

PSF-OSS: December 1944 (~~11th-15th~~)
16th-31st

Box 170

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

16 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

I am enclosing a copy of the latest radiotelephone message from our representative in Berne, which I think the President will find interesting. Will you be kind enough to see that it is drawn to his attention? Thank you,

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

70-300000-714
ADMINISTRATIVE
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PSF: *O. S. J. folder* 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

16 December 1944

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I believe you will be interested in the attached radiotelephone message from the OSS representative in Berne. This report deals with (1) an article from the Nationalzeitung of Basel, regarding the efforts of Hitler's staff to protect him from the effects of his own moods of depression, and (2) a report from a German source concerning the Allied bombing of an SS barracks near a concentration camp in the neighborhood of Weimar.

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

14 December 1944

DATE

#253

FROM

Berne

HBO

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

DEFERRED

DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

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GERMANY

1. Here is an article from the Nationalzeitung of Basel of today with regard to Hitler that seems to me to have some interest. The men around Hitler are afraid of his moods of depression and at the possibility that he might eliminate himself by a grand gesture. He is fed reports of excellent morale in the army and among the people. The dispatches from the front which he gets to read contain nothing alarming in them. New fighter (?) weapons are featured to keep him calm. He has great hopes of a breakdown of the Allied coalition, and he gets the right kind of a picture for this. All visitors are thoroughly coached as to what they must say to the Fuehrer. He is only given newspaper clippings, never the whole paper, not even the Voelkischer Beobachter. It is even asserted that special editions are printed for him. The military reports of Guderian are censored. Hitler is really living in a vacuum. His entourage have their instructions (?) to convince him that he retains his own initiative. The visit of Szalasi was arranged to fortify Hitler's self-confidence. This meeting, after his long retirement, was staged to coincide with the outbreak of differences between the Allies.

Hitler has a rigid nature. When hard reality interferes with his views, he is plunged into severe conflict. He tries to force his opinions through tyrannically, and if he has made a serious mistake he blames it on some one else. He disagrees with the whole world and seems to have complexes of unfathomable strain and pain. In such a state, he has often repeated fits of hysteria, which are accompanied by physical attacks seriously affecting the heart. At these times, he is exceedingly hard on his entourage; he must be kept out of sight.

Hitler still likes to build. He is surrounded by huge staffs of architects planning new German cities. He is also greatly interested in the secret weapons and has his own ideas and plans for them which are listened to respectfully by the experts, but for the most part they are not taken seriously. He studies astrology and horoscopes. The astrologists have exact instructions as to what they must tell him.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No.

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

253

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16-50901-1 GPO

The picture is one of a man living in an unreal world where he is left to himself, while others exercise real power beside him and under his cover. The circles around Himmler, Goebbels, and Keitel believe that in his present condition Hitler no longer has the necessary power of resistance to face the storms that are in the offing. For this reason, they have taken practical governing out of his hands. This is the only explanation of the fact that decisions have been taken in the general conduct of the war and in the diplomatic field which Hitler himself would never have taken.

2. Here is a report from a German source. The Allies carefully bombed a large SS barracks near a concentration camp in the neighborhood of Weimar and also managed to parachute material to the prisoners, so that they could free themselves. The prisoners, however, stopped and dug out the SS, and only a few of them tried to run away.

I cite this merely to show that we cannot expect much initiative either of mind or body from persons who have had years of German prison camp life.

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O.S.S. Files 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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16 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

I believe the President will be interested in the attached memorandum, containing the information transmitted by our representative in Berne. Will you be kind enough to see that it reaches his desk? Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton

G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

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By ABJ Date JUN 11 1973

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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16 December 1944

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By Authority of CIA

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By WBS Date: JUN 11 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The following information, obtained from a prominent and very reliable Swiss source, has been transmitted by the OSS representative in Bern:

The German internal situation is even more critical than it is generally believed. Himmler, however, still is hoping to find a remedy along the following lines.

Ribbentrop will probably be replaced shortly. Arthur Seyss-Inquart, Reichscommissioner for Holland; Dr. Hermann Neubacher, former Reichs Plenipotentiary for the Balkans, and Marshal Albert Kesselring, are among those under consideration to succeed Ribbentrop. (Kesselring is recovering from the injury he received recently in Italy.) Once a successor has been appointed, an effort will be made to contact the Western powers. If this fails, Himmler plans to make a series of disclosures of purported Anglo-American peace feelers to Germany. His aim would be to try to break up the Anglo-American alliance with the USSR. Ulrich Hassell and Karl Goerdeler were not executed following the 20 July putsch, and are being kept alive to be used in these diplomatic maneuvers. The OSS representative early in November was informed by another source, one close to the SS, that "Goerdeler was not executed and apparently is

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RESEARCH FOR THE BUREAU OF
INTELLIGENCE
AND
OPERATIONAL INFORMATION

TO December 1974
ANALYTICAL
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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By ABS Date JUN 11 1973

being kept alive on Himmler's orders to be used in an emergency for liaison with the Anglo-Americans. 7

Himmler expects a revolt of some sort to break out in the Ukraine, and in order to encourage it is preparing an expedition under General Vlassov to go into the Carpathians.

Hitler is now living in underground quarters at the Reichskanzlei in Berlin. His health is somewhat improved. He has seen some foreign diplomats but he can only talk to visitors for very short periods. Himmler proposes to keep him in the upper background as a sort of von Hindenburg. Hitler will probably not have sufficient physical strength to exercise direct control of affairs.

Conduct of military affairs is being left to Guderian and Rundstedt. Political and diplomatic moves, however, are concentrated in Himmler's hands. Obergruppenfuehrer Gottlieb Berger, under Himmler, is giving particular attention to German diplomatic and political policy.

Some honorific but innocuous post will be found for Goering, who has lost influence and would like to leave the country. Goering has not, however, made any direct overtures to Switzerland.

USS WASHINGTON COMMENT:

Ulrich Hassell is a professional diplomat who married the daughter of the well-known Admiral von Tirpitz. He served as ambassador to Rome between 1932-38. In 1938 he wrote a book

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entitled "European Equilibrium". In August 1944 he was reported by German sources to have confessed participation in the 20 July plot against Hitler, and was said to have been executed.

Karl Friederich Goerdeler was, with General Ludwig Beck, one of the co-leaders of the 20 July plot, and was reported by German sources to have been executed.

Gottlieb Berger, chief of the SS Hauptamt and of the SS Railway, Postal and Radio Protection Service, is a former head of a department in the Reichs Ministry for eastern occupied territories. An Obergruppenfuehrer, he holds the rank of Lieutenant-General in the Waffen SS. Berger has carried out a number of diplomatic assignments in both the Balkans and the Low Countries. He is president of both the German-Croat and the German Fleming Societies.]

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

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By ABS Date JUN 11 1973

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

16 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested in
the attached report. Will you kindly see that it
reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

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*O.S.S. folder
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

16 December 1944

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

007622
by DBJ Date JUN 11 1973

I believe you will be interested in the following report which we have just received from our representative, Mr. Bernard Yarrow, concerning a conversation between King Peter of Yugoslavia and King George of England:

"King Peter was received by King George of England, Buckingham Palace on his birthday, December 14th. Spent whole hour with him. King George had in his possession Tito-Subasic agreement, and was familiar with its contents.

"King Peter was told by King George that he himself will have to make his own decision, and that the King would not under the circumstances express his opinion on such a matter. King George, however, added that Peter must be conscious of his responsibilities, and that nobody can compel him to sign the agreement if he does not wish to. King George further said that Peter's idea of seeing Tito personally was not a bad one, and that he, King George, knew that such a meeting between them was at one time

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contemplated but later abandoned because of various obstacles. King Peter begged King George to intercede on his behalf with Churchill. King George assured him that he will do all he possibly can within his limitations to ask Churchill to take a firm stand on his matter, and that he will speak to Churchill within the next few days. King George further added that Churchill himself has not reached a decision yet on this matter and that Churchill is in the habit of making a thorough study and taking all the necessary time before acting on any State matter, and that this is one of his many assets.

"On the afternoon of December 15, King Peter received word from Churchill that the meeting originally scheduled between Churchill, Subasic and King Peter for Friday, December 15th, is being postponed to Monday, December 18th."

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Donovan

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By QAS Date JUN 11 1973 William J. Donovan
Director

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

18 December 1944

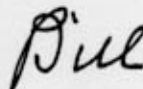
Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



William J. Donovan
Director

O. S. S. folder 5-44

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

file

18 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the following dispatch which we have just received from our representative, Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

"Subasic lunching with Eden December 18th. Herewith authentic text of questionnaire submitted by Sargent (Sir Orme Sargent) to Subasic and the answers given by Subasic. The answers were submitted December 14th.

"The text of the questionnaire is as follows:

1. It is stated in the draft agreement between prime minister of the Royal Yugoslav Government and Marshal Tito that in the absence of His Majesty, King Peter, the royal power will be exercised by a regency, and that the latter will be appointed by a constitutional act of King Peter in agreement with Marshal Tito and Doctor Subasic. What will be the powers of the regency? Will the regency have all the powers of the king as set forth in the Yugoslav constitution, including that of dismissing or modifying the

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government? If not, who will determine the powers of the regents?

2. Will the regency consult the King or will they have a blank cheque to act in the King's name?

3. What will be the method of electing the constituent assembly?

4. When will the constituent assembly be elected?

5. According to the last paragraph of the agreement between Doctor Subasic and Marshal Tito, 'The new government will publish a declaration containing the basic principles of democratic liberty and guarantee for their realization. Personal freedom, freedom from fear, freedom of religion and conscience, freedom of speech, the press, meetings and associations, will be especially emphasized and guaranteed; and in the same way the right of property and private initiative.' Has a draft of this proposed declaration been prepared? Will all the Yugoslav political parties be allowed to function freely? Will former leaders of the Serbian, Croat and Slovene political parties now in this country and the United States be enabled to take part in political life in Yugoslavia if they so desire?

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6. How will the questions of (a) Federation and (b) Future form of the state be put to the electors? Will they be in the form of a draft constitution to which amendments can be put forward by the political parties?

7. Will the proposed agreement be signed simultaneously by Doctor Subasic and Marshal Tito or will there be unilateral statements by both parties in addition to the appointment by King Peter of the royal regency?

8. By whom will the posts in the proposed United Yugoslav Government be filled? What posts will be held by members of the Royal Yugoslav Government in London?

9. Is the United Yugoslav Government to have full executive and administrative power until the proposed constituent assembly is elected?

10. Has it been finally decided who are to be the 3 regents?

11. No mention is made in the draft agreement between Doctor Subasic and Marshal Tito of the future of the National Army of Liberation. Is it to be transformed into the Regular Army of the Yugoslav State? Is a police force to be formed from it? Apart from the guarantees contained in the last

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paragraph of the draft agreement between Doctor Subasic and Marshal Tito, have any arrangements been contemplated to ensure that there is no question of the use of physical force by the National Army of Liberation in influencing the electors?

12. Is Doctor Subasic satisfied that the 3 regents will be in a position to exercise any effective power, more especially if all 3 are elderly men?

13. A United Yugoslav Government with 24 or 28 ministers is rather numerous, and is Doctor Subasic satisfied that in this government the comparatively few members of the Royal Yugoslav Government will be able to make their influence felt?

14. Under the terms of the draft agreement between Doctor Subasic and Marshal Tito the 3 regents are to take the oath to the King whereas the United Yugoslav Government only takes the oath to the people. Is Doctor Subasic satisfied that the King's constitutional position is adequately covered by this arrangement?

"Subasic submitted his 14 answers with the following letter:

'December 14, 1944. Referring to our conversation last night, I have much pleasure in enclosing herewith the answers to the questionnaire I received from you. Believe me, yours

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very sincerely, Sir Orme Sargent, Foreign Office, Downing Street, S.W.I.'

"The following are the answers to the questionnaire:

Ad 1. In the event of the agreement of Nov. 1st being accepted the royal power is to be transferred to the Regency Council for the period of the King's absence from the country until the people decide upon the form of the state through the constituent assembly. The present constitution provides for the possibility of a regency and states its rights and duties. As a rule, the regency has the same rights which are normally enjoyed by the King. If further developments in Yugoslavia should require amendments to the constitution, they will be carried constitutionally on the basis of the present constitution. The law concerning the nomination of the regents will be an instance of this procedure.

Ad 2. The regency has the right to consult the King, and vice versa, as foreseen and guaranteed in point (2) of the amendment regarding 'the property of H.M. the King and the Regency Council'.

Ad 3. An answer to this question has been given in the amendment about the 'elections to the constituent assembly'.

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- 6 -

Ad 4. Id quod ad 3.

Ad 5. The draft declaration of the new government could not very conveniently be prepared before that government was even formed. The only thing the agreement between Marshal Tito and myself could do was to give guarantees that the declaration of the government will be based on the principles of democracy and that these principles will be observed by the government. As to the right to elect and be elected, it is contained in point (1) of the amendment regarding 'elections to the constituent assembly'. It is clear from this amendment, that former political leaders will be able to take part in political life.

Ad 6. An answer to this question appears in the amendment concerning the 'elections to the constituent assembly'. Naturally, every party will enter the electoral campaign with its own programme.

Ad 7. The agreement will come into force immediately after its acceptance by the King.

Ad 8. An answer to this question has been given in the amendment relating to 'the formation of the government'.

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- 7 -

Ad 9. An answer to this question figures in the amendment relating to 'the formation of the government'.

Ad 10. Yes, it has been finally decided.

Ad 11. The National Liberation Army will, immediately after the forming of the government, be declared to be the Regular Army. Outside this army, there will be no military formations. The police and the rest of the administration will be organized by the government in conformity with the amendment concerning the organization of public powers. The guarantees given in respect to the elections to the constituent assembly exclude any possibility whatsoever of interference with the elections by physical force.

Ad 12. All the regents are between 60 and 70 years of age. From the points of view of culture, education and political career, it would have been difficult to make a more promising choice.

Ad 13. The present situation in Yugoslavia requires a government ready to consecrate all their efforts to the interests of the peoples and the state. It is difficult to speak about the influence of individuals, and far more important to bear in mind their capacities and the confidence

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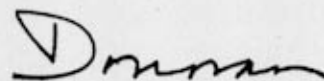
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- 8 -

they enjoy among the people.

Ad 14. Insofar as this procedure is dictated by the present situation as the only acceptable solution we cannot but abide by it."



William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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18 December 1944

file

Miss Grace Tully
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I think the attached study, entitled "The
Pattern of Illegal Anti-Democratic Activity In
Germany After the Last War: The Free Corps," will
be of interest to the President.

Will you please see that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

Attachment

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-78
By R. H. Parks Date JUN 1 1972

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
Research and Analysis Branch

R & A No. 1934.2

THE PATTERN OF ILLEGAL ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ACTIVITY
IN GERMANY AFTER THE LAST WAR: THE FREE CORPS

Description

A discussion of the activities of the German Free Corps after 1918, their origin, composition, and significance in the eventual overthrow of the Weimar Republic.

13 October 1944

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-79
By R. H. Parks Date JUN 1 1972

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By R. H. Parks Date JUN 1 1972

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SUMMARY

1. After the last war, the reaction to defeat and the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty brought about the formation of volunteer military organizations or Free Corps. These groups fought on the eastern frontier to prevent any territorial changes, opposed the Allied occupation of the Rhineland, and waged a civil war in Germany to prevent the democratic alteration of the political and social structure of Germany.
2. The Free Corps were composed largely of officers and professional soldiers who lacked either civil or military employment. They were supported by social groups which feared the consequences of a democratic state in Germany and by economic leaders who wished to reestablish Germany's international position. Financial support was given by the members of the industrial and financial leadership which at a later time supported the Nazi Party.
3. Acting under pressure from the Allies, the German Government formally dissolved the Free Corps in 1920. While many members returned to civilian life, the activists refused to give up their fight for the remilitarization of Germany and the overthrow of the Weimar state. They formed secret military leagues which operated as an "underground" throughout the existence of the Weimar Republic. Due to the lack of effective controls by the Allies and the presence of sympathetic elements in the German judiciary and Army, the Weimar government was never able to suppress completely the actions and "Fame" murders of the secret military leagues.
4. The Free Corps men and the secret leagues were gradually absorbed into the Nazi Party. At the present time, many high officials of the Party are former Free Corps leaders,

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By R. H. Parks Director
JUN 1 1979

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while countless others were recruited for the SA and SS.
Other Free Corps men have become prominent in economic
administration and in the Army.

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-70
By E. H. Parks Date

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THE PATTERN OF ILLEGAL ANTI-DEMOCRATIC ACTIVITY
IN GERMANY AFTER THE LAST WAR: THE FREE CORPS

I. THE FREE CORPS AND SECRET MILITARY LEAGUES

After the German defeat in 1918, there was a wide-spread nationalistic reaction to the revolution and the formation of the new republic, the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and the changes in the pre-war frontiers. This reaction, resulting, in part, in the formation of volunteer military groups of Free Corps, produced both a civil war in Germany and an undeclared war on the German frontiers.

A. Origin and Composition of the Free Corps

The activity of the Free Corps in the period immediately following the German defeat was inspired by many historic examples of nationalist struggles by Germans against foreign controls. Instances were found in the Middle Ages and the Thirty Years' War, but the chief inspiration came from the German struggle against French and Austrian control in the nineteenth century. The methods of overcoming the limitations placed on the Prussian Army in 1806 by Napoleon were idealized as the proper way to create a body of trained reserves to strengthen the small army permitted by the Treaty of Versailles. The names of Germans who fought against the French were attached to important Free Corps after 1919.¹

In 1918-1919 the lack of control either by the German Government or Allied authority permitted the revival of activist nationalism directed by the Free Corps against the Weimar Republic and those foreign states held responsible for the limitations on national sovereignty and territorial changes made in the boundaries of pre-war Germany. The actions of the Free Corps were directed with equal violence

1. F. W. von Certzzen, Die deutschen Freikorps, München, 1938, viii-ix.

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By R. H. Parks Date 2001 1972

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against Poles, Russians, French, and the "November criminals" who were alleged to have stabbed the German army in the back. The stab-in-the-back legend united the activities of the illegal groups and those who operated through the German parliamentary system in opposing the republic.

As a result of the revolution the provisional German Government was faced early in 1919 by left-wing insurrections aiming at the creation of a state and society based on the successful example of the Russian Bolsheviks. The characteristic revolutionary device of 1918-1919 was the Workers and Soldiers Council, comparable at least in form to the soviets which carried the Russian Revolution to a successful conclusion. The councils (Räte) in Germany were generally formed by garrison troops whose emergence as a governing power was deeply resented by the commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the front army. The workers on the councils were identified in the nationalistic mind with Spartacus, the Communist organization, which in turn was believed to be plotting the Bolshevization of Germany. In addition to revolutionary threats, the confusion of the post-war years permitted the revival of separatist and particularist movements which had long been dormant. Separatism was in direct conflict with the nationalist aims of the Free Corps which fought to prevent any dismemberment of Germany.

It is not possible to list all the Free Corps, Home Defense Leagues, Border Defense Leagues, Academic Guards, and countless other groups which sprang up in all parts of Germany in the confused days which followed 1918. The Free Corps, which are of the greatest traditionalist importance among these groups, went through two stages of development. In terms of their origin, they were theoretically

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established by Gustav Noske, the Social Democratic Minister of Defense, as volunteer forces to suppress internal disorder and guard the frontiers. In this sense, the Free Corps can be construed as "legal" institutions serving the republic as transitional defense forces pending the establishment of the Reichswehr and a police force. They took an oath to support the government and protect the Fatherland. After the establishment of security forces in 1919, however, the Free Corps continued to operate as illegal bodies in defiance both of a government order to disband and the Law for the Defense of the Republic (1920) which forbade the existence of military leagues.

The first Free Corps appeared in Berlin in December 1918, when the General Staff, acting on the suggestion of Kurt von Schleicher, authorized enlistments in volunteer groups to provide for border defense and general security troops in the Reich.¹ Under the provisions of this authorization, a Free Corps was established by General Maercker composed of officers and men picked from the 214th Division in Berlin. The great majority of the men selected for the Freiwillige Landes-Jägerkorps were front-line sergeants, while the officers were the professionals of the old Imperial officers corps.² Maercker offered his Free Corps to the government, and its slogan "For Law and Order against Spartacus" appealed to Noske, who was faced with the problem of suppressing Communist disorder without effective military forces. This development in Berlin was paralleled by the

1. Gerhardt Thomée, Der Wiederaufstieg des Deutschen Heeres, 1919-30, Berlin, 1939, pp. 13-23, Von Schleicher, later a General and Chancellor, was killed in the Blood Purge of 1934.
2. J. Benoist-Mechin, History of the German Army since the Armistice, Zurich, 1939, I, 116; General von Maercker, Vom Kaiserheer zum Reichswehr, Geschichte des Freiwilligen Landes-Jägerkorps, Leipzig, 1921.

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-78

By E. H. Parks Date JUN 1 1972

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formation of hundreds of volunteer defense groups throughout Germany.

The average Free Corps was a volunteer military organization grouped around a leader. Its group life was controlled by the traditions of authoritarian military discipline and obedience inherited from the Imperial Army. The word of the leader of the Corps was absolute and he could punish severely any infractions of the rules, which were either made by the leader who recruited the group or were based on the model of the Grundlegender Befehl of the Maercker Landes-Jägerkorps. These regulations, which reflected Prussian military traditions, were enforced by non-commissioned officers assisted by Vertrauensleute (agents) in the ranks. For betrayal of the secrets of the groups about personnel or sources of funds and munitions, the punishment was death, a procedure which developed into the Ferne murders. The Free Corps became, therefore, an important factor in spreading the conception of authoritarian rule, as each group operated strictly on the leadership principle.

