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Situation Report: CENTRAL EUROPE

Comments on Current Intelligence for the Use of OSS

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GERMANY

1. New intelligence on Nazi plans for a post-hostilities underground: There now exists a considerable body of intelligence to the effect that, after the Eastern and Western fronts are broken and the Northern plains occupied by the Allies, German "armies" will withdraw to the south and defend a predetermined redoubt (reduit) to the last man. The size and location of the redoubt are variously given. It is said to comprise various districts, the center, however, always being the Bavarian and Austrian Alps.¹

The "redoubt" might be employed for either or both of two different purposes. It may be employed to support a last-ditch effort by the German Armed Forces (by which is understood the Army and its auxiliaries). The defeat of the Army and the reduction of the redoubt thus becomes a military measure and would in no way differ from the preceding stages of military operations against Germany.

A redoubt may also be used for full-scale and wide-spread guerrilla warfare, which may be waged regardless of the military developments affecting the Armed Forces per se. In fact, the German leadership may decide upon guerrilla activity if organized resistance can not be continued. In actual practice guerrilla bands may operate either independently or in conjunction with regular army formations.

A considerable body of intelligence points to the possibility that the Nazis may use the redoubt as a base for guerrilla warfare. Although not all of the evidence can be verified, the following has already been reported: the Nazis and industrialists have transferred funds from Germany to neutral countries;² special training schools have been set up by the SS and the SD for guerrilla warfare;³ guerrilla bands will operate in groups of five; certain Party and SS elements will form the core of the movement;⁴ each guerrilla center will be commanded by an SS general; substantial amounts of foodstuffs have been cached in the Bavarian and Austrian Alps;⁵ underground arms factories have been built in these regions and raw materials, especially coal and gasoline, have been stored;⁶ the arming of guerrilla groups is already under way; the military will participate in underground activities;⁷ and, finally many

1. OSS Source S, 3 October 1944; 24 October 1944; 28 October 1944; 21 December 1944; 28 February 1945.
2. OSS Source S, 28 October 1944.
3. OSS Source S, 8 November 1944.
4. OSS Source S, 11 October 1944; 3 November 1944.
5. OSS Source S, 18 September 1944.
6. OSS Source S, 28 February 1945. OSS # 39455.
7. OSS # 248.

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Nazis whose obituaries have appeared in German papers are actually not dead but have already been ordered to go underground.¹ The Nazis themselves have publicly stated their determination to continue partisan warfare for the dual purpose of hindering Allied military administration in Germany and of terrorizing those Germans who would co-operate with the Allies.

None of the above intelligence is by itself sufficient evidence that the Nazis are preparing for partisan warfare. Reports dealing with material "preparations" may actually refer to activities connected with normal military operations. Reports dealing with ideological and organizational preparations may very well be Nazi plants intended to frighten the Western Powers into some sort of compromise.

The available reports, however, must be considered pertinent indices of future intentions if they are interpreted within the framework of the Nazi system and in the light of the problem faced by the Nazis in the post-hostilities period. The post hostilities Nazi movement is expected to aim at (a) perpetuating the Nazi myth in Germany and (b) maintaining close relations with the pro-Nazi movements in Europe which may arise as a consequence of the post-war settlement. To achieve these aims, the Nazis must (a) seek to discredit and embarrass the Western Powers and the USSR and attempt to split the United Nations; (b) subvert emerging democratic movement in Germany. The occupation forces, in turn, are committed to the dissolution of the Nazi Party and its affiliates, the detention of active Nazis, and the trial of war criminals. However, such policies, even if radically applied, cannot and indeed are not designed to eliminate the social bases of German aggression, for that problem must be left to native German elements.

A native democratic movement would unquestionably constitute the greatest danger to a clandestine Nazi movement. When Allied occupation will come to an end, German democracy may emerge as an exceptionally strong force, wiser in the light of past experiences. The crushing of this new force thus will become the supreme long-run objective of the Nazis, and their underground activities will be adapted to this end.

It is likely that the Nazis will take into account that conditions will differ radically from those which prevailed in 1919-1923. The Free Corps pattern is not likely to reappear, although the principles and the ideologies of the Corps are likely to revive and form the

1. Aftonbladet, 12 November 1945.

social and ideological basis of the Nazi underground movement.¹ Nor is the traditional capitalist-nationalism likely to reappear in its pre-war form. Revived nationalism will probably take the form of what has been called National Bolshevism. The pure nationalists in Germany always considered the alliance of capitalism and nationalism as a convenience rather as a necessity, and would hence be willing to desert capitalism if the survival of nationalism demands it. This trend will become more noticeable after the defeat, for it will appear to nationalistic Germans that the USSR, in spite of her qualitative industrial inferiority, was able to whip Germany. The nationalists are likely to ascribe the superiority of the Soviets to the subordination of all vested interests to the commonweal.

