

10 May 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Attached "Summary Analysis " of Eerik Heine

1. The White House memorandum dated 25 April 1966, signed by J. Patrick Coyne, requesting significant information on Heine and on Raus, was received in SR Division late on 27 April. We began work on compilation of a reply on 28 April. The original plan was to present a three-part report:

- a) "Our" report on Heine
- b) [] report on Heine (already done)
- c) Report on Raus (very brief).

Work went on throughout the weekend on item a) above. On Monday morning C/SR reviewed the progress and suggested some changes. I worked closely with him throughout Monday and Tuesday and the attached report was about ready for final typing late Tuesday, 3 May.

2. At this point C/SR consulted with ADDP and decided that we were giving too much material, and that a tighter report was in order, with additional analysis held in reserve for possible future use. Accordingly, a short, concise version was prepared, and the final package, which went to ADDP and DDCI on 4 May, consisted of:

- a) Report on Heine
- b) Report on Juri Raus.

3. The attached "Summary Analysis" was typed in final form after the deadline. It has not been proofed. For any future use it should be proofed, edited, and compared with the concise version. It should probably be reworked in any event, to present first a strict chronological biography, then the analysis.

[C/SR/O/AC]

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2006

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Summary Analysis

Family and Education

1. Erik HEINE was born 11 September 1919 in Tartu, Estonia. His father, Oscar HEINE, who owned a small piano factory in Tartu, is from the island of Saaremaa; the original family name was HEIN. HEINE's father died in Canada in 1956. HEINE's mother, Margarete KUSSIK, still lives in Canada. HEINE attended elementary and secondary schools in Tartu. According to a source who was a former bench-mate, HEINE was a poor student and unruly, as a result of which he was forced to change schools. According to this source, HEINE did not graduate from the Tartu gymnasium together with his class but was dismissed from the school for disciplinary reasons.

First Arrest by Soviets in June 1940

2. The Soviet Army occupied Estonia in June, 1940. Shortly thereafter, HEINE claims to have participated in an incident which ultimately resulted in his first arrest by Soviet authorities. He has provided varying and mutually contradictory versions of this incident. According to the version given to Agency representatives in early 1957, HEINE, after joining an Estonian underground organization, went with two friends of his age to the town hall in Tartu during daylight hours, removed the red flag and hoisted the Estonian national flag. "This happened in June 1940...I was able to escape my Russian pursuers...but my parents were thrown in jail as hostages... On 28 August I surrendered to the Russians and my parents were dismissed." In the version recorded on tape in 1962, HEINE stated that "...after Russian forces occupied Estonia I joined a resistance organization... We attempted to form a nationwide movement.. On 22 August 1940 I was arrested by Soviet authorities and charged with resistance activities as a 'counter-revolutionary'... In the meantime my parents had emigrated to Germany." To Canadian authorities in November 1957, HEINE stated that he was arrested "... on 28 August 1940, with other students, for anti-Russian activities..." In April 1964, HEINE, during a re-interview by Canadian authorities, indicated that he "was charged with anti-Russian activities as a result of the removal of the Soviet flag from a pole over a school in Tartu." On page 130 of his deposition of February 1965, HEINE admits that he neither pulled down

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the Soviet flag nor hoisted the Estonian flag; rather, with several friends he went to the city hall, in "July or so", to raise the Estonian flag, but did not succeed, since the Communists stopped them during a struggle in the corridors of the city hall. This "flag incident", which HEINE has used among Estonian emigres as proof of his anti-Communism, is suspect by reason of his several conflicting versions.

3. As indicated above, HEINE stated in 1957 to Agency representatives that his parents were then jailed as hostages. In the 1965 deposition HEINE states that on 28 August 1940, he came out of hiding, returned home and was promptly arrested; his parents, he now stated, had been kept hostages in their home. Concerning his own apprehension and arrest by the Soviet authorities, HEINE stated to the Canadians in 1957, as indicated above, that he had been arrested on 28 August 1940 together with other students. In his 1965 deposition he states that he surrendered to the Soviets by appearing at his own home. Again, the exact circumstances of his arrest or his surrender to the Soviets are not entirely clear, nor do we know whether he was apprehended alone or with others.

