1. **THE GREAT DAY AT TORNAU**

Two GI interrogators, crossing the Elbe river eastwards at TORNAU at 10 a.m. on 25 April, found in that place at that moment the end of the war in microcosm. On the "right" side of the road happy American soldiers loafering in the sunlight waved and shouted: "Give my regards to the Russians". On the "wrong" side of the road were hundreds upon hundreds of Wehrmacht "units", trekking eastwards in loose formations. Some of the lucky ones were driving their own Wehrmacht vehicles, with a white flag placed prominently at the front; others were pedaling along on bicycles; the majority were trudging on foot. But the Landser's were only a small part of the masses streaming eastward. Everywhere the Harrasvolk was on the run, fleeing from the approaching Russians. Old men and women and children, dragging carts with the belongings they had been able to salvage with their cattle struggling along behind, looked weary and frightened, hoping to find protection with the Americans, asked interrogators anxiously 'whether the Americans would stay'. In TORNAU itself U.S., Russian, and British soldiers recently liberated from a nearby prison camp mingled freely. Medals, ribbons and weapons were explained and exchanged, photos of girl-friends back home were admired, numerous toasts were drunk. All the Russians wanted to know who President ROOSEVELT's successor was. There were very few Germans in sight. Nobody was bothering much any longer about looking for them.

2. **THE GERMANS WITH THEIR LANDSER**

A question of great interest to psychological warfare is the effect of a decade of Nazi rule by coercion, hypnotism and inoculation upon the intellectually, emotionally and moral character of the German people. The evidence which has begun to collect, as a result of the liberation during recent weeks of dozens of concentration camps and political prisons all over Germany, reveals that the main effect has been a brutalization of the Germans almost in direct proportion to their nearness to the scene of the crime. To those who are intimately connected with the work of these camps the whole thing is a matter of simple routine. In a sense they are almost unable to understand what all this Allied fuss is about. At the other extreme, to some Germans who have either actually known little or hidden much, the sight of these horrors has caused fear and trembling, weeping and even suicide. Among the great mass of the German people the most marked reaction seems to be a callous indifference, in some cases due simply to complete unconcern about other people's sufferings (even when the other people are "pure Aryan" Germans) and in other cases to a refusal to admit such sights beyond the threshold of the nervous system.

During the period 2 - 15 April, an Airborne Corps of the Third Army overran three concentration camps. The atrocious way of life which the mainly German inmates of these camps had not been hidden from the German people. These camps existed in and around normal German towns: "The rank and file of German civilians lived side by side with them and did nothing about them". This reaction of German civilians to the liberation of these camps, and the uncovering of the "half-dead" prisoners, the "unbearable inhuman stench", is described in the factual statement of Third Army 3-2:

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"To date no German individual or civic organization has expressed the slightest concern for the pitiful plight of these their own people. No voluntary offers of food, clothing, medical aid have been made. A callous complete indifference and utter sense of irresponsibility prevails."

British troops arrived at the horror camp of BELSEN to find a good number of the guards still there. Although many of these had participated in the beating and killing of inmates it had simply never occurred to them that they bore any responsibility, or that they would be brought to justice by Allied officials. They were not war criminals they assumed; each was simply a "kleiner Mann" who had been "doing his duty".

In the BRAUNSCHWEIG women's prison an American interrogator talked to the female warden. Although she had herself beaten to death an inmate of a correction camp, and subsequently been arrested upon the denouncement of an eye-witness, she played the game of questions and answers "with an immobile face and a flat voice". The mother of an illegitimate child, and herself probably illegitimate, this woman is 24 years old.

In HILLERSLEBEN, a village just north of MAGDEBURG, interrogators reported about residents that "when confronted with the samples of SS brutality and these miserable human wrecks their bitterness only increases". Here again the reaction is not abonement for sin, or expiation for evil, or even simple human horror when faced with horrible things. Their bitterness is part of the general context of bitterness over a lost war, over their own personal sacrifices now shown to have been made in vain. And their reaction to the skin and bones with which they are confronted seems to be mainly that even these things were in vain – did not accomplish the desired end.

Among the "Intelligentsia" of Germany the reaction is more complex and the conflicts set in motion within the individual are more difficult to analyze. In WEIMAR, an American interrogator "invited" the father and sister of Gauleiter Baldur von SCHIRACH to attend a "showing" at the nearby Buchenwald concentration camp. The pair belong to the highest strata of German cultural life: the father a director of the WEIMAR theater and the sister a professional opera singer. Although they had been living in WEIMAR since October 1944 they claimed that they had no knowledge of what went on in the nearby camp. At this point they were led into Buchenwald, in spite of numerous evasive excuses. They emerged, several hours later, very quiet. Throughout the trip the father had said nothing, only occasionally muttering to himself "Unglaublich" (unbelievable). It was extremely difficult to tell what the sister was thinking. The interrogator writes:

"Miss von SCHIRACH intimated that she was unable to speak. She did give the impression that she was tremendously moved by what she had witnessed, although it must be understood that she is an excellent actress. She thanked us very deeply for taking them through, and said she was glad now that she had gone. She also stated that she would spend the rest of her life trying to make up for the wrongs committed at Buchenwald and elsewhere."

Before leaving WEIMAR we left a message for C.I.C. about the von SCHIRACHS, giving their address."

In ELSENACH, the Bishop of Thuringia was "invited" to view the concentration camp with crematory at OHDRUF. The Bishop, who had been a regular officer in the Wehrmacht until wounded, is, with little disguise, a strong German nationalist. (According to the August 1943 issue of "Der Kirchenleiter", organ of the Thuringian church, the Bishop was also a Wandervogel, a member of the Freikorps, since 1927 a member of the SA.