The post-war Nazi organization, moreover, will assume a twofold form. In its clandestine form, it will utilize all its experience with undercover operations. The operations will, in turn, have a dual character: collaboration with the occupying powers; and sabotage of their activities. The Nazis will try to permeate the German civil service, the judiciary, and, above all, German leftist political parties and trade unions. They will support anti-Nazis or non-Nazis who are appointed by IG as administrative officials if these persons are anti-democratic in orientation. By trying to induce the parties and trade unions to cause strikes and to commit sabotage (rather than do it themselves), the Nazis will seek to discredit these institutions in the eyes of the occupation forces. The Nazis will also organize the murder (Feme) of Germans who collaborate with the Allies and will occasionally shoot an Allied official. Above all, the Nazis will seek to create dissension between the occupying forces of the USSR and the Anglo-Americans.

In its open form, the post-war Nazi organization may well engage in partisan warfare. Such activity will be necessary to maintain the myth of the Nazis in demonstrating the heroic qualities of the movement. They will rely upon the perpetuation of the myth of their superiority to win the support of Germans and pro-fascists elsewhere and will thus hope to gain time in which to upset the balance of the United Nations. It is in this phase of their post-war operations that the importance of the redoubt becomes obvious.

1. See The Clandestine Nazi Movement in Post-War Germany, R & A 1934.1; The Pattern of Illegal Anti-Democratic Activities in Germany after the Last War: The Free Corps, R & A 1934.2.

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2. The Röchlings: a German industrial family: Karl Theodor Röchling, 42-year old son of Hermann Röchling, has become one of the first German business leaders to pay with his life for participating in the exploitation of foreign labor and property. He was killed on the grounds of the Völklingen foundry by two Eastern workers who were later sentenced to death by a special court.¹ According to the testimony of a German doctor in occupied Reich territory, both Hermann and Karl Theodor Röchling were hated by the miners in their employ at Basweiler.²

a. The family. The Röchlings are one of the largest industrial families in Germany. A German directory of businessmen lists nine family members as participating in the management of Röchling companies. All are descendants of a Christian Röchling; eight of them are either sons or grandsons of the Carl who founded the firm Gebrüder Röchling. They are related by marriage to the Stinnes family and to the Vopelius family (glass manufacturers). A daughter married Otto Sarrazin, head of the important chemical combine, Westfälisch-Anhaltische Sprengstoffwerke. Hermann Röchling is the chief of the clan; now 72 years old, he has been in charge of the family business since 1898. It would appear that the family property has not been split as a result of succession, for the Röchling enterprises are highly integrated.

b. The combine's history. The Röchlings began as coal merchants, acquired coal mines and coke plants with their wives' money, and in the second half of the nineteenth century expanded into the steel trade by acquiring mills in the Saar, the (then German) Lorraine, and in the (French) Moselle districts. The Moselle properties became part of the Hauts Fourneaux et Fonderies de Pont-a-Mousson, a French corporation which does not seem to be controlled by the Röchlings. The Lorraine properties, a steelwork at Thionville and an iron mine at Algrange, had to be sold after 1918 to the French, but the buyer was the Acieries de Longwy which owns the Karl Alexander coal mine at Basweiler jointly with the Röchlings. After the outbreak of the present war, the German authorities ousted the French directors of this mine and the Röchlings assumed complete control. However the French property rights were not touched.

After the occupation of Lorraine in 1940, the Röchlings retrieved the Thionville and Algrange properties and in 1943 formed a German corporation, the Eisen- und Stahlwerke Karlshütte GmbH, to take over the Thionville mills; Röchlings men took over the management. In line

1. N.S.Zeitung Westmark, 8 February 1945.

2. OSS Source S, 22 January 1945.

with similar reorganizations in Lorraine, the Röchlings probably did not acquire the shares of the new corporation but were satisfied with administering it with the ultimate aim of acquiring the works at the end of the war as was promised to German trustees of Lorraine firms.

At present, the Karl Alexander mine is under the sole control of the Acieries de Longwy. The Thionville and Algrange properties are also believed to be in the same hands. The relations between the Röchling and Longwy combines are described as "involved but rather friendly."

c. Present holdings. Most Röchling companies are partnerships (offene Handelsgesellschaft or Kommanditgesellschaft) or "limited liability companies," GmbH (a corporate form in German law which is not obliged to publish its annual reports.) A few years ago, the Röchlings changed the legal form of their steel mill from an Aktiengesellschaft (joint stock corporation) into a GmbH to avoid public control. Since the Röchling firm was already closely held, the transformation was easily achieved. Generally, the Röchlings appear not to have sold stock to smaller investors, or so far as the steel combine proper is concerned, to anybody outside the family.

