators in the hope of getting special consideration in their resettlement. They are susceptible to flattery and can readily be convinced that sincerity and cooperation will exonerate them from any guilt in defecting. They tend to undervalue the importance of any information they have, especially if it appears that the West already has some knowledge along the same lines.

Slavs are inclined to be cooperative when confronted by superior authority. They are particularly sensitive at having outsiders belittle their national heroes. They respond humanly and well to kindness, consideration, and understanding. Once induced to talk, it is a simple matter to keep them talking on subjects of interest to intelligence.

I have found it advantageous, in my experience with East European defectors, to conceive of four variant types of personality requiring distinctively different approaches in interrogation. Two or more of these conceptual types, of course, can mingle and modify one another in a concrete individual, and the interrogation must be adjusted accordingly. The personality structure predominant in the four types is respectively what I shall call rational, vital, emotional, and tense.¹

¹ Cf. *Guide for Intelligence Interrogators*, 707 European Command Intelligence Center, April 1948, col. 10ff.

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Interrogation

The *rational-structure* personality is one under superior control by the mind and will. It is characterized by natural assurance and reserve, with very little outward display of emotions such as fear, surprise, joy, or sadness. An individual of this type is attentive during interrogation, frankly curious, and privately he is estimating the situation with objectivity. His speech is well controlled and modulated. There is little difficulty in establishing points of contact for conversation with him, but it soon becomes evident that there is a well-defined area of personal matters to which he uncompromisingly denies access.

The interrogator must recognize these characteristics in time to avoid using an inappropriate approach that would spoil all chance of achieving any degree of psychological superiority. He must be something of a rational type himself to cope with one, adopting an objective, cause-and-effect attitude. He must recognize the logical validity of the moral or material considerations that underlie the subject's behavior. It is rarely that a rational-structure personality turns out to be an agent.

The *vital-structure* personality, characterized by self-assertive energy and resilient vitality, is most often found in Russian subjects. Its intense energy often gives it charm and the momentum of great self-confidence, but it is likely to be driven by instinctive urges without deliberate rational purpose. It can endure long suffering and emerge with vigor and self-assurance.

If a subject of this type is met with inconsiderate harshness, he will defend himself with tenacity and resilience. He patiently stores up his emotions to react when he finds a vulnerable spot in his interrogator. On the other hand, any soft, sentimental approach makes him suspicious. He is shrewd and adaptable, and can conceal his true character by playing any part assigned him or one to support some theory he feels the interrogator has formed. Then he can reverse the field and produce an entirely different story, rendering the results of all previous interrogation useless, in order to gain time and a fresh stand for resisting the investigation.

Psychological superiority over the vital-structure type is hard to attain. The interrogator must likewise display a

strong and assured personality, with similar vitality and resilience. He must avoid any effort to play on the emotions, because these subjects do not soften up in their attitude. Under no conditions should he attempt to bluff one of them; all his declared intentions must be meticulously carried out. Patience is an important virtue for the interrogator dealing with a vital-structure personality, and he should do more listening than questioning. The best method of establishing rapport with such a subject is by showing an interest in the details of his life history, his environment, profession, family, and his desires for the future.

The *emotional-structure* personality is dominated by ill-controlled emotion, rather than mind and will or the drive of ebullient energy. It is manifested by visible or audible expression of any joy, excitement, pleasure, depression, defiance, or other feeling caused it, by sensitive or violent reaction to any changes of treatment, by emotional exaggeration and pleading, and by general sentimentality of outlook. Emotion may drive this type to overflowing recklessness and the senseless risk of his whole career and life, or to a blind beating of his head against obstructions and limitations. He usually has a basic yearning to escape the realities of life and a tendency to lean emotionally on another person, and so to hero-worship.