The composition of the Free Corps varied, but the majority of the members was drawn from the officers and front soldiers of the old army. One of the outstanding Free Corps men, Ernst von Salomann, makes the point that the members cannot be classified as sociological types or members of any specific economic status or age group.¹ He claims that the post-war fighters were motivated solely by considerations of patriotism and were "united in spirit" with nationalistic fighters of all types in German history. Nevertheless, the bulk of the members came from the ranks of the professional officers, landlords and others from rural areas -- in general from the conservative groups in German society which

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

1. Ernst von Salomann, Nahe Geschichte By R. H. Parks Data UN 1 1972

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feared the spread of communism and the growth in political power of the proletariat and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

For the most part, the members of the Free Corps were either young men who had known no profession but that of fighting, or officers who had received no vocational training except in military tactics. They were the activists who could not adapt themselves to peaceful life and who sought to protect their ideological and vocational interests by violent action against a wide variety of alleged enemies.¹

In the revolutionary period immediately following defeat, the officers regarded the members of the Soldiers and Workers Councils (Räte) as "Schweine." When the front army marched home, many officers were assaulted in the streets by the revolutionaries and insignia and decorations were torn off their uniforms. The Army was demobilized under the authority of the councils and the officers were turned loose with little hope of employment. The Allied peace terms, as well as the attitude of the Weimar government, made it evident that the vast majority of the former officers would not be able to pursue their military careers or obtain employment consistent with their sense of honor and importance. The limitation of the army to 100,000 men destroyed the

1. (No statistics have ever been collected concerning the social status and age groups of the personnel of the Free Corps. The following table of ages represented in the Corps is based on the ages of the German members of Major Fletcher's Baltische Landeswehr who were killed in action in the Baltic war. These figures are derived from Die Baltische Landeswehr, herausgegeben von Baltische Landeswehrverein, 1929.

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. killed</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. killed</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>No. killed</u>
15	4	21	21	27	10
16	6	22	28	28	13
17	19	23	22	29	5
18	33	24	29	30-35	13
19	41	25	17	36-40	5
20	31	26	14	41-50	17
				Over 50	6

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personal future of the officers; in their opinion it was also a humiliation to the national honor of Germany. The Free Corps, therefore, served a dual purpose -- they provided paid employment in the profession of arms, and at the same time provided means for rebuilding the power of defeated Germany.

In addition to the officers, the Free Corps attracted the front soldiers, who after four years of war, were accustomed to a life filled with continuous fighting. A mythology was developed in Germany after the last war extolling the virtues of the Frontsoldaten. They were idealized in nationalistic literature and the outlook attributed to them was important in motivating the Free Corps as well as conservative-nationalist politics. Various organizations were founded to perpetuate the spirit of "comradeship" of the front soldiers or to extend that spirit to German youth who had not been engaged in war.

The Free Corps rapidly developed their own mythology in justification of their existence. The names of Yorck, Schill, Lützow, Bismarck, Hindenburg and other nationalist heroes appeared on their standards. The flag of the Ehrhardt Marine Brigade contained the symbol of a Viking ship, while the Hamburg Free Corps in the Baltische Landeswehr carried above the Hansa flag the black pennant of the famous pirate Klaus Störtebecker. Many Free Corps men pictured themselves as the successors of the Teutonic Knights who brought "a new faith and a new race into the world" and saved Germany from "the Asiatic hordes."¹ Other groups, particularly the Rossbach Brigade, not only spoke in terms of German nationalism, but openly glorified the male society of the Free Corps and regarded homosexuality as differentiating them from the ordinary civilian population.

B. The Activities of the Free Corps

The Berlin government called the Free Corps into existence

1. Salomann, The Outcasts, 61-65; Nahe Geschichte, 18-19.

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in 1919 to suppress the Communist uprisings. In Berlin, the Spartacist insurrections were crushed with great violence and the leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, were "shot while attempting to escape." The same pattern was used in suppressing the Spartacist movement and the Räterepublik elsewhere throughout Germany. After the assassination of Kurt Eisner, the Free Corps of southern Germany converged on Munich to destroy the Soviet Republic, while those of northern Germany marched on the Communist stronghold in Hamburg. In western Germany, the Corps were less successful in opposing the revolutionaries. The Freikorps Lützow was driven out of Remscheid and was saved only by flight across the demarcation line into occupied territory. The Freikorps Lichtschlag was wiped out at Wetter a. Ruhr.

The use of these volunteer corps against the revolutionary elements of the German population strengthened the existing mutual antagonisms between the conservative-nationalist groups and the proletariat. Yet the government considered that it had little choice but to entrust its defense to groups which were determined to overthrow the republic. So much did the government fear the leftists that it brought the Maercker Landes-Jägerkorps to Weimar in 1919 to guard the National Assembly while the constitution was being written. The use of the Free Corps to suppress the revolution did a great deal to establish the anti-Bolshevist and anti-democratic attitudes which were finally integrated into the totalitarian philosophy of the Third Reich.

C. The War on the German Frontiers and Military Counter-Revolution

The war on the German frontiers after the armistice was of greater importance in the formulation of the traditions of continuous fighting and in the development of subversive techniques. The first phase of Free Corps activity on the

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frontiers was in the Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania which had been occupied by German troops at the time of the Russian Revolution and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The armistice in 1918 specifically called for the withdrawal of the Germans, but after the threatened invasion of the Baltic states by the Red Army, the Allies did not press the demands for the evacuation of the German troops. These troops under the control of General von der Golz were combined into several units, such as the Iron Division, made up of numerous Free Corps; and the Baltische Landeswehr which included German Free Corps, White Russians, Balt landlords and Latvians. The Latvian government promised citizenship, land and pay to all German volunteers who served for a minimum of four weeks in these formations. In April 1919, the Balt landlords in the Landeswehr overthrew the Latvian Government and established a military dictatorship which was supported by the Germans.

In the face of an Allied demand to disband his corps, von der Golz invaded Estonia and was badly defeated in the battle of Wenden. The Germans persisted in their refusal to withdraw from Latvia despite the retreat of the Red Army, until the Allies threatened a renewal of the blockade. The German Government finally decreed that all Germans who had not returned across the frontier by 11 November 1919 would lose their citizenship.

The Baltic war is important in establishing the traditions of Free Corps activity and solidarity. The personnel, drawn from all parts of Germany, and led by the East Prussian aristocracy, fought against the Red Army with the approval of the German Government which provided them with arms, munitions, and uniforms from the stores of the Imperial Army. The ultimate authority over the Baltische Landeswehr and the Iron Division was the Latvian Government, but in reality the German

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formations were free-booting expeditions, approved by the German Government and General Staff, intent on fighting and seizing land. Von der Goltz planned the establishment of an independent buffer state in the Baltic made up of German soldier-farmers who, it was claimed, would be constantly prepared to defend Germany and the world against Russian Bolshevism.

The leaders read to the Free Corps the German Government's order to disband and turn in their arms, but they refused to comply. The major groups marched back to Germany, firm in the belief that they were carrying out a "world mission" of combating "the unholy consequences of Russian Bolshevism."¹ The bands soon appeared as the instrument of the counter-revolution against the Weimar state when the German corps marched from Riga to Berlin to participate in the Kapp Putsch of 1920.

The effort to overthrow the Weimar state by the Kapp Putsch was based on the military power of the Ehrhardt Marine Brigade and other Free Corps. The Ehrhardt Brigade marched into Berlin from its winter quarters at Doberitz on 13 March 1920, where it was greeted by Ludendorff and numerous Reichswehr generals. The genius of the Kapp Putsch was not Kapp, but Ehrhardt who was regarded in conservative-nationalist circles as the potential "savior" of Germany. His objective was the overthrow of the republic and the establishment of a military dictatorship which would recover Germany's lost prestige and prepare the way for the restoration of the monarchy. The Brigade, composed largely of former naval officers, represented the aristocracy and ultra-conservative social groups. The troops carried the imperial flag and their helmets bore the swastika emblem. Many smaller Free Corps flocked to the Ehrhardt standard and local insurrections

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1. Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfe deutscher Truppen und Freikorps, Die Kämpfe um Baltikum nach der zweiten Einnahme von Riga, 1938.

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took place in several parts of Germany. The Putsch, however, was centered almost entirely in Berlin and in the area east of the Elbe River. In Bavaria, the Social Democratic government was forced out by the Free Corps, and in Central Germany there were many disturbances, but no clear-out majority appeared for either side. In the rest of Germany, the population declared themselves in favor of the republic.¹

The Kapp Putsch was not suppressed by the military forces of the republic, nor were the perpetrators ever punished for their treasonable activity. The Putsch was liquidated by a general strike called by the trade unions, a fact which deepened the hostility between the Free Corps and German labor.

At the same time that the Free Corps were fighting in the Baltic states and attempting a Putsch in Berlin, another undeclared war was being fought in Silesia. The Treaty of Versailles stipulated that the German troops evacuate Silesia and that the area be placed under international control until a plebiscite should decide its ultimate disposition. The Poles, under the former Reichstag deputy Korfanty, revolted against the Germans and in the local elections in November 1919 won a clear majority. The Free Corps immediately began to gather and were united into a Kampforganisation des deutschen Schutzbundes, operating under the orders of the old Sixth Army Corps at Breslau. The headquarters staff in Breslau consisted of Reichswehr officers on indefinite leave. The field headquarters of the German volunteer forces was at Kattowitz. A sum of 20 million marks is reputed to have been granted by the German Government while the remainder of the cost was borne by the mine

1. Rosenberg, History of the German Republic, 135 ff.

owners, heavy industries, and big estates whose interests would be affected by the transfer of Upper Silesia to Poland.

The members of the Free Corps were divided into small groups under the command of an officer. They lived on the big estates as agricultural workers and experts, and the commanding officer was usually the "manager" of the estate, as for example the future Nazi leader, Martin Bormann, who was an estate manager while serving as chief of staff of the Rossbach Brigade. Many railway workers enrolled as members of the Free Corps and by commandeering entire trains played a vital role in the transportation of men and supplies. Various devices were used to smuggle arms in defiance of the Allied Control Commission, such as the sending in of thousands of rifles without butts labeled as "scrap iron." The butts were then manufactured in the woodworking department of the Friedenshütte foundry and guns assembled in secret arsenals. The large firms of Berg und Hüttemann, Laurahütte and others, contributed money and gave positions to the Free Corps leaders to disguise their operations. The Einwohnerwehr (home defense leagues) in the towns along the demarcation line drilled openly and refused to give up their arms, while the Sicherheitspolizei distributed guns to the civilian population in open defiance of the law and international controls. The Free Corps established an espionage service operating as a purchasing agency for the Wera Kompagnie für Chemische-technische Produkte, located in the hotel which served as the chief rendezvous for the officers of the International Commission. The most daring members of the Corps were chosen as "special police" of the Kampforganisation. A former police inspector trained them in the art of "fighting in the dark" in a special school in Kattowitz, and they studied such subjects

as the method of falsifying passports, shadowing suspects, use of explosives, and lockpicking.¹

The international control forces arrived in 1920, but despite their presence the Germans and Poles fought each other in small armed bands and propagandized for the coming plebiscite. After the Germans won an outstanding victory in the plebiscite, the Poles again revolted and the Free Corps opened a general offensive which resulted in the capture of Annaberg. The German troops finally withdrew in 1920 but only after the French threatened to occupy the Ruhr unless they laid down their arms.

D. The Struggle against Allied Occupation

The occupation of the Rhineland by Allied forces after the war provided a motivation for the Free Corps to sabotage the work of the occupation forces as well as to combat the Berlin Government which accepted the peace settlement. The nationalistic groups, however, could not operate openly in the face of strict military controls, but could only carry out their work as secret societies.

The extent of nationalistic opposition in the Rhineland depended on the strength of separatist tendencies and the nature of the occupation policy. In the American zone, no widespread resistance developed due to the comparative freedom of political action. In the French and Belgian zones, where local political life was more rigidly controlled, a widespread resistance was developed by the Free Corps. Both nationalistic and Communist groups were organized to a small extent among the local inhabitants or were dispatched in large numbers from other parts of Germany to fight primarily against the Rhineland separatists.

1. A full account of these techniques may be found in Glombowski, Frontiers of Terror, pp. 56-7, 65.

The fight against occupation and separation was particularly strong after the extension of the French occupation to the Ruhr in 1923. When French troops came in, the leaders of the former corps called their trusted men to assemble secretly and prepare for war. One of the leading spirits of the Ruhr struggle was Leo Schlageter, claimed by the Nazis as one of their early martyrs and extolled by the Communists in 1923 as a hero of German nationalism. His corps, along with many others, flocked to the Ruhr to engage in sabotage of transportation facilities. Their chief work, however, was in preventing the establishment of the Rhenish Republic by the Rhineland separatist movement. An espionage service, called the Lorenzer group, was set up by Schlageter to spy on the separatists and on any German who gave help or information to the French. The group not only discovered pro-French elements in the German population, but also executed some of them as traitors. Many members of the government of the Rhenish Republic were shot by the Free Corps.

The Free Corps operated as secret groups in the Ruhr in the face of the opposition of the Berlin Government and the Reichswehr, as well as the French military forces. The efficient French controls made impossible any widespread action and after Schlageter was shot and numerous other activists sent to the French penal colonies, the Free Corps opposition subsided.

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II. THE SECRET AND CAMOUFLAGED SOCIETIES

By 1920, the actions of the Free Corps had developed to such proportions that action was taken against them by the German Government and the Allied states. In that year the Allies ordered the dissolution of all Free Corps and Home Defense Leagues and the turning in of all arms.¹ International controls were established in Germany and police officials were authorized to collect the forbidden arms and to turn them over to the Allied authorities, making necessary a change in tactics by the nationalist forces.

An attempt by the Free Corps leaders to continue their actions by legal means did not succeed. In 1922, various Free Corps leaders established the German Racial Liberty Party (Deutsche Volkischen Freiheitspartei) based on the theory of racial nationalism and seeking the destruction of the peace settlement and the revival of German power. The party was composed of splinter groups of the extreme rightist parties and the Free Corps. It secured the support of three Reichstag deputies led by von Graefe and in the elections of 1924 the party obtained nearly two million votes. The Racial Liberty Party sponsored the formation of military leagues, camouflaged as sports associations under the leadership of the notorious Rossbach. In 1923, these leagues were offered by von Graefe to the government with the suggestion that under the command of Ludendorff they could be used to suppress the Social Democrats and Communists as a prelude to war against the French in the Ruhr. This plan was opposed by the Reichswehr, and Rossbach was arrested and kept in prison until the end of the year, while Ludendorff wandered back to Munich to help Hitler in the Beer Hall Putsch.

1. Daniels, Rise of the German Republic, pp. 157-158.

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By the end of 1924, the Racial Liberty Party had lost its strength as the majority of the members either returned to the rightist parties or joined the Nazis.

The most effective form of organized activity was the secret and camouflaged groups. The entire list of secret societies is too numerous to mention. The following list includes some of the important examples of illegal or camouflaged societies which existed in Germany to carry on the fight against the Weimar state and the peace structure.

A. Organization Consul (OC)

The OC was formed by the officers of the Ehrhardt Brigade and the Garde Kavalerie Schützen Division. After the failure of the Kapp Putsch, Ehrhardt fled to Hungary through the friendly help of the Munich police, where he lived under the protection of Gömbös, who later did the Nazis great service as Prime Minister of Hungary. Ehrhardt returned to Munich with a false passport issued to Consul von Eschwege, hence the name Organization Consul. He lived with Princess Hohenlohe and his organization is alleged to have been financed by the remnants of the old Pan-German League.

The OC was in no sense a mass organization and contained few bourgeois elements, except those specifically employed to carry out acts of violence. According to its statutes, the aristocratic officer personnel combated the "anti-national Weimar constitution." Their aims were stated as: the prevention of the complete revolutionizing of Germany; the creation of a strong national government to prevent internal disorder; the negation of the Versailles decision to disarm Germany. The OC was strictly authoritarian, and the entire organization was based on unquestioning obedience. Provisions were made for punishing those who betrayed its secrets, and since the OC operated outside the pale of law,

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it utilized the apparatus of the Feme murder to enforce its decisions.

The basic method of attack employed by the OC was murder. In 1921, two members of the organization, Heinrich Schulz and Heinrich Tillessen, assassinated the Centrist deputy Erzberger who had signed the armistice and who was held responsible for the "stab in the back." The details of the murder were planned by Manfred von Killinger. The murderers fled to Munich and police officials helped them to proceed to Hungary where, like Ehrhardt, they lived at the country estate of Gönbös.

The Hungarian Government refused to permit the extradition of the murderers. Killinger was sentenced to eight months in jail. After serving his sentence, he was given the position of manager of the Junkers airplane plant in Spain, which manufactured illegal military aircraft for the German army. In 1929, Killinger was elected as a deputy of the Nazi Party to the Saxon Landtag, and after 1933 he rose quickly in the party hierarchy, becoming Minister President of Saxony, Consul-General in Los Angeles, and later Minister to Rumania. In the following year, two other members of the OC, Kern and Fischer, assassinated Foreign Minister Walter Rathenau. The murderers were killed by the police. The details of the murder were planned by Tschow, who was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. After a short time he escaped and joined the French Foreign Legion, reappearing in 1940 as a French officer in Marseille selling false passports to German refugees. Ehrhardt was arrested under the name of Eschwege, but was freed when his comrades broke into the jail and killed his guards. After the farcical trial of the OC in 1924, Ehrhardt was pardoned by the government amnesty of that year and his full pension rights were restored. It is rumored that he disappeared in the Nazi purge of 1934.

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The OC was essentially a coordinating agency directing the activities of organizations which enjoyed the benefits of legality. The chief front organizations for the OC were the Vikingbund and the Neudeutsche Bund which openly engaged in pre-military training.

B. Oberland Bund and Werwolf

Another subversive organization which carried on the ideal of the Free Corps was the Oberland Bund, a product of Bavarian separatism and opposition to rule exercised from Berlin.¹ The group came into existence at the time of the Bavarian Soviet Republic when soldiers from the Alpine Corps of the Imperial Army formed a Free Corps at Eichstätt. As the Corps increased in size, it changed its name to the Freikorps Oberland and after 1920 to the Oberland Bund. The edelweiss symbol of the Bund was a familiar sight in German illegal fighting in Munich and in Upper Silesia, where a number of men were lost in the storming of Annaberg. After 1920, the Bund engaged in political activity and propaganda in Munich. Its periodical Das dritte Reich advocated the "liberation" of Germany from the peace treaties and the inclusion of all Germans into a "Third Reich," with a government based on the leadership principle strong enough to dominate all economic groups (i.e., trade unions) in the country. Under the leadership of Dr. Weber, the Bund attempted to concentrate on education and propaganda as preparation for a long-term plan of rearmament and racial nationalism, but in 1923 the urge to fight in the Ruhr was too strong to withstand. Driven from the Ruhr by the French, the Bund joined Hitler in the Munich Putsch. The organization was outlawed in 1923 by the national government and the state governments in Bavaria, Prussia and Saxony. However, the Bund

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1. Posse, Politische Kampfstände, p. 45 ff.

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continued as a secret organization, concentrating its personnel and ideology in the Werwolf, a nationalistic organization founded in Halle on the day that the French entered the Ruhr.

The Werwolf Mitteldeutscher Schutzverband shortly after its founding by Hauptmann Fritz Kloppe changed its name to Werwolf Bund deutscher Männer und Frontkrieger. It was intended originally as a youth organization, but soon developed into a military league to create a trained reserve for the Reichswehr. The ideology of Werwolf followed the line of the Oberland Bund in opposing "plutocratic, international, and Jewish capitalism," but unlike the Bund and the Nazis they advocated a union with Soviet Russia to achieve this end. The Werwolf is an outstanding example of the National Bolshevist movement in Germany which hoped to unite the militarist and revolutionary elements against the Weimar state and the Western European powers. A youth organization called Jungwolf provided pre-military training for approximately 30,000 members. In 1929, Werwolf decided to enter politics and was absorbed into several of the extremist right parties.

C. Orgesch

Another example of the military leagues which attempted to perpetuate the spirit of the Free Corps was the Orgesch in Bavaria. The Organisation Escherich (Orgesch) was founded by Georg Escherich after Bavaria declined to obey the Reich order to dissolve the home defense leagues (Einwohnerwehr) in 1920. It was an attempt to organize the petty bourgeoisie by stressing that Germany was controlled by the "Berlin Bolsheviks" and that the Bavarian "mission" was to purge Germany of all revolutionary elements. Dr. Escherich wanted to extend the Orgesch from Bavaria to the entire Reich in order to overthrow the Berlin Government and institute Bavarian rule in Germany.

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Orgesch was a fighting organization based on military lines and formations. It possessed a considerable arsenal taken from German army stores which the Bavarian government in 1921 estimated to contain 240,000 rifles, 2,780 machine guns, 44 field pieces and 34 mine throwers.¹ The members fought in Munich in 1919-1920 and formed a major part of the German forces in Upper Silesia. After 1921, Orgesch was active in Bavarian politics until its members were gradually absorbed into the Nazi Party.

D. Other Groups

Many small groups in camouflaged form engaged in illegal military training or in teaching the ideals of militant nationalism. Among them, the following may be mentioned:

1. Blücherbund was a group which broke away from the Oberland Bund over the question of tactics. It was founded by Arnold Rügge, a Heidelberg University teacher, who was successful in organizing students to take more violent action against the "Marxist North" of Germany than was advocated by the parent organization. It was active in the Ruhr in 1923.
2. Grossdeutsche Jugendbund was founded in Berlin after the war to revive the old Prussian ideas of authority and discipline and to preach the new doctrine of racial nationalism.
3. Stahlhelm, the organization of veterans, established youth organizations which became the haven of ex-Free Corps members. The most important was Jungstahlhelm with 60,000 members. The Scharnhorst Bund and Konigin Luise provided anti-republican indoctrination and training in the traditional military virtues for young boys and girls. Another reactionary veterans organization, Kyffhäuser Bund, provided pre-military training for youths in the Kyffhäuser Jugend.

