against the Oberbürgermeister and other members of the administration, but no specific evidence of this was discovered.

Communist representation on the City Council (which consists of nine members appointed by the Oberbürgermeister) consists of two KPD members: Karl Damm (age 35) and Willy Schaefer (age 37). Woertge is satisfied with this, but does not have too much faith in the Council itself, since it is appointed by the Mayor and is therefore, he says, not truly representative of the people of Darmstadt.

The KPD is represented in the Antifaschistischer Ausschuss through a contingent of three men led by Keil, who next to Woertge, is the most prominent Communist in Darmstadt. Woertge himself occasionally attended Antifa meetings but when last interviewed (15 September) had not been present at one for more than six weeks. He says that the Communists have played a dominant role within the Antifaschistischer Ausschuss, and this is confirmed by Dr. Mahr, a Socialist member of the Ausschuss, who states that the leadership of the Darmstadt SPD, which had at first discouraged him from joining the Antifa later reversed this decision and instructed him to play an active role in order to balance Communist strength. The Antifa has been principally concerned with denazification, and Woertge believes that it has done a good job in helping to clean out various city departments, especially the police. The KPD is also represented in the Hilfswerk fuer Politische Gefangene (Political Prisoners' Aid
Association) through Haerting, a member of the Landesregierung.

The Darmstadt KPD and Dismissed Nazis

The most prevalent story about the Darmstadt KPD, and one that is widely repeated by representatives of all political groups, is that the Communists approach former members of the Nazi Party who are dismissed by the administration at the instigation of MG and try to enlist their membership in the KPD with promises of employment, food, housing, etc. Again, no specific instances are ever mentioned and none has been found. It is certainly highly improbable that any former Nazis could become actual members of the Darmstadt KPD. Not only do the membership regulations specifically exclude such people (see above), but Woertge's statement that the Darmstadt Communists do not want more than a total of 400 members shows that all those who are accepted for membership must belong to a carefully selected well-indoctrinated group. It goes without saying that no former Nazis could immediately become members of such a group.

This does not mean that the Darmstadt Communists are ignoring former members of the Nazi Party. Woertge sees the danger presented by a group of "politically excluded" former Nazis acting as a potentially threatening cohesive force. He says that the Communists intend to approach former Nazis (and have presumably already done so), to talk with them, and to establish the degree of their nazification. Once this is done, he envisages indoctrination courses and possible probationary membership.
periods for them. It is not unlikely that to the extent of such preliminary investigation the Communists have been extremely active, since the basic anti-fascist plank of the KPD program implies not so much the exclusion from but the political re-indoctrination of non-criminal Nazi elements. One of the Communist representatives in the Land administration, von der Schmitt, has stated that the KPD will deny fascists the right to vote, but there has been no specific statement from the KPD regarding the details of this procedure.

KPD-SPD Cooperation

Both Socialists and Communists in Darmstadt are in favor of a working alliance of the two parties. This has so far manifested itself in the Antifa, in the trade unions, and in the Inter-Fraction Committee. Both Socialists and Communists speak of the success of this joint committee, although the Socialists want to reserve their comments until the Communists have "proved themselves" over a fairly long period of time. This reservation is part of the general SPD reluctance to work too closely with the KPD. Neither Socialists nor Communists are thinking in terms of the eventual organic unity of the two parties in Darmstadt, but both groups have up to the present seen the need for cooperation. However, Socialist distrust of KPD intentions is still strong, and the Communists are making great efforts to lessen it.

The significance of the Darmstadt Communists is due not
so much to their numerical strength as to their general strategic place within the city's political pattern. (See sections on the SPD and BDA.) This strong strategic position—which is just beginning to emerge and which is likely to change and fluctuate rapidly—accounts for the confident attitude of the KPD leaders, Fritz Woertge, who feels that the Communists can afford to wait and see. In the meantime, they are strengthening their structural organization in the city, trying to obtain new members (especially from the younger population groups), and preparing for the elections by a house-to-house canvass of the city and the outlying districts. As in other German cities, they are the first group with a definite action program which shows their willingness to collaborate with other anti-fascist parties, and especially with the Socialists. Walter Fisch, the Frankfurt Bezirk Secretary of the KPD, says that he has had "some difficulty" with the Darmstadt Communists. According to him, this difficulty was caused by the unwillingness on the part of some of the Darmstadt members to accept the "collaboration with other parties" plank of the Communist platform. Fisch adds that this difficulty has now been "straightened out". Woertge himself tells of some opposition to the Party line in the early days of American occupation, when certain elements in the Party wanted to "take over" the city. Woertge claims that this opposition disappeared when he pointed out the "we don't have enough people to do any taking over" and there is little reason to doubt his statement.
E. THE "MOBEMENT FOR GERMAN RECONSTRUCTION"

Up to mid-September, the only political group to the Right of both the KPD and the SPD has been the Bewegung des deutschen Aufbaus, (Movement for German Reconstruction), a newly formed organization whose program and aims are similar to those of Christian Democratic (or Christian Social) groupings in other parts of Germany. Although this group has submitted its "Application for Formation of a Political Party" to Military Government, it can not yet be considered a Party in the sense that the Darmstadt KPD and SPD are Parties, since it is still in the embryonic stage of preliminary program discussion, search for prominent names to carry the program, and establishment of contacts with groups outside the city of Darmstadt. Nevertheless, it is as yet the only non-Leftist political organization in Darmstadt, and there are indications that, either in its present or in some changed form, it may develop into the only party of the Right in the city.

Leadership and Personalities

The most active member and official founder of the Bewegung des Deutschen Aufbaus is Maria Severnich, who is at present considered the official head of the Party. She is intelligent and energetic, a good speaker, and a dominating personality. Until 1933 she was active in the Communist Youth Movement and (for a time) in the Sozialistische Arbeiter
Partei. In 1933 she was deported to Switzerland where, according to her autobiographical account, she suddenly realized the "anti-Christian" character of the Communist Party and all-pervasive strength of the Christian Doctrine. Ever since then she has fanatically fought Communism and Russia as the sources of all evil and, as soon as she returned to Darmstadt from a five-year stay in various French concentration camps, she gathered around her a circle of like-minded individuals with the intention of forming some sort of anti-KPD bloc. She also established immediate contact with both the Regional and Local MG Detachments and has consistently tried to win special MG support for her efforts. Her deputy as active head of the party is a Doctor Germann, a physician at the Military Hospital in Jungenheim, who wears civilian clothes and is allowed to move freely in the Darmstadt district but who officially still retains his prisoner-of-war status. The political manager of the party is Treffert, a former Center Party Stadtrat in Berlin and a protege of former Chancellor Wirth. He has been selected as the Amtsverwalter of the projected permanent party headquarters. While these three individuals are in active control of the BDA and its activities, much of the power behind the organization resides with Ministerialrat Hoffmann, deputy head of the Department of Religion and Education in the Land government. Hoffmann represented the Center Party in the Hessian Landtag until 1933 and is generally considered to be the
outstanding Centrist in Darmstadt. He has been the driving force on the Catholic side in its efforts to create a Christian Party in opposition to the KPD.