The emotional type, being easily impressed, is susceptible to almost any skillful approach employed by the interrogator. But the interrogator must be particularly alert, self-controlled, and quick on his feet in dealing with these subjects in order to take full psychological advantage of their changes of mood. They tend toward extremes, and the interrogator must catch them at the right extreme. Logical arguments and persuasion can rarely bring about a change in their mood, and delving into their emotional depths should also be avoided. They should be made to feel at ease in conversation on some objective topic, and a rapport established with developing acquaintance on the basis of confidence and respect for the interrogator.

It is particularly advantageous with this type that the interrogator be presented as a person of rank and dignity. He can take full advantage of the subject's characteristic need

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Interrogation

for another person to lean on, one in whom he has a feeling of personal confidence. Under no circumstances should the interrogator be persistently cool to the subject when he seeks support. This is the proper psychological moment for him to show not only strength and firmness but sufficient benevolence and interest in the subject's future to warrant the subject's putting himself in his hands.

An intelligence agent with an emotional-structure personality normally does not bear up well under long strain. It is often possible to catch him off guard by deliberately arousing certain emotions. After tenaciously holding out for some time he may suddenly abandon his position, having decided that it is senseless to continue his deception, and in a display of characteristic recklessness confess that he is an agent. This breakdown usually follows an inner struggle that is sometimes obvious or at least noticeable in an attitude of gloom, brooding, and apathy. The interrogator should be sufficiently sensitive to recognize that such an inner struggle is going on and not be too aggressive: overvigorous handling could cause stubbornness and an increased will to resist. He should observe perceptively the source's moods and calculate what steps he can tactfully take to remove the last obstacles of reason and will power. Then a little prompting at the right moment can often bring on the spontaneous outburst with a full confession. Sometimes a change of quarters and treatment produces the additional momentum needed. This spontaneous self-abandonment is usually genuine in an emotional-structure personality, but is sometimes simulated by others, most successfully by the vital-structure type, in order to get the pressure off and feed the interrogator a new cover story.

The *tense-structure* personality results from an irreconcilable discord of psychological forces which prevents the subject from achieving a satisfying dignity and meaning for his life. His behavior manifests his desperate striving for such dignity and meaning; he is strongly egocentric, with a tendency toward absurd boasting and exaggeration. He often appears to act from contradictory motives. His artificial poses and unnatural attitudes may sometimes genuinely express his personality, but even then they appear insincere and inappropriate to his true character.

Most such subjects act diffident and are difficult to approach. They are unlikely to have any appreciable reserve of vitality. Close scrutiny of a subject's life history may reveal symptoms of a tense-structure personality in advance—frequent personal quarrels with superiors and equals, claims of intrigues and plots against him, evidence of difficulty in adapting himself to social environments, explanation of his failures as the result of vicious actions of others, or pretended resignation to the whims of fate.

Subjects of tense-structure personality are most difficult to interrogate. By nature distrustful of people, they shy away from the interrogator's efforts to win their confidence. It is hard to find a thread of continuity on which to build rapport with them when they deny obvious truths stubbornly and senselessly, becoming subjectively convinced of the plausibility of their stand. In their constant striving to protect their own egos, they lose the normal instinct to tell the truth. All facts obtained from them have to be checked out carefully against other sources of information. It is quite often impossible to establish their bona fides, and even when they have confessed to being agents the truth of their accounts must be constantly rechecked.

The CI Interrogation Center

A safehouse should be established in a somewhat isolated area for exclusive use as a CI interrogation facility. If it is used as a holding area where several defectors are handled at the same time, its internal arrangement should be such that no one of them can ever see or contact another. Quarters for the defectors should be of three types—ordinary rooms furnished with a bed, small table, and a dresser; a more elaborate room for high-level defectors or for those who, their bona fides established, are awaiting transfer for positive intelligence debriefing; and a cell with only cot and mattress, a small indirect light, and a slop bucket—no furniture, no wash basin, no conveniences.

There should be at least two ordinary interrogation rooms and one special isolation room for obstinate cases. One of the two ordinary ones must have an adjoining room for making recordings and visual observations unseen. They should be furnished formally, with facilities for either a friendly or an

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Interrogation

unfriendly atmosphere, for example with a desk and executive chair, one or two easy chairs, a small table, one ordinary straight-back chair, and one uncomfortable straight-back chair. There should be a buzzer to summon the guard.