The Röchling combine is centered around the steel mills and coal mines in the Saar, where it outranks the Stumm combine. Coal and steel are marketed through Röchling subsidiaries all over Germany and in Switzerland. A banking firm with several branches serves the various enterprises. Under partial control are machinery plants, chemical factories, glass factories, malt factories and breweries, and other industrial enterprises. The list of enterprises owned or controlled by the Röchlings is as follows:

1. Steel mills: Röchling'sche Eisen-und Stahlwerke GmbH, Völklingen/Saar (capital RM 36,000,000); Röchlingstahl GmbH, Völklingen/Saar (capital RM 100,000); Metallurgische Gesellschaft mbH, Saarbrücken; Röchling-Stahl GmbH, Moravska Ostrava/Czechoslovakia (capital K, 5,000,000); Stahlwerke Röchling-Buderus A.G., Wetzlar (capital RM 3,000,000 owned jointly with Buderus); Eisen-und Stahlwerke Karlshütte GmbH, Thionville (capital RM 3,000,000, held in trusteeship); Eisenwerk-gesellschaft Maximilianshütte (majority owned by Flick);

2. Coal and iron mines: Gewerkschaft Mont Ceniz, Sodingen (Herne) Westfalen; Gewerkschaft Karl Alexander, Bäsweiler (jointly with Acieries de Longwy); Deggererz A.G. Blumberg/Baden.

3. Coal and steel trading: Gebr. Röchling Kommanditgesellschaft, Ludwigshafen/Rhein; Gebr. Röchling Eisenhandelsgesellschaft, Ludwigshafen/Rhein; Gebr. Röchling Kohlen mbH, Saarbrücken; Gebr. Röchling Grosshandel in Montanerzeugnissen, Ludwigshafen/Rhein; Gebr. Röchling

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Eisen und Kohle, Berlin; Gebr. Röchling at Saarbrücken, Ludwigshafen, Hamburg, Duisburg, and München; Röchling Stahl A.G., Zurich (capital francs 100,000).

4. Machinery: Maschinenbau A.G. Saarbrücken; H. Lanz A.G. Mannheim (capital RM 36,000,000, owned jointly with the Deutsche Bank; the Lanz combine expanded into Austria, Holland, Rumania, and all over Germany); Maschinenfabrik Luckau R. Wolf A.G. (minority participation only).

5. Chemicals: Hallesche Salzworke und Chemische Fabriken Calbe A.G.; Westfälisch-Anhaltische Sprengstoffwerke A.G. (control over this important combine seems to be shared with the Vereinigte Stahlwerke).

6. Glass: Saarglas A.G. Völklingen

7. Malt factories and breweries: Rheinische Malzfabriken Union A.G., Ludwigshafen/Rhein; Malzfabrik Nierstein, Ludwigshafen; Neufang-Jaenisch Brauerei A.G., Saarbrücken; Eichbaum Berger Brauverein A.G., Worms; Pschorrbräu A.G., Munich.

8. Electro-industry: Kraftwerk Wehrden GmbH; Brown-Boveri A.G., Mannheim (small participation); Continentale Elektrizitäts Union A.G., Basel (controlled by the Preussag combine).

9. Transportation: Rhenania Schiffahrts-und Speditionsgesellschaft, Mannheim.

10. Banking: Gebr. Röchling Bank K.G., Saarbrücken and Berlin (11 branches)

d. Political activities. Of the nine Röchlings holding managerial positions, only Hermann was ever openly engaged in political life. After the first World War, he was sentenced to ten-years imprisonment for the spoliation of French property. He escaped the penalty by fleeing to unoccupied territory, but, after a higher court suspended the sentence, he returned to the Saar. In 1942 the Vichy Government by special act declared the whole proceedings void. Hermann co-operated with the secret German General Staff formed after the Armistice. As leader of a rightist-nationalist party in the Saar territory, then administered by the French, he became one of the most active protagonists of the German cause. He has always been one of the staunchest supporters of the Nazi regime among the German industrialists. Hitler bestowed many honors upon him, including the titles of Wehrwirtschaftsführer and of Pioneer of Labor; he received the Eagle Shield on occasion of his seventieth birthday in a ceremony attended by high Nazi officials; the Knight's Cross with Swords of the War Merit Class was given him in December 1944. His

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functions in the Nazi organization of business are numerous: he is president of the Chamber at Metz; head of the District Group Southwest of the Industry; member of the board of the Economic Group Iron producing Industry; etc. His most important function is, however, the management of the Reichsvereinigung Eisen the top cartel of the German steel industry. In this capacity he organized and controlled the production for German accounts of the steel mills in occupied countries. Hermann Röchling is the czar of the German steel industry and he fulfilled his duties to the complete satisfaction of the Nazis. His family and even his son refrained from taking part in official activities, but they profited through the combine from the Nazi expansion in general (e.g. the building of the Westwall) and from Hermann's activities specifically.