Origins

According to Ministerialrat Hoffmann, the present movement had its origin in so-called "Meetings of Five" during the early days of occupation, when five representatives from Protestant Churches and five Catholics came together to discuss common problems and to find ways to solve these problems. Hoffmann is quick to point out that there was no intention to form any political group before American permission could be granted and that these meetings were concerned only with practical problems of the day. However, it is evident that the Severnich circle held meetings attended by 15 - 20 individuals as early as May and that these meetings laid the groundwork for the formation of a Christian Party. It is also evident that these preliminary meetings were marked by long and generally inconclusive discussions regarding the name, nature, and policies of the new party. Hoffmann, an old Center politician, was opposed to the resurrection of the Center Party under its old name but clearly envisioned few other changes. He is especially afraid of Leftist trends and influences, and the passion he displays in praising the desirability of private enterprise in post-war Germany is exceeded only by his fanatical fear and hatred of Communism.
Severich, however, wanted to incorporate a program of social reform in the new party platform in order to create the basis for a working alliance with the Socialists which would eventually result in drawing the SPD away from the KPD. She and Germain also wanted to break completely with the old Center Party, and a member of her circle went so far as to propose at one meeting that former Center Party functionaries should not be admitted into the new party. An additional complication was supplied by the Protestant-Catholic cooperation line taken by both Hoffmann and Severich. The Protestants are not too eager to play a subsidiary role in a largely Catholic "Christian" Party, especially since the Catholics constitute a minority in Darmstadt (less than a fourth of the total population). The only prominent Protestant willing to act as spokesman for the Protestant representation in the Party is Dr. Walther Bruning, a physician who is at present head of the Evangelisches Männerwerk der Stadt Darmstadt, a Protestant charity organization. Bruning entered the Nazi Party in 1930, and although he now claims to have seen the light several years later, it is somewhat embarrassing for a Christian Party to have an Alter Knüppfer as one of its leaders.

The Program

The program, finally adopted, represents a series of compromises on the problems outlined above. It contains a statement of the four principles on which the BDA is based:
1) The BDA is a Christian Party standing on Christian ground. It desires the realization of Christian principles of life in fraternal cooperation of the Christian churches.

2) The BDA is anti-fascist. It recognizes democracy as the basis for the reconstruction of Germany.

3) The BDA is anti-Bolshevist. Instead of Bolshevist atheism, it offers positive Christian faith. Instead of a Communist economy, it proposes the inviolability of private property within the framework of social policies based on Christianity.

4) The BDA proposes the realization of a social program on a Christian basis. It holds that private property is essential to the development of personality, but it recognizes the right of society to hold bonum commune for the individuals of whom society is composed. (This is referred to by BDA leaders as the "Socialistic Flank" of the program and is used to point up the similarity between the BDA and the SPD programs.)

The second part of the program deals with various phases of German reconstruction. A religious revival marked by "a stream of love" must enable the German people to overcome the present crisis. The family must again become the basic element of the social order. Cultural and economic reconstruction must be speeded up. In the field of political reconstruction, Germany must rid herself of party strife and must replace class hatred by Christianity. The BDA wants to obtain its members from
those anti-fascist circles which are drawn towards neither the KPD nor the SPD. Its program is designed to appeal primarily to "anti-fascist German army circles" which, after six years at the front, "are better qualified for unselfish activity than the civilians" because they are further removed from secure living conditions. The basic requirement for membership in the BDA is personal "moral cleanliness". A sense of responsibility towards the community must determine the attitudes and actions of the individual.

The official program ends with these general statements about the future: "We must rebuild Germany. . . . Truth must replace falsehood . . . . We are good Germans . . . . We must reject personal comforts when their surrender is required for the completion of our task . . . . Our will for peace demonstrates our sincerity . . . . Germany must again become a member of the family of nations."

The outstanding characteristic of this official program, as well as of the discussions among the BDA leadership, is its vague formulation. Ideologically it finds its roots in "Christianity", "morality", and "spiritual cleanliness", and the answers to all specific problems and questions are half hidden by an aura of self-righteous Christian good-will which is never dispelled far enough or long enough to reveal any concrete plans for action. A partial explanation of this all-pervasive vagueness may be found in the diverse ideological and political pre-
conceptions held by the principal supporters of the movement, all of which had to be reconciled in the BDA platform, but perhaps the principal reason for the vagueness of the program is a conscious effort by Severnich and other BDA leaders to shroud the raison d'être of the party behind a cloak of Christian morality. The program affirms that the BDA is opposed to Bolshevism and to a Bolshevist economy; however, this opposition is just one plank in the official program. It becomes the central and sole plank of a so-called "confidential expose" which was prepared for the use of Military Government and "a few trustworthy individuals". This expose contains very little Christian ideology; it is, in fact, a diatribe against Russia and Communism. Severnich states very frankly that it is to be regretted that the official platform of the party cannot contain an anti-Russian plank, since "America and Russia are temporarily allied". However, she feels certain that Military Government is tacitly sympathetic towards an anti-Communist bloc, and her "confidential expose" is an attempt to convince the American authorities of the need for the immediate establishment of such a bloc.

After an analysis of the "moral falsehood of historical materialism" this expose points out that National Socialism possessed at least the concept of a social order built around the State, whereas Bolshevism does not possess even that. It goes on to say that Russia is cut to bolshevize Europe, Asia,
and (somewhat later), America, and that the illegal apparatus of the Communist Party in Germany is carrying out a systematic propaganda campaign against American Military Government. The present Communist program of parliamentary democracy is characterized as pure hypocrisy, and it is alleged that Communism and National Socialism have always been and still are closely connected. Severnich (who is the author of the expose) believes that the Social Democratic Party is not structurally and ideologically strong enough to stand on its own feet, and that it will tend towards Bolshevism unless its orientation towards "Christian social doctrine" is "facilitated". In order to accomplish this facilitation, a new Christian movement is required. This movement must not be called Christian, since "Christianity is unpolitical" and since the Center Party is at present in disrepute. Only a movement free from pre-1933 party politics can act as an antidote to the Communist Party. In discussing the membership of the new movement, Severnich makes one significant addition to the official party line. In the latter, an appeal is made to anti-fascist German soldiers who are "better qualified for unselfish activity" than the civilians. In the confidential program she states that the party wants soldiers who "because of their experiences in the East have become unconditional opponents of Communism". She adds that collaboration with the Communists on any basis is not possible and that the Communist Party must be "unmasked".

CONFIDENTIAL
Thus it is evident that the BDA is not much concerned with any positive program, Christian or otherwise, but that the destruction of the Communist Party is its principle goal and the main-spring of its program. Severnich and the other BDA leaders supply a note of unconscious irony by vehemently attacking the Communist Party, not so much for its present program, which expresses democratic aims, but for the "hypocrisy" of this program, which is said to serve as a clever mask hiding the "real" aims of class struggle and revolution. This irony is perhaps most aptly demonstrated by the fact that one of the signers of the BDA's "Application for Permission to Form a Political Party" is a man named Eyberger, who was convicted of rape several years ago. It is this same Eyberger who is outwardly most concerned about the "moral cleanliness" of the Party's members.

The emphasis on drawing members from returning war veterans may prove to be a strengthening factor for the BDA. No other political group in Darmstadt is making special efforts in this direction, and many of the returning soldiers feel that their efforts in the war are being ignored by political parties whose programs stress Germany's war guilt (the BDA program does not) and attack militarism and the German army. The BDA tells them that they fought in a bad cause but that their suffering and their exertions have moulded their character and have given them a special position in the German social structure. It even goes so far as to tell them that the war against Russia was a
just war and that they need not feel ashamed for having fought in it. The BDA has gained a strong foothold in the military hospital at Jungenheim, outside Darmstadt, since both the Protestant and Catholic chaplains there, as well as Severnich and Dr. Gernisch, who work there, distribute BDA literature and attempt to enroll patients in the Party. The appeal to returning war veterans also gains considerable strength through the fact that the Catholic charitable organization Caritas has a virtual monopoly on veterans' charity organizations. Severnich is active in Caritas, so much so that on a recent trip to Bavaria she used a Caritas vehicle. Caritas appears to have large funds and could unquestionably serve as an ideal medium for gaining new BDA members.

Although the BDA has as yet no mass support and may be considered a party of "officers without men", it has already implemented its anti-Communist program by an organized campaign against the Darmstadt Communists. Severnich, a prolific writer, turns out exposes after expose on the KPD, its illegal apparatus, its courier system to Moscow, and its anti-American aims, all of which she puts into the hands of Military Government officers. In addition, she and the other BDA leaders are full of stories about KPD infiltration into the city administration, KPD graft, and KPD collaboration with former Nazis; these stories are spread all over Darmstadt. After the Darmstadt CIC Detachment recently interrupted a BDA meeting in the course of a routine check,
Severich "discovered" that the KFD had put the CIC on the BDA's trail. In view of this "discovery" it is worth noting that at the time of writing (15 September) Fritz Woertge, the Darmstadt KFD leader, had heard nothing about the BDA with the exception of a vague rumor that some people in Darmstadt were founding a Christian Party.