Repatriation to Germany, Spring 1941

4. According to his 1957 version to Agency representatives, HEINE stated that his "parents were resettled in Germany towards the end of 1940." On page 16 of his 1965 deposition HEINE states that his parents emigrated to Germany about two months before he himself was released from prison. (HEINE has stated that he was released from prison in April or May 1941, and this would date his parents' repatriation to February or March 1941.) The circumstances of their repatriation are not clear. HEINE admits that his parents had come to the attention of the Soviet security organs by virtue of his anti-Communist activities and he states that they were of the "bourgeois element" of the Estonian population, hostile to the Soviet regime. While, in accordance with the RIBBENTROP-MOLOTOV pact, certain individuals of ethnic German background were permitted to repatriate to Germany from the Baltic countries, this repatriation was not conducted indiscriminately nor without the full participation of the Soviet State Security. Moreover, the bulk of the repatriates left in two major waves, the first in late 1939 and the second in early 1940.

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Further, in addition to resorting to mass arrests and deportations to the interior of the USSR of unreliable elements, into which category HEINE's parents would have fallen, the Soviets took legal steps to stem the tide of those departing from the USSR for Germany. According to a 7 September 1940 directive of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, it was decreed that "the citizens of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR are citizens of the USSR from the time of acceptance of these republics into the USSR." Finally, HEINE's parents had only a tenuous claim to German extraction inasmuch as, according to his own statements made during the 1965 deposition, his parents were Estonians, not Germans, only his maternal grandmother being of German descent. In view of the foregoing, there are strong reservations about the actual circumstances which surrounded his parents' repatriation to Germany. Based on knowledge of Soviet reality, there appears good reason to suspect that HEINE's parents were repatriated to Germany only because this served the purposes of the Soviet security organs, as otherwise HEINE himself would not have been able to proceed to Germany upon his release from Soviet prison in April (May) 1941, as related below.

5. From the above it can be seen that HEINE has provided contradictory statements about the date of his arrest, about the exact circumstances in which this happened, and about the date of his release from Soviet prison. The precise circumstances of his release are equally contradictory and suspect. Charged with engaging in "counter-revolutionary activities", HEINE, by his own statements, made a partial admission to the Soviets concerning his anti-Soviet activities. He states that the Soviets did not believe him and continued to attempt to extract a confession, reportedly resorting to brutal forms of torture. Nonetheless, HEINE states that these interrogations unexpectedly ceased in February 1941 (note that this the period when the relationship between the USSR and Germany was deteriorating, when the imminence of war was evident, and when the Soviet security organs received secret orders to arrest and deport potential enemies from what would be the rear of the Red Army). According to HEINE, he was then transferred to another prison with other Estonian prisoners who allegedly also made claims to German citizenship. On pages 184 and 185 of his 1965 deposition.

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HEINE states that he insisted to his Soviet secret police interrogators that he was Estonian, not German when brought before a commission of Soviet officers, immediately prior to his repatriation, he refused to say that he was German when asked about his national origin. HEINE admits, therefore, that he was repatriated to Germany even though he was an Estonian, rather than a German national. It is important to note this admission as it establishes that his parents were Estonians, not Germans, and that their repatriation was abnormal and not consonant with procedures which governed repatriation of German nationals from the Baltic states in late 1939 and early 1940. There is every indication that HEINE is equivocating and providing untruthful information about his repatriation to Germany in 1941. Given the fact that HEINE spoke both Russian and German at that time, in addition to his native Estonian, and given the fact that the Soviet secret police were extensively engaged in recruiting and dispatching agents to Germany immediately prior to the declaration of hostilities in June 1941, HEINE would have been released from prison as a German repatriate only if this served Soviet purposes. Even if HEINE were indeed a German, which he avers he was not, the security organs would not have released him after he had engaged in counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet activities in Estonia, since such an individual was potentially a Soviet enemy in Germany; rather, HEINE would have been deported to Siberia as were numbers of Bolts, Volga Germans and others in order to preclude their posing a threat to the Soviet regime. On the basis of our experience, HEINE's release can best be interpreted as having been engineered by the security organs, then the NKVD, as a means of infiltrating an agent into Germany where he would function, together with other Soviet agents, to provide information on the activities and intentions of the Germans and on the imminence of attack on the USSR.

6. Information relative to this period was obtained from an Estonian-American who was in command of the Intelligence Division of the Estonian Security Police in German-occupied Estonia from 1941 to 1944. He states that an NKVD agent told him that "the special branch of the NKVD had contacted HEINE upon his arrest and had HEINE in their special detention cells where HEINE was treated well by the special branch. He advised that this branch was charged with recruiting NKVD agents for work outside of Estonia, and he was given the impression by other agents in the special branch that they had succeeded in recruiting HEINE to work in Germany and arranged for a short jail sentence and transfer to Germany for espionage under the cover of a German national."