3. Changes in administrative controls. German military defeats are reflected in continual changes in the administrative structure, especially in the sphere of economic controls. The Germans have been obliged to improvise constantly in order to meet the administrative problems occasioned by the reduction of industrial capacity through territorial losses, disruption of transportation, air raid damage to plants, etc. In this situation, the Germans tend to assign more and more functions to a single official. If the official is high in the national administrative structure the vesting of new functions in him results in more concentration of power on the national level; if the official is in the Gau or regional administration, decentralization results.

The administrative changes are usually justified as achieving greater simplification. The actual results seem to be the opposite: they add to the confusion by multiplying administrative agencies with overlapping jurisdictions. Moreover, the concentration of functions in a single individual makes it difficult for him to handle the many new tasks assigned. The situation is further complicated by the assignment of tasks to Gau or regional officials, which gives rise to disparities from Gau to Gau, and from region to region.

These developments are exemplified in the recent changes in economic controls summarized here:

a. Additional functions of Gau Economic Chambers. In November 1944, the Gau Economic Chambers added the following new departments:

(1) War Damage Committees to assist authorities in establishing the amount of claims arising from war damage suffered by business firms.¹

(2) Honorary industrial delegates (Industriebeauftragte) for each district under the jurisdiction of each Chamber to act as liaison officers between the industrialists of the district and the Chamber.²

(3) Coal conservation commissioners (Kohlensparbeauftragte) to assure the most efficient use of coal by industrial enterprises. The commissioners act in behalf of the Speer Ministry (Energiestelle beim Chef des Rüstungslieferungsamtes) and in co-operation with the functional organizations of industry (groups, etc.).³

1. FCC: Daily, quoting DNB, 24 November 1944.

2. Der Angriff (Berlin), 28 November 1944 (News Digest #1621).

3. Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, Berlin, November 1944, Second number.

b. Direction of transportation facilities. A decree issued jointly by the General Commissioner for Armament Tasks (Speer) and the Reich Minister for Transportation (Dorpmüller) set up a new organization for direction of traffic (Verkehrssteuerung) in the Reich.¹ The new Commissioner for Freight Traffic of the General Commissioner for Armament Tasks (Bevollmächtigte für Wirtschaftstransporte des Generalbevollmächtigten für Rüstungsaufgaben) is to operate through regional commissioners (Gebietsbevollmächtigte) and district commissioners (Bezirksbevollmächtigte für Wirtschaftstransporte) who are members of the regional and district transportation control agency (Verkehrsleitung).

The Commissioners seem to function on the planning rather than the operational level but they appear to be authorized to issue orders to the officials in actual control of traffic--the Commissioner for Local Traffic (Beauftragter für Nahverkehr) and the Regional Manager of Transportation Facilities (Kreisfahrbereitschaftsleiter) on the regional level, and the District Manager of Transportation Facilities (Bezirksfahrbereitschaftsleiter) on the district level.

c. Utilization of industrial machinery. Every Corps Area Deputy (Wehrkreisbeauftragter) of the Speer Ministry has organized a Principal Technical Committee (Technische Hauptkommission) which is authorized to comb factories for unused machinery and to confiscate it in accordance with the law giving the government economic powers over persons and firms (Reichsleistungsgesetz). The unused equipment is then rented or sold to factories in need of such machinery. The Armament Inspectorate (in the case of armament plants) and the Regional Economic Office (in the case of plants producing civilian goods) aid in the search and transfer of such machinery.

Transfer of unused machinery from region to region is organized by the Machinery Division (Maschinenstelle) of the Technical Office in the Speer Ministry. This division, like the Committees and Rings, is also engaged in promoting better utilization of existing machine equipment. Lists enumerating machinery in closed plants are published by the Machinery Exchange of the Armament Bureau (Maschinenausgleichsstelle des Rüstungskontors).²

d. Control of building activities. The Todt Organization (OT) has now been put in control of all construction. The OT-Zentrale and the Construction Office (Amt Bau) in the Speer Ministry have been combined

1. Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Berlin, 20 December 1944.
2. Deutsche Volkswirtschaft, November 1944, Second number.

into the Construction Office OT (Amt Bau - OT), headed by Ministerial Director Xaver Dorsch, chief of operations of the OT. The purpose of this amalgamation is to cut down building activity by reducing the autonomy of the "quota bearers" who were hitherto permitted to direct allocation of raw materials and labor.

Only nine categories of agencies are now authorized to initiate construction considered important to the war effort. Agencies in these categories are required to notify the Construction Office-OT about their projects. The eight regional representatives of Dorsch, called OT-Einsatzgruppenleiter, allocate building materials, labor, machinery, and transportation facilities and nominate contractors for each project in their territories. The OT-Einsatzleiter act as field agents and control the officials in charge of individual projects, who may represent either an OT-Bauleitung or some other construction management (Bauleitung).