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head of the HSDSt., in GÖTTINGEN, and a member of HITLER'S bodyguard). He claims to have broken with the Party in October 1944 over the question as to whether the BDM girls should be allowed to do callisthenics inside his church buildings. On the way to the camp the Bishop announced several facts: that when the Nazi Party first came to power it brought along with it a great spiritual revival; that he knew very little about conflicts between the church and the Party, and had only a few days previously discovered that a great number of clergymen were in concentration camps ("On my official oath I knew nothing about this"); that the Germans are in reality a good people (Siedlungsdeutsche who do not really like foreign conquest, empire-building, etc.). On his way through the camp, which had been pretty well cleaned up by that time, the Bishop checked carefully on every point to make sure that things were really as bad as they seemed. For example, when shown the green and moldy bread fed to inmates, he shrugged and declared that it had been lying around for several days, and dropped this line only when several of the inmates assured him that it was the only kind of bread they had ever eaten in the camp. He was impressed by the remains of three former Russian inamtes, where in each case the eyes had been gouged and the skulls bashed in.

Upon leaving the camp the Bishop requested that no photographs be taken of him and that no mention be made of his visit to the camp because "the church should not be associated with such things". In reply to the interrogator's casual remark that every German must have a guilty conscience about such things, the Bishop replied: "Aber nein, dass messen sie nicht sagen" (Of course, you must not say that). From the point of view of re-education, the Bishop's visit to CIEDERGUF must be judged a failure — it is doubtful that the visit affected his opinions in any way. The interrogator's final comment on the trip was:

"In our opinion the Bishop of Thuringia is not a man who should be given much responsibility in the spiritual re-education of the German people."

3. THE SITUATION IN DÜSSELDORF

(a) "Not with a Bang..."

The end of the war came to DÜSSELDORF rather painlessly. Since the greater part of the destruction was caused some time ago, residents had already made the necessary adjustments to changed living conditions before our arrival. No strong German defense was made during the last phase of battle, and the Americans entered with little resistance and consequently with little fresh destruction. Water and light are available and it is expected that the gas system will soon be functioning. There is an adequate supply of food to be had at the local stores, and the worries over future shortages which agitate the local officials do not disturb the average citizen. Occupation has caused practically no changes in the daily life of people in the city except for the imposition of a curfew, and since this extends only from 20.00 to 06.00 hours, it is far from severe. Interrogators report a feeling among Germans that things in general should be tougher for people who have lost the war. They seem to conclude that the Americans must be "pretty good guys" who realize that "the people" are not to blame for the war. But some expectation of hard times remains, expressed in the feeling that things will be different when the British come for "they really hate us". (The fact that DÜSSELDORF is to be in the British zone of occupation has become known).

(b) "Das Volk ist leblos"

Partly in consequence of the fact that occupation has brought little change into their lives, there is a dominant feeling of inertia in the city. The Germans have become accustomed to carrying out a good part of their daily round on the basis of orders; under occupying authorities they
may have presumed that orders from above would probably multiply in number and in severity. Since the orders are, in fact, few and negative in character, demanding no positive action by individuals or groups, there has been a general let-down related to the situation which follows after excitement. One resident summed up the feeling in the city with the words: "Das Volk ist leblos" (the population is lifeless).

(c) The Hard Core of Activists

While the general population seems to show very little interest in any sort of group or public activity, small groups have already formed with the intention of taking over leadership, or at least part of it.

(1) Communists: The most active among these groups are the Communists. A local leader of this group appeared at C.I.O. Headquarters shortly after the city was occupied, with the double mission of ascertaining our attitude toward the Communist Party, and of requisitioning the local B.N.F. building for its use. On the second point he was told that he could not requisition anything, but that he could apply for a lease. On the first point he was apparently informed that with the abrogation of Nazi law, the legal principle of pre-1933 Germany, where they do not conflict with our specific rulings, were in force. On this basis he printed a leaflet pointing out to the general population that the Communist Party has survived all Nazi persecution. The leaflet calls for punishment of all responsible Nazis for the formation of workers’ councils within the factories, and advises the population not to be misguided by Nazis into plundering and other excesses. One street-corner distributor of these leaflets was arrested and brought to the M.G. office, where he was told that nothing could be printed or distributed without their authorization. (There seems to be little general knowledge, particularly of the first point, since several establishments have continued to print what they consider innocuous literature).

At present the local Communist leader, who has spent 5 of the 12 Nazi years in political prison, is requesting permission to distribute a second leaflet which is addressed to all members of the KPD in DÜSSELDORF. This notice gives the location of the new Party offices where Party members are to report, with two witnesses, for their conduct under the Nazis. It also assigns Party members their first task: to prepare lists of active Nazis, SS men and Werewolves, for submission to Party Headquarters. The primary aims of the KPD were described as:

(a) Destruction of the vestiges of Nazism, including the myth of "blood and soil"

(b) Eradication of Prussian militarism down to the last officer candidate.

A meeting of district leaders, to implement this platform and fill key posts, was scheduled for 25 April. Personnel was slowly coming in from other cities and from concentration camps which have been opened. The leader recalls that in the last free DÜSSELDORF elections the KPD received 2,000 votes, as against 36,000 for the Centre and 38,000 for the S.P.D. He expects even greater strength now, for he points out that the other Parties are so confused ideologically that they are not even attempting to organize. The optimism of this group was succinctly stated by a comment on the Werewolf movement: "Die sind jetzat die Kleine Werewolve, die grossen Werewolve sind jetzat win" (They are only small Werewolves, we are the big Werewolves now).

The local leader has obviously listened carefully and critically to Allied broadcasts and has already begun to formulate long-range views. He takes exception, for example, with Lindley Fraser’s statement over the BBC that the whole German people share in the war guilt, pointing out (obviously from his own biography) that this can hardly apply to those who
were in a political prison when war broke out. At present the KPD in Germany is to be started on a strictly national basis, and liaison with the French and Belgian Communists will have to be initiated by them. As to the Great Powers, his group will have to wait and see which are of a friendly disposition toward Germany. He does not believe that there will be any Russo-American conflict.

(2) Non-Nazi: The spokesman for this group, which is not really a group in any organized sense, is one of the two Germans who came into our lines to guide American troops into the city. He is 50 years old, married, Catholic, and has practised law in DÜSSELDORF for 20 years. Prior to 1933 he was a supporter of the Center Party but claims that he never participated actively in politics. He believes that the first few months of occupation will be the most dangerous period - that unemployment, unemployment and hunger during this period constitute a real danger for the future. For it will give former Nazis the opportunity to say "I told you so", and leftists an opportunity to preach Bolshevism. His most fervent hope is that German Paras will not return to a Germany where unemployment is rife and where they will be subject to attacks upon the mind from both the right and the left.