Organization

The leadership of the BDA has been greatly concerned with organizational planning and has even gone so far as to evolve definite plans for a Land party organization. The discussions concerning the organizational structure of the new party have been very heated and are by no means concluded.

The first definite organizational plan dealt with five groups of members:

a) Regular members
b) Prospective members
c) Youth groups
d) "Fellow-travelers" (Mitläufer)
e) Former Nazis

The latest organizational plan has reduced these categories to three:

a) Regular dues-paying members
b) Prospective members
c) Youth

Regular members must pledge themselves to accept the program of the BDA, must accept the principles of an "honorable way of life", pay dues, and accept the rules and regulations of the Party. The total number of regular members in any one
district forms the Ortsgruppe (district group) which must consist of at least 25 members. This district group elects various councils and committees and is responsible for the recruitment of new members, for monthly meetings, educational programs, control of finances, foundation of youth groups, and the election of delegates for Kreis and Land groups. Prospective members are those individuals whose application for membership has been tabled for any reason by the membership committee of the Ortsgruppe. They can take part in meetings and may be consulted in an advisory capacity. They also pay dues, but have no voice in party decisions until they are accepted as regular members. Those belonging to youth groups must take part in certain political Schulungskurse (educational courses), must pay dues, and may take part in meetings of the Ortsgruppe. The Kreisgruppe consist of delegates elected by at least six Ortsgruppen; its task is the direction of the various Ortsgruppen in the Kreis. It is to be assisted by a Secretariat. As soon as political activity on a Land scale is allowed, the Ortsgruppen will elect delegates to Landesgruppen. A court of honor is to be established in every Kreis. This court must supervise the public and private activities of individual members in order to determine how closely these members observe the principles of the BDA. It has the power to expel members or prospective members from the Party.

The preamble to the organizational plan states that the
number of members will be strictly limited and that the BDA does not want to become an organization with a mass membership. The original organizational plan contained certain provisions for the re-education of former Nazis who were to be subjected to special controls, but (presumably for the benefit of Military Government) the whole idea of a special category for former Nazis was dropped, and they will probably become part of the "prospective" membership. It is certain that the BDA will make special efforts to recruit former Nazis, if only to draw away these elements from the Communist Party. It may well be that the re-education of these people will be accomplished through "conversion", as was that of Dr. Bruning, the Alter Kämpfer.

Support in Darmstadt

It has already been said that the BDA may be compared to an army of officers without men. Even that statement does not adequately describe the present status of the party, since it is still looking for "officers" and, unlike the Communist and Socialist Parties, has very little popular following. Nevertheless, it has managed to enlist the support of several prominent individuals inside and outside of Darmstadt. This support stems principally from professional groups: the backbone of the Party consists of intellectuals. Among these are Professor Schlink, the Deputy Rector of the Darmstadt Technische Hochschule; Professor Muss, formerly on the faculty of the Technische.
Hochschule and at present head of the Darmstadt Economic Planning Board; and Oberschulrat Lohse, the founder of the Democratic Party in Hessen. Another prominent supporter of the Party is Dr. Peter Hansen, who was appointed head of the Justice Department in the Land government but later removed by Military Government because of his former role as Senatspraesident under the Nazis.

In the Hessian Land Government the BDA is represented by Oberregierungsrat Kuhn (a Nazi party member since 1942) who is in charge of "General Administration" and by Dr. Steinmetz, a lawyer who heads the Personalamt Freie Wirtschaft (Personnel Office of the Economics Department). The only prominent BDA member in business circles is one Georg Hofmann, a director of the Darmstadt Deutsche Bank and a member of the Board of Advisers to the Chamber of Commerce. As yet BDA has no representative in the Darmstadt city administration or on the City Council.

Outside Contacts

Severnicz and the other BDA leaders have been greatly concerned over the possibility that their new party, if restricted to Darmstadt, would lack the organizational strength which both the Socialist and Communist Parties possess in varying degrees through the still-extent framework of a nation-wide hierarchical structure. Severnicz has therefore made it her task to fit the BDA in with other Christian Social political groups throughout the American Zone. (According to Ministerialrat Hofmann, the
BDA does not want to have anything to do with the Berlin Christian Democrats. In Frankfurt, a certain Baron von Reckum has been charged with handling relations between the BDA and Christian circles there. According to Severnich, von Reckum submitted the BDA program and organizational plans to Walter Dirks, the leading Catholic political figure in Frankfurt, with the hope of persuading Dirks to build a Christian party on lines similar to the BDA. However, not only does Dirks say that he has never heard of the BDA, but he has always stood Left of Center and still tends toward socialism. Nevertheless, a pamphlet by Dirks entitled "Katholische Volksarbeit," which deals with Catholic charitable activities, is being circulated by the BDA and (whether he knows it or not) Dirks is considered to be the spiritual godfather of the BDA by some of its leaders.

In Heidelberg, BDA claims the support of Professor Bauer, Rector of Heidelberg University. Severnich has also been in touch with the Bishop of Mainz (Dr. Albert Stohr), but has apparently received little more than sympathy from him, since he wants to "wait and see" before sponsoring any Christian party. Her latest attempt to obtain outside contacts for the BDA was a trip to Bavaria, where she saw Stegerwald, the outstanding left wing Catholic in Bavaria and Gerngross, one of the leaders of the abortive F.A.B. (Freedom Action Bavaria) coup and politically representative of Catholic circles.
opposed to the ultra-conservative Schaeffer group. She and other BDA leaders are also making efforts to get in touch with Bishop Wurm, former Landesbischof Meiser, and Cardinal Faulhaber. Ostensibly Severnich wants to make the Darmstadt BDA the central representative Christian party in the American Zone and wants other groups to accept the BDA program and to conform to BDA organizational plans. However, it is more likely that the real purpose of her contacts is to integrate the BDA with the other Christian groups in the American Zone so that it will not be left out on a limb when other, more powerful groups spring up.

The BDA and the SPD in Darmstadt

Severnich is enough of a practical politician to realize that the BDA, even if all its plans are realized, can at best never be more than a fairly influential minority party in Darmstadt, a city in which the SPD has always had a great popular majority and in which the Center Party never polled much more than ten per cent of the popular vote. She declares that she will be satisfied with such a role as long as the BDA, by "speaking plainly", can help "unmask" the Communists and can draw the SPD away from too close collaboration with the KPD. To this end she has addressed a letter to President Bergstraesser, whom she (mistakenly) regards as the leader of the SPD in Darmstadt. In this letter she tried to define the ideological basis of the BDA and to point out common
ground for collaboration between the two parties.

Her thesis is that the BDA program is close enough to the SPD program to permit very close cooperation between the two parties. She states that the program is based on the two Papal Encyclicals, Rerum Novarum and Quadragesimo Anno, as well as on the Protocols of the Oslo Church Conference of 1926: this basis implies a rejection of historical materialism, but an acceptance of a Christian social doctrine which can be "coordinated" with the SPD program. Nevertheless, her letter is full of the same vagueness and contradictions which seem to characterize most of the BDA documents. The letter begins by stating that "it has been decided to found a Christian party in Darmstadt". The very next paragraph contains the statement that the Party will not bear the name "Christian" because "we want to keep Christianity free from party politics." The letter goes on to say that the social program of the BDA will be almost identical with the SPD program, but that it will be "ideologically and spiritually somewhat conservative without being in any sense reactionary". Nevertheless, the membership of the BDA will consist of "bourgeois and church circles, as well as a wide representation of returning war veterans". There is no direct mention of the KPD, although Severnich wants to begin political discussions with SPD leaders at once in order to determine "how relations between ourselves will be and how those with other groups..."
must be". The omission of any direct reference to the KPD in this letter is probably due to the well-known political opinions of the addressee (Bergstraesser), who has repeatedly stated that close collaboration between the SPD and the KPD is absolutely essential. In another document, however, written the very next day (9 September 1945), Severnich states quite clearly that the danger of a strong Communist Party can be eliminated only through a partnership between the SPD and the BDA which will be able to "force the Communist Party to practice what it preaches".

