

Gestapo-Chief: The CIA & Heinrich Müller

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Foreword

Most books on historical personages are only *repetition* of the subject done by earlier writers. New historical material, especially important material, on controversial individuals rarely appears in print, either because it has been destroyed or deliberately hidden away. If such material does surface, it is generally met with hostility by other published writers in the field if this information makes their own works obsolete.

Here we have as a central character, Heinrich Müller, also known as “Gestapo” Müller to differentiate him from another Heinrich Müller of the same rank and in the same department. As his name indicates, “Gestapo” Müller was the permanent chief of the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA) Amt IV*, the Gestapo. This acronym for the *Geheime Staats Polizei* (Secret State Police) has struck terror into millions before and during the Second World War and is still used to evoke an image of cruelty and oppression.

Heinrich Müller vanished at the end of the war. He was last seen in Hitler’s bunker on April 29, 1945 and was officially stated to have been killed. In the early 1980s, all of Müller’s private correspondence and a number of his most important official files surfaced in Switzerland and passed into the hands of the Munich-based CIA Gehlen Organization and from there, to the CIA officials in Langley.

From these files, this book was carefully constructed. It is based, not on wartime Gestapo records but on a postwar interview held in Switzerland between Müller and an American intelligence officer. It should be noted that the former Gestapo chief was not under arrest or even under suspicion. The 800 page post-war CIC interview on which the text is based was not designed to set the stage for a trial but was, quite simply, a job interview.

Times change and we must change with them. Once a man who would have been instantly arrested if found, Müller was now someone whose expertise and specific brilliance in anti-Communist counter-intelligence was badly needed by the West. In this position, Müller was under no compulsion to lie, to beg or to apologize. He said what he thought on an enormous number of historically fascinating subjects and obviously regretted nothing.

The subjects cover personalities of the Third Reich to include lengthy sections on Müller’s relationship with Hitler, Hermann Göring, Heinrich Himmler, Martin Bormann and other top leaders of the Third Reich, as well as many individuals involved in the plot to murder Hitler in 1944. Müller was in charge of the investigations of this botched attempt and his records and interviews contain material never seen before.

Also in the files are lengthy, and often stunning, information on Allied leaders and Soviet penetration of Allied top level military and government agencies.

He discusses the concentration camps in detail, the deportation of the Jews, the counterfeiting of US and British money and his personal version of his dramatic escape from Berlin in April of 1945.

This is a work, extracted from thousands of pages of secret files, that will jolt the complaisant in every chapter. One section deals with highly classified German intercepts of private trans-Atlantic telephone conversations between Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Of these, the most shocking is one dealing with Pearl Harbor.

The author has carefully edited and annotated enough material to deliver a serious shock to the community of historians. At the same time, the character of ‘Gestapo’ Müller emerges with vivid clarity. This is a study of a highly intelligent and complex man who was at the very center of the Third Reich and who not only lived to tell about it, but managed to turn adversity into personal triumph.

Heinrich Müller was present in the opening seconds of the Second World War and left the stage of history in the final battle for Berlin. This is a work that stands on its own feet and will certainly be impossible to put down.

Frank Thayer, PhD.
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces

Gregory Douglas has produced a historical *tour de force*. Meticulously researched and authoritatively edited. Anyone, regardless of their intellectual orientation, who dismisses the reality and contents of Müller’s files and his relationship with American Intelligence out of hand, does so at their own risk.

Dr. William R. Corson, LTC, USMC ret.

William R. Corson was been involved with the intelligence community for most of his adult life. Corson, who held a Ph.D. in economics, was a retired Colonel of the USMC and was executive secretary of the joint Department of Defense/Central Intelligence Agency commission on anti-terrorism. He worked with the CIA on the highest levels and in 1977 published a book, "The Armies of Ignorance," the standard work on the history of US intelligence.

Where possible, each revelation has been challenged and examined using all available resources to include: individual, military records, released US communications intercepts and captured documents. To date, the Müller documents have met every challenge.

Robert T. Crowley
Deputy Director of Clandestine Affairs
CIA, ret.

Robert T. Crowley attended the US Military Academy at West Point and served in both the Army Military Intelligence and the Office of Naval Intelligence. Following his tours of duty, Crowley joined the Central Intelligence Agency and rose to a high-level advisory position within it. He was Deputy Director of Clandestine Operations. One of his fields of expertise was the Soviet KGB and he was co-author of the acclaimed work "The New KGB."

Author's Acknowledgments

As this work progressed, the author looked further and further afield to locate obscure information and confirmation. FOIA requests proved to be largely unproductive in spite of extensive official US files on Heinrich Müller. I concentrated on Müller's postwar persona as a Washington-based employee of the CIA, on those who worked with him after the war, on family members, on real estate holdings and fine art auction catalogs, to mention only a few areas of investigation.

There are, however, specific persons to whom the author is indebted and they are: Mr. Robert Wolfe, formerly of the US National Archives and later a researcher for the CIA who supplied hundreds of pages of documents and files, without which this series could never have been written; Karl Müller, grandson of Heinrich Müller, whose assistance has been noteworthy in tracking down postwar connections and personas, and who certainly possesses all of his grandfather's Bavarian charm and intelligence; Robert Trumbull Crowley, former Deputy Director of Clandestine Operations of the CIA who provided the author with hundreds of files from his records concerning Heinrich Müller, a CIA employee, and a great deal of hitherto unpublished material on the CIA-controlled Gehlen Organization, Dr. William R. Corson; Mr. Paul Elston of the BBC who made very helpful suggestions, that the author was pleased to act upon; Dr. Frank D. Thayer for his overviews; Mr. Willi Korte for his suggestions about stolen art; Ms Lucy Allwood, a British researcher in historical and intelligence issues, has proven to be invaluable in helping verify information about British intelligence matters; Christian Wehrschutz of Vienna for his research on Swiss bank accounts and CIA operations in Switzerland; Lt. Col. Ed Milligan USA (Ret.) of Alexandria, VA; Col. James Critchfield, USA (Ret.) of Williamsburg, VA for important material concerning Reinhard Gehlen and his CIA-run organization as well as his own close post-war associations with Müller while in both Switzerland and the United States; Mr. Thomas Belknap, for an in-depth discussion about the "Paperclip" operation, and a number of former associates, and employees, of Heinrich Müller in the United States, Canada and Germany who have been most helpful, if demanding of anonymity

Mueller, Heinrich: The official biography

1901-1945? Head of Amt IV in the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) from 1939, and one of the most influential officials of the SS involved directly in the extermination of European Jewry. Served in the air force during World War I where he won the Iron Cross, 1st Class, on the Russian front. After the war he served in the Bavarian political police where he developed expertise in surveillance of communists and other potentially subversive groups, including the NSDAP. Brought to Berlin by Reinhard Heydrich, he was initially in charge of the Secret Political Police, Dept II, with responsibilities for surveillance and control of communists, Marxists, oppositional groups, Austrian affairs, and the concentration camps. He was, according to Padfield, "an archetypal middle-rank official: of limited imagination, non-political, non-ideological, his only fanaticism lay in an inner drive to perfection in his profession and his duty to the state-which in his mind were one. That the state happened to be Hitler's Third Reich was a matter of circumstance". (pp.144-45). This is borne out by the viewpoint expressed by Bavarian Gau headquarters that he would have served any master with the same degree of dedication and enthusiasm so long as his career aspirations could be advanced. (Höhne, pp.162-63) He rose rapidly. In 1939 he assumed control of *Amt IV*, the Gestapo. He moved in rank from SS Colonel in 1937 to SS Lieutenant-General and Police Chief in November 1941. His enthusiasm for carrying out a task thoroughly was reflected in his commitment to the solution of the Jewish problem. As Wistrich notes, he was more directly involved in their extermination programme than either Himmler or Heydrich: "He signed the circulating order requiring the immediate delivery to Auschwitz by 31 January 1943 of 45,000 Jews for extermination and countless other documents of the same tenor, which reveal his zeal in carrying out orders. In the summer of 1943 he was sent to Rome to pressurize the Italians, who were proving singularly inefficient and unenthusiastic in arresting Jews. ...In his hands, mass murder became an automatic administrative procedure."(p.174) He was also directly involved in the notorious roundup and execution of British and Dominion air force officers who had escaped from Stalag Luft III, fifty of whom were executed on capture. His last known whereabouts was the Führer bunker, on 17 May 1945. Like many others who escaped judicial accountability, he was rumored to have been seen in various countries subsequently.

Sources: R Wistrich/Who's Who in Nazi Germany; H Höhne/The Order of the Death's Head; M M Boatner III/The Biographical Dictionary of World War II; P Padfield/Himmler: Reichsführer SS.

Introduction

In the early morning hours of September 25, 1963, a grave was opened in the West Berlin Kreuzberg military cemetery and the contents removed for forensic examination. The marker indicated that the occupant of the grave was Heinrich Müller, born April 28, 1900, and killed in the street fighting in Berlin in 1945 when the Soviet Army seized the German capital. The memorial stone did not indicate that Müller had been an *SS-Gruppenführer* and a Lieutenant General in the German Police and that since 1935, was the head of the German Gestapo or the Secret State Police.

The exhumation had been requested by the West German Ludwigsburg Center that dealt with ex-Nazis sought for prosecution. This Center had information that Müller was not dead and was, in fact, gainfully employed by a foreign government. One of the first steps in proving this was to ascertain whether the corpse in the grave was that of Heinrich Müller who had been issued a death certificate from the Death Bureau of Berlin-Center numbered 11 706/45.

A subsequent pathological examination proved that there were the remains of three different men in the grave, none of whom were Heinrich Müller.

The man being sought was the son of a minor official, had completed a primary school education, had taken technical training in aircraft engines and in June of 1917 had joined the German Army. Because of his background, after his preliminary training, Müller was assigned to *Flieger Ausbildung Abteilung 287* in April of 1918. In the seven months remaining before the war ended, Müller was promoted to NCO in August of 1918 and won the Iron Crosses First and Second Class. He was also awarded the Bavarian pilot's badge and after injuring his leg in an aircraft accident, the retired Bavarian pilot's badge. Müller served on the Western Front throughout the war.

When the war was over, Müller joined the Munich Police in 1919 as a junior assistant. He passed his entrance examination and became a police officer. He was promoted to Police Secretary in 1929 and was in Section VI of the Bavarian State Police, a unit that dealt with Communist activity. In 1934, Müller and a number of his associates were transferred to the Gestapo in Berlin and joined the SS as a *Sturmführer* on April 20, 1934. In 1935, Müller was head of Department II (Gestapo). In 1936, he was head of the Gestapo division of the headquarters of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*). In 1937, he was promoted to senior police official (*Kriminalrat*) and in 1939, to the rank of *Reichskriminaldirektor* or Director of Police.

His SS promotions were:

SS-Obersturmführer on July 1, 1934,

SS-Sturmhauptführer on January 30, 1935,

SS-Sturmbannführer on April 20, 1936,

SS-Obersturmbannführer on November 9, 1936,

SS-Standartenführer on January 30, 1937, *SS-Oberführer* on April 20, 1939,

SS-Brigadeführer und Generalmajor der deutschen Polizei on December 12, 1940

and

SS-Gruppenführer und Generalleutnant der deutschen Polizei on November 9, 1941.¹

The organization that Müller controlled, the Secret State Police, had been instituted by Hermann Göring as Minister President of Prussia in 1933 but was acquired by Heinrich Himmler as part of his empire building. The numerous changes, additions, absorptions and expansions of the Gestapo during the course of its existence would fill a volume, because like Himmler, Müller was also an empire builder.

Note: For a full 1944 organizational outline of the Gestapo, see Appendix

Although on Müller's orders, most of the Gestapo records were destroyed in 1945, it can be approximated that the entire personnel roster of the Gestapo numbered 25,000 with a much larger but undetermined number, of V agents or *Vertrauensleute*, voluntary and paid informers. In 1943, when the army intelligence system, the *Abwehr*, was broken up due to its poor performance, Müller managed to acquire its counter-intelligence department. Although Hitler had ordered in June 1941 that the army was to be the sole radio interception agency, Müller moved into this field as well and by the end of the war, was running an extensive radio intelligence department that specialized in "playback" or the turning of enemy agents to feed their former employers false information and locate other agents arriving or in place.

The Gestapo was renowned for its excellent filing system which permitted very close observation of the population. The Germans have always required the use of internal passports and required its citizens

to register their current addresses and their places of employment so the Gestapo had less difficulty maintaining its control. The Gestapo also maintained telephone interdiction facilities and watched the mails. These methods are not unique to Germany or the Gestapo but were more prevalent and pervasive than in other western countries. Müller's men did not have the modern American technology of using privately owned television sets connected to the universal cable systems as a means of listening to private conversations, mainly because the television set was not in use in Germany at that period. Almost any other conceivable form of observation was in use and after the war, the victors expressed considerable professional interest in the Gestapo's methods and techniques.

Heinrich Müller married Sophie Dischner in 1924. Her father published a right wing Bavarian newspaper that was opposed to Hitler. A son, Reinhard, was born January 4, 1927, and a daughter, Elizabeth, on September 9, 1936. His daughter was stated to be "not entirely normal," and there was considerable friction in Müller's domestic life because of this. He eventually became estranged from his wife and had a lengthy relationship with his private secretary, Barbara Hellmuth. Müller and his wife were devout Catholics and even as a high-ranking SS officer, Müller refused to leave the church. He only joined the NSDAP very late when he was compelled to do so. In fact, Müller had been known to the Party as a strong opponent when they were struggling for power in the Munich of the 1920s and early 1930s. Party members were shocked when Müller and the men of his bureau were taken into the SS and put in charge of the Gestapo, and never ceased complaining about what they felt was ideological outrage. Müller owed his continued career and subsequent advancements to his intelligence, drive and ruthlessness. He was a self-effacing man, photographs of whom are rare. His putative superior, Ernst Kaltenbrunner, was extensively interrogated by US authorities after the war when they were seeking Müller. Excerpts from the comments of a man who disliked Müller and was not only disliked in return but also virtually ignored, are interesting. This quote is from the interrogation:

"MÜLLER'S influence in forming the Stapo staff was manifest not only in its foundation; later all posts in Amt IV were occupied by persons selected by him, including the Police Attachés...MÜLLER was unhappily married, had two children, one a boy of 17 called up for service just before the end of the war. The second child was much younger. The latter child had pronounced Mongolian features, and it is believed that on this account, MÜLLER avoided all social intercourse between friends and neighbors. MÜLLER spent practically all his time in his office on account of his unpleasant conditions at home. Most of his social life was confined to such officials as HUBER, PIFFRADER, GEISLER, MEISINGER and GOTTHALMSEDER. ...When I met him for the first time, I did not notice any peculiarities. He had a remarkably small figure, a piercing look in his dark eyes and there was, in his appearance, nothing frank and kind but rather 'luring'. He was, however, polite ("korrekt") but perhaps too modest...MÜLLER had a remarkable memory and knew every person who had ever crossed his path and all events. He was a living encyclopedia for HIMMLER....He always wanted to do everything for himself, and gave his associates no chance for independent development; in fact this bad habit had been criticized even by HIMMLER."

There exist very few descriptions of Müller engaged in the art of interrogation, something he was very skilled at. Müller was persistent and would take hours over these sessions. With his remarkable memory, he was almost always able to extract the truth. The only surviving account comes from the writings of captured British intelligence agent Captain Best. Kidnapped in Holland after the November, 1939 bomb attempt on Hitler's life, Best was brought before Müller and questioned.

"Müller was a dapper, exceptionally good-looking little man, dressed in imitation of Adolf Hitler, in a gray uniform jacket, black riding breeches and top boots. He started his 'snort' immediately when he entered, and as he walked towards me, increased the pitch and the volume of his voice with great virtuosity. He managed to get right up close to me before his vocal chords tore into shreds. 'You are in the hands of the Gestapo. Don't imagine that we shall show you the slightest consideration. The Führer has already shown the world that he is invincible and soon he will come and liberate the people of England from the Jews and Plutocrats such as you. You are in the greatest danger and if you want to live another day must be very careful.' Then he sat down on a chair in front of me and drew it up as close as possible, apparently with the intention of performing some mesmerizing trick. He had rather funny eyes which he could flicker from side to

side with the greatest rapidity and I suppose that this was supposed to strike terror into the heart of the beholder.” Best then encountered Heydrich who shouted to him: “So far you have been treated as an officer and a gentleman, but don’t think that this will go on if you don’t behave better than you have done. You have two hours left in which to confess everything. If you don’t, I shall hand you over to the Gestapo, who are used to dealing with such gangsters and criminals—you won’t enjoy their methods a bit.”

“I turned to Müller, who was standing at my side and asked: ‘Who is this excitable young officer?’ At this Heydrich really went off the deep end and literally foamed at the mouth; at all events, he sprayed me liberally with saliva. Müller quickly pushed me out of the room and into my own. Later on he came in again and told me I must not take the matter too seriously: ‘Soup is never eaten as hot as it is cooked.’”

Best concluded his description of Müller by saying: “In my experience, I always found Müller a very decent little man.”¹

Heinrich Müller was five feet seven inches, strongly built with dark brown hair, cut high on the sides and good features. He had a small, tight mouth and rarely smiled but his face, and in fact his entire persona, was dominated by a pair of hooded brown eyes that fixed themselves on people with great intensity. He walked with a slight limp as a result of a wartime injury. Müller was descended from Germans living in Alsace and he went to some trouble to conceal the family French connections because of Hitler’s strong dislike of the French.

The man who interviewed him after the war and who appears in the following narrative as another of Müller’s interrogation victims, also had some personal observations on the former head of the Gestapo:

“In his personal relations with me when not on the record, I found Müller to be polite, very intelligent and perceptive and not devoid of a rather black sense of humor. He was an excellent host who had risen above his early lower middle class origins and showed considerable acquired knowledge of literary and musical matters. He sets an excellent table and his choice of wines is without fault...When questioning Müller, I found him to be often brutal and sarcastic and quick to thrust at me, all in opposition to his private manner....Müller did not like to discuss his relations with his wife or his daughter, but he appeared to be very fond of his only son and spoke often and well of him off the record....He is still very much a Catholic and regularly attends Mass and apparently is well connected with his Church...His knowledge of the structure and usage of the Communist intelligence systems is awesome and his lengthy, technical discussions are a tour de force. I have met with and had dealings with former General Gehlen, but Müller is far superior to Gehlen in his knowledge and in the application of his knowledge....He has the most uncomfortable habit of taking over any discussion and running it to suit himself. The record, I am sure, will reflect this tendency...It would be difficult to term Müller a brutal man, but of course he was and is. This is not physical brutality because Müller is not so inclined but his terrible pounces on people can only be termed brutal in nature. He is persistent and relentless in his manner and I personally doubt if anyone could long stand against him in a verbal battle...By no means a Nazi, Müller nevertheless remained in Berlin until the very end although by doing so, he put himself at considerable risk. He did this, he says, and I believe him, because he had agreed to assist Hitler. When asked why he didn’t depart earlier, he said only that he had given his word and had kept it. He seemed to be surprised that I would ask such a question...Müller is very obviously a man of strong character, highly opinionated, cynical, often professionally brutal and overbearing but effective and loyal. He has made disparaging remarks about all of his superiors, excepting Hitler and perhaps Göring, but still served them until the end.... his loyalty to his former agents is quite remarkable; he has refused to expose any of them and has proved to be a hard man to deal with on this subject...Some care should be used in dealing with Müller as he does not tolerate slackness and from other interviews we have held he was not liked in the Gestapo. He drove his subordinates without mercy and set them to very high professional standards. It is true that he jailed Gestapo agents for disobedience...certainly one of the more droll aspects of his flight is that he financed it by diverting large amounts of monies acquired by the SS from the ‘Bernhard’ counterfeiting program, a program he tried repeatedly to derail because he believed that it led to corruption. It was not deemed advisable to mention this to him.”

In the early 1980s, by means that are not of concern here, all of Müller’s personal files came into the author’s hands. These papers contain tens of thousands of reports prepared and received by Müller.

¹ Best, S.Payne, “The Venlo Incident,” London, 1950.

They cover every important aspect of his career and include intelligence intercepts, interrogation reports, journals, and lengthy files on enemy intelligence agencies in Russia, the United States, Switzerland and England. Also in his papers are lists of the so-called "V" people (his informer network) and reams of material, including physical evidence, from the July 20, 1944 assassination attempt against Hitler. Müller was in complete charge of this investigation on Hitler's orders and Müller still considered the investigation ongoing at the end of the war. Notebooks of Admiral Canaris, execution reports, People's Court proceedings and death notices, are all mixed in with statistical reports from the concentration camp system, interrogations of Soviet and British intelligence officers, assassination attempts against Hitler and others, dossiers on most of the important Third Reich personalities, dossiers on foreign military and political leaders, trans-Atlantic radio telephone intercepts from the German post office intelligence, copies of German Foreign Office reports and so on.

These are the files that the United States wanted when the Cold War began in 1948. Müller had hidden some of them in Berlin and the rest in Switzerland where he was living when he was interviewed by American foreign intelligence in mid-summer and early fall of that year. The purpose of the interview was to find out if Müller would work for the US and if he had files, and would permit his new employers to make use of their contents. The original series of interviews runs to over eight hundred pages, typed double-space on legal paper. The interviews were conducted in German and taken down by a stenographer. They were then transcribed in English from the tape. Copies in German and English went to Müller and any others remained with the interviewers. Müller's copy is covered with notes in his small, tight handwriting, notes containing sarcastic comments, corrections and emendations.

From the eight hundred pages, topics of historical and dramatic interest have been extracted. Since the same topics would often be discussed a number of times, these have been edited to tie together. Any one who has seen the transcript of a legal deposition or the stenographic records of a court trial will realize that exact transcriptions of proceedings are filled with pauses, phrases and stumbling prose. Because these transcripts were edited at the time, there are not as many of these imperfections as might be expected but they do exist and were excised for literary reasons. While a good deal has been left out, nothing has been added except footnotes. The author has reserved his comments for the end of each section where needed to explain or enlarge on the topics of the section.

The reason for this format is evident when the transcript sections are read. Tampering with them by inserting opinions or explanations is not called for or necessary.

Many historians, who consider themselves creative writers, lard their accounts with such nonsense as "Roosevelt smiled to himself as he thought..." or "Hitler frowned and looked out of the window, hoping to find time to walk his dog." This is called artistic license and has no business whatsoever in a serious historical work. Müller summed up this type of reportage with pungent comments about letting professional police detectives write history. It was his contention that the finished product might not be as pretty but would be a good deal more accurate.

Given the position Müller occupied in the Third Reich and the role he played during its course, the question arises as to why no writer or historian has made any attempt to produce an in depth work on the head of the Gestapo. Aside from several pages in two of Heinz Höhne's books and some material in Aronson, there is almost nothing in print about Heinrich Müller, and much of that extremely superficial or inaccurate. Although considerable information does exist in official files in archives, Müller has fallen through the cracks for several reasons.

Primarily, Heinrich Müller was a man who neither sought nor encouraged publicity. Unlike many of Hitler's satraps, Müller disliked public display and was rarely photographed. Also, Müller was devoted to hard work and results, and preferred to work in private.

Secondarily, writers are drawn to the dramatic and the flamboyant, not the cold and secretive. Most treatments of historical personages consist, in the main, of wholesale filchings from previous writers, gotten up in new clothing but without substance. In the academic world, this is not called plagiarism, which it is, but instead labeled as research, which it is not.

Thirdly, U.S. intelligence agencies give every appearance of being singularly displeased by *any* mention of the name of Heinrich Müller.

In an era where impolite commentary is considered negative and is forcefully excluded from the media and literature, Müller's sarcastic and often brutal comments will no doubt offend those who deplore such statements as destructive of self-esteem. Nature never found it necessary to teach sheep self-esteem when the wolves were hungry. When janitors are elevated with a title of "Sanitary Engineer," when Mongoloids are called "differently abled" and militant Lesbians become "Feminists," a work on Müller

should no doubt be concerned with the fine views from his study window of Swiss mountains and the lake reflecting them.

In 1973, West German authorities issued a warrant for the arrest of Heinrich Müller, having good reason to believe that he did not die in Berlin in 1945. Correspondence, still classified in US files, between German legal agencies and their US counterparts indicates unhappiness, frustration and growing displeasure on the part of the Germans and classic stonewalling on the part of the Americans. Portions of Müller's US CIC files now in Ft. Meade, Maryland, have been censored. None of the documents refused to researchers deal with immediate postwar searches for Müller but cover a much later period. The reasons given for continued classification is that their release would adversely affect US national security.

These excerpts only cover the period up to the end of the war, and by inference, through 1948. Müller's actual employment is covered in the final chapter and any additional material will be treated in a subsequent publication.

The extensive files of Heinrich Müller represent a treasure trove of historical material. The natural repository for such a collection should rightfully be an archive or institution where the entire body of documentation would be available to anyone wishing to conduct research. Unfortunately, given the highly controversial nature of many of the papers, no archive or library has, to date, agreed to make the entire file public. In the event that such an institution can be found, the Müller papers will be available to all and sundry, but to date, the general attitude of senior archivists and librarians is one of horror.

"My God, you surely cannot expect us to release *that* file? We'd have nothing but trouble if we did. We would certainly be sued by the family."

A solution to this problem has been to microfilm the entire collection and make the material available to researchers and the public in general.

In the following text, the questions (or statements) of the American official are indicated by "Q" while Müller's answers (or comments) are indicated by "M"

Since these interviews were originally transcribed in German and then retranslated into English (with both a German and English copy for Müller), the word order was occasionally inverted. For clarity and consistency, this inversion has been reconverted to English usage.

Historical Background

Living comfortably in Switzerland after the end of the Second World War, as an intelligence resource of the Swiss government, Heinrich Müller was contacted in 1948 by his onetime deputy in the Gestapo, *SS-Oberführer* Willi Krichbaum. Krichbaum, a long-time personal acquaintance of Müller, had been a senior Gestapo official in the Southeastern *Grenz-Polizei* or Border Police and had headed the *Geheime Feld Polizei*, the investigative body of the *Abwehr* since September of 1939.

After the war, Krichbaum had been recruited by former Major General Reinhard Gehlen and in 1946 was Gehlen's chief agent recruiter stationed in Bad Reichenhall. Krichbaum was responsible for locating former Gestapo and SD agents and securing positions for them inside the Gehlen Organization.

This organization, located at the former Nazi official complex at Pullach southeast of Munich, became affiliated with the CIA when that organization was officially founded in 1948. According to Müller's papers, Krichbaum had been in touch with his former chief through ex-Gestapo personnel living in Switzerland and opened discussions with the Americans about the possibility of employing Müller.

The head of this organization, Lt Colonel James Critchfield of the CIA, had heard rumors that the head of the Gestapo had fled to Switzerland and was working with Swiss intelligence. Through the services of former *SS-Oberführer* Krichbaum, Critchfield made contact with Müller in early 1948

Because of Müller's knowledge and expertise in matters concerning Soviet intelligence, backed with archival material that the former head of the Gestapo had hidden in Berlin and Switzerland, the CIA expressed an immediate and intense interest in recruiting Müller. Krichbaum acted as a go-between in the negotiations with his former superior who was chafing at his comfortable but boring retirement and the CIA controlled Gehlen Organization under Colonel James Critchfield.²

It was never a question of the Americans threatening Müller with exposure if he did not cooperate, but more a question if Müller was willing to work for a former enemy. In the event, because of his detestation of communism and the perceived opportunity to do further damage to this system, Müller had little difficulty in working for American intelligence.

Finally, an American academic who was fluent in German and a student of German history, with a background with the discredited OSS, was sent into Switzerland along with one of Müller's old friends from the Bavarian Political Police, who had also worked with him in the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin. The purpose of this visit was to conduct an in-depth interview with Müller to find out specifics about the former *Gruppenführer's* persona, the extent and coverage of his files and to ascertain if any unknown problems might exist that would jeopardize a possible relationship.

The interviews took place at Müller's villa in Geneva over a three week period in the summer of 1948. Present at these sessions besides Müller and his guest was a stenographer who took down the entire text in German. Following standard procedure at the time, the tapes were translated into English and German. One copy in German was prepared and given to Müller to read and review and two other copies, one an original and the other a carbon, were prepared in English for the US record.

² "The American Army even recruited and evacuated the head of the Gestapo, Heinrich Mueller. To prevent later accusations that the United States government was employing the notorious Mueller, the Americans used Gehlen's organization to finance his work." Trento, Joseph, "The Secret History of the CIA" New York, 2001, p29.

The Unmasking of the Interrogator

The basis for the works on Heinrich Müller is a lengthy interview conducted in Geneva, Switzerland in 1948. This interview was conducted, according to its contents, by a representative of the newly created CIA but the interviewer was only identified as “Welborn II” in all of the documents. There was no specific indication in the headings of these interviews as to who “Welborn II” was, nor which American agency, if any, he worked for.

What did emerge about the persona of this man, from bits and pieces of informational asides, was that he was well-educated; a man with a background in art history; a member of the OSS operating in northern Italy during the war; acquainted with Allen Dulles, OSS station chief in Bern, Switzerland; involved in interrogations at Nuremberg; friendly to Göring; and he had a favorite uncle who died during the great Spanish Flu epidemic of 1918.

The stenographer is merely listed as “Frl. Irmgard Krieger” without further identification.

Critics of the first volume were quick to note the lack of identification of both the interrogator and his organization and stressed that this informational hole created a tremendous problem of authenticity. Had “Welborn II” been an employee of the CIA, the critics would have felt smugly safe in their knowledge that the CIA would never confirm nor deny the existence of “Welborn” nor his employment by their agency. To do so would be to make a disastrous link between the CIA and the chief of the dreaded Gestapo—a link that could have the potential of creating a publicity nightmare of monumental proportions.

In February of 1996, Dr. Frank Thayer, the author of the first volume of “Gestapo Chief” forward, was contacted by a well-known and published American intelligence specialist, William Corson. Mr. Corson informed Dr. Thayer that he had read the book with great interest and believed that he could identify “Welborn II” with considerable certainty.

Verifying this information was not difficult. Not only was the anonymous questioner uncovered, but additional work also revealed the stenographer’s identity.