From the long-range point of view he believes that the future of Germany lies along democratic lines. He considers that a system of proper education, particularly in the press, can guide the German people into democratic ways of thinking and doing. He fundamentally believes that the German people are as decent and as good as any others. They lack only proper guidance and a background of democratic assumptions for the conduct of their daily lives. He makes the point that the training which German people have had during the last 10 years of listening closely to the radio, makes this medium a particularly potent means of reaching and influencing a vast number of people.

(3) The Industrialists: As was to be expected, when DÜSSELDORF was taken an organization of industrialists was set up with the purpose of representing industry to the Military Government. This group consists of 6 representatives of DÜSSELDORF's largest industries, including two of its banks. One of its members had recently arrived from BERLIN, where he was living on his private estate, after deciding that someone should represent the firm in the fourth when the Allies marched in. He also asserts that he personally wanted to be captured by the Western Allies rather than by the Russians. These men are extremely well-informed about United Nations' agreements which are likely to influence their own post-war welfare. Although they are doubtful whether we will permit heavy industry to operate in Germany at all, for example, they have noted carefully the clause in the Yalta agreement which states that reparations will be made in kind. On this slender basis they have prepared a fairly ambitious program for presentation to Allied authorities.

In general, their immediate purpose is to obtain sufficient electric power to enable them to begin partial production in most of their plants within a month. They suggest that priorities be given to the production of rails, steel girders, rolling stock and locomotives - not unreasonably, since they represent these industrial interests. Not only that, but the committee is troubled by the question of who is going to replace the foreign workers in the mines. They point out that two subsidiaries of only one of their concerns employed over 22,000 foreign workers.

(4) The Church: Herr Werner SCHÜTZ, descended from a family of Westphalian Evangelical ministers, was pointed out as the best-informed layman about church affairs in DÜSSELDORF. Mr SCHÜTZ told interrogators that nearly every church in DÜSSELDORF has been destroyed, but expressed the belief that most congregations are eager to resume worship. He maintained that there are many men, both clerical and lay, who can be counted upon to assist in any program of reconstruction for the city. Mr SCHÜTZ believes that both churches have suffered great amount of harm.
under the Nazis which they can overcome only by earnest labors over a long period. By this he means that all prominent members of the Party publicly withdrew from the church; that large numbers of the youth have never come under the influence of the church to any appreciable extent; that the church lost its hold over many ordinary people when the Party took over such church functions as welfare and charity, leaving the church with little more than its Sunday services to offer. However, the church has one distinct advantage at the moment: whereas the Party leaders pulled out at the moment of danger, leaving "their people" to their fate, the religious leaders have, for the most part, remained behind to offer consolation and guidance in the hour of need.

(d) Allied Security Sweeps into Action: Although the occupying authorities have not yet been able to turn their full attention to the various anti-Nazi and non-Nazi groups in DÜSSELDORF now offering them assistance, they have been active in their first priority: the elimination of Nazis. They have been so active, in fact, that it seems to be impossible to determine who was responsible for the arrest of FLOßMANN, the only Gauleiter so far apprehended by the Allies, since "everybody claims to have done it". As a result of his arrest, said to have been made, in fact, by an American soldier on the basis of a civilian denouncement, FLOßMANN is said to have taken 14 tablets of Veronal. He is now supposed to be in hospital. One Divisional C.I.C. staff has made some 45 arrests since they entered the city apart from purely military prisoners. In addition to these arrests, which include highly-placed officials of the local police force and the administration, SS and Party organizations, there have been the usual quota of suicides. Of those who took "the easiest way out" in DÜSSELDORF was General HOFMANN. The prompt arrest by C.I.C. of Police Chief BRÜHNSCHEN, a notorious and active Nazi, is said to have made a particularly good impression on the Alert members of the population.

(e) The Spread of Rumors: As in other German cities during the period immediately following occupation, DÜSSELDORF has had its spate of rumors. Of these a considerable number is well-founded in fact and probably originated from some Allied sources - for example, the prevailing belief that DÜSSELDORF is destined to come into the British zone of occupation. Another crop of rumors, based on hard information wherever and often, in fact, self-contradictory, has probably originated from the mind of some vicious Nazi agent, professional or amateur. One rumor, for example, has it that as soon as the British take over this area all women and children will be sent to Russia. Another rumor, which has circulated as widely as the first although in patent contradiction to it, tells that America and England have declared war on Russia. The credibility of both these rumors is clearly based on a back-log of consciously or unconsciously assimilated propaganda from Göring's Ministry, and for this reason they seem to have spread both rapidly and widely.

(f) The Position of Information Media: Such rumors as the above invariably take root in the period before the establishment of Allied Information facilities and usually require some time to stamp out completely. The position for an early start to Allied operations in this city is fairly good. The Düsseldorfer Nachrichten, which, in normal times, circulated approximately 100,000 copies per issue 13 times per week (including one Sunday edition) served not only DÜSSELDORF but several cities on the left bank of the Rhine. Personnel, equipment, press of paper and ink stocks, and transportation seem to be adequate for the needs of the Near future. The Rheinlandische Zeitung, which was the official paper with a daily circulation of approximately 20,000 copies, was bombed out of its own printing plant and moved to another plant in the city where it seems to be on a limited operating basis at present. Investigation of the Feldmühle Presse und Zentralbureau Aktiengesellschaft, and the L. Schwan Druckerei, reveal that additional supplies of paper and type machines are available, and that the number can be increased in the near future.

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4. **NOTES FROM THE FALLEN TOWNS**

(a) **LUDEBURG**: which straddles the Eibe, suffered severely from air raids and the population was reduced from a normal 350,000 to an estimated 150,000 plus about 40,000 foreign workers. The western part of the town surrendered without strong resistance, and the population came out of their bunkers expecting that the war had passed over them. Instead, they were greeted by German shells thrown from the east bank.