Up to September, the Socialists had not responded to these overtures; in fact, very few prominent Socialists have heard of the BDA. Whether any response will ever be forthcoming will depend on the degree of effectiveness of KPD-SPD collaboration and on the official SPD policy towards Christian parties in the rest of Germany. It is certain that the SPD in Darmstadt is strong enough not to require the necessarily limited aid of the BDA at the present time. According to the latest reports on the Severnich circle, BDA leaders are quite unhappy about the present Socialist policy of trying to cooperate with the Communists, and the latest BDA policy meetings have been characterized as "more anti-SPD than anti-KPD". It is clear that the attempted alienation of the SPD away from the Communists has as yet had no success.
The program of the BDA states the desirability of "fraternal cooperation of the Christian Churches", and both Hoffmann and Severnich feel that the old, predominantly Catholic Center Party should be expanded into a joint Protestant-Catholic party, at least in name. The principal leaven for this cooperation has been the Paulus Kreis, a circle of about 100 men and women, which has for its ultimate aim Una Sancta, i.e., the eventual amalgamation of the Protestant and Catholic Churches into a single Christian Church. Most of the leading members of the BDA are also members of the Paulus Kreis, which is headed by Ministerialrat Hoffmann. It is this Una Sancta group which has hitherto produced most of the popular support for the Party. In spite of Una Sancta, however, the BDA is still predominantly Catholic and will probably remain so. Of 14 individuals who attended a recent policy meeting, ten were Catholics and only four Protestants. Severnich states that the BDA does not want members of the clergy in the Party. Nevertheless, various prominent clergymen in Darmstadt have been approached and some have promised their support, although Dr. Michel, the leading Catholic priest in the city, has not yet done so. In Eberstadt-Jungenheim, (outside of Darmstadt), however, the BDA has succeeded in enlisting the full cooperation of four clergymen.

See also Section III, Paragraph F "Religion in Darmstadt".
Kaplan Nicolai, Catholic Chaplain of the FW Military Hospital in Jungenheim.

Pfarrer Muenzenberg, Protestant Chaplain at the same Hospital.

Pfarrer Weissgerber, leading Protestant clergyman in Eberstadt.

Pfarrer von der Aue, another Protestant clergyman in Eberstadt.

Nicolai writes leaflets for the Party and serves as contact man between the BDA and the Catholic clergy. The other three, under the leadership of Weissgerber, "are fighting the battle from the pulpit". Weissgerber and the other two Protestants (who vociferously agree with everything he says) are essentially not in favor of a Christian party. They feel that the clergy should keep out of politics and try to exert a Christian influence "from the outside" on all political parties. However, they believe that the present political conflicts enter the realm of the Christian Churches, since the struggle between Christ and Anti-Christ has now at last begun in real earnest. Weissgerber refuses to talk in political terms, but does not have to be hard pressed to reveal that Anti-Christ (or Satan) is the KPD and Christ (or the Angels) all good Protestants and Catholics. This struggle must be fought out not only in the political arena, but from the pulpit. The fight against the Nazis was praiseworthy, but served only as a preliminary to the present crucial battle which, in its fervor, must call forth
energies and emotions equal to those of the Reformation, and which must help to unite the two Christian Churches. Weissgerber believes that the Communists are getting stronger every day and that unless they are stopped speedily and effectively, Germany will be "bolshevized". He and the other Eberstadt clergymen are determined to lead a Holy Crusade against the KPD and to bring the soldiers in the Jungenheim Military Hospital and the men and women of Eberstadt into the fold of the BDA and into the struggle.

The clergy in the city of Darmstadt does not appear to be equally enthusiastic about the BDA, since, for the greater part, they genuinely desire to stay out of politics. Nevertheless, the great fear of Communism on the part of most clergymen may make them into the strongest and most influential supporters of the BDA if they are able to convince themselves of its effectiveness and its genuine Christian basis.

Conclusion

The BDA can not yet be regarded as a strong political force in Darmstadt; in fact, very few people in Darmstadt have as yet heard of it. Even if one assumes that all the members of the Paulus Kreis are potential members of the BDA, this would not give the party many more than 100 members. The preliminary policy meetings were usually attended by 15 to 20 people, some of whom are still not regarded as "certain"
by Severich and her friends. One of the reasons why Ministerialrat Hoffmann and other prominent powers behind the Party have so far kept out of the actual formulation of organizational plans may be that they are themselves not certain whether the new movement will be able to gain a foothold in the city and are still contemplating the formation of yet another party if the BDA should fail. Since so many different interests are represented in the Party, every sentence of every new document, when thrown open for discussion, produces lengthy and sometimes passionate arguments from all sides. These arguments delay and complicate the formulation of programs and policies and may prevent the BDA from showing a united front on vital future issues. The Party is also short of funds. At a recent meeting, Severich had to pass around the hat in order to collect a few hundred marks.

However, the BDA unquestionably possesses great potential strength. At present its support among business interests in Darmstadt is very small, but if these circles do not form their own party (and they have at present no intention of doing so), they will probably be welcomed with open arms by the BDA, thus transforming it into the representative party of the Right in Darmstadt. This accretion, together with a determined campaign from the pulpit by the local clergy and a possible coordination with Christian elements in Heidelberg, Frankfurt, Mainz, and Bavaria, might enable the
BDA to gain the popular support which it lacks at the present moment. But it is difficult to see how a fundamentally Rightist party whose primary aim is the fight against Communism can find much common ground with men like Walter Dirks and Stegerwald who represent the more liberal Catholic elements.

Nevertheless, an attempt is being made to change the keynote of the present BDA program in order to make it conform with liberal Catholic programs in other parts of Germany. The principal (and, up to the present time, the sole) proponent of this program reform is Dr. Brentano di Tremezzo, a prominent Darmstadt lawyer in his early forties who has recently become a member of the Party. He is the son of a former Centrist Minister of the Interior for Hessen, but he has never had much faith in the Center Party, whose function, he believes, terminated with the end of the Kulturkampf. Brentano certainly has greater potential political stature than any other member of BDA: he is highly intelligent and politically perceptive, and has good connections with leading Catholics throughout Germany. Both Dirks and Stegerwald are good friends of his, and he knows most of the leading personalities in the Berlin Christian Democratic Party. Ideologically Brentano declares himself in agreement with Professor Alfred Weber's interpretation of the new Socialism.

Brentano joined the BDA only after a prolonged period
of indecision, although he was approached soon after the party's formation. Up to early October, he had attended only two BDA meetings, but henceforth he expects to devote more time to political affairs and will doubtless play a leading rôle in the party. He is extremely critical of the BDA program and of some of its leading personalities, and sees a great need for change of program and policy. His principal criticism is directed at the lack of political know-how displayed by almost all the BDA policy-makers. He remarks that the program might conceivably serve as the program for a small circle of religious intellectuals, but that as a political document it is practically worthless. He adds that he respects Severnich as a good Christian, but that she is too far removed from practical political issues to be able to formulate a sensible program. He believes that the BDA program should be changed from a collection of ideological platitudes to a specific action program which will take a definite stand on labor unions, relations with other parties, and other vital questions of the day. He wants to orient it away from fanatic anti-Bolshevism and towards positive aims and tasks.