The interrogator was James Speyer Kronthal, born in 1913 to Leon Kronthal and Maude Ranger Kronthal. Leon Kronthal was the partner of Joseph Speyer of the New York investment banking house of Speyer and Company which had once been a banker to the Czar of Russia. This firm was founded in Frankfurt am Main in 1837 and an American branch was opened in New York in 1838. By the 1930s, this firm was a well-established entity in the New York financial world and James moved in the best circles, getting an education at the Lincoln School and later earning a BA at Yale in 1934. While at Yale, James Kronthal was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and a member of the rowing team. After graduation, Kronthal went to Germany to broker the sale of confiscated Jewish works of art. At this time Kronthal became personally acquainted with Göring. The irony of this situation is that Kronthal was Jewish but this did not hinder his sales of confiscated art or his friendly association with the art-loving head of the *Luftwaffe* and the second man in the Third Reich.

With war on the horizon, Kronthal returned to the United States and attended Harvard University earning a graduate degree in Art History in 1941. While at Harvard, Kronthal became acquainted with James Jesus Angleton, also of a wealthy family, and both of them entered the military after the US joined the Second World War.

Angleton, who later became a power in the CIA, went into the OSS and Kronthal went into the US Army Signal Corps. In 1944, Kronthal joined the OSS and became acquainted with Allen Dulles, OSS station chief in Bern, Switzerland. Dulles came from a wealthy and politically active family; his uncle was Robert Lansing, Wilson’s Anglophile Secretary of State. Lansing had married Eleanor Foster, daughter of John Foster, Harrison’s Secretary of State. Dulles was not a particularly competent intelligence agent; his reports on conditions inside wartime Germany were exceedingly maladroit and inept, but he did have the proper Washington social connections, as did James Kronthal.

On April 21, 1947, Kronthal was appointed as the CIA’s new station chief in Bern. He enjoyed the highest approval of his superiors and remained in Bern until May of 1952 when he was recalled to Washington to assist in the expansion plans of the CIA.

On April 1, 1953, James Speyer Kronthal was found dead in his Washington home, allegedly a suicide. There has been cogent speculation that Kronthal may have been turned by the Soviet KGB and was suspected of having passed information to them during his stay in Switzerland.

An interview with Heinrich Müller’s son shed some circumstantial light on his father’s post-war activities. He stated that after his return from a prisoner of war camp (young Müller had been a tank driver in the elite *Leibstandarte* bodyguard unit), the American CIC made regular checks on the Müller family

home in Pasing, a suburb of Munich. Their stated purpose was to locate the recently retired Chief of the Gestapo. These visits stopped in 1948, at about the time Heinrich Müller was engaged in high-level negotiations with the CIA in Geneva. The CIC informed the Müller family that Heinrich was now known to be working with the Soviets. Following this revelation, a Russian journalist told the son that his side was absolutely positive that Heinrich Müller was in the employ of the Americans.

Müller was obviously not working for the Soviets, as numerous post-war American documents show, and in this case, Soviet intelligence was correct. Whether their knowledge came from Kronthal or whether they were merely making assumptions is not now nor will ever be known.

An interview with Mr. Corson, who knew the Kronthal family, verified many of the small, unpublished details of James Kronthal's background, especially the anecdote about the death of a favorite uncle in the flu epidemic of 1918. The material supplied by Mr. Corson, in conjunction with OSS file material makes it extremely clear that 'Welborn II' was James Speyer Kronthal, CIA station chief in Bern in 1948.

The stenographer, Irmgard Krieger, was not an employee of the CIA at the time of the interview. She was a German national, a relative of *SS-Sturmbannführer* Hans-Joachim Krieger of the RSHA and one of Müller's former secretaries who worked under Barbara Hellmich, his chief secretary. It is obvious that Müller had found gainful employment for a number of his former workers, long before he had scores of them brought to the United States under the CIA's "Operation Paperclip."

Kronthal was fluent in German, had indeed been in the OSS, was a protégé of Allen Dulles who later headed the CIA, and would certainly have been able to negotiate with Müller with full authority from his superiors.

From the interviews, it is obvious that Müller enjoyed sparring with his interrogator, but it becomes equally obvious that they seemed to enjoy the game, and that Müller genuinely liked Kronthal, at one point even indicating that he would put his abilities to use should he leave the CIA.

After Müller left Switzerland for American territory to embark on his new career, he left behind all of his files, mostly on microfilm, as a sort of insurance policy against possible treachery on the part of his employers. Müller, after all, was experienced in the way of upper-level bureaucracy and was not a man to leave himself eyeless in Gaza.

The dates on the files do not stop in April of 1945 but continue on into the 1960s, indicating that Müller was augmenting them with current material. There is no indication of how these post-war papers got to Switzerland but a courier was the most likely means. Müller had a number of former Gestapo agents working for him in the United States.

After Müller's death in 1983, his entire collection of microfilmed records, on rolls of nitrate film, passed into the hands of the author. Accompanying this collection were several albums of photographs taken in the United States after 1948, various original U.S. government documents to include military records, promotional certificates and a collection of letters to Müller under his new persona from various prominent political figures. Also available for use are Müller's journals which he kept from 1948 through late 1952.

These fascinating documents cover the beginnings of the Cold War, the CIA, the Gehlen organization in Germany, and discuss in detail both Soviet and British espionage against the United States with special reference to work being done on the atomic bomb.

The films were eventually transferred to safety film and this far safer medium was used to develop the on-going series on the former chief of the Gestapo.

Since 1973, additional material on Müller has surfaced in official files, both in the United States and Germany. Since very few, if any, archive personnel know Müller's new name, it has not been difficult to document the Cold War activities of this most remarkable intelligence officer while in the United States.

Necessity knows no law and the CIA's hiring of Heinrich Müller, Odilo Globocnik, Christian Wirth, Otto Skorzeny (whom the CIA used, in one instance, to train the IRA in return for their protection of American holdings in Northern Ireland) and many others was excused because of the necessity of gaining an advantage over the Soviet Union.

Whether or not this program was a wise one is left entirely to the judgment and the discretion of the reader.

Throughout his interview, Müller had many comments about various important personalities of the Third Reich. One of these deals with Hermann Göring, the flamboyant head of the *Luftwaffe* and second man in the regime. Here, Müller discusses a facet of Göring's personality often overlooked by historians. One of the enigmas of the period, a man who existed in fact as well as fiction and whose alleged writings

about the concentration camp system have brought joy to some and incredulity to others, Kurt Gerstein has been turned into a ventriloquist's dummy. Here, we find a view of this enigmatic man and his final days.

Müller's official duties were not limited to Germany alone. He traveled extensively throughout Europe on Gestapo business during the war. Here will be found an accounting of the results of one of his official visits to the French capital in the wake of Communist terrorism.

Here will be found an accounting of the results of one of his official visits to the French capital in the wake of Communist terrorism.

How does a top German leader manage to escape the trap of the surrounded German capital in the last days of the war? A number of other senior people are now believed to have escaped capture and this section shows clearly and dramatically how such escapes were possible.

The State of the Union

For the most part, the interviews with Heinrich Müller were conducted by James Kronthal, CIC station chief in Bern, Switzerland acting on instructions from LtCol James Critchfield of the CIA. Towards the end of the lengthy transcript, Kronthal was joined by a senior member of the CIA, flown over from Washington at the request of Admiral Hillenkoetter, then the director of that agency. The second interviewer is only identified by his military rank throughout the transcript. Here, the newcomer is identified as "Q-2," and Kronthal as "Q-1."

Q-1 We have all been introduced and I believe my associate has a number of points he would like to clarify with you. If you don't mind...?

M Not at all. I trust your accommodations are satisfactory, Colonel, and should you have any requests, please give them to me at any time. By all means, let us go on.

Q-2 Thank you, sir. As to accommodations, I am more than satisfied and perhaps I can stretch this out so as to enjoy them better. Now... (pause) here I have a number of points of information that I have been requested to present to you. In the first place, my associate here has, as I understand it, discussed the financial aspects of this matter with you?

Q-1 Yes, we covered that earlier.

M Quite acceptable to me, with my conditions, of course.

Q-2 Conditions?

Q-1 I mentioned this to you. About his agents.

Q-2 Oh yes, of course, we covered that. Washington has no problem with that business so if we have this out of the way...?

M Then go on, please?

Q-2 Let me give you a picture of the problems we have had over the last ten or fifteen years with internal espionage and then you can give me any suggestions that you might have. This may take some time. Are you planning to take notes? I can always repeat myself if you want me to do so.

M No, no, I have a good memory and I don't need to take notes. Please proceed.

Q-2 Very Well. The basic problem lies with the late President Roosevelt and his attitude towards international communism. Roosevelt was a very astute domestic politician, as you might know, and found that the American communists were very powerful in the labor movement and in other areas so he openly courted their support in his elections. He came into office at the height of the Depression and had very little experience with economics so he began to seek advice from the more radical of the economists—the far left wing as it were. When these persons saw that Roosevelt knew nothing about the economy and was not opposed to their attitudes, they began to draw more and more of their kind into the new agencies Roosevelt set up to administer his various policies.

At the same time, we had very radical Jewish elements coming into the government in social welfare programs and of course they too brought in their friends, relatives and political cronies so that even before the war broke out, the bureaucracy was either controlled or directed by the very far left.

Now this left can be broken down into several levels. One level, the management level, was run by political activists—either communists or radical socialists which is a difference without much of a distinction. They convinced Roosevelt of the rightness of their various agenda, and in most cases, he willingly went along with them. The second level consisted of muddleheaded intellectuals who ran around interfering with what they saw as the repressive landlord class in every way that they could. Combining the two groups, we had a parasitic growth on the body politic that you simply could not believe.

M Oh, I can easily believe it. Look at Spain in the Middle Ages.

Q-2 A point well taken. The Marranos ran Spain.

M Until the institution of the Holy Office, that is.

Q-2 Again, well taken. Cleansing the stables, as it were, was vital for the growth of Spain as a Spanish and Catholic country.

M More expulsions and burnings.

Q-2 We don't plan on going that far. I would say a few thousand voluntary departures would not do America any harm.

M We do understand each other in this.

Q-2 As the war came, Stalin activated many of these intellectual communists and sent in many of his own agents. He wanted to be sure of Roosevelt's support and also to find out what American intelligence knew.

Roosevelt put Donovan in as head of the OSS and told him specifically that he believed that only communists could effectively deal with the partisans in Eastern Europe. In fact, the President instructed Donovan to allow as many active communists as possible into the OSS.

M I well know about this from my own experience. I am in complete agreement with your analysis. The ones we captured and executed when we could, were without any doubt, agents of Moscow.

Q-2 Not the United States. They served Moscow first.

M It was my experience that both the communists and the Jews served either Moscow or their co-religionists and had no loyalty to their country.

Q-2 Their country of welcome, as they say.

M Exactly so.

Q-2 Now, the intelligence agencies, which included the military branches, knew what was happening but we discovered that any attempt to expose or punish Soviet spies would be grounds for immediate dismissal from the service. When we found their spies operating inside the atom bomb project, we were told that Roosevelt personally forbade us to touch any of these people. We were also strictly forbidden to listen in on their radio contact with Moscow, but of course we paid no attention to the President, because that is an area that he had no control over.

I recall that one time the Army made a recording of Mrs. Roosevelt having a lesbian affair with her secretary in a hotel room. They were looking for Joe Lash, a communist agent who was friendly with the Roosevelt creature and hoped to get some information on his activities. When the President heard about this, he was in a fury for weeks and punished everyone he possibly could. The recordings still exist and having heard them, I could suggest that Eleanor ought to hire a drama coach.

M I think that if anyone in Germany had made a recording of Eva Braun, I would have been given orders to shorten them by a head immediately. Democracies are so forgiving.

Q-2 That is the point exactly. Here we were, knowing that Soviet agents were running loose all over Washington, going in and out of the Pentagon, rummaging through all our most secret papers and aware that any attempt to stop them would result in instant punishment from on high. I can tell you that all you could hear in Washington the day Roosevelt died was the popping of champagne corks in officers' messes. We didn't know about Truman, of course, but we thanked God that lunatic communist, Wallace, wasn't next in line. Depending on how the new President felt, there was serious talk in the higher headquarters about conducting a purge in Washington and I mean the kind of purge Hitler carried out in 1934. Shooting about 200 high-level New Deal people would have been a real pleasure.

M Oh, I can certainly identify with that attitude. Only the one who tended to the communists and Soviet agents was myself and I was somewhat more subtle but many more than 200 went behind the wire or under the knife, believe me. And I slept very well at night because of it. I have great fondness for dogs but rabid ones have to be shot on sight to protect everyone else. Still, I trust you are not planning any bloodlettings in Washington.

Q-2 No, please don't be concerned about that. It's too late now, anyway.

M In my experience, one does not need to send out the military and shoot people in the streets. I was always more concerned for public order than that. If it were necessary to remove a traitor who might be well placed, I used the heart attack, the road accident and the suicide. The heart attack was the best. I kept a doctor on the staff who complained to me that he was getting a sore thumb from all the injections he gave people. But much less mess and no need to cover these things up. Car accidents were always unpleasant and suicides not always easy to arrange, so I settled on the heart attack. After all, think of how difficult it would be to lure a seventy-year old cripple up into the mountains and shove him over a cliff. There are bound to be witnesses and inconvenient relatives who wonder what Uncle Hans was doing trying to climb up the Watzmann in a wheelchair. On the other hand, if Uncle Hans was found dead in his bed from a heart attack, who would suspect?

The doctor, by the way, was French. He had fled from his country because too many wealthy persons had heart attacks while under his care and questions were eventually asked of their suddenly rich relatives. I found him useful and I might add, a very good cook. He used to whip up excellent salads and light lunches for us in Berlin and I can still remember his lamb with garlic.

Q-2 Sounds like our kind of person. I don't suppose...

M Oh, I am certain he could bring his medical and his culinary talents into your headquarters without any problems.

Q-2 We can talk about this later. Does it always work? And are there any traces?

M First answer is "yes," and the second is "no". Here, you are dealing with a professional, after all!

Q-2 I assume you mean your doctor?

M I mean myself. Do you think I would have some spastic butcher around that injected dog urine into people's hearts?

Q-1 General, please...

M My friend has such a sense of propriety. Please go on.

Q-2 It's all right. I find the General refreshingly frank. Now, we have conducted some minor operations against agents in place; true, but your man sounds delightful. Let me progress here. Truman very cautiously began to shut these people down as soon as he could but his problem was that as a Democrat, he could not attack the circle around Roosevelt without losing the support of his party. And even mass heart attacks couldn't begin to touch the problem. I will say that actual agents died rather fast, but how could we shoot the Secretary of Commerce or Labor? You can't do things like that.

M Well, perhaps a burglar could bag one of them, but you can't wipe out the former Cabinet, I agree.

Q-2 And, for example, one of the top men in the FBI was one of their people. How can you get at him? If we told Hoover, God knows what he would have done.

M A night of long knives, I agree, is counter-productive except that it not only removes traitors without the bother and expense of trials, but puts the fear of God into the rest. Of course, they just go to ground and then you have to either dig them out of their holes or find some other means of getting rid of them.

Q-2 We could gas them, couldn't we General?

M Such an unkindness, Colonel. I detect a certain reference here about the Jews?

Q-2 Well, most of the spies are Jewish.

M That wasn't my experience. Jews were activists in Germany and certainly ran the NKVD for Stalin, but most of our traitors were intellectual Germans. I told your friend here that I do not wish to get involved in any further persecution of the Jews.

Q-2 I was only speaking in humor to you.

M And besides the bureaucracy and the President's highest level helpers, where else have the agents gathered?

Q-2 Some in the military, very many in universities and far more in the motion picture industry. Oh, and of course, in the labor unions. You see, we have to first neutralize them, which we have done by removing most of them from access to sensitive material and by supporting anti-communist labor leaders and encouraging them to drive out all of the New Deal communists. In those areas we have been very successful. The universities and the motion picture industry are more difficult to deal with.

M If you could bring some of this out in the open, say by official publicity, you might be able to stir up the public enough to allow you to conduct employment purges.

Q-2 Yes, that's our aim now. I feel we can obtain solid information from you and couple it with our own material, we can attack these swine and get rid of them.

M Don't attack them yourself. No, no, get someone or some other group not connected with the government to go after them. Then you can reap the benefits of the exposure without taking the blame for the results. A Lamb of God could deliver sermons against these pests, and of course, with information provided to him. What about Father Coughlin?

Q-2 Roosevelt made a deal with the Pope and he was shut down. I believe we can use someone in Congress to do this. Tydings comes to mind but there are others.

M Yes, give them the information and let them use it. Then, you can always stand back as a neutral party and weigh in at just the right time.

Q-1 I told you this man is a jewel, didn't I?

M Shame on you praising me to my face. You will give me such a big head that I can't wear my hat anymore. I have bribed this man with fine wines and good cigars to say nice things about me.

Q-2 No, I quite believe him. Since neither of us want to take the blame for the cleansing of the stables, we need to work out a long-range and effective program to implement this without danger to anyone who matters.

M Such a sensible man, Colonel. How far will the President go to implement any of this and will he support attacks on Roosevelt's people?

Q-2 Oh yes, he will go along with all of this provided—and I do stress that word, “provided”—that none of these attacks can be traced to him in any way.

M Could we blame Hoover for them?

Q-2 No, I don't think we could do that. Truman would have to fire him if it came out and Hoover has been blackmailing Washington bigwigs for years. The first hint that Truman was going to fire him and Hoover

would be running around to half the Senate with stories about terrible revelations. The Senate would sit on Truman and Hoover would stay.

M I assume Hoover keeps a safe full of nasty secrets. I know I did. Find those and remove them and then you can blame Hoover.

Q-2 Let it be from others and they can take the blame in the end.

M Always be kind to yourself and the rest will follow. Get a Savanarola and sit back and enjoy a good cigar.

Q-2 It would be better from inside Washington. A religious fellow might believe his own crap after a time. I think we have one or two we can use. Now then, we will need to compare notes extensively. You have names, I understand. I have seen some of your names.

M Do they surprise you?

Q-2 No, they do not. I'm surprised not to see Mrs. Roosevelt on some of them. Of course, she is crazy and I doubt if even Stalin would be interested in her. Besides, now that Franklin the First is dead and rotting in his grave, she has no power at all. Let her go around and give lectures all she wants. When she was romancing women, I'm surprised she didn't bring home a Pickaninny.

M Please?

Q-2 A nigger.

M Oh yes, from the Niger River in Africa.

Q-2 You weren't cursed with them, were you?

M Oh, during the French occupation of the Ruhr, they brought in the blacks just to torment us and there were a number of tan babies left behind.

Q-2 Saddle-colored boys, we call them.

M That's an interesting description. Very few in Germany, but the French seem to like them.

Q-2 The French like anything strange. They like to eat snails. Let us get back to the issues at hand. If we combine our knowledge, we should be able to have more than enough evidence to root out these damned weeds once and for all.

M Remember that if you don't get the roots, the weeds will grow back. Nits make lice.

Q-2 Make it so hot for them that they'll either run to Moscow or Jerusalem and leave the rest of us to get on with our lives.

M I don't mean to be negative, Colonel, but these ideologues have had, how long? Twelve years? That long to dig in. They are no doubt in the educational system for life and if they don't control the newspapers yet, they will soon enough. You will have chopped off the weeds, as you like to say, at the ground, but with the roots still in the ground there will be more growth later. My recommendation would be to lock up as many as you can, deport the rest and keep a permanent vigil on the garden to prevent more trouble. To do this would be to have a system like the Gestapo permanently in place and permanently active. I doubt if your public opinion would approve of this for too long. In Germany we controlled the press. Goebbels ran it with an iron hand and we never had any trouble from that quarter. You have to decide whether or not to establish a permanent watchdog to keep the pigs out of your garden, and I would suggest that you do so as quickly as possible. Those enemies of the state—the traitors and international types whom you cannot destroy by one means or the other—must be so afraid to engage in anti-government activity or spy for the enemies that they will sit at home and teach curses to the parrot.

Q-2 "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

M Exactly. If you think that some kind of a swift housecleaning will be enough, you think in error. You must watch and watch some more and as long as Stalin sits in Moscow, he will try to infiltrate your country and destroy it from the inside. These are your enemies, not your friends, and if they win, they will destroy you faster than you can imagine. Look what happened in Russia after the Revolution. Root them out, destroy them and their friends or you will live to regret it. Try these ideas out through the medium of some deniable source—a minister or a senator, as you say. See what kind of a reaction you get. If the public really wants to be rid of them, you have permission from them to proceed. You have a democratic government, in the end, and you must fit your actions to suit this system. Democracy has its advantages, I suppose, but I personally find it a very difficult process to deal with. Here, in Switzerland, is the only real democracy in the world. You in America have a republic, not a democracy. There is a real difference there. However, I am a professional and as such, I will follow my instructions to the letter. I thought it fair to give you my views.

Q-2 Appreciated. I was born into this system, the republic or democratic state, and you were born and raised under other systems. I think, in the end, that we can sum this up by using the term “professional.” Our agency is professional as was yours but this is not the forum for political philosophies, is it?

M No. Leave that to the academics and the people who make propaganda films. And, by the way, the makers of films and printers of newspapers deserve special attention. This is where Stalin has great interest as did Lenin. The people receive some of their education from the schools but a great deal from the films and the press. In America, where is the press now?

Q-2 Anti-Roosevelt, but the film industry is very left wing. I remember the “Grapes of Wrath” film, which is pure communism. Have you seen it?

M No. I read the book and your Steinbeck is a very good writer but also very much the left wing ideologue. Artists tend to be this way, I have found. Filled with a boundless love for the lower classes and a desire to aid them on their path to what the creative ones think is a new paradise, but what in reality is the grave we all go to. I hate to see time wasted and that’s what all that idealistic nonsense consists of.

Q-2 Henry Wallace and his friend Rex Tugwell are prime examples of the jackass brigade. And you can add Macleish to that as well. The poet of the people.

M The Soviets have Ehrenburg. We could probably put both of them in the zoo with the lions and see if the lions would lie down with the lambs or eat them. But I think we move from the important specific to the interesting general. I will draw up some suggestions for you concerning integrating our respective areas of knowledge and then we can try to work out an operational plan. I should tell you that I am not that well acquainted with specifics in your country, but one can learn. Why, in the last several months, I have been improving my English and, as our mutual friend here can testify, I have been reading many American history books. We can have an exam if you like.

Q-2 Oh, not now. We have already been having one, haven’t we?

M Of course we have.

(At this point, there is a break in the transcript which subsequently resumes with a dialog between Müller and the original interviewer.)

M I ought to offer my apologies to you for what has happened here.

Q Please explain, if you will.

M This is, after all, my house, and I find the attitude of your associate unacceptable. I have no control over him, of course, but as a matter of correctness, I feel I ought to make my own views clear to you. I am making reference to some of your Colonel’s remarks. To make them to me, in private, is one business, but to do so in front of you is in bad taste certainly.

Q I don’t think he had any animosity towards me at all.

M That makes the matter even worse. He sits here and makes strong anti-Semitic remarks in the presence of someone whom he must know the background of and does so without thinking? We have been accused of being the worst anti-Semites in the world, but it now seems that the Americans are worse. If a high level American official talks in that way, does he represent the thinking in America?

Q Unfortunately, yes. When I said that he meant nothing personal, I meant that he was not attacking me. The establishment, especially the military officer class, all think the same way.

M Such a lack of tact after all! Do you have any blacks in positions like yours?

Q My position? No, none at all.

M But certainly Jews?

Q Yes, a number.

M And senior officials have such an attitude that they speak in this manner in front of them? And I note that your superior would love to conduct *pogroms* in America. Do you believe this?

Q To answer your question, I think they would like to do this, but as he pointed out, they can’t.

M But, they would if they could. Here, and for my record here, we have a country that is still expanding and has no knowledge of how to do things without assistance. They want to rid America of all communists, no doubt the Jews and certainly the blacks. That is an impossible task in any of the categories. To do this would bring anarchy in the country. Most of the citizens would balk at such behavior and then the military would have to become even more oppressive. I have seen these things in person and I am amazed that anyone thinks that merely by having some idiot get up in the church or in your Senate and preach against the communists, a great desire will arise in the people to destroy all communists. And believe me, if they start public attacks on communists, this will also include Jews as well. Given the structure of your system, which I have studied very carefully, believe me, all of this is wishful thinking on the part of bigots. Now, understand that I do not like communists and recognize how dangerous they can be because they owe their

total allegiance to Soviet Russia. But, even in my position in Germany, I could not simply round up all the known and suspected communists and put them into camps. We could and did, get the spies and traitors and even the most active and aggressive communist supporters, but the others we had to watch until they made mistakes. Also, let me point out, the Gestapo simply did not go around dragging German Jews out of their homes and shoving them into camps. Many, many German Jews lived unmolested in Germany during the war and survived.

There were anti-Jewish laws in Germany during that time that precluded Jews from engaging in business or cohabiting with Germans—that is quite true. And our offices received constant complaints from Germans about violations of these laws. We, in the Gestapo, had to investigate all of these allegations and let me tell you that if we found the charges baseless and coming from jealousy or whatever motive, we threw the false complainers into jail and left the accused alone. If we couldn't have mass arrests and executions of suspected communists in Germany, how in God's name can you expect to do this in the United States, and given your own background, how can you work for such people?

Q Let me put a question to you, then. If you find their attitudes impractical or objectionable, why are you willing to work for them?

M My question came first.

Q They aren't all that way you know. And I have an important position in a new and significant agency.

M You will never rise very high in your agency, given their attitudes, and will only be a token presence. Get out of it and do something else and I mean this in a friendly way, believe me. My answer? This country is comfortable and I do well here. I speak English after my way but they speak German here and that is one point. However, there is potential danger to me and you can realize that as well as I. Your government will have every incentive to supply me the most thorough protection if I go there—something I cannot get here. Also, \$1 million and \$50,000 salary a year is an inducement.

I found many of the Third Reich leaders obnoxious and distasteful but I worked for the state just the same and did very well for myself. I am not a Jew and during the earlier time I had to sit around and listen to hours of anti-Semitic rantings which I never bothered to pay attention to. If my new employers like to do the same thing, I am used to it and I won't pay any attention to that either. Your friend spoke of professionalism, but he is not professional at all, nor very well educated either.

It is possible to remove communist agents from their posts, that much is certain. Going after intellectual Marxists or sympathetic writers is another business. You might like to do it but in practice, it is impossible and has ugly implications. I have no problem giving advice and technical assistance to your people, none at all. I agree that the upper levels of your government are full of communist agents, not intellectual Marxists, who ought to be rooted out as quickly as possible.

I am positive that Stalin hates America, sees it as his main enemy now that Hitler is gone and will do everything he can to destroy you. He would be afraid to attack you after he has seen what you are capable of, but he will concentrate on infiltrating your establishments with his agents or with persons who are in sympathy with his system. I have warned you in the past that this will be Stalin's approach. Your military and their supporters can say all they want about Soviet tanks in Washington, but that will not be the way Stalin will beat you. Infiltration, sabotage and propaganda are his weapons, not tanks and soldiers. There I can do some good, but since I could never hold the sort of position I had in Germany, all I can do is to advise people who are bigger ideologues than the communists and who are subject to changes in government that would leave them exposed and powerless. I cannot become involved because of who I am and I would dislike not having the ability to execute my plans but have to depend on a rabble of others to distort them as they see fit. I do not foresee a lengthy or profitable relationship but it will certainly advance my position in the world and I take what I can get.

As to you, and I am speaking now in all friendliness, I suggest you can find a position in the art world where you will be happy amongst people like yourself, or perhaps you could go into some business like the banking or exchange world or perhaps even teach. You could do all of those things, but you will not do yourself justice where you are not wanted. Am I offending you?

Q No. I appreciate your concern and I recognize that you mean well, but I am trapped in my work.

M Are you planning to discuss this with your Colonel friend?

Q Oh no, of course not. They want you and for a time they will use you. My advice to you is to get as much as you can on them and then retire in safety in the United States. They will never betray your presence because if they do, there will be real trouble with everyone else. Now that's my advice to you. Am I offending you now?

M What? By stating the obvious? I think not. Keep in touch with me and if you need any assistance, let me know. Now your friend, the Jewbaiter, will be coming back and we can all look serious and prepared for work. And I note you looking at my stenographer. I shouldn't worry about her. She knows enough to bury all of us so we must be nice to her and when you leave here for the last time, be sure to give her a bouquet of flowers.

(The transcript of this conversation runs to over 150 pages. The following excerpt is of interest because it concerns the projected post-war use of refugees from Eastern Europe and the Balkans in clandestine intelligence operations.)

Q-2 We are most especially interested in our use of eastern European manpower for possible insurrections against the Soviets. How much do you have about them?

M Not a great deal. I had little to do with the Eastern People, as we used to call them. Of course I had the use of captured agents but these were almost always White Russians or German refugees sent back into Germany.

Q-2 I had in mind the Latvians and the other Baltic types and the Ukrainians and Yugoslavians, especially.

M I should suggest that you not involve yourself with those people—any of them.

Q-2 Reasons?

M I found most of them, especially the Yugoslavians, not to be trusted. The Balts and the Ukrainians had a bad record for killing anyone they did not like, including babies. During the eastern campaign, we used many of these people as auxiliaries and one can say that many of them were first-class soldiers. I am not thinking here of soldiers. I am thinking of the police and political types like the Ustacha or the Baltic police, not to mention the Ukrainian police people. We had a terrible time with these during the war, because if we did not supervise them carefully and give them German officers and non-commissioned officers to control them, their actions were barbaric. They did kill Jews because they thought we wanted them to, but they also slaughtered peasants, small merchants, and on and on. They left a trail of blood and death behind them that made one think one was back in the dark ages.

Q-2 We see them as just the ones to start revolution inside Russia. Can't you see them that way?

M I'm sure they have sold themselves to you that way but my experience, and admittedly it is not first-hand, is that most of those people are not reliable. Now, if you take these refugees into your control, think how much trouble you might have if it turns out that your chairman of this or that free peoples of Serbia or the Banat turns out to have set fire to barns full of screaming peasants or to have beat to death hundreds of unarmed Jews in Pinsk. Eh? Then what would you do? I don't think your generals would like that very much. And given the number, how can you screen out the monsters from the innocent?

Q-2 Do we need to screen them? Doesn't anti-communism matter?

M I assume many are anti-communist, but most are stupid and vicious peasants, local fascists, lunatics, rapists, and so on. I don't think you want to have any large numbers of these men in your agency. I would not use them myself.

Q-2 With proper training...

M With proper training you can teach a dog to beg, but it is still a dog after all.