Reunion with Parents in Germany

7. According to his 1965 deposition, HEINE travelled by train to southern Germany where he was kept in a "camp" in a castle. It took

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him about two weeks to find his parents, who were in a camp near Schwabische Halle, and he travelled to them by train, the reunion occurring in May 1941. However, this entire period is also suspect: A source currently available stated that he met HEINE's mother and father in a DP camp in Germany in 1945, at which time they said they were very much concerned because Erik had been arrested and had disappeared after an anti-Communist demonstration in Tartu in 1940 or 1941. HEINE's mother and father had not heard from him or about him since.

Service in "Ost Battalion" and in Estonian Political Police (SD)

8. As noted above, HEINE states that he arrived in Germany in April or May 1941 and joined his parents. After the German attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941 he volunteered for and joined the "Ost Battalion" where he served until approximately February 1942. He maintains, according to the 1962 tape recording, that "in February 1942 Estonian authorities demanded my return to [German occupied] Estonia and the Germans complied." In his 1957 statement to Agency representatives and in his 1964 account to the Canadian authorities HEINE presents a different version, stating that he transferred to the Estonian political police force in Tallinn, reportedly because he was unhappy with his unit in the Ukraine where he worked from February 1942 until September 1942. German Army records reflect only that he was a member of the German police from 16 July 1941 until March 1942, which generally coincides with his service in the Ukraine with the "Ost Battalion." The German Army records do not reflect information regarding his transfer to the political police in Tallinn. In describing his work with the Estonian political police, then a de facto arm of the German Security Service (SD), HEINE claims he was responsible for interrogating suspect Communist agents in Tallinn. From Tallinn he was transferred to Haapsalu because the police there were short of staff. He was also promoted. However, within a month he was again transferred from Haapsalu to Germany, this time as a result of his having volunteered for service with Estonian formations of the SS.

Service in Narva Battalion and Bad Tolz Training

9. According to HEINE's statements made to the Canadian authorities in 1964, he joined the Narva Battalion (an element of the Estonian Legion, Waffen SS) in September 1942 when he was appointed lieutenant. However, in his February 1965 deposition he states that he left Estonia in August or September 1942 and was sent to Debica, Poland, where he served as a Corporal in the Estonian Legion. He states that he trained there until March 1943, when he was sent to the Ukraine for a short period as a member of the Narva Battalion. According to this version, he returned to Germany for training at the Bad Tolz officer school only in May 1943. He

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** Although the names OPOB
are identical*

trained first as a non-commissioned officer, then as an officer candidate and was graduated with the rank of "Ober-Junker" in February 1944. German records reflect that an Erik HEINE attended the Bad Tolz school from 6 September 1943 to March 1944. Concerning this service, although the German records state that an Erik HEINE did attend the Bad Tolz school, there is no proof that he is identical with the individual who is now in the West and who claims to be Erik HEINE.* Certain Estonian sources claim that HEINE is not known to the other Estonian emigres who attended Bad Tolz, both as students and instructors. One source states that HEINE was unable to identify photographs of Estonians who were in school and class with him. HEINE recently made attempts to persuade another source to recall HEINE's presence at the school, which this source was unable to do. This source found his behavior suspect since HEINE appeared almost desperate to find someone who could confirm his attendance. Finally, another source states that he saw HEINE for the last time in the German Army police in Estonia sometime in 1943 or 1944. From available evidence it is not possible to explain these discrepancies.

Service with 20th Estonian Division (Waffen SS) and Capture by Soviet Army

10. HEINE indicated to representatives of this agency in 1957 that he was serving with the First Battalion of the 20th Estonian Division (45th Rg) (Waffen SS) at the time of his capture by the Soviet Army on 25-26 August, 1944, after the Battle of Auvere. In this report, HEINE stated that he found himself a prisoner of the Soviets after he had lost consciousness as a result of a bomb attack from which he suffered a concussion. However, the capture occurred under unusual circumstances, as HEINE was not engaged in front line combat but was 20 miles behind enemy lines (in Soviet captured territory); moreover, although the capture occurred while he was in an unconscious state, he maintains that he succeeded in destroying all incriminating items in his possession--from the SS buttons on his uniform, to letters, to his identification document (Soldbuch) which reflected his status as an officer in the Waffen SS. He gave no explanation as to how he accomplished this or why he found himself so deep behind enemy lines. Moreover, HEINE alleges that he destroyed his Soldbuch, his sole means of identification, and changed his name from Erik HEINE to Erik HEIN, without the final "e", in order to avoid having the Soviets execute him for his anti-Soviet activities in 1940. (It is a fact, however, that his activities for the Estonian political police, his interrogation of Communist agents, and his service in the Waffen SS were crimes of far greater import, committed by a Soviet citizen against the Soviet state, than were his relatively limited 1940 anti-Soviet activities. He could have been executed for the former, while the latter would have yielded him 3 to 5 years of forced labor under the Soviet criminal code. Moreover, in his 1957 statements to representatives