The powers of the Gau Construction Commissioners have been very much restricted, but they are still authorized to issue building permits for construction of dwellings or air raid shelters, etc., which are so-called Ausnahmebauten (projects exempted from the prohibitions on construction). A quota for construction materials is allocated to such projects by the central agencies, but the OT-Einsatzleiter may always claim the available material for his own projects.¹

e. Suggestion for transfer of textile trade into Party hands.
The desperate need for manpower and the shortage of consumed goods has led a leading Nazi paper² to criticize the continued existence of a large administrative and distributive apparatus in the textile trade which still employs many salesmen, retailers, wholesalers, etc., although there is little merchandise to be distributed. The paper suggests that the NSV (N.S. Welfare Organization) be made responsible for the distribution of essential textile goods among needy civilians and that all retail shops be closed. The NSV would distribute these goods through its Gau, Kreis, and local groups according to the demand. It is stated that this plan would not only reduce the loss of goods on the way from producer to consumer but would assure that stocks would get into the right hands.

A reform of such character would constitute a significant step in the direction of "war communism" and strengthen further the powers of local Party officials.

1. Die Zeitung (London), 26 January 1945.

2. Schwarze Korps, 22 February 1945. (Press Intell Cable).

2. Possible French sponsorship of German separatist refugee groups: In explaining recent French restrictions on their activities,¹ leaders of the Communist-controlled CALPO (Comité Allemagne Libre "pour l'Ouest") assert that the French Government was motivated primarily by its fear that CALPO would embarrass its sponsorship of German separatist groups. CALPO spokesmen claim that the French are forming Rhineland and Saarland regiments of civilian internees, deserters, and unregistered prisoners.²

This is the first suggestion that the French are actively fostering separatist movements. The formation of separatist regiments has not been substantiated from other sources. Two organizations of Saarland refugees are known to exist in France: the Office des Réfugiés Sarrois and the Union des Réfugiés Sarrois.

The Office des Réfugiés Sarrois is headed by Arnold Vahsen, a renegade Nazi who claims to be the French representative of Max Braun, Saar Social Democrat, now resident in England. Vahsen came to France in 1934 after breaking his connections with the Nazis. Until 1937 he placed his "revelations" of Nazi activities at the disposal of French Government officials. After that date he is reported to have been dropped by the French because of the unreliability of his materials. As head of the Office, Vahsen published a letter in the French press on 15 February 1945 advocating a Rhineland-Saar protectorate under French control.²

The second Saarland organization, the Union des Réfugiés Sarrois, is headed by Charles Moessinger, a former Social Democratic Party official in the Saar. The Union is now co-operating with CALPO. The two organizations, Union and Office, have carried on a series of public recriminations, while less open efforts have been made by each of the opposing leaders to persuade the other to change camps.³ Vahsen's position as head of the Office appears to be based on anti-Communism. Moessinger's position is not clear.

The relations of the French Government with these groups are obscure. It has been suggested that Vahsen may be selected to head the Saar regiment. CALPO circles reject this idea, asserting that Vahsen has already been dropped by the French for political unreliability.⁴ There is no evidence that the French have given any encouragement to Moessinger's Union.

Although French sponsorship of separatism, whether through military units or refugee organizations is not subject to confirmation at this time, the development of such activity is not unlikely. The French Government's

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1. See Situation Report: CENTRAL EUROPE, 3 March 1945.
 2. OSS Source S (Paris), 8 March 1945.
 3. OSS Source H, 11 December 1945.
 4. OSS CID XL 5496, 15 January 1945.

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intervention in Austrian refugee politics¹ may serve as an indication of a similar policy toward German refugee groups. In both cases the French are taking measures to isolate or restrict the activities of the Communist-sponsored national front movements (FAN and CALPO). In the case of Austria the Quai d'Orsay is attempting a fusion of all non-FAN groups. If a separation of the Rhineland becomes central to French policy toward Germany, it would be conceivable that France should encourage anti-Communist separatist groups now resident in France.

1. See Situation Report: CLETTM, EUROPE, 3 March 1945, p. 10 ff.

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AUSTRIA

Threat to Austrian refugees in Turkey. The completion of plans for an exchange of nationals between Germany and Turkey has caused much concern over the fate of Austrian refugees resident in Turkey.¹ Between 350 and 400 Turkish citizens have been reported in Lübeck awaiting transportation to Goeteborg to board an exchange ship.² Complete information on Turkish preparations for repatriating Germans is lacking. It is known, however, that Ankara authorities have drawn no distinction between Reich Germans and Austrians living in Turkey. Other Austrians abroad are greatly alarmed over the possibility that many Austrian political or racial refugees may now be forcibly sent to Germany.

The Communist-sponsored Free Austrian Movement in London, which has maintained an active interest in the plight of Austrian refugees and Ps/W in North Africa and the Levant, has made a plea for the threatened refugees. Eva Kolmer, head of the FAM, asserting that the return of the 100 Austrians in Turkey to Nazi Germany would be tantamount to a death sentence, has requested United States intervention in their behalf.