Food is a major problem. Several large warehouses, permanent Wehrmacht installations, had been full of supplies ready for distribution before our arrival. However, the Party leaders had instructed the population to take at once all the food to which their ration cards entitled them. As a result some people now have a private food supply for about 4 weeks, but it is impossible for the R.G. to undertake an equal distribution on the basis of the remaining stocks.

Displaced persons are not a serious problem in LUCHEBURG. Five large camps are available for housing the D.P.'s and they are now being organized according to nationality. It is reported that D.P.'s from the east are being repatriated quite rapidly while easterners are being held pending further instructions. It is also reported that D.P.'s have been extremely well-behaved and that looting, both under the pretext of ration cards or without any pretext at all, has been done mainly by the native Ludeburgers themselves.

(b) **NUREMBERG**: This famed city, home of Maierstengel and vicious racial laws, is estimated to be 80% destroyed. The ancient houses are nearly all gone and the center of the city is almost completely obliterated. One interrogator notes:

"There is bitterness in NUREMBERG directed partly against the American occupants (expressed by glowing looks and hesitation in giving directions), but mainly against the former Nazi rule, personified by Julius STRIECHER."

STRIECHER's rule over NUREMBERG, stemming from his position as Gauleiter of Franconia, lasted from the Nazi rise to power to its zenith in 1940. Possibly the most vicious type associated with the whole regime's gallery of Nazis, STRIECHER's vast ignorance, physical brutality and public obscenity brought him little love from his neighbors. In addition many of them have privately felt that he was one of the main reasons why NUREMBERG suffered so severely from Allied bombings.

In recent years NUREMBERG, in addition to its functions as a Party shrine, has been an industrial city of some importance. Among its leading industries were the Max Machinery Plant, a branch of the gigantic Siemens-Schuckert-Werke, and a large number of brush factories and bakeries. Its normal population of 420,000 was gradually diminished after the great raids of January 1945 to its present population of 200,000. A large number evacuated voluntarily to surrounding towns within the radius of 50 kms. Much earlier a large number of children has been removed to special camps (Kinderlager-verschickung) in the Sudeten area. The gas supply was cut off by the raid of 2 January. Electric power, drawn mainly from the generating plant at PASSAU was cut off on 17 April, but the city's own power plant at STEIN is still in fair condition though not yet operating. The city's water mains are destroyed and the only supply at present comes from a few wells and from a small river. The coal supply is estimated to be adequate for another two weeks.

According to an official in the new city government, the desire for information is universal in order to prevent panic, looting and black marketeering, particularly in food:

"We need a newspaper to tell the people what we are doing. Nazi propaganda hounded on the idea that the only alternatives were victory or death ... The people have to be informed that food will still be available to keep them alive."
Even officials now working for the local M.G. are harried by questions which they are unable to answer, as is clear from the series of rapid questions addressed by the present Mayor to an interrogator:

"We want to know about the future. Will there be a return of law and order? Will we be able to get together and work to rebuild the city? Will people who collaborate with the Americans be protected from the Werewolves? Will the male population really be sent to work in Siberia?"

The last question is an indication of how deeply the Nazi propaganda preceding our arrival has sunk into the consciences of Germans, even those Germans who are accepted by us as non-Nazi. The questions formulated in this way by intelligent Germans are felt, if not explicitly asked, by the great mass of Germans who have no access to the ears of an interrogator.

(c) HOF: This town, which lies just west of the Czech border, once had a normal population of 47,000. Refugees from the Rhineland, from Silesia, and from the Wehrmacht have increased this number to 70,000 — this without counting the thousands of soldiers in the dozen Army hospitals which have been set up in the town, or the several thousand foreign workers.

HOF is a workers' town. About 60% of its population was employed in the great industrial plants of the city. The main industry is textiles, two great spineries alone having employed about 2,000 workers each, and a third about 5,000 workers. There are also a branch factory of the Siemens Werke, several machine tool factories and 6 large breweries which provide brew for Saxony and Southern Bavaria.

HOF is also an important railroad junction, particularly for the lines BERLIN-MUNICH and BAYREUTH-MUENCHEN. Its lawyers, managers and other top-drawer officials consider HOF to be the most important town in Oberfranken. To prove this, one Corporation lawyer cited instances of the gross income of even the smaller businessmen in the town. The figures seem to be impressive.

(d) SCHWABMUNCHEN: Some 10,000 people remain out of a normal population of 49,000. Of these some 6,000 are under investigation by C.I.G. upon orders of the Divisional Commander who took the city. A number of Gestapo personnel have already been uncovered. Acting according to form, the Nazi Oberbuergermeister committed suicide the day before the local M.G. detachment arrived. A Nazi doctor also killed himself. All personnel of the police and fire departments had fled.

The city had been severely battered by successive mass bombings. All streets between 15 and 36 were being used to clean up the debris and bury the dead. The curfew was set between 1900 and 0700 hours, and farmers are permitted to work during daylight hours.

There is no shortage of food at present, although it is expected that present stocks may run out shortly. A survey of both health and food conditions is being made. The local detachment commander stated that according to Army instructions food dumps were to be placed under guard and were not to be used for any purpose pending further orders. Water and power have been partially restored and complete restoration is expected shortly. Until now the water supply has been brought in by a fire hose stretched across the river.

(e) MUNCHEN: which was heavily bombed over a long period, was reported to be one of the most devastated cities yet uncovered in the 6 Army Group area. Approximately 80,000 people remain of a normal population of 220,000. Now that the fighting has passed over MUNCHEN, however, thousands of people are returning to the city.

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A water supply system is being used by approximately 95% of the population. Damage to the system has been very heavy and the equipment for bacteriological examinations has been destroyed. However, although only one out of 6 water towers is in operation, the supply is considered adequate for the present population. The sources of the water are wells and the treatment consists of filtration.

There are two hospitals now operating in the city. The Staedtische Krankenhaus, a 400-bed affair, is adequately supplied with personnel and equipment. The Therese Krankenhaus, containing 230 beds, has been considerably damaged and is inadequately supplied with personnel and equipment.

There is some difficulty with the common sewage system which was formerly used by 92% of the population. The canalization system has been largely destroyed and many pipes are filled with earth. The refuse disposal system of the city was also inoperative due to the destruction of vehicles and the lack of fuel. Personnel, material and transport are at present inadequate for large-scale repairs.