¹ Daniels, Rise of the German Republic, p. 157-8.

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4. Bismarck Bund with 30,000 members was the youth organization of the Deutschnationale Volkspartei, the most outspoken of the anti-republican parties with the exception of the Nazis. The Bismarck Bund with its system of military training and development of putschist attitudes was one of the most active successors of the Free Corps.

5. Jugendbund Schlageter and Deutschvölkischer Jugendbund Graf Yorck von Wartenburg were, as their names imply, organizations created by the Free Corps of the same name to provide illegal military training for the Reichswehr reserve. Their ideological training stressed Germany's military and mythological past and held that German honor could be avenged only by violent action.

E. The Black Reichswehr and the Feme Murders

While the Free Corps and illegal groups were spontaneous organizations without any central directing agency, the Army attempted to create an integrated and controlled military reserve. The most significant group sponsored and directed by it was the Black Reichswehr (Schwarze Reichswehr) recruited from among the Free Corps fighters returning from Upper Silesia in 1920.

The Black Reichswehr was formed by the Army with the knowledge of the civil government. It was armed and clothed from government stores, and led by Reichswehr officers who had formerly been prominent in Free Corps activity, including Kottbus, Buchrucker (Freikorps Eulenberg), and Paul Schulz. The Reichswehr insisted that the Free Corps men join as individuals and not as groups. The basis for the Reichswehr opposition to the group enlistment of the Free Corps was their distrust of the radical theories of race and nationalism which they feared would produce a political army. Likewise, the Free Corps' conception of group solidarity and leadership

conflicted with the Army's insistence on discipline and integration. In spite of the Reichswehr's efforts, the Black Reichswehr turned out to be a heterogeneous group representing many conflicting political viewpoints and interests.

The Black Reichswehr was commanded by the chief of staff of the III Reichswehr division (Wehrkreiskommando III), Oberstleutnant Fédor von Bock (later Field Marshal). The tactical command of the 18,000 secret members in this district was in the hands of Major von Buchrucker. A Kommando zur besonderen Verwendung was located in Berlin under the command of Klapproth, Rüs^hchung, and Fahlbusch, all of whom were members of the OC. The same structural basis of the army was maintained in the Black Reichswehr. Each group was assigned a district under the command of a "Führer" and was charged with "carrying out all measures necessary for the maintenance of the state and army." Thus, a parallel organization to the Reichswehr was built in each Wehrkreiskommando, and in several districts the secret army outnumbered the army permitted in the peace treaty. The liaison officer between the Reichswehr and the illegal army was the then Captain Eugen Ott, who is at present the Nazi ambassador to Japan.

Major Buchrucker, the leader in Wehrkreiskommando III, had ideas of his own about the use of the troops during the Ruhr struggle which conflicted with the policy of the state and Army. On 15 September 1923, Buchrucker ordered the mobilization of the Black Reichswehr, Free Corps and military leagues in his district preparatory to laying siege to Berlin. He attempted to get the Reichswehr commander in the Kustrin garrison to join the movement, but the plan miscarried and many members of the Black Reichswehr were

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killed in the so-called Küstrin Putsch. Buchrucker was arrested and sentenced to ten years in prison and the Black Reichswehr was broken up. The Army had all along feared its political orientation and objectives, while the many Feme murders which accompanied its activity threatened the disclosure of its sources of arms and secret connections.

After the Küstrin Putsch the government was forced to investigate the entire existence of secret military organizations in the Reich. The Feme¹ murder was the obvious means by which illegal groups maintained their secrecy and protected their organizations against provocative agents. The secret and illegal groups murdered any member who withdrew or aroused suspicions that he might betray sources of arms and finance or the membership to the government authorities. The device was particularly useful to the Black Reichswehr since any revelation of the arms supply or connection with the army would seriously compromise not only the movement itself but the German Government as well. The Feme murders aroused great admiration in German nationalist circles. After 1923, the government made various efforts to bring the Feme murders to an end, but they continued on a diminished scale throughout the Weimar period.

F. The Lack of Controls

The Free Corps were able to act vigorously for a while because of the nature of the controls established by the peace settlement and the attitude of the German government. Effective controls were not created by the Allied states until 1920, giving the Free Corps the opportunity to recruit members, collect arms, and consolidate their group organizations. The

1. The mechanism of the Feme murder was named after the Vehmgericht trials of the Middle Ages which were held by secret courts operating in the name of the Emperor without regard for the law and judicial procedures of the localities in which they existed.

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control system which utilized German army and administrative personnel to discover and confiscate arms permitted large caches of arms to remain in the hands of the illegal groups. This practice permitted the basic problem of arms control to remain in the hands of those who sympathized with the Free Corps' objective of German rearmament. In the face of popular demonstrations against Allied control officers whenever they made their appearance, the search for arms was left almost entirely to German personnel.

In addition to the time lag between defeat and arms control, the International Commission in Germany proved to be lax in its disarmament efforts. The Allies did not oppose the arming of German volunteer units in the Baltic war, while in upper Silesia the Free Corps openly collected arms and fought the Poles. The only effective control of Free Corps activity was exercised by the French in the Ruhr (1923) where illegal action threatened the military security of the occupation forces.

Due to the attitudes of the army and judiciary, the German Government was not able to exercise its legal powers to control illegal activity. The courts, composed of judges held over from the Imperial regime, refused to punish the officers who engaged in the Kapp Putsch of 1920 except to impose rather light sentences in a few cases. The courts likewise refused to deprive those convicted of political murder or treasonable activity of their pension rights. The punishment of the Feme murderers of the Black Reichswehr was made practically impossible by a judicial decision which prevented any disclosure of the source of arms or the nature of the organization of the secret group on the grounds that such evidence would be dangerous to national security. The differences between the courts and the political leadership

of the state on this question were often the subject of debate in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Diet, but the arguments of the Reichswehr and courts prevailed. The Feme murderers went unpunished. The only element in the state able to control the illegal groups was the Reichswehr. Whenever the activities of the groups conflicted with the political policy of the Army, as in the case of the Black Reichswehr and the Ruhr fight in 1923, the generals did not hesitate to use superior force. This means of control proved to be effective.

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III. THE FREE CORPS SURVIVAL IN GERMANY

A. The Free Corps and the Army

The Free Corps and military leagues persisted in Germany in various ways. After the dissolution of the corps, one form of survival was in the Reichswehr. When the treaty army was formed, many of the Free Corps became cadres for Reichswehr regiments. These corps, serving as transitional defense forces in the administrative areas of the Imperial Army, changed their names and became units of the new army stationed in the areas in which they had formerly served as volunteers.¹ The Army, however, exercised a careful political scrutiny over prospective members and refused to admit any who were identified with the Rossbach Brigade, Freikorps Aulock, Selbstschutz Kompagnie Schlageter. Likewise, they disapproved of the putschist tactics of the Free Corps, and numerous officers, including Captain Röhm and General von Epp, were forced to resign their commissions. The Reichswehr accepted only those men they could control and stamp with their own political viewpoint. The activists were left to their own devices.

B. The Free Corps and the Nazi Party

After the events of 1923, economic conditions in Germany were gradually stabilized and adjustments were made in both German and Allied foreign policy which tended to remove the most objectionable controls stipulated in the peace treaty. With the end of inflation, the return of employment, and the gradual acceptance of Germany into the European state system,

1. Some examples are:

- Landesjägerkorps Maercker -- Reichswehr Brigade 16
- Freikorps Dohna -- Reichswehr Grenadier Regiment 53
- Freikorps Düsseldorf -- Reichswehr Schützen Regiment 61
- Freikorps Faupel -- Reichswehr Grenadier Regiment 10
- Freikorps Hasse -- Reichswehr Infanterie Regiment 108

A full list of the Free Corps which became units in the Reichswehr is given in Schmidt-Pauli, Geschichte der Freikorps, p. 354 ff.

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the basic reasons for the existence of the Free Corps and secret military leagues disappeared and the average members were absorbed into peaceful civilian life. This situation, however, did not affect the activists -- the "irregulars" who could not adapt themselves to the prevailing social structure. They continued their activities, such as Feco murders and secret military training, but gradually found a haven in the Nazi Party with its doctrines of Greater Germany and anti-Semitism, and its methods of violence and street fighting.

In the years from 1924 to 1927, a number of Free Corps fighters entered the Nazi Party and rose to positions of prominence. How many rank and file members entered the SA and SS cannot be ascertained. The outstanding example of a Free Corps fighter who became a prominent Nazi is Martin Bormann, ex-chief of staff of the Rossbach Brigade. After serving a term in prison for political murder, Bormann entered the NSDAP in 1925 and is now Chief of the Party Chancellery.

Free Corps personnel also remained in the state administration and formed subversive cells which helped to prepare the way for the Nazi acquisition of power. Many examples of the creation of cells in the administrative structure have been glorified in the extensive literature which the Nazis have issued on the activities of the Free Corps. Particularly important were the Free Corps cells in the police forces of Hamburg, Berlin, Munich, Göttingen, Stettin and other German cities which gradually came under the control of the Nazis.¹

1. CID 62453-C; Nazi publications on the Free Corps, such as Schmidt-Pauli, Geschichte der Freikorps; von Oertzen, Die deutschen Freikorps; Kurt Hotzel, Deutscher Aufstand and the Darstellungen aus den Nachkriegskämpfen deutscher Truppen und Freikorps, contain thorough descriptions of the methods of forming secret military leagues, strategy, supply and transportation, and illegal operations against popular authority.

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date JUN 1 1972

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Appendix I. FREE CORPS MEMBERS PROMINENT IN THE NAZI PARTY.

The following is a list of a few of the prominent Nazis who began their political career during the Weimar Republic as members of Free Corps and the secret societies. This list is derived from references in von Oertzen, Die deutschen Freikorps, Schmidt-Pauli, Geschichte des deutschen Freikorps, Führer-Lexikon, and from material in Biographical Records, OSS:

ADAMS, Josef-Joachim	Landeshauptmann, Lower Silesia
ALPERS, Friedrich	SS Obergruppenführer, Sec. of State to Reich Master of Forests; General Forstmeister
ARENT, Benno von	Official Nazi stage designer
BANNEMANN, Emil	Gaubmann Schleswig-Holstein
BECKERLE, Adolf Heinz	German Minister to Bulgaria; SA Obergruppenführer
BITTRICH, Willi	SS Gruppenführer
BLOME, Kurt	Chief of the Reich Physicians' League; Deputy Reich Health Leader
BORMANN, Martin	Chief of Party Chancellory; SS Obergruppenführer (Rossbach Brigade)
BERNDT, Alfred-Ingemar	Chief of Radio Section, Propaganda Ministry; SS Brigadeführer
BUCHNER, Franz	Deputy Gauleiter, Munich
BUTTMAN, Rudolf	Reichstags Member; Retired Ministerial Director
DALUEGE, Kurt	SS Oberstgruppenführer; Chief of Uniformed Police, Ministry of Interior; Deputy Protector, Bohemia and Moravia (inactive)
DIETRICH, Sepp	SS Oberstgruppenführer; Generaloberst of Waffen SS
DORSCH, Xaver	Chief of Field Command of OT; Ministerial-director in Ministry for Armaments and War Production

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EBERSTEIN, Friedrich Karl von	SS Obergruppenführer; Police President, Munich (Brigade Erhardt)
ELTZ-RÜBENACH, Cuno von	Landesbauernführer, Rheinprovinz
EMMERT, Ernst	President, Oberlandesgericht, Nürnberg
EGGELING, Joachim Albrecht	Gauleiter, Halle-Merseburg; SS Obergruppenführer
ENGELBRECHT, Otto	NSKOV
ENGLER-FÜSSELEN, Fritz	SS Standartenführer; Gauamtsleiter, Baden-Elsass
EPP, Franz von	Reichsleiter; Reichsstatthalter, Bavaria; SS Obergruppenführer
ERDMANN, Walter	Landesbauernführer, Saxony
FLORIAN, Friedrich	Gauleiter, Düsseldorf; Prussian State Councillor, SA Gruppenführer
FREYTAG, Hermann	Oberbürgermeister Duisburg
FRICK, Wilhelm	Former Reich Minister of Interior; Reich Protector, Bohemia-Moravia
FRITSCH, Karl	SS and SA Brigadeführer; Sax. Minister of Interior
GANZENMÜLLER, Albert	Sec. of State in Ministry of Transport; SA Brigadeführer
GLASMEIER, Heinrich	Director, Grossdeutscher Rundfunk
GREISER, Artur	Reichs Governor and Gauleiter, Wartheland; SS Obergruppenführer
GRITZBACH, Erich	Press Chief of Prussian Government; Chief of Staff, Office of Reich Marshal
GROENEVELD, Jaques	Landesbauernführer, Weser-Ems
GROHE, Josef	Gauleiter, Cologne-Aachen; SS Obergruppenführer
GUTTERER, Leopold	Chairman, Board of Directors, UFA; former Secretary of State, Reich Propaganda Ministry
HADAMOVSKY, Eugen	Chief of Staff, Reich Propaganda Ministry
HAYLER, Franz	Secretary of State, Reich Ministry of Economics; SS Brigadeführer

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HELLMUTH, Otto	Gauleiter, Mainfranken
HERGENRÖDER, Adolf	Member of Reichstag; Gauamtsleiter; SS Hauptsturmführer
HESS, Rudolf	Deputy to Hitler until 19 October 1941, when he fled to England
HIERL, Konstantin	Reichsleiter; Chief, Reich Labor Service
HILDEBRANT, Friedrich	Gauleiter, Mecklenburg-Schwerin; SS Oberguppenführer
HINKEL, Hans	Secretary General and Chief Editor, Reich Chamber of Culture
HÖLFE, Hermann	NSKK Oberguppenführer; Senior SS and Police Leader of Military District XI
HÜHNLEIN, Adolf	Formerly Korpsführer of NSKK (dead)
ILGNER, Max	Director, I. G. Farben, Stickstoff Syndikat, etc.
JÖHLITZ, Fritz	Member, Reich Commissariat, Norway; Manager, Essen Gau Labor Office
JORDN, Rudolf	SA Oberguppenführer; Gauleiter, Magdeburg-Anhalt
JÜTTNER, Max	Chief, SA Führungsamt; SA Oberguppenführer
KANSTEIN, Paul	District President of Hanover, SS Brigadeführer
KASCHE, Siegfried	German Minister to Croatia; SA Oberguppenführer
KAUFMANN, Karl	NSKK and SS Oberguppenführer; Gauleiter and Reichsstatthalter, Hamburg
KILLINGER, Manfred von	SA Oberguppenführer; former Minister to Rumania (dead)
KLEINHEISTERKAMP, Matthias	SS Gruppenführer; Cmdr. of SS Mountain Division "Nord"
KLEINMANN, Wilhelm	SA Oberguppenführer; Sec. of State in Ministry of Transport until 1942
KOCH, Erich	Reich Commissioner, Ukraine; Gauleiter, East Prussia
KOLBOW, Karl Friedrich	Landeshauptmann, Westphalia

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KRÜGER, Frederick-Wilhelm	SS Obergrouppenführer; Government-General (reported killed)
KRÜGER, Walter	SS Obergrouppenführer; Cmdr. of SS Division "Das Reich"
KÜCHLER, Georg von	Generalfeldmarschall (retired)
KUNISCH, Siegmund	Chief of Central Dept. in Ministry of Education
LEIBRANDT, Georg	Min. Dir., Reich Ministry for Occupied Eastern Territories
LINDEN, Karl	Deputy Gauleiter, Hessen-Nassau
LOEPER, Friedrich von	SA Standartenführer; Deputy President of Reich ARP League
LOEPER, Wilhelm	Formerly Reichsstatthalter of Brunswick and Anhalt (died in 1936)
LÖRENZ, Werner	SS Obergrouppenführer; Chief of Resettlement Staff, Reichskommissar für die Festigung der Deutschen Volkstums
LUTZE, Viktor	Chief of Staff, SA (dead)
MAGUNIA, Waldemar	Party official in East Prussia, held post of Commissioner General of Kiev
MANSFELD, Werner	Min. Dir., Reich Ministry of Labor in 1933,, presumably dismissed in 1942
MAYR, Franz	SS Brigadeführer; District President, Upper Bavaria
MEINBERG, Wilhelm	SS Gruppenführer; Commissioner for Transport of Fuel on Board of Four Year Plan
MILCH, Erhard	Member of Armament Council; General Feld Marschall (Luftwaffe)
MÜHLEN, Leo von	Director, Central Office for East Research
MÜLLER, Henrich	President, Rechnungshof des deutschen Reiches
MÜNDLER, Anton	Deputy Gauleiter, Swavia
MÜNDELER, Eugen	Chief Editor, <u>Das Reich</u>
NAGEL, Willi	NSKK, Gruppenführer; Commander of Transport Corps, Organisation Todt
NEUBERT, Reinhard	President, Reichs Lawyers Chamber

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PREL, Max	Secretary, Feder. of National Journalist Associations; Reichsamtleiter; member of Executive Council of German Law Front
PRIESS, Hermann	SS Gruppenführer; Cmdr. of an SS Division
RAUTER, Hanns	SS chief in Netherlands; SS Obergruppenführer
REEDER, Eggert	Chief of Military Administration, Belgium; SS Obergruppenführer
RIECKE, Hans Joachim	Secretary of State in Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture; SA Gruppenführer
RUBERT, Fritz Bombard	SS Brigadeführer; Deputy Gauleiter, Foreign Org. of NSDAP
RUSH, Bernhard	Reich Minister for Science and Education; SA Obergruppenführer
SAUPERT, Hans	Chief of Staff and Deputy of Reich Treasurer; SS Brigadeführer
SCHEPMANN, Wilhelm	Chief of Staff, SA
SCHMEIDLER, Herbert	Official in RAD; Obergeneralarbeitsführer
SCHMELT, Albrecht	District President, Oppeln; SS Brigadeführer
SCHNEIDHUBER	Formerly leading man in SA (shot in purge, June 1934)
SEEBAUER	Chief of Production Division in Ministry for Armaments and War Production
SEGELKEN, Hans	Head of Dept. in Ministry of Justice
SEIDLER, Walther	Reichstags member; SS Standartenführer
SELZNER, Klaus	Commissioner General, Dnjepropetrovsk; Reichobmann, NSBO (dead)
SIMON, Gustav	Gauleiter, Moselland
STANGIER, Peter	Deputy Gauleiter Westphalia-North; SA Gruppenführer
STEINER, Felix	SS Gruppenführer; Cmdr. of third SS Armoured Corps

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STRASSER, Gregor	Chief Organizer of Party until December 1932 (dead)
STUCKART, Wilhelm	Secretary of State, Ministry of Interior; SS Obergruppenführer
TESCHE, Georg	Deputy Gauleiter, Halle-Merseburg
TRAEGL, Georg	Deputy Gauleiter, Schwaben
TURNER, Harald	Chief of Military Administration in Occupied Serbia
UEBELHOER, Friedrich	District President, Merseburg
WALDECK-PYRMONT, Josias Prince von	Senior SS and Police Leader in Military District IX; SS Obergruppenführer
WEBER, Friedrich	Chief, Department III, Ministry of Interior; SS Brigadeführer
WEINRICH, Karl	Formerly Gauleiter, Kurhessen; SS Gruppenführer; NSKK Obergruppenführer
WEISS, Wilhelm	SS Obergruppenführer; Chief Editor, Völkischer Beobachter
WOLFF, Karl	SS Obergruppenführer; chief of Himmler's personal staff
WOYRSCH, Udo von	SS Obergruppenführer; Senior SS and Police Leader in Military District IV

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State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72

By R. H. Parks Date JUN 1 1972

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

19 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested in
the attached report. Will you kindly see that it
reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



William J. Donovan
Director

a.s.s. folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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19 December 1944

file →
PSF

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will find of interest the following report which we have just received from our representative, Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

- "1. Subasic completely under domination of Tito.
- "2. Tito informed Subasic beginning December that when Tito becomes Prime Minister he will probably send Andric, Croatian poet who formally had diplomatic posts as Ambassador to United States, and is contemplating to place General Velebeit as Under Secretary of Foreign Affairs pursuant to wishes of National Committee of Liberation. Tito told Subasic: 'too bad we are both Croats but we shall manage'.
- "3. Subasic told me he took trip to Moscow at Tito's specific request.
- "4. Subasic in discussing question of monarchy informed Stalin that King Peter not popular in Croatia, Slovenia, and Macedonia, but has following in Serbia. Subasic felt that his visit with Stalin enhanced former's prestige with National

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By ABJ Dsf. JUN 11 1973

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Committee of Liberation and he was very pleased with that fact.

"5. Tito told Subasic that he received request from Churchill to land several Anglo-American divisions Western Croatia. Tito refused to grant request and received sharpest reply from Churchill stating that Allied troops can land wherever they wish if military operations require it. Subasic read Churchill's letter. Tito was greatly worried. Subasic told me Tito's refusal was motivated by his fear that landing may encourage Separatist Croatian movement. Subasic indicated he shares Tito's views on that matter.

"6. Sutej requested not to be included in new contemplated government. Subasic sought Tito's approval to send him as Minister to Switzerland. Latter tentatively agreed.

"7. Subasic requested Tito to promise him that he, Subasic will be first person to speak to Macek when latter freed. Tito promised with understanding that Subasic will see to it that Macek falls in line. Subasic boasted to me that he will handle Macek and will make him follow his course.

'I may even make Macek appoint me as his successor', said

Subasic.

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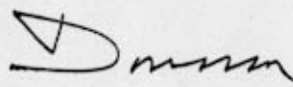
By DBL Date JUN 11 1973

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- 3 -

"8. Subasic submitted all agreements to Sargent, British Foreign Office who responded with series of 14 questions to Subasic to clarify vagueness of agreements. Subasic submitted his answers couched in vague phrases. (See our memorandum dated 18 December.)



