

**May 3, 1949**  
**Utilization of Russian Political Refugees in Germany  
and Austria [Approved for Release, February 16,  
2011]**

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<https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114325>

**Summary:**

Soviet expert Robert F. Kelley urges forming a central organization representing Russian émigré groups and providing it with radio facilities to reach the Soviet Union and Soviet armed forces in Eastern Europe.

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UTILIZATION OF RUSSIAN POLITICAL REFUGEES  
IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

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(5)

The Russian political refugees in Germany and Austria, numbering one-half million embittered former Soviet citizens, constitute a tremendous weapon of political warfare which we should make use of at the earliest possible moment. The Kremlin has been aware, from the very beginning, that these refugees represent a menace to the Soviet Union, and has striven with great persistency to have the refugees delivered into its hands, and, when that endeavor failed, to have any political activity on their part prohibited. The effective utilization of this great anti-communist force requires the formation of a strong central organization (composed of representatives from as many existing Russian refugee parties and groups as possible) which will direct, develop and coordinate the anti-communist activities of Soviet refugees. There exist already several organizations created by the Russians on their own initiative which appear to be engaged in as much anti-communist activity as their limited means permit. The most important of these organizations are the NTS (National Labor Association), a small organization which seems to hold aloof from cooperation with other organizations; and the ATSODNR (Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Peoples of Russia), a larger organization descended from the Vlassov Movement and comprising a variety of political groups. In addition, there are numerous smaller groups representing various shades of political opinion.

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When the Directing Center has been set up, there are various lines of activities which should be undertaken:

(1) Clandestine radio facilities should be made available in the American Zone in Germany to the Russian anti-communist united front for broadcasts beyond the Iron Curtain. Such broadcasts should be directed not only to the Soviet Union, but also to the Soviet Army of Occupation, and satellite countries.

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(7) Through the Russian anti-communist united front we would be in a position to take advantage of any political crisis that might develop in the U.S.S.R. as a result of some unforeseen event, such as the death of Stalin.

3 May 1949

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