Q-2 The concept of a guerrilla army was successful for us during the war against you, both in Russia and the Balkans. Not in France because the French are all cowards...

M I would take exception to that. The French are not cowards. Most of them didn't want the war and didn't want to get involved in guerrilla activities. I assume you were with the OSS from your comments earlier. Am I correct?

Q-2 You could say that.

M I have. You use the title of "colonel." Were you a military man then?

Q-2 That isn't important, is it?

M We are talking here about military-style operations, aren't we?

Q-2 Clandestine operations are not the same.

M If you don't run these along military lines, you have nothing but murderous rabble that will turn on you as soon as someone else. That's why I asked you about your military background. A legitimate question I am sure you will permit.

Q-2 Actually, I was in the navy.

M Well, I was a pilot in the 1914 war and did not fight on the ground, but as I said, guerrilla activity needs to be done by soldiers, not rabble. Better to train your own troops—Americans—and not bother with these others. And believe me, internal security inside Russia is so secure that there will be no internal revolution unless the central government—and by that I mean Stalin and his secret police—collapses and that is not

certain. Stalin is not young and can die, just like the rest of us, but we do not know when, where, or how. Are you planning to drop these armed refugees into Red Square, by any chance?

Q-2 Now General, please let us make these decisions. We are only interested in your knowledge of potential operators.

M There is a difference between a trained agent and an armed peasant, if you mark me.

Q-2 I think that if the balloon went up, say in the Soviet Union or elsewhere, the people would rise up to a man and then our clandestine army could be of the most vital importance in overthrowing the Reds.

M Colonel, or whatever, let me tell you that someone has been selling themselves to you. I would seriously doubt if there will be any more revolutions inside the Soviet empire, unless and until, Moscow looses its iron grip. If you wish to set up such groups in your country, be careful not to arm them because you would live, or probably not live, to regret it. Using the more intelligent ones as agents on a limited basis is much more sensible and we all are sensible men, aren't we sir?

Q-2 There are policies we are now formulating that we have already mentioned and this policy is very important to me and to our program. I hope you can understand that.

M I certainly can, but when I say that you can do other things than train Slavs to wave your flag in Belgrade streets. In the first place, most would defect to Stalin, who would naturally kill them at once. Your battle against Stalin should be an economic one, not a military one. Russia will never be a full industrial power like you are. There you might beat him but not with gangs of Slavic bandits in the woods. There are still Ukrainians fighting the Soviets in the woods to this day, but to what end? You should read Clausewitz, not Karl May.

Q-2 May? Clausewitz, I know.

M May wrote adventure books about your West. Cowboys and Red Indians. Very popular with little children, and some not so young, in Germany in the last century.

Q-2 That's beside the point. This is not a romantic venture but a real war against the communists.

M Sir, I conducted a real war against the communists all my adult life and with great success. Now, I am an advisor, and I am advising you, that's all.

Q-2 I understand this, but let me ask you to keep these views to yourself, if you would. There is too much riding on our programs for you to throw cold water on it.

M Of course, but of what use am I if I merely rubber-stamp all of your ideas? I mean, in private here? Surely, you don't want me to kiss your backside, do you?

Q-2 That isn't it at all. We can work all this out later. I think we understand each other, don't we?

M I think so. Like my friend here, are you an academic?

Q-2 I attended the university and also law school.

M Ah, an attorney! Well Hitler had some views on attorneys which we do not need to discuss here. No, I have no intentions of causing trouble for you, but I can support my views with facts, if you want them.

Q-2 Well, perhaps sometime later, but now I think we should get back to any lists you have on collaborators we might look for.

M Certainly, Colonel, and Europe is full of them. Bring cigarettes and you will find many collaborators. Since there is no patriotism, money helps and America is a rich country.

Historical Perspective—Observations of the Author

The obvious anger and frustration expressed by Admiral Hillenkoetter's representative may seem appalling but taken in context with the times, not exceptional. There is no question whatsoever that during the Roosevelt administration, many radical leftists joined his New Deal and their ill-conceived and abrasive activities infuriated many Americans. In a democracy, such behavior can usually be curbed if it becomes too prevalent. However, during the Roosevelt era, the President was battling the Great Depression, which suddenly flared up again in 1938, and his skillful presentation of right-wing dictatorships in Germany, Italy and Japan were viewed as potential threats to America. These two factors, economic and ideological, helped keep Roosevelt in office. Although, after his own dictatorial attempt to control the Supreme Court failed in Congress in 1936, his popularity in the polls was steadily shrinking.

After Roosevelt actively aided and abetted the United States' entry in the war, his tenure in the White House was secure until the war was over. Those historians who praise Roosevelt as a great man, claim that he, indeed, schemed to involve America in global war but did so because Germany and Japan were planning to invade the continental United States. However, post-war searches of captured German and

Japanese state archives have not produced a shred of evidence in support of this invasion theory, and it ranks with the gross fiction of the Bush Administration's WMD fabrications

Throughout his entire life, Roosevelt was dominated by his mother who was possessed of exceptionally strong personal prejudices. She ran her only child like a Swiss railroad. On her annual European trips, Mrs. Roosevelt preferred to mingle with correct British society and found her hotel stays in Germany abhorrent. Mrs. Roosevelt was anti-Semitic and her deep hatred of Germans was instilled in her son from an early age. She constantly referred to black Americans as "niggers," and so her prejudice became his prejudice, also.

The flowering of leftist views in Washington left many Americans furious but because of the President's general popularity, America was powerless to vote him out of office. This continuing frustration produced a flood of savage anti-Roosevelt commentary and a heightened detestation of the shrill importunings of the extreme left governmental appointees.

When Roosevelt died suddenly in 1945, his successor Harry Truman was viewed as an unknown entity. Truman, who was no fan of Stalin or his ideology, acted cautiously to remove the New Deal activists from power. This earned Truman unpopularity with some factions of the media and especially the American motion picture industry, which was a strong supporter of left-wing causes.

The conversation between Müller and his CIA interviewers took place just before the Presidential elections of 1948. The mainstream American media, still very much anti-Roosevelt, was loudly predicting Truman's defeat at the hands of the colorless Thomas Dewey.

There was the belief in conservative circles of the US government that Dewey would be a better man than Truman, and that he would give the order for a general cleansing of the Rooseveltian stables. Truman, as a Democrat, may have been anti-communist, but he was still compelled to seek the support of his party. Of course, he had to walk with great care, lest he lose his political support from the party machinery.

Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin has been described as a madman on the socio-political scene, and depicted as a power-mad politician who accused innocent Americans of communist beliefs or activities. In fact, McCarthy was kept well-informed of facts either known to official Washington or uncovered by various investigative agencies. Much of his information came from senior Catholic church sources in Washington who, in turn, received their information from anonymous, but accurate, official sources. Given that Müller was well-connected with the church, a review of his post-war notes indicates that much of his information possessed prior to the end of the war or acquired after it, fell into McCarthy's hands and was used, or misused, by him.

McCarthy's statement inaugurating his attacks on American communists, in which he stated that more than 80 known communists worked in the US Department of State, was entirely accurate. McCarthy either did not know, or neglected to mention, that they were identified communists who had been removed from the OSS by Truman in 1945, and were awaiting a graceful departure from government service.

Although Truman and his successor, Dwight Eisenhower, have been depicted by biographers and historians as appalled and disgusted by the activities of McCarthy, neither man made the slightest effort to silence him, even though there was certainly sufficient material to accomplish this. McCarthy, who drank heavily, eventually lost his sources, became incoherent and brought the wrath of the Senate down upon him.

Some ideological historians and journalists have portrayed McCarthy as the sole and discredited voice of anti-communism in America. Such a portrayal, however, is a gross error. Müller's transcript clearly shows that strong anti-communist attitudes were well entrenched in the United States and if McCarthy had not attacked the ultra left, then someone else would have pursued the communists—perhaps with more explosive results.

Müller's attitude towards both Kronthal, his initial interviewer, and his superior from Washington is indicative of his own feelings and not an indication of his actions.

Kronthal was a homosexual who had been arrested by the German police in Berlin before the war, and released at the intervention of Hermann Göring, for whom he had been brokering confiscated Jewish works of art. Müller was well aware of Kronthal's homosexuality and throughout the entire transcript makes subtle remarks about it. This sarcasm is entirely in keeping with Müller's personality. Müller liked Kronthal, who was well-educated and intelligent, and this also shows up in the transcript. Kronthal should have listened to Müller's advice and left the CIA, but he did not.

When Müller left Swiss territory in November of 1948, and flew into Berlin to collect his files prior to flying to American territory, he sent a package and a note to Kronthal in Bern:

“This to my friend who considers himself well-born.

I am now away from Switzerland and my pleasant house and will end up in a tropical garden with permanent weather. I hope this will be an improvement and perhaps I will enjoy coconuts in the future. This is just a short letter to indicate my appreciation of your conduct with me, and I might also say, of your company.

I am afraid that I was sometimes a little sharp with you but you understand that that is how I am. There is nothing personal meant at all. If I had not liked you, you would not have been a guest in my house. I am afraid that my subsequent contacts with your countrymen will not be as pleasant and I do not have a particularly good opinion of either their knowledge or character.

I am sending this along with the Czar’s cigarette box that you so often admired with the hope that you will enjoy it and have a longer and happier life than its former owner.

Perhaps we may meet again and can continue our chess games but if we do not, please keep as pleasant thoughts of me as you can.

With highest attentions,

Müller”

Soviet intelligence also discovered Kronthal’s homosexuality and attempted to force him into working for them. He committed suicide on April Fool’s Day, 1953. Kronthal did not have, as Müller had wished, better fortune than the previous owner of the malachite and gold cigarette box. Like the last Czar, Kronthal, too, was a victim of the communists.

The records will reflect that the individual identified in the transcript only as “Q-2” was, in fact, Frank Gardner Wisner who became Chief of Clandestine Operations of the Central Intelligence Agency shortly after that agency was formed.

Wisner, a former Lt. Commander of the United States Navy, had been an attorney and during the war was a member of the OSS. He had been a station chief in Bucharest, Romania, during the war. A dedicated anti-communist, Wisner convinced the National Security Council (NSC), in 1948 that the United States should institute a covert operations program against the Soviet forces in Eastern Europe based on the activities of the Vlasov Army during their cooperation with the Germans during the Second World War. Former Soviet General Vlasov had founded and commanded a large body of ex-Soviet soldiers who had joined the Germans after the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941.

Wisner was a firm believer in the tremendous espionage potential to be found in the membership of former German allies in the fight against the Soviet partisan movement in Eastern Europe during the war. He also believed in their value as disseminators of anti-communist propaganda, and an eventual cadre of agents who could carry out sabotage and assassinations in the Soviet satellites.

On June 10, 1948, the State, Army, Navy, Air Force Coordinating Committee (SANACC) under the Joint Chiefs of Staff, approved the execution of “Operation Bloodstone.” This operation used Eastern Bloc anti-communists to carry out clandestine activities, sabotage and assassinations.

This was officially approved by President Harry Truman in June of 1948 by National Security Council Resolution 10/2. The wording of this resolution addressed “propaganda, economic warfare, preventative direct action including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolitions and evacuation measures” as well as “subversion against hostile states including assistance to underground resistance movements and guerrillas.”

This program, placed under the command of Wisner, was specifically sponsored by CIA Director, Rear Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter.

A section entitled Office for Policy Coordination (OPC), was set up under the control of Wisner to implement these official policies.

To better organize his clandestine units, Wisner had access to the Central Registry of War Crimes and Security Suspects (CROWCASS). This agency was initially created to locate Germans who might be tried for their actions during the war. Eventually, this agency became a roster which Wisner and his agents used to build a cadre for their guerrilla units.

In 1951 and 1952, Wisner began large-scale programs designed to bring thousands of eastern European refugees into the US either as a reward for services rendered or to train for his programs of clandestine warfare against the Soviets. The exact number recruited by Wisner is still classified, but records will indicate that the recruits numbered in the tens of thousands.

Wisner’s activities led directly to the abortive Hungarian rising in November of 1956—a rising that was not supported by President Eisenhower’s administration. The bloody suppression of the revolt left 12,000 Hungarians and 3,000 Soviet military personnel dead.

This failure marked the eventual breakdown of Frank Wisner. He became irrationally abusive, drank too much and had a complete collapse in August 1958, when he had to be removed forcibly from his office under restraint. Later, after making a partial recovery, Wisner was sent as putative station chief of the CIA to London. But he was quickly recalled after he repeatedly made irrational outbursts to his British hosts—making him *persona non grata* in London.

Frank Wisner shot himself in the head with a shotgun on October 29, 1965.

Conservative estimates reveal that Wisner's policy of sabotage and assassination was responsible for 30,000 deaths, excluding the Hungarian bloodbath.

As well as being a savage anti-communist, Wisner was also anti-Semitic, something he shared with many of the eastern European organizations he so assiduously courted during the course of his career.

Among the organizations Wisner valued, and used, were:

- The Russian People's Army (*Russkaya Osvoboditelnaya Narodnaya Armiya*) or RONA. Formed in liberated Soviet territory in January of 1942, in the town of Lokot, this militia was run by a former chemical engineer, Bronislav V. Kaminski. In September of 1943, RONA had 10,000 men, 36 field gun batteries and 24 tanks under their control. This group fought hard against Soviet partisan forces. In August of 1944, RONA detached a regiment of 1,700 men, under the command of Lt. Colonel Vrolov, to fight the Polish insurgents in Warsaw. They were, however, recalled after several weeks at the urgent request of the German military commander because of their savage, undisciplined behavior.

- The Croatian Ustascha, a political movement formed by Dr. Ante Pavelic, who subsequently became head of the Croatian state under German control. The militia arm of this organization brutally fought against Serb communist partisans. The most feared of these militias was the "Black Legion" under Colonel Francetic.

- Members of various Ukranian, Balkan and Baltic police units who had spearheaded the brutal anti-partisan warfare in the east had a collective reputation for great ferocity in fighting the Soviets. Although anti-communism was put forward by Wisner as the attractiveness of these groups, in fact their general behavior throughout the anti-partisan campaigns was one of great brutality and not always directed at Soviet para-military units, but also against civilians in general and Jews in particular. Their anti-Semitic behavior was condoned because of their universal detestation of Soviet communists.

It is easy in retrospect to condemn Frank Wisner for his use of these groups, but his doing so does not make him a supporter of Third Reich racial attitudes. A mantra often chanted by the left is that an anti-communist is, therefore, an anti-Russian, and automatically pro-fascist and anti-Semitic.

Like Heinrich Müller, Frank Wisner (whom Müller found obnoxious) was a statist. Both of them believed that the security of the state was the supreme law. Müller, who was not anti-Semitic but far more professional than Wisner, clearly identified probable difficulties with the use of the refugees—an identification immediately rejected by Wisner.

At the same time Harry Truman authorized the National Security Council Resolution 10/2 in June of 1948, he also instituted a special intelligence and foreign policy oversight committee to assist him. Truman had been excluded from Roosevelt's inner circle and entered the Presidency without knowledge of such matters as the atomic bomb program. Aside from service as an artillery officer in the First World War, Truman did not have knowledge of military matters, especially in the highest levels.

This oversight committee was chaired by General Walter Bedell Smith, who had been Eisenhower's Chief of Staff. Smith was a ruthless professional officer who had served under George Marshall and Eisenhower and was later made head of the CIA. The oversight committee was directly under the control of the President, above the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and was never an official body although its actions often set national foreign and military policy.

When Heinrich Müller was interviewed by the CIA in 1948, higher authority in Washington realized what a prize they had—the former Gestapo chief—and transferred Müller to Truman's special oversight committee.

The main reason for this transfer was security. If foreign governments discovered that Müller was in American employ, the resulting uproar could prove disastrous. In the postwar years, both British and German authorities strongly suspected that Müller did not die in Berlin and might well be working for the

Americans. American official records contain many references to these suspicions, but these documents are not available to researchers because of high-level security classifications.

The phrase “plausible deniability” did not come into official use until the Reagan presidency, but it can be easily applied to the existence of Heinrich Müller. The man who initially acted as liaison with Müller was James Jesus Angleton, a senior intelligence official of the CIA who was as ruthless as Smith, but far more intelligent.

Truman was aware of the actions of his oversight committee and, although knowing of the Müller connection, would have been able to deny any knowledge of it.

Given Müller’s intelligence, abilities and extraordinary ambition, it should come as no surprise to learn from an intelligence resource, that eventually Müller resumed his former role as a major intelligence player. A future publication on this subject will cover the postwar activities of the Chief of the Gestapo in greater detail.

Counter-Intelligence and “Barbarossa”

Although the Gestapo’s mandate was domestic counter-intelligence, Müller had expanded his efforts to learn about foreign intelligence matters. Although this field was, strictly speaking, the territory of other agencies, he persisted in developing his contacts with interesting results.

Q We are most interested in the intelligence aspects of the Gestapo under your control rather than in the strictly police functions it might also have performed. The Gestapo was not the sole intelligence agency in Germany, was it?

M No. The Security Service and the Armed Forces also had intelligence services as did also the Foreign Office and the Post Office. Göring, too, had a special telephone interception service that dealt mainly with intercepts of a foreign nature over the telephone lines and he kept this under his private control.

Q Was there any coordination between these agencies?

M No. Very often they worked at cross purposes to each other. It was very much of a problem at the time. Later, armed forces intelligence was taken over and its duties parceled out. I got counter-intelligence at that time.

Q You had your own network of agents, didn’t you?

M We had a very well-developed network. We had the ‘V’ people who were trusted informants on every level and I developed extensive foreign contacts as well.

Q You had informants in the government?

M At all levels.

Q Even in Hitler’s headquarters?

M I had personal contacts there.

Q And in Himmler’s headquarters?

M Oh yes, even more so there but it was more like a professional courtesy.

Q What about the Foreign Ministry?

M Yes. Because of the fact that Ribbentrop received a good deal of important information, it was necessary to develop contacts in his agency as well.

Q Did you have access to strictly military intelligence during the war?

M Not officially. Not strictly military intelligence. Sometimes we would investigate certain military personnel or have a reason to look for espionage connected with internal military matters. Strictly speaking, most of that was supposed to be handled by the Secret Field Police but most of their members were former Gestapo or Security Service personnel so a good deal of their material came to me by one means or another.

Q So the Gestapo, by that I mean yourself, did not have direct coverage of, let us say, a military command?

M No. Only by accident or as the result of another kind of investigation.

Q We would be interested in learning about the Gestapo’s penetration of the Soviet government structure, if possible. The army *Abwehr* files are disappointing in that area and while senior armed forces officers are very willing to assist us concerning the Soviets, it is felt that their actual knowledge of the inner workings of that state are rather...how shall I put it?...rather sparse. To what degree did the Gestapo manage to learn about the inner workings of the Communist state?

M Now you are speaking about an area that I can speak very clearly about. Are you interested in the military or the political aspect of the Soviets?

Q I think at this point we are more interested in the military.

M But you see, one of the reasons the *Abwehr*, and your General Major Gehlen¹ were not successful with regards to the intentions, the military intentions, of the Soviets is because of the very strict and comprehensive control of all branches of their government and the military as well. The *Abwehr* and Foreign Armies East could not get agents inside Russia at all and most of their information came from listening posts in other countries and interrogation of prisoners of war. This was not always timely and rarely had any permanent use. Of course, the *Abwehr* was always looking for military information, whereas I, or the Gestapo, was looking for political information. In Germany, for example, the armed forces, especially the army, was a power in itself and independent in many ways from the Party and State. They could, and did, keep their own secrets. In Russia, Stalin runs the State through the Party. The military is controlled by and subordinate to the State. Therefore, in Russia, if you could penetrate the Party, you could get direct access to their military. I combated Soviet infiltration inside Germany as you know. To make my

job easier, I wanted to find out what they were up to in Moscow and not wait until I caught their agents in Germany. For instance, if Stalin wanted to stir up trouble in the trade unions, even though these were under strict Party control in Germany, it would be helpful to know his intentions in that regard before his people got started. So I began to turn around some of their better quality agents with a view to finding out what Stalin was up to long before I had to deal with it. I must say I was successful in this to a considerable degree. After all, the best quality agents were not as stupid as most of their countrymen are and the Russians like nothing better than to deal and haggle. Money impresses most of them, I should tell you. So, with my knowledge of at least some of the workings of Stalin's command structure, I knew more and far sooner than the *Abwehr*.

Q Very good. And are many of your people still in place inside Russia?

M I'm sure some are.

Q Please continue.

M In the beginning, I had little interest in the military aspect of intelligence. After all, there was no war in sight so my struggle was with domestic spies, German nationals, British and Soviet agents. But when the war started in 1939, a quantity of information about military plans naturally came into my office. This was not in my area of responsibility but as I had no specific relationship with the armed forces types, I kept this sort of business in my own files. Besides, these military gentlemen tended to look down their noses at me and at the whole State police apparatus...at least then. We hanged quite a few of them later because of this attitude, but that is not what you are interested in.

Q We can discuss that later. Can you give us some background, based on your own knowledge, of Soviet reactions to...let us say...the campaign in France in 1940.

M Certainly. I must say here that I always felt that the so-called non-aggression pact with Stalin was an error. In the first place, Stalin would never have dealt with the western powers as Hitler feared he might. And by agreeing to give Stalin the Baltic States and the eastern half of Poland, Hitler allowed Stalin to come up to his back door with a key in his hand. Of course I was not in a position at that time to discuss this with anyone in authority so I kept my peace. I once mentioned this to Heydrich, who had no real idea about my sources of information and he more or less told me to worry about internal problems and leave the higher policy matters to others. But later on, when it appeared that the campaign in the West would be a short, and for Germany, a victorious one, Stalin became frightened. You see, he felt that the new war would be like the one in 1914 and that Germany would become involved in trench warfare again. Stalin said that when Germany was bled white, and the west also, he would move into Germany. He wanted the Ruhr area and if he could get it easily, he would take it. Stalin will not fight if he thinks there is a chance he would be beaten. But when the campaign was over so quickly, he became alarmed that Hitler might attack him before he was ready. So he began a very extensive rearming program and tried to mend the damage he caused by liquidating all the top Soviet military people in 1938. When I had proof of this extensive rearming and Stalin's aggressive plans, I at once brought this to Heydrich's attention, but this time, not in a conversation. I sent him a long report filled with specific information. Now Heydrich could not really ignore me. If Stalin had attacked us, I could point to my formal warning and if Heydrich had merely sat on it, he would have been finished. And of course he knew this and took the material to Hitler.

Q Do you know when this was?

M Yes, just at the end of the campaign in the west. I think early June of 1940.

Q And Heydrich brought this to Hitler's attention? Did Hitler take notice of it?

M Yes, and wanted more information. Eventually, Hitler got more confirming information in addition to certain serious military and political movements on Stalin's part against us and he decided that perhaps he had best deal with Stalin before Stalin dealt with him. This is what Heydrich told me at the time, and later, Hitler said the same thing to me personally. I could show factory production figures but also I got quite a coup when I produced some figures on troop dispositions. I am not a military staff officer or an expert and make no claim to be so but even I could see that very heavy units were being put in place north of the marshes...the Pripyat marshes...and if the Soviets had made a breakthrough, could roll right on to Berlin. Given their numbers, it would have been hard to stop them. Even the experts in the high command said this. So then Hitler decided to attack Stalin first and had his staff officers draw up the plans. This went on for some time in 1940 and into 1941 but at one point, that I am sure of, there was a bad leak and Stalin got wind of this. Then Heydrich told me that we had to quickly plug the leak and find a way for my people to convince Stalin that the troop movements and plans we were making were some kind of a deception against England or Stalin might attack before we were ready.

Q Where did the leaks come from?

M Someone on one of our military planning staffs. They gave this material to the British who passed it to Stalin. I was able to concoct the story that we had planted the story with the British to distract them from our coming invasion and fortunately, Stalin swallowed this, although many of his officers did not. Still, Stalin had the final word on that subject. Oh yes, I had a Balkan diplomat tell Stalin that the British were lying about a German attack to frighten Stalin into breaking off his alliance. That was just the sort of double-dealing Stalin was familiar with and he accepted that as well. Nevertheless, he was determined to attack Germany as soon as he had achieved the numerical superiority he wanted and only when we were occupied elsewhere. So the point was to keep Stalin quiet as long as possible and attack him before he attacked us. I know he had learned the actual date of the attack from London but he did not believe it. For his part, Hitler had received enough information from diplomatic sources and from air force surveillance to convince him that he had to smash Stalin as quickly as possible. Let me say now that this was not a crusade or an attempt to imitate Napoleon as some silly writers now say. It was a matter of self-preservation for Germany. And later, after our troops had overrun Soviet higher headquarters, they found the proof of the coming attack. Captured senior Soviet military personnel also verified all of this.

Q This is not the accepted view in the West as I am sure you know. This attack is described as an example of Hitler's hatred for Slavs.

M Yes, the brave Slavs who stood alone against the evils of Hitler. That idea fits in well with the rest of the fiction. Believe me, Stalin was going to attack us, no question about it. Hitler merely hit him first and it was Stalin, the double-dealer, who was bitten. He was so used to treachery that he couldn't deal with it when someone stabbed him first.

Q Did Hitler ever find out about the role you played in all of this?

M Certainly. It was one of my better achievements. I kept all my notes and after the 20th of July (1944), when my relationship with Hitler was on better ground, I made certain to tell him. He was very angry and said I should have come directly to him with my information. It was easy to show him my reports and say that protocol forbade my making a direct approach and I had no friends in his court. He understood this but was still angry. It did not lower his opinion of me, which is why I told him. After all, the events were long over and cold to the touch.

Q You pointed out the superiority of the Party to the military, in other words.

M No. The Gestapo was not a Party organization. It was a state agency, not a political one. That is important for you to understand. We worked for the government, not the NSDAP. Most of your moronic historians have no idea about what the Gestapo was or who controlled it.

Q Now that we are discussing the campaign in Russia, I have been requested to ask you about your knowledge of the so-called "Commissar Order." Can you give me any information on that aspect of the campaign? General Warlimont² has stated that the program was instituted by the SS at Hitler's order and that he personally objected to it and had it stopped. Is that correct?

M That is an absolute lie, believe me. The entire Commissar business originated with Warlimont himself and it blew up right in his face. I think he spent most of the war trying to cover that mess up.

Q Warlimont instituted the order to kill Soviet political officials without trial?

M He most certainly did. There is no question about that whatsoever. I knew this from the very first.

Q Can you give me the details? We have been considering using Warlimont in an important post at some future point and we don't want any problems about his earlier actions coming to light. I would appreciate your frankness in this matter.

M Yes. Well, let me advise you against using that gentleman at all. Warlimont is a very intelligent man and a very competent military planner, for sure, but he is a snake. Very quiet and smooth, Warlimont is. He was Jodl's Holstein³ all the way. Now I will try to take that issue from the very start. That would be in the earlier part of 1940 when the planning for the eastern campaign was beginning. Although I was not a party to this planning, I later learned a good deal about this. It seems that the army did not want to get involved with the rear area security problems in Russia if and when we went to war there. They knew that the Soviets were masters in partisan warfare and were afraid that if their troops advanced too quickly, masses of armed civilians, undetected small military units and fanatical Communist party officials would be in their rear area. They were afraid of outbreaks of banditry in these areas and simply did not have either the manpower or the inclination to deal with it. So Warlimont, who was on the high command staff, decided to let the SS and the police cope with these people and he drew up a number of directives aimed at liquidating the potential leadership of these groups on one hand, that is the Commissar group, and on the other, to

clean out any potentially dangerous opponents from behind the lines. First, General Wagner from the high command went to talk to Heydrich...

Q Sorry to interrupt. Didn't Warlimont talk to Heydrich in person?

M No. That's what I meant when I said Warlimont is a snake. He sent Wagner so he could later claim he knew nothing about the plan. Now I know all about this because Wagner was a major person in the 20th of July business and after he was dead, I went over all of his papers. To go on, Wagner talked with Heydrich about this...about enforcing the law behind the lines. Wagner implied that Hitler had ordered it done but Heydrich said he would discuss this with Hitler first. Then Wagner became upset and said that Hitler didn't want anyone to know that he had ordered it so he could deny responsibility. Wagner said that Heydrich would be in serious trouble if he brought this matter up to Hitler. Of course Heydrich saw right through this from the beginning as did I when General Müller of the army high command came to see me at about the same time. Müller was a stalking horse for Warlimont. He mentioned the Commissar problem with me, assuming that I would personally agree to send Gestapo personnel to liquidate any of the captured ones we had. I told Müller that I certainly wanted to lay my hands on any Commissar or Communist party leader but not to kill them. I wanted information and always considered the possibility of turning them around. Müller was not happy with this. He said that Hitler wanted these people exterminated out of hand because they were Jewish.

Q The Commissars?

M Oh yes. Stalin had Commissars attached to all military units. Actually, they controlled them, even ordered the commanders of the units to obey them. Most of these officials were Jewish and had a reputation for being fanatical Communists and very brutal. In fact, most of the higher level Party people were Jews at that time.

Q And Stalin supported them?

M No, the Jews, who had once been a persecuted minority under the Czars, served Stalin and the Communist party slavishly. They saw themselves as the new elite and were looking for revenge against Russians for their years of persecution. Now Stalin used these people but he has no real use for them...

Q How do you know this?

M One of my Soviet agents, I mean a Soviet agent I turned, knew Stalin and explained this to me. Stalin was a Turk by background. Not a Jew and in his home province, Jews were hated. Stalin used these people for his own ends; to maintain his steel grip on all aspects of Russian society. They were his Praetorian Guard and they also knew that one gesture from the Kremlin and the Cossacks would ride again. You don't understand that, do you? Under the Czars, the Cossacks, horsemen from the south, were used to put down a civil disturbance or enforce pogroms against Jews. They were bitter enemies and there were a lot of Cossack units in the Soviet Army who would have no trouble taking up where they had left off. So Stalin used the Jews like hunting dogs. That's why so many of the Commissars were Jews and why even Himmler said that these people needed to be rooted out. Now the question is, were they being hunted because they were Jews or because they were political fanatics first and Jews second?

Q The chicken and the egg.