William J. Donovan
Director

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By DBL Date JUN 11 1973

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

20 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested
in the attached report. Will you kindly see that
it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

O.S.S. folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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20 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the following dispatch which we have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

"On 19 December Subasic reported to King on his luncheon conference with Eden December 18th. Subasic warmly received by Eden and praised for his efforts to bring about unity. Eden showed understanding and sympathy but did not yet indicate formal approval of agreement. Subasic told King if British and Americans approve agreement, King need not worry for his constitutional prerogatives will be protected. King told me he is determined not to sign agreement but will not take definite stand playing for time.

"Subasic submitted to King December 19 names of 25 cabinet members of contemplated United Government. Herewith complete list. Parenthetical comments about members are mine.

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'Formation of Yugoslav Government

1. President and Minister of National Defense
Marshal Josip Broz Tito
2. First Vice-President
Stanoje Simic
(Serb, former ambassador to Moscow)
3. Second Vice-President and Minister for the Constituent Assembly
Edward Kardelj
(Slovene, ardent Communist)
4. Minister for Foreign Affairs
Dr. Ivan Subasic
5. Minister for the Interior
Rev. Vlado Zecevic
(Serbian priest, deeply religious, ardent supporter of National Committee of Liberation)
6. Minister of Finance
Dr. Dukanac
(Serb, vice-president of Serbian Democratic Party of which Gross is president)
7. Minister of Justice
Dr. Joseph Vilfram
(Slovene, member of Slovene People's Party)
8. Minister of Education
Professor Pavle Savic
(Serb)
9. Minister of Industry
Ahdrija Hebrang
(Croat, member of Croatian Peasant Party)
10. Minister of Trade & Food Engineer
Nikola Petrovic (Serb)

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- | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 11. Minister of Communication and
Minister of State for Bosnia
and Herzegovina | Todor Vujasinovic (Serb) |
| 12. Minister of Post, Telegraph and
Telephones | Sulejman Filipovic
(Moslem) |
| 13. Minister of Forests | Sava Kosanovic
(Serb from Dalmatia) |
| 14. Minister of Mines | A Macedonian to be
appointed |
| 15. Minister of Agriculture | Dane Skarica |
| 16. Minister of National Health | Dr. Zlatan Sremac (Croat) |
| 17. Minister of Social Welfare | Dr. Nikola Nikolic (Serb) |
| 18. Minister of Colonization | Sreten Vukosavljevic
(Serb, present member of
cabinet, Communist) |
| 19. Minister of Public Works | Dr. Rade Pribicevic
(Croat, member of Inde-
pendent Democratic
Croatian Party) |
| 20. Minister of Information | Vladislav Ribnikar
(Serb, editor and owner
of "Politica", Belgrade
Serbian newspaper) |
| 21. Minister for Serbia | Sreten Zujevic
(Serb, general of National
Liberation Army, Com-
munist) |

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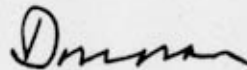
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|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 22. Minister for Croatia | Franje Frol
(Member of Croatian Peasant Party) |
| 23. Minister for Slovenia | Edvar Kocbek (Slovene) |
| 24. Minister for Macedonia | Mane Cuckov (Bulgar) |
| 25. Minister for Montenegro | Milovan Djilas
(Communist, general of National Liberation Army) |

December 7, 1944.

Tito

Subasic'



William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

21 December 1944

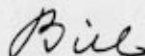
Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested
in the following report. Will you please see
that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

file

21 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

We have just received the following dispatch from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

"Saw Subasic today December 20. He confirmed the King's statement that Eden expressed general satisfaction with agreement and indicated they are waiting word from State Department to whom agreements were cabled for study. Subasic believes Churchill will see him within the next few days after British receive views of State Department."

Donovan

William J. Donovan
Director

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

21 December 1944

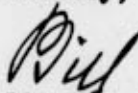
Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested in the attached memorandum. Will you kindly see that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,



William J. Donovan
Director

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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O. S. Jordan
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

21 December 1944

PSF

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will be interested in the following report which we have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

"King sent letter to Churchill requesting to see him alone without Subasic. Is seeing him today December 21st. Sutej's influence over King very great at present. He advises not to sign and play for time. Sutej prepared memorandum for King proving agreements unconstitutional. King contemplating showing memorandum to Churchill. Sutej's conversation with King kept as deep secret from Subasic."

William J. Donovan
William J. Donovan
Director

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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PSF: *o. s. j. j. c. m. 5-44*

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Box 170

22 December 1944

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Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Grace:

I believe the President would be interested in the attached radiotelephone message from our Berne representative. Will you kindly see that it reaches his desk? Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

WJ

William J. Donovan
Director

Enclosure.

55 December 1944
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

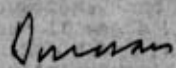
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22 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I believe the attached radiotelephone message, received from our representative in Berne, will be of interest to you. This report deals with

- (1) the real meaning of the German offensive, and
- (2) an article in the Basler Nationalzeitung dated 21 December.



William J. Donovan
Director

Enclosure.

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RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

MEMORANDUM

1. I have just returned a couple of hours ago from a very short visit to Paris. On the way back, I passed through Luxembourg, Metz, Strasbourg, and reached Basel late after dark tonight.

On my trip, I found that one of the chief subjects of interest was as to the real meaning of the German offensive. First, whether it was dictated solely by military considerations, and therefore planned and led by Rundstedt, or, second, whether it was a Hitler move, with evidence that the Fuehrer had aroused himself and forced the Army generals, or, third, whether it was a political military move, planned with limited military objectives, but with such hope for important political repercussions.

Personally, I am inclined to believe that this third alternative is the most likely. In the present German political situation, I doubt whether this move would have been made unless there had been some sort of an agreement between the generals, particularly Rundstedt and Guderian, on the one hand, and the leading Nazi politicians, Himmler, Goebbels, on the other. Undoubtedly, Hitler was allowed to believe that it was his initiative which was the responsible driving factor.

As regards the attitude of the German generals, there is reason to believe that they feel it imperative to defend German territory west of the Rhine-Ruhr area. To retreat to the Rhine would mean the loss of the use of the Ruhr to a large extent, and the end of any possibility of German military initiative in the West. It would condemn the German generals to a hopeless defensive battle, with a major section of German industry within crippling range of our guns. If, on the other hand, they could succeed in threatening our line of communication from Antwerp, they, the generals, would probably feel that considerable time might be saved during which the political leaders could work out some solution.

The political leaders, particularly Himmler and Goebbels, on the other part, probably felt that the present was a precious moment to take advantage of.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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23 December 1944

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

Miss Grace Tully operations in eastern China since
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace: Forces and other Allied units in obtaining
strategic I believe the President will be interested in
the attached report. Will you kindly see that it
reaches his desk.

Thank you. Sincerely,

Bul

William J. Donovan
Director

Of all ground intelligence available to the U.S. Forces
in China, a large share has been provided by the Air Ground
Force Research and Technical Staff (AGRTS), an SAC organ-
ization assigned to operate under the 11th Air Force. Much

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

23 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

In the defensive operations in eastern China since the spring of 1944, OSS personnel have collaborated closely with the 14th Air Force and other Allied units in obtaining strategic and tactical intelligence and carrying on other specialized operations designed to impede the Japanese advance. These activities have helped to make the enemy's territorial gains much costlier for him than they otherwise would have been; and by the same token they indicate a means whereby, when the preponderance of power in China has shifted to the Allies, the expulsion of the enemy may be achieved at a correspondingly diminished cost in American lives.

Of all ground intelligence available to the U.S. Forces in China, a large share has been provided by the Air Ground Forces Resources and Technical Staff (AGFRTS), an OSS organization assigned to operate under the 14th Air Force. Much of this information, by nature useful only if received without delay, was transmitted by AGFRTS mobile combat liaison

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teams on duty with Chinese armies in the First (Provisional), Third, Fourth, Seventh and Ninth War Areas. (Reference is made to diagram of AGFRTS network in Appendix A hereto.) Moving into front-line positions, these teams have established direct radio contact with friendly aircraft and guided them in dive-bombing and strafing attacks which have killed many thousands of Japs and destroyed much valuable equipment. (For examples of this type of operation, reference is made to memorandum for Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff, 15 July 1944, subject: Report on Exploits of Intelligence Teams in China.)

AGFRTS teams have also provided intelligence of longer range, often available from no other source. In attacks on enemy shipping the 14th Air Force has been aided by a timely and regular flow of information concerning traffic on the Yangtze River and in such ports as Amoy and Wenchow. At the same time the coast-watching reports have been transmitted to U.S. Navy personnel for relay to Chungking, whence the Navy has radioed them to submarines in Formosa Strait. Indications of important enemy logistical plans have been

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reported by AGFRTS agents several weeks before similar signs were obtained from aerial photographic reconnaissance conducted to verify the ground intelligence. The planning of the 14th Air Force has been facilitated by frequent reports on results of strategic bombing, besides daily weather messages from Anhwei, Kiangsi and Fukien provinces.

Another important AGFRTS intelligence activity is the collection of files and preparation of special studies on targets in the Japanese Inner Zone and occupied China, drawing to a large extent on Japanese documents smuggled out of enemy territory. This work is performed at 14th Air Force Headquarters by a highly trained OSS Research and Analysis unit which has, moreover, placed its resources and services at the disposal of the 20th Air Force. The AGFRTS organization has also accumulated extensive battle order information on eastern China, believed to be the only collection of its type, and it has conducted useful interrogations of Japanese prisoners.

Aside from its intelligence work, AGFRTS has collaborated with Chinese guerrillas in such specialized activities as

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the rescue of airmen downed in enemy territory and sabotage operations in the Japanese rear. Of the latter, an outstanding example is provided by the destruction of the coal mine near Canton, which deprived the enemy of his only local source of coal and thereby increased the strain on his shipping facilities. At present underground movements involving all important categories of workers are being organized in metropolitan centers in accordance with carefully developed plans. To subvert enemy morale, rumors have been circulated by AGFRTS agents on the basis of materials prepared by OSS and coordinated with the 14th Air Force for conformity to current tactical plans. For the deception of Japanese intelligence, OSS personnel devised purportedly authentic Air Force documents, which were coordinated, partially burned and left behind by the 14th Air Force in evacuating the air bases at Lingling, Hengyang, and Kweilin.

In early September it became evident that the Chinese armies were no longer capable of offering effective resistance to the enemy in eastern China. To provide maximum opportunity for the 14th Air Force to withdraw many tons of valuable equipment and destroy such parts of its installations

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as were incapable of salvage, OSS presented a plan for delaying the enemy by systematic scorching of the routes of his advance -- a program which neither the 14th Air Force nor the Chinese were in a position to undertake. With the approval of the 14th Air Force, OSS demolition teams selected and mined such targets as bridges, ferries and points easily blocked by landslides. (In this connection reference is made to Appendix B hereto). They blasted each target upon obtaining the approval of the local Chinese commander. At the same time these teams have radioed frequent reports on enemy progress which were greatly needed by the 14th Air Force, not only in attacking the enemy but in scheduling its withdrawal. OSS personnel and materiel have also been employed in the destruction of installations abandoned by the 14th Air Force. The present plans of OSS and the 14th Air Force call for a continuation of this scorching campaign for the duration of the current retreat. Moreover, Chinese personnel trained by OSS will be left behind to conduct sabotage operations in the enemy rear.

A modus operandi for future Chinese-American cooperation is believed to have been established by the manner in

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which these specialized American tasks have been performed. In many cases OSS teams have been able to furnish the Chinese military their first demonstration of modern technique in the fields of intelligence and demolition. The Chinese have assessed the practical gains accruing from American collaboration, and as they have seen it carried through despite personal danger and hardship, respect has been strengthened and teamwork improved. The extent of these gains will become apparent when projects now planned are put in execution.

Donovan

William J. Donovan
Director

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APPENDIX A

AGFRTS NETWORK IN CHINA

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By Authority of CIA

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973



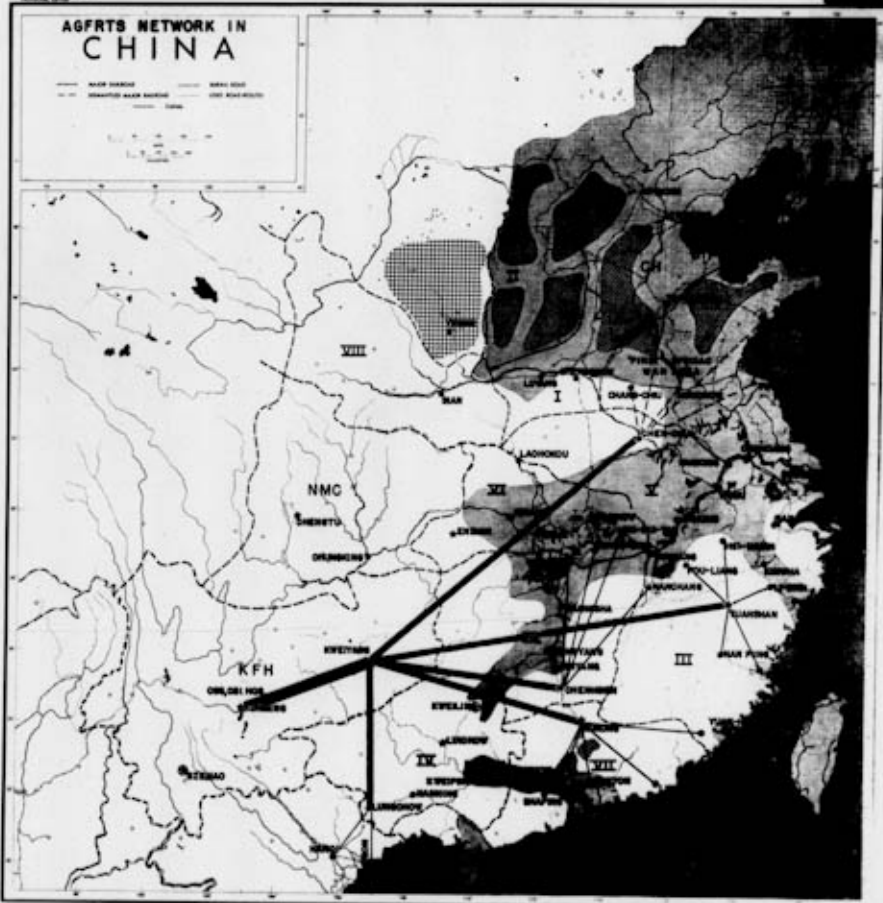
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APPENDIX A

AGFRTS NETWORK IN CHINA

- APPROXIMATE LINES OF JAPANESE PENETRATION - 15 OCTOBER 1944
- COMMUNICATIONS FROM 8HG 14TH AAF - FIELD HQ, AGFRTS
- COMMUNICATIONS FROM FIELD HQ AGFRTS - FIELD BASE
- COMMUNICATIONS FROM FIELD BASE TO AGENT
- - - CHINESE ARMY COMMUNICATIONS FROM FIELD BASE TO AGENT
- - - CHINESE WAR ZONES
- WAR ZONE HEADQUARTERS
- ▨ AREA HELD BY CHINESE COMMUNIST ARMY (EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY)
- ▨ AREA OF GUERRILLA PENETRATION OF CHINESE COMMUNIST ARMY

15 OCTOBER 1944



APPENDIX B

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Targets Demolished By OSS Scorching Teams

<u>Location</u>	<u>Bridges-Stone or Concrete</u>	<u>Bridges-Wooden</u>	<u>Ferries</u>	<u>Landslides</u>
Chungshan		330 ft.--6 rock piers--stone abutments.	2 large ferries-- plus ap- proaches and ramps	
6 mi. s. of Chung- shan				Roadbed blown out in 2 places on mountain side
5 mi. w. of Chung- shan				Block 100 ft. long, 80 ft. deep
7 mi. w. of Chungshan		30 ft., with concrete abut- ments		
12 mi. w. of Chung- shan		300 ft., with 6 rock piers and stone abut- ments		
17 mi. w. of Chung- shan				Mountain pass closed
22 mi. w. of Chung- shan	Stone arch (50 ft.) with abutments			
24 mi. w. of Chung- shan			Large ferry- 30 ft. long.	

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<u>Location</u>	<u>Bridges-Stone or Concrete</u>	<u>Bridges-Wooden</u>	<u>Ferries</u>	<u>Landslides</u>
15 mi. n. of Erhtang	75 ft., with stone piers and abutments			
35 mi. n. of Erhtang	50 ft. with stone piers and abutments			
200 yds. further north	45 ft., with stone piers and abutments			
Kweih-sien			7 large fer- ries (10 ton) with ramps and approaches	
10 mi. n. of Kweih- sien	30 ft., stone arch			
21 mi. n. of Kweih- sien	20 ft., stone arch			
4 mi. w. of Kweih- sien	concrete--100 ft., with piers and abutments			
7 mi. w. of Kweih- sien		60 ft., with brick abutments		
Railroad n. of Kweilin	The following stone arch bridges: 155 ft., with 5 stone piers 70 ft. 70 ft. 60 ft. 55 ft.			

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<u>Location</u>	<u>Bridges-Stone or Concrete</u>	<u>Bridges-Wooden</u>	<u>Ferries</u>	<u>Landslides</u>
Lungsheng- Kweilin road (dis- tance from Lungsheng) 10 mi.		60 ft.		
28 mi.		50 ft.		
30 mi.		50 ft.		
34 mi.		50 ft.		
91 mi.				fill cratered
92 mi.		100 ft.		
92½ mi.		65 ft.		
93½ mi.	100 ft.			
96 mi.				fill cratered
96½ mi.		90 ft.		
97 mi.		400 ft.		
98½ mi.		100 ft.		
99-3/4 mi.		75 ft.		
102 mi.		60 ft.	pair of landings	
104 mi.		175 ft.		
105 mi.		50 ft.		
106 mi.		75 ft.		
107 mi.		50 ft.		

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<u>Location</u>	<u>Bridge-Stone or Concrete</u>	<u>Bridges-Wooden</u>	<u>Ferries</u>	<u>Landslides</u>
109 mi.		50 ft.		
110 mi.		60 ft.		
112 mi.	150 ft.			
113 mi.		60 ft.		
114 mi.			1 wooden ferry	
116 mi.		50 ft.		
4 mi. s. of Meng- shan	Large concrete bridge half de- stroyed (await- ing approval of Chinese comman- der to destroy remainder)			
15 mi. e. of Pinglo			4 large ferries with ramp and ap- proaches	
22 mi. e. of Pinglo		150 ft., plus 4 rock piers and stone abut- ments		
1 mi. n. of Tamtong		50 ft., plus con- crete pier and stone abutments		
2 mi. n. of Tamtong		35 ft. plus stone abutments		
1 mi. e. of Tamtong		40 ft. plus brick abutments		

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<u>Location</u>	<u>Bridges-Stone or Concrete</u>	<u>Bridges-Wooden</u>	<u>Ferries</u>	<u>Landslides</u>
East of Tantong in direc- tion of Penchow	160 ft.	115 ft. 40 ft. 20 ft. 15 ft.		
2 mi. w. of Tantong				Road block
4 mi. w. of Tantong				Road block
<hr/>				
TOTALS	16	31	16	7

The following miscellaneous targets are reported to have been destroyed:

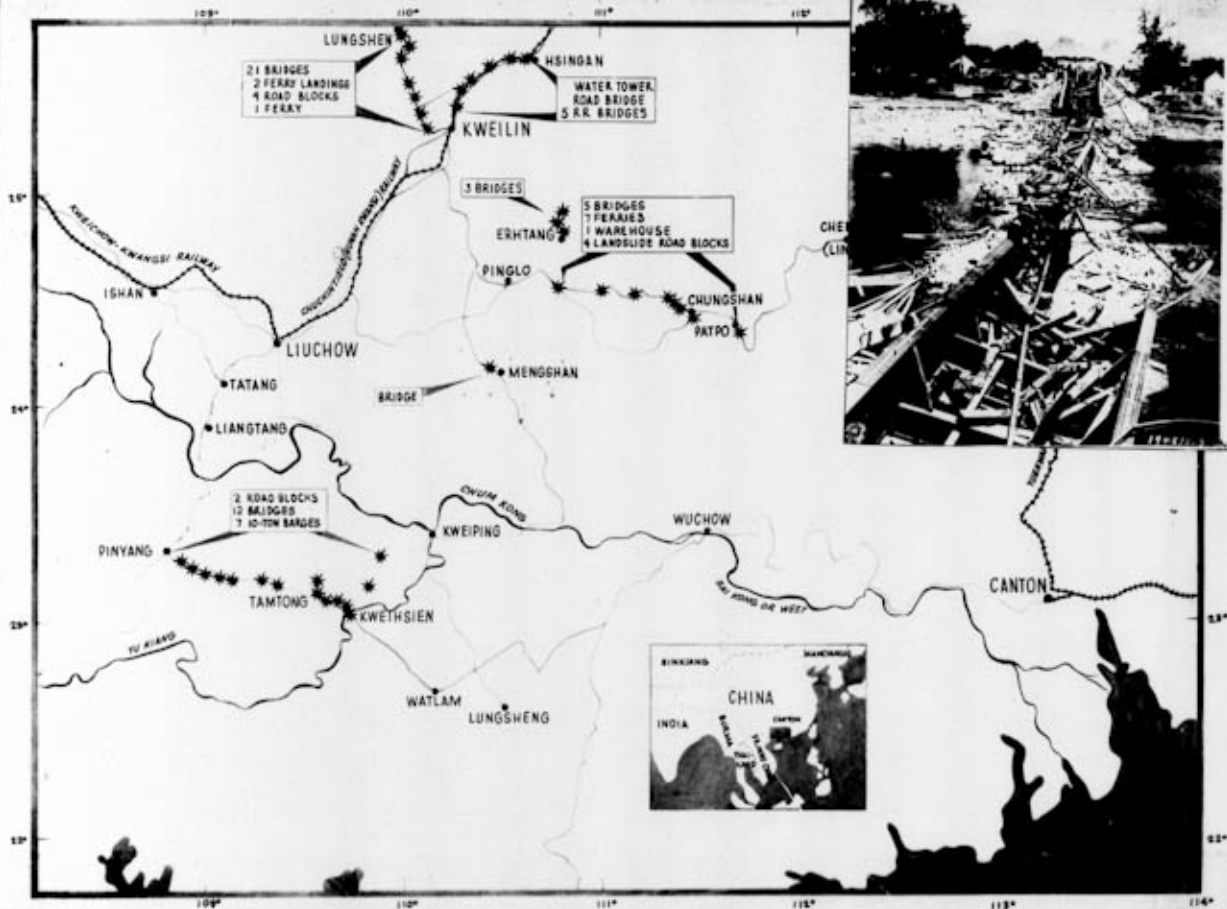
- a. 4 railroad bridges 24 mi. north of Kweilin, as to which complete details have not been received. There is a possibility that these may duplicate the items listed in the tabulation above.
- b. Large warehouse or barracks completely burned, 16 mi. east of Chungshan.
- c. Booby-trapped temple and government house in Kuncheng.