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of this Agency, HEINE indicated that he made use of the HEIN name only considerably later. In his 1965 deposition HEINE states that he was with his battalion near Kohtla-Jarve in July 1944 and that he then saw action near the village of Kambija in early August. After escaping Soviet encirclement with two of his comrades by breaking through the Soviet lines, he finally reached the Janoso bridge and at that point was stunned by concussion from an aerial bomb, possibly from a German plane. When he woke up he was being searched by the Soviet soldiers. He was wearing the Estonian Waffen SS uniform. The soldiers took his medals, watch and wallet, including some money and letters from his mother addressed to his field post office. He claims, however, that the letters did not fully identify him because there were no envelopes. He gave them his name as Erik HEIN, without the final "e". Although he admitted to his Soviet captors that he was Estonian, not German, he states that the Soviets continued to treat him as a German prisoner. (This is entirely at variance with our information as to procedures for captured prisoners. The Soviet counter-intelligence elements with the Soviet army separated prisoners by rank, category, and nationality. HEINE would have been dispatched to a special Soviet secret police screening camp where, as a Soviet citizen, he would have been interrogated in detail.) In his 1965 deposition he claims that he was saved from being shot by a "Russian-Estonian" among his Soviet soldier captors, and that after his capture at the bridge at Janese he was sent by truck to Tartu. Thence he was marched to Petseri, and at the end of August he was shipped by train to Leningrad and finally to Moscow.

Detention in Moscow Prison Camp, Escape from Kisel

11. In his 1965 deposition HEINE states that he arrived at the Moscow POW camp for German prisoners at the end of September 1944 and remained until sometime in December. He states that he was confined with German officer prisoners but that he was never interrogated. Although there were efforts made to propagandize the Germans and to recruit them into the "Free Germany Movement", he was not approached and recruited because he was not a German. Finally, in December he was called to the camp guard house and beaten by Soviet soldiers. They tore off his epaulettes and told him that he was officially declared an enemy of the state because he was an Estonian serving in the German army and therefore a traitor. In his statement to Canadian authorities in 1964 he admits that he was very fortunate to survive at this particular juncture and he described it to good fortune.

12. HEINE was then transferred by rail to a Soviet labor camp at Kisel in the Urals. Here the regime was especially severe. While 500 of 800 individuals died in the camp, HEINE not only survived, but in March 1945 made his escape by crawling under four concentric barbed wire

fences in a heavy snow storm. He then hopped railroad freight and coal cars and travelled all the way from the prison camp in the Urals to the vicinity of Leningrad, where he was again apprehended by the Soviets in mid-April 1945. He claims that he was able to avoid all checks during the long voyage from the Urals to Leningrad and that he was finally captured when he tried to steal some bread.

Transfer to Tallinn Prison Camp, Escape in June-July 1946

13. Again, HEINE has provided contradictory versions of what happened thereafter. In his 1957 version to the Canadian authorities, HEINE states that he remained in a prison camp near Leningrad until June 1946 when he escaped and made his way to Estonia; there he worked on the reconstruction of the harbor in Tallinn, then joined the partisans and operated with them until 1950. In his 1964 version to the Canadian authorities, HEINE states that he was transferred from the prison camp near Leningrad to Estonia in December 1945. While working as a prisoner on the Tallinn harbor he escaped in June 1946 to join the Estonian partisans. According to the latter account the Soviet security authorities actually did establish his true identity but, despite the fact that he was well known in Tallinn, no action was taken against him and the Soviet guards permitted him to leave the prison camp to work with other prisoners on the harbor reconstruction project. HEINE offered no explanation as to why the Soviet secret police took no action against him after identifying him by true name and establishing that he was an "enemy of the state." In his 1957 account to representatives of this Agency, HEINE stated that he effected his escape from Tallinn in July 1946, inasmuch as he feared that he would be identified sooner or later as being Erik HEINE, rather than HEIN, because of his presence in a town where he was known by many Estonians. In his 1965 deposition he states that he was interrogated in May or June of 1946 in the Tallinn camp, that he gave his name as Erik HEIN, with a false street address in Tartu, and that he admitted serving in the Estonian Waffen SS. He states that he did not tell his interrogators about his service in the Kisel camp and his subsequent escape. He claims that they performed only a preliminary check on him, yet he remained in the camp for a full month before he allegedly arranged his escape. (The several aforementioned versions are not only contradictory but also at complete variance with the actual state of affairs existing in the Baltic countries in the immediate post-World War II period. The three Baltic countries were declared by the Soviets to be restricted areas and the most stringent security measures were in force.) HEINE admitted to representatives of this Agency in 1957 that his escape in July 1946 had been unusual, that the treatment accorded him by the Soviet secret police was contrary to normal procedure, and that the lack of any documents controls on the train in which he fled from Tallinn was "...very much out of the ordinary..." HEINE had no other explanation.