M Yes. To return to my theme here, Müller was not happy about my attitude. He began to say that these people had to be shot out of hand as dangerous enemies of our state. I replied that if the army wanted these men dead, they certainly had weapons and could shoot them themselves. I was very rough with him and chased him out of my office so Warlimont went around us to Himmler. Himmler was an old lady and at once believed the story about the secret Hitler wishes. Unlike Heydrich, Himmler never would have brought up such things to Hitler. I can just see him running around his office like Moses on the mountain when God spoke to him. I've heard Himmler before and he would have said that he has a special destiny to fulfill the orders of the Leader and so on. Like Stalin, Hitler knew how to use people. In the end, the Security Service was detailed to go behind the lines and neutralize the bandit gangs, along with army units, and the gangs did prove to be very dangerous. Of course in the process of killing the partisans, they often showed no sense and orders had to be issued to control them. Also, the stupid army people actually set up their own private police forces made up of Russian nationals and armed them. As soon as the army left the area, these volunteer units began to kill their enemies, including Communist officials and probably their unwanted relatives. They also killed Jews who were not Commissars or party officials, simply because the Russians loathe Jews and enjoyed killing them out of hand. The entire business was difficult for us to control because, firstly the vast physical spaces involved and secondly, because of the very few numbers of actual German police or SD units in place. The army had their own concentration camps where Jews and Communists were simply liquidated and the Army gave the Security Service and the Commandos weapons

and vehicles to help them. I was fortunate to lay my hands on some Commissars for intelligence purposes but I had to actually protect them from the army execution squads.

Q What happened to them? Your Commissars? And were they Jewish?

M Almost all Commissars were Jewish. When they were captured, they were at once denounced by their Russian units to the Germans. What happened to my Commissars? Those who worked for me, I treated well. Like all my captured agents, I promised them I would save their lives and in the end, I did. We turned them all loose with fake papers and where they went, I don't know. They were completely harmless, you see, because they could never go back to work for Stalin who would have shot them out of hand for having been exposed to the culture of the west. I can't help you with locating any of them. I'm sorry but I'm sure they don't live in a hotel in Paris with signs on their doors. Now, let us get back to your Warlimont. This Commissar Order was sent by Warlimont to senior army commands and it blew up right in his face. He sent his friends around trying to recall everything. I did notice too that his initial draft of the order was very mild compared with what he finally released. The final one called for the extermination of Jewish-Bolshevik leaders and so on. I told Heydrich that it sounded exactly like Warlimont was trying to make his own orders sound like some sort of NSDAP propaganda so that he could later put the blame on us if he had to. Heydrich agreed. When I talked with Hitler about this, long after it was over, he said he only knew that the Army had requested the SS and Police to aid them in maintaining order behind the lines. You see, General Halder, head of the army general staff, had gone to the head of the army, Field Marshal von Brauchitsch, and asked him to get Hitler to supply SS and police units to assist the army behind the lines. Hitler merely said he would refer this matter to Himmler and of course the army began to creep around with its version of this. You be careful of using Warlimont in any capacity.

Q Thank you for the information, General. We will certainly check it out. Now, there is something else I wish to cover at this point. The Gestapo was essentially a counterintelligence police agency in Germany. Your knowledge of certain foreign matters is at variance with this mandate. Could you clarify this?

M Do you listen? Didn't I tell you earlier that it was in my interest to penetrate the enemy to learn what he was going to do rather than wait until he had done it? Do you recall this? I can find it in the transcript if you want me to waste my time.

Q No, I am aware of this but you were talking about penetrating into Soviet agencies inside Russia...

M Now here, you are beginning to sound stupid. Yes, I said stupid. Who in the name of God runs the Soviet intelligence networks around the world? No, just answer for the record. Are you going to tell me the Red Indians run it? The kangaroos? Let's hear from you who you think runs the spy networks for Stalin. Don't be nervous young man, let your heart talk to me. Who?

Q You know what I mean...

M No, I do not. Well, perhaps I can educate you and your friends so we won't have such embarrassments in the future. The Soviet spy networks exist on different levels. But all of them are run from Moscow, not the North Pole. This is easy to comprehend, isn't it? Everything is controlled from Moscow. We understand that now. And by turning their better agents, I got a good view of the system from the inside and a good deal of valuable information. When I laid hands on the Red Choir group, I learned more and more. One of Moscow's very top agents, a man named Harry Robinson (Henri Robinsohn).

Q An American?

M No. A German. Now please allow me to go on and save your questions for the end. Acceptable?

Q Yes. Please continue.

M Thank you. Robinson was active in France. He was one of the top agents in Europe. Later he became head of the OMS (International Liaison Department) there. Your people can explain that to you. A very high level foreign espionage coordinating body in Moscow. We caught this man and I at once realized how valuable he was. Of course he had experience in the Communist risings after 1918 and I particularly disliked those people but he was for sure valuable. Why kill him? I turned him around rather quickly. Once I had him, I had him tried and officially sentenced to death and away he went to a new job for me. One of the richest sources I ever tapped and a very competent man. Highly valued in Moscow so of course we had to kill him...on paper. This man gave up everyone he knew including information about networks in your country and England. Now the average agent wouldn't know anything about other networks but this man did. He was at a higher level. Sabotage was his specialty but he knew enough about other matters to make him worth his weight in diamonds. From him, and people he turned over to me, I built up a very clear, though often sparse, view of networks elsewhere. Of course I could do nothing about England or the United States. I could get some verification of professional agents in place in both countries but I couldn't reach them to turn them or to get additional information from them. There was some corroboration from the

Swiss it is true, but they gave up information as if it was in carets and sold accordingly. Just a bit here and there, but enough. No one knew I had Harry so I kept it all quiet and his files private. You keep certain files private, don't you?

Q I'm not in charge of files but I understand certain persons are not for public consumption...

M Such as myself, for example. I am certain that you do not have a Heinrich Müller file stuck into a drawer in Washington for people to pry into, do you?

Q My God, do you take us for fools?

M I would hope not.

Q I told you before that no one is to know anything about you except on the highest level and then only by word of mouth. Why do you bring this up?

M Why? Because if those files of mine...Gestapo files...fell into enemy hands and had information about people like Robinson, there would be terrible trouble, wouldn't there? Gossipy housewives and jealous lovers have lots of space in our files but not the really important matters. The Robinson matter, like the Müller file, is something that does not exist.

Q I don't question this.

M Well then, if I give you a name, don't expect to find it in some captured files. I kept things like that very private. And at the end, I gave the order to all my duty stations to burn everything just to protect my sources. These are things one can bargain with and if someone else has a copy, the bargaining value is nothing at all.

Q I think we want to be certain about the value of what you have to give us.

M I give nothing. I give you myself and my knowledge. This is knowledge backed up with proof. Accept me and then accept the facts. That's the best way to proceed. You have been nervous sitting there and I'm sure you probably don't like me. Never mind, I don't like you either but in this business, personal feelings aren't important except where your instincts warn you about the motives of the man sitting across from you. We don't have that problem. I have something to offer and you need it. In 1945 you would try me as a war criminal and now you sit in my house eating first class food prepared by my chef that you will never find in a restaurant and enjoy my excellent wines. Who knows what will happen in a few years time. Maybe the Russians will attack you and I will be a hero. Perhaps they won't and you will not need me any more. I doubt this, though. A good policeman is always needed, not liked mind you but needed. And you do need to clean out your stables of all the Communist filth that has piled up for years.

Q You spoke about the Red Choir earlier. We have some information about that. As a matter of fact, I took part in the interrogations of Manfred Roeder.

M I don't know what you expected to get out of him.

Q Quite a bit. He mentioned you a number of times...

M I can imagine what he said. He called me a terrible, cruel man, once. He had a reputation for being a good investigator but he couldn't stay the course. I told him once that he was costing the State a great deal of time and money fooling with these people. There was no question at all of their guilt and the trials were pointless. Most of them confessed at one point or another and Roeder ran out of petrol along the road and began to feel sorry for the women involved. Wanted to save them. Why I don't know. Mrs. Schulze-Boysen was a lesbian and the Harnack woman was as ugly as a stick so I don't think he was in love. In the end, Hitler put his foot down and they had their heads cut off and that was the end of that business. Waste of time.

Q It was his impression that legal formalities had to be observed.

M Why? That was wartime and these creatures were admitted...I said admitted...traitors. What more is to be said? Waste of time.

Historical Perspective - Reflections of the Author

Stripped of prolix discussions of troop strengths and various German military plans for operations against Soviet Russia, Operation "Barbarossa" comes down to whether or not it was a manifestation of growing megalomania on Hitler's part or a legitimate preventive attack on a nation preparing to invade him. The initial military planning was considered to be a study of the nature of a war with the Soviet Union should such an event prove necessary. The first studies were instituted in July 1940 after the defeat of France and the expulsion of the British military from continental Europe. Parallel with the purely military studies was Hitler's own political analysis of the relationship between Germany and Russia. There is no

question that Stalin was exerting pressure along his western borders and increasing the number of military units in these areas. In August of 1940, Stalin had a total of 151 infantry divisions, 32 cavalry divisions and 38 mechanized brigades available to him. Of these, 96 infantry divisions, 23 cavalry divisions and 28 mechanized brigades were available for use against Germany. By June 1941, as a result of an extensive mobilization of his military, Stalin had 118 infantry divisions, 20 cavalry divisions and 40 mechanized brigades in position on the Russo-German border with an additional 27 infantry divisions, 5 1/2 cavalry divisions and 1 mechanized brigade in reserve in European Russia. The bulk of these units was in place to the north of the Pripyat marshes and the remainder to the south of this large natural barrier of swampy forest. Although German military intelligence had difficulties in obtaining exact figures of the Soviet buildup, there could be no question that such a massive increase in military forces was in progress. German *Luftwaffe* reconnaissance overflights, foreign diplomatic reports and increased Soviet military radio traffic all pointed to the heavy concentration of Russian forces.

The question is whether the Soviet troop concentrations were defensive or offensive in nature. Historians have argued that no proof of Soviet intentions to invade Germany have ever surfaced and a balanced view of the troop movements could well indicate that either purpose could be valid. There is the question of the placement of Soviet artillery units along the border. The Soviets used their artillery *en masse* as a preliminary to a major attack and the positioning of this artillery close to the German lines would tend to support the thesis that it was to be used to open an attack, not defend against one. The positioning of armored and mechanized infantry units behind the artillery would be reasonable if these forces were intended to spearhead an attack. A defensive posture would have the artillery towards the rear areas of the Soviet forward units to bombard an advancing enemy. A defensive posture would also prohibit the massing of armored units so close to the front lines. They would be held much further back to strike at an enemy penetration with more freedom of movement. These are merely comments, not meant to be taken as proof of anything but a more important opinion is one given by General Franz Halder, Chief of Staff of the German Army at the inception of "Barbarossa." Halder was a bitter enemy of Hitler, who eventually fired him, and in his postwar writings disparaged the Führer as a military commander.

In his book, *Hitler as Military Leader* published as *Hitler als Feldherr* in Munich, 1949 and subsequently translated as *Hitler as War Lord* and published in England in 1950, Halder devotes considerable space to the "Barbarossa" operation and deserves to be quoted at some length.

"...the horizon in the East grew steadily darker. Russia was moving with ever-growing strength into the Baltic States, which had been conceded as her sphere of interest; on the Russo-German demarcation line there stood over a million Russian soldiers in full battle order with tanks and aircraft opposite a few German security formations sparsely stretched over wide sectors of the line; in the South-East, Russia had occupied Rumanian territory in Bessarabia and Bukovina. Moreover, she was showing herself unresponsive to Hitler's political maneuvers. The last attempt to gain her as a partner in the division of the world according to Hitler's plans had foundered at a two-day meeting with Molotov in the middle of November 1940. Hitler the Politician has come to the end of his devices.

In December 1940, he issued his order to the three services - the "Barbarossa" Order - to make military preparations for an attack on Russia against the possibility of Russo-German relations undergoing a fundamental change. It was a preparatory measure, no decision had then been taken. One must admit the politician's right to delay taking the final decision until the last moment. Precisely when Hitler did take it, can probably no longer be established. Statements, speeches and orders with which he prepared the machine, both materially and psychologically, in case it should be required, cannot be regarded as meaning anything with this master of duplicity. It can be assumed, however, that it was not taken until after the quick successes of the Balkan campaign, in the course of which Russia's hostility towards Hitler had been unmistakably revealed.

The decision for the attack on Russia came anything but easily to Hitler. His mind was occupied with the warnings of his military advisers; the shadow of Napoleon, with whom he liked to hear himself compared, lay across the mysterious spaces of that country. On the other hand, he had a firm and not unfounded conviction that Russia was arming for an attack on Germany. Today we know from good sources that he was right. Russia would naturally choose a moment for the attack when Germany was in a position least favorable to herself...in other words when the West was once again ready for action. The war on two fronts, which the army general staff memorandum had forecast as long ago as 1938, would then be a fact."

Halder certainly was in a position to know the facts, many of which were found by German units after the invasion and the rout of Soviet forces, but as a severe critic of Hitler, Halder's comments which

reflect on the necessity for military action on Hitler's part are far more valid than some apology written by one of Hitler's supporters.

The partisan warfare that raged behind German lines during the campaign, was savage in the extreme. Neither side showed any quarter and the Soviets specialized in invading a peaceful area, committing acts against the German rear area and leaving their fellow countrymen to bear the brunt of reprisals. Müller's comments about the Commissars and Communist party leaders is basically correct and the fact that members of both groups were subject to death when captured is also correct. Warlimont was tried at Nuremberg for his part in the promulgation of various anti-partisan orders and was never used by the United States after his release from prison.

The Red Choir episode mentioned concerns a small Soviet spy ring lead by one Harro Schulze-Boysen, a *Luftwaffe* officer who worked closely with Soviet agents and supplied them with classified military information. Although the army initially discovered the group, Müller and the Gestapo followed up the investigations. Manfred Roeder was a *Luftwaffe* judge advocate who conducted the trials. He had a reputation as a successful investigative prosecutor and an overbearing man but his actions were basically fair.

Müller used the incident to gain more sources for his counter-intelligence programs and took a very dim view of Roeder's often ineffective bluster. Roeder, on the other hand, viewed Müller with some trepidation as did most of the people who had to deal with the Gestapo chief.

Excerpt on Henry Agard Wallace

From Soviet sources he had turned to his advantage, Müller constructed tables of organization of Soviet spy networks in both the United States and England. These lists were not complete because only one of his sources had specific knowledge of Soviet operations in the two Allied countries and his information was not comprehensive. Müller picked up bits and pieces of information gained from different German agencies and was able to fill out more of the data until in the end, he had a reasonably clear overview.

One of the more interesting American personalities involved was Henry Wallace, Roosevelt's Vice President.

Q Were any of these individuals actual agents or merely sympathizers?

M Oh no, let me be most clear. We are talking about actual agents reporting to Moscow either directly or through the Soviet intelligence command structure.

Q Then you have names?

M As I said, I have names.

Q What about proof?

M In many cases, there is proof...mostly in intercepts of radio messages and some mail routed through Switzerland or Sweden. Even some from Portugal and Spain. I would say reasonable proof. I consider rumors but do not rely on them. A rumor points the way to a fact and that assumes the rumor to be near the truth.

Q In America, for example, how important a personality have you encountered?

M I am sure I won't surprise you when I tell you that the Soviets had the Vice President.

Q Truman? No...

M Wallace. He had friends in the Soviet Embassy and they found him to be very valuable. This Wallace is a lunatic type, by the way. You should find some way to push him off a cliff or give him a fatal heart attack. He had a relative by marriage in the diplomatic service...

Q Soviet?

M No, Swiss...and told him everything he knew. This went to the diplomat's country and I know we read their mail. Actually, we first made contact with Wallace through our Lama...

Q My God, you aren't implying Wallace was working for you, are you? Henry is so far to the left he thinks Lenin is a Fascist.

M No, he never worked for us. We made a contact with him through a certain person who worked for almost anyone who would pay him. My code name was the Lama. I will give you some information just to show my good faith. Our Lama was a man named Roehrich. They called him the Peace Flag man. As crazy as Wallace but I had my hands on him. A real swindler that one was and Wallace told him everything, even more than he told the Soviets and his relative later.

Q What sort of connection did this man have with Wallace? Why would Wallace trust him? By the way, wasn't there something in Pegler about this? Letters?

M Pegler?

Q An American muckraking journalist. He mentioned something about letters from Wallace to some such person as you describe.

M Probably the same man. Roehrich was a Russian and a friend of the Roosevelt family. He claimed to be a mystic with connections in Tibet and other places. Wallace believed this creature was sent by God to help him and became involved. Eventually, they had a falling out and Wallace abandoned him, but Roehrich had contacted the Germans in around 1934 to see if they were interested and the name came into my hands after Roehrich and Wallace were no longer friends. It was a good contact and it enabled me to place a Gestapo informant onto Wallace's personal staff. I would call that a coup.

Q I would think so.

M And as well, Wallace's sister had married the Swiss Minister to the United States, one Bruggmann...let me spell it for you B R U G G M A N N. Wallace told him everything he knew as soon as he knew it and Bruggmann sent this material to Bern. We were then able to read the traffic and someone in the Swiss Foreign Office filled in the holes. I then had a fascinating view of Roosevelt's cabinet meetings within a few days of their happening. Unfortunately, the *Abwehr* also was reading this material but they did not have an agent in place so while they had considerable information, I had more. We had lengthy reports on Roosevelt's most important decisions almost as soon as he made them, thanks to Comrade Wallace. I knew from the beginning that Roosevelt was trying every road he could to push your country into a war with

Germany. He used every provocation imaginable but it did not work with Hitler. I know Hitler was very angry about the convoys and the aid to Britain but he was clever enough not to snap at the bait. Then Roosevelt turned his eyes towards the Japanese who were not as clever and they walked right into the trap. So until 1944, I had a source only one step away from the President and I would say a very accurate and valuable, if unwitting, source. Of course, given his Communist leanings, if Wallace had known about these things, he would have probably shot himself. Or at least he should have. Still, all countries have their lunatics in high places. We had Hess, you had Wallace, the British had Churchill and the Soviets have Stalin.

Q You called him...this Roehrich...the Peace Flag person. Where did that term come from?

M As I remember, he had a plan to hang special flags on churches and other monuments so they would not be bombed or shelled during a war. That shows you what a lunatic he was. Why your side spent most of the war blowing churches and historical monuments into dust.

Q That's hardly fair. After all, I remind you of the Coventry raid and the destruction of Amsterdam. You do remember those, don't you?

M Certainly. Coventry was a major production center and very few people died in Amsterdam. It was a declared fortress, there was fighting going on inside the city and most of the fire damage was done when a building full of fats caught on fire. On the other hand, your airwar killed nearly a million German civilians and Dresden was a completely undefended city with no factories and no military significance when you and your British friends burned it down. You roasted nearly a quarter million people, including a number of your own prisoners of war, not to mention all kinds of monuments, churches and works of art. Of course we can't say that was really America's fault. You were just helping your British friends out. And you certainly did help them out, didn't you? The British just set the city on fire but your helpful people flew over the next day with your Jabos³ and machine-gunned thousands of refugees in the parks, not to mention sinking several well-marked Red Cross hospital ships in the river. It really pained me to learn that they were full of wounded Allied prisoners of war. Shall we go on about the terror attacks?

Q This is not the place for that. And only thirty thousand died in Dresden. The official US Air force report...

M Lies! I have the official report from the Dresden Police President in my files. A quarter of a million refugees, old people, women, children and so on. An absolute slaughter that Genghis Kahn would have delighted in. Do not discuss this business with me ever again, do you understand me? I do not wish to bring a cloud over our business relations and questioning this would certainly do it.

Q I understand but I am only going by our report. Could you give me a copy of this to set things at rest with me? And could you verify it?

M Yes, you can have it. And yes, I can verify it. Now let us return to the matters at hand. I believe we were discussing Soviet spies in America.

Q And England.

M That list looks like the Berlin telephone directory!

Q How soon can we see these?

M As soon as we finalize our business.

Q Would you characterize Wallace as an actual Communist? I mean, is there proof of his passing classified material to the Soviets?

M I don't wish to disappoint your people but in my opinion, Wallace is not and was not a professional Communist agent anymore than Mr. Hopkins was. Wallace is a man who believes in the essential goodness of certain political systems, mostly Socialist, and when he had power, wanted to create a beautiful, Socialist world where everyone dances in the streets for joy and all the young women are virgins. Oh yes, I know all about such silly and deluded people and so, I assure you, do the Soviets. Wallace is a man with a poetic soul and a large mouth. He was not a spy. Now Hopkins did his business for money. That's all that man cared about. Money and power. He was not a Communist either but he...shall we say...rendered Stalin very valuable assistance in the advice he gave to Roosevelt.

Q We know that. You must be aware that the President fired Wallace from his cabinet in 1946. The President thinks Wallace was a Communist but the general opinion of him in Washington is that Wallace is mentally unbalanced.

M Sounds like poor Hess.

Q But Hess wasn't dangerous.

³ *Jabo. German slang for Jagdbomber or fighter-bomber.*

M No, he actually was decent in a strange way. Hess and Wallace both live in different worlds. Amazing how strange people like that get into high positions. I saw a report once that the Prime Minister of Canada was also crazy.

Q Used to talk to his dead mother.

M Did she answer him?

Q Who knows and who cares.

M You would if he told his people to dump anthrax into your public water systems because Mama told him to. Your Roosevelt was planning to dump anthrax and other diseases into our water supply. Did you know that? And use poison gas on the German Army in Italy because there didn't seem any other way to dislodge them from the mountains.

Q Where did you hear about the anthrax?

M Why the Canadian Prime Minister's Mama told me in a dream. There are no secrets my young friend, not in the end. High level intelligence is no place for idealists.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

Few serious historians of the Roosevelt era will find any surprises in the mention of Henry Wallace and his controversial opinions and actions. What is surprising is that Roosevelt had been fully informed of his Vice President's attitudes and was completely aware of the fact that Wallace was eccentric to a remarkable degree and a devout leftist. He still insisted he wanted him on the 1944 Presidential ticket...until the Democratic National Committee told Roosevelt that they would not back him or Wallace in the event the President did not abandon his Vice President. Threatened with abandonment by the party, Roosevelt quickly threw Wallace over the side without a murmur. The convention nominated Senator Harry Truman from Missouri and upon Roosevelt's death in April of 1945, Truman became President. Wallace, still very popular nationally with the mid-West electorate and the ultra-liberal wing of the Democratic party, became Secretary of Commerce in Truman's cabinet but his eccentric behavior and political ideology were too much for the new President to stomach and Truman fired Wallace in 1946 as part of a discreet purge.

The letters referred to were written by Wallace to Roehrich while the two were still on speaking terms and emerged prior to the 1940 election when the supporters of Wendell Willkie, the Republican candidate, threatened to release them to the press. Westbrook Pegler, an anti-Roosevelt columnist, got possession of copies and described the contents as imbecilic and the product of someone who had no business being a heartbeat away from the Presidency of the United States. Portions of the letters have been published and Pegler's views err towards generosity.

In April 1942, Roosevelt told Stimson, Secretary of War, to secretly fund a program to develop botulism and anthrax weapons for use against the Germans. The project was shelved when it was discovered that the Germans had developed nerve gasses, Tabun, Sarin and Soman, that were terrible in nature and which would surely be used in retaliation if the US attempted to poison the German civil population. This information is contained in the Stimson "Safe File" in the U.S. National Archives. The joint US-British attack on the Saxon capital city of Dresden in February 1945 was ordered by Churchill for the purpose of destroying the morale of the German people. The undefended city was filled with refugees from the east, fleeing the Soviet advance into Germany and contained some of the most beautiful Baroque buildings in Europe. The following report, in translation, is taken from Müller's files.

H.S.S.P.F. Dresden

*Dresden, d. 22. März 1945
'Geheime Reichssache'*

110-89-45 gRs

*An den: Herrn SS-Gruppenführer Müller
RSHA, Berlin*

SCHNELLBRIEF

"The following report was compiled from material supplied by the Police and Civil authorities in addition to Wehrmacht and Red Cross reports. The report of the Police President is incorporated in this summary by inference and is appended as an annex.

(There is a lengthy summary of the aerial attacks on the 13th,14th and 15th of February, 1945 including a listing of destroyed buildings.)

Up until March 20, 1945, 202,040 bodies, mainly women and children, have been recovered. Based on the recovery figures to date, the death toll is conservatively believed to be in excess of 250,000. Of the recovered corpses, identification is only approximately 30%, due primarily to the badly burned and disfigurement of the victims....Of these victims, 68, 650 were cremated and the ashes given proper burial. Recovery of additional victims is continuing..."

Sources: *The Roosevelt Myth*, Flynn, Devin-Adair, New York, 1948.; *Truman*, McCullough, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1992.; *FDR*, Morgan, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1985.; *The Game of the Foxes*, Farago, McKay, New York, 1971.; *Die Massaker von Dresden*, Kurowski, Berg, 1995, p. 12.

Admiral Darlan and General Sikorski

The great majority of the trans-Atlantic radio telephone conversations between Roosevelt and Churchill intercepted by German intelligence were of a relatively trivial nature. Of considerable historical significance is one of several conversations held on July 29, 1943.

During the month of July 1943, the US 43rd and 37th Divisions landed at Munda in New Georgia, Polish leader in exile, General Wladislaw Sikorski, was killed in an aircraft accident at the British base at Gibraltar, the German Kursk offensive began, Allied paratroopers landed in Sicily, Hamburg was fire-bombed by the British Royal Air force with tens of thousands of civilians killed, and on the 25th, Italian dictator Benito Mussolini was ousted from power by a palace coup and put under arrest by agents of the Italian King.

With one of the Axis leaders fallen from power, both Roosevelt and Churchill were determined that Italy should quit the war and enter it on their side. Cables and dispatches flew back and forth and were supplemented with a series of personal conversations between the two Allied leaders. Here is the first of two such talks held on July 29.

In the German intercepts, "A" stood for America and "B" for Britain and this has been kept in the following rendering. Omitted for the sake of clarity are various indications of transmission noises and occasional garbled words.

A I have some additional thoughts on the Italian situation I wanted to discuss with you. I have thought about our actions concerning Mussolini and his eventual fate. After he has been surrendered to us.

B You have to catch the fish before you can cook it. I have no doubts he will end up our prisoner unless, of course, they kill him first or he escapes his just rewards by killing himself.

A And there is also the possibility the Nazis might get to him as well. Where is he now?

B The Italians have advised us he is currently under arrest at the police headquarters in Rome. They want to move him out directly because it appears that the Germans might suddenly decide to reinforce their numbers in Italy and Rome would be the logical target. They will move him.

A But they will not release him, say to the Germans? As some kind of a *quid pro quo*?

B I think not. The Italians hate the Germans and the court circle is very firmly in our pocket. We can be reasonably certain that Mussolini will end up our captive.

A Would that be a wise move, Winston? We would be compelled to have a kind of major trial that could drag on for months and even though we control it, lead to problems with the general populace. And I should note that many Italians here are at least the secret admirers of the creature. That might lead to problems here if we tried him. Of course the outcome would never be in doubt and in the end he would die at the end of a rope.

But in the meantime, these trials, and I am assuming we would have a good sized bag of his miserable cronies also available for trial and execution, could drag on endlessly. I can foresee various negative aspects to this business.

B Of course there are negative aspects to every business, Franklin. Do you then feel he should not be tried? What would our friends in Italy think about our misplaced generosity? I have the finest relations with certain elements in Italy and to a man, they want the public humiliation and death of Mussolini. Surely we are not at a point in time where such largess is possible. His death would have a salutary effect on the Nazis as well.

A I don't disagree with that thesis but from my own point of view, a public trial might have negative connotations on the situation in this country. As I said, there is some sympathy with the creature among the Italian community here and the question would be what sort of reaction would such a trial have on them? I am thinking primarily of the upcoming elections here. The trial would certainly not be over in a week and the closer it would come to the nominations and, eventually, to the elections, the more danger there would be of this alienating the Italians who have some, I feel, significant weight in the balance.

B I cannot accept that releasing Mussolini could further any of our common ends. At this point in history, I feel a watershed has been passed and the momentum lies with us now. I do not feel that the war will be over immediately but the perception is that we are on a *via Triumphalis* now, not a *via Doloris* as we have been for so long.

A I didn't mean that we should release the devil. Not at all. I referred to a public trial. If Mussolini died before such a trial could take place, I think we would be better off in many ways.

B You suggest we simply shoot him when the Italians turn him over to us? A court martial sort of business? Held *in camera* of course. It might have a salutary effect on the die-hard Fascists still functioning and perhaps an even greater effect on the Hitlerites.

A No. I've been thinking about this and I think if Mussolini died while he was still in Italian custody, it might serve us all far better than if we went through the motions of a trial.

B I don't feel that even if I asked such a favor of the Italians that they would comply. It is my belief that they want to have their revenge on him in as prolonged and public a manner as possible. You know how the Italians love to wail and warble about revenge in their operas. Can you imagine them surrendering the opportunity of waving their arms about and playing to the galleries?

A I had in mind that, should we find ourselves in agreement here, that we could have him removed while still in their custody. At the same time, we could make very public demands for his surrender for a trial. This would be a little smoother than the Darlan business...

B I cannot but take exception to that reference, Franklin. That's over and done with now and our people certainly are not at all interested in the well-justified fate of a notorious Nazi bootlicker.

A I am well aware of your views on the Darlan business and I know you are aware of mine. It's well known to my intelligence circles and elsewhere that you had the man murdered. We have the assassination weapon and the use of American shells has not been appreciated.⁴ The point here is that the death of Darlan has been laid at our doors, or at least yours, and all the denials have had very little effect. If Darlan had been shot by a Frenchman...

B As he was.

A ...while still in France, we would have no lingering doubts. If Mussolini were disposed of while still in Italian custody, there would never be a doubt as to who killed him. And this doubt would not arise later to disturb the Italian voters here.

B I cannot understand the vital importance of the Italian vote in America in relationship to our purposes.

A When you visited Cockran, didn't you at least manage to gain a practical knowledge of our political system?⁵

B I studied the man more than the system. I cannot imagine that a handful of Italians in your country should have any serious influence on your decisions.

A I assure you it is important for me to consider not only the strategic implications of all our moves but the impact of these moves on my own situation. Things which might seem elementary to you are not always so to me. Since we are on the subject, I have a few comments on the Sikorski business that should illustrate my point.

B That matter, too, is over with. Over and done with. I paid the creature a great tribute in the House, as you know, and the subject is as dead as he is.