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1 DECEMBER 1944

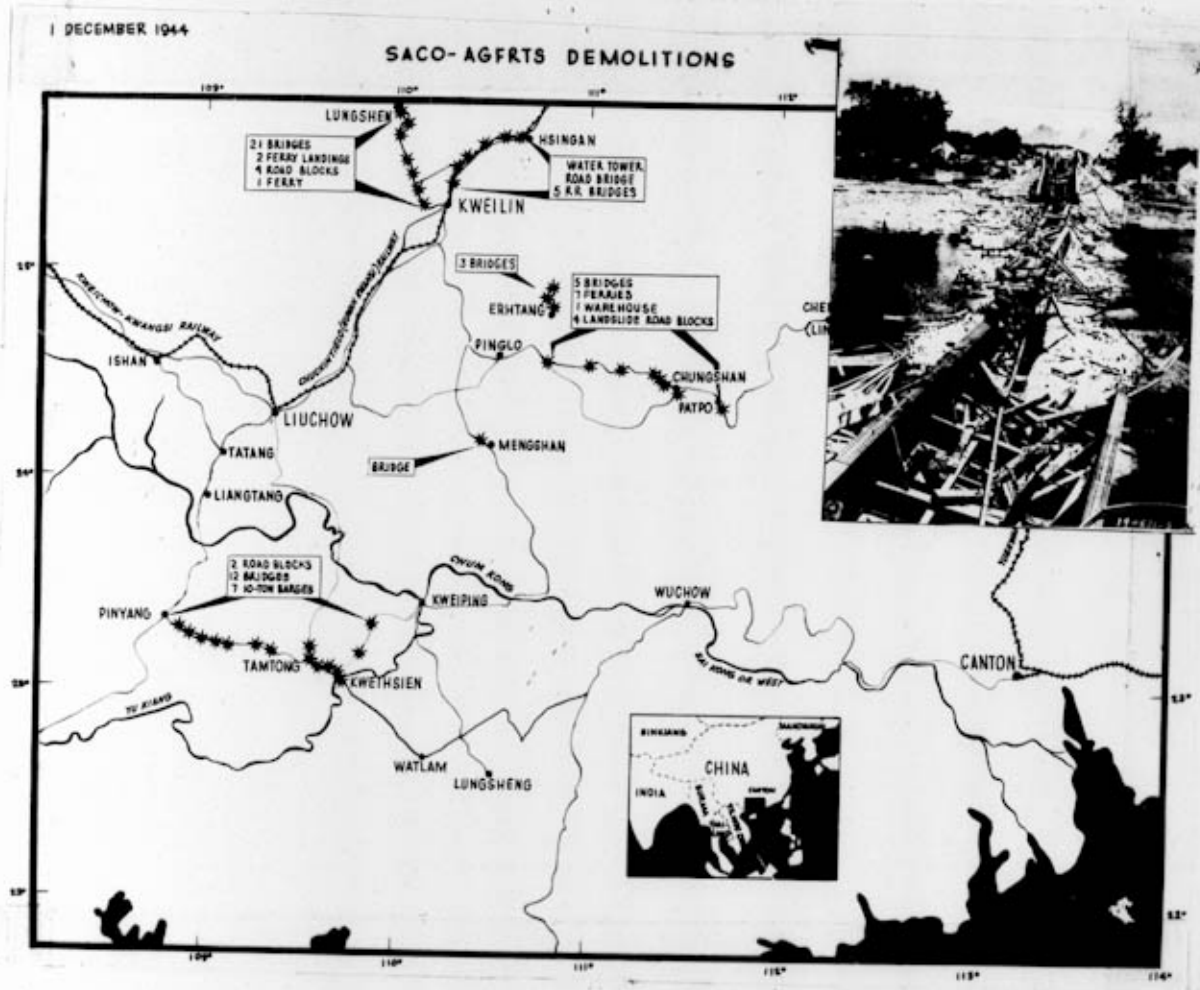
SACO-AGFRTS DEMOLITIONS



SACO - AGFRTS DEMOLITIONS

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SACO - AGFRTS DEMOLITIONS
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

O. S. S. folder 5-44
file
Confidential

PSF

23 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested in
the attached report. Will you kindly see that it
reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

23 December 1944

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of CIA

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

009622
By ABX Date AUN 11 1973

We have just received by pouch a report of a conference which our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow had with Subasic on 15 December 1944. This report supplements information forwarded to you in our previous memoranda.

"Yesterday, December 15, I had a long discussion with Prime Minister Subasic. Knowing him as I do for the last two years, I should like to say that I am pretty certain that he spoke his mind to me and was utterly frank in those matters which he related. It is possible, of course, that he held back certain things from me but my distinct impression was that he was truthful to me in accounting as he did yesterday his views, feelings and ideas on those matters which he discussed with me for a period of four hours.

"When Subasic got to Bari on his last trip, he was met by an official of the British Foreign Office, Mr. Philip Broad. Mr. Broad suggested that he accompany the Prime Minister on his trip to Yugoslavia, to which the Prime Minister replied that he appreciated very much the kindness of Mr. Broad to be of

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- 2 -

assistance to him but he preferred to conduct his negotiations with Tito alone. He amplified his statement by saying that he did not wish it to be said among the National Committee of Liberation that he was traveling around with a British representative of the Foreign Office. Mr. Broad accepted the Prime Minister's explanation in good grace and stated that he would not insist, of course, upon accompanying him. His only wish was to assist the Prime Minister in every way he could.

"The Prime Minister related to me that when he first got to Belgrade after its liberation he knew by that time that he was condemned on an alleged indictment that he was responsible for the death of many communists, whom he interned before the Germans advanced into Yugoslavia, because he did not release them in time. Instead of evading the issue, said the Prime Minister, he delivered a two hour talk before the National Committee of Liberation in the presence of Tito, who brought him into the Assembly. He told me how, after the two hour talk, he convinced them that he was not responsible in any manner for the deaths at the hands of the Germans.

"He told them of his impressions of America and I could gather that he tried to give them the impression that he was

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very well acquainted with the policy of the American Government, has contacts with officials of that Government and would be in a position to handle Yugoslav affairs more successfully because of his presence in America for two years and the contacts established by him there.

"The attitude of the members of the National Committee of Liberation towards him was, according to Subasic, most cautious and distant. He heard rumors that they were regarding him as a spy and agent for King Peter II and were most uncommunicative with him.

"The Russians, during his stay in Belgrade, were exceedingly cordial to him and showed every sign of consideration and attention. He struck up a friendship with General Kornieff, who was the head of the Russian military mission in Yugoslavia. It was Kornieff who had a large comfortable chair built in the Douglas plane which took him eventually from Belgrade to Rumania. Later on Subasic got to know and became very friendly with Colonel Melnikoff, who, although a colonel in rank, has more authority and power, according to Subasic, than General Kornieff. It was Melnikoff who accompanied the Prime Minister to Russia when he undertook his trip to see Stalin.

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"The Prime Minister related to me the following incident: Before his departure from Yugoslavia to Ploesti, General Kornieff asked him whether he would prefer to fly in a Russian or Yugoslav plane, that they were both of the Douglas model built in Russia. Kornieff said he was asking the question because on the Yugoslav plane there was the Red Star emblem. The Prime Minister replied to Kornieff that he did not mind the star as long as the plane was a Yugoslav plane.

"The Prime Minister spoke to me at length about Tito. He told me he found Tito to be exceedingly reasonable, that although he is a devoted communist by 'religion' he found no traces of his ideology as far as Yugoslavia is concerned. He regards him primarily as a Croat and a good Yugoslav. Tito became exceedingly friendly to Subasic, according to his report.

"Tito told Subasic that he is surrounded by a bunch of incompetent persons who, although good communists at heart, know very little about how to handle affairs of state. He complained to him time and again the troubles they cause him by their ignorance and incompetence. Said Tito, 'You, Subasic, can be of the greatest assistance to me and Yugoslavia. You can handle delicately and tactfully our relations with the western democracies and America. It is too bad that we are both Croats but

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we shall manage and make Yugoslavia in the future a happy democratic state.'

The Prime Minister related to me that when he was brought by Major General Velebit to Yugoslavia, it was to Vrsac where Tito's headquarters were located that he was escorted. The General left him in the hall where he waited for fifteen minutes and when Tito came out he turned to Velebit in great rage and said, 'My instructions were not to bring the Prime Minister to me. You always mix things up. You know that I wanted to come and greet the Prime Minister at his villa instead of his coming to me.' The Prime Minister cited to me that incident as an example of the respect with which Tito is treating him. He said that it was at Tito's request that he saw Stalin. He stated that it was exceedingly important for him to meet with Stalin and discuss with him in detail the state of affairs of Yugoslavia and therefore he took the trip at Tito's request.

"Another incident related to me by Subasic as proof of Tito's trust in him was that the Prime Minister suggested to appoint Dr. Ante Pavelic, formerly his secretary in New York, as Counsel General and perhaps Minister in South Africa. Subasic told Tito that of course it was a bit embarrassing to appoint Dr. Pavelic

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to that post because he bears the very same name as the Croatian quisling. Tito, however, dismissed that obstacle saying, 'What difference does it make what his name is. If you find him reliable I shall appoint him as Minister to South Africa when I become Prime Minister.'

"They also discussed Sava Kosanovic. The Prime Minister told Tito that Kosanovic had been after him for many months imploring him to appoint him Ambassador to the United States. The Prime Minister told Tito that he regards Kosanovic as a man who is sick with 'ambitionitis' and that he would not qualify because of the part he played in American politics among Americans of Yugoslav extraction. Tito readily agreed with him and accepted the Prime Minister's suggestion.

"Tito told the Prime Minister that he is thinking of appointing Andric, the well-known Croatian poet who served in various diplomatic posts in various countries as the future Ambassador to the United States.

"Tito begged the Prime Minister to accept the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs. According to the Prime Minister, Tito assured him that he will give him complete freedom of action and will be guided entirely in the field of foreign policy by

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Subasic's suggestions and ideas. Tito told the Prime Minister that he is contemplating to cultivate the close cooperation of the western democracies and America.

"The Prime Minister told me that he is determined to take a trip to Washington as soon as he assumes the portfolio of Minister of Foreign Affairs. He will see the President and Secretary of State and try to convince them that Yugoslavia is determined to follow a policy of a free and independent democratic state, that he will bring with him a group of specialists of industry and commerce of Yugoslavia with the thought of making arrangements for a comprehensive trade treaty. 'We are', said the Prime Minister, 'looking towards America as the only country who can put Yugoslavia on her feet. We shall attempt to attract American capital by giving concessions because we know the American Government has no imperialistic designs on Yugoslavia.'

"He told me that Tito informed him that the Germans discovered in Yugoslavia huge untapped mines of a metal which hardens steel and makes it elastic. He did not know the equivalent of the name in the English language. He told me that the Germans had developed it to a great extent during their occupation and he is planning to attract American capital to develop these mines to their utmost capacity.

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"Prime Minister related to me further that Tito, although he will never pursue a policy against the interest of Russia, will nevertheless attempt his utmost to build up a closer economic and diplomatic relationship between Yugoslavia and Great Britain and the United States.

"The Prime Minister told me that Tito was distressed a couple of weeks ago when he received a letter from Churchill, couched in the sharpest language he has ever received from Churchill. Subasic told me that he personally saw that letter and gave me the following account of same:

"It seems that Churchill recently sent a request to Tito for permission to land several divisions of Anglo-American troops in western Croatia along the Dalmatia coast. Tito refused categorically to permit Anglo-American troops to land in Croatia. Thereafter Churchill sent his famous letter to Tito in which he upbraided Tito in no uncertain terms and told him that Allied troops can land wherever they wish if the military operations require it.

"Tito, according to Subasic, was terribly shaken up and distraught over the message and took the point of view that he would not give in to Churchill because he was fearful, as he stated to Subasic, that the Croatian separatists and all elements in

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Croatia who are against Tito, would seize upon the opportunity to separate from Yugoslavia. Tito was very nervous that the presence of Allied troops in Croatia and Dalmatia would jeopardize his position and would afford the Croatian nationalistic elements an opportunity to rally against the National Committee of Liberation.

"Subasic told me confidentially that he shared entirely Tito's point of view. He told me that he knows only too well that the Vatican is trying to organize a federation of Catholic states into which Croatia should be included and that he favors Tito's feeling that Croatian separatists would avail themselves of the opportunity when the Allied troops landed in Yugoslavia to march against the Partisans.

"Subasic told me that Churchill was exceedingly nervous and jittery when he left for Moscow but that he, Subasic, could see no other way and hopes to pacify Churchill when he sees him. He will try to explain to him that he did it for one reason only: to come to an agreement with Tito and that he needed Stalin's backing in dealing with the members of the National Committee of Liberation.

"In relating his story yesterday, Dr. Subasic told me that at the very beginning Stalin opened the conversation saying,

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'You understand, Ivan Oissipovic, (addressing him in Slavic style, calling him by his first name and the first name of his father) that Churchill and I have agreed to work out our arrangement on Yugoslavia on a fifty-fifty basis.' He said Stalin was very cautious with him when they spoke about diplomatic matters, but again, the Prime Minister reiterated, Stalin warned him not to try to emulate Soviet Russia. Stalin allegedly said, 'You have not the territory of Russia nor the people of Russia. You are a small country of small landowners in the heart of Europe. You will have to build your state upon democratic principles with equal representation for all the national groups of Yugoslavia. You will have to seek economic assistance from America the way we here in Russia are planning to do after the war is over.' Stalin, according to Subasic, spoke in 'very warm terms about the United States'.

"Discussing the monarchy, Stalin wanted to know from Subasic what the people's feelings are about King Peter, II. Subasic confided in me for the first time that the King is not popular in Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia but that he has some following, of course, in Serbia, and that he told this to Stalin. Stalin replied that he does not care whether there is a monarchy or a

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republican form of government but no one should force the people to accept a monarchy if they do not wish it.

"Upon returning to Yugoslavia from Moscow, Subasic told me that his prestige went up tremendously in Yugoslavia. The members of the National Committee of Liberation who condemned him first and treated him like a spy and agent for the monarchy made every effort to cultivate his friendship. He told me that he found an entirely different attitude when he returned to Yugoslavia. That was one reason why he is glad that he took the trip to see Stalin.

"Tito asked Subasic whether he would be willing to accept General Velebit as Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs because that seemed to be the wish of the National Committee of Liberation. Subasic told me that he consented for the time being to have him in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the Under-secretary but that he regretted that General Velebit is entirely ignorant of the art of diplomacy and foreign policy. He related to me that only the day before yesterday he chastised Velebit for issuing a statement about Yugoslavia and warned him that he is a general and to stick to his profession instead of discussing international affairs and to leave that business to him, Subasic.

"Talking further to me about King Peter, Subasic confided in

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me in no uncertain terms that he regards King Peter's chances to return to Yugoslavia as absolutely nil. He said that he is convinced that King Peter will never return but added, 'Why should I destroy his hopes.'

"He told me that in Yugoslavia they all talk about the King being influenced by the Princess of Greece and know about the King's quarrels with his mother. 'The Greeks,' said Subasic, 'were never popular in Yugoslavia. They still cannot forget that Olga, wife of Prince Paul, was a Greek Princess.'

"Towards the end Subasic told me that the only thing that the King can do now, in his opinion, is to sign the agreement and that by signing the agreement he will arouse the sympathy of the Yugoslav people because of the clauses preventing him from returning to Yugoslavia. As time goes by he feels that sympathy for the King may be translated into a strong movement for the King's return. This latter statement seems a distinct contradiction to his previous one when he stated that the King will never return to Yugoslavia as its monarch.

"Another point mentioned to me by Subasic was that Sutej, the present Minister of Finance, is not included in the present list of members of the future Cabinet because of Sutej's request

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not to name him as a Cabinet Minister. Sutej requested to be sent as Ambassador to Switzerland and Tito indicated his approval.

"Subasic discussed in detail the attacks of the National Committee of Liberation upon Macek and he requested Tito to promise him that when they liberate Macek he, Subasic, will be the first person to speak to Macek. Subasic promised in return to Tito that he would exert every effort to keep Macek in line with Subasic's policy and that if necessary he would request Macek to appoint him as his successor.

"Subasic further told me that he received a request from the Queen Mother, Marie, to see her for she had a letter for him from the Princess of Montenegro. Subasic told me that he is going to see her and have a good talk with her and try to impress upon her to stop quarrelling with King Peter because that situation is a bad example for the country. He will also tell her not to undermine the authority of King Peter by intrigues with various politicians in an attempt to persuade them to place Prince Tomislav on the throne instead of Peter. He will tell her, said Subasic, that by agitating against her own son she is undermining the whole monarchy.

"Subasic told me as a deep secret that there are several Partisan divisions at the Dalmatian coastline and that if the

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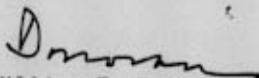
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British troops should land in Yugoslavia along the Dalmatian coast they will meet with a formidable resistance on the part of the Partisans. He said that he hopes Churchill will not repeat the mistake in Yugoslavia that he made in Athens.

"Finally, Subasic told me he prepared a report for the British and handed it to Mr. Sargent of the Foreign Office. The British were not quite satisfied with it and sent him a questionnaire of 14 questions. He told me that he finished answering the questions and that he forwarded them to Mr. Sargent. He expressed willingness to let me examine them this weekend and I shall try to avail myself of his offer.

"He told me of his contemplated meeting with Churchill on Friday, December 16th, and that it was postponed until Monday, December 18th.

"This I believe is a fairly accurate resume of my talk with Dr. Subasic which lasted for four hours."


William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

23 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of CIA

007627
DB JUN 11 1973

Dear Grace:

I believe the President will be interested in the attached memorandum. Will you kindly see that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,
W. J. D.
William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D.C.
~~TOP SECRET~~

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

23 December 1944

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of CIA

007622
Date JUN 11 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe you will find of interest the following report which we have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow, concerning a conference between Prime Minister Churchill and King Peter of Yugoslavia:

"King gave me this morning an account of conference with Churchill December 21st. Eden, Ambassador Stevenson were present. King pointed out unconstitutionality of agreement on basis of memorandum prepared by Sutej. King expressed willingness to sign agreement on condition that he alone name Regency and not merely endorse Tito's appointees. Churchill showed impatience with King during conference and told him he cannot accept certain clauses and reject others. King quoted Churchill as saying, 'I thought you would accept agreement wholeheartedly and my advice to you is to sign it'. Conference ended with understanding King is to think it over and British meantime will study King's suggestion. King told me he will insist on naming Regency and will not yield on that point. Princess Aspasia urges King not to sign agreement."

Donovan

William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

24 December 1944

O. S. S. Jean
5-44

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file

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I would appreciate it very much if you would bring to the attention of the President the enclosed memorandum and its attachment. I believe it will be of interest to him.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

W. J. D.
William J. Donovan
Director

DECLASSIFIED

Authority NND 904 001
By 1834/KAZ NARA, Date 2/20/92

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

24 December 1944

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I send a letter received from the former Air Attache at the German Legation in Stockholm. He withdrew from the Legation because of an order received from his superior officer to kill a brother German officer.

I knew Riedel when he was in the glider flights in this country with young DuPont.

I am sending the letter because it may reflect the opinion of certain of the younger German officers.

Donovan
William J. Donovan
Director

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C O P Y

~~SECRET~~
Stockholm, December 8, 1944

Major-General William J. Donovan
Washington, D. C.

Dear General!

Long before I knew anything about your present war activity I wished to report to you about some ideas I got after my return from America in May 1942. Already Sept. 17, 1944 I wrote to you the attached letter, but did not dare to forward it because of being still with the German Legation in Stockholm.

Now I have broken away from them and having been encouraged by the American Military Attache for Air Colonel Hardison and after some discussions with Mr. W. Carlson, I beg you to accept my two messages. The letter of September 17, 1944 is certainly too long for a man with your responsibilities. It represents a kind of political confession and contains some detailed ideas about post-war cooperation between America and some people in defeated Germany. It does not need to be read and I only add it for the record and for background material. It is by the way a newly written copy of the old original letter which needed some grammatical corrections. Mr. Carlson has seen and read the original one.

This additional short summary contains some concrete proposals concerning a possible cooperation of me in convincing my misled countrymen that continuation of the war at this stage means only senseless death and destruction. I am feeling at ease with my conscience because

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I am since long convinced that Germany is going to lose the war and that both the fate of the German people and Europe is best safeguarded by an American victory.