His own principal aim is to establish a bourgeois party consisting of former Centrists, Democrats, and what he calls the left wing of the Volkspartei. He believes that these people constitute a potentially dangerous bloc since, if
given no positive direction, they will in all likelihood
tend towards the extreme Right. In contrast to Severnich and her circle he does not believe that many will go to the extreme Left. He says that the program of this party must be as close to the Socialist program as its essentially bourgeois character will permit, and that the main purpose of the party will be to facilitate the orientation of its membership towards some form of Socialism. He himself hates Communism as much as National Socialism, and he has no faith in the present democratic program of the Communist Party. However, he adds that if the German Communists can tear themselves loose from Russian direction and establish an independent party (he is somewhat skeptical about the probability of such an event, but is hoping for it), he would be willing to cooperate with them. When asked whether his party could still be close to the Socialists if the latter embark on a program of close collaboration with the Communists, he replied that this would present a serious problem, but that he is not opposed to cooperation with the KPD on a local level if he can convince himself that the Communist leaders mean what they say. He adds that there are several such Communists in Darmstadt. He himself will join the Socialist Party if his attempt to reform the BDA fails. At present he is pessimistic about the chances of reforming the BDA. This pessimism is the result of the following considerations: Men like Hoffmann are too
closely tied to the old Center Party program and ideology. They will probably oppose any attempt to produce an orientation towards the Left.

2) Any bourgeois party will inevitably become a catch-all (Sammelbecken) for all Rightist elements. Brentano says that he wants to keep the Party free from reactionary influences, but that this will be a hard thing to accomplish, especially since those elements are, to some extent, already present in the BDA. Nevertheless, he believes that although business and other Rightist groups will probably support the BDA in the first local election, they will eventually break away and form their own party.

3) He is thus far the only leading member of the BDA who advocates a shift to the Left. Although his influence and political stature would make a wholesale rejection of his ideas by the rest of the Party's leaders inadvisable, he alone will hardly be able to change the entire complexion of the Party's program.

Nevertheless he says that he is determined to attempt a move which he himself calls only barely possible in order to prevent a shift to the extreme Right by those elements who are at present unwilling to join the SPD. Whether he is entirely sincere in his statements and attitudes is open to some doubt. While he is intelligent enough to recognize the ineffectiveness of Severnich's crude anti-Bolshevism, his own
political attitude tends to coincide with hers in its fear of and opposition to the Communist Party. There is also some evidence that the part he has hitherto played in the affairs of the BDA is greater than he is willing to admit.
F. THE DARMSTADT CITY ADMINISTRATION

1. Development of the Administration under MG

The accession of a new civil administration for Darmstadt under the American occupation, which began 24 March 1945, took place in circumstances characteristic of almost every city in western Germany. The essential elements of the previous Nazi administration -- both top personnel and key records -- had been withdrawn with the German army, leaving a situation of administrative chaos to face the new governors of the city. By 27 March a new "trustee" mayor, Ludwig Metzger, had been provisionally appointed, and on that date the citizens of Darmstadt were apprised of this development through the appearance in all public places of Metzger's first proclamation to the population, calling for the surrender of all looted foodstuffs and other consumers' goods to the offices of the new city administration. The story behind Metzger's appointment is not definitely established, but can be inferred from the fact that he is a lawyer and represented the Christian socialist line in the right-wing of the Social Democratic Party and therefore has good relations not only with the moderate left and the non-Nazi middle class, but especially with the Darmstadt clergy.

For more than a month the new administration touched the general population only through a series of public proclamations dealing with such diverse subjects as notifications to former civil service officials, employees, and workers -- both pre-occupation

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and pre-1933 -- to report, announcements of the diminishing duration of the curfew and orders for members of the Nazi Party and its para-military organizations to register with the police. Through the signatures on these announcements the inhabitants of the city learned that, besides the new mayor, they had a new trustee police president -- a Social Democrat named Reibold -- and that both the municipal labor and food offices were once more in operation. During this period, from 27 March to 10 May, Metzger had been working on the re-activation of his administration through the removal of active Nazis (in many cases simply a formal step, since they had actually fled the city) and their replacement by non- or anti-Nazis.

By 10 May this process had progressed so far that the formation of a new administration could be announced in the first number of the Official Gazette of the Lord Mayor of the City of Darmstadt. Filling the top posts in the city administration were the American-appointed Lord Mayor Metzger, and the Metzger appointees, three former Democrats: Julius Reiber as Deputy Mayor and City School Councillor, Wilhelm Lucius as City Treasurer, and Ludwig Strauch as Deputy Director of the Administration and Chief of the Personnel Section. In the same issue Metzger and Reiber collaborated in an appeal to the population announcing their intention "to save our Fatherland" through reconstruction and calling upon the Darmstadters for their cooperation. By 14 May the essential framework of the administration
as it exists today was completed, with the first sitting of the City Committee and the presentation to it of the obverse side of the new administrative appointments -- i.e., the denazification of the administration. The standards of denazification were announced to be active Nazism -- Alte Kämpfer, the acquisition of administrative posts through the Nazi Party, political activity for the Party, and the advocacy of Nazi ideas regardless of Party membership. At the same time it was announced that while Alte Kämpfer in all positions and other active Nazis in leading positions had been immediately dismissed, the rest of the denazification process would be limited by the necessity of carrying on the administration. The importance of this first wave is shown by the fact that of the 474 officials, employees, and workers in the city administration dismissed on political grounds by 10 September, 345 had already been purged by 14 May. Neither the structure of administration nor in the appointment or dismissal of personnel has the city government developed beyond the changes brought about in the first month and a half of occupation.

2. The Structure of the Administration

The physical structure of the city administration was not essentially altered by the Nazis and has undergone little change since the occupation aside from alterations necessitated by the critical shortage in top administrative personnel. Under the general direction of the Lord Mayor, the top group of administrators is made up of the Deputy Mayor, the City Treasurer, and the
City Director, who is the Lord Mayor's assistant for general administration. Theoretically, the councillors who head the four of the five departments (Dezernate) into which the city's executive offices are organized would be included in this top group (the General Department would have no special head), but because the heads of these departments have all been purged and suitable replacements have not been found the leadership of these sections has actually been taken over by the above-mentioned group. Thus the Deputy Mayor is at the same time not only City School Councillor and chief of the City School Office but also the head of the Culture Department. The City Treasurer is head of both the Accounting Administration and of the Finance Department, under which it is subsumed. The General Department is not really a genuine section at all but rather is the name given to the offices of the general administration of the districts of the city (Arheilgen and Eberstadt) and to a number of important but miscellaneous offices, all of which are not actually combined into a department but rather are under the immediate supervision of the Lord Mayor and his City Director of Administration. The remaining two departments, Technical and Welfare, are in theory genuine administrative offices which stand between the subordinate offices organized within them and the mayor. Actually, however, no replacements have yet been found for the purged heads of these two departments and their subordinate offices are by necessity being supervised directly by the Lord Mayor and his Director.
The subordinate offices are integrated into the departmental structure in part schematically but also in part pursuant to the considerations dictated by the paucity of department heads. Thus the Culture Department includes not only the school office and administration, the culture administration, library, museum, and archives proper to it, but also the key election and housing offices, since the Culture Department has a competent head in the Deputy Mayor. The only other administrator with general competence is the Lord Mayor, and hence the bulk of the remaining important offices are in the nominal General Department and operate directly under him: the Police Presidium, the local courts, the Economic Office, the Food Office, the Insurance Office, the Office for Industry and Trade, the Market Administration, the Road Transport Office, the Legal Office, Hospitals, and the Auditing Office. The other three departments include simply the offices logically accruing to them -- Finance including accounting, treasury, tax, statistics, stocks administration, price authorities, plant administration, and war damages offices. The Technical Department includes offices centering around construction and the administration of municipally-owned property and utilities. The Welfare Department includes offices dealing with welfare and youth, administers welfare institutions like old-age and children's homes, and maintains liaison between the Red Cross and the public administration.
3. Personnel of the Administration

The city administration of Darmstadt still maintains the swollen character it received during the Nazi process of over-bureaucratization and sinecurism. In 1933, when the Nazis acceded to power, the city employed 1287 officials, employees, and workers. By March 1945, when the city came under American occupation, this figure had risen to 2310. Although the leaders of the administration are conscious of the need for a simplification of the administration and diminution of personnel even beyond the requirements of the political purge of active Nazis, this process, which is still going on, has made little progress.