On the wall behind the interrogator's desk there should be a one-way mirror, in which the interrogator, ostensibly not watching the subject as he asks a key question, can observe his unguarded reaction. The mirror also provides for observations from the adjacent room: agents who, for example, after a particularly strong session the image of abused innocence, are left alone, have been seen through it to smile slyly and preen themselves at having put their act over on the interrogator.

The Establishment of Bona Fides

The defector is brought to the safehouse at night, on a roundabout route and wearing dark glasses, to protect its location. He spends most of the first day in administrative formalities, being photographed and fingerprinted, taking a medical examination and an IQ test, and filling out a questionnaire that covers the salient facts of his life history and defection. He also begins to get acquainted with his interrogator before the day is over, at an informal dinner on the first night. The interrogator encourages his subject to relax and talk freely on topics of his own choosing. Recorded for later comparison with statements made during the formal interrogation, this spontaneous talk immediately after the shock experience of successful defection often provides valuable leads. Even penetration agents are affected by the informal atmosphere and let slip clues that prove useful in unmasking them.

The interrogator studies his subject's personal history questionnaire for further clues to his personality, as a basis for planning conversation and the sequence of investigation topics, and to spot items that appear illogical or vulnerable. Then on the second day the formal but friendly CI interrogation sessions begin. The initial phase is important. The interrogator should be formal but not officious, sympathetic but not maudlin. He should strive to be the subject's superior and yet his good friend, an investigator and yet a defense counsel. This attitude produces good results even when the subject turns out to be an agent.

There are many psychological burdens weighing heavily on a defector. Regardless of his motivation for coming over, his spirits are low at this stage of what might be called defection shock. Guilty about his desertion and apprehensive over his future, he feels lost and friendless in a foreign land. Above all else, he wants to be understood. The interrogator can profit from his feeling of loneliness by showing the friendliness and solicitude he needs and thus earning his gratitude. This moral support is probably more important to him at this time than any possible material considerations. An atmosphere of relaxed, natural orderliness will help to eliminate his fears and increase his desire to cooperate with his benefactor. If he is an agent, the growing sense of relaxation may still throw him off guard and cause slips that can be exploited later.

Natural behavior on the part of the interrogator often induces his subject to drop any feigned idiosyncrasies by which he had hoped to keep the interrogator from prying too deeply into his background or extracting information of such significance as to aggravate his guilt in deserting his native country. Slavs seem to feel a deeper devotion than some other peoples to their native land, but most of them do readily adjust their psychological outlook. Often they are receptive to the suggestion that in cooperating with their interrogator they are not traitors to their country but rather fighters against its alien Communist rulers.

The approach of the friendly interrogation can be slanted to take advantage of the subject's individual propensities. If he has deep religious convictions he can often be made cooperative by pointing out the great harm done to religion by the preachings of Communism. Even agents, if they have been coerced into espionage by fear of reprisal against themselves or their families, can be helped by religious convictions to throw off this fear and cooperate in a crusade against Communism. With vain subjects, and ones in lowly status accustomed to being ignored, the interrogator can successfully employ a subtle flattery, building up their egos to the point where they brag about the things they know to show what big men they were in their own country.

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Interrogation

It takes from one to four weeks to establish the bona fides of a legitimate defector. Most of them are thus cleared for positive exploitation within two weeks or so, but when they stubbornly refuse to talk about details of their biographies that happen to be embarrassing to them, more time is required to clarify discrepancies. After each session the interrogator should write a report of the interrogation and analyze the data obtained, particularly with respect to those aspects of the subject's biography, stated motivation for defection, and escape story which experience has shown to be vulnerable points in an agent's legend.