Your eastern ally has been doing quite successful propaganda work with the help of the so-called "National Committee of German Officers" in Moscow under the leadership of General von Seydlitz. Facing defeat the average German is presently wondering which side he should choose if the end is coming. Being bound by marriage and many other ties to America and the English-speaking world, I feel the urge to contribute from my part that the Anglosaxon Powers should be the final winners.

These are my proposals:

1) Bring me to America and permit me later to return to the European fronts in order to influence public opinion in Germany and even in the frontlines by broadcasting to the German people. Being especially known in aviation circles I have the idea not to talk to an anonymous crowd of German radiol listeners, but to certain people well known to me and the German public. I might be more successful in influencing the German youth since my name meant something to them in the pre-war days.

I might address for example the famous and popular woman-pilot Hanna Reitsch, to whom I was since long close as an older brother and who is now very influential behind the scenes of the German Luftwaffe-

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Generalstaff and who is meeting Hitler and Himmler. She is not a Nazi, but one of those extraordinary personalities who in an unselfish and most idealistic way tries to save the country without realizing what kind of gangsters Hitler and his crowd are.

Others might be Prof. Messerschmitt, Dornier or Heinkel or my former chief in Washington General von Boetticher, who is now in Keitel's staff.

2) I would try to convince them about the hopelessness of fighting on by giving them vivid descriptions of the enormous American war effort. I could do that with more authority than anybody else since many in my audience know that I was the expert about the American aircraft industry from 1938 to 1942. I would have to be given the chance to visit American aircraft factories and would need permission to broadcast some of the enormous production numbers of airplanes. The conclusion of the hopelessness to fight against such odds would be left to the listener. I could add my own experiences how nobody in the German Airministry wanted to listen to my warnings about the coming American airpower when I returned to Germany from the USA in May 1942.

3) I would make the German people realize what atrocities have been committed in their name. In order to be convincing I might be given the rather unpleasant chance to be eyewitness myself by visit-

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ing places in Europe, where atrocities have been committed, and broadcast my impressions right from the spot to Germany, addressing again some well-known German, to whom I would guarantee the truthfulness of my report. This system would make the reports much more vivid and impressive, to be compared with the German "Front-Berichterstatter" reports. The fact might seem incredible to the American public that the German masses do not know much about the atrocities done by the Gestapo and SS on Hitlers or Himmlers orders. If the German people are to be punished for it as a whole they should at least in right time know whom to thank for it.

4) I could tell them how I myself changed from generally approving Hitler up to MInchen 1938 to doubting his sincerity in regard to keeping peace to the absolute conviction of his guilt for having wantonly started the war. Through my keyposition as Assistant Military Attache for Air in Washington from 1938 til 1942, I was in the best place to observe this development. Strange as it might sound to American ears, the German public has been systematically propagandized to seriously believing that Germany was in danger of sooner or later being attacked by the Western Powers, if Hitler would not have started a "preventive" war in 1939.

5) I would like to destroy the Hitler-legend, that the "International Jew" has caused the war and should be made the scapegoat

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for all the world's troubles. I would have to get permission to speak quite frankly about mistakes having been committed by some Jewish people in Germany after 1918, but how on the other hand Hitler's thesis was a product of his insane mind if not a conscious misleading of the masses in Germany in order to concentrate the inherent human discontentment (with social and economical conditions) on the Jews.

6) Last not least I would like to destroy the old prejudices against America, as "the country ruled by the Jews" or the equally stupid slogan of "Dollar-Imperialism" and the thoughtless talk about the country without Kultur. Instead I would tell them how I learned to believe the truth of the American "We are the most idealistic nation in the world". And how Lublin-Vernichtungslager or Gestapo-methods are hardly any proofs that Germany of today has a claim to the Kultur which a Goethe and Beethoven created more than a century ago. And how only by seeing the own guilt and deciding to make good through sacrifices Germany could win a place among decent nations again.

7) Besides this activity as a radio-commentator I could possibly act in an advisory capacity concerning questions of propaganda and treatment of the average German people after Germany's defeat.

There is one important consideration: In order to keep the confidence and trust of my German audience I should be permitted to discuss possible criticism from their side in regard to published post-war

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programs of the Western Powers and prove to them out of my own conviction that nobody has seriously in mind to annihilate them as a whole. For example given a onesided picture by Goebbels propaganda the German reaction to the Morgenthau-plan of making Germany a purely agricultural country again was a strengthening of the will to fight on. In this respect and also in regard to Lord Vansittards utterances I should be given material and chance to counter the disastrous effects of such publications. Judging from the effect of his statements on the German public Lord Vansittard has been unfortunately quite helpful to Herr Goebbels propaganda.

What I want is to implant my own confidence in the American sense of justice and fair play into the dispering and hopeless German masses so that a real appeasement with the wholehearted help of all decent people in Germany should be made possible. This might help to deroot Nazism and prevent its going underground.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

/s/ Peter Riedel

P.S. In the meantime of course I am at the disposal of the Americans here for what knowledge I might have which could be of use towards shortening the war.

/s/ Peter Riedel

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C O P Y

September 17, 1944.

Dear General,

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Some time ago a member of the American Legation staff in Stockholm made me glad by giving me regards of you. These greetings were a special joy for me because they seemed to me like a sign of fate that I should do what I was pondering and thinking about for a long time. May I return the greetings you were kind enough to send to me and express at the same time my thankfulness for your attitude of goodwill towards me.

This American acquaintance of mine had asked me if I would not like to write down some of the things I had talked to him about. He encouraged me to do it by telling me that there would be great interest on the American side to hear opinions as mine. We had been talking one night about what the people in Germany were expecting from the future. And I had said a few things about a theme which seemed of the utmost importance to me, the question of how to make it possible for Germans to cooperate wholeheartedly with you after Germany's impending defeat. In other words how to make a peace, severe as it might be, without driving the whole of the German people into sullen opposition. If this theme would be of interest for you and those who want a lasting peace, please permit me to say a few things about it.

I am speaking on my own initiative. No organization stands behind me. I have got no authority from anyone to write to you about this

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question of a possible future cooperation between Germans and you Western powers. What made me think of you was first the kindness you showed me when I had the honor to meet you in the U.S.A. Besides you knew pre-war Germany. You studied it. You had German friends and you seemed not to have any prejudices against us.

Therefore, I was longing for a chance to talk to you before it was too late, as a selfappointed representative of the misled, patient, hard-working and suffering German masses. My heart ached each time I came back to Germany and I had to see these worn-out over-worked people patiently and obediently plodding on, without hope, without love for war or any more for Hitler. No chance of escape from the big prison they voted for themselves. They were as badly deceived as were you foreign powers. Now they have to go on, driven either by fear of Himmler or the sense of duty towards their country.

This duty towards our country keeps most of us going on and Hitler shields himself behind it. Can one desert one's country in war because it is run by gangsters? That is a question most Germans will answer with 'no'.

We face a disasterous end soon. What constructive could be done now?

Permit me to tell you what I experienced and felt since I came back from the U.S.A. in May 1942: that America has the biggest chance

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to find cooperation of the little man in Germany after it is all over. I experienced how nice everybody was to my American-born wife, who could hardly speak one word of German, when we arrived. How eagerly everybody inquired about America, how frankly many people acknowledged American superiority in many respects. After people had had a chance to hear more about America than they had heard in the last ten years they often admitted that the American way of living and doing things seemed better than their own. Even the boldness and discipline of American daylight attacks are presently discussed by the little man in Germany with a hidden admiration and without personal resentment or hatred. (Excepting machinegunning civilians from the air. Fortunately it seems to have stopped. Its continuation would have created real hatred.)

The little man in Germany has pinned his last hope and faith on America. Many Germans have dared to discuss privately with me the impending defeat. When the future aspects seemed utterly hopeless and disastrous, most of them expressed the hope, that America would not permit "things to go so far". May I plead not to disappoint these hopes too badly? The German people do not expect love and kindness, but they hope for decent treatment from you, severe as it might be.

One day you Americans will have to deal with the little men in Germany. I am one of them, but I am one of those few who know both

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sides. Therefore I feel the right to write this letter. Even though I felt kind of estranged to my homeland when I came back from America in May 1942. I am interested in the fate of the German people, because of the old law that blood is thicker than water. On the other hand I like America very much. I am tied to America by being married to an American girl, In the past it has been my greatest desire to end my days as an American citizen. (I inquired about American citizenship in July 1940 at Lawyer Howard LeRoy, Washington, D. C., 14th and G Street. He still has paper about it.) War has forced me to take the road of duty towards the country of my birth.

My people are facing the greatest disaster in all their sad history. I am standing in between the two camps. What constructive could be done now? Please permit me to continue this in the form of a self-analysis. You may consider, that all Germans who would be willing to cooperate later are faced with the same problem as I. Therefore one can quite well generalize the ideas, which I prefer to describe from my personal point of view.

Looking forward to an early end of the war I am facing a decision in three alternatives: should I choose to cooperate

- 1) either in Western Germany, occupied by the Anglo-American forces
- 2) or in Eastern Germany, under Soviet rule,
- 3) or should I choose to seek refuge in Sweden?

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I mention this third alternative because I want to make it clear that I do not feel myself hopelessly bound to the fate of the German people. I have no more close relatives or any personal friends in Germany. My name as a pilot might give me a chance to begin a new life in Sweden as a free man rather than as a subject in a country ruled by foreign powers. I mention this because it might be necessary to prove that I am not pleading so much for my own sake as from the sincere desire to help bringing a lasting peace.

After Germany should be occupied by Allied troops in the West and Soviet troops in the East there seems to be not much chance for any German to choose his own way. Still our own bad experiences during this war showed us that one cannot rule a nation by force alone. Even the conqueror will need cooperation. It is only the question if one wants Quislings or decent people to cooperate with.

The German people of the lower classes might tend more to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union can promise to treat them more as new members in their community of workers and farmers than as enemy aliens. There might be even quite a number of people in the class of intellectuals and former officers, who would see a better chance for survival of the German race within the frame of the Soviet Union. Such tendencies are created by the fear that Western nations might follow Vansittart ideas. Such people are not necessarily irresponsible desperados but men who love

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their people more than the class they belong to.

On the other hand Nazi propoganda has created a widespread fear of Soviet Russia. How much there is reason for this fear remains to be seen. For most of our people there is enough despair accumulated to make them indifferent to under which flag they will continue to live, if they only could live decently again. Especially the Nazi-educated youth might easily turn to the somehow familiar form of Soviet-government if there would not be any future for them under Western rule. Here I see America's biggest chance to be the real winner. There is no general hatred yet of America and England. No bombing attacks, no Gbbels propoganda have been able yet to create this hatred.

You can beat up a man in a fight, you might imprison him for his misdeeds, you might make him poor and work hard. He will not necessarily hate you for that. War is war and awful things have been loaded on the conscience of the German people. But humiliate a man who is your prisoner; let his family starve, while they are in your hands; expose him in his helplessness to the revengeful cruelties of his neighbours and you will implant a terrible deep hatred. A hatred born out of despair. A hatred which would prefer to see himself rather drowned together with the responsible ones in the big flood of disaster than continue a dishonored slave-existence.

Oh, that America should see her chance! Not only our soil, our

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cities and plants have been plowed open by your bombs, but our souls too. We are sinking to the lowest level of hope, we are ready to grasp the straw in the rising flood of disaster, we, the little men of Germany. We know that you America beat us, not the Soviet Union. Your strength backed them all. You have now the responsibility for the future peace!

The Nazis are done for. Our whole leading class has failed, including the arrogant narrow-minded officers-cast. The most awful crimes of the Nazis (Lublin) are still unknown to the German masses. (The facts as published in "Time Magazine" 11th September 1944, page 17, with the heading "Murder, Inc." would be better propaganda in Germany against the Nazis than anything else.) Most of us tried not to see this horrible spot on the German name, when we heard rumours of these unequalled crimes. Most of us were horrified, not so much from fear of revenge, but from deeply felt shame. When conversation among Germans comes to this subject one avoids the other one's eyes. After a horror-stricken pause follows always the question: "How is it possible to find German men to do such things?" Pardon me - this is no arrogance. But every nation tries to think itself being composed predominantly of decent people.

German newspapers have never published descriptions of the often sadistically cruel methods the Gestapo applied in trying to hold opposition down in the occupied countries. No decent German approves of

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these Gestapo crimes when he hears of them. War propoganda has created the impression as if such things were done with knowledge and approval of our whole nation and that one should punish all Germans for that. Public opinion in the world has concluded that cruelty is inherent to the German character. It is difficult to counteract the effects which a longlasting propoganda campaign has created. May I be permitted only to point out two examples in defense of my people.

First: Do the American people have the impression that the American citizen of German birth or extraction has shown worse characteristics than others? I myself have found that one judges the German immigrant in the U.S.A. mostly as an orderly and law-abiding citizen.

Second: Men choose their professions according to their inclination. Therefore I think that people who have chosen to be Gestapo agents are predominantly of two types, political fanatics or sadistic madmen. On the other side the German army is formed by the average German. When I followed the American newspaper-reports about the conquests of Norway and France in 1940, I never found any report about atrocities on the part of the German soldier. On the contrary as long as the occupied countries were under army rule, things seemed to go along quite alright. Only after the Nazi Civil administration took over trouble started.

Would it be fair to let a whole nation suffer as punishment for the crimes of some fanatics?

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What I was aiming at by writing these lines was trying to prove

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that the German people could be quite easily won over to cooperate wholeheartedly with you by telling them what crimes have been committed in their name. This would be the best safeguard against the danger of Nazi organization going underground. And in my opinion this counter-propaganda should be left chiefly to Germans, who are thinking like I do.

Let people like me, who know both sides, go to work and destroy the basic ideas of the Nazi irreligion, above all the fundamental dogma: "Die Juden sind an allem schuld!" ("The Jews are behind all trouble.") Let us prove to our people how Hitler's madness showed itself foremostly on this point. Let us destroy Hitler's prestige slowly and logically, not by mere counter-propaganda, which paints everything black where even I still could see some good. Even though people are now fed up with Hitler because he led them into disaster, they will always remember his good performances of pre-war times. Enough well-known Americans have formerly gone on record like William Knutsen with his: "Germany is the miracle of the 20th century", when he returned from Europe some-time before the war.

Nothing will conquer underground organization easier than decent treatment and soft-spoken, logically destroying critic of Hitler and his mad ideas. Leave it chiefly to Germans to paint him to our masses as an ambiguous personality - genius and madness mixes, with madness slowly getting the upper hand. This will logically explain the cause

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of his career and our fate. I am sure that this would lead to more success, in fighting the Nazi ideology than any other propaganda methods. Before Hitler's ideas have not died out in the German hearts, they would not be open to accepting democracy. In other words you should give the medium time to get the mad magician off his subconsciousness.

But what do I mean with decent treatment? Very little from your point of view. Our people live on the very minimum level of existence compared with Western nations. What is filling the twenty-four hours of their day? Twelve to fourteen hours' work with additional hours to make the distance between home and working place. Food just enough to keep going. Nothing to buy. Home destroyed. Family scattered or destroyed through evacuation, war duty, bombs, or death on the battlefield. No hope for the future.

People who have sunk so low in despair will appreciate enormously if one gives them the slightest hope. They will be contented with very little.

First of all: don't let our people starve. Don't let our masses intentionally or by gross mismanagement suffer from hunger. Do not listen to revengeful voices, who would like to see that happen. I know we have no clean record everywhere. In Poland and with millions of Russian prisoners of war awful starvation have happened. There is reason to suspect that such starvation happened partly with bad intention

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on part of the Nazis. When you are going to punish the responsible ones, we will wholeheartedly help you so that they should get their thousandfold deserved punishment. Please hold against the revengeful voices the acknowledged fact that your troops were surprised not to find a starving Europe during the recent invasion, and I know that they will not find it either in the rest of Europe to be liberated. Greece and sometimes Norway went through bad times of hunger and scarcity, predominantly because of being dependent on grain imports.

Secondly: keep order, be it with iron fist against everybody who opposes. Let the few good things the Nazis set up continue: the present rationing system with the obligation for the farmer to guarantee the nutrition of the nation. The new agricultural legislation, which gives the farmer guarantees against being dispossessed by unscrupulous bankers. The general Labour service of all young people with its equalizing effect on social prejudices. Let the German Labour Service camps be run by American C.C.C. camp officers. This would give you the best chance to get educational influence and prevent secret military training. Let the social organizations like "Kraft durch Freude", "Volkswohlfahrt" and the Social Security Institutions of pre-Hitler time like Angestellten-, Kranken- und Invaliden Versicherung continue.

Our people are accustomed to be governed by stern authority. You will have no difficulties with them - if - if order means also protection

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against violence, insult and humiliation from whichever side, be it from your own forces or from the revengeful chauvinists among your allies. If some Germans have learned to hate Frenchmen and Poles, they have in mind humiliations under the French occupation (French Rhineland occupation 1918 to 1942. Negro troops policing the Rhinelands, assault on women and many humiliating incidents.) and Polish atrocities committed against German minorities in 1939. (In the first days of September 1939 were 8,000 men, women and children slaughtered by the Polish mob in the frontier area.)

Help both our neighbors and us to forget our hates and resentments by holding us apart. You are welcome to do this holding apart for many years to come. It would be the only cure of this evil and it would give you the chance to

Third: educate our people to be politically grown-up members of Western civilization. I know we are not and many of us feel the same. I meant this when I said that our souls are laid open. They have been bombed and battered open, the soil of our souls has been worn loose by worries and sorrow, by blood, tears and sweat just the same. No more selfconfidence, no more trust in our own ability to lead ourselves. Spared dishonorable treatment the little men of Germany will be very eager to accept new ideas and outlooks.

The average German's state of mind today is expressed by what a

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successful German aircraft manufacturer said to me a few days ago after we have been discussing things along these lines: "Das Deutsche Volk hat auf der ganzen Linie versagt". ("The German people have failed on the whole line".) In sad variation to the German revolutionist Scheidemann's triumphant words, November 11, 1918: "Das Deutsche Volk hat auf der ganzen Linie gesiegt". ("The German people have won on the whole line".) The man who said this was no pessimist in general outlook. He simply stated what we all feel innermost.

We begin to see our weaknesses which would make us unable to succeed on England's place even if victory should have given us a chance. And here too may I plead to leave it to us Germans, who agree with you about the necessity of reeducation. One accepts easier criticism from relatives than from outside one's family.

We begin to see our inherent faults: militarism, misinterpreted Nietzsche ideas, byzantine bowing and subjecting oneself to the self-imposed authority, overemphasized selfconfidence, born out of an historic inferiority complex and lack of civil courage. Preference to bullying, instead of soft-spoken insistence helped by appeals to reason when leading people. The tendency to see the guilt for our own unhappy history not enough where it lies: at our own door. Had our ancestors better not been fighting each other thirty years for slight differences of how to pray to our Lord! Had our different tribes better unified

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at the same time when England and France were formed by originally opposing tribes. We should learn to see the blame for our troubles in history and in present times more in our own character than at our so-called outside enemies.

The latest and worst example to German extremism was the gruesome "Vernichtungslager" near Lublin, where many thousands of Jewish people fell victim to the insane antisemitic ideas of Hitler. All Germans who will hear of these unheard of crimes will feel the same reaction I felt when I heard rumors about it in June 1942. I began to despise Hitler for this because he made me feel ashamed of being a German, whenever I thought about this.

The persecutions of the Jewish people under Hitler had taken these violent forms only after war started. He had promised to annihilate the Jewish people in Europe if they would "manage to get the war against Germany started". He put his insane theory into terrible praxis.

As one result one can state that Antisemitism is on its lowest point in Germany now. The hatred of Hitler and his crimes against the unfortunate Jewish people have made many regret that their resentment of some Jewish mistakes had formerly led them to give approval to Hitler's antisemitic teachings.

Well, there are generations to be re-educated along those lines but let us do it together with those of you who inspire confidence in

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their goodwill to our misled unfortunate people. Never doubt that many of us who know a little more of this globe than stampsized Germany will gladly help you.

If there is a bad spirit found in our country, it is to be compared with the spirit of a mono-maniac, who has been living too long time secludely in the attic, loosing himself into onesided ideas and suddenly appears in the streets running amok. Running amok with the conviction of the maniac that he alone is right, that his ideas are superior, won out of abstract thinking. What I mean is the fatal German tendency to loose oneself more than 100% to some onesided idea and trying to verify such radical ideas by all means. Be it on the field of politics, religion, socialistic experiments or race prejudices. To make it clear: I do not say that this is the spirit of all Germans, but it is a disease to be found among German people of a certain nationalistic and anti-democratic educational background. This bad spirit dies fast in most every infected German soul, when the soul is aired long enough under the sun of advanced foreign countries like the community of English-speaking nations. Let us try to "air" the future leaders of Germany long enough in this seductive climate of fine balance between personal freedom and governing authority as found especially in the U.S.A. (There is only one danger: that the student might prefer to stay forever.)

Fourth: permit me to say: let our tribes stay in one unit, colony,

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dominion, nation or whatever name you are going to give the new Germany. This is the only political proposal of my letter. The reasons are very simple.

The roots of this desire of unification have grown deeply in nearly every German soul. Hitler's following grew enormously when one saw him unifying all German speaking people into Greater Germany. It meant something different to different people. Some saw the chance for power politics, aggression, enlargement on expense of our Eastern neighbors. Many more, like I, were satisfied by the mere idea of seeing all German speaking people unified within a common borderline. An age-old and quite understandable dream had come true. Its age is proved by the Kyffhäuser saga. (Kaiser Barbarossa, who drowned crossing a river during the Crusades, is supposed to be living in a big cave of the Kyffhäuser mountain until the German dissension should end. Then he would come out again and be the Kaiser of all Germans as before. All the longing for political unification is expressed in this very beloved saga. There was no imperialism hidden in the Kyffhäuser cave. All-Deutsche and Nazis added this later.) Wien to Hamburg, from Sudetenland to Saar, including Danzig. Please let us stay together as a beaten people during the coming years of being your warden and later as a cured member in the family of nations. You will take the wind out of the sails to German nationalism, its main desire being satisfied.