As of 1 September 1945 the city administration still employed some 1770 people, and the decrease from the Nazi figure had been accomplished through 474 dismissals for political reasons and only some 80 releases for the purpose of de-bureaucratization. Moreover, the denazification dismissals included the leading office-holders, some of whom have not yet been replaced but ultimately will be; the administrative dismissals affected subordinate employees and workers for the most part and did not affect the structure of the administration.

The difficulty in finding suitable replacements even for the office heads in the city administration has affected the set-up of the administration in several ways: (1) a few heads of subordinate offices which are of a technical nature without public or political significance have not been dismissed (they are now
classified as non-party administrative specialists); (2) some office heads have been removed and their posts remain vacant or are temporarily exercised by a temporary deputy; (3) some of the replacements have had to take charge of several offices at the same time; (4) the inability to find men combining the desired political orientation with the proper administrative competence has led to the adoption of the principle that office heads should be chosen for administrative competence and that each office head should have a deputy appointed on political grounds. The resultant picture of the leading positions in the city administration (Lord Mayor, Deputy Mayor, department heads and office heads) shows that of 54 such posts, 46 were occupied as of 1 September and that these 46 posts were being filled by 32 men whose average age was 54 years. The political complexion of these administrators revealed a coalition of Social Democrats and Democrats which was still numerically inferior to the "non-party" technicians (two are Social Democrats, one is a member of the Socialist Union, eight are Democrats, one is a Communist, and 15 are non-party). However, actually the members of former non-Nazi political parties are preponderant over the non-party technicians by virtue of their key positions as well as by the fact that they hold practically all the multiple head posts, so that of the 46 occupied posts 12 are in the hands of the Social Democrats, two in the hands of the Socialist Unionist, 15 are held by Democrats and one by a Communist, as against 16 held by the
non-party people. Moreover, within the coalition of Socialists and Democrats, the Socialists hold the qualitatively more important positions and therefore can be said to be predominant in the administration despite the numerical superiority of the former adherents of the Democratic Party.

Thus the office of the Lord Mayor, the Police Presidium, the district administrations of both Arheilgen and Eberstadt, construction and property administration, market administration, and the section for industry and trade are all in the hands of Social Democrats, while the Democrats hold some important policy-making posts like the directorship of the General Administration (including the personnel office), the leadership of the Economic Office, the Insurance Office, the Housing Office, the city finances, and school administration, but are relegated in the bulk to the more purely administrative tasks. The Socialist Unionist, Reiber, occupies a position between these two groups, since he is the pre-1933 leader of the Democratic Party in Hessen but has gravitated toward socialism since then; his value as a unifying factor is emphasized by his key positions as Deputy Mayor and head of the Culture Department and City School Office. The sole Communist representative among the office heads has charge of the important Road Transport Office.

The principle that deputy heads of all these offices are to be appointed to ensure the political reliability and
impartiality of the administration is, so far, more an abstract justification for the number of administrative hangers-on than an actual part of the administration; it has hardly been applied. Only 11 such deputy headships (of the 55 offices) have been filled, and none of these are in offices headed by non-party technicians. Of the 11 deputy posts, three are held by Social Democrats, four by the Democrats (the same man holds all four), one by the Communists, and three by non-party administrators. Save for the facts that the Communists are thereby given representation and responsibility in the crucial housing office, and that in four offices a balance between right-wing (Democratic) and left-wing (Socialist or Communist) political forces has been attained, there does not appear to have been any other definite rule in the filling of these deputy headships than the discovery and employment of certain qualified personnel in leading capacities in those fields for which they happened to be fitted. The final statistical picture of the political complexion of the leading positions (including both headships and deputy headships of offices in the Darmstadt city administration) thus emerges as:

ten Social Democrats holding 15 positions; one Socialist Unionist holding two positions; nine Democrats holding 19 positions; two Communists holding two positions; 18 non-party administrators holding 19 positions.

4. Scope of the Administration
Although legally the Nazi ordinances which destroyed the autonomy of local administration still obtain, the city administration of Darmstadt has actually resumed the self-administrative character of the pre-1933 period in reference to higher authorities. This has come about through the fact that the Nazi encroachments did not formally abolish the sphere of municipal self-administration but simply invaded it through giving the power of appointment to higher authority and through extending the functional authority of the local offices of the national ministries to spheres heretofore reserved for local self-administration. The destruction of the Nazi hierarchy of administration by military operations and military government broke the authoritarian chain of appointment and of function which bound the city to regional and national agencies. Despite the fact that a higher German administrative authority, the regional government of the Province of Starkenburg, was already established in May, with its headquarters at Darmstadt, it had no powers of appointment or dismissal over the local administrators, the executive offices it inherited from Land Hessen and the Reich were in no condition for effective operation, and the most important higher offices for Land Hessen were located not in Land Hessen but in Frankfurt, the center of the Economic District including both Nassau and Land Hessen under the Nazis. Hence, under this condition of a vacuum in the higher administration the city...
government of Darmstadt fell back naturally into the self-administration of pre-1933 days.

That this pattern was followed is confirmed by the fact that the functional spheres which before 1933 were under national authority were not included in the structure of the city administration. Thus the Labor Office for Darmstadt was not part of the city administration, but was re-activated independent of it and subordinated to the Regional Labor Office in Darmstadt. Likewise, the Commissioner for the Reichsbahn in Darmstadt, was not a member of the city administration. Although potentially the government of Land Hessen and the state government of Gross Hessen can issue decrees in conformity with all the unrepelled Nazi laws and thereby invade the self-administrative spheres of the city, actually the difficulties of regional administration have been such that the city administration has been able to have a free hand vis-à-vis other German authorities in issuing its own ordinances for the normal spheres of urban life and in applying without effective supervision from above the few general decrees which have come down from the regional government.

5. The Administration and the Population

The domination of the city administration by a coalition of Social Democrats and Democrats, parties that have had a traditional respect for the processes of popular democracy, has meant that its leaders have been from the outset concerned about the gap which must inevitably exist between an administra-
tion appointed from outside and the population on which it acts but which has no voice in its constitution or its operation. Hence a "City Committee" was set up simultaneously with the organization of the regular administration and was announced as an integral part of it. It consists of nine members appointed by the Lord Mayor with the approval of Military Government and is designed to be the representation of the people in the city government. Its competence is formally that of an advisory and consultative body for the Lord Mayor, but actually it functions as a medium through which the Lord Mayor explains and justifies to the people of Darmstadt the measures taken by the administration. The claim of the administration to the popular nature of the Committee is based upon the selection of its members from the various anti-Nazi political and social groups of the town. Thus the Committee includes three Social Democrats, two Communists, one member of the Socialist Union, one former Democrat, a Catholic priest, and a Protestant minister. The predominance of the moderate left in the Committee is emphasized by the fact that the Protestant minister, Weinberger, is a Christian socialist favorably disposed toward the labor parties, while on the other side two of the three Social Democratic members are at the same time middle-class members of the Socialist Union and hence in the right wing of the SPD. The claim of the Committee to represent the people vis-a-vis the administration is further based on the fact that none of its
members is a member of the city government (although the Socialist Unionist, Wink, is a department head in the regional government for Land Hessen). Indeed, the only change in the personnel of the Committee since its creation has been the replacement of the Communist Karl Feuerpeil by the Communist Karl Dorn, when the former was taken into the city administration as deputy head of the Housing Office.

This connection between presumed representative bodies and the public administration has been repeated in at least two other prominent cases. The Auxiliary for Political Prisoners, ostensibly a popular body composed of a Catholic priest, a Protestant minister, a Communist, a Social Democrat, and a Unionist, was immediately adopted by the public authorities, and a "demand" addressed to the population was published in the Official Gazette of the Lord Mayor, with Bergstraesser as President of the regional administration, Metzger as Lord Mayor, and Reiber as Deputy Mayor heading the signatories. The Advisory Council for Civil Servants' Problems, although composed of elected representatives of the city's employees, was created by Metzger and the major representation of each category of civil servants set by him.