A good biographical legend for an agent is likely to follow quite faithfully his true life story, omitting only his recruitment and intelligence activity. It is to this point we look for danger flags in a defector's story. Certain incidents he describes may be ones which normally would be followed by some kind of security service investigation and involvement with him. If he claims there were no such consequences, the suspicion arises that this purported lack of security service action is attributable to a relationship between him and the service. Unless he can explain any such flags, the defector must be considered suspect and be subjected to more intensive interrogation. No single flag is necessarily an indication that he is controlled by the hostile service, but several such flags establish a strong prejudice. Some important flags are the following:

Contact with foreigners which the security service is claimed not to have investigated or questioned. (Makers of such contacts are usually interrogated and warned.)

Mere reprimands for anti-regime activities while a student. (Such activities usually call for severe punishment.)

Blackmarketeering or embezzlement.

Arrest and periods of imprisonment for criminal or anti-Soviet activity. (Often used to account for a long gap in employment history actually devoted to thorough agent training.)

Inability to account for any period of time.

Membership in anti-Soviet elements during World War II, including German POW labor force and any underground movements.

Membership in an ethnic underground movement.

Success in having lived under a false name.

Admitted informant activities for the security service. (A tactic to gain the interrogator's confidence and lull suspicions, as well as to account for any reactions that may show up on the polygraph.)

Manifestations of security service interest in him, but no approach. No recollection of topics, events, and people that he obviously should remember.

Indications of high standard of living or educational advantages but denial of Party membership.

No normal fear of the security service while planning defection and escaping.

Residence in the United States and return to the Soviet Orbit in the early thirties.

Relatives living in the United States.

Understanding of terms normally known only to persons familiar with intelligence activities.

The subject's real motivation for defection is an important determination in establishing his bona fides. Agents under defector cover usually claim to be anti-Communists, saying that regime reprisals against family members, for example, caused their defection, or that they escaped to take up the fight against Communism through Western émigré organizations. Questionable motivation claims, however, do not constitute evidence of espionage, since most genuine defectors also claim to be ideologically motivated. A detailed probing with a follow-up polygraph test is often necessary to obtain the truth. Under searching interrogation many of them reveal that they escaped to avoid prosecution for a crime, because they had family trouble or an unfaithful wife, or because they had violated some decree and feared exposure.

In analyzing motivation for defection, a careful look at the defector's financial status is important. It is unlikely that a man of ample financial means occupying a position of dignity and a satisfying station in life would give all this up for an unpredictable future in the unfamiliar competition of the Western world.

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Interrogation

The defector's escape story also provides a number of flags signaling the possibility of an agent legend. Some points to be considered suspicious and in need of clarification are the following:

The claim that he burned or buried all his documents before crossing the border, or that he does not remember what documents he used to pass known security check points.

The claim that he encountered no patrols, barbed wiring, or other border controls at places known to have them.

The claim that a person he met by chance willingly aided him in spite of the risk.

Implausibility of escape with respect to weather conditions, mode of transportation, border guard, or internal security measures.

Physical condition inconsistent with declared hardships of escape.

Condition of clothing, especially shoes, inconsistent with escape story.

Inadequate explanation for having large sums in money or jewelry.

Participation in tourist group trip while under investigation for anti-regime sentiment.

Inadequate explanation for success in escaping from the main body of the tourist group and its security officer.

In a careful review with the subject of all the information and background furnished by him, the interrogator must keep in mind that people's lives in Communist countries are deeply and directly affected by the internal security services. Above all, a defector fears reprisals against his family if the regime authorities learn that he has escaped to the West and is cooperating with the American intelligence service. This fear is often sufficient reason for a bona fide defector to give evasive and misleading answers. By showing full understanding of this and using every means at his command, the interrogator must convince him that truthfulness and cooperation will not cause hardship to his family, since the information he gives will never be disclosed.

The defector's story is checked out against every available record and all other sources of information, care being taken

not to divulge to him any information received from other sources. Then, after analysis of all this material and its implications, a series of questions designed to resolve all discrepancies is composed and presented to the defector in a polygraph examination.