A Dead and rotten. I don't need frantic communications from Ed Kelly⁶ in Chicago about the attitudes and apprehensions of the Polish voters there to know that Sikorski's removal was worse than a crime. In the words of Talleyrand, it was a blunder.

B This has all been discussed earlier...

A Please allow me to continue. The Poles vote in blocs and I need their support in the next election. I also need the support of the Italians, the Jews and the Socialists, etcetera. The removal of Sikorski is causing all kinds of trouble here, believe me.

⁴ *Vichy French Admiral Jean-Francois Darlan was assassinated on December 24, 1942 by agents of DeGaulle. Roosevelt supported the use of Vichy administrators for newly-captured, former French territory but Churchill strongly supported De Gaulle who was opposed to the use of Vichy people. The struggle between Roosevelt and Churchill culminated in the murder of Darlan by a young Frenchman who had been trained by the British SOE intelligence and operated under their control. The murder weapon, a British-made Welrod pistol, came into American hands and was last known to be at the Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland.*

⁵ *Bourke Cockran was an Irish-American politician and former Congressman. He was one of the many lovers of Jennie Churchill, mother of Winston, and was famous for his elocution and stage presence. Winston visited him in America in 1895 and was tutored in speechmaking by the older man. Churchill always considered Cockran his mentor... Ralph Martin, "Jennie," Vol. II, 1971, pps. 72-74.*

⁶ *Edward Kelly was head of the Democratic Party machinery in Chicago as well as its mayor.*

B I do not see why this should be the case. We both agreed that the person was causing great dismay and anger in the Kremlin and was, by his attitude, opening a breach between us all. We cannot afford such a rupture at this time. It would be fatal. Uncle Joe has made improper advances to the Nazis with an eye to a negotiated settlement and of course it is really impossible to ascertain if he is using this to force the Second Front or is in earnest. These things, unpleasant as they may be, simply must be done in furtherance of the common weal. Besides, I cannot imagine that you have forgotten our personal discussions on this very subject when last I was in Washington. It has only been these two months past, after all, and your own views closely paralleled my own on the matter.

A I never said at any time that Sikorski should be removed. I merely agreed with you, and Uncle Joe, that Sikorski was an intransigent troublemaker who was fishing in troubled waters. Certainly I acknowledged that you would have to rein him in. He was, after all, totally dependent upon our bounty for his continued existence. But as it has turned out, I am getting more heat on this than I like. The Polish vote is important in Chicago. I need all the votes I can get.

B Isn't there a larger concept to consider in this?

A Shall I reduce matters to their basics, Winston?

B Oh pray do so.

A If I do not get nominated, I cannot get elected. You do understand that? And if I am not elected, my probable opponent, who is in the pockets of the reactionaries and the business community, will, in all probability not be anywhere near as friendly and cooperative with either you, or especially, Uncle Joe. If I should fall, the alliance could...and probably would...shatter. Uncle Joe might well make a separate peace with Hitler and where would that leave England? Hitler could turn his fury and his *Luftwaffe* on you for such things as the last raid on Hamburg. Could England sustain itself without our aid? My feeling here is that you should exercise some common sense when dealing with issues that have more than one aspect.

B I will not have my judgment called into question here. You know very well that we discussed the Sikorski matter in great detail and also that you were in full agreement with my solution. You certainly cannot abdicate either your knowledge or your responsibility. I will not accept this.

A You may very well have to. I repeat that I had no knowledge in advance, and let me stress this, in advance, of the untimely accident that happened to Sikorski while he was under your protection and control. That his end was providential I do not dispute but I will not have you imputing foreknowledge of this fortunate accident to me. One of my most trusted advisors commented when he learned of the accident that too many people who disagree with you seem to have fatal aircraft accidents. Surely the pattern could be varied? Ships do sink after all. I do remember the *Lusitania*.

B Yes, but one could always swim away from such a tragedy. It is rather difficult to walk off from a plane crash.

A We can discuss this in greater detail when we meet next month but I would like to say that in some matters, it is necessary to defer to the realities of the political battles I must face on a daily basis. And now we must give serious thought to the mechanics of an official Italian surrender. And also, do give some thought to my views on Mussolini. We need to weigh the alternatives very carefully now, especially in light of the uproar about the Polish problem. You will think about this, won't you?

B Perhaps Donovan's⁷ people might oblige us in this. Share and share alike is certainly the hallmark of genuine allies after all.

A I have no problem in considering this. Keep up your surveillance of the creature and be sure the Nazis don't get wind of where he is. I don't know what would be worse. A public trial or Mussolini's rescue or escape. He is still capable of great mischief. I must now get back to bed but I did wish to put a bee in your bonnet.

B I would prefer that you not push a wasp's nest down on my head.

A That is not my intention at all. All in all, it's a pity that Joe Kennedy doesn't travel by aircraft in England.

B That would hardly be necessary. We shoot spies here and what would you consider Kennedy?

⁷ General William ("Wild Bill") Donovan, a former New York City attorney was a personal friend of Roosevelt. He founded the Office of Strategic Services which acted as an American overseas intelligence and clandestine operations service. After Roosevelt's death, his successor, Harry Truman, dissolved the OSS in October 1945 because its ranks were filled with known Communists. The OSS had a special branch that dealt with assassinations and worked with both British and Soviet agencies involved in similar activities

A A dangerous man, Winston, but far too influential for such matters. Well, you have your Dukes of Windsor and Kent and I have Joe Kennedy. I will never forget what that creature has done and said against me. And I will never forgive his son for openly defying me at the convention. I'm very tired, Winston, and I must bid you a good night. We can speak later next month with less stress. Good night.

B Good night.

Note: In an official communication sent the following day, July 30, 1943, Roosevelt discussed the prospects of an Italian surrender with Churchill and to reinforce his views on Mussolini for the record, stated: "It is my opinion that an effort to seize the "head devil" in the early future would prejudice our primary objective which is to get Italy out of the war. We can endeavor to secure the person of the 'head devil' and his assistants in due time, and then to determine their individual degrees of guilt for which 'the punishment should fit the crime.'" ed. Lowenheim et al, *Roosevelt and Churchill...Their Secret Wartime Correspondence*, Dutton, New York, 1975. pps 357-359, Document 246, No. 331, July 30, 1943.

There would be no attempt to force the Italians to hand Mussolini over to the Allies in the near future because his fate had been determined in Washington and London, not Rome.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

This small example of *Realpolitik* demonstrates how the leaders of democracies are capable of dealing with both internal and external threats in a manner that is certainly realistic but unexpected, and for those who prefer their history as a battle between good and evil, disillusioning and depressing.

General Wladyslaw Sikorski headed the Polish government-in-exile in London and had long proven to be a thorn in the sides of the Allied leaders. He had demanded clarification of any postwar Russian/Polish borders, a demand that enraged Stalin who would not respond. Roosevelt had no wish to offend either his ideological friend, Stalin, nor the large Polish minority in the United States. Roosevelt once told Stalin, "I have several million Poles in the United States..." The friction grew critical in April 1943. On the 13th of that month, German troops had discovered mass graves of thousands of murdered Polish officer prisoners of war at a place called Katyn, west of Smolensk. They had been alerted by local inhabitants who told the Germans that Stalin's murderous NKVD had used the forest area as a burial ground for their numerous victims. This area was then explored and a large number of mass graves were uncovered which contained the remains of some of the 14,000 Polish officers who had been taken prisoner by the Soviets in 1939. This information was made public by the Germans and on April 17, the Polish minister of national defense in London, publicly announced that his government was requesting the Swiss Red Cross to inquire into the matter. Stalin was infuriated and on April 26, he severed diplomatic relations with the Polish government-in-exile. Roosevelt attempted to persuade Stalin to reterm his break as a 'suspension of conversation' rather than a formal break in relations. He stressed to Stalin the number of Polish voters in the United States. Stalin was not willing to alter his attitude and hurled recriminations at Roosevelt and Churchill for their apparent lack of interest in supporting his Soviet Union that he claimed was bearing all the brunt of the European war.

Sikorski refused to alter his stance in spite of great pressure applied locally by Churchill, and from a distance, by Roosevelt. As the investigations into the Soviet murders spread with considerable international publicity, Stalin demanded that Sikorski abandon his course and called him a Nazi collaborator. Roosevelt objected to this but agreed that the Poles had made an error in asking outside assistance from the Swiss.

With Sikorski's death, the Katyn slaughter vanished from the headlines and after the war, the Soviets tried, with no success, to blame the murders on the Germans. It is now recognized that the dead Poles were only the tip on an immense iceberg and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, documents were found in former Soviet files concerning the fate of the Polish officers. Stalin had scrawled 'liquidate' across the pages.

Roosevelt made reference to aircraft accidents in the text of his conversation. The Duke of Kent was a younger brother of the Duke of Windsor, formerly King Edward VIII. His pro-German views were well known and a source of embarrassment to Churchill. He died in a plane crash during the war. Even Charles de Gaulle, once a favorite of Churchill's but later in conflict with him over de Gaulle's role in a liberated France, had the steering controls of his British transport plane tampered with. Only a delayed takeoff prevented a fatal crash.

In July of 1940, at the Democratic convention held in Chicago, Joseph Kennedy Jr. was a delegate pledged to James Farley. During the course of the convention, Roosevelt's men wished the nomination to

be unanimous but young Kennedy refused to change his vote in spite of tremendous pressure put on him and his father by the Roosevelt camp. The elder Kennedy had been an early Roosevelt supporter and had been given the Ambassadorship to England as a reward for his past contributions to the party. In this position, Kennedy enraged the British by his negative attitudes towards their government and his advices to Roosevelt not to support Britain militarily. All of the State Department cables were intercepted and decoded by British intelligence and the American Embassy in London was bugged with the result that many anti-Roosevelt comments purporting to come from Kennedy were passed on to Roosevelt by Churchill. The ambassador was eventually recalled and a number of post-war British writers have attempted to portray Kennedy as a German spy, without the smallest degree of proof.

On August 12, 1944, Joseph Kennedy Jr. was piloting a special bomber loaded with explosives. It was intended that he aim the plane at a German rocket site near the French coast and parachute out while the flying bomb continued to its target. Shortly after takeoff, the aircraft exploded in mid-air, instantly killing Kennedy and his co-pilot. The fuses on the aircraft intended to explode the explosive cargo were designed to be activated by an FM radio beam. By coincidence, at the moment of the explosion, a British FM station, whose stated purpose was to send out false radio signals designed to disrupt incoming German V-1s, suddenly went on the air. The British later apologized for their error, stating that they were “totally unaware” of the Kennedy mission.

Neither the German V-1, or “buzz bomb”, or the V-2, used any kind of radio control to direct them to their targets. By the time of the Kennedy mission, British experts had thoroughly inspected sufficient crashed V-1s to realize this fact and were also aware that the V-2 long range rocket was set on its course at launch time. No radio interception on the part of the British or Americans would have had the slightest effect on the trajectory of either weapon and this was well known at the time.⁸

In 1944, Joe Kennedy said to then-Senator Harry Truman at a Democratic strategy meeting in Boston, “Harry, what the hell are you doing campaigning for that crippled son-of-a-bitch that killed my son Joe?”

Sources: An account of Stalin’s anger and Roosevelt’s attempt to placate him can be found in James MacGregor Burns’ work, *Roosevelt: Soldier of Freedom 1940-1945*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, 1970, pps 372-373 and for an excellent review of the NKVD slaughter of Polish prisoners of war, Montgomery Belgium’s *Victor’s Justice*, Regnery, 1949, pps 65-78. Source for the death of Joseph Kennedy Jr. is Hank Searls’ *Young Joe, the Forgotten Kennedy*, Random House, New York, 1992, pps 231-265. For the remarks of his father on Roosevelt and the incident, David McCullough, *Truman*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1992, page 324.

⁸ *German Explosive Ordnance, NAVORD OP 1666, vol. 1, pps. 205-215.*

The Fall of Mussolini

The Italian Duce was Hitler's first ally, although before Hitler came to power, Mussolini tended to ridicule him in private. In point of fact, very few people outside of his own circle ever took Hitler seriously until it was far too late to correct their oversight. The Duce was an intellectual, a skilled politician who had once been a socialist who went on to form the Fascist movement in Italy and who had the misfortune to govern Italians. As the Second World War progressed, the Italian public, the senior members of the Fascist party and the House of Savoy watched with dismay as the Italians lost their colony in Libya, were the subject of Allied air attacks, suffered heavy losses of manpower in Russia and were increasingly threatened with invasion. Both Müller and his American interviewer had first-hand knowledge of the situation in Italy—one of them prior to the fall of Mussolini and the other, afterwards.

Q The Gestapo, I understand, had inside information about the dissatisfaction in Italy before Mussolini fell from power.

M Correct. But not only the Gestapo, but almost all other German agencies such as the Foreign Office, the *Abwehr*, the SD and so on. It was obvious that there was considerable resistance to the idea of Italy remaining in the war and also growing dissatisfaction with Mussolini. By 1942, he was 60 years old with chronic stomach trouble, which was probably hysterical in nature...

Q Hitler had the same problem, didn't he?

M Yes, he did. Morell, his doctor, told me that he could not understand how Hitler was still alive, what with the pressure he was under. Hitler had to run everything and the work load was enough to kill most people. I think the same applied to Mussolini, but there was more because he was aware that his leadership wanted to get rid of him. Hitler, of course, supported him and Mussolini began to feel that a strong German presence in Italy could prevent a coup. On the other hand, it was very obvious to me, at least, that the Italians hated us and that such a presence could have a negative effect. This animosity, by the way, goes back to the German victory at Caporetto in the 1914 war, when the Austrians called us in to support them against the Italians. We crushed them terribly at that battle and humiliated them completely. They never forgave us for that.

Q They were not the best soldiers, after all. I recall the antiquated Greek Army holding them off for weeks in 1941...

M The Greeks finally surrendered to us... to Sepp Dietrich as a matter of fact... and I know that Hitler genuinely respected them and was furious that Mussolini attacked them when he did. It threw his timetable in the east off, and he much preferred the Greeks to the Italians anyway. No, they were not the best of soldiers. Down in the Balkans, they would either kill off the local people without mercy or join up with them for some looting. It would have been far better for Germany if Italy had kept out of the war and remained neutral. Still, there was the possibility that Italy might change sides without notice.

Q Napoleon once said that if the Italians ended up on the same side they started with, they must have changed sides twice.

M A perceptive man. Italian himself, wasn't he?

Q Don't tell that to the French.

M In my experience, you cannot tell anything to the French, but I would certainly prefer them as military allies to the Italians. They are good soldiers and don't judge them by their performance in 1940. They had no real heart for that war, and the British dragged them into it, and then left them behind to pay the consequences.

Q To get back to Mussolini, give me your views on your own observations about the collapse of fascism.

M It vanished in a second like a puff of smoke in the wind. Twenty one years and gone in an instant. Shows you the impermanence of things, doesn't it? Observations... The party high-command, especially Dino Grandi, were opposed to Mussolini for years. They were opposed to the war from the beginning as was the King and his circle. And I really cannot blame them for their attitude, but once Italy had committed herself to our side, we couldn't just let her go. There would be an invasion of the country and we would have to fight on another front then. Better to keep the Italians in the war, regardless of their feelings, so at least theoretically they would support us. But as it was now obvious that they had lost their holdings in Africa and were being bombed, any real support for Mussolini vanished quickly. Most of the plots to remove him and make peace were centered on their King. That one I know something about. A very small man, secretive and not to be trusted at all. He and his circle hated us and were just waiting for the chance to throw Mussolini over and surrender to the Allies. They didn't have to worry about the Russians invading

them so the choice was simple. The British were very close to the King's circle and had been trying to bribe them out of the war for some time. Churchill himself, was involved in this. He had done this in the 1914 war, after all, and hoped to do it again. There were certain letters...

Q Oh yes, when you are finished here, we can talk about those. Did you get them by any chance?

M No, did you?

Q No. We certainly tried hard enough at the end. We thought Mussolini had them and that is why he was shot. Please go on.

M You know we seized the records of the Italian Foreign Office, but a good number of significant documents had been hidden away before we got there. I must say this here: The Italians were absolutely treacherous to us, to each other, to Mussolini and so on. The monarchists wanted the Duce out to guarantee the continuation of the reign of the House of Savoy, the fascists wanted him out so that they could continue in power and the Army supported the King. In October of 1942, Himmler went to Rome to see for himself what was going on. Hitler asked him to do this, and Himmler had a nose for plots—being constantly engaged in his own. Maybe he hoped to pick up some pointers for his own coup—who knows? I went to Portugal about that time and my information about the visit was second-hand. Ciano, the Foreign Minister, showed up at the station with a big reception and many false smiles and pledges of loyalty. Himmler was not stupid, but from his comments afterwards, some made to me, he was as bad as Marshal Kesselring who refused to believe the Italians would break their word to him about a unilateral surrender.

And our people in Rome were not the best, after all. Dollman of the SD was a fairy art dealer who was thoroughly Italianized and whom I loathed. Kappler was adequate, but Carnaris was engaged in all kinds of duplicity with his opposite number in Italy, constantly urging him to throw Mussolini out and make a separate peace. I told you that Himmler had a hard time making up his mind on anything. After Mussolini fell and we had to finally occupy Italy, we had little or no support from a people who viewed us as the cause of their country being a battlefield. The real trouble, however, came from the communists who proved to be as vicious as ever. They set off a bomb in the via Rasella in March of 1944 and killed over 30 SS soldiers coming back to their barracks from a shooting exercise. There was real hell to pay over that incident. Hitler demanded reprisals, which under international law, he could do. Civilians attacking military units could be punished for this. Hostages, mostly jailed communists, were taken out at a ratio of ten to one and shot by Kappler, acting on specific orders from the top. Even the Pope made no objections to that because, as you know, Pacelli had been the nuncio to Germany during the years of the communist terror in our country and had an absolute horror of them. I once had an audience with him, along with others I might say, and his views were very firm on that subject. So 300+ of the bandits were driven into a quarry and shot.

After that, Rome was much quieter, but there were more problems with communists further north.

Q Do you know about the Red Star Brigade? I had some dealings with them when I was in the OSS.

M Where were they?

Q Up near Bologna, but in the mountains. Monte Sole. Marzabotto.

M Probably not. There was, as I recall, a major uprising in that area in September or October of 1944. It could have been a Red Star unit.

Q A communist named the Wolf, *El Lupo*, ran it.

M I don't speak Italian. German for sure, even Prussian, English, of course, when I have to, and some Russian. Such dramatic names. "The Peoples' Brigade for Minsk" that had a handful of terrified peasants, fanatic communists and young boys. Thirty people in all. You knew these people did you? Why ask me?

Q Allegedly thousands of Italian civilians were slaughtered by the SS there in late 1944.

M People were being slaughtered everywhere then. Frenchmen and Italians were running around after we left the occupied areas, butchering each other over old debts, for political reasons, over the ownership of a cow, and so on. I think if there had been such a killing, I would have heard of it and I do not recall it. That doesn't mean it didn't happen, but so many dead we would have heard of. Did you know Mr. Wolf?

Q We did liaison with them and supplied them with arms...

M Which they will now use against you or the Italian government, which is the same thing.

Q I don't think so. The entire unit was wiped out by combat troops.

M Good for our combat troops. If you expect me to weep, don't wait too long. You know my views on all the banditry. Now, all of these criminals will turn on American troops and stick knives into them in the night and you will be coming to us for advice, if not help.

Q Why do you think I am here?

M Yes, I think that is obvious. Anything more about Mussolini?

Q I understand he was willing to retire after Skorzeny rescued him from the mountain top.

M Certainly. His heart wasn't in it any more. And, Skorzeny almost killed him by climbing into the plane when it took off from the landing strip. Otto just had to say hello to Hitler and get his Knight's Cross.

Q Considering his end, it would have been better if Mussolini did die then.

M I told you the Italians were treacherous, didn't I? Hanging him up in the square like a dead cow. What were you going to tell me about his papers?

Q Ah yes. The OSS was very active in northern Italy and we were under specific orders from the highest authority to seize Mussolini and try to locate these documents which were from Churchill. The specific orders were to first locate the papers and then kill Mussolini out of hand. Both Roosevelt and Churchill hated him.

M By then, Roosevelt was dead.

Q Yes, but Churchill wasn't and we both have had discussions about him, haven't we?

M Yes, we have. And you caught him?

Q No, we were working with a communist partisan group who made the actual seizure and we took over the search for the papers and didn't find them. We told the communists to kill him as quickly as possible along with everyone else they captured with him and let them keep any gold he had.

M Women too, I suppose.

Q Those were our orders.

M Rather barbaric.

Q Not at all. That was war...

M Not at that point, not at all. Do you shoot unarmed old Italians and women because some lunatic politician orders it?

Q Haven't you done the same thing?

M Not personally and not in that manner. And you didn't find any papers, did you?

Q No, we did not.

M Then you killed them all for nothing.

Q We should go on to other things. Your people didn't find these papers, did you?

M You asked me that before.

Q But did you?

M I cannot remember a thing about that, after all.

Q General, you remember everything. I'm certain you remember every address of every house you ever lived in, the license plate number of every car you ever owned, all of your telephone numbers and even the birthdays of your pets.

M Now you flatter me. I do remember many things but not everything. Convenient loss of memory is an attribute I recommend to you. We will not discuss the Duce and his papers again, because I cannot help you at all. Since you lived in Italy and seem to enjoy the Italians, perhaps I can have my cook prepare a nice Italian luncheon for you one of these days.

Q It would be nice if we had the papers.

M It would be even nicer if we went on to other matters. Are we quite finished with Mussolini?

Q Perhaps a few more questions about the shootings in Rome. What did you know about this at the time. I mean, who issued the orders for it?

M It went out, the orders that is, from Hitler to the City Commandant of Rome, a *Luftwaffe* general, and as well from Hitler to Himmler, and from him to the SD in Rome, which was Kappler. Did I know about it? Certainly I did. I told Himmler we might as well round up all the communists in Rome and add them to the total, but he disagreed with me over this. I think I used to frighten Himmler at times, because I know he believed me. Himmler was a schoolmaster: proper, pedantic and always right. If he had taken my advice, Italy would be a good deal more stable now, wouldn't it? Or am I offending you, a man who used to supply the communists with weapons and probably ate greasy sausages with them around a campfire. Just like the Boy Scouts, wasn't it?

There were orders out, as you may know, to shoot any Allied liaison personnel we captured while fighting these monsters. And we did exterminate a number. Down in Yugoslavia, quite a few ended up as worm restaurants. If you play with such fire, you will be burnt. The Italian garrisons on some of the islands in the eastern Mediterranean not only surrendered to the British but offered to help them fight us. When we re-took these islands, like Leros and Cos, we treated the British we captured as legitimate prisoners of war but we shot all the Italians, including at least one Admiral.

Now, I do have some knowledge about at least one of those episodes, because I was deputizing for Himmler for a short time when I got a telex from down there about this. I clearly recall my response which was just this: "Shoot the lot at once." Am I shocking you? You look distressed. Did you have too much to eat for breakfast? I suppose what we did was terrible, but if you did it, it was quite permissible and even laudable.

After Dieppe, we interrogated many of the Canadian prisoners that were captured and when I learned about the orders of the commandos, such as killing shackled prisoners or any civilians who got in their way, I strongly minuted Hitler that something should be done to rid ourselves of these criminals. That is not warfare, but plain gangsterism, and as far as I was concerned, should be punished at once by shooting the culprits on the spot. Hitler agreed in principle and issued an order about this. In, I think, October of 1942, he ordered that commandos, but not legitimate war prisoners, were to be shot on capture. There are rules of warfare, after all, codified and practiced by civilized people. At least people used to be civilized. Most of this viciousness started in 1870 when the Communards in France began to shoot at German soldiers while in civilian clothes. They were promptly shot for this, as soon as we captured them. I should point out that it is illegal for civilians to fight soldiers and has been for some time—"Red Brigade" or whatever grand name you choose to call it.

When Hitler wanted escaped British prisoners of war shot during the war, it was done but not by my people, and I objected strongly and said that it was the right of a prisoner to try to escape. The *Reichsmarschall* agreed with me, but Hitler was not to be swayed, and that was that. The SD did the business. That I found objectionable, but of course, there was nothing at all I could do about it. And if Roosevelt ordered Mussolini murdered, along with the women, you obeyed your orders as well, didn't you? Of course we lost the war in the end.

As to Mussolini, I think in the early 20s, he certainly did improve the lot of the Italians and was the man of the moment, just like Franco was in Spain. Both countries were in a chronic state of upheaval, all caused by a lack of a strong central government and constantly agitated by communists. Still, compare Spain with Italy, and Franco with Mussolini. The one refused to be dragged into a war on the German side, which would certainly have resulted in an Allied attack and terrible destruction. From a pragmatic point of view, Italy should have remained neutral. Mussolini was envious of Hitler and wanted military glory, something killing blacks in Ethiopia did not give him. If he had refrained from falling on a beaten France, like a jackal, or keeping away from Greece, maintained Italy's neutrality and her standard of living, he might now still be in power instead of being hung by his heels from a gas station. Would your people have invaded Italy? The country is not good for invasions, what with the mountains, and no one invaded Spain. Of course, the Spaniards are much more formidable soldiers than the Italians, but it was not tried. It wasn't the moral issue, after all, because I know for a fact that both Churchill and Roosevelt were seriously considering an invasion of neutral Portugal, Ireland, the Azores, the Canary Islands and who knows what else. Morality had nothing to do with their restraint. Logistics did.

No, if Mussolini had kept out of the war, Hitler would have been angry, but Italy would have been spared the horror of air raids, attacks on civilians and the destruction of great works of art. Besides, many of our allies were less than useless at the front. The Swedes, Danes and Walloons were first-class soldiers, but it was the Italian collapse at Stalingrad that led to the disaster and you know how they were thrashed by the British in Libya. They lost their colonies totally, whereas if they had not gotten into the war, they would probably still have them and be the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Now, they are gone forever; the British have lost their power, and no longer matter, and that area is too far away for your people to seriously bother with. There is a vacuum there and one wonders who, or what, will fill it? The British defeated the communists, or rather Stalin, in Greece so perhaps not the Russians. Perhaps the Jews will become a powerful state, but because of their numbers, more possibly, the Arabs. Especially if they have some kind of a religious revival. The new Jewish state might just provide the impetus for that and I do not see any good coming from such a revival. Remember what happened the last time the Mohammedans burst their confines.

I know that Churchill had been in touch with Mussolini, trying to buy him out of the war and I completely accept your comments about orders to kill the Duce to recover the papers and silence him. Mussolini was a man of character and I have met with him several times. I did not have a bad impression of him as a man and his end was repulsive. Still, consider those who killed him and draw your own conclusions.

Q I hope that isn't aimed at me.

M Not personally, at all. I had the communists in mind. You may have encouraged them, but I doubt it. No one ever had to encourage a communist to murder people.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The shooting of hostages following the bomb attack in the via Rasalla has been the subject of limited outrage on the part of anti-German writers since the end of the war, but the facts concerning this incident and the partisan battles in northern Italy are essentially as Müller mentioned. The so-called “Red Star Brigade” that was operating in the mountains of northern Italy attacked the withdrawing German Army. These actions were countered by Field Marshal Kesselring, the German commander, who sent military units into the area to crush them. In the bloody fighting that followed, almost all of the Brigade and a large number of civilians were killed. Of course, most partisans did not wear uniforms which might have given them some immunity from summary execution if caught, and German units found weapons and explosives hidden in the small stone farmhouses that dotted the area.

There has been considerable speculation about the purported communications from Churchill to Mussolini. Churchill hoped to bribe Mussolini out of the war as the British had done during the First World War. After the fall of Mussolini in 1943, German officials including the Gestapo, descended on various Italian government centers in Rome seizing what incriminating papers they could find. From a catalog of their findings, it appears that the Churchill communications had vanished entirely. It was suspected that Mussolini had kept these as insurance in case he lost the war, but his murderous end indicated that Roosevelt and Churchill were more interested in killing him than in recovering any incriminating papers he might possess. None of the documents Mussolini was known to possess at the end have ever surfaced, and it appears that the Allies did not find what they were looking for. If Müller had his hands on them, then the documents would be in his files, along with many other historically significant papers—papers which would certainly be valuable to historians.

Andreas and Bernhard

Müller financed his flight from Germany and his new life in Switzerland by diverting funds from hidden SS bank accounts—accounts designated by Martin Bormann and other high officials for their own post-war use. Some of this money had come from the SS industry's office, which used unpaid concentration camp labor, and even more of it came from the successful German forging of British currency.

M In a sense, my investigations into the corruption that was growing in the higher levels of the SS as the war went on proved to be my salvation in the end. Others were putting away enormous sums of money for their survival in the event the war ended against us... as it became more and more evident that it would. The money was kept, mostly, in special accounts in the *Reichsbank* and some more of it was sent to Switzerland for safekeeping. Now, my contacts in Switzerland kept me abreast of this and I knew exactly how much was in the Berlin accounts. When I made my move, and one had to wait until just the right moment, I was able to clean out most of what was in Berlin and a good deal of what was in Switzerland. The Swiss have informed me through my people, that everyone wants to get their hands on the honey pots, but you won't get much in the end. You should stick to trying to find Globocnik's *h o r d e* and stop bothering the Swiss. A few millions here and there are unimportant and, of course, most of those who hid the money here are dead or in prison. I know your people are interested in the remaining funds; after all, we had to leave *something* behind to keep you happy.

Q This will eventually need to be addressed, you know. We can use that money and there is no reason letting the British have it, although they could certainly use it now. And at least one Jewish group is starting to make noise about this, although at this point in time, no one is paying any attention to them.

M Eventually, someone will. I thought I would mention something interesting to you. The communists, as we know, have seized power in Czechoslovakia. They threw Masaryk out of the window, and then the new government did a most strange thing with all the armaments in the Czech arsenal.

Q Oh, for God's sake, General, let us not get into that business now.

M I need to show you that the game is still on after all. Yes, I see you know about what happened. Wait until Comrade Josef finds out that these wonderful communists stripped the new country of its weapons and sent all of them to the Zionists! But then you know which group made up the leaders of the coup, don't you? Comrade Josef will have them all shot just as soon as he finds out, won't he? No doubt someone will tell him—some kindly person who has his best interests at heart.

Q Do let us get back to the money question.