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Service with "Forest Brothers," Estonian Partisans, 1946-1950

14. From the time of his alleged escape in 1946 until his arrest in 1950 HEINE claims to have been a member of the "Forest Brothers," an Estonian partisan unit belonging to the anti-Soviet underground. HEINE succeeded in joining this movement following his escape from the Tallinn prison camp together with another Estonian prisoner whose relatives were members of the underground. As a member of the partisan unit, HEINE states that he engaged in various activities common to this existence: he foraged for food to survive, he robbed and stole, he conducted minor forays against Soviet establishments or convoys. In one version HEINE relates that he took over the group when the leader was killed in May 1948. According to HEINE, he recruited a girl friend, whom he claimed was a switchboard operator of a telephone exchange; she was able to monitor conversations between NKVD officials, and several times warned partisans before forthcoming raids. In 1948 he paid a visit to a Soviet state security office in Vilyandi, allegedly in order to get a set of legal documents. In his statements to Agency representatives in 1957, HEINE claimed that when visiting the Soviet office in Vilyandi in 1948, he pretended to be Ilmar ILVES (even though he was then physically in possession of a passport in the name of POLDSAAAR). According to his 1965 deposition, however, he pretended to be Priit POLTSMAA and he states that the visit to the secret police was made to obtain legal documents for one Ilmar GRUNBALM. In his 1965 deposition he graphically describes how he shot his way out of the State security office with a concealed Luger pistol.

15. During HEINE's partisan period, in the summer of 1947, there occurred the most fantastic and incredible of HEINE's exploits, his journey from Estonia across European Russia to a guarded and restricted deportation area in Siberia, to bring back an Estonian woman and her children. Allegedly, when she decided not to come, he collected a group of four adults, a 6-year old boy and a 5-year old girl and successfully returned with them, retracing his route and allegedly avoiding or circumventing all document control, through Moscow to Riga and finally to Tallinn. Once again, his several versions of this story are mutually contradictory, but rather than dwell here on the discrepancies we will relate the most recent version, that given in his 1965 deposition. HEINE states that he bought an original passport and blank travel permits which he filled out in the name of the passport holder, a ballet master. With this false documentation he travelled by train to Tallinn, thence by plane to Moscow, by train to Novosibirsk, and by Ob River steamboat to Paksar. He claims that he was the first Estonian to visit this detention area. When questioned by the police, he told them that he had come there "to visit his sister" at a nearby kolkhoz. He stayed overnight and all the next day at the kolkhoz, but the Estonian woman for whom he

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had come refused to return with him because "she was afraid." He then returned to Paktzar for a couple of days and finally collected a group of four adults and one 6-year old boy to take back to Estonia. Just before departure on the river steamboat an Estonian woman entrusted her 5-year old girl to him and she was added to the party. He claims that he bought steamboat and railroad tickets with ease. He had no travel documents for this party or any documentary authority to leave the detention area, but he claims that he managed to avoid all document checks by one means or another, including bribery of ship's personnel. In Novosibirsk he was able to buy train tickets to Tallinn via Moscow from a woman black-market operator. He claims that his passport was never examined nor were checks made for travel documents all the way from Novosibirsk to Moscow. In his 1965 deposition he admits that there was a document check in Moscow when the party had to change trains and walk from one railroad station to another for the final stage of the journey, via Riga instead of Leningrad and Narva. He does not give details of this document check. However, in his 1957 statement to Agency representatives HEINE indicated that he realized at that point that the militia was carefully checking all travellers going through the terminal gate and he decided to improvise a ruse. He presented himself to a militiaman as a representative of the Ministry of Education and asked the militiaman to accompany him to an office. In the meantime the other members of his party succeeded in slipping through without having their documents checked. In his 1964 version to Canadian authorities HEINE provides a contradictory version: he created a diversion by pretending that he could not find his passport and when all attention was focused on him, the others slipped through.