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1. For background of problems involved in this exchange, cf. Situation Report: NEAR EAST, 13 January 1945, R/A 1090.93
 2. News Digest #1697.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1. The National Committees in action in Slovakia. Newspapers published by the First Czechoslovak Brigade now fighting in Slovakia provide the first on-the-scene information about the methods of selection and the operation of the National Committees in liberated Czechoslovak territory.¹ Allowance must be made for bias in this source, but on the whole the developments described may be regarded as accurate, given the circumstances prevailing in Slovakia at the moment of liberation.

The revival of political life is illustrated by a meeting of representatives of ten local National Committees in Medzilaborce, a town in northeastern Slovakia, for the purpose of electing a district committee. The candidates are nominated by a five-man committee, and are voted on by acclamation. Ivan Piso, the local school teacher, is elected president. Other members of the committee include two workers, one in charge of the organization of aid for the Red Army, the other entrusted with the administration of expropriated property; two farmers, one, a 20-year old apprentice, in charge of schools, the other in charge of recruiting for the Czechoslovak Army; a chauffeur, as police official of the district; and a pharmacist, a Jew, as health officer.

The candidates are presented one by one, each is scrutinized as to his contributions to the partisan movement and his affiliations with the HSLS.² The candidates are all elected without dissension. The teacher is hailed for joining the partisans and for not succumbing to the corruption of the Tiso regime. The election of the Jewish pharmacist is described as proof that the people reject fascist discriminatory legislation.

The newly elected committee immediately sets to work. The representatives are canvassed as to the number of schools available. The names of persons with high school education are ascertained, and they are assigned to fill the posts until adequate professional teachers can be secured. But the main concern of the committee is the economic rehabilitation of the area: repairing railroads and highways, and distributing available food.

With slight deviations in the procedure the selection and operation of the committees is the same throughout the liberated territory.

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1. The period covered by the newspapers extends from the first of December 1944 until the middle of January 1945.
 2. HSLS--Hlinkova Slovenska Ludova Strana, the Slovak Fascist Party.

In one place a priest is elected head of the committee; in another a more elaborate program is set up which includes the eradication of fascist laws, and the preparation of measures to insure the restoration of equality in the political, religious, social, and cultural fields. A general feature throughout is the expropriation of estates owned by foreign nobility, such as the Counts Andrassy, and Patay, and the placing of all industrial enterprises, including breweries, mills, and dairies under the administration of the local National Committees. In most cases the individual enterprises are run by newly formed workers' councils.

The treatment of the reports of the activities of National Committees by the local publications provides a good index to the type of propaganda to which the Slovak population is being subjected. Great effort is made to play up the participation of the people in the rebuilding of the state. The selection of the members of National Committees is featured and it is constantly pointed out that the reconstruction of the state proceeds from the bottom up. Political activities are not described, but attention is given instead to the unity of the people in fighting for their aims. A sincere effort is made to emphasize the unity of the Czechoslovak republic, of course with equal rights for the Slovaks. At the same time, it is made clear that the support and the friendship of the Red Army and the Soviet Union is absolutely necessary to insure the independence and freedom of the new state. In the absence of political news, attention is concentrated on the institution of land reform and nationalization of industries and banks.

The pattern of developments and the handling of news resembles closely the example set by Yugoslavia. It seems that the greatest effort is concentrated on uniting the people in the aim for common economic and social achievements and to obtain political solidarity as a result of this. In the eastern parts of Slovakia, where the population is more or less homogenous in terms of nationality, religion, and social status, this technique may work well without encountering difficulties. As the liberation of Czechoslovakia proceeds farther west more opposition resulting from more pronounced social and national stratification of the population may be encountered. In the mean time, however, valuable time is gained in laying the foundations for social reforms which once set in motion may be difficult to *undermine*.

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2. Czechoslovak government begins to leave London: According to reports emanating from a variety of sources, half of President Benes' official party departed for Slovakia via Moscow on Friday, 9 March. A sudden illness caused President Benes to cancel his own departure. The official entourage¹ includes the representatives of the five major Czechoslovak parties: the Czech Socialists, Social Democrats, the Catholic People's Party, the Communist, and the Agrarian Parties. Foreign minister Masaryk and a number of close personal advisors remained with the ailing Benes.²

3. Intelligence on the Carpatho-Ukraine: During the past weeks no positive information about developments in the Carpatho-Ukraine, has been received. Inference can only be drawn from the conspicuous omission of the Carpatho-Ukraine from every public statement made by officials of the Czechoslovak Government or private individuals on the future Czechoslovakia. President Benes failed to mention this province in his recent farewell broadcast to the nation from London as did the Slovak National Council in its telegram to Benes. Most recently the address of Marie Svermova, Czech Communist representative to the All-Slav council in Sofia, specifically stated in her address that the Czechoslovak state will include both Czechs and Slovaks, the two Slav nations. The conclusion that the Carpatho-Ukraine has been written off by Czechoslovakia would be premature at this stage, since Czechoslovak sovereignty is still maintained over this province. On the other hand after Minister Nemeš's departure for Slovakia the administration of the province was left entirely in the hands of Ivan Petruscak, a Carpatho-Ukrainian Communist. This move may represent a smooth transition from the maintenance of Czechoslovak authority to a declaration of autonomy and possible later incorporation into the Soviet Ukraine.