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If this is fulfilled there could be basic agreement from our side to your political solution whatever it might be: take over our government and decide complete disarmament for many years to come! We, the people, will only be thankful. Most of us do not like to be soldiers. Militarism was bred by evil spirits and militarism itself educated evil spirits into German youth: byzantinism, uniform craze (to counteract one's inferiority complex), arrogance hand in hand with ignorance, splendor instead of spirit, self-indulgence and intolerance instead of free discussion. Go and erradicate these evils and we will gladly help you too.

With above I do not mean to insult the German soldiers of all ranks, who fought and died in two wars. They were mostly civilians at heart, and only did their duty to the bitter end. But there is plenty of reason and lots of material accumulated to justify if one would destroy once and for all the prestige of German General Staff officers - of this clique, of this concentrated extract of personified Prussian militarism. I have experienced their weaknesses, their vanity, their reckless judgement about the enemy and his strength, their "geistiger Hochmut" (Geistiger Hochmut -- spiritual arrogance, not necessarily the plump arrogance of the stupid.) their lack of courage toward their superior, which showed itself especially by the frequent omission to report unpleasant truths to Goering and the Führer.

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Fifth and last: please help to solve the problem of overpopulation by human means, not by crowding evacuated men, women and children into a too small German space, left either to starve or to kill themselves for lack of chance to make a living. (In the years after 1918 statistics proved that in the average 30,000 people a year died by suicide.)

Let us help you by propagandizing and putting into effect reasonable birth control to stop overpopulation in the future. After years of rebuilding Europe, when the hatred against the German people may have died down, there might be a chance to solve the problem of European overpopulation by organized emigration into the still thinly populated areas of this globe. Even if this would mean enormous investments the world might be saved from spending some day again much more for destructive purposes. All problems need sweat, but not necessarily blood and tears for their solution.

Once our people are convinced by telling them the facts, that Hitler wantonly started this war, they will accept when you make them work long and hard to make good what was destroyed in economic values. If that is our punishment we will be able to say to ourselves: "We brought this upon us. Big spots on the German name have to be washed away. We recognize this necessity. Let's go to work." That would not give the feeling of slave-labor with its inherent feeling of resentment.

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Today after being war-propagandized nearly twelve years, the greater part of our nation does not see yet the war guilt as much on our side as you and I do. Our people have to be proven by telling them hard facts, by telling them the truth about Hitler's systematic preparation for war under the excuse of defensive measures. The German masses did not know how little armed the democracies were when war broke out. This fact is known only to the few who like I had the chance as Military Attaches to find out about your military unpreparedness. We had always been told that an envious England and U.S.A. were arming rapidly to attack us in good time. So when war broke out most of our people believed it a preventive war and most of them believe this still today.

Dear General, these are my ideas to the question of Germany's treatment after the war. There will be many Germans who will be willing to give a wholehearted cooperation from the very day the war ends. In all modesty I want to point out that this our cooperation could only be expected if our conscience allows us to give it wholeheartedly. If you want Quislings, you will find them plenty I am afraid. There are a great number of potential "Quislings" among us. But they will not be of much real help. We had a chance to learn this lesson. If you want our help, please see to it that at least the desire for food and decent treatment may be fulfilled. If you want to win over the German masses from wrong idols and ideas to your way of thinking you might later

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take the sting out of our defeat by considering the other three proposals.

A man with self respect cannot help the invader who treats his people unjustly even if he sees the guilt on his own side. "Severe but just rule" announced your posters in the towns first conquered on German soil. We are willing to accept this.

Give the decent people in Germany a chance and they will gladly help you to remove the ugly remnants of Nazism, first by destroying the culprits and later, in a slower process, by derotting it radically out of their hearts.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Peter Riedel

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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24 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I think the President will be interested in the attached memorandum containing information received from our Belgrade representative. Will you please see that it reaches his desk.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of CIA
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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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BY DECLASSIFY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC
~~CONTROL~~

~~CONTROL~~ *a.s.d. folder 5-44*
~~SECRET~~
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

24 December 1944

file
BSF

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

We received the following cable from our representative in Belgrade which we believe will be of interest to you:

"1. Conduct of Russian troops in Belgrade continues to disturb many local inhabitants. Some of the latter who were enthusiastic about 'Glorious Red Army' are now dismayed at 'uncivilized' behavior of troops. Theft, invasion private homes, disorderly conduct not uncommon. Rumors of rape widespread. While in daylight there is some drunkenness but little disorder, at night when identification more difficult numerous shootings by and of partisan guards and patrols, who enforce curfew with light triggers. For example, several nights ago Russian soldier shot and killed by garage guard at our quarters. Last night unknown persons shot and killed the guard and made off with jeep not ours. Two incidents not considered connected but are indicative of the local situation.

"2. No doubt such occurrences deplored by

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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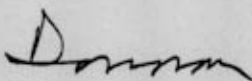
МУЗНИСЛОВ Д. С.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

~~CONTROL~~

SECRET

- 2 -

Higher Soviet Command but despite severe, strictly imposed, penalties must be exceedingly difficult control these men who have been fighting three years under the most primitive conditions. Many junior officers and men with whom source has talked are themselves aware of their falling standards and when drunk apt to bemoan loss of their once vaunted 'culture'. At all events, there is a marked contrast between Soviet occupation troops in Iran in 1941 and 1942 and that prevailing here now. One can but wonder how they will behave once they have left friendly liberated Jugoslavia and have occupied Germany itself."



William J. Donovan
Director

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~

24 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Grace:

I think the President will be interested in the attached memorandum and would appreciate your placing it on his desk.

Sincerely,

WJ
William J. Donovan
Director

Encl.

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By Authority of CIA

007622

By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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WASHINGTON, D.C.
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O.S.S. file 5-44

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

26 December 1944

SECRET

file

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

As I am leaving today, I wanted to let you know of the present status of the memorandum proposing the establishment of a central intelligence service.

It was referred by the JCS to the JIC for comment and recommendation through the Joint Strategic Survey Committee.

The JIC Committee has produced two counter proposals: one by representatives of the military agencies and the other by representatives of State, FEA, and OSS. These two counter proposals differ from each other so fundamentally in approach, concept, and scope as to be irreconcilable.

Both papers are to be presented to the Joint Strategic Survey Committee. The proposal of the civilian agencies closely follows the original proposal to you. It is based upon the premise that the end product of intelligence activity must be a complete synthesized estimate upon which policy with respect to the national security as a whole may be safely based.

While approving the appointment of the Director by the President, as suggested by me, the civilian paper would have the Director instead of reporting to the President, reporting to the

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Board, consisting of the Secretaries of War, State, and Navy. The Board would set the policies but the Director would have the administrative power to carry them out.

The proposal of the military members is not yet finalized. As now drafted it evades early action. It is concerned primarily with national security in its narrow sense. Strictly military in its concept, it approaches the problem of providing national policy intelligence from the departmental point of view. It provides for a minimum of centralization and so undertakes to restrict the authority of the Director whom they wish appointed by the Cabinet Secretaries, acting jointly.

The effect of this paper would eliminate little of the existing confusion. At the request of the Strategic Survey Board I appeared before it and explained the theory underlying the primary paper and the manner of administration.

From the questions and comments of the members, I judge that they recognize the necessity of establishing such a system but once the Director is appointed by the President they ask that he report to the Board rather than to the President. The ground taken is the inadvisability of having so many individual agencies reporting directly to the President. I stated that this was a matter for Presidential decision.

Also they expressed the view that they would like to have

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all three of the Chiefs of Staff as members of the Board. I offered no objections to this but insisted that, whatever the composition of the Board, the Director be free administratively to run his job, responsible as is a general manager to a Board of Directors. I talked also to State about this and they feel they must be consulted in the selection of the Director.

In discussing this matter with responsible officers in the intelligence field I have been surprised at their lack of understanding of the necessity for a sound intelligence organization, an organization comprising a central service in which career officers and civilian experts working together synthesize all available intelligence on the policy level, and estimate, before the event, political and military developments.

Donovan

William J. Donovan
Director

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFIED

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

26 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Grace:

I believe the President would be interested in the attached radiotelephone message from our Berne office. Will you kindly see that it reaches his desk? Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Bill
William J. Donovan
Director

Enclosure.

26 December 1944
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PSF: P. S. A. folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

26 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I think you will be interested in the enclosed radiotelephone message from our representative in Berne, which deals with a report of von Rundstedt's plan for a supreme war council, the German counter-offensive, and military operations on the Hungarian-Slovak front.

Donovan
William J. Donovan
Director

Enclosure.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 22 December 1944

#255

FROM Berne

HBG

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

DEFERRED

DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

~~RESTRICTED~~
SPO 16-40009-1

GERMANY

1. It is rumored that, during a recent meeting with Himmler and certain military chiefs, von Rundstedt proposed to make Kesselring commander-in-chief of the whole southern front and Model commander-in-chief of the whole eastern front with complete power to take all necessary decisions. Von Rundstedt's plan also foresaw a supreme war council, including the three above-mentioned commanders-in-chief, together with Himmler as chief of the home forces. This plan was said to have met with stubborn opposition in certain Nazi circles headed by Bormann. Bormann and his friends believe that the quadrumvirate would prepare peace negotiations and, under the present circumstances, even a coup d'etat. (End of report.) This report, in the above form, is to be taken with a good deal of reserve. It seems unlikely that any such plan, which apparently would side-track both Guderian and Brauchitsch, would be adopted. However, the rumor is interesting as possibly indicating a belated German move to attempt to create a unified supreme authority for the various army fronts, something which Germany under Hitler has never really had.

2. Here is a summary of an article which appeared in the Weltwoche yesterday. It relates to the recent German offensive.

Rundstedt's tanks have penetrated deeply into Luxembourg and Belgium. There is again great optimism in Berlin. We do not believe it is justified. In every tragedy there is a period of delay. Germany is now in the midst of this period. The crisis in the ranks of the Allies seems to offer a chance of a separate peace or, at least, a favorable outcome of the war. Just what this chance amounts to can be learned from German industrialists seeking asylum for themselves and their families in Switzerland. The curious thing is that these industrialists do not greatly fear the SS, although the latter are particularly busy hunting down big industrial magnates suspected of defeatism. But they are most worried about what they call the inevitable collapse of the Nazi regime. These people really know what chance Germany has in spite of Rundstedt's offensive. The system of transport has been crippled to an unbelievable extent by

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 255

FROM

Bernie

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED~~RESTRICTED~~

16-52821-1 GPO

the bombings of recent weeks. The production of arms is steadily sinking, despite the construction of many underground plants. The materiel now being thrown into battle on the western front and in Hungary constitutes the last reserve saved up for the moment when the adversary shows signs of disappointment in the failure to wind up the war, and divergence of opinion concerning world political problems became rife. Berlin is well informed on these matters, despite its moderate intelligence service, as the Allies make no secret of them.

Thus the Reich has decided to play what may be its last card, and it is a dangerous one -- more dangerous to Germany than to the Allies. Just as the secret weapons in the end only aroused pent-up hatred of Germany, so will the new offensive only strengthen the determination of the United Nations to treat Germany with severity when the war is won. The most important effect achieved by the Nazis in prolonging their resistance was to weaken the position of the friends of Germany in the Allied camp. Without the bitterness provoked by the V-1 and V-2, Churchill would never have advocated openly the dismemberment of Germany, nor could Bidault demand the Rhineland for France, except for the discovery of the atrocities committed by the Gestapo in France and the general disappointment at the prolongation of the weary war. Even on the Russian side, Ilya Ehrenburg wrote, when he saw the Germans' death cells, "We Russians have always been able to make friends with our enemies. Our soldiers played with the children of Napoleon's men in Paris. But how can we play with monsters now?"

In view of such bitter feeling, what effect is Rundstedt's offensive going to have, no matter how successful? Even if he reaches the Channel and Antwerp, which seems improbable, no decisive effect would be gained. It is true that both the Anglo-Saxons and the Russians are somewhat tired of the war, but, if the German menace comes nearer, there would be an end to that. In the more likely event of Rundstedt's failing to attain his objective, there would ensue a new and probably mortal weakening of Germany's power and the very exhaustion of her reserves, which the Allies have been trying to achieve during the last three months. There may be an end of terror instead of terror without end. It is certain that Rundstedt's offensive is to be taken very seriously, but we do not believe that in the end, despite the success which they have, it will amount to anything more than a moment of delay. And, if the drive fails, it is likely that the end of the war would come more suddenly than any one believes. In 1918, the March and May offensives of the Germans were very successful, but they were followed four months later by Ludendorff's demand for an armistice in forty-eight hours.

HUNGARY

Here is a report from a well-informed neutral observer who arrived here from Hungary a few days ago. The operations on the Hungarian-Slovak

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 255

FROM Barna TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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front are being conducted with relatively small units. For weeks past, the Russians have been nibbling, but, when they bite on something hard, they draw back. They occupy a place with about twenty tanks, then the next day the Germans will come along with thirty tanks and turn them out. Such operations as this have been going on now for long enough to make people on the spot wonder whether the Russians have any serious intention of breaking through the German line, represented, roughly speaking, by the Tatra and the Slovak mountain range down to the Danube, then into Pest and its suburbs, then the marshlands, and then Lake Balaton to the West.

Budapest has been powerfully organized for the kind of defense put up at Stalingrad, and the gaps between the mountain, Budapest, and Lake Balaton are not very wide, and, even so, they hold bastions of considerable defensive value.

This report has the following item about Kallay. The Turks refused the command to deliver him up until after the Turkish Legation of Sofia, where Filoff had taken refuge, handed Filoff over to the Russians. Then Szalasy renewed his demands, pointing to this precedent. The Turks at Budapest put the question to Kallay who, being faced by Hobson's choice, relieved the Turks of their promise not to put him out. He was taken in charge by Szalasy's police, and no one outside of Szalasy's inner ring knows what has happened to him. It was a gross distortion of the facts to say, as the Germans did, that he had voluntarily placed himself under the protection of Szalasy's government.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SECRET

27 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

I think the President would be interested in the enclosed memorandum, containing intelligence transmitted by our representative in Bucharest. Will you be good enough to see that it reaches his desk? Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

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By Authority of CIA

007622

By SR Date NOV 27 1973

SECRET

21 December 1944
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PSF 0.1.5 folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SECRET

27 December 1944

Memorandum for the President:

The following information, dated 23 December, is a summary of intelligence gathered during a two-weeks trip through Transylvania and the Rumanian Banat by the OSS representative in Bucharest:

The jurisdiction of the Bucharest Government extends at present only to the line of the Vienna award [the northern portion of Transylvania, which was awarded to Hungary by Germany in 1940]. Throughout Transylvania and the Rumanian Banat two sets of Soviet officials were encountered. Red Army colonels representing the Allied Control Commission were located in the larger cities of Cluj, Arad, Timisoara, and Sibiu. Town commanders, usually low-ranking officers of the Second Ukrainian army, are responsible for the maintenance of the Soviet military. All local matters apparently were left in the hands of local Rumanian authorities. The Soviets report no local difficulties in obtaining fulfillment of the armistice terms. However, epuration is proceeding slowly, allegedly because of the lack of cooperation from the Ministry of Interior in Bucharest, and only unimportant members of the Fascist Iron Guard have been arrested.

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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No evidence was found of a Soviet intention permanently to separate northern Transylvania from Rumania. It appears generally agreed by local informants that the Rumanian authorities first sent to northern Transylvania by the Bucharest Government were expelled by the Soviets because they armed the Rumanians and incited them against the local Hungarian population. Contrary to charges made in government circles in Bucharest, the present local functionaries are not wholly Hungarian or Communist. In Cluj, for example, the mayor and prefect are Rumanians, the vice-mayor and subprefect Hungarians. Although in some villages elections have been held by secret ballot, in other centers the process of election by acclamation has been adopted, allegedly because of the lack of voting lists. Appointees by the latter method appear to have been drawn largely from young, energetic lawyers, bankers, and professors. The practice of popular demonstrations, followed by the ousting of Bucharest appointees, and the installation of new officials by acclamation or election has also spread to southern Transylvania, the Banat, and other areas.

Considering the absence of any strong Rumanian leftist political tradition, the entrenched position of the traditional Rumanian parties, the difficulties of transport and communication, and the short time since the expulsion of the Germans, the leftist parties appeared to have developed remarkable strength throughout the area. The Ploughmen's Front (originally a local

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leftist group of small importance) has won about half of the electoral contests and acclamations in the villages. The Hungarian Madosz party, which embraces all leftist democratic elements of the local Hungarian population, is cooperating with the leftist Rumanian National Democratic Front. The more conservative leader, Maniu, is losing ground steadily throughout the area, while his Rumanian Peasant Party, which is now said to include many former Iron Guardists, is held responsible for anti-Hungarian outrages. The conservative Liberal Party has concluded a temporary political truce with the leftists pending instructions from Bucharest.

The chief economic difficulty in the area is lack of transport, which has caused fuel and food shortages. The isolation of Transylvania from both Hungary and the remainder of Rumania has made it deficient in many commodities.

In southern Transylvania the Jewish population has survived, but the larger Jewish population of northern Transylvania has been virtually destroyed.

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~SECRET~~
~~SECRET~~

27 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

I believe the President will be interested in the enclosed memorandum, containing information forwarded by the OSS representative in Caserta. Will you kindly see that it reaches him? Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

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By Authority of CIA

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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21 Dec 44

WASHINGTON, D. C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

O. S. S. Order 3-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SECRET

27 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

The following information has been transmitted by the OSS representative in Athens:

On the afternoon of 25 December Churchill and Eden held a conference on shipboard with Premier Papandreu and Archbishop Damaskinos present. Damaskinos, who was designated to preside at the conference on the following day, is said to have endorsed fully the policy of the Greek Government.

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of CIA
007622
By SR Date NOV 27 1973

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

28 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

The President will probably be interested in the enclosed radiotelephone message from our Berne representative. I will appreciate your seeing that it reaches his desk.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

28 December 1944
WASHINGTON, D. C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PSF: O.S.S. Order 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

28 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I think you will be interested in the attached message from the OSS representative in Berne, which came to us via radiotelephone. This report deals with (1) the significance of the German offensive in the West, and (2) a comment from the Berlin correspondent of the Neue Zuercher Zeitung of 23 December.

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 26 December 1944

#257

FROM Bern?

HBG

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

SPD 12-4098-1

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GERMANY

1. The significance of the German offensive in the West is the subject uppermost in the press and in private conversations here. Undoubtedly Germany has shown a military force in the West which exceeded general expectations here, but most commentators, as well as most private well-informed individuals are inclined to feel that the offensive will fail to achieve vitally important strategic objectives.

The offensive shows that Germany does not yet consider that she is completely licked. It also shows, as I have previously suggested, that the morale in Germany, if one can call fatalistic resignation morale, does not have much effect on military operations. Germany is fighting as a cornered beast that sees no possible alternative. The impression is widespread and is growing, even in anti-Nazi circles, that general conditions in Germany would be worse after the collapse than during the period of combat. Recent pronouncements regarding Polish annexation plans in the East of Germany, and French economic designs on the Rhineland and Ruhr have helped to solidify this impression. The German soldiers at the front probably consider that they are better off now than they will be when they lay down their arms; that death is possibly preferable to the future they see in Germany after they stop fighting.

In effect, we have succeeded in building up a desperation complex in the German people, and we cannot expect any internal collapse except under the pressure of German military defeat or the breakdown of transportation and distribution of food, raw materials, and munitions.

It is possible, of course, that the German Wehrmacht is consciously or unconsciously committing a kind of hara-kiri. They may have realized that the grinding, defensive warfare to which they had been subjected in the West would only mean the gradual destruction of Germany, just as Aachen has been destroyed. The Wehrmacht possibly does not wish to bear the responsibility for this destruction for future generations. It is possible that they therefore prefer to make a last effort to transfer this

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. NO. 257

FROM Berlin TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICESRECEIVED

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destruction into Belgium, Luxembourg, and France, even if they perish in the attempt. At least then they would not be responsible for the destruction of German cities and of the industrial area of the Ruhr. If, as a result of their desperate move, they are trapped, then the war might end and some members of the Wehrmacht, at least, would have the honorable status of prisoners of war, which they might well prefer to returning to a Germany torn by civil war and possibly thrown into chaos by the breakdown of transportation and production, and ravaged by the millions of foreign laborers and prisoners, and by the desperate bombed-out population.

Such considerations may well have influenced the Wehrmacht in accepting and possibly even advocating this offensive move. It also possibly fits in with the plan of the leading Nazis. The latter have always had the mistaken view that, if only they could make the Americans and English bleed sufficiently, we would be ready for a compromise peace. The Nazis are also undoubtedly most anxious to reoccupy as much of German-occupied territory as possible in order to mete out punishment to any Germans who may have collaborated with our forces of occupation and thus frighten Germans from any future collaboration in German territory we may occupy in the future. The German press particularly stresses reports of vengeance meted out to Germans who have collaborated with the Allies. The case of Joseph Meurer, a railway man who is alleged to have assisted the Allies at a place called Wuerfelen and who was condemned and executed by German "patriots" is headlined. The Koelnische Zeitung also claims that four Burgermasters who collaborated with the Allies and a school-teacher from Aachen were likewise executed. The Nazis are obviously fearful of the effects in Germany of a German anti-Nazi opposition appearing on German soil under Allied occupation and undoubtedly felt that a counter-offensive would be one of the best means of discouraging people in the future from engaging in such collaboration.

