

**September 13, 1949**

**Memorandum from Frank G. Wisner to [withheld],  
'Policy Directive Governing Organization of Russian  
Refugees in Germany and Austria' [Approved for  
Release, March 2009]**

**Citation:**

"Memorandum from Frank G. Wisner to [withheld], 'Policy Directive Governing Organization of Russian Refugees in Germany and Austria' [Approved for Release, March 2009]", September 13, 1949, Wilson Center Digital Archive, CIA Mandatory Declassification Review, #C01441001. Obtained and contributed by A. Ross Johnson. Cited in his book 'Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty,' Ch1 n57.  
<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/114328>

**Summary:**

George Kennan authorizes Frank Wisner to proceed with a central Russian émigré organization initially focused on émigré welfare and subject to US government policy guidance. Wisner directs Office of Policy Coordination staff in a cover memorandum to proceed with the project.

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RELEASE March 2009

13 September 1949

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EO 12958 3.3(b)(1)>25Yrs (c)

MEMORANDUM FOR: MESSRS.



SUBJECT: Policy Directive Governing Organization of  
Russian Refugees in Germany and Austria.

1. Attached hereto is an authorization which we have just received in connection with the subject above mentioned and which provides the general lines of policy guidance which we have been awaiting. I believe that it is now in order for us to proceed with the preparation of a plan and project or series of projects and that we should move rapidly into the first phase of organizing this group just as soon as we have completed the necessary coordination with other agencies and the selection of personnel for this job.

2. For your information, this memorandum is not stated in the language of a directive for the specific reason that Mr. Kennan does not consider it appropriate for OPC to operate on the basis of orders or commands from the State Department. He caused the memorandum to be rewritten and couched in the language of "policy clearance." Note especially the wording of the first sentence of the second paragraph. I have the impression that this represents a development in Mr. Kennan's own thinking and I rather anticipate that over a course of time there will be a further trend in the direction of confining the form of the policy guidance which we receive to more general and less concrete instructions.

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FGW  
F.G.W.

ADPC/FGW/mac

Att.

Memorandum for ADPC from Mr. Kennan, September 13, 1949,  
Subject: "Organization of Russian Refugees in Germany  
and Austria."

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September 13, 1949

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. Frank G. Wisner,  
Assistant Director for  
Policy Coordination, CIA.

SUBJECT: Organization of Russian Refugees in  
Germany and Austria.

It is desirable, as soon as possible, that there be established among the Russian political refugees in Germany and Austria a central organization with headquarters in Western Germany. When appropriate, branches of such an organization might be encouraged to be established in Paris and in New York. It will be necessary that certain assistance and facilities be provided to enable these refugees to create and maintain such an organization. In addition, the refugees selected should receive constant guidance in order to make their organization as effective and secure as possible in order that its accomplishments may be in line with the foreign policy objectives of the United States.

The central organization should be small in size and composed of representatives from as many as possible of the important anti-Communist refugee parties and groups. Its members, of course, should be of unquestioned political reliability and integrity, actively anti-communist and in touch with the realities of Soviet life today. Emphasis should be placed at the outset on the humanitarian objectives of the organization which should be declared to be a welfare organization, created for the purpose of assisting Russian D.P.'s and refugees. The Committee should concern itself in the beginning with the various welfare problems affecting Russian refugees in Germany and Austria, such as improvement of food and housing conditions, satisfaction of cultural needs, amelioration of legal status, education of children,

assistance

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assistance in resettlement, etc. Only after the Committee is firmly established and its effectiveness demonstrated should steps be taken to utilize the organization for political purposes.

When it is considered that individuals or elements affiliated with the refugee committee are capable of initiating and developing certain operations, the matter will be further discussed with you in order that your organization may receive policy guidance in connection with the projects and operations. [redacted]

It would be inadvisable, at least in the beginning, to associate the National Committee for Free Europe in New York with the organization of any Russian Welfare Committee. This position, however, is not intended to preclude the New York Committee from providing support for a Russian Welfare Committee, when such an organization has developed to a point where its importance and responsibility can be assessed. In the beginning, a New York branch of a Russian Welfare Committee will provide the channel for such assistance as Russian refugees in the United States may desire to extend to the activities of the Committee in Europe.

The U.S. High Commissioner in Germany will be advised of [redacted] activities in Germany as related to the Russian political refugees in the U.S. Zone of Occupation in order that [redacted] may receive the necessary facilities to carry out their mission [redacted]. The appropriate U.S. officials in Austria will also be advised in a similar sense in connection with any [redacted] activities in this field which may take place in Austria.

GPK

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