The moment of polygraph soul-searching is one of the most strategically valuable parts of a CI interrogation. The polygraph should not be used, however, until the interrogator is certain that he has obtained all pertinent information or has reached an impasse. It should be used not to reach but to *substantiate* conclusions. When working with a suspected agent source, the interrogator should try to obtain a confession before polygraphing. In borderline cases the polygraph will usually pinpoint the area of sensitivity and perhaps help to resolve doubts, but it should not be allowed to become a crutch. The psychological approach by the polygraph operator plays an important part; when feasible he should be proficient in the required language, so that the interrogator can remain outside the room and monitor the test by listening in and by one-way mirror.

Quite often, the defector clarifies the discrepancies in his story during or immediately after the polygraph examination. If a re-examination verifies these explanations, and if the preponderance of the interrogation material indicates that the defector is genuine, a statement of his bona fides is issued and he is removed, at night, from the CI safehouse to an overt residence for positive intelligence exploitation.

Positive Intelligence Debriefing

The newly assigned PI interrogator normally needs only a very short time to get into rapport with his source. He picks up where the CI interrogator left off, and his task is made much simpler by his being able to approach the source without suspicion. Since his duties call for promoting his well-being, he should be able to gain his full confidence and respect and elicit whatever information he has. Nevertheless he should put some effort into cultivating a friendly relationship before jumping into direct questions, and he should continue to emphasize that all information divulged will be carefully insulated from the authorities of the source's homeland.

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Interrogation

As a bona fide source, the defector enjoys a comfortable life in which he receives lodging, excellent meals, clothes, toilet articles, and a small salary. In return for this support, he has to report for work five days a week, or oftener if necessary, and give his full cooperation in the PI interrogation. Although he is a free man in the West, he is thus immediately dependent upon the intelligence service for lodging, sustenance, and clothing, and ultimately for documentation to legalize his immigration and for assistance in resettlement. Because of these controls and because he is no longer under any suspicion, it is assumed with reasonable certitude that he will be truthful in the information he furnishes.

Before beginning his debriefing, the interrogator should study carefully the report of the CI interrogation in order to provide himself with all available background information and foreknowledge of the source's psychological characteristics, his special fields of knowledge, and the extent to which he can be exploited. Familiarity with the details of the source's past life will also be of immense help in establishing quick rapport.

The aim of the PI interrogation is to fill consumer requirements without revealing to the source what specific information is sought. It is most important that the interrogator know exactly what information is required. The more he learns about the customer's needs, the more flexible and ingenious he can be in the interrogation. On his broad understanding of requirements depends also the degree to which wandering off from specified topics is permissible. Such wandering sometimes leads to topics of even greater value than the requirements being serviced, but the interrogator must be capable of distinguishing useless drivel from worthwhile information. The amount of research he needs to do in any particular case depends upon the subject matter and what the particular source is likely to know; but the interrogator's chief weapon is knowledge, and his effectiveness is directly proportional to its readiness.

The debriefing will usually proceed much more smoothly if the questions asked are worded in such a manner as to elicit specific answers. Each topic should be thoroughly explored and completed before going off into another area. The inter-

rogator should never accept a negative response to a question until he has covered all possible variations on it: quite often a source knows things which he does not even realize he knows until a probing question brings them to the surface. His first answer covers what immediately comes to mind, but his thoughts can be channeled to surface further observations by brief follow-up questions—"Can you explain that in more detail?" "Can you give an example?" "How did you learn this?" Under no circumstances, however, should the interrogator ask leading questions or make hints which might influence the substance of the replies.

The PI interrogation is usually not recorded verbatim; a record is written up from the interrogator's notes. These are best transcribed on the same day as the interrogation session. Then if they are found to be incoherent or incomplete at any point, they can be clarified at the next session.

In most respects the PI interrogation of a bona fide defector parallels ordinary debriefing and interviewing procedures. Let us return now to the CI interrogation which does not issue in the establishment of bona fides.