The connection of all public activities with the administration has meant the maintenance of the gap between government and population. The City Committee because of the derivation of its appointment and its authority from the administration
itself, has not obtained general recognition as a popular body. Hence the creation of the City Committee has not been able to head off the formation of an Anti-Fascist Committee (Antifaschistische Komitee), which applied to MG for permission to act as an open organization as late as August with the same aims as those attributed to the City Committee -- advice to the Lord Mayor on the crucial practical problems of the administration and especially on denazification.

Despite the fact that the Anti-Fascist Committee has no mass support behind it, it claims to embody genuine popular representation by virtue of the fact that members of several anti-Nazi political groups are included in it, and that none of them is connected with the city administration (with the exception of Koch, who is Director of the City Jail, a relatively subordinate position). The Committee arose soon after Darmstadt was occupied and appears to have been originally of Communist inspiration, directed against a city administration in which they felt themselves under-represented. However, of the 12 active members of the Committee, the Communists are represented by only one man, Keil, as are the Social Democrats, who, naturally enough in view of their dominant position in the city administration, oppose the basic idea of the Antifa and participate in it only to control it. The failure of the Anti-Fascist Committee to enlist any significant following among the population has resulted in a loss of interest in it on the part
of the political parties, which have proceeded to concentrate their efforts on the building of their party organizations proper and on increasing their influence in the administration. Consequently, the Committee has become increasingly dominated by a group of middle-class intellectuals of no great stature, but driven by the desire for the re-establishment of some kind of municipal democracy. One of these, Koch, is a member of the Socialist Union, but the others play no role in the reviving political parties in the city. Because it has neither a political nor a mass basis, the Anti-Fascist Committee is a moribund organization. Its application has not been approved by MG, and it has neither the leaders nor the inspiration for illegal activity. It constitutes no threat to the established administration.

Although the Anti-Fascist Committee has not caught on in Darmstadt, the protest against the separation of administration and population which it embodies has been felt by the leaders of the administration as well, and there is evidence that they are aware of the failings of the officially appointed City Committee in this respect. The participation of the leaders of both regional and city administration in the Inter-Fraction Committee, a joint Social Democratic-Communist body whose function has been similar to the City Committee's -- receiving explanations of official measures from government leaders for mediation to the population -- shows this consciousness. However,
even the use of such an unofficial agency betrays the isolation of the administration, for it employs as its vehicle of communication to the people, leaders of parties which until now have been as divorced from the population as the administration itself. This limitation is intensified by the fact that the regional and the city administrations -- both under right-wing Social Democrats -- cooperate harmoniously, thereby ruling out an appeal by either for popular support against the other, as well as by the fact that the political leaders of the town are for the most part either in or close to the administration, thereby integrating the political and administrative spheres in the same small circle closed off from the mass of the people in the city.
APPENDIX

The Darmstadt Samples and the Schedules Used

There were three samples drawn for purposes of this study:  

a) 208 adults (ages 18-65) were interrogated individually.

b) 224 youth (ages 12-18) were given a write-in questionnaire.

c) 195 adults (ages 18-65) were given the same write-in questionnaire as the youth group, for purposes of comparison.

All the samples were drawn randomly from the food ration card files in the Darmstadt City Hall, and those in charge of the statistical work are convinced of the representativeness of the three samples.

Subjects to be interviewed and those who were to fill in the questionnaire were asked by German officials to come to a central point in the city, where they were met by the ICD interrogators. Informants in civilian clothes assigned to mingle with the subjects as they waited for their turn, reported that most of the nervousness and anxiety among the subjects disappeared when they were told the purpose of the investigation, and the majority were pleased at being asked for their opinions. These informants received the impression that on the whole the responses given were honest and unqualified by fear of the investigators' ulterior motives.

On the following pages are the schedules used in the interrogations and in the two questionnaire studies.
INTERROGATION FORM (DANH OF STADT STUDY)

What has happened to the members of your immediate family? (List relationship and whereabouts.)

Current head of household: Age ___ Sex ___ Relationship ___

Bombed out? Yes ___ No ___ Number of times ___

Number of members of your household: ___

How many sleeping and living rooms does your household have? ___

Current employment: Unemployed (or state if housewife) ___
Part time ..................... ___
Full time ..................... ___

Type of work engaged in ________________________________

Usual type of work, if other ________________________________

Are you looking for a new job? Yes ___ No ___

If no, are you satisfied with your present job? Yes ___ No ___

Interrogators' estimate of subject's class:

Unskilled; semi-skilled ..................... ___
Skilled labor ..................... ___
White collar; commercial; clerical ..................... ___
Self employed ..................... ___
Professional ..................... ___
Other (specify) ..................... ___

How much money are you (or the head of your family) earning per week at the present time? ___________

Are you saving any of your income at the present time? ___________

What is your greatest concern at the present time? ___________

Time budget:

How many hours did you spend yesterday:

   Working at a job? ___
   Transportation? ___
   Working at household tasks? ___
   Shopping? ___

How else did you spend your time yesterday?
What are you doing to prepare for the winter in the way of food? Fuel?

What in your opinion were the economic accomplishments of National Socialism?

Do you feel optimistic, pessimistic, or uncertain about your future economic lot?

Pre-1933 trade union affiliations?

Do you want to join a union now? Yes _ No _ N.O.

Should Nazis be allowed to join trade unions? Yes _ No _ N.O.

Who are the outstanding labor leaders in Darmstadt today?

Since occupation were you or are you a member of an anti-Fascist organization (Antifa)? Were _ Are _ No _

Do you think all Nazi Party members should be dismissed from important jobs in government and industry? Yes _ No _ No opinion _

If no, why not?

Do you think that enough Nazis have been removed in Darmstadt from:

Local Government? Yes _ No _ No opinion _
Business and Industry? Yes _ No _ No opinion _
Church? Yes _ No _ No opinion _
Comment: ____________________________

Do you think the Nazis in Darmstadt constitute a danger? Yes _ No _ Don't know _

If so, in what respect?

Do you know of any rumors spread in Darmstadt recently by Nazis?

Do you think that in general the measures the Allies are employing in Germany are just, or too hard? Just _ Too hard _ No opinion _

In your opinion, who are the outstanding men (Leute) of Darmstadt at the present time?
When political parties are permitted, do you plan to join one?
Yes ______ No ______ Don’t know ______

Which in your opinion are the most politically active groups
and people in Darmstadt? ___________________________

How long do you think it will take before the city of
Darmstadt is adequately reconstructed? ____________

Do you believe the church should supervise the education
of the young?
Yes ______ No ______ No opinion ______

If so, to what extent? _____________________________

What do you think of German girls who fraternize with American
soldiers? ______________________________________

Do you feel that you get all the news you want from the
newspapers which you read and the radio programs to
which you listen? Yes ______ No ______ No opinion ______

About what would you like to be better informed? _______

Should the German Jews be allowed to return to Germany?
Yes ______ No ______ No opinion ______

Are you a member of any organization (political, religious,
trade union, social, educational) now?
Yes ______ No ______

Which ones? ____________________________________
QUESTIONNAIRE

We are interested in your opinions on a number of matters. You will not be asked for your name. You have here an opportunity to express your views in complete freedom and under no constraint.