The ration has been reduced to 1500 calories per person per day, and captured stocks are being drawn upon, but G-5 considers that additional food must be brought in to maintain the present ration scale and the adequate functioning of the present rationing system.

(f) HEIDELBERG: The city suffered comparatively little damage during the war, and medical facilities appear to be in excellent condition. Hospitals are in normal operation, are sufficiently staffed and have an adequate reserve of medical supplies.

The German ration system has been kept in effect and is reported to be working adequately. The food stocks found in the town are being exhausted and here, too, G-5 maintains that a serious condition is likely to develop unless the transport situation is improved and food is brought in from the surrounding countryside. A flour mill, which uses electric power, is now operating. Because of the large number of students in the city who have no facilities for preparing their own meals, restaurants have been allowed to reopen.

5. THE KOLNER LEINUNG

There has been no further public reference in German propaganda to this movement. Private reports received indicate a small amount of activity in Allied-occupied areas which can be attributed to it but do not provide any fresh information of significance as to its organizers, its supporters, its methods or the attitude of the population toward it.

6. RUSSIAN WORKERS IN KANIGRUHE

(a) Their View of the Germans: Observations based on the interrogation of 100 Russian workers liberated by the First French Army in the KANIGRUHE area lead to the conclusion that there is a complete lack of distinction in the minds of Russian workers between the Nazi Party and the German people. This group of Russians unanimously complain that their treatment was "very hard." As a result all Germans are considered as Nazis, and desire for personal vengeance is widespread. The Russians are clearly conscious of the fact that they were considered as members of an inferior race. For the most part the members of this particular group were Ukrainian farmers who performed forced labor in railroad yards, locomotive factories, and foundries in the KANIGRUHE area. The women among them were employed in bakeries, kitchens, or as farm hands.

No evidence was encountered of personal attachments between Russian workers and German families as was the case with other foreign workers, for example the French. The attitude of the Germans and the
treatment received in Germany made it impossible for the Russians to develop such personal contacts.

(b) Political Attitudes After Slavery: It is interesting to note the almost complete unanimity of opinion among the Russian deportees. They are willing to discuss all questions freely but invariably they come to the same conclusions. Their patriotic nationalism appears to have remained intact; the overwhelming majority are still pro-Soviet. Some of the workers reported that few who did not admire the Stalin regime had joined the V.N.S.S.S. movement. In general, Nazi ideas do not seem to have taken root.

Their feelings toward other foreign workers do not reveal any sense of international solidarity. Yet there is a comradeship born of common misery, even though it was difficult for the Russians to mix with workers of other nationalities. They seem to have been attracted by the French, Belgians, Dutch and Scandinavians, but show little sympathy toward the Czechs, Croats and Italians, whom they suspected as being pro-German in view of the preferential treatment they received.

Their attitudes toward the Western Allies are notable for enthusiasm rather than profundity: they greatly admire the technical achievements of America which they had seen in the form of military equipment along the roads in Germany; ignorance about Great Britain is quite complete.

(c) Desire to Return Home: They are all impatient to leave Germany at once and go back home. They would conceivably work in other foreign countries but certainly not in Germany. Some of the Russians would like to go to France, which, they believe, is a country where one can find a relatively high standard of living, freedom, and an easy life. This connection they seem to profess that they would rather work for nothing on behalf of the Allied forces rather than receive high salaries from the Germans. For the moment the Russian workers prefer to live with their compatriots in D/P camps rather than with Germans; they are tired of hearing German spoken. Yet their enforced collaboration has caused some resentment: friction has caused petty discussions and differences, as one Russian stated: "You cannot oblige several hundred people to live together without breeding resentment and causing conflicts of a personal nature or exciting jealousies." This Russian stressed the fact that although there are no sharp boundaries between social classes in a large group of Soviet farmers and workers, one must remain conscious of the various "cultural levels" within the group.

(d) Contact with Allied Propaganda: Russian workers were in no position to obtain news by listening to Allied broadcasts; they were segregated and supervised too closely. Most of these Russian workers, however, were kept informed by their French comrades, who listened to the BBC. Some of them said that they had read Allied newspapers dropped from Allied planes in the summer of 1944. These newspapers were written in German, their contents were translated and transmitted by word of mouth. There was little evidence that they had received or acted upon S.I.A.R.P. instructions to foreign workers in Germany.

7. DISPLACED ITALIANS AT TUFER

There are approximately 4,500 Italians in the TUFER D/P camp which houses thousands of other foreign workers, mostly Russians. People roam about aimlessly, and the atmosphere was aptly described by an Italian D/P as "a sad carnival, particularly at night." Five Italians related typical tales of Nazi mistreatment, which they always contrasted with the beneficent treatment of the Americans. Work in the fields was hard and involved long hours - one D/P used an Italian equivalent of the American farmer's saying "from can't see to can't see" to indicate that they were worked from dawn to darkness. Food was insufficient, badly prepared and efforts to supplement their diet by pickings from the field resulted in severe punishment. It was common for landlords to strike foreign workers in moments of
anger. They admitted, however, that the Russians fared much worse and in that context referred to them consideringly as "il poverellli" (the poor fellows).

It is distressing to report that the Italians and Russians are not the best of friends. This antipathy, however, is not rooted in politics, as might be expected, but in the primitive sex situation prevalent in the camp. There are many Russian women and the Italians, according to themselves, have been quite successful with them. This has angered the Russians and led to many disorders. The Italians attribute their success to their "better manners", which they soberly contrast with the Russians who are "always drunk and dirty". It was explained that "a woman doesn't like a drunkard because a drunkard is useless to a woman". Hence, the sober or at least wine-conditioned Italians enjoyed a sexual advantage. As this was being explained, four Russians stumbled by, staggering and singing daily under a colorful beach umbrella, and a fine Italian hand was raised to indicate "Sì, che io veda?"