16. While we have evidence from other sources that this long Siberian journey did take place, we believe it could only have been undertaken with the active collaboration of the Soviet secret police. In any event, HEINE returned to the underground as a patriot and hero with the thanks of his small party (most of whom were later apprehended and re-deported.) More importantly, his partisan band came under heavy attack while he was off on the Siberian journey and several were killed. This technique of removing an agent from his underground group during a period of planned repressive action was standard Soviet procedure in handling their agent penetrations of anti-Soviet undergrounds in this period.

17. HEINE claims that he was fortunate enough to be the sole survivor of his partisan band, all the others having been killed in action by the militia or having been apprehended alive. The death or apprehension of the last man, one VAINOMAE, in December 1949 he gives us in two contradictory versions. In his 1965 deposition he claims that he and his comrade had planned to go into town to visit girls in Taamsalu, but

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HEINE went ahead, leaving VAINOMAE in the bunker. He spent the night with a girl and learned the next morning that the NKVD had gone out to capture VAINOMAE and that he had been killed. He believes that the NKVD had advance information about the location of the bunker from "an informer." In his 1957 version to Agency representatives he stated that VAINOMAE travelled with him to Ambla where VAINOMAE's mother was reported to have died. When they arrived they found the mother alive in a farmhouse with two old women. The men tried to enter the farmhouse, the women thought they were burglars and alerted a militia control post. The militia arrived, surrounded the farm and captured VAINOMAE, while HEINE managed to escape. (Normally, the death of a partisan's last comrade is well remembered and would not be given in two absolutely different versions unless the individual had some reason to change his story.)

18. HEINE stated to a representative of this Agency in 1957 that he had made an attempt in September 1949 to leave the USSR by crossing the border into Finland. Although he travelled to the restricted border area and through Leningrad, HEINE maintained that he encountered no documents checks. In the 1964 report to the Canadians, HEINE stated that he made the escape attempt to Finland in June 1950. In his 1965 deposition HEINE states that the attempt to escape via Finland was made immediately prior to his arrest on 20-21 July 1950. In fact, in his 1965 deposition he states that he was enroute to Leningrad when he decided to stop at Tallinn to attend the music festival before proceeding on to Leningrad and Finland.

Arrest in Tallinn and Sentencing

19. As indicated above, HEINE was arrested by the Soviets in Tallinn in the latter part of July 1950. The arrest allegedly occurred while he was attending the 1950 Estonian summer music festival. It should be noted that such behavior on the part of HEINE, ostensibly a hardened clandestine underground operative who survived from 1946 to 1950 as a result of his ability to evade individuals who knew him and could betray him, is highly suspect in that he claims that he journeyed to Tallinn, a city where he could be readily identified. Moreover, it is known that police patrols and passport checks were intensified during such public gatherings. That HEINE would not have known this, which would obviously have led to his arrest, is to be doubted. We believe it is more likely that by July 1950 HEINE, as the sole surviving member of his underground partisan unit, had completed his mission for the Soviet security organs in the underground and had to surface in some manner in order to continue his activities for them in another capacity elsewhere. In order not to make them suspect in the eyes of their fellow

members it was not unusual for Soviet State Security agents in the underground to be arrested, sentenced, and deported to prison camps, where they could continue to function as agent informants.

20. HEINE states that despite his ultimate admissions to the Soviets about his true identity, about his 1940 counter-revolutionary activities, about his service with the SD Estonian political police and about his Waffen SS service, he finally succeeded in convincing them that he was a German rather than an Estonian, and managed to conceal his previous work in the underground. It is inconceivable, however, that the Soviets would not have known about his underground partisan activities, since HEINE admits that certain members of the band with whom he had served had been previously captured. Additionally, HEINE contradicts himself in stating that he convinced the Soviets that he was a German, because by his admission that he was the Erik HEINE of 1940 who had engaged in counter-revolutionary activities, he admitted his then Estonian nationality. (It has already been indicated at the beginning of this report that, according to Soviet law, HEINE was a Soviet citizen subject to the Soviet criminal code.) HEINE has provided contradictory versions about his sentencing. In his statements to Agency representatives in 1957, HEINE claimed that his ten year sentence was pronounced by a special commission and that he had to sign a paper which certified that he had been told of and accepted his sentence. In his 1957 report to the Canadian authorities, HEINE stated that his sentence was changed from a death penalty to "life-long imprisonment." In his 1964 version to the Canadian authorities, HEINE states that his sentence was reduced to 25 years of hard labor. In his 1965 deposition, HEINE states that he was sentenced to death, and that the sentence was commuted to 25 years of hard labor upon his appeal and retrial as a German rather than an Estonian.

