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SUBJECT: Remarks about the TSOPE in USA

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TSOPE has been in existence now for more than six years. Great efforts have been made to build up and improve this group, substantial funds have been spent to support its activities. The investments are considerable in various respects.

Much has been done and much remains to be done to help the group reach a higher level, to gain the true and lively spirit of a political organization - the sine qua non for more successful work on a longer range and under changing conditions. This simple but often neglected truth should be kept in mind even by "realistic cynics", who might consider TSOPE merely a group of agents performing certain tasks.

TSOPE will never become a political organization in the true sense of this term without having a permanent basis in the US - the heart of the free world and the centre of the long-range anticommunist struggle. The question of the US chapter should be reconsidered.

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Which could be the field of work for TSOPE's US chapter?

1. Regular gatherings (similar to the "Political Forum" in Munich) of members and invited guests especially in New York at least once in 4 to 6 weeks. Purpose: Maintaining of contacts, recruiting of new members, etc. It is not even necessary to have for each session a special agenda with a longer report or anything of this kind - free discussions on a pre-announced topic and guided by an experienced person might attract a number of participants. Premises could be easily obtained without any noteworthy expense. Publishing of a mimeographed Bulletin for members and friends should be one of the first steps taken to reactivate the chapter.

2. Establishing of contacts with other political groups and blocs representing the peoples of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries. Purpose: Participation in mutual important actions, establishing of ties with organizations willing to cooperate with democratic Russians who respect the principle of national self-determination. Such contacts established in the US might be of importance also as far as practical cooperation with exile group in Europe is concerned. International cooperation in the sphere of anticommunist struggle still is one of TSOPE's weaker points and a handicap in becoming a real political factor (the WTS is far ahead in this respect). The same applies to contacts with purely American political organization and individuals, with a determined anticommunist attitude and goals.

3. Commercial distribution of TSOPE literature in the US among Russian immigrants and interested Americans, especially of "Svoboda" and "Nogty". Since many Americans learn Russian, chances for wider distribution are getting better all the time. Selling of "Svoboda" to Russians and other people from the East is still an unexplored field. There were complaints in the "Novoye Russkoye Slovo" last summer that "Svoboda" is not available at book-stores in New York.

What could be done?

"Svoboda" should be sent from Munich to New York by air cargo, other printed material by regular mail and distributed by the TSJPE office as follows:

- a. Hand carried to book stores, churches, Russian clubs, etc.
- b. Mailed to subscribers.

America could become the # 1 market as far as commercial distribution of TSJPE literature is concerned, thus supplying the US chapter also with some financial means. But somebody has to take care of this business, organize a drive for subscribers, go to book-stores, Russian gatherings, etc, Rudolph cannot do it, Barbarova was not interested (and apparently not requested) to start this sort of action. The entire matter is by far not complicated - what is needed is a \$ 15.00 addressograph, index cards and some initiative and good will. There are, for example, many addresses of Russian immigrants available who might become subscribers after receiving the free copy of "Svoboda".

4. Not only the possibility but also the necessity of establishing a small group of free lance contributors - script writers (mostly for radio broadcasts but as well for other propaganda purposes) has been discussed over and over again during the past years, without any practical results. Main reason - lack of coordinating editors in New York, who would run the workshop (Rudolph is too busy being an editor with Radio Liberation and not the right person for this job). What about Khorjakov who according to a letter from Lebedev dated Dec 31, 1958 is going to immigrate to the US in April 1959? (Lebedev does not write about any plans to have Khorjakov come back to Munich with an US Re-entry permit).

5. Search for good manuscripts which deserve to be published in form of pamphlets or books for propaganda purposes in European and other countries. The prospects for obtaining suitable material are much brighter in the US than in Germany. It can be assumed that "Desty" will attract the attention of a number of qualified authors spread over the United States. These people could be requested to submit outlines of completed works, suggestions regarding topics, etc. (After the liquidation of

the Tshetkov publishing house in New York, approximately 500 unpublished manuscripts of normal book size have been returned to the authors).

6. Lebedev reports (ltr. dated 31 December 1958) that he is worried about the future because of lack of personnel. Although this is not new, the personnel problem has not been considered thoroughly enough in 1958, when suggestions were made to select one or two good propagandists in the US willing to go to Germany. The situation in TSOPE cannot be looked upon as normal: The organization's ability to perform its growing tasks depends on one, two or three staff members. If something should happen, for instance, to two able workers - Lebedev and Arnold, the whole vast project might be seriously endangered as far as the carrying out of effective operations is concerned. One of the important duties of the US chapter should be not a hectic but systematic search for able people to be recruited on one hand as members or friends of TSOPE, and on the other - to be evaluated as journalists, propagandists, political organizers, etc. for the present and the future. This would be the proper way to select good candidates and obtain for them a pre-clearance without their knowledge. Thus we would be in the position to have always a number of qualified workers in reserve. (The present salaries for top TSOPE people in Munich are reaching the lower US level and would satisfy many Russian emigrants living in the US and making a very modest living as laborers).

7. Contacts with Soviet tourists and distribution of literature among them became one of our most seizable targets. While Baltic refugees approach Soviet diplomats outside the D.C. area and succeed to hand over to them anticommunist leaflets (Menshikov not excluded), while Hungarian, Ukrainians, Polish and other representatives of oppressed nations picket Soviet representatives in New York and other American cities, we do not even consider peaceful and intelligent contacting of Soviet tourists visiting the United States, which, by the way, is much more promising than all noisy and mostly only harmful demonstrations. It certainly would not pay to approach Soviet travellers

in the US with anticommunist slogans and leaflets. We should apply, in a broad sense, psychological instruments on the "Easternak level", always observing tact and the "political facts of life". Approaching of Soviet citizens should be preferably done by US citizens of Russian origin, who in this respect have a better position than stateless and homeless refugees in Europe.

Hesitation to plan the contacting of Soviet tourists in America because such actions might interfere with other agencies of the US Government is understandable if clumsy propaganda moves are suggested. Yet this is not the case. And there should be no doubt that the naturally limited occasions to approach Soviet travellers, conducted by TSOPE people in the States could be kept under adequate control. Anyway - this is a very interesting topic worth to be considered from the aspect of raising the practical effectiveness of our operations.

8. After Pismennij's visit to America in 1957, a plan for TSOPE's activities in the US was elaborated. According to a not quite realistic program, the US chapter was, among others, to supply the American press, radio, etc. with comments and various information in connection with Soviet politics. I would drop this point for merely one reason: US publications have much more information on the USSR than the TSOPE chapter could ever have, as well as better commentators.