The Extraction of Confessions

When the CI interrogator feels that a preponderance of evidence turned up by interrogation and polygraph examination indicates that the defector is an intelligence agent, he begins a more intensive interrogation. This intensive approach to the clarification of existing discrepancies must be carefully planned. The methods that may be used are complex and varied, depending among other factors on the character of the subject and the capabilities of the interrogator. If the interrogator decides that drastic measures and strong control are necessary, he must be sure that he can play the tough disciplinarian's role.

The variety of techniques for unfriendly interrogation run from mildly unpleasant ones to measures just short of violence. In one type of approach the subject may be made to feel it futile to protect information that apparently is already in the interrogator's hands, especially if he has to experience discomfort and unpleasantness to do so. The interrogator must be thoroughly briefed for this approach, he begins by

posing questions to which he already has the answers. When the subject hesitates to reply, the interrogator then scornfully gives the answer himself, until the subject feels foolish at trying to hide things that appear to be common knowledge when by cooperating he would become eligible for better treatment.

The interrogator may exploit the subject's emotional entanglement in personal problems and desires, playing up his anger, jealousy, homesickness, or other passions until he has developed a state of emotional confusion and instability. He may create in the subject a sense of insecurity and anxiety by becoming vociferous, kicking furniture around, banging on the table, and giving vent to well-acted rage, until the subject is willing to talk simply to escape this wrath. He can let the subject know that he is fully familiar with Soviet interrogation tactics and could practice them himself if provoked by continued lack of response to humane methods. He can bluff with specific threats if he is sure the bluff won't be called.

Sometimes it is decided to use two interrogators with two completely different approaches, the first displaying a great deal of aggressiveness, discourtesy, bluster, and threat, the second soft-spoken, kind, and sympathetic. The subject often comes to look to the second man for sympathy and protection from the first, and eventually converses freely with him.

If the subject is especially stubborn, he may be moved to the windowless room with only a small light built into the wall. He is deprived of most of his cigarette rations and reading materials. Only his underwear is left for clothing. He has very little chance for suicide with no light cord and little clothing. He is not permitted to shave. He is deprived of all human contact and attention except for being brought basic sustenance. The interrogator keeps reminding him that he wants to be a friend, that he would like to ease the discomfort, that he could make everything all right if only he had a statement of the full truth, whatever it might be. Most people, and especially the gregarious and talkative Slav, cannot endure this prolonged confinement in utter loneliness, and in time become willing and eager to talk freely, resorting to the interrogator as their only friend.

If the bewilderment of loneliness does not produce results, however, two or more interrogators familiar with all of the facts of the case may take turns at continuous interrogating, so that the subject cannot rest and keep his mind clear. His resulting confusion leads to slips that disclose new evidence. Under further continuous questioning he usually reaches in time a point where he sees no sense in resistance and makes a confession. When the confession is reduced to writing and signed, a probing for details should commence immediately, tempered only by the subject's condition at the time.

Among the psychological pressures that can be brought to bear at various phases of these techniques are the following:

Pointing out the subject's untenable position, the fallacy of his story, persuading him that his service sold him down the river by providing him with such a stupid legend; emphasizing that American intelligence has no interest in punishing him, but does have interest in his cooperation in the future.

Isolation in a dark, sound-proofed room, depriving him of sight, hearing, and mobility; consequent development of claustrophobia. (A psychiatrist should check to ensure that his sanity does not reach the breaking point.) Return to isolation after removal and requestioning without response.

Irregular scheduling of interrogation, waking subject say at 2 a.m. for a six-hour debriefing and on the following day at 1 a.m. for a 12-hour session.

Alternating light and dark, preventing rest and sleep.

Sound waves.

Creation of terror illusions.

Raising or lowering temperatures to point of discomfort.

Limiting washing and latrine facilities.

Cutting food ration to minimum sustenance. Manipulating cigarette ration.

Jostling without actual physical harm.

Heavy physical training exercises.