Age ______ Religion ______ Sex (male or female) ______

Current occupation ____________________________

How many years did you serve with the armed forces (if any)? ______

How many years did you go to school? ______

1. In your opinion, how can the reconstruction of Germany best be carried out:
   a. through religion ______
   b. through hard work ______
   c. through a new, strong leader ______
   d. through the rebirth of the traditional national spirit of Bismarks and Frederick the Great ______
   e. through a new political orientation ______
   f. through other means ______

2. What kind of people would you prefer to have as leaders of the future German administration:
   a. business men and industrialists ______
   b. labor leaders ______
   c. university professors and scientists ______
   d. pre-1933 political leaders ______
   e. professional civil servants ______
   f. spiritual leaders ______
   g. former Nazi office-holders ______
   h. Army officers ______
   i. political emigrants who are now in England or the USA ______
   j. political prisoners released from concentration camps ______

3. How long, in your opinion, will the occupation last? ______
   How long would you prefer the occupation to last? ______

4. In your opinion, who is responsible for the present condition of Germany:
   a. Hitler ______
   b. The Nazis ______
   c. The German people ______

5. Should the German Jews be permitted to return to Germany?
   Yes _______ No ________

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QUESTIONNAIRE (Continued)

6. Are you in favor of young women pursuing a business or professional career if they so desire? Yes ____ No ____

7. Do you believe that National Socialism was a bad idea or a good idea, only badly carried out?
   a. A bad idea __________
   b. A good idea, but badly carried out ____

8. Do you know who the following are, at present?
   a. President of the USA ________
   b. Prime Minister of England ________
   c. President of the Soviet Republic ________

9. Do you agree to Germany's having a free press, in which every point of view may be published? Yes ____ No ____

10. Which people in Germany, in your opinion, are today being treated better than they deserve? __________

11. What is your greatest concern at the present time? __________

12. Was Hitler an evil man or was he a good man who had evil advisers?
   a. Hitler was himself an evil man. ______
   b. Hitler was himself not evil; only his advisers were evil ______

13. Should the church in Germany be subsidized by the state or supported entirely by voluntary contributions?
   a. Subsidized by the state ______
   b. By voluntary contributions ______

14. Should the church play a political role in Germany? Yes. ____ No ______

15. Are you actively interested in politics or do you expect to leave politics to others?
   a. Interested in politics ______
   b. Will leave politics to others ______

16. Do you believe that Germany needs a new, strong leader in order to recover from defeat and destruction? Yes ______ No ______

17. In your opinion, should the newspapers be allowed to write what they please or only that which contributes to the

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welfare of the nation?

a. What they please __________
   b. Only that which contributes to the welfare of the nation __________

18. How often do you listen to the radio? Never _______
       Now and then ___ Two or three times weekly ___
       Every day _______

19. What station do you prefer to listen to? _______

20. How often do you read a newspaper? Never _______
       Now and then ___ Every week _______

21. In your opinion, are the news that you read correct and factual or partly propaganda? Or purely propaganda?

   a. Correct and factual _______
   b. Partly propaganda _______
   c. Purely propaganda _______

22. In your opinion, are the radio broadcasts which you hear correct and factual or partly propaganda? Or purely propaganda?

   a. Correct and factual _______
   b. Partly propaganda _______
   c. Purely propaganda _______

23. In your opinion what are the dominant characteristics of the following peoples?

   a. The French are __________
   b. The English are __________
   c. The Russians are __________
   d. The Jews are __________
   e. The Americans are __________

Alter ________ Religion ________

Männl. oder Weibl. ________ Beruf (zur Zeit) ________

Wie viel Jahre haben Sie beim Militär gedient (wenn überhaupt)? ________

Wie viel Jahre sind Sie zur Schule gegangen? ________

1. Wie kann Ihrer Meinung nach der Wiederaufbau Deutschlands am besten bewerkstelligt werden?
   a. Durch Religion ________
   b. Durch harte Arbeit ________
   c. Durch einen neuen starken Führer ________
   d. Durch die Wiedergeburt des alt-nationalen Geistes Bismarks und Frederichs des Grossen ________
   e. Durch eine neue politische Richtung ________
   f. Durch andere Massnahmen ________

2. Was für Leute würden Sie am liebsten in der zukünftigen deutschen Regierung sehen?
   a. Geschäftleute und Industrielle ________
   b. Arbeiterführer ________
   c. Universitätsprofessoren und Wissenschaftler ________
   d. Politische Führer, die vor 1933 wirkten ________
   e. Berufsbeamte ________
   f. Geistliche Würdenträger ________
   g. Frühere Nationalsozialistische Amtsträger ________
   h. Wehrmachtsoffiziere ________
   i. Politische Emigranten die jetzt in USA oder England sind ________
   j. Politische Häftlinge aus den Konzentrationslagern ________

3. Wie viel Jahre wird die Besetzung Ihrer Meinung nach dauern?
   Wie lange sollte die Besetzung Ihrem Wunsch gemäss dauern? ________

4. Wer ist Ihrer Meinung nach für den jetzigen Zustand Deutschlands verantwortlich?
   a. Hitler ________
   b. Die Nazis ________
   c. Das deutsche Volk ________
5. Soll es den deutschen Juden erlaubt werden, nach Deutschland zurückzukehren? Ja _____ Nein _____

6. Sind Sie dafür, dass Mädchen eine geschäftliche oder berufliche Laufbahn einschlagen, wenn sie wollen? Ja _____ Nein _____

7. Glauben Sie, dass der Nationalsozialismus eine schlechte Idee war, oder eine gute Idee, nur schlecht ausgeführt?
   a. Eine schlechte Idee _____
   b. Eine gute Idee, aber schlecht ausgeführt _____

8. Wissen Sie, wer zur Zeit die folgenden sind:
   a. Präsident der USA _____
   b. Ministerpräsident von England _____
   c. Präsident der Soviet Republik _____

9. Sind Sie dafür, dass man in Deutschland eine freie Presse haben sollte, in der jede Ansicht zum Ausdruck gebracht werden kann? Ja _____ Nein _____

10. Welche Leute werden Ihrer Ansicht nach in Deutschland heute besser behandelt als sie es verdient haben?
    Welchen Leuten geht es Ihrer Ansicht nach in Deutschland heute schlechter als sie es verdient haben? _____

11. Was macht Ihnen zur Zeit am meisten Sorge? _____

12. War Hitler ein schlechter Mensch oder war er ein guter Mensch, der schlechte Ratgeber hatte?
   a. Hitler war selbst ein schlechter Mensch _____
   b. Hitler war selbst nicht schlecht, nur seine Ratgeber _____

13. Soll die Kirche in Deutschland vom Staat unterstützt werden, oder ganz von freiwilligen Spenden unterhalten werden?
   a. Vom Staat unterstützt _____
   b. Von freiwilligen Spenden _____

14. Soll die Kirche in Deutschland eine politische Rolle spielen?
    Ja _____ Nein _____

15. Interessieren Sie sich lebhaft für Politik oder ziehen Sie es vor, Politik anderen zu überlassen?
    a. Interessiere mich für Politik _____
    b. Werde Politik anderen überlassen _____

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16. Glauben Sie, dass Deutschland einen neuen starken Führer braucht, damit es sich von seiner Niederlage und Verwüstung erholen kann?
   Ja ________  Nein ________

17. Dürfen, Ihrer Ansicht nach, die Zeitungen schreiben was sie wollen oder nur was zum Wohl des Volkes ist?
   a. Was sie wollen ________
   b. Nur was zum Wohl des Volkes ist ________

18. Wie oft hören Sie Radio?
   Nie ________ Ab und zu ________ 2 oder 3 mal die Woche ________
   Jeden Tag ________

19. Welche Station hören Sie am liebsten?

20. Wie oft lesen Sie die Zeitung?
   Nie ________ Ab und zu ________ Jede Woche ________

21. Sind Ihrer Ansicht nach die Zeitungsnachrichten, die Sie lesen, richtig und sachlich oder teilweise Propaganda?
   Oder reine Propaganda?
   Richtig und sachlich ________
   Teilweise Propaganda ________
   Reine Propaganda ________

22. Sind Ihrer Ansicht nach die Radio Sendungen die Sie hören, richtig und sachlich oder teilweise Propaganda?
   Oder reine Propaganda?
   Richtig und sachlich ________
   Teilweise Propaganda ________
   Reine Propaganda ________

23. Was sind Ihrer Ansicht nach die Haupteigenschaften der folgenden Völker?
   a. Die Franzosen sind ________
   b. Die Engländer sind ________
   c. Die Russen sind ________
   d. Die Juden sind ________
   e. Die Amerikaner sind ________