There was no hatred of the Russians as people, however, only a half-condescending, half-derisive assumption that they were "inferior" to the Italians. This assumption seemed to buttress their own self-esteem, which appeared to be in need of some reinforcement. To clinch their argument, the Italians contrasted their behavior with that of the Russians in regard to "taking off to town without permission. The Italians are allowed to pass by the American soldiers because Italians "are orderly and only go looking for potatoes in the fields". The Russians, on the other hand, cut through the fences at night and break into homes looting and terrorizing the inhabitants.

The Italians read no books or newspapers and receive their news every day at 4 o'clock, when a loudspeaker blares the events of the day on the quadrangle in all the required languages. There is also a news sheet on a bulletin board in Italian which they say is prepared by an Italian officer. Several have radios, looted here and there, but the absence of current at the camp makes them useless. Mussolini's death was known to them but they all avoided value judgments or opinion. It was hard to determine whether the Duce's death made them sad or happy. Even two Northern Italians, though prompted, avoided an editorial opinion.

8. THE CONTROL OF INFORMATION SERVICES

(a) The Need for News: The new Allied paper for displaced persons is found so valuable in the 6 Army Group area that 300,000 copies weekly are desired. The paper's value lies in its combination of spot news with its advice to the German people, as for example, "warning that they must produce all the food this season if they do not wish to go hungry". S.H.A.A.F. is valuable, too, "as a means of helping to control the G/G until G/G personally can reach them and take charge", by publicizing in their own languages the latest M.G. instructions. The 6 Army Group Summary of 26 April mentions an incident in KAISERSLUCK (similar to dozens of incidents reported from other areas of occupied Germany) where distribution of Die Mitteilungen attracted a crowd which nearly came to blows to obtain one of the available copies.

(b) The Badische Presse in KAISERSLUCK: In KAISERSLUCK all the employees of the Party daily newspaper Der Führer had gone into hiding. The only personnel found at their posts were former employees of the Badische Presse which, prior to 1933, had been one of the oldest liberal newspapers in Germany, but which was absorbed by Der Führer in September 1944 in the Germany, but which was absorbed by Der Führer in September 1944. After its suppression, the face of a steadily dwindling circulation. After its suppression, the face of the circulation was restored. The technical director of the paper was very anxious to make a good impression and prepared freely paper was very anxious to make a good impression and prepared freely
write a report on the decline of the paper since 1933 and produced as evidence of his good character a denunciatory letter signed by the paper's former technical director to the local party officials, requesting that he be investigated for pro-Jewish sympathies (Judenfeindlichkeit). The men's only defense for himself and all his colleagues is that they were all "forced" to work for the Nazis. This argument, which is weak enough on any grounds, is weakened still further when he uses it to defend former Editor-in-Chief who, he says, wrote his pro-Nazi editorials "against his own wishes". (This editor's name appears prominently on the F.N.D., S.S.I.F. Black List for KARLSRUHE. The chief difficulty about the use of the Black and White Lists in this city is that those on the Black List have fled before our arrival and those on the White List were long imprisoned).

(c) The News Comes to BRANISCHING: On 23 April, interrogators visiting the offices of the Braunschweiger Landeszeitung discovered that not only were the Polish officials proposing to set up a Polish news sheet for the displaced Poles in BRANISCHING but that two German newspapers were being set up for distribution on the following day. One was to be called the Braunschweiger Landezzeitung, a revival of the old paper which succumbed in September 1944; the other was to be called Braunschweiger Zeitung auf Hitler. Both owed their birth to the initiative of the Oberbürgermeister who proposed to use the second as his own publicity organ.

The N.C. authorities were notified, and the Oberbürgermeister was informed that no newspaper would appear in BRANISCHING that day. A study of the material which had been prepared for the galley of these papers provides good evidence of the need for Allied supervision of German editors and Oberbürgermeister, particularly the energetic ones. The lead story, dealing with BRANISCHING's surrender, had been re-written by the Oberbürgermeister himself to point up his own heroic role. The many self-praise of the lead article is counterprinted by the supplementary feature which deals with the death of President ROOSEVELT. The story is full of subtle implications of American imperialism and of British/U.S. rivalries.

(d) FRANKFURT: Examination of 3 major printing firms in FRANKFURT showed that all had suffered bomb damage and one had been forced to evacuate. One, however, which was a well-known Zweckverband as well as a printing works, had a considerable number of spare machines and only required the restoration of gas supplies to be able to recommence operations. The offices of the Faulichtung and the Landeskulturwelle had both been bombed out and all records removed. On the other hand, the records of the Deutsche Film-Vertrieb office, which handled film distribution for an area of north-west and south-west Germany roughly equivalent to a third of the British and American zones, appeared at a preliminary inspection, to be intact.

(e) Radio Stations: A couple of 100 KW transmitters which had only suffered superficial damage were found at MUNICH; the studios were fairly intact also. While ground reports have not been received from HAMBURG, monitoring of that station shows that it must have passed intact into Allied hands (see Part II of this report). The same is true of the stations at DORTMUND and IDENBURG, though the studios at the former place are said to have been demolished.
1. THE FUEHRER'S LAST HOURS

In view of the obscurity surrounding HITLER'S death it is of interest to trace the last references to him in German propaganda. On 27 April the North German Home Service (the Service which for some days had been acting as the primary mouthpiece of the Reich Government) several times repeated an announcement that on the previous evening the Fuehrer had decorated Reich Youth Leader ADELLS with the Cross in Gold of the German Order: the extract from ADELLS's address to the Fuehrer were quoted. On the same day it was several times announced that the Fuehrer had "personally awarded" (though at an unspecified time) the Knights Cross to several officers. Early in the morning of 28 April a dictation speed broadcast for the German Press said that on the 27th HITLER had received the new C-in-C of the Luftwaffe, F.M. von SCHMIDT. This would appear to have been the last announcement which represented the Fuehrer as being alive at a specific time. At 19.00 hours on 27 April, however, the North German Home Service announced three more awards of the Knight's Cross as having been made by HITLER (the last recipient being, appropriately enough, a corporal) though it was not claimed that the awards were "personal" or made at any specific date.