M For such a well-educated and absolutely correct young man, you certainly display a distressing interest in money. I keep hoping we can discuss religion, philosophy and enlightenment, but instead you seem interested in assassinations, stolen art, hidden money, and so on. You sound like a Swiss banker in his cups. Nevertheless, let us go on about money and we can only imagine how many Czech Zionists will get it in the back of the neck—the famous "Russian Kiss."

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The root cause of all warfare is economics. Whether it is the seizure of a weaker tribe's grazing land or the destruction of a rival power's production capacity, war, to elaborate on Clausewitz, is a logical extension of political and economic aims. War launched against an unpopular head of state or a political system is war commenced solely for economic gains; the common rationale of a holy crusade is merely window dressing for popular historians to postulate.

The hatred engendered against Hitler by the American and British official propaganda machinery before the outset of World War II was due more to the success of Hitler's barter system than to his personal dislike of Jews or threats to putative democracies in Central Europe.

Stripped of her colonies and gold reserves after the First World War, Germany had to incur massive, interest-bearing loans with both the United States and England to pay for needed imports. When Hitler came to power, he paid off the existing loans and instituted a barter system in which, for example, Germany would trade locomotives to Argentina for their beef and wheat. Previously, both countries had borrowed money from international banks at high-interest rates to pay for their respective imports.

The barter system, therefore, represented a serious threat to international banking interests which complained loudly and effectively to their respective governments, demanding intervention and relief. Many economists referred to a boycott of German products, which was instituted in the United States and England as economic warfare, as indeed it was. The British were past-masters in creating economic warfare and experts in ruining the currency of their rivals by flooding the marketplace with counterfeit currency. During the American Revolutionary War, the British dumped so many counterfeit Continental notes into the economy that American currency became virtually worthless, and the phrase, “not worth a Continental” became common. Angered by French support of the American Revolution, the British counterfeited adulterated gold French Louis coins.

As a means of economic retaliation against Napoleon for his support of a French-dominated continental system which excluded England, the British counterfeited French assignats and franc notes. Napoleon retaliated by forging British currency. Later in the same century, the US federal government forged Confederate money in huge quantities. The Soviet forgery of American currency in the 1930s, on the other hand, was not designed to destroy the US economy. Rather, the counterfeit gold certificates were manufactured to pay their agents. Since many of these agents were highly placed and expensive members of the Roosevelt Administration, Stalin’s experts concentrated on the manufacture of \$100 gold certificates. As the duplication of official US banknote paper was a problem, smaller denomination bills were bleached and over-printed.

At the outbreak of World War II, economic advisors to the leaders of England and the United States urged their respective governments to forge German marks and flood the international market which would cause a collapse of confidence in that currency and, therefore, create tremendous inflation in Germany. The British did counterfeit German military scrip but used the blank reverse for propaganda messages. These were scattered by aircraft over Germany where their impact on the population was nil, but the impact on German leadership was considerable.

Exactly *who* in the Third Reich initiated the program for the counterfeiting of British currency is not known. One man, Alfred Naujocks, an *SS-Sturmbannführer* (or Major) in the SD, has taken credit for the inception of the plan in 1940. Naujocks was a longtime acquaintance of Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the SD and it was Heydrich who initially authorized the reproduction of British pound notes. The initial code name for the operation was “Andreas.”

It has been stated that the original purpose of “Andreas” was to falsify pound notes and drop them over England to create economic havoc. However, a more believable scenario, and one supported by period documents, is that the SS leadership envisioned the possibility of raising funds for their organization.

The SS was an official branch of the NSDAP and its funding came from the Party coffers, although the *Waffen-SS* drew on government funding for much of its military requirements. One of Himmler’s best assets in this economic struggle was his complete control of the KZ (or concentration camp system). Based on the institutions introduced by Lord Kitchener in South Africa during the Boer Wars to control the civil population, the KZ system encompassed a wide spectrum of inmates, ranging from professional criminals, communists, and political opponents of the government, including Jews and other ethnic and religious groups.

At the beginning of the war, there were 21,300 concentration camp inmates, housed in six camps. During the course of the war, the total number of inmates rose to over 400,000 lodged in an enormous network of camps scattered throughout Europe and the East. SS General Oswald Pohl and his deputy Richard Glücks organized a huge, free labor pool which would provide a major source of revenue for the SS. It was this system of forced labor that the SD turned to when “Andreas” was superseded by “Bernhard.” The “Andreas” attempts to forge British notes floundered in technical problems and contributed to personality conflicts within the RSHA.

“Bernhard” was named for the new head of the scheme, *SS-Hauptsturmführer* Bernhard Krüger of the SD. Krüger, born in Reise, Saxony on November 26, 1904, was a specialist in forging documents and was assigned to Section VI F4 of the RSHA where his section assembled a large library of foreign documents of all kinds which were copied for intelligence operations.

The proper paper was nearly impossible to initially produce since, unlike the original, it did not properly fluoresce under ultraviolet light. Also, a proper numbering system proved extremely difficult to develop. In 18 months, “Andreas” had only produced a half-million pounds worth of counterfeit notes, many of which, however, were authenticated by the Bank of England when submitted by unsuspecting Swiss banks. Personal rivalry between Heydrich and Naujocks created so many problems that “Andreas” was eventually terminated.

The second project, “Bernhard,” began only after Heydrich was assassinated by British agents in the summer of 1942. At that time, *SS-Sturmbannführer* Hermann Dörner of the RSHA began to assemble a team of specialists from the ranks of concentration camp inmates. This initial cadre was originally constituted at Oranienburg concentration camp north of Berlin, and on August 23, 1942, it was permanently established at Blocks 18 and 19 at nearby Sachsenhausen camp.

Major Krüger promised his inmate workers good housing, better and regularly served meals, no physical abuse, tobacco, newspapers, good clothing, and packages from outside sources. Most importantly, he assured them of survival. In return, he required full cooperation in the counterfeiting projects and the maintenance of strict security.

By the end of 1942, the 200-pound-pressure Stentz Monopel Type 4 press was moved to Sachsenhausen from its former location in the Berlin forgery center. Aside from the manufacture of the highest quality intaglio plates, the most important factor in the production of undetectable counterfeit pound notes was reproduction paper. British notes were printed on a high rag content paper and manufactured by the Portal, England firm of Laverstoke, which had been producing this paper for the Bank of England since the first quarter of the 18th century.

Paper used in the production of American currency was a 17- pound bond manufactured for the US Treasury by the Crane Company. As the SD turned its attention to the counterfeiting of American currency in 1943, the same German firms which duplicated the Portal paper, Spechthausen and Schlichter, and Schall, successfully duplicated the Crane paper.

The counterfeit paper for pounds had to have not only the correct texture and appearance, but had to be properly and exactly watermarked and fluoresce with the exact shade as the original paper. The Germans solved the latter problem by a careful analysis of water used in the preparation of the original British paper.

The actual manufacturing of the pound note plates was preceded by a thorough study of thousands of original examples of the British pound in German hands. The Bank of England had 156 identifying points on their plates and the forgers were able to duplicate every one of them.

Copying the lettering and numbering of the original currency presented few serious problems to Krüger’s experts, but the vignette of Britannia, common to all denomination pound notes, proved to be extremely difficult to copy—a similar problem which had occurred with the portraits on American currency. On the pound notes, the vignette consisted of a crown-surmounted wreath enclosing a seated Britannia holding a spear in her left hand and a floral spray in her right. However, constant reworking eventually produced an exact copy. The correct numbering system for the pound notes was developed by German mathematicians, and the numbering system for the US bills came from American published sources. As the British used German-made ink for their currency, this aspect of the project presented no problems.

The first run of counterfeit pound notes inspected by senior officials at the RSHA in Berlin was declared a technical success, but lacked the overall visual appearance of original, circulated currency. This was solved by the addition of Solomon Somolianov, a highly competent forger, to the Sachsenhausen crew. Somolianov, a Russian Jew, specialized in the forgery of British pound notes and was successful in adding the proper patina of age to the new pounds and later, US dollars.

After the notes had been printed and aged, they were sent to the RSHA and *SS-Oberführer* Walter Schellenberg, head of Section VI of the RSHA and SD foreign intelligence, distributed the British pounds to various outlets—many of which are still officially unknown.

For many years the old rhyme, “A Pound’s a Pound the World Around,” recalled the preeminence of British currency throughout the world. The final product of “Bernhard” had been tested by passing it through the Swiss banking system and through them eventually pronounced genuine by the Bank of England. Armed with these bonifides, Schellenberg’s agents glutted the world’s currency markets with over 300 million British pound notes in denominations of 5, 10, 20, 50 and 100 pounds, in varying degrees of perfection.

First-class quality notes that defied any detection were used to purchase gold, jewels and safe currency through neutral banking systems, while lower quality notes were used for less exacting customers such as Tito’s partisans from whom the SS purchased huge amounts of weaponry supplied to the Yugoslavs by British and American clandestine services.

In early 1943, full-scale production of US currency began at Sachsenhausen. First, the \$100 gold certificate was printed, followed by the \$50 and \$20 dollar silver certificates. Although specific information on the amount of US bills counterfeited by “Bernhard” from 1943 has never been released by

the US Treasury Department, a conservative estimate based on German documents and other information puts the overall total at \$50 million.

As the Soviet Army approached Berlin in 1945, the unit at Sachsenhausen was moved to Mauthausen in the Ostmark on March 12, 1945 and again on March 21, to Redl-Zipf, north of Salzburg.

Finally, on April 24, Krüger ordered the prisoners transferred to Ebensee where they were liberated by the Americans. Krüger had kept his word to the inmates and at one point, in November of 1943, had secured official permission from Berlin to award twelve War Service Medals and six War Service Crosses, 2nd Class without Swords, to more deserving counterfeiters. They were permitted to wear their decorations inside the camp area and since most of them were Jewish, the attitude of the camp commandant can only be imagined.

The liberated “Bernhard” people were free to follow whatever course they chose. There is reason to believe that a number of them continued their artistic endeavors but under different management.

Soviet and American intelligence agencies were extremely eager to locate Bernhard Krüger. Their interest had to do with American dollars.

As retreating SS units threw huge sums of counterfeit pounds into Austrian lakes and streams, the acres of floating and waterlogged notes put an effective end to the usefulness of the once-mighty British pound. It is interesting to note that not a single American bill has ever been identified as a counterfeit of the Sachsenhausen project.

The Soviets and Americans were eager to locate not only the finished US bills but the plates and paper as well. Since the “Bernhard” people and their baggage fell into American hands, the Soviets ran a poor second in the race. They only managed to locate some of the workers but none of their products. Neither the plates, paper, nor German documentation relating to the counterfeiting of American money ever officially surfaced. It is noted that large sums of dollars suddenly appeared in the Mid-East as funding for various US intelligence operations in Lebanon controlled by Haj Amin-El Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem. Many of the funds were in \$100 dollar gold certificates.

The Germans were not the only country to liberally finance their intelligence agencies and assist their countrymen in building personal fortunes through the use of counterfeit currency. The basic difference is that the Germans did not manufacture their own currency.

This form of economic warfare has certainly not ceased with the downfall of the Third Reich. The Iranian government has, by all serious accounts, been forging nearly perfect US \$100 bills which have circulated throughout the world and caused the US Treasury Department to issue newly-formatted bills. The US Treasury Department will eventually recall all outstanding older bills and carefully inspect them before making exchanges.

In 1984, over 2,000 extremely rare, nearly mint condition, ancient Greek silver coins, dating from 465 BC, were unearthed near Elmali in Turkey. The hoard of coins, in violation of Turkish law, quickly circulated into the international marketplace, and many coins sold for huge sums of money. Discovering that their national treasures had apparently been looted, the irate Turkish government forced the return of most of the horde through legal and diplomatic means. The British Museum inspected some of the rarer specimens and concluded that the *entire* collection had been recently manufactured at the Bulgarian State Mint in Sofia by that country’s intelligence agency to raise much-needed Western currency. Following this revelation, the value of rare Greek coins toppled as quickly as the British pound had fallen in 1945.

The irony of the “Bernhard” operation is that their 5 pound counterfeits are now worth more on the collector’s market than they were during the war.

Fine Art as a Commodity

During the course of the Second World War, the Germans systematically acquired all the fine art they could lay their hands on. France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Soviet Russia and later, Italy, were stripped of paintings, sculptures, tapestries, silver, furniture, coins, rare arms and armor, wood carvings, prints and anything else of artistic or intrinsic value. The finest pieces were delivered to Hitler and were designed to be displayed in a huge museum complex located in his boyhood town of Linz in what had been Austrian territory. This project was called the Sonderauftrag Linz and was headed by Dr. Hermann Posse, formerly of the State Gallery at Dresden.

At the end of the war, there was a great descent by Allied art experts, and others less altruistically inclined, to locate the stolen art and, at least by the official commissions, to return it to the proper owners.

Much of this enormous treasure trove was recovered, but many precious items vanished. At least some of the missing pieces played a role in the Cold War.

Q The problem is, General, that some things are very difficult to merchandise, if you take my meaning.

M Clearly. But, they do represent assets, don't they?

Q Yes, they do, but one often needs to convert assets to cash and how can that be done with something that is easily recognized?

M I thought you were an art historian. Why ask me such a silly question? There are rich collectors that will buy anything just to have it and keep it locked up where only they can look at it—something behind a panel or in a hidden room somewhere.

Q But you just can't go around trying to sell such things openly.

M You might not be able to, but I certainly can.

Q And I am sure you do.

M Perhaps, but I am a collector with pieces not on display, which you well know. Are you trying to put the knife into me just a little?

Q No, far from it. Just perhaps an inquiry about connections in the area.

M I thought you were making moral judgments again.

Q I try not to do that.

M Not a bad idea. Still, we have been helpful to each other, haven't we? I saw an article in the paper last night about a certain prominent Swiss citizen vanishing while on a hiking trip. Terrible tragedy for all concerned. They'll be dragging the lakes and peering down into crevasses for weeks. Makes work for people so it must have a higher purpose. As I recall, I mentioned the name to you several weeks ago, didn't I?

Q I can't recall.

M I am probably in error. Still, there will be mourning in Moscow, believe me. One of their best sources went for a walk in the woods.

Q In this case, I think you are right. I have a question for you: If you knew who he was and what he was doing, why not have one of your people visit him?

M He didn't know I was here and he was not spying on me but you. Several Soviet creatures have vanished here over the years and I can't say I'm sorry about it.

Q What do you mean by "several"?

M Dozens. Several dozens perhaps. Old age, rich food, too much exercise, problems with their noses. That can be fatal. I can see from your expression that you wish to discuss other matters: Art.

Q Yes. Connections are always important. Selling off certain assets...

M Can be difficult, especially if you don't want them to be traced back to you in the end.

Q You have some lovely pieces, I must say...

M Certainly. I have developed an appreciation for fine art along the way, especially when I realized that it was portable and very saleable. It is an investment in my present and future, as it were. Banks are acceptable but art is better to look at. You were involved with the Linz business, weren't you? You must have seen some beautiful things then. There were enough of them around.

Q Too many.

M Did you keep any little mementos of your time in the service?

Q General, I really...

M No, of course not. You were on the side of the angels, of course. But such temptation for a man of taste without a great deal of money. Unlike you, I came from a family that was not rich. My father would have aspired to a Spitzweg at best...

Q Terrible stuff. We have a painter named Rockwell in the States who does generic art. Looks good on the cover of the "Post" but I wouldn't want to own one.

M Hitler was fond of that sort of thing. The quickest way to his heart was to give him a Spitzweg. They were forging them up all over the place in those days. No, I don't think I would be interested in such subjects.

Q I would think not.

M And when I come to visit your wonderful country, I intend to bring some of my better pieces with me. I think for company, more than anything else. I have the crates built for two pieces in particular. The coins I can carry in a suitcase.

Q I could guess which two you want.

M Do you agree with them?

Q Is the Bellini coming?

M No. I will leave the sacred here and take the profane with me.

Q The Signorelli? My choice would be that one first.

M Yes, we can agree on art at least...and some composers.

Q Why term it "profane"?

M The Bellini is a Madonna while the Signorelli deals with the pagan, Pan. A small joke. If I knew then what I know now, when I was in Rome, I would have driven up to Orvieto to look at the Signorelli frescos. That is something I regret not doing.

Q I have one on you there, General. I have seen them and they are stunning, but the Pan is far superior—his earliest work.

M There is a question about that but I would agree that it is certainly one of his earliest works. That's why it's hanging in my bedroom where I can see it just before I go to sleep and the first thing when I awake.

Q I envy you.

M Don't. I was just fortunate to have been in Berlin at the right time and have a friend who wanted a big favor from me. Marvelous payment, wasn't it? You know the other piece, of course.

Q The Raphael.

M Yes. Why not? It is a magnificent piece and the history is so complex. From the Czartoryski collection to Frank, then to Berlin, then back to Poland, then back to Germany at the end, and then into my hands. Too bad I couldn't bag the Leonardo as well. Now there was a stunning piece. My associate called her the "Lady with the Rat" but never mind. I had to make do with a Raphael. Still, for a poor Bavarian policeman, I have done quite well after all.

Q Bragging is so offensive...

M Especially when you wish you had bagged it. To get back to business now. I take it your people are looking for a safe outlet for certain art. You want the profits but not the mess or the danger in having it traced back to an American intelligence agency. You would have to dispatch all kinds of art dealers, their mistresses or boy friends, go-betweens and so forth. I can assist you if you wish but there will be a charge involved.

Q What sort of arrangements did you have in mind?

M Half at the time. No more, no less. I give you security and a guarantee of the best price. Does that sound acceptable? And perhaps we could do a bit of trading back and forth...

Q The Signorelli?

M No, and not the Raphael either. I could get you the Monbijou panels we talked about. I suddenly remembered where they might be now.

Q In Germany? They were last heard of in Königsberg...

M Berlin. Then in the Munich area and now here. I had thought about mounting them here but I think that was not a good idea. Besides, I don't have the furniture, and a room with the panels alone without the furniture would be flat somehow. There is a collector here in Switzerland who would buy the lot. I wish to keep three small examples for my own collection and your people get the balance in gold Swiss francs. I will get you the best price. I might even cut my half down to twenty-five percent if your people will let me have the Dürer you got from the Berghof collection. Don't shake your head...I know you have it put away. You couldn't sell it anyway, and I want it. Give me that, the three panels of my choice, and I guarantee millions in your pocket. Could anything be fairer?

Q Yes, you could be so grateful to us you could forget the Dürer.

M Gratitude is why I decided to give you this huge profit in gold in the first place. I know you are empowered to negotiate and I've given you a simple deal. If you agree, deliver the Dürer here and within 24 hours you will have your money in cash...in gold. You never even have to know the buyer.

Q I think we can work it out. Two Leonardo drawings are also available.

M Give me pictures. You know the procedure.

Q Perhaps you might be interested in them.

M Four framed Renoirs, a Monet and a decent Fragonard plus a small gold work by Cellini. Excellent craftsmanship but not attractive at all.

Q Leonardo is priceless after all! You want to trade for Renoir? Nonsense!

M The Cellini is well worth the drawings. I collect prints and perhaps I can comfort myself for having lost the Frank piece with some drawings. Think about it tonight and we can talk later.

Q On the panels, I am sure we will want to proceed at once.

M Having a problem with your annual budget, are you?

Q New agencies have trouble justifying the expenditure...

M You don't need to tell me about such things. We sometimes have similar problems. One of your superior's wife is a pianist of some note. I happen to have several original Chopin scores put away. Let me give them to you to present to him as a gift from my heart.

Q That certainly would help.

M And stop making eyes at the Czar's malachite box. I don't dislike you but that is too big a piece. A nice emerald ring presented by the Czar to a German Prince...actually a relative of his wife. She was German, you know...

Q Hessen.

M Prince Phillip of Hessen ended up in a concentration camp for giving information to the British. He won't miss the ring at all. A present to you.

Q In my experience, Bavarians are such gracious hosts.

M When I was in office, I would never have even considered doing what we are doing now. I acknowledge that towards the end of the war, I made it a point to secure my financial situation in the event that I managed to survive, and one thing simply led into another. From a poor, hardworking Bavarian police officer, I have more or less evolved into a dealer in fine art.

Q You certainly managed to sequester enough money. Why did you ever decide to involve yourself with art?

M Actually, because I began to like it. I have always been a careful person who likes to know exactly what I am doing and not make mistakes. So I began to study the market and to do that, one has to know something about the merchandise. I found that having actual pieces in my possession was far more rewarding than merely looking at pictures of them in a book. I enjoy my small collections and because I don't work as hard as I used to, I find it a way to occupy myself. I suppose working for your agency will reduce my time for collecting, but at this point in my life, not the interest.

Q You have access to quite a bit of valuable art that is not particularly famous. That is, unlike the "Lady with the Ermine", many smaller, though equally valuable pieces seem to have either passed through your hands or be in them. Even in bank vaults or wherever you have hidden them. I was requested to ask you if perhaps some smaller but valuable pieces might not be available to us for professional reasons.

M Do you expect these to be gifts or will there be some sort of exchange in return?

Q We have quite a bit that somehow fell through the holes and I don't think we want to be in the position where someone might find out about this. We could exchange some of the warmer pieces to you for items less problematical, if you follow me.

M I do. I know that there were vast numbers of smaller pieces in the Linz collection. Rupprecht was kind enough to ship me a few crates of these things, at least insofar as he had any control over them. You have seen some of my arms and armor in the hall and I can assure you that Rupprecht was one of the best in that field. On other pieces, he just used the inventories.

Q Like the coin collection.

M Yes. The Rothschilds can't possibly miss them and there is really no way they can be traced. In a few years, when I am ready, I will put them into auction just as I do with other pieces that are safe. I can take your 50,000 American dollars a year, triple that comfortably through the auction houses, and add the interest from my other investments, and I will make more money in a year than your President. It's too bad I couldn't get my hands on Globocnik's treasure but there are too many rivals in that field, aren't there?

Q It's a pity we can't, either. The British are frantically digging all around the Weissensee but haven't found a thing.

M I can sympathize with you. What sort of items would you be interested in?

Q Small pieces, preferably in gold. We did manage to get off with some of the *Reichsbank* gold and there was a terrible time smuggling it into the United States. I will tell you about that sometime. And it had to be melted down, refined, and have various metals added to change the composition so an analysis wouldn't reveal where it originated.

M I know about that game, believe me. I can tell you an interesting story about the Vichy gold and what happened to it. Flew it out to Spain in an Auntie Ju.* That was a fascinating story, but too long for this session. They had to rerefine it, just as you said. Franco got some of it; several SD people got some of it; and some came into the hands of a small company I have an interest in. Small items?

Q Yes. And another thing as well. Do you have any small pieces that we could present to various members of Congress? Unofficially, of course.

M Helps out with the appropriations, doesn't it?

Q Always.

M I have quite a few pieces that came up from Florence, some of which were supposed to go to Linz but somehow didn't. A very nice collection of small Della Robbia pieces. That would be perfect for you because many of these were made from molds and unless there are some special marks or perhaps catalog photographs, who can tell? They would be excellent for the religious people, but I think the Jews in your Congress would much prefer money. We can do something on that. I am surprised that your OSS people didn't get away with more when they were helping to return the pieces to their countries of origin.

Q Senior Army officers grabbed everything in sight. General Clay stole so much he had to get a special train to take it all to the docks. My God, that man is a regular pack rat. He stole doors, lighting fixtures, rugs, paintings, porcelain vases, sets of silver, tapestries and anything that he could get his hands on. A damned whole train full but most of the pieces were not considered art. Clay has no taste at all.

M My dear fellow, who does? Except for ourselves, that is. I have been watching you quiver when I show you something interesting. The set of pistols by Boutet made for Fouché, for example. He was Napoleon's Minister of Police and I have some affinity for him.

Q Did you read Zweig's biography of him?

M Yes. It was forbidden, you know, Zweig being a Jew and all, but I thoroughly enjoyed the book. A professional interest there.

Q Yes, and the pistols are magnificent.

M I have a hunting sword given to Napoleon that is a real masterpiece. He never hunted, of course, but the piece is a marvel of workmanship. And don't forget his breast star for the Legion of Honor. As a German, I have mixed feelings about Napoleon but as a collector, I can forgive much. A Swiss is interested in trading a very fine collection of Greek coins to my agent for a number of German 16th-century wood carvings. One, I am sure, is a beautiful Madonna by Stoss which I want to keep, but perhaps the coins might be worthwhile. A very fine collection indeed.

By all means draw up a list of the pieces you wish to dispose of and I will be very happy to see if we can work discreet exchanges. We should, by all means, keep your legislators happy and contented and by this contentment, eager to assist you. You should also keep discreet files on them just in case they have moral qualms at some point. I always did.

* Auntie Ju is a translation of "Tante Ju" and refers to the Junkers 52 tri-motor transport aircraft.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The looting of art objects by conquering armies did not begin in 1939 but the Germans were more organized and effective than Napoleon or the Allied troops who looted the Imperial Palace in Peking, China, after they suppressed the Boxer Rebellion in 1900. It was Hitler's aim to establish a huge museum complex in the provincial Austrian city of Linz where he had lived as a child. To this end, he set up the *Sonderauftrag Linz* where much of the art located by his agents in Europe was to be cataloged and eventually displayed in the projected museums. Hitler had rivals in this art collecting—Hermann Göring was the most prominent. But by and large, the Linz project garnered an enormous collection of the most valuable art in the world.

When the war ended, various Allied commissions, directed by the Americans, located most of this art and made attempts, mostly successful, to return it to the original owners. Many items, however,

managed to disappear—some before the end of the war into the hands of Germans looking for portable treasures, and after the war into the hands of its liberators for precisely the same reason. Much of the *Reichsbank* bullion vanished into the purses of individuals as well as agencies. Many paintings, sculptures, rare books, manuscripts and other valuables have never surfaced in public since the war ended in 1945.

A careful analysis of Müller's holdings, as reported in his interviews, indicates that he was indeed in possession of extremely valuable art and was obviously engaged in buying and selling it.

The Signorelli mentioned is the "School of Pan," one of Signorelli's earlier paintings and is considered his masterpiece. It vanished in Berlin in 1945 when someone stole it from the holdings of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. The Bellini, a Madonna, also disappeared from the same holding at the same time. The Raphael mentioned belonged to the wealthy Polish Czartoryski family. It had been taken by the Germans, along with the famous Da Vinci picture titled "The Lady with the Ermine" and given to Hans Frank, the Governor of the former Polish territory. Frank brought the painting back to Germany since he had to evacuate his post as the Soviets advanced into Poland. The Raphael was taken from Frank by the Gestapo, and the Americans seized the Da Vinci and later returned it to the Poles. The Raphael painting, "Portrait of a Gentleman," is still listed as missing.

Of much greater historical interest are the so-called "Mon Bijou" panels mentioned by Müller as being available for sale. There is no record of any such "Mon Bijou" panels existing, but research indicates that in 1716, King Frederick William I of Prussia, father of Frederick the Great, presented the Russian Czar, Peter the Great, with a yacht, panels, and furniture made of amber from his Berlin palace of Mon Bijou in return for giant Russian soldiers for the Prussian King's military unit of tall men. These panels were installed in the Czar's palace near St. Petersburg, called the Amber Room and later removed by the Germans in 1941. The Russians took the amber furniture before the Germans arrived. However, some of the panels remained and were later removed and returned to Germany. The panels have never been found and have become a bone of contention between the two countries.

The Rothschild coins referred to consisted of a collection of over 2,000 rare gold coins taken from the Vienna branch of the Rothschild family and kept at the Hohenfurth monastery in Czechoslovakia for safe keeping. These coins were taken from the Linz collection in the last month of the war by Dr. von Hummel, Bormann's secretary, and Dr. Rupprecht, curator of Hitler's armor collection and an acquaintance of Müller. The collection was transported by car to Berchtesgaden and vanished from sight. The value of the amber panels is impossible to determine, but the coin collection alone is worth over \$4 million. The coins are easily converted to cash in the international numismatic market.

Both the Raphael and the Signorelli would be impossible to sell in public auction, but there are always wealthy collectors delighted to add such pieces to their private collections.

A large number of lesser-known items looted from the Linz collection at the end of the war, as well as items stolen by the armies of the victors from France, Italy and Germany, have without a doubt, passed through the hands of major international art auction houses and galleries. These agencies publish heavily illustrated catalogs and it might be instructive to read back issues and compare the art with the files of stolen property.

Excerpt on Hermann Göring

M I had encountered Göring a number of times over the years. He founded the Gestapo originally when he was Minister President of Prussia but had to give it over to Himmler. I really don't know which one I would rather have worked for. Göring had a strong personality, was eccentric, dangerous but easy to get on with. Himmler was always correct, had a weak personality, was eccentric, not dangerous but difficult to get on with. Himmler could be influenced but not Göring. I think I would rather not have worked for Göring because of the atmosphere. He lived like an Italian prince most of the time and paid little attention to official business. He rarely supported his people and one word from Hitler and he swayed in the breeze like a tree. Of course Himmler was the same way but one could direct Himmler. I ran the Gestapo with no outside interference and I had no worry about rivals because no one else would have worked as hard as I did. Schellenberg used to sniff around trying to be nice to me... a hyena, big smile and all. He wanted to get at my files to advance himself but he never got near them.

Q Göring's intelligence was limited to the telephone surveillance, wasn't it?

M Yes, aside from his air force photo intelligence, that was about it. He tapped the telephone lines in Germany, both domestic and international. Of course we did the same thing but there was no cooperation between us on a technical basis. I recall once Göring wanted to see me urgently at his office in the Air Ministry. I had no idea what it was all about but I was prompt. You know, I met Mussolini once and he had this huge office in an old palace in Rome. Used to sit in one corner behind a giant desk and glare at people coming towards him. Göring had a similar office but he didn't glare. Tapestries, old furniture, paintings and so on. Looked like a museum. For men who championed the cause of the workers and farmers, some of these people lived like kings. You should have seen my office. Not much in comparison. All files and teleprinters and so on. No oil paintings or tapestries and no marble floors either. Anyway, Göring was most affable with me, offered me a good cigar and began to tell me, in a round about way, a problem he had. Some people, he wasn't specific at that point, needed to go to Switzerland and since I controlled the border guards, he was hoping I could assist him. I had no problem with this but I needed more information and it finally came out that there were two elderly Jews in Munich who had once befriended him. Göring was afraid that Bormann might try to lay his hands on them and put them in a camp.

Q Why would Bormann do this?