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1. The names of those who departed are as follows: Jan Sramek (Czech, Catholic, Peoples' Party), Prime Minister; Jan Becko (Slovak, Social Democrat), Minister of Social Welfare; Vaclav Majer (Czech, Social Democrat), Minister of Economic Reconstruction; Jaroslav Stransky (Czech, Czech Socialist), Minister of Justice; Jozka David, (Czech, Czech Socialist), Vice-president of the state Council; Jan Lichner (Slovak, Agrarian), Minister of Agriculture; Vaclav Neseck (Czech Communist), Vice-President of the State Council; Ferdinand Lastovicka (Slovak, Communist); Vaclav Pacak (Czech, Social Democrat [?]), President of the Workers' Academy; Prokop Drtina (Czech), one of Benes' advisors; Frantisek Uhlir (Czech, Social Democrat) Member of the State Council; Vaclav Holub (Czechoslovak officer,) and one Spurny.
 2. Members of Benes' party include in addition to Mrs. Benes and the household staff, Jan Masaryk, Foreign Minister, Jaromir Smutny, and Eduard Taborsky, two of Benes' close advisors, Oldrich Spaniel, Benes' military advisor, Jan Iladek (Czech) and Julius Kordos (Slovak), two economic advisors.

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POLAND

1. Political alignments among London Poles. The names of London Poles willing to participate in the formation of the new administration and politically acceptable to the Commission established at Yalta seem to be fairly well established. The leading Social Democrats are Stanczyk, Grossfeld, and possibly Ciolkosz. Mikolajczyk remains the key person in the Peasant Party. Popiel and Kaczynski, Christian Democrats, have apparently decided to co-ordinate their activities with Mikolajczyk's. Among the "independents," Grabski and Seyda, formerly outstanding members of the National Democratic Party have broken with their organization and now seem willing to join the Mikolajczyk camp.

This group presently forms the strongest political counterweight to the Provisional Government in Warsaw. It also seems to be receiving considerable support from Polish Underground workers who were fighting the Germans.¹ That the British are seeking to strengthen the hand of these "reasonable" elements in the Polish emigration is indicated by Eden's recent speech in the House of Commons,² as well as by the decision of the British authorities to permit the Mikolajczyk wing to use secret code facilities (after this permission was denied to the Arciszewski government).³

2. Defections from Arciszewski's ranks. In the meantime, Arciszewski and his government are apparently steadily losing ground in the emigration as well as at home. Among Polish politicians resident in the United States, for instance, the trend toward co-operation with the Warsaw Government is increasing. Eugeniusz Rozwadowski, former Consul General in New York, Baron Stefan de Ropp, director of the Polish Office for Research and Planning (formerly Polish Information Center), Michal Kwapiszewski, Minister Plenipotentiary and First Counsellor of the Polish Embassy in Washington, and Sylwin Strakacz, Consul General in New York, are mentioned among those who are considering placing themselves at the disposal of the Provisional Government.⁴

The Polish Community in France, which with its almost 500,000 members represents the largest Polish colony abroad (after the American Polonia), is reported to be widely split over the Yalta decision. At the same time, Polish opinion in France is turning increasingly toward Lublin, and observers notice among Poles in France a strong desire to return to Poland.⁵

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1. OSS #9864, 9 March 1945.
 2. The New York Times, 8 March 1945.
 3. OSS #9864, 9 March 1945; OSS Source S, 24 February 1945.
 4. OSS, Foreign Nationalities Branch, "American Polonia and Yalta" #B-317, 24 February 1945.
 5. OSS XL6011, 15 February 1945.

In Poland itself the standing of the government-in-exile seems to be deteriorating rapidly. Possibly fearful that political abstinence may only increase the preponderance of the Communist elements in the Provisional Government, the Polish intelligentsia seems to prefer cooperation with the present administration in the task of Poland's reconstruction.¹ This tendency is reported to be fairly strong even among Catholic clergy. According to some rumors even a priest as high up in the Catholic hierarchy as Bishop Sapieha is willing to consider cooperation with the new regime.²

That Arciszewski does ~~not~~ overestimate his position can be deduced from a number of reports. According to one informant, Arciszewski concluded a political discussion with Wickham Steed, prominent English publicist, by saying: "We have behind us the greatest power in the world--the Vatican".³ It may be worth mentioning that most recent trends in the Vatican policies as expressed in the line followed by "Osservatore Romano" as well as the behavior of the Polish clergy indicated above would hardly bear out Arciszewski's expectations.