Prison Camp Service, 1951-1956

21. After his arrest in July 1950 and ultimate sentencing in February or March 1951, HEINE remained a prisoner until his final release and travel to West Germany in October 1956. He was held in prison in Tallinn until April 1951, then moved by stages to a prison camp in the Archangelsk area, and was finally sent to a succession of hard-labor camps in the area north of Molotov. In his 1965 deposition HEINE states that he served in three or four separate camps in this area during the 1951-1956 period. There may be significance in the fact that HEINE was transferred frequently and that he was given relatively easy assignments (e.g., handy-man in a dispensary). While no firm conclusions may be adduced from these circumstances, there have been frequent instances of agent-informers being used in camps in privileged jobs, and the frequent

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transfers may have been the result of compromise to the other inmates and resulting danger to HEINE.

22. In his 1957 version to Agency representatives, shortly after his return to Germany, HEINE stated that he had met an individual named ALEKHIN in September 1955 in a camp in Kuzmanski. ALEKHIN told him that he was a member of a 70,000-man underground movement known as the "National Democratic Party of Russia," and he asked HEINE to inform the free world, especially German and American officials, about the organization. He provided the name of an individual in the USSR whom American officials could contact in order to send in radio equipment, mimeograph machines, etc. HEINE also stated that in late November 1955 he and ALEKHIN were taken to the Municipal prison in Solikamsk. In the prison, HEINE was questioned in detail on his friendship with ALEKHIN and about certain pamphlets (not-better described) which the latter had distributed. Under questioning, HEINE told the Solikamsk prison investigators that he had merely been tutoring ALEKHIN in German. HEINE stated to Agency representatives that the investigation was suddenly discontinued in January 1956 and he was sent to a camp near Potma. It is worthy of note that other defectors have at times attempted to interest American authorities in alleged underground movements within the USSR or the Baltic States, and have finally confessed that these movements were fictional or created by Soviet intelligence as provocations to entrap Western intelligence organs. More important, it is possible that the ALEKHIN incident investigation served as pretext to remove HEINE from the labor camp in order to prepare him for dispatch to the West as an agent. It should also be noted that HEINE omits this episode entirely during his 1965 deposition; whether this omission is intentional or the result of oversight we do not know.

Release from Camp and Repatriation to Germany

23. The circumstances surrounding his release from prison camp and repatriation to West Germany as a returning German prisoner of war have again been provided in differing versions. As noted above, in his 1957 statement to Agency representatives HEINE claimed that the investigation of his association with ALEKHIN was suddenly terminated in January 1956. In his 1965 deposition he omits all reference to the investigation and states merely that in January or February 1956 he was shipped to a camp near Potma after passing through Moscow, this camp being a staging point for non-Soviet prisoners. He claims to have organized a hunger strike, after which he was sent to another detention camp with six or seven others. In August or September he was transferred to a house in the suburbs of Moscow where he remained with 30 or 40 other returnees. In early October he was taken by bus along with other prisoners to the West German Embassy (or Ambassador's residence) for compilation of

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returnee documents. Here he was questioned by the German authorities in the presence of "Soviet officials." In his 1965 deposition he states that he gave his name as Erik HEINE, birthplace Tartu, mother and father born in Estonia. He nevertheless states that the Germans "know that I was German." In this series of questions he appears as a genuine and legitimate returning German prisoner of war, and it is impossible to obtain really satisfactory answers. It may be surmised that the German authorities may have been willing to accept him as a German national on minimal evidence, in order not to prejudice the return of a German citizen from Soviet prison camp. That the Soviets would have been willing to place him in the category of German prisoner of war, when their records clearly indicated his identity with the Estonian HEINE of 1941, is not consonant with Soviet practice unless there were operational reasons for such action.