M Bormann was a vicious man who would go far out of his way to torment people he was envious of or whom he felt had crossed him. A friend of your grandmother's was a Jew? Fine, off to a camp. Your daughter was in a convent school? Fine, seize the convent and expel all the sisters and the students. Bormann tried to do things like that to everyone he disliked and he hated everybody except Hitler. I expressed surprise to Göring and said quite openly that I was sure Göring could attend to Bormann. In fact of all the people I knew in the time, Göring was by far and away the most ruthless and cold-blooded.

Q Interesting. I once interviewed him at Nuremberg and found him quite pleasant and intelligent.

M Oh, he was that too. Lazy and a bit peculiar in his choice of clothing. Liked to show off. A very theatrical man. Still, behind all that good humor, Göring was completely ruthless. In a serious situation, he was one of the few men who could be counted on to perform well. He could have had Bormann removed although Hitler would have had a fit if he did. That's probably why Göring held off. And oddly enough, Hitler was rather frightened of Göring.

Q Hitler?

M Oh yes. There was the Todt business. Dr. Todt ran the construction end of things and did a very good job. Göring wanted control of it and Todt wouldn't cooperate so Todt had an accident. His courier plane blew up as it was taking off from Hitler's headquarters. The SD investigated this and I got a copy of the report. Hitler knew Göring was behind it and he gave the job to Speer which was fortunate because Speer worked miracles with the armaments industry whatever else you could say about him. No, Göring was a ruthless man. Not vicious now, but ruthless. But Bormann was not to be removed so Göring took the next best course and removed temptation from his path.

He wanted to know if I could assist him in this; that these were decent, harmless people who should not suffer because they were Jews and his friends. I had no problem with assisting him in this and told him so. I said I would take care of it myself and he became most grateful. I got an address and a fat sealed packet of what was probably cash money and I took care of it for him. In thinking back, the incident was grotesque. I had to go to Munich on family business so I took off some time and drove down from Berlin in my official car. Armor-plated Mercedes with the staff flags on the front and my driver. I seldom had time for vacations and I tried to enjoy the long drive. In Munich, I attended to my business and then called up the old people

and said I would be by early in the morning. I also notified Göring in Berlin what I was doing and he, in turn, notified his contacts in Switzerland and the next morning early, I drove across Munich and we picked up the old people in my car. They were very decent people but too old to manage their suitcases so there we were, the head of the Gestapo, a General in the SS, and his driver, also an SS man, carrying old Jews' suitcases down the staircase and loading them into the boot of my car just like I worked for a hotel. I know the driver thought it was funny but he didn't dare say a thing. And I have a bad leg. Still, we couldn't leave the bags behind. From the weight, they must have put the stove inside.

Q There is humor in that, I admit.

M It was a long drive to the Swiss border up through the mountains and I enjoyed that part of it. I sat up front with the driver and talked to the old couple on the way. As I said, they were decent, educated people and I had no problem in helping them out.

Q No one stopped you?

M Are you joking? I was in full uniform, the car was official and I had my flags on display on the fenders. No traffic officer would have dared even look twice at me. At the border was a facility for the border guards and one for the customs so I got out and paid a visit to both. I told the lot to go inside and stay there until I came back and God help anyone who disobeyed my orders. The Swiss were waiting on the other side and, this is even more embarrassing, I and the driver had to carry their bags to the crossing point. There was a Swiss official there I knew and I could see he thought it was very amusing. I told him I did not appreciate his humor one bit and that he could carry the bags the rest of the way. I gave the old people Göring's envelope and they gave me a note for him.

Q What did they say to him?

M How would I know? It was personal and sealed. On the way back, I remembered that Göring had given me a wicker hamper full of food for the trip which I had stuck in the boot and covered with a rug. That, we finally got out when we stopped at a rest place on the way back and the driver and I ate everything inside. It came from Horchers in Berlin. A fine restaurant and one had difficulty getting decent food during the war. I had a brief discussion with the driver about not discussing any of the day's events and he agreed that it would be much wiser to digest the food, and the wine, and forget everything.

Q I take it Göring was pleased.

M Oh yes. He asked me what he could do for me and I told him that when the time came for my son to go into military service, I would appreciate it if he went into the air force. I think Göring expected much more of a request from me and was very happy to assure me about taking my son into his air force.⁹

Q Did Göring do things like that very often?

M Göring was, as I said, very decent in many ways and I know for a certainty that he rescued many people, some even from camps. His wife had been in the theater and knew many Jews and Göring himself had Jewish friends. You must have heard the remark he made when someone told him that such and such a person in his ministry was a Jew? "It is I who says who a Jew is." No, if for some reason, Hitler had died before the war, Göring would have become head of state and there would have been no trouble with the Jews and certainly no war.

Q Yes, from my experiences with him, I would agree. He seemed to be a very decent man but a bit of a robber when it came to fine art.

M Oh yes, that was well known. But Göring had a bad heart and planned to leave his collection to the state. I think he enjoyed hanging things on his walls and looking at them. I'm sure history will be much kinder to him than it will be to Hitler.

Q What about yourself?

M No one knows about me except that I ran the Gestapo. I preferred it that way during the course of the last government and I most certainly prefer it that way now.

Q Now there is something on which we can both agree.

M And we agree on Göring as well.

Q Yes, on balance you are correct.

M Oh yes, and one other thing about the old Jews. I had their apartment officially sealed and notified the Munich Gestapo that no one was to even attempt to enter it. They lived in an area of Munich that wasn't

⁹ Müller's son, Reinhard, actually joined the LSSAH and was a member of Kampfgruppe Piper in 1944-45.

bombed so who knows? When the war was over, they could have come back again. I have no knowledge of whether or not they did but perhaps they could have, but they would have been smarter to stay in Switzerland. Things were very bad there after the war. They used to have a saying; “Enjoy the war because the peace will be terrible” and they were right.

The Knight, Death and The Devil

Probably the aspect of the history of the Third German Reich that has produced the greatest outflow of writing, commentary and media drama is that part dealing with the Concentration Camp system. It has proven to be a publisher's delight and a statistician's nightmare. Facts and figures are scattered in small pockets in various public and private archives and are noteworthy by their incompleteness. Writers are not bound by the constraint of factual material and the proliferation of anecdotal accounts, like aquatic weed, has blotted everything else from view.

Müller had a great deal of personal knowledge of the structure and functions of the camp system. They were run by a different branch of the SS but Müller received regular and detailed reports about the inmates throughout the entire system. For example, if the Gestapo had arrested someone and they had been duly convicted in the courts and sentenced to prison, Müller was always notified when the inmate's sentence had expired. He then had the option of having the individual rearrested and reincarcerated, or allowing him to go free. His files are filled with notices of release, transfer, deaths and official executions of persons in all of the camps in the system. A sample is shown in the Appendix of such a report by the Commandant of Gross-Rosen camp concerning Soviet prisoners of war sent to the camp by the Wehrmacht and ordered to be shot.

Müller also received from the office of the camp inspectorate, monthly statistical reports indicating the number of prisoners in each camp and how many had been transferred or died during a thirty-day period. These reports stretch from 1938 until the beginning of 1945.

One of the areas Müller's post-war employers were most interested in was the camp system and any part Müller might have played in it. There was no implied criticism of his activities but a desire to discover if any unpleasantness might arise that could make his employment more difficult than it already was.

Q We need to know your relationship to the Jewish situation. There has been considerable very negative publicity about the extermination of large numbers of Jews by the SS in special camps. A mass extermination program. Can you address your own connection with any of these areas of concern and indicate if you had any areas of responsibility?

M Of course. Let me give you some historical background here unless you object.

Q No, I have no problems with your expressing your view of history. Please go on as you wish.

M Thank you. The anti-Semitic situation in Germany certainly did not start during the time from 1933 but it did become out of hand later on, that I agree. First, let me say that I am not an anti-Semite. I was specifically asked to take over the command of one of the Action Commandos (*Einsatzgruppen*) in the East in 1941 and I declined to do so. Anti-Semitism was never a serious problem in Germany before the war, before 1914. There were a few small groups who disliked Jews but no one paid much attention to them. The Kaiser himself had many Jewish friends at that time. After the war and the Bolshevik uprisings in Russia and in Germany, most people in Germany became very upset with Jews because all of the revolutionary activities in Germany were led by Jews. Then too, Pilsudski had shoved many Jews out of Poland into Germany. Most of these Jews went to Berlin and Hamburg and got into business. Most of them could not speak German and brought their relations and friends with them. With all the economic problems in Germany at that time, it was easy to blame easily recognized foreigners for the problems. Hitler, who for sure did not like the Jews in general, used this dislike in his early campaigns. I think he was more upset about Jewish socialists in the Reichstag during the war than in Jewish merchants in Berlin. Although he did not like Jews and wanted to kick them out of Germany, he was not as intolerant as it would seem. There were Jews in his government, some in positions of power. Take Milch for example. He used to head the Lufthansa and was half Jew without question. I know because I had to make a report on this once. And Hitler knew but let him get up to the rank of Field Marshal in the air force and gave him the Gold Party Badge. So much for that one. Heydrich was believed to be a part Jew and whether or not he was, Hitler had heard of these rumors and certainly did not chase Heydrich off. And Göring certainly had no problem with Jews. He bought a lot of art and his wife had been in the theater so they both knew Jews, and I know personally that Göring had assisted many Jews to get out of Germany. Goebbels, on the other hand, hated all Jews and was very much determined to kill as many of them as he could. Still, he was Governor (*Gauleiter*) of Berlin with great powers but the last figures I saw in 1945 indicated that over half of the Jews resident in Berlin in the '30s were still there at the end of the war. In 1938, after Hitler had gotten the Sudeten territory under his control, it was decided to chase out all the Jews from those areas and force the

Czechs to take them. The Czechs didn't want these Jews but Hitler forced them to take them. As soon as that happened, there was real panic in Poland. If anybody really hates the Jews, it is the Poles. First they had managed to kick out quite a number of their Jews and now it looked as if the countries who had them were going to send them back. I think it was in October of 1938 that the Poles rushed a law through saying that Polish citizens who had lived outside the country for such and such a period of time could not return to Poland without a special stamp in their passports. Of course Jews could not get this stamp. And the Poles said that if a Pole did not have this stamp, he ceased to be a Pole and had no nationality. When Heydrich heard this, he at once rounded up all the Polish Jews he could find, these Jews were now stateless as I said, and shipped them back to Poland. Legally he could do this as they had no valid papers. Illegal aliens you call them. But the Poles wouldn't take them back and there they sat in their trains between Germany and Poland. I would like to point out to you that no one wanted these Polish Jews, no one. Even your President Roosevelt refused to accept them into your country. Certainly France and the Balkan countries refused them as well. At any rate, in 1938, after the deportations, a relative of one of these families went into our Embassy in Paris to assassinate the Ambassador. He killed a minor official instead. The news of this came to Hitler when he and his top leadership was in Munich for the 9 November ceremonies. A pogrom broke out all across Germany and many windows were smashed, buildings burned down and Jews mistreated. When it came to Hitler's attention, he had it stopped at once. The damage had been done, however, and our reputation was severely injured all over the world.

Q Did Hitler order the attacks?

M No. Goebbels did. Everyone, myself included, protested this but Hitler did nothing to Goebbels. Goebbels had to go to Canossa* over it but eventually got back into favor again. I have always felt that Hitler should have sacked Goebbels but he didn't and there was nothing anyone could do about it. The official policy of Heydrich and the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*) was to force the Jews to emigrate to other countries. As I said before, no one wanted them anywhere. The Security Service did have connections with the Zionists who wanted Jews in Palestine to help build up their Zionist state. They would take them but don't forget, the British ran Palestine and the Arabs there did not want any Jews at all. They all complained to Ribbentrop who in turn ran to Hitler and said that the SS was sabotaging his foreign policy. Also, Bormann and his AO¹⁰ were making a great deal of trouble about this as well. Quite a few Jews were actually sent to Palestine but finally the British threatened to sink the passenger boats and they put diplomatic pressure on Hitler to stop the emigration. This attitude on the part of the British went on even during the war. There was a plan on the part of the SS to ship all the Jews in the camp system to Palestine or wherever someone would take them but the British blocked this right along. One of them said something about no one wanting that many Polish Jews² They might have taken a few hundred German Jews or Danish Jews but not several hundred thousand Polish Jews. Of course after the war was over, the British cried louder than anyone else about these poor Jews, most of whom had fled to Palestine. I was actually in charge of the main office for the emigration of Jews from the beginning of 1939 until about October of that year so I know exactly what I am talking about. I finally saw that I could do nothing at all against such opposition so I managed to find someone else to run the office and left it.¹¹

**"Going to Canossa" refers to a historical episode occurring in 1077 when the German Emperor, Heinrich IV, had to do penance outside of Pope Gregory VII's residence at Canossa because of strong differences between the views of the Emperor and the Pope. The phrase means to perform a humble penance.*

Q Can you give me any insight into a special conference held in Berlin in January of 1942? This was, I believe, held at the Interpol headquarters on the Wannsee.

M Yes, I can tell you about that. I was there throughout. Prior to that date, there had been serious infighting between Goebbels and Göring about the Jews in Germany, especially in Berlin. Goebbels wanted to evict all of them into the General Government¹² and Göring was opposed to this. Göring was in charge of the

¹⁰ *Auslandsorganization, the overseas membership of the Nazi Party.*

¹¹ *Lord Moyne, British High Commissioner in Cairo. When the Jewish terrorist Stern Gang got wind of his blockage of the release of the Jewish camp inmates, they assassinated him.*

¹² *Müller turned this over to Adolf Eichmann who served under him.*

industrial planning or the Four Year Plan office and he wanted to keep all the skilled workers he could, Jews included. Goebbels said that because of possible food shortages and potential sabotage that all Jews should be deported. Hitler finally grew tired of the whole squabble and allowed Göring to have his way. A high-level conference was set up at the end of January at the former Interpol offices on the lake. Heydrich was there, as was myself, and many others. It was a boring conference and the conclusion of it was that skilled Jews and Jews involved in the armaments industry and other vital wartime industries were not to be deported. That was the end of the matter.

Q Was there no discussion about the deportation and killing of all the Jews of Europe?

M No, not a mention of that at all. It was a question of if Jews were to be deported, which Jews were to go and which were to stay. Any exempted Jews were to be left alone entirely. There are many documents on this. I have a complete protocol in my files plus many memoranda concerning these matters, many from Heydrich and Göring. This was not a conference to murder Jews. It was called to clarify the points I mentioned and nothing else.

Q But in spite of this, you must have known about atrocities and mass killings. Surely you, in your position, cannot now say that you knew nothing, can you?

M I knew a great deal. In 1941 I had heard that Jews were being slaughtered in the General Government so I sent one of my men out to investigate (Adolf Eichmann). He told me that in the Lublin district, many Jews...and others...were being suffocated and gassed and this man was physically ill when he saw what was going on. I mentioned this to Heydrich who told me to mind my own business and I could at once see that following this up was not a good idea. But then later, after Heydrich's death, a man from the SS judicial branch came to me with proof of murders and lootings in a camp located inside Germany. This was another matter and I sent him on to Kaltenbrunner along with a memoranda of the conversation. Kaltenbrunner became nervous and didn't want to touch the matter so it went to Himmler.

Q Why didn't you or Kaltenbrunner interfere?

M Obviously, we did not...at least I did not...know if this was official policy. It is better to send such matters up the ladder and let those at the top decide what to do.

Q And what did Himmler do?

M He ordered an investigation of the Buchenwald business and other camps as well. There were convictions and executions of camp personnel.

Q Did Himmler stop all killings at that time?

M I don't believe so. Now that Heydrich was gone, I advised Himmler about the camps in the Lublin district and he was very upset. But I think that this had more to do with General Globocnik than the camps themselves.

Q Globocnik?

M Yes. He was a Slovene who had been in the Austrian NSDAP and became the Governor of Vienna after the union. The Gestapo office in Vienna discovered that Globocnik was a very dubious character and had been involved in stealing money while in office. This report went to Hitler...

Q Why not to Himmler? Wasn't this man in the SS?

M Yes, but as Governor, he was responsible to Hitler and was considered as an *NSDAP* person.

Q What did Hitler do about this?

M Replaced Globocnik at once. Then, Himmler gave Globocnik a position later as SS and Police Leader in Lublin. Globocnik was the head of the OSTI or the Eastern Industries. He ran this operation for Pohl of the SS industries office. Globocnik was supposed to supply raw material and finished goods to Pohl's office, which he did, but he also stole very large amounts of cash from the prisoners in the camps he set up there in Lublin. The truth was that he killed everyone he could to make room for more prisoners from whom he could get money, gold and other things like clothing and so on.

Q Was this approved by Himmler?

M Extracting the money and goods was approved but not looting or embezzlement. I told Himmler about this and he also heard about it from the SS judicial branch. That is when he acted to close these camps and remove Globocnik to another area.

Q Didn't Globocnik get some kind of a promotion out of it?

M Oh yes, he did. Himmler sent him down to Trieste as the top SS leader where Globocnik stole more money. Himmler was certainly afraid of anyone going after Globocnik...in prosecuting him that is...because he was terrified that Hitler would find out about it.

Q Hitler, then would have disapproved of the death camps?

M No, that wasn't the issue there. Hitler had personally removed Globocnik as Governor of Vienna for misconduct and criminal behavior. Himmler felt, and with justice, that if Hitler had found out that Globocnik was back in business under Himmler this time, there would have been the very devil to pay. And Himmler was afraid of Hitler's anger. That's why they closed the camps and allowed Globocnik to escape with his loot.

Q Did Hitler ever find out?

M Not from me. It was not a wise move on my part to challenge Himmler over this. Hitler might have found out but I doubt it very much.

Q Were there other death camps?

M Oh yes, further west at Auschwitz.

Q I think everyone has heard about that place. Have you comments about it? Any direct knowledge?

M I sent people to the concentration camps, I did not visit them. Auschwitz was a work camp in the beginning. Then Himmler and Pohl decided to use the area as an SS factory site. They had major industrial firms there such as Siemens and IG Farben. That's one of the places where they made Buna. Artificial rubber. You see the SS had to make its own way in the world and Pohl was a real genius at turning a profit. The complex, and it became huge, was to make money with as low an operating cost as possible. They used some volunteer and paid labor but most of it was from prisoners. Many of the prisoners were Jews but most were subversive individuals and many, many professional criminals. The less clever of these people just died of bad food or no food at all and disease. No one bothered to take care of most of them and when one draft died, it was replaced with another.

Q What about the extermination camp label?

M Oh, quite justified. A small part of the camp, set off to one side in the trees on the other side of the river, was a probable death camp. The sick...people with typhus and other diseases...the very old ...mostly Jews...and a number of political prisoners and escaped prisoners of war were sent to this place to die.

Q In gas chambers?

M This has been said before. They did gas people down in Lublin but at Auschwitz, I am not certain.

Q The cyanide gas cans were used, were they not?

M Cyanide was used in the camps and also by the *Wehrmacht* to delouse clothing. And with all the Poles and Russians brought into these eastern area camps, they were all lousy. You ask if there were gas chambers? I think for sure there were large disinfecting areas but I don't know about these being used to kill people. Most of those who died at Birkenau did so from the typhus. But for certain there were executions there and in all of the camps. Mostly by shooting or hanging.

Q Hoess, the commander of Auschwitz has said differently but then I understand he was writing these things under duress. What about the crematoria? Great clouds of smoke from the burning of bodies have been attested to repeatedly.

M Also there they made petrol out of coal. That whole area is a big coal field and I know that Farben had big ovens to turn the coal into petrol. And that made huge clouds of smoke. Yes, however, they did cremate dead inmates at Auschwitz...in fact at all of the prisons and camps. That was standard. Especially in the case of typhus. By the way, the cremating of dead prisoners dated back to the Kaiser's time and was not an SS innovation.

Q It sounds as if you are making excuses here for the camps.

M I most certainly am not. The camps were not designed as death centers for Jews. They were used to house all kinds of convicted people such as bank robbers, Communists, homosexuals and so on, and many people the Gestapo removed from society such as active enemies of the state, loafers, permanently unemployed and so on. I have no problem now and didn't then about locking such worthless riff-raff up for a little hard work.

Q But the Jews did not fit into these categories, did they?

M Mostly not. Many were stateless, of course, and many were simply considered free labor. Hardly a pleasant prospect but not a murder factory after all. Globocnik ran a murder factory but not because he was ordered to do so or because he hated Jews. He was long believed to be a part Jew himself after all. He slaughtered people to get money.

Q How many died in Auschwitz, would you say?

M I have no idea at all. I have numbers in my files but quite a few, I believe.

Q Millions?

M What, in Auschwitz? Oh no, not that many for sure but very many. At the most a hundred thousand but not millions. Mostly of the typhus and other diseases. I can't give you any figures at this instant. I can find

the figures if you want. I do remember very clearly that the final figures for all the camps had a total of about a half a million dead over a seven year period. And mostly from typhus and certainly not all Jews.

Q Who was responsible for the killings? The ones in Auschwitz for example?

M I do not know and I did not want to look into this. It has nothing to do with me at all. I know Himmler must have been aware of this but if he ordered it or not, I do not know.

Q Aware of the extermination programs?

M No, no, let me repeat myself. Of the large death tolls and the substandard treatment of prisoners. I personally told him about the Lublin business so he knew very well about that business.

Q But you knew, didn't you?

M Sometimes I wonder if you actually listen to me. I have said to you repeatedly over the last few minutes that I knew a great deal about these things. I reported this to Himmler, my superior. I had no control over these things at all. The camps were run by Glücks who was under Pohl. We were in different chains of command after all. When I felt that laws were being broken or that conduct was improper, I took such steps as I was able to correct the situations.

Q What was improper conduct?

M Very well. In one case I learned that Communist commissars were being shipped to camps...SS run camps...by the *Wehrmacht*...to be shot.

Q The SS had them shipped there?

M No, the army. The army had these Russians shipped to the camps and wanted them shot. They were mostly dying of typhus...dying on the streets on the way to the camps. Absolutely disgusting business. And to make you happy, I ordered it stopped at once.

Q Shooting prisoners?

M No, shipping dying men to us to kill for them. If the army wanted them dead, they could do it themselves. I notice the *Luftwaffe* didn't do such things. But then you considered Göring a war criminal, didn't you? In my opinion, for what it is worth, it would have been better to spend a little more money on feeding and care of the prisoners rather than starving and working them to death. Others obviously didn't see it in that way. None of the people in the SS industries office were interested in anything but making a profit to impress Himmler and Himmler only wanted to impress Hitler with how clever he was. That's the way it went.

Q That was the attitude of the SS as a whole, wasn't it?

M I would say not. The Armed SS (*Waffen-SS*) was entirely different from the General SS (*Allgemeine-SS*). They eventually paid no mind to Himmler at all. They ignored him completely and got on with the war. Himmler was a very small-minded person. He spent more time writing memoranda about what to wear on the uniform and forms of official address than on the war itself. Himmler fussed about everything. I wish I had a Mark for every memorandum I got from him about the most trivial and useless matters...even Hitler found him tiresome. Himmler's general officers ignored him completely and he spent days writing letters to this general or that about disrespect to him and disobedience. He once asked me to investigate some of this rebellion, as he called it, but I managed to get out of that one quickly. I, for one, was more interested in winning the war than in what one general called another in an official letter.

Q Did you ignore Himmler as well?

M It was much harder for me to do so because I was right there in Berlin under his eye all the time. I did what I had to do to avoid problems. I told you before that I did refuse to take command of an anti-bandit group in the east. There were far more important things for me to do than to roam around in Russia, shooting Soviet bandits and Jews.

Q If Himmler didn't order an extermination process, who did? Hitler?

M No. Much of it started with Heydrich and after he died, it just continued. Himmler was really afraid to touch it. Of course he knew about things. I don't know exactly how much he knew or when he knew it but I personally gave him considerable information. He did know that prisoners were dying of hunger and disease and never did a thing about it. Again, I think he was more afraid of Hitler than anything else. I feel that he thought if Hitler felt he was not competent, he would be removed. The SS was his whole life, after all. And all his power, every bit of it, depended on Hitler's good graces. In the end it was all for nothing. You want to know what my role in these camps was. Let me be very brief about that. I put people into such camps for criminal or political offenses. I did not have anything whatsoever to do with the running of these camps nor their policies. I understand from a very small bird that Glücks is still alive. Why don't you ask him?

Q I think we should leave that strictly alone, General, and I'm certain you know why.

M If you are worried that someone will turn up with a document proving my complicity in all of that, don't. There is not one word anywhere about my involvement. Unless, of course, the Communists or their friends fake up something for you as they are so fond of doing.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

Müller's remarks on the German concentration camp system will be of no comfort to either extreme of the controversy surrounding the actual purpose of the camps and the final numbers of those who perished in them. One well-entrenched and influential entity claims that the sole purpose of the system was to exterminate Europe's Jewish population and that it achieved its goal in that between six and seven million Jews were systematically put to death between 1934 and 1945. An opposing entity claims that the camps were basically prisons, not murder mills, and that the extermination of Jews was neither massive nor state policy.

The basic problem here is that until the end of the Soviet regime, nearly all the complete records of the camp system seized by the Red Army at the system's headquarters in Oranienburg Camp outside of Berlin in 1945 were kept locked away by the Russians and not made available to anyone. Since it was the standard practice of the Soviets to harass the West German government in any way possible, the sequestering of such files that might prove enormous totals of the persecuted dead could well indicate that these files in all probability proved the opposite.

In 1990, with the advent of *Glasnost*, rolls of microfilm containing all the camp records were released by Russian archivists on a very limited basis. One set of these films went to the International Red Cross central tracing agency at Arolsen, Germany. Several other complete sets found their way into the hands of other special interest groups.

Müller also had in his extensive files, a large number of reports, lists, statistics and correspondence from the camp system. Both the Russian releases and the Müller papers are in general agreement as to the numbers of prisoners who actually died in each camp over the period of their existence. Prior to the emergence of these complete records there was no accurate way to estimate the death toll and the field became wide open for speculation, supposition and ideological malice.

Since specific mention was made in Müller's interviews of the camp at Auschwitz, it is instructive to make a brief study of the institution and the official records which pertain specifically to it.

In early 1941, it was decided by the Germans to build a hydrogenation plant which produced synthetic oil from coal and a Buna plant which was intended to produce artificial rubber. The town of Auschwitz in Silesia was chosen because of its proximity to the coal fields and its location at the junction of three rivers. Also, the area was considered out of the range of Allied bombers who were now beginning their attacks on German industry in the Ruhr and on random civilian targets.

At the town of Auschwitz was a former Polish artillery barracks housing about 6,500 Polish prisoners of war. This camp was subsequently expanded into a work camp for political prisoners. This was called Auschwitz I.¹³ Also in 1941, a second camp was begun approximately two miles northwest of the main camp. It was called Birkenau or Auschwitz II and was initially a prisoner of war camp. It was opened in April 1942. Auschwitz III, or Monowitz, was instituted in November 1941 and was located three miles east of Auschwitz, close to the IG Farben¹⁴ plant. There were a number of satellite work camps, basically in a 25 mile radius of the main camp. Most of these served the local coal mines or the coke furnaces.

In the beginning, the camps were full of Polish prisoners of war and after June 1941, filled up with Soviet prisoners of war. Later, political prisoners, including Communists, joined the population along with religious dissenters, homosexuals, professional criminals, Jews, Gypsies, and a number of British prisoners of war. The inmates were intended to serve as contract labor to the many German firms that set up shop in the neighborhood. The SS was paid so much per head per diem, kept what it was able to and grudgingly spent as little as possible on the maintenance of the prisoners. Exceptions were made for skilled labor who received better quarters and rations than the unskilled and marginally productive.

The introduction of Russians into the population brought the dread typhus with them and from time to time, terrible epidemics swept the camp, filling the hospitals with dead and dying. Typhus, which is a highly infectious disease, (*Rickettsia prowazekii*) exists only in humans and their body lice. The death rate was

¹³ *N0-034, NMT vol 5, pps 356-358.*

¹⁴ *IMT NO-021 Vol 5, p. 385.*

very high from this disease as antibiotics now used in its control were not available at the time. In Müller's papers is a file of correspondence between Hoess, the camp commander, and SS General Oswald Pohl, head of the SS industries office and between Pohl and Himmler concerning the terrible death rates.

It became necessary for all incoming prisoners to have their heads shaved and be disinfected prior to entering the camp. The disinfection consisted of showering with medicated soap. All clothing from new prisoners was confiscated and deloused in rooms designed for this purpose. Zyklon B, a commercial disinfectant, was used for this. New inmates were issued clean prison clothing and all of their possessions were put into storage and later shipped to Germany as raw material.

Nearly all the prisoners entering Auschwitz were entered in the books and issued a number. The entries listed the prisoners by name, date of birth and number. It was the standard practice to keep a registry of all prisoners who died in this camp by date of death, name, number and cause of death. The Russian files contain the *complete* mortality lists for Auschwitz. Based on these figures, from the opening of the camp in 1941 until very late in 1944 (the camp finally closed in the first month of 1945) the total of all inmate dead was 73,137.

Of this figure, 65%, or 47,539 died of typhus alone. The remaining 25, 598 died of natural causes, suicide or were executed for a number of reasons such as murder of another inmate, theft of food and the like.

Of the 73,137 dead, 52%, or 38,031, were Jews and are so listed in the death rolls. These recently compiled figures stand at strong variance with the numbers proposed since the war. Earlier estimates of several millions dead at Auschwitz, all Jews, have now been reduced to about one million. There is, obviously, a tremendous difference between the two figures and until recently, the larger one has been impossible to prove or disprove. In all probability, the actual death toll at Auschwitz will never be known. There is no question that a number died unrecorded but given the choice between official period figures and anecdotal history, the official statistics of the period are more realistic.

There is another means by which an equitable balance can be reached. The official files with their figures can easily be compared with the records of the German Finance Ministry that oversees the implementation of the so-called *Wiedergutmachung* or restitution program. This was a post-war program initiated by the "Supplementary Federal Law for the Compensation of the victims of National Socialist Persecution" on October 1, 1953 and the subsequent final law of the same name promulgated on September 14, 1965.

This law guarantees financial compensation for, among other categories, "survivors of the deceased victims (of National Socialism.*)" and greatly expanded the numbers of categories and compensation payments.