3. Provisional Government in Warsaw consolidates its position. Meanwhile the Warsaw administration seems to be making every effort to strengthen its position in Poland and to extend its administration to the entire country. In the political field strong efforts are being made to broaden the mass base of the government. It is reported from Warsaw that the first meeting of the presidium of the Polish Socialist Party was held in Warsaw.⁴ At this meeting, attended by 57 persons, it was decided to exclude from the Party the principal leaders of its Arciszewski wing and to rally behind the Provisional Government. This presidium may not have the legal authority to speak in the name of the pre-war organization of the Polish Socialist Party, but there is no doubt that it represents an important element in this organization. A similar action was taken by the leaders of the Jewish Workers "Bund" residing presently in Poland. Although representing presumably only small numbers of surviving Jewish workers of Poland, they may contribute considerably to the standing of the Warsaw Government among the remaining Jewish population of the country.

In order to strengthen pro-Russian sentiments in the Polish population, wide publicity is given to the Soviet contributions to Poland's reconstruction. Stalin's undertaking to meet 50 percent of

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1. OSS #9864, 9 March 1945
 2. Constantine Brown, Evening Star (Washington), 6 March 1945; also FCC: Daily, 6 March 1945, where other outstanding clergymen are reported to maintain friendly relations with the Warsaw Government.
 3. OSS Source S, 24 February 1945.
 4. FCC: Daily, 5 March 1945, quoting Polish radio.

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the costs of the rebuilding of Warsaw, Russia's shipments of grain and seeds to Poland, and its promise to supply the industries of Lodz with needed raw materials are repeatedly propagandized over the Polish radio. A special Committee for Economic Collaboration with the USSR has been set up by the Provisional Government. Its first acts consisted in ordering considerable quantities of cotton, soap, thread, tea, salt, and petroleum from the Soviet Union.¹

The administration of the German territories claimed by Poland is being set up on the assumption that Poland's claims will be satisfied. General Alexander Zawadzki, the strong man of the Warsaw Government who was until recently the political commissar in Rola-Zymierski's army command, was appointed General Governor of Silesia. At the same time the economic measures of the Provisional Government are being extended to the Western provinces. Government delegates entrusted with the execution of the land reform are already working in Pomerania, and large estates are being taken over pending future parcelling.² Industrial enterprises are being placed under state control. Their ultimate disposition has not been indicated. Since most of the former owners were either German or are regarded as collaborationists or traitors, it is unlikely that they will be reinstated.

1. Moscow wire #633, 5 March 1945.

2. Moscow wire #583, 28 February 1945.

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SWITZERLAND

Switzerland lifts ban on political parties. The Swiss Federal Council announced that as of 1 March 1945 the ban was lifted on the activities of the extremist parties of right and left in Switzerland.¹ This ban, enacted on 5 December 1938, prohibited all activities of persons or groups which tended to undermine the democratic principles which formed the basis of the Swiss constitution and forbade the spreading of all doctrines which would compromise the internal or external security of the state. Acts which tended to excite hatred against certain groups because of their race, religion, or nationality were specifically banned.² Simultaneously with the abrogation of this decree, however, the Swiss Federal Council announced the passage of a new decree which purports to define more concretely the acts which constitute high treason, which include such acts as are designed to dismember the state or undermine the authority of public officials.³ Similarly infractions of established rules regarding foreign political organizations are punishable according to this decree.

Although further details of the decree are not available, it would appear that this clarification of the high treason legislation will enable the Swiss authorities to clamp down on their political enemies to a greater extent than was possible before. Nevertheless the replacement of administrative by judicial controls and the act of allowing greater freedom of expression will permit more political activity, a situation which at this point will to a certain extent benefit the extreme left.

The lifting of this ban would appear to be a logical sequence to the removal, in December 1944, of the 1940 bans on Communist activities and the legalization of the Communist Party.⁴ The new measure would also appear to represent further evidence of Switzerland's realization that Germany's defeat is merely a question of time and that the power of National Socialism in Switzerland is no longer a factor to be feared.

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1. OWI Propaganda and Analysis of Swiss Radio in English to North America, 28 February 1945. The Federal Council has reserved to itself the right to re-impose this ban should circumstances so warrant.
 2. Receuil Officiel (1938) 54,880-2.
 3. OWI Propaganda and Analysis of Swiss Radio in English to North America, 28 February 1945.
 4. For an analysis of this measure and its significance for Russo-Swiss relations, see Situation Report: CENTRAL EUROPE, 6 January 1945.

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