During all this period, no reference whatever had been made on the German side to Allied accounts of HITLER'S peace overtures and the forecast of the Fuehrer's death. On 29th, however, the "Fortress Holland" station put out a talk which, with the aid of various official Allied denials, sought to discredit the whole story: the only reference to HITLER was a statement, attributed to the Allies, that "he was refusing to agree to the surrender". No reference to any kind was made to the likelihood of his death, and no other German station repeated the talk. On 30 April the only reference to him seems to have been in an evening broadcast from LIMZ which said that the Fuehrer "needed time".

On 1 May, the OKW communiqué stated that "in the heart of BERLIN the gallant garrison, closely gathered round the Fuehrer, is defending itself in a reduced area against the superior Bolshevik forces". This was repeated in the news bulletin given at 19.00 hours by the North German Home Service. The announcement of the Fuehrer's death came on the same service at 22.26. Owing to the confusion in the German broadcasting system, the S.W. German chain of stations went on broadcasting bulletins and light music for 81 minutes more before repeating the news.

It is worth noting that Admiral DOENITZ was only announced as succeeding HITLER in his capacities of "Head of the State and Supreme Commander of the Wehrmacht". No Commander of the Army has been appointed and nothing has been said about the leadership of the Party; this last omission is in line with recent propaganda policy which has consistently played down the Party and sought to represent the struggle as one of the whole German nation.

There seems no particular reason to doubt that DOENITZ was appointed by HITLER himself as his successor. Among other factors likely to have recommended the Admiral is the fact that no evidence has ever come to light implicating any of the Naval chiefs in the 20 July affair.

2. THE DOENITZ REGIME: "PLUS CA CHANGE"

Spokesmen on the German Radio may once or twice this week have had to eat their words (General F. DEBELLIN, C-in-C Denmark, on the day before surrender denied rumors of negotiations and said that he and his men were ready to fight and die at their posts). But on the whole the striking thing about German output has been the consistency shown between the views coming from areas which are now geographically isolated from one another. Putting together the statements of DOENITZ himself, SCHMIDT,
Schwerin von KROSIGK and a number of others from Norway, Denmark, Mean-Ems, the Tyrol, Lince, Breslau and the Protectorate, it becomes possible to reach a fairly clear idea of the outlook of the men who imagine themselves to be still in control of German destinies.

The leaders who have come to the fore in the last weeks almost all belong to the nationalist right wing of the Party as against the more radical school of thought and it is therefore natural to find them dominated by fear of Bolshevism and of vengeance by Germany's victims, whether inhabitants of subjugated countries or foreign workers inside Germany itself. The plan of negotiating surrender with the Western Powers while remaining in the field to fight the Russians is by now obviously impossible, and so hopes are set on forcing the British and Americans to accept such a surrender piece-meal rather than of set purpose by bringing about a situation in which as many Germans as possible give themselves up in Western areas and extending to the maximum the territory which has to be taken under Anglo-American rather than Russian control. It is in this way that DORNDTZ and his associates plan to fulfill their promise of 'achieving tolerable living conditions' for the German people.

Set in such a context, KEITEL's speech is revealed as a broad hint that if it is the Western Allies who take over control, they can count on the support of German governing classes in getting normal conditions restored. It may even be that the German leaders hope to get some sort of agreement against the deportation of prisoners. How much they hope by their policy to stimulate Anglo-Saxon-Russian distrust has been evident from a number of utterances, not least the OKW communiqué for 4 April, which stated that

"the bulk of our troops in the Mecklenburg area in heavy battling against the Soviets fought its way back ... to the area occupied by the Anglo-Saxons and there laid down their arms."

Given the average appreciation of international realities which German leaders have revealed in a number of captured documents, it is probable that they are exaggerating the differences revealed at San Francisco and hoping that if they can only keep negotiations in play for a few more days, a situation will develop in which the Anglo-American response to their overtures becomes more cordial.

Another object which emerges with almost equal clarity from their utterances is the achievement of a hand-over sufficiently organized to secure Allied protection immediately against violence from patriots or foreign workers and avoid any interval in which such dangerous elements could take vengeance into their own hands. If this is to be done, it is important that no provocation be given. Hence the continual emphasis on the need for German soldiers and civilians to maintain their order and discipline. It was probably also the reason why, after the North-western surrender had been announced, General LINDEMANN issued an order in KEITEL's name describing the agreement merely as a "truce" and stating that any attempt to secure by force the surrender of arms would be met by force. FRANK in the Protectorate on 1 May thought it advisable to add a characteristic touch of brutality to this remark by warning the Czechs "not to speculate on Germany's weakness", but his was an isolated example.

Viewed from this angle, the DORNDTZ policy reveals itself as only a variant method of attaining the objectives attributed a few days earlier to HIMMLER, and there is no need to assume that there has been any disagreement between the two men. It is true that the new regime contains no representative of the body who had hitherto appeared to be sweeping all the power in Germany into their hands. But this may well be a calculated step based on the belief that what caused HIMMLER's failure was not any fundamental fallacy in the policy so much as Allied aversion to the SS and that, in consequence, a government outwardly free from these elements will have better prospects of success.
3. THE LAST GERMAN TRANSMITTERS CLOSE DOWN

The German broadcasting system has gone inevitably from bad to worse. On 28 April considerable confusion was caused by the control obtained for five hours over the MUNICH radio by the instigators of the abortive rising there. The S.W. German group of stations which is normally linked to MUNICH remained under Nazi control and put out a considerable volume of counter-propaganda, while the N.W. German network only carried a vague outline of developments. Next day, with the approach of Allied troops, the MUNICH transmitter fell silent for good.

On 2 May, the S.W. German group itself began to break up with the approach of French troops to the station at DUSSELDORF in the Rhineland, which started to relay the French European Service in January; the other stations in the group (INNISRAKH and SIEBURD) continued to broadcast Nazi programs on the same wavelength. Next day DUSSELDORF continued to relay French programs and also a Luxembourg relay of BBC German services, engaging in a service conversation with Luxembourg late in the evening, during which they established their identity and made the appeal (usual in such cases) for equipment. INNISRAKH, the second station in the group, was silent most of the day but reappeared on the air at 22:53 with a manifesto by the Executive Committee of the Austrian Resistance Movement. Three minutes later the SIEBURD station was audible on the same wavelength with instructions from the local German commander who denied there was any acute danger from the enemy. Thus there arose the unusual spectacle of 3 adjacent stations simultaneously broadcasting different programs on the same wave-length.