24. In his early 1957 statement to Agency representatives, shortly after the event, HEINE claimed that he left Potna on 13 November 1956 and was sent to Dnykova where he remained until his departure for Berlin on 26 November 1956. In his 1965 deposition he dates his final travel from Moscow to East Berlin at about 20 October, but there may be no particular significance in this contradictory dating. In his 1965 deposition he states that he was turned over to the West Germans "by list" and travelled by bus to West Berlin. He was then taken by plane to West Germany and by bus to Camp Friedland, where he arrived about 26 October 1956. He was interrogated only once at Camp Friedland, and was afforded a physical examination. He then proceeded to a rest home until January 1957 and then to a refugee camp in Oldenburg near Bremen. In Camp Friedland he had been given documentation attesting to his status as a returning German prisoner of war, and he used this to apply for a German passport in Oldenburg. Meanwhile he had been successful in locating his mother in Canada, and he applied for and received a visitor's visa for travel to Canada in April 1957.

25. It was during his period of residence at Camp Friedland that he visited the American Embassy in Bonn and initially gave a brief resume of his history to a German-speaking Agency officer. His claims that partisan activities were still going on in northern Estonia on a reduced scale and his description of the organized resistance movement within the Soviet prison camps were transmitted to CIA Headquarters. Significantly, the first telegram on this case from the Bonn Embassy notes that he had not been interrogated at Camp Friedland due to the congestion at the camp with Hungarian refugees. Because counter-intelligence officers at Headquarters immediately recognized the possibility of Soviet provocation, based on the similarity of Subject's story with those of

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other defectors, our representatives in Germany were instructed to arrange for a detailed debriefing of HEINE. The record shows that he was invited to Frankfurt and debriefed in a series of meetings by two separate Agency representatives, but that a full interrogation could not be consummated since he was by no means under Agency control. Very shortly thereafter he suddenly and unexpectedly departed for Canada. He resided in Canada on his visitor's visa until he was granted status as a landed immigrant in 1959. In August 1964 he was granted Canadian citizenship.

Recapitulation

26. HEINE's statements, from the time of his first arrest by the Soviets in 1940 until his final release and appearance in the West in 1956 must be considered against the background of events which include the initial Soviet occupation of Estonia in June 1940 and declaration of an Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic, preparations for the June 1941 German attack on the Uvior, the subsequent German occupation of Estonia, German training and use of Estonian nationals for service against the Soviet Army, the Soviet advance and reconquest of Estonia in late summer of 1944, and Soviet operations against the small Estonian anti-Soviet underground during the early post-war years. In analyzing the HEINE biography in its entirety, leaving aside the discrepancies among the several versions he has given (although certain of the discrepancies may in themselves be significant), it is clear to counter-intelligence specialists his version could not have occurred under the given conditions. That many or most of them did occur is not disputed, and certain independent sources corroborate portions of HEINE's story, but HEINE's actions had to be directed, guided and controlled by Soviet secret police organs in order for them to have been taken under the given conditions. The most striking example, as set forth above, is the Siberian journey in the summer of 1947, but other portions of his biography are equally unexplainable except as integral elements of Soviet state security manipulation of an agent. The reasons, therefore, for the conclusion that HEINE was a recruited Soviet agent who was ultimately dispatched to the West are:

(a) The discrepant versions of his biography as related to different authorities at different times, which cannot be explained solely as faulty memory, falsification or self-glorification.

(b) Comparison of HEINE's story with known legends of numerous confessed Soviet agents who have been dispatched as defectors, repatriates, escapees, and alleged representatives of anti-Soviet resistance movements.

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When it is possible to conduct protracted interrogations of such individuals over an extended period and under controlled conditions, legend analysis combined with skillful interrogation frequently permits breaking of the agent and a subsequent confession. There are, of course, many instances when a suspect agent refuses to confess even when confronted with clear evidence against him.

(c) Analysis of HEINE's reported actions against the background of actual conditions existing in the historical context of the given time and place. It should be noted that many Estonian emigres, unfamiliar with counter-intelligence techniques but knowledgeable of the events and conditions in Estonia and among Estonian refugees in Germany during the relevant time period, have themselves concluded that HEINE's biography is fantastic and untrue.

(d) HEINE's action subsequent to his appearance in the West, particularly his early appearance at the American Embassy in Bonn to attempt to interest U.S. authorities in supporting an alleged organized anti-Soviet resistance movement within Soviet prison camps as well as in continuing partisan activities in Northern Estonia.

(e) Interviews with individuals of Estonian origin now in the West. While these reports in themselves are not conclusive and while some of the individuals provided information which confirmed parts of HEINE's story, others cast significant doubt, and one person averred that he had had information to the effect that HEINE had been recruited in 1941 (see para 6 above).