Medical examination disclosing fictitious dread disease; treatment to depend entirely upon the good will of the interrogator.

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Interrogation

If all else fails, the interrogator may request permission to use drugs and narco-hypnosis or hostile methods that may endanger the subject's mental and physical health. The need to apply hostile methods represents a degree of moral victory for the suspect even though he may subsequently confess. Before making such a request the interrogator must have exhausted all other means, must be convinced beyond reasonable doubt that the subject is an agent, and must have reason to believe that his confession would reveal information of critical importance to the national security.

The severer methods seldom need be used. Agents sometimes follow instructions to be insubordinate and insolent if pressure is brought to bear on them, an attitude which bolsters their self-confidence and may also incite an interrogator into thoughtless punitive action that in turn reinforces the agent's resentment and increases his will to resist. But the exceedingly stubborn agent suspects are relatively few. Most suspects, after a period of shocked innocence and steady denials, suddenly and recklessly confess. When the interrogation first became unfriendly they realized that they were suspect, and their worry, loss of sleep, and fear of the future began eroding their will to resist, especially if they had been forcibly recruited by the intelligence service, having neither stomach for espionage nor patriotic motivation.

Under these conditions the interrogator can utilize his subtlest weapon, his art of asking just the right question at just the right moment, and in just the manner to elicit an answer that may lead to a confession. The questioning may either aim directly at the discrepancies in the defector's story or search roundabout and apparently random paths for clues to concealed facts.

When a confession comes too quickly, a thorough and probing inquiry for detail should be made. The hostile services know that a man cannot be successfully prosecuted for spying against the Americans in Europe, and that if an agent confesses he may before long be legitimately documented and free to carry on any line of activity he wishes. The interrogator should obtain as much information as possible about the ready confessor's service and his purported intelligence activities. When he seems to have told all he knows, he should be poly-

graphed again. If discrepancies still exist, the interrogation must be continued until they are clarified or until the permissible period of confinement is exhausted.

Operational Interrogation

In any case, the debriefing of a confessed agent for operational information should normally be conducted by the CI interrogator. A confessed agent will frequently try to conceal certain elements of his mission and training, and it is a relatively simple matter for the CI interrogator to switch from debriefing back to his old technique to impress the agent with the error of his ways and obtain his subsequent cooperation. When all operational information has been obtained he can be transferred if desired for regular PI debriefing. The CI debriefing should cover:

Name, rank, position, unit, personality description, and all details regarding his case officer and any other intelligence personnel with whom he has been associated.

Assigned mission, in detail, and time limit for completion.

Area in which the mission is to be performed and main target field—American intelligence, military installations, political organizations, émigré groups, economic information.

Exact method of crossing border and passing various check points.

Communications, i.e., radio, codes, dead drops, courier, secret writing, rendezvous points.

When recruited, how, and by whom.

Remuneration.

Intelligence training, i.e., location of school, names of instructors, kinds of courses taken, duration, number and names of other students, unit sponsoring the school.

Documents, currency, equipment, and clothing furnished for his mission.

Names of any persons who may have assisted him to cross the border.

Method of accomplishing his mission.

Extent to which the mission has been accomplished.

Knowledge about his own intelligence service, its organization, command structure, personnel.

Knowledge about American intelligence.

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Interrogation

Any special knowledge he may have.

Overall positive and operational intelligence knowledge.

Extreme caution must be exercised when a confessed agent discloses his knowledge readily, divulges important-appearing information, and offers his services as a double agent. It is quite possible that, acting according to the hostile intelligence service's plans, he is making a play to gain the confidence of American intelligence. The authenticity and completeness of his operational statements should be rigorously checked on the polygraph.

If the results of probing operational interrogation and of the polygraph examination are compatible, then a double-agent play may be considered. Upon the man's agreement to work for American intelligence, his true intentions must be examined again by polygraph with extreme care. It is desirable to place him under careful surveillance and closely evaluate the take resulting from his activities. He should be checked periodically by all possible means.