In the north, HAMBURG, which since the closing of BERLIN and Deutsche Landesender had been the main station in the area, went off the air at midday on 3 May with a sentimental appeal from the announcer and the Deutschland Lied (but not the Horst Wessel Lied); it came back later, however, to make an announcement on behalf of the Allied Military Government. On 4 May it relayed the BBC Home and German News programs. The News program continued to be broadcast from the BERLIN transmitter (which is some 120 miles north of the city) and a new transmitter, describing itself as WILHELMHAVEN which came on the air on 3 May for the first time. For the broadcast of SERRA's speech on 3 May, however, resources was had to the Luxembourg and Copenhagen transmitters, which used the old Deutsche Landesender wave-length. This could only be a temporary expedient since what was obviously the last German-controlled bulletin was broadcast from there the following evening. Thus, at the end of the week, the only stations remaining to the Germans are Bremen, WILHELMHAVEN and a few transmitters in Norway and the Protectorate.

4. REACTIONS TO ALLIED PROPAGANDA

Allied output about concentration camps has provoked little response from the German side. HUGLIE, Secretary of State in the Propaganda Ministry, on 26 April referred to attempts to "camouflage or gloss over by mendacious reports the unparalleled crimes of the Soviet - but did not mention the word "concentration camps". On 4 May a reporter on the S.E. German Home Service discussed Allied output more explicitly, mentioning the names of Buchenwald, Belsen and Garwolin, and attributed it to a "Jewish desire to drive the enemy nations delirious with hatred, so that any expression of reason is destroyed". While accusing the Allies of lying, he proceeded to give lurid descriptions of alleged Bolshevik crimes.

On 30 April a broadcast to Holland tried to disparage Allied droppings of food, saying that no undue importance was to be attached to the relief which was inadequate and was not a reliable forecast of what would be done later.

SECRET
Two captured documents have provided good evidence of the effectiveness of Allied propaganda. The first, an order issued by Gestapo headquarters in DUESSELDORF to all police authorities in the Ruhr referred to orders which General EISENSTEIN had issued by leaflet and radio to foreign workers inviting them to leave their factories and go to the country. It went on to say that probably as a direct result the number of runaway foreigners was increasing rapidly and that the resulting menace to security was intolerable. Accordingly control measures were to be drastically tightened up.

An Army Group KLEISTENReIT order, dated 18 April, referred to Allied attempts to mislead German towns into surrender by loudspeakers mounted on armored cars sent far ahead of the main body. It went on to forbid such surrenders and order every village and town to be defended and retained with all available means.

A Swiss paper has printed a secret circular sent out on 26 February by DORFMÜLLER, Director General of German Railways, dealing with a serious increase in acts of sabotage on the railways. The circular does not refer to Allied propaganda but its date corresponds significantly with the special propaganda campaign which was undertaken during February on this subject.

BROADCASTS OF OUR ENEMY ALLIES

BERLIN and the link-up of American and Soviet forces in TORGAU provided the main military news this week. References to lack of German resistance against the Eastern Allies have ceased, giving way to a cordial tone toward Anglo-Americans and stress on Allied unity.

1. The Link-Up: The link-up was given great publicity in the press and radio. The Russians speak of it as a milestone of history. Among the numerous messages of congratulations from Soviet personalities, selected for broadcast by the Soviet European Service in English on 27 April, the following best express the general tone:

"General KLEISTENReIT said: "If anyone in the First World War had pictured a link-up of the fronts on the BERLIN-MAGDEBURG line they would certainly have been taken to a psychiatrist. The joy of shaking hands with our Allies on the battlefield means more than happiness to us. It is also a guarantee of the friendly cooperation necessary if Nazism is to be abolished from this earth."

EISENSTEIN, quoting GÖTHE on the devil as belonging to that force which inevitably gives birth to good out of evil, said: "The struggle against Nazism has called to light one of the most wonderful things which has been created in recent years - the pact of friendship and collaboration between the peoples of the U.S.S.R., Britain and the Soviet Union!"

2. BERLIN: Red Star printed a telephone interview with the Commandant for BERLIN, Colonel General EISENSTEIN, on conditions in the city. Twenty hospitals have been opened to treat the population for injuries, public services and food factories are being restored. The suburbs, he said, have not been much damaged, but the center of the city is list. District Soviet Commanders have been organized - the work of reconstruction has already started.

Concentration Camps

The publicity given to atrocities at Buchenwald, Belsen, Dachau and other camps in Great Britain and the United States, was commented on favorably. It was treated as evidence which would help the Allied people
properly to understand the German mentality. The compulsory visits of German civilians, on conducted tours under the supervision of allied officers, were particularly approved.

Divergence in Propaganda Lines

A certain divergence is still noticeable between the trend initiated by ALEXANDROV (Propaganda Chief), aimed at reassuring the German people that the "innocent" will not suffer with the guilty, and continued hate propaganda. A Pravda article by LEONOV, attacking the Vatican for alleged protection of war criminals, is not only the most violent attack yet made against the Pope, but its tone about Germany is almost undistinguishable from that for which ALEXANDROV was rebuked by ALEXANDROV (see Summary # 30). That LEONOV should continue this line in the face of ALEXANDROV's rebuke is evidence of a strong opposition, particularly in view of further indications that ALEXANDROV's article was inspired and that the Soviets are anxious to ease off the effects of the hate propaganda on the German population. Such indications are found in STALIN's Order of the Day on 1 May:

"The United Nations do not intend to destroy the German people. They will destroy Fascism and German militarism, sternly punish war criminals and expel Germans to compensate for damage - but they will not light the civilian population if it loyally carries out the demands of the Allied military authorities."

Austria

The formation of the Provisional Government was announced on the Soviet European Service for Austria on 29 April. There was no comment beyond an announcement of the names of the members, their political party affiliation, and the posts they occupy in the new government. It is of interest to note that there are only two Communist State secretaries: one for the Interior and one for Education and Culture. The other posts are shared by Christian Socialists, Social Democrats, and Independents. The head of the government is a Social Democrat.

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