2. Here is an interesting comment from the Berlin correspondent of the Neue Zuercher Zeitung of December 23 with regard to German reaction to the reports of Polish and French annexation plans at German expense. The announcement of French Foreign Minister Bidault that, in the event of an Allied victory, Poland would get the German eastern provinces was the signal to the German press and radio to make it clear to the people just what fate awaits them in the event of a military collapse. Now that Bidault, just returned from Moscow, goes beyond what Churchill said in the House of Commons, and proclaims that Germany is to lose control of her industrial provinces in the West and give up in the East not only East Prussia and Danzig but also Pomerania and Silesia, it is inevitable that German public opinion must react in no uncertain fashion. The response of the German press is most violent.

Unquestionably, Bidault's announcement has made a profound impression in Germany, all the more so because the Germans consider Bidault the rep-

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 257

FROM Barne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED

16-48301-1 GPO

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representative of a country conquered by German arms, and for him to proclaim annexation at the cost of Germany is simply too much to take. Furious and indignant protests in the press are a consequence. Berlin does not take the Allied threat too seriously, especially in view of the generally stabilized war situation and particularly the progress of the German offensive in the Ardennes. However, the opportunity to exploit for propaganda purposes the Allied plan to destroy Germany is not neglected.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

29 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Tully:

I think the President would be interested in the enclosed radiotelephone message from our representative in Berne.

Sincerely,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enc.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

PSF: O.S.S. folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

29 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I believe you will be interested in the enclosed radiotelephone message from our representative in Berne. This report deals with Nazi activities in North Italy and Germany, and particularly their propaganda offensive in connection with the present military drive on the Western Front.

G. Edward Buxton

G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 28 December 1944

#258

FROM Berne

IBG

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

DEFERRED

DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION)

(FOR INFORMATION)

RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

FORM 15-4088-1

ITALY

A recent arrival from Milan reports the following with regard to the carefully staged visit which Mussolini made to Milan about two weeks ago. The population showed no enthusiasm, but rather . . . behind a compact Fascist police protected guard. Mussolini's health appeared good, only he looked much older. The Milan theater was filled for his speech, but only Fascists were admitted, and apparently Fascist functionaries had been imported to Milan for the occasion. There were no incidents during the visit. Mussolini visited one of the public kitchens, and the Fascists ordered applause and secured some applause at the point of machine guns.

This same informant states that Germany is not now asking or expecting any production from North Italy and is exporting all the raw materials which might serve as the basis for local production. A good deal of leather, in particular, has been recently exported. The coal shortage is becoming acute, and many factories work only a few days a week because of lack of coal.

It is noticeable that the Germans themselves are not indulging in police action against the population but are leaving this to the Fascists. It is also evident that the Germans in North Italy are endeavoring to make contacts which might help to save their skins at some later date.

GERMANY

1. The extremely close control of travel from Germany to Switzerland, a control exercised both by the Nazis and by the Swiss, often occasions long delays in getting first-hand reports of German developments. As yet, the press is our chief source of information as to the German reaction to the Rundstedt offensive. However, one recent arrival reports that one of the main political aims of the new offensive is to drive a wedge between the Americans and the British. The political plans for the offensive were worked out by Himmler and Goebbels and, in connection with their program, German propaganda has recently been benevolent toward England but increasingly harsh toward America and continually harsh towards the Russians.

According to this informant, Himmler has received information that American supplies were coming into France in overwhelming quantities and when he found that he could not . . . supply lines by the V-1 and V-2

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

REF. No. 258

FROM Berne

TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

RECEIVED~~RESTRICTED~~

attacks on the Antwerp-Liege area he decided upon all-out measures to cut through to Antwerp.

Possibly to bolster up the effort to drive a wedge between the Americans and the British, the German propaganda agencies in Berlin have been filling the press with reports of the alleged inactivity of the British 21st Army, emphasizing that, for some weeks, Field Marshal Montgomery's sector has been . . . from the entire front and that Montgomery for a long time refused to use any of his divisions to help the hard-pressed First American Army and only a few days ago consented to make available one Division.

2. It is reported that Himmler has taken important steps to modify the control in the German industrial machine to meet alleged defeatism in the ranks of German heavy industry. For some weeks past, the decrees relating to industrial matters have been signed by Himmler and Goebbels to the exclusion of Goering. Himmler, in so doing, is acting as Minister of the Interior and is the person responsible for the equipment of the SS, the Ersatzheer, and the Volksturm, Goebbels, acting under his full powers, for the total mobilization. Goering's friends have been removed from positions of importance on responsible industrial committees. The Special Armament Committee, usually presided over by Goering personally, has not met for some months.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

29 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Tully:

I think the enclosed report
will be of interest to the President.

Sincerely,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enc.

DECLASSIFIED
By Authority of CIA
007622
By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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~~SECRET~~~~SECRET~~

O. L. S. Jones 3-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

29 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe that you will find of interest the following report which we have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

"Saw Subasic yesterday December 27th. He expressed great annoyance at the King's failure to see him during last week. Subasic stated that if King refuses to sign agreement he will forever forfeit his chances to be King. Signing of agreement will in Subasic's opinion arouse sympathy for King and enhance his prestige. Subasic added that in event of King's refusal to sign, a new government will be formed nevertheless. Subasic has not seen Churchill.

"Saw King this afternoon December 28th. King contemplating to prepare extensive memorandum explaining unconstitutionality of present agreements.

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SR Date NOV 27 1973

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- 2 -

Told me he will forward copies of same when ready to Churchill, British Foreign Office, Ambassador Patterson and may even send copy to Moscow. King determined to insist upon naming regency. Princess Aspasia and Queen Alexandra exerting utmost pressure on King not to yield."

G. Edward Buxton.
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

DECLASSIFIED

SECRET

~~TOP SECRET~~
OFFICE OF PERSONNEL SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

My dear Miss Tully:

I believe the enclosed will be of
interest to the President.

Sincerely,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

C. S. S. folder 5-44

~~TOP SECRET~~ SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I am enclosing herewith a report which we have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow. This report contains the text of a memorandum which is being submitted today by King Peter of Yugoslavia to Prime Minister Churchill. In order that the report may reach you with the least possible delay I am forwarding it in its original form.

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure

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007622
By DBL Date JUN 11 1963

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE December 29, 1944

FROM

London

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King showed me this evening December 29 his written reply to Churchill. He will forward original to Churchill tomorrow and copies to the Ambassadors. In view of its importance decided to cable you full text.

London, December 28, 1944

The Right Hon.
Winston Churchill,
Prime Minister,
London, S.W. 1.

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Deeply convinced that you are a sincere and great friend of my country and myself, I trust that you will not mind if I hand you in writing one part of my considerations regarding the factual and constitutional side of the problems which are facing us at present.

During our last meeting of December 21st, 1944 in the presence of Mr. A. Eden and the Ambassador Mr. R. Stevenson you expressed the opinion that it would be advisable for me to accept and endorse the Tito-Subasic agreements regarding the regency council, the composition of the future government and the

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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PAGE 2

FROM OFFEAVIC LONDON TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

REF. NO.

#98629

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16-5000-1 GPO

elections of the constituent assembly.

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We parted that I may think over the matter and give you my reply. I have very conscientiously considered the problems and made up my mind and am giving you my reply obeying my conscience and fully aware of my responsibilities.

Before anything else I consider it necessary to quote the following:

A) After Dr Subasic's return and before our meeting, I had received from him or through the services of your government these documents:

- 1.) The agreement concluded by Tito and Subasic of November 1st, 1944.
- 2.) Amendment of December 7, 1944 regarding elections for the constituent assembly and the administrative machinery to be set up immediately.
- 3.) Amendment of December 7, 1944, dealing with King's properties and with regents.
- 4.) Official communique of December 7, 1944, published after the conclusion of Tito-Subasic negotiations.
- 5.) Questionnaire addressed to Dr. Subasic by Sir Orms Sargent and Subasic's reply (Dec. 13 and 14, 1944).
- 6.) Aide-memoire by Dr. Subasic to me of Dec. 17, 1944.

B) During the whole absence of Dr. Subasic (from October 13 to December 12, 1944) I had not received from him a single word on what he was doing, although I had asked him expressly before his departure not to accept definitely and not to sign any agreement without a previous consultation with me and with the Royal Government in order to avoid any uncalled for situation and subsequent difficulties for himself and for me.

C) Nobody up to date has given me a copy of the amendment dealing with the composition of the government, quoted in the questionnaire at nos. 8 and 9.

Now, I propose to analyze, in detail and impartially, the facts laid down in the documents quoted above.

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PAGE 3

REF. NO.

FROM UPTRAVIC LONDON TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES #98629

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The signatories stress in the agreement that- "proceeding from the principle of continuity of Yugoslavia as a state from the international point of view "and" in view of the fact that Yugoslavia is recognised among the United Nations in her old form and as such functions - "they will continue to represent our country in relation to the foreign world in all acts of the foreign policy in the same way, as long as our community of state, future democratic and federal Yugoslavia, does not receive, by a free expression of the popular will, her definite form of rule."

Till that moment, the agreement continues., I could not return to the country. In my absence the royal power could be in the hands of a royal regency.

This regency, the agreement continues, should be created by a personal royal act (by me) on the proposal of the Royal Government in the way decided by the Tito-Subasic agreement.

At the same time, the composition of the government and number of its departments (with omission of the names of their titulars) are fixed by the agreement.

As to the way how to appoint members of the government, nothing is said. The communique of December 7, 1944, however, says: "it is agreed upon to form a single government out of representatives of all nations and federal units of Yugoslavia and to bring into it individuals of different political orientations provided that they support basic aspirations of the National Liberation movement.

The questionnaire deals only with the agreement. There are 3 questions in the art. 1: A) what will be the powers of the regency? B) Will the regency have all the powers of the King as set forth in the Yugoslav Constitution, including that of dismission or modifying the government? C) If not who will determine the powers of the regency?

Dr. Subasic's reply to all of them is: "as a rule, the regency has the same rights which are normally enjoyed by the King. If further developments in Yugoslavia should require amendments to the Constitution, they would be carried constitutionally on the basis of the present Constitution."

I must particularly stress that Dr. Subasic in the reply on this question says among others: "the present Constitution provides for the possibility of a regency and states its rights and duties."

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FROM USITAVIC LONDON TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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If we analyse the questions and the reply, one can realize immediately that there is only an evasive reply to the questions A) and B).

It was not asked, what were "as a rule powers of the regency," and what would happen "if further developments should require....." The question is clear and to the point and pertinent to the time being. The articles of the Constitution dealing with the matter are perfectly clear and unambiguous.

Art. 2 of the questionnaire says: "will the regency consult the King or will they have a blank cheque to act in the King's name?" The reply is: "the regency has the right to consult the King", but no obligation to do so.

Art. 5 of the questionnaire says: A) has a draft of proposed declaration been prepared? B) Will all the Yugoslav political parties be allowed to function freely?

D) Will former leaders of the Serbian, Croat and Slovene political parties now in this country and the USA be enabled to take part in political life in Yugoslavia if they so desire?

From the reply it is obvious that there has been no reply given to the question under B). To the question C) it is replied only evasively saying that "it is clear from the amendment regarding the election to the constituent assembly that former political leaders will be able to take part in political life."

The reply to art. 7 is quite clear.

I have been unable to take into consideration the art. 8 and 9. Since the amendment relating to the formation of the government has not been communicated to me so far.

The reply to art. 10 is clear.

Here I must stop for a while and make a reference to the regulations of the art. 41 and 42 of the Constitution. As I am not minor of age and am not "permanently incapacitated" to perform my constitutional duties, the royal regency - in the case of its establishment - could be chosen and appointed only by me.

Art. 12 - The question and the answer are clear. I stress the following sentence of the answer: "it would have been difficult to make a more promising choice." That statement I believe is not correct as there are many outstanding men in my country who could, if required, fill this highly responsible position.

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REF. No.

FROM USTFAVIC LONDON TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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Art. 13 is perfectly clear, and does not mention that "the Royal Government will make any influence." (It is obvious that what is meant is that the Royal Government will not be able to exercise any influence.)

Art. 14 is perfectly clear, and so is the answer: "if the King's constitutional position is not adequately covered that is dictated by the present situation."

I leave for a moment aside the rest of the important statements contained in the documents. If one closely examines only what I have analysed above, it is evident what is demanded of me.

I am asked to transfer the execution of my constitutional rights without being consulted previously. The reason for that is the alleged fear of my influence of the free expression of the popular will regarding the form of government in Yugoslavia.

I must here solemnly state that I have never been and shall never be against the freely expressed will of my people. I have never been against the organization of future Yugoslavia in conformity with the will of my peoples. I consider, however, that nobody fairminded can blame me if I demand and do all in my power to assure a really free expression of the popular will. If I unflinchingly continue, at this grave hour, to defend the rights of my people as well as my constitutional royal rights, I am sure that my own country as well as my great allies will understand and share my feelings.

How is this matter dealt with in the above quoted documents? In what way are my people's rights and my royal constitutional rights protected?

In no way!

I am asked to change the constitution regarding the regency and to appoint those persons as royal regents who were chosen by Marshal Tito and Dr. Subasic. According to their agreement, this regency would have a right and not an obligation to consult me. They consider that such terms are a full protection to my constitutional rights! I cannot agree with that.

How could this regency respect the Crown and its rights, when I do not know its members at all, when I have nothing to say regarding their choice, when, moreover, they are to be appointed by me on a dictate instead of by constitutional means.

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FROM USRAVIC LONDON TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

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According to the agreement, the regency, once appointed, could, "if further developments in Yugoslavia should require amendments to the Constitution" change the whole Constitution. What is then the value of the Constitution and how are the constitutional rights protected? All that is in contradiction with what is said in the questionnaire, "will be carried on constitutionally".

I am a young King but during my reign I pursued a policy and taken a stand as the King of my country which I can now retrospectively be only proud of. This gives me sufficient right and strength to address myself to my people and unhesitatingly to place myself for their judgement.

I have taken over my duties on March 27, 1941, in the moments in which, Mr. Prime Minister, according to your statement in the House of Commons, Yugoslavia and found her soul. These events are publicly praised and celebrated by the National Liberation movement. They are absolutely linked up with my person. The slogans of these memorable days were: King Peter is with us, King Peter is against the tripartite pact, King is for the collaboration with Western Democracies, etc.

It is true on the subsequent events had quickly broken the organized resistance of my country, but they have never broken neither the resistance of my people nor that of myself. Having left, with my government, my country, I have uninterruptedly continued to collaborate with my great allies. You, Mr. Prime Minister, know better than anybody else that I have never done anything contrary to the interests of the United Nations and that I have never hesitated to follow the advices given to me by the great allies.

And what am I asked to do at present?

That I should tacitly abdicate.

I can never do that. Neither openly nor tacitly. I have no right to do it as long as I am the Constitutional King.

According to the Constitution I am the supreme guardian of permanent interests of my people. The people have right to ask me, at any time, how have I guarded their interest. Therefore it is my duty to see to it that the interests of all my peoples and of all the classes are being equally safeguarded.

I, meanwhile, once more solemnly declare that I will never oppose the freely expressed will of my people. For this

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reason and till that moment I must have full guarantees that the popular will shall be really freely expressed, that the people shall be really free to express their will. Moreover, I cannot transfer the King's constitutional power unless I have got guarantees that it would be used according to the Constitution.

My conscience says to me that I must insist on this, and, I would regret very much this feeling were it not shared by my great allies.

I have been told that all political parties had already declared their attitude in this matter and that they had endorsed the Tito-Sibasic agreement. No proofs have been given to me, nor have I learned that from any other source. On the contrary, I know that nobody has consulted them, and that there is no will to do it. That is unmistakably said in the communique of Dec. 7, 1944: "it has been agreed to form a single Yugoslav Government composed of representatives of all nations and federal units of Yugoslavia and that there must be appointed individuals belonging to different political orientations provided..."

Any comment would be superfluous!

Since the totality of power would be in the hands of such a government - it is clear that there is a tendency to establish a totalitarian regime. Who does not adhere to the regime would be eliminated. That would not be good. The best proof is contained in your speech of Dec. 8, 1944, in the House of Commons, when you said:

"I say that the last thing that represents democracy is the attempt to introduce a totalitarian regime and clamors to shoot everyone who is politically inconvenient as part of a purge of those who are said to - and very often have not - have sought to collaborate with the Germans during the occupation. Do not let us rate democracy so low, as if it were merely grabbing power and shooting those who do not agree with you. That is the antithesis of democracy; this is not what democracy is based on. Democracy is not based on violence or terrorism, but on reason, on fair play, on freedom, on respecting other people's rights as well as their ambitions. Democracy is not harlot to be picked up in the street with a tommy gun. I trust people in almost any country, but I like to make sure that it is the people and not a gang of bandits from the mountains or from the countryside who think that by violence they can overturn constituted authority. That is generally a description of the foundation upon which we should approach the various special instances."

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I am in full agreement with this statement, and expect its application in my case.

To conclude:

Nobody can deny my constitutional right to perform my royal powers by myself. If, however, general conditions require that I remain abroad for a while, I ask your help, Mr. Prime Minister, so that we may together, in mutual friendship and trust, find a solution which would be in accord with the constitution of my country, and which would guarantee the protection of the right of my people as well as royal constitutional rights during my absence."

I remain, Sir,

Sincerely yours,"

King sending original late evening December 30 to Churchill and copies to King George of England and cur and USSR ambassadors.

Copy No. 5.

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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Tully:

I believe the attached report
will be of interest to the President.

Sincerely,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Attachment

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By Authority of CIA

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By SR Date NOV 27 1973

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O. S. S. folder 3-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

I believe that you will find of interest the following report which we have just received from our representative Mr. Bernard Yarrow:

"1. Dr. Krnjevic, Secretary General of Croat Peasant Party now in London, sent yesterday memorandum to Churchill. Highlights are as follows:

A. Negotiations dealing with future of the people of Yugoslavia have been held on too narrow basis to be able to promote the unity within Yugoslavia. Deplores absence of legitimate representation of Croat people during negotiations, especially since Kosutic, Vice President of Croat Peasant Party has left Zagreb with powers to negotiate some months ago and was free to attend conferences since he is now located in the liberated territory of Yugoslavia. Stresses the undemocratic way in which the agreements were brought about which will cause much harm

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to the endeavours to bring nearer and create an atmosphere of mutual confidence among the peoples of Yugoslavia.

B. General tendency to establish the National Liberation Movement as a totalitarian all-embracing movement. The consequence is that the Croat Peasant Party has been considered and dealt with by the National Liberation Movement as its arch enemy. The unscrupulous way in which Dr. Macek has been attacked by the leaders of the National Liberation Movement at the time of the negotiations between Subasic and Tito.

C. King of Yugoslavia has no right to accept the agreements concluded between President of the Royal Yugoslavia Government and the National Liberation Movement. Particularly he cannot do it if he wishes to be a constitutional monarch. He has no right to impose upon the peoples of his country monopolistic one-party rule. By his acceptance of the agreements this rule would be legally established in Yugoslavia. No king has right to make such profound

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constitutional changes in his country. They can be made only by the peoples themselves.

D. It would be contrary to the established policy of the United Nations regarding the organization of liberated European countries if there were totalitarian one-party rule introduced into Yugoslavia. This policy is to base the organization of the liberated countries on the free expressed popular will. In order to guarantee free elections, after the liberation there have been, beginning with France, in all liberated countries established governments of large national concentrations embracing all political groups from the extreme Left to the extreme Right. Yugoslavia is the least suitable to be an exception to the general rule.

"2. Copy of this memorandum was forwarded by Krnjevic to the King today. I am informing simultaneously Ambassador Patterson contents above memorandum."

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director
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OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 December 1944

~~REPRODUCED~~

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Miss Tully:

The President will probably be interested in the enclosed radiotelephone message from our representative in Berne.

Sincerely yours,

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

PSF: O. A. S. folder 5-44

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

30 December 1944

~~RESTRICTED~~

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I think you will be interested in the attached message from the OSS representative in Berne, which came to us via radiotelephone. This report deals with (1) German reaction to the formation of a Hungarian Government at DEBRECEN, and (2) an article from La Suisse of 28 December, on Germany's nomad population.

G. Edward Buxton
G. Edward Buxton
Acting Director

Enclosure.

20 December 1964

WASHINGTON
OFFICE OF BUREAU

This message was not completed.

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(Sec)

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE 29 December 1944

#259

FROM Berne

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GERMANY

1. A report just received from Germany indicates that the Russian action in permitting the formation of a Hungarian government at Debrecen has caused a lot of astonishment in Germany. They were particularly surprised, and the Nazi leaders particularly disturbed, to note that the leading position in this Hungarian government is now held by a Hungarian general who has only recently been received and decorated by the Fuehrer. General Miklos, who presides over the new government, has the Ritterkreuz. And the report adds that he received this decoration from Hitler recently last November at the Fuehrer's Hauptquartier.

Undoubtedly, this Hungarian government was carefully planned with a view to its psychological effect on Germany. It will help to build up the impression which is already existing in certain German military circles that there may be hope for them on the Russian side, whereas they see no hope whatever from the West. Probably the question is going through the minds of many German generals that, if the Russians are ready to show such favor to Miklos, a general of the particularly hated Hungarian Army, why should not the the Russians do the same for the generals of the Wehrmacht?

2. Here is a summary of an article from La Suisse of December 28 on Germany's nomad population. This article quite well summarizes the information we are getting from a good many sources.

Despite the determined resistance of the Wehrmacht, there is a constant danger of invasion of Germany, which will mean not merely a loss of material resources, but also of inhabitants and indispensable workers.

In this situation, the Nazi leaders do not hesitate to remove to the interior of the country the population of menaced districts, so as to preserve threatened man-power. It is not for humanitarian, but for military and, to a certain extent, for political reasons that this is done. The situation . . . of moving man-power to regions where it can continue to produce. Every German must contribute his part to the desperate effort to overcome the catastrophic crisis of . . . in the Army and in economic life.

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