It should be noted that of 4,406,072 claims submitted under this legislation between October 1, 1953 and December 31, 1986, 4,404,755 or 99.9 percent had been settled by January 1, 1987. By 1988, the payments were projected to be a total of 102,653 *billion* German Marks with 3 billion going to the State of Israel.¹⁵ It is not difficult for an objective observer to realize that this program supplies a tremendous incentive for the commission of fraud on a gigantic scale.

A simple solution to the divergence of numbers would be found in comparing the known figures with the figures supplied in millions of affidavits now on file in the German Finance ministry. As the contemporary wartime German files show a total number of 400,000 deaths in all camps of all inmates, an official comparison between these files might prove to be of considerable financial benefit to the German government and its taxpayers.

As an historical footnote to this commentary, the following officially recorded conversation of Hitler's is set forth. The first part of it has been widely quoted in a number of books but the second part, for obvious reasons, has not.

On Saturday, October 25, 1941, Hitler received Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister at his East Prussian military headquarters for a conference. Present were a number of senior government officials. Following the conference, Hitler held a small, private dinner for several of these personages. One of them was Heinrich Himmler, Chief of the SS and the other was (*SS-Obergruppenführer*) Reinhard Heydrich, head of the Main State Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt-RSHA*) which controlled the Gestapo and the SD. Heydrich was Müller's immediate superior and Himmler the ultimate one. During the course of the dinner, Hitler said: "*From the rostrum of the Reichstag I prophesized to Jewry that, in the event of*

¹⁵ "*Federal Republic of Germany Restitution,*" *Press and Information Office of the Federal Government, Bonn, 1988.*

war's proving inevitable, the Jew would disappear from Europe. That race of criminals has on its conscience the two million dead of the First World War, and now already hundreds of thousands more."

At this point, historians generally comment on Hitler's obvious intention to slaughter all the Jews he could lay his hands on. The balance of the conversation conveys a rather different meaning.

"Let nobody tell me that all the same we can't park them in the marshy parts of Russia! Who's worrying about our troops? It's not a bad idea, by the way, that public rumor attributes to us a plan to exterminate the Jews. Terror is a salutary thing."¹⁶

Müller's comments about the execution of dying Soviet prisoners of war can be found in his own and US National Archives files.

The Chief of the SIPO and the SD Berlin, 9 November 1941

SECRET

Subject: Transport of Soviet Russian POWs under sentence of execution to Concentration Camps.

The commanding officers of the Concentration Camps have complained that between 5 to 10 % of Soviet prisoners slated for execution arrive at the camps dead or dying. One has the impression from this that the POW camps use this method to rid themselves of such persons.

In specific, it is noted, for example, that while marching on foot from the railroad station to the camp, a not inconsiderable number of POWs collapse due to exhaustion caused by their journey and the dead and dying have to be picked up by a following truck.

It is impossible to prevent these incidents from coming to the attention of the German people.

Even though these transports to the Concentration Camps are under the control of the Wehrmacht, the public will nevertheless credit all of this to the account of the SS.

To prevent the possibility of such occurrences in the future, I order that from this time on, Soviet Russian prisoners who are slated for execution but who are obviously near death, for example from starvation due to typhus, and unable due to weakness to move on foot, henceforth be excluded from such transports.

I request that the commanders of the Action Commandos (Einsatzkommandos) be notified to this effect.

signed

MÜLLER

Distribution:

all Gestapo Duty Stations

the CO of the Sipo and SD Metz

the CO of the Sipo and SD Strassburg

For the Information of:

the RFSS

the Chief of the Sipo and SD

the Section Heads I through VII

the Group Leader IV 0

the Senior SS and Police Leaders excluding den Haag

the Inspectors of the Sipo and the SD

the COs Sipo and SD excluding Metz and Strassburg

the COs of the Sipo and SD

the Inspectors of the Concentration Camps

all Concentration Camp COs

Scholars who study official documents of this period will immediately recognize two things. Firstly, Müller issues a specific order and secondly, merely notifies his two immediate superiors that he has done so. This is, without any question, an indication of the actual power that Müller wielded as chief of the Gestapo.

Müller seems to have no objections to the German Army having Soviet prisoners of war shot but takes offense at the means by which it was accomplished. His files are filled with similar orders and objections, none of which were ever challenged.

¹⁶ "Hitler's Secret Conversations, 1941-1945," New York, 1953, p 72, Protocol 52.

The question of the number of persons who died in Auschwitz has been addressed in a publication entitled *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*.¹⁷ A chapter by Franciszek Piper entitled “The Number of Victims” addresses the issues discussed here and sections of it deserve to be quoted and enlarged upon.

“In erasing traces of the crimes perpetrated in Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Nazis destroyed documents that could serve as the basis for determining how many people died there. When the Soviet soldiers liberated the camp in January 1945, they found documents that confirmed only 100,000 deaths. Yet surviving prisoners maintained that millions had perished at Auschwitz.

Faced with this disparity, officials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, the organization entrusted with investigating the crimes committed at Auschwitz, conducted an in-depth study. *Based on witness testimonies regarding the capacity of the camp and the length of time that its machinery for mass murder was operative*, (emphasis added) the commission concluded that no fewer than *four million* (emphasis added) persons were put to death at the camp... Four million... is the number recorded in Polish literature, as well as in publications of other countries.”

(For the actual Auschwitz deaths see Appendix)

In *The Final Solution*, one of the first books to deal with the Holocaust, published in 1953, the figure of four million was radically reevaluated. English historian Gerald Reitlinger estimated the number of victims at Auschwitz to be roughly *800,000 to 900,000*, (emphasis added) based on an analysis of the losses of Jews reported by specific countries...

The destruction by the Nazis of most Auschwitz records is the most important cause of divergent estimates... researchers had to rely on *discrepant and imprecise data from testimonies and depositions of witnesses, former prisoners and Nazi functionaries and on court decisions and fragmentary and incomplete records of camp registries, archives, (sic) and other institutions*. (Emphasis added).”

The question of the destruction of Auschwitz records has been raised over the years to support the claims that large numbers of people died in the camp but were not recorded. If the SS camp administration did destroy or remove official records from Auschwitz before the complex was overrun by the Soviets in early 1945, they did not and could not touch the records that had been sent to the headquarters of the camp system outside of Berlin, or any other copies sent to different agencies. According to the author of the article, the Soviets did find records indicating 100,000 deaths.

Reliance on anything originating from Stalin’s agents is totally unrealistic. The Soviets had no problem continuously rewriting their own history and obviously would have had no problem rewriting the history of other nations. The concurrence of the Poles in Soviet findings has no validity whatsoever. Poland was under complete control of the Soviets at the time of their reports and any official commission would do precisely as it was told by its masters.

It was only after the implosion of the Soviet Empire that their state archives became available to outside researchers, at least on a limited basis. As has been noted before, it was the standard policy of the Soviet government to denigrate and attack the government of West Germany, not support it. The microfilms released by the Russian archives in the early 1990s were copies of documents found at the SS camp headquarters in 1945 and had these supported the theory of extensive extermination programs, they certainly would have been released years before.

There is another argument used to explain the lack of documentation supporting the thesis of a million or more dead at Auschwitz. This argument claims that endless transports of Jews were delivered to the camp, not recorded anywhere and immediately executed. This, it is claimed, explains why there is such a disparity between official German figures and those proposed by others.

This argument has some fleeting validity but the question arises that if these transports were unrecorded in German records, how could anyone use them as references other than by supposition and speculation? It is very difficult to have one’s cake and eat it too.

The question of transport also needs to be addressed. When the German *Reichsbahn* scheduled rail transportation to Auschwitz, it was listed officially as special trains (*Sonderzug*) which indicated that the transports were privately contracted... in this case by the SS. If these transports were of an official, State nature, they would be listed as regular traffic, paid for by the government. While in the beginning of the forced Jewish emigration prior to the war, the Jewish community in Germany and overseas was compelled to pay for the emigration out of their own pockets, such accommodations were not operational during the

¹⁷ “*Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*,” ed. Yisrael Gutman and Michael Berenbaum, 1994, Indiana University Press. pps 61 et seq.

war except in rare cases. It should also be noted that transport from Auschwitz taking manufactured products to various points in Europe were also listed as Special Trains. Auschwitz was part of the SS economic empire and as such, was run by the SS and not the German government. The Armed SS (*Waffen-SS*) was not an official part of the *Wehrmacht* and its operating expenses, as were the operating expenses for the entire SS, had to be paid for by the SS itself.

This in itself would cast considerable doubt on the thesis that a vast extermination program had been ordered by Hitler officially as State policy. When the SS ran out of operating capital, the transports stopped running.

The use of prisoner labor was certainly addressed in the numerous trials held after the war.

Another thesis often expressed is that the victims at Auschwitz were nearly all Jewish. Reports from the camp break down the exact number of inmates by groups, to include Jews. At Auschwitz, by far the largest group were those held in protective custody or as political prisoners. As most of the inmates in this category were committed as a result of Gestapo action, the reason for Müller receiving regular camp reports is understandable.

With former Soviet archival material now available, a greater balance should be much easier to obtain. It was only their stubborn refusal to release these records that allowed inflated figures, supported only with anecdotal and unsupported material, to flourish and, like ivy, expand and cover every aspect of the building beneath.

This archival material has, in fact, been available on microfilm since 1989 but is rarely discussed. An article in the New York 'Times' of March 3, 1991 quotes the Soviet sources with considerable accuracy. Forty six camps are covered with a total death toll of more than 400,000. Auschwitz records contain approximately 70,000 death certificates and in addition the death totals of 130,000 among the forced laborers in all camps and 200,000 additional names of various classes of prisoners in all camps to include Buchenwald, Sachsenhausen and Gross Rosen. When queried about this article and the numbers reflected in it, Red Cross officials in Washington, DC agreed that they were indeed the figures contained in the microfilms they had received from Soviet sources but that "special secret lists" existed that boosted the death toll far higher. Further questioning elicited that no one had seen these "secret lists" but that they must certainly exist and that quoting from the official records was "misleading" and should not be done.

The records of the concentration camp system discovered by the Soviets at the system headquarters outside of Berlin in 1945 are complete. From a chronological point of view, there are no gaps. Many of the records found by the Soviets at Auschwitz are not complete but the headquarters files contain copies of all the Auschwitz records. Müller's files, like the files found in Auschwitz, contain nearly all of the statistical data found in the headquarters files. The main office file is the complete file; the documents discovered in Auschwitz and the papers in Müller's archives all match these files exactly.

The arrest, deportation and forced labor of a large number of people, including Jews, was repugnant and on a parallel with the British concentration camps (from whence the name came) instituted during the Boer War in which over 20,000 Boer women and children died in conditions of disease, filth and squalor, and is not possible to ignore or justify.¹⁸

Aside from the records of the camp headquarters seized by the Soviets in 1945 from Oranienburg, another source exists that deals with the monthly population reports made by the individual camps to headquarters. These consisted of radio reports sent in to Oranienburg on a monthly basis. From early 1942 through February of 1943, British intelligence was monitoring these reports and in their official history of the British intelligence system, stated that, "The returns from Auschwitz, the largest of the camps with 20,000 prisoners, mentioned illness as the main cause of death, but included references to shootings and hangings. There were no references in the decrypts to gassing."¹⁹

Given inaccurate demographics about the post-war Jewish population, there is still a considerable gap in the number of Jews, mostly Polish Jews, who were living in Poland in 1939 and unaccounted for in 1945. The assumption was made, and is still being made, that these differences were clearly explained by the extermination theory.

The former Soviet Union maintained a rigid control over its files until its collapse, and it has only been since this point in time that a much clearer picture of events has become evident. In 1995, Russian author Arkady Vaksberg, a Jewish writer, attorney, and investigative journalist, published a book entitled *Stalin Against The Jews*, the basic theme of which is the persecution of Soviet Jews by Stalin after he had

¹⁸ *Amery, vol.5, 252, 253, 601; vol. 6, 24-25*

¹⁹ "*British Intelligence in the Second World War,*" *Hinsley et al, London, 1980, vol. 11, p 673.*

used them against his enemies. Vaksberg goes into some detail about the Polish Jews who, in September of 1939, fled the German advance into Poland and went into the Soviet Union. Vaksberg states that these Polish Jews were siezed by Stalin's agencies and put into prison camps. The author states that exact figures of these prisoners are not presently available but speaks of "hundreds of thousands." He also mentions that Soviet border police shot down many escaping Jews before they crossed the border into Communist territory. Survival in Soviet *Gulags* was very poor; of the 80,000 German prisoners of war captured at Stalingrad, only 6,000 were alive in 1955 to return to Germany. How many of these hundreds of thousands of Polish Jews survived the war is not known, but perhaps former Soviet archives hold the final answer to this issue, an issue that has persisted for half a century.²⁰

After the breakup of the Yugoslav state in the 1990s, the "ethnic cleansing" by the winsome Serbs of anyone they disliked, including Catholics and Jews, was greeted with a chorus of dismay from other nations...but nothing more.

Müller comments with a great deal of truth that no one wanted to help the tormented Jews of Europe. This lack of common humanity is still evident.

²⁰ "Stalin Against the Jews," Vaksberg, *New York, 1995*, pp 103-107.

Here Today, Gone Tomorrow

One of the ugliest chapters of the Second World War concerns the uprooting and deaths of millions of non-combatant civilians, to include British, French, German, and Russian. In fact, the roster can include the populations of all the countries of Europe that were not neutral. Of this enormous slaughter which ran into the tens of millions, none has gained more notoriety than the Fate of Europe's Jewish population. From the beginning of 1939 through October of that year when he resigned in disgust, Heinrich Müller was in charge of the SS program of emigration for Germany's Jewish citizens. Throughout his interview, Müller makes reference to the frustration of his efforts by both domestic and foreign entities..

Q: Then you do have some working knowledge of this Mossad organization?

M: Yes, but that was just before the war. What they are now I do not know, although it is my belief that they are now an intelligence agency. They started out, however, as a branch of the Zionists in Palestine called the Mossad le Aliyah Bet, if I am not in error, and I apologize for my, butchered pronunciation. I do not speak Hebrew at all. It was organized in late 1937, I believe, by the Haganah organization to assist Jews to settle in Palestine. As you may know, it has always been the Zionist goal to secure that area for a Jewish state, and at that time the British were actively blocking Jewish immigration into the area in deference to the Arabs there.

This Mossad agency set up groups throughout Europe, especially in Poland and the eastern areas, to encourage Jews, mostly young and healthy ones, to migrate to Palestine. They were a combination of an emigration service and a travel agency. Eventually, the British blocked their efforts and the Zionists sent their people to us. It was an interesting relationship, let me tell you., but still, it served both of us very well. They wanted Jews in Palestine for political reasons, and we wanted Jews out of Germany for the same reasons, but in reverse.

Q: Did you know any of these people first hand!

M: I met Auerbach once and several others. I really had no trouble with them at all because we both were interested in the same thing. We were all very polite to each other which was humorous in a black way considering Crystal Night. I've said before that there was nothing but trouble for me when I was given the job of overseeing the departure of Jews from Germany. Ribbentrop and Bormann blocked me. Ribbentrop claimed that the Arabs, whom he wished to cultivate, objected to the influx of what they believed were dangerous Jews, and Bormann and the Party ideologues claimed we were splitting up the Jews into dangerous groups that would be difficult to control later.

In my opinion, considering what I had heard about Palestine, the terrible climate, lack of water and primitive living conditions there would occupy the Jews for a long time and they certainly would not be interested in taking over the world as Bormann and Hitler thought. Nevertheless, they ran the country, more or less, and I did not.

I finally quit the entire business in disgust. That was after the terrible St. Louis business. I suppose you know about that mess?

Q: Yes, it was not pleasant.

M: Such restraint. I went to the Cubans and got them to sell us landing permits, actually paid Hapag for the charter of their ship and sent off over nine hundred Jews to a new, and certainly safer life in Cuba, which was far more comfortable than Palestine. But then your President became involved and the rest we know.

Q: I know about most of that from my family, but do realize that Roosevelt had some constraints on him viz a viz public opinion. I think if he was able to have done so, he would have certainly rescued far more Jews.

M: But why didn't he? Would the American voters have thrown him out because, for example, he rescued thousands of little children, Jews or not?

Q: Roosevelt was a very political person, as you know.

M: No, that is not my question. My question was, why could he not have at the very least saved the children, which we know he made no effort to do. That is the question.

Q: He couldn't.

M: Oh yes, he could and you know it. You just want to defend Roosevelt because you liked some of his policies and don't tell me you don't. Listen to me, my young friend. The American President, who spent most of his time attacking Hitler as an evil man, had the opportunity of permitting many thousands of badly persecuted and unwanted German Jews into your country.

Here we are not talking about bandits or layabouts, but artists, bankers, lawyers, doctors and so on. And he wouldn't let a single one into your country. In fact, your State Department people told our people in Washington that they would not take any Jews at all, so not to try to push them on you. Oh yrs, they did say this policy did not extend to Christian Germans, but only, and I stress this to you, only to Jews. And your Roosevelt posed as the champion of oppressed people and the beacon of liberty throughout the world. Such a vicious, self-serving and heartless reptile! And a hypocrite as well.

Please don't defend him to me on this matter. I dealt with this first hand and I can assure you that we made the effort to find a home for these people and you wouldn't give it to them.

Q: Well then, let me make a comment about that speech, if I may

M: Please do

Q: By what right did you have forcing law-abiding German citizens out of your country solely because they were Jews? How can you criticize Roosevelt in this business? If your Hitler hadn't instituted pogroms and gross maltreatment of German Jews, there would have been no issue for Roosevelt to deal with, would there?

M: Quite true. Nevertheless, I did not make these policies, but I only enforced them. For that you can make a moral judgment against me, because as I have said much earlier, I was not in favor of this mass expulsion. While we might have gotten rid of some unwanted Polish Jews, we also eventually extended this to all Jews and lost many loyal and productive citizens. Yes, we now have two moral situations; mine and Roosevelt's. The difference is that I made real efforts to get the harassed Jews into some safe place and Roosevelt, who had no Hitler or Himmler over him issuing orders, did nothing at all. And he was aware that if he did not let these people into America they would no doubt suffer more as the radical Jewhaters in Germany gained more power. Tell me, which one of the two of us is the worst?

Q: Both, if you want to know. You certainly knew better and he put his political career ahead of his humanity.

M: Awkwardly put, but I take the meaning. I wonder, if the dead Jews were suddenly to come to life again, which one of us would they curse the most?

Q: Please, Let us leave this business alone. I cannot criticize Roosevelt in this and I do not wish to engage you in a debate that might prove damaging to our relationship.

Historical Perspective ~ Reflections of the Author

The institution of the Nuremberg racial laws in 1936 and the pogroms that swept Germany in November of 1938, made it clearly evident to the world that Hitler was determined to drive the Jews out of Germany. There was no program or intention in Germany then to put them into concentration camps because these camps were designed solely for political dissidents and common criminals. The addition of the 500,000 Jews living in Germany at that time would have put an intolerable strain on the camp system. It was the general idea that there should be a new diaspora, a dispersing of the Jews. But the problem facing the Germans, aside from international outrage engendered by their program of harassment and expulsion, was that no other country wanted to accept the Jewish refugees. Many of these originated in Russia and had fled into what was then the Grand Duchy of Poland when the Imperial Russian government started its great pogroms at the end of the nineteenth century.

When Poland gained its independence from Russia after the First World War, the new Polish head of state, Marshal Pilsudski, strongly encouraged as many of the five million Jewish residents of his country to leave it as quickly as possible. The great bulk of these escaped into what was then a very tolerant Germany only to encounter, after 1933, the political programs of Adolf Hitler.

Once it became evident to the Jewish community of Germany that the persecutions would not cease, many fled the country, some legally and some illegally. A number went to Switzerland, which took in about fifty thousand, and many others went to France, Belgium and Holland, while a very few managed to go to England and America. The British initially permitted immigration to Palestine, a territory they had controlled since the end of the First World War, but in 1939, when Müller took over the Jewish diaspora, the Arabs of that territory were in a state of open revolt against the British, in part because of the influx of Jews. The British then curtailed any Jewish immigration and threatened to sink any refugee boats full of Jewish refugees headed for Palestine.

France was overwhelmed with a quarter million refugees from the recently ended Spanish Civil War and declared that they would accept no more refugees. The desperate Jews trickled in small numbers to South America and such remote places as Shanghai, the foreign business center of a China that was

engaged in a major war with the Japanese. When that city fell to the Japanese Army, Shanghai was cut off as a haven for any further refugees.

The United States had a reputation as a haven for the persecuted of Europe, but this reputation was about to be irremediably tarnished through the actions of U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt and Breckinridge Long, one of the highest officials of the U.S. Department of State.

When confronted with a mass of frightened German (and Austrian) Jews seeking entrance into the United States, Roosevelt at first attempted to find some other area in the world that would accept a large number of them. The President, through the Department of State, suggested Ethiopia as a country into which "refugees could be admitted in almost unlimited numbers," while the Germans recommended Madagascar. Mussolini felt that Siberia had its attractions and Roosevelt then decided that central Africa might be a better choice. The British suggested the jungle areas of South America or perhaps Venezuela could be an "excellent settlement area for unwanted German Jews." Needless to say, the German Jews had no great interest in the jungles and unpopulated, remote areas of the world, and as middle-class professionals and businessmen, preferred to go to the United States since the rest of civilized Europe plainly did not want anything to do with them.

In 1938, the immigration quota from Germany was 25,957. This figure reflected German immigrants, not Jewish, and the question put to the State Department was how many of the German quota would be Jews. This matter was never officially resolved because it suited the Department of State not to do so.

Breckinridge Long, the official in the State Department who oversaw immigration, was strongly xenophobic, disliked immigrants from countries that were not Northern European Protestant in origin, and most especially detested Jews. In these attitudes, Long was entirely in harmony with the American East Coast establishment which felt exactly as he did.

The United States was still suffering from the effects of the Depression that had begun in 1929 and had erupted again in 1938. In times of economic travail, the minorities always suffer and this maxim was certainly true from 1938 onwards. While Roosevelt had opened his administration to Jews, something that had never happened before, he nevertheless had no interest in assisting the Jews of Europe in entering the United States. The President was a man of his age and of his milieu, and anti-Semitism in America was not violent as it was in Germany, but was certainly evident and very persistent in American society.

After the pogroms of Crystal Night, Roosevelt publicly expressed outrage to the German government about the blatant mistreatment of the Jews. But in private, he agreed with the stringent boycott of Germany and her exports by his friend Samuel Untermyer and powerful members of the American Jewish community, who had expressed their anger against Hitler for a number of years before the 1938 incidents. But when it became evident that the United States was the intended goal of the Jews of Germany, Roosevelt balked. Verbal outrage and high-sounding morality was one thing, but an influx of Jews was quite something else. Even after Crystal Night, American public opinion was strongly opposed to any loosening of the very restrictive 1924 immigration act, and, in fact this opposition rose from 70 percent to 83 percent following the German pogroms.

If nothing else, Roosevelt was a thoroughly pragmatic and coldly realistic politician. Even though he personally enjoyed considerable support from America's Jewish community, he realized that the Jews alone could not keep him in office so he quickly pandered to the exclusionist view of the overwhelming bulk of his electorate.

His personal views were certainly reflected in the elitist attitudes of his career diplomats. In 1938, after Mussolini had promulgated some anti-Semitic laws. Roosevelt wrote to his Ambassador in Rome, "What a plight the unfortunate Jews are in. It gives them little comfort to remind them that they have been 'on the run' for about four thousand years."

In 1942, after the war had been raging for three years and there was no doubt that all of Europe's Jews were being rounded up and put into detention camps, Roosevelt remarked to Leo Crowley, an Irish-American Catholic who was his Custodian of Alien Property, and Henry Morgenthau, Jr., his Secretary of the Treasury, "Leo, you know this is a Protestant country, and the Catholics and Jews are here on sufferance. It is up to both of you to go along with anything that I want at this time."

In a 1943 trans-Atlantic scrambled telephone conversation with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Roosevelt said. "Of course I have pity on the Jews, but we simply don't want them over here. No one wants them here. You don't want them in Palestine and neither do the Arabs. Could we not send them to some place like South America?" to which Churchill replied, "Certainly that could be done, but I cannot countenance shipping hundreds of thousands of perfectly obnoxious Polish Jews to our territories."

In May of 1939, Müller had arranged with the Hamburg-Amerika shipping line to charter one of their passenger ships, the SS *St. Louis*, to transport a group of 936 German Jews to Cuba. Müller had purchased landing permits from the Cuban government and secured passports for the Jews, but shortly after the ship sailed on May 13, the U.S. Department of State, in the person of Breckinridge Long who was acting on the specific orders of President Roosevelt, requested that the Cuban government immediately cancel all of these landing permits. Neither he nor the President wanted that many unwelcome Jews so close to America, a country which, they reasoned, the refugees would then wish to move to. Never adverse to making money, the Cubans, in defiance of the American President, claimed they would permit the Jews to land if they would renegotiate their fees and pay an additional \$500, plus Cuban legal fees per person. Since the homeless refugees had spent all their money on the voyage and on their original landing fees, only twenty two of them were able to raise the necessary cash. The others, and the Captain of the *St. Louis*, were ordered out of Cuban waters at once. The Captain, Gustav Schröder, knowing that taking his passengers back to Germany guaranteed that they would be imprisoned, made every effort to land them at an American port. But Roosevelt ordered out the American Coast Guard which followed the ship to prevent any of the refugees from attempting to swim ashore.

In America, many Jewish groups, including the influential Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, petitioned official Washington and the President to relent. They pointed out that of the 936 passengers, 734 had U.S. immigration-quota permits, but Roosevelt and Long would not move an inch and the *St. Louis* had to sail back to Europe. They would not even accept the children among the passengers.

Most of the passengers were landed in countries other than Germany, which only postponed their fate by a few months. When the 1940 campaign in France ended, the refugees there were in the same situation again.

Prior to this, immediately after the Crystal Night pogroms, the British government had agreed to relinquish their own quota of 65,000 British immigrants to America in favor of the Jews, but again Long rejected this out of hand. Tired of the complaints of the American Jewish community, Roosevelt discussed the possibility of “establishing Jewish colonies on uninhabited or sparsely inhabited good agricultural land,” but of course, not in the United States. This idea came to nothing because no country possessing such land had any interest in permitting the creation of Jewish colonies.

A year later, the ship SS *Quanza* from Portugal with a manifest of eighty Jewish refugees landed at Norfolk, Virginia. The passengers had no valid papers and had been summarily rejected by both Mexico and Nicaragua. Mrs. Roosevelt exerted her influence and sent down the head of the President’s Advisory Committee on Political Refugees to see that the refugees would be accepted. This act incurred the wrath of Long who in this case, at least, had been overruled by higher authority.

A few months before the outbreak of war in Europe, Roosevelt blocked a plan to permit the \$50 million Congressional appropriation for the American Red Cross to spend \$1 million of it to aid for the transportation of refugee children from Europe. Although some of his closest aides supported this bill, Roosevelt blocked it and it died. However, he did donate \$250 to a U.S. charity to assist in the emigration of the children of one Jewish family, a matter that had been pressed on him by a cousin.

Roosevelt’s man in the State Department, Breckinridge Long, did everything in his power to prevent the entrance of any “undesirable” refugees into the United States, and this term encompassed almost anyone from Eastern Europe. He detested Jews and did not wish this country to be contaminated by a group of people whom he viewed as impossible to assimilate.

Long instructed U.S. Embassies and consulates throughout Europe to block any attempt at emigration by European Jews to America, stalling the process by erecting as many bureaucratic barriers as possible. When Interior Secretary Harold Ickes attempted to issue permits for 12,000 refugees to land in the Virgin Islands, which his agency controlled, and then permit them to emigrate to the United States, Long went to the President and quickly convinced him to block the Ickes program, which Roosevelt promptly did.

In 1944, after the collapse of the Horthy regime in Hungary and the installation of a right-wing government, the SS was asked to deport all the Jews from Budapest. A year before, a group was formed in Hungary called *Waadah*, short for *Waddat Ezra Vö-Hazzalah Bo-Budapest* or Jewish Rescue Committee, Budapest. The purpose of this group was to facilitate the escape of Jews from Germany and Eastern Europe to Palestine.

With the fall of Horthy, who was not viewed as an enemy of the Jews, and the arrival of the SS in the capital, the leaders of *Waadah* commenced negotiations with Himmler’s representatives with a view to buying the freedom for many Jews. They played on Himmler’s increasing interest in establishing his

credentials with the Allies and finally got him to agree to abandon his deportation plans for Hungarian Jews in return for 10,000 military trucks and other supplies, including tea and coffee. Adolf Eichmann, head of Muller's deportation department, asked Joel Brand, a Budapest businessman and founding member of *Waadah*, to rake these proposals to Istanbul in neutral Turkey and commence negotiations with the World Jewish Organization.

As a token of good faith, Eichmann stated that if the Allies were willing to even consider this exchange, they would at once release 100,000 Jewish prisoners from the concentration camps. Armed with this information, Brand took a train to Istanbul where he was unable to convince the Jewish groups to support the trade. On his way to address the British officials in Palestine, he was arrested in Syria by British military police and flown eventually to Cairo, Egypt, where he was put in jail and held incommunicado.

Brand eventually was brought before Lord Moyne, the British Resident Minister in the Middle East. He was informed by Moyne that neither the Jewish groups nor the Allies would consider negotiating with Himmler, and that the "Jews-for Trucks" program was impossible to implement. When the frantic Brand told Moyne that all the Allies had to do was, at least, agree in principle and talk with German representatives in neutral Switzerland, Moyne refused.

Brand said that if the Allies agreed to meet with Himmler's representatives, even if it was understood that nothing would come of the meetings, 100,000 Jews would be released from the concentration camps and sent to whatever country the Allies wished. Moyne declined to even consider this saying, "Whatever would we do with a hundred thousand Jews?"

Following the collapse of his project, Himmler ordered the deportation of all the Jews of Budapest. Instead of releasing what Himmler expected would be all the Jews in his camps, the camps increased their Jewish populations by 300,000.

In addition to refusing to permit refugee Jews into the United States, Roosevelt had earlier enriched the national coffers by ordering all Swiss assets held in their American branches frozen. On June 14, 1941, all such assets were taken over by the American government. The prudent Swiss had moved deposits to what they felt was the safety of the United States when war broke out in 1939. These deposits were put into Swiss banks by anti-Nazi and Jewish individuals prior to the war, and the Swiss felt with some justification, that these funds could be taken if and when the Germans invaded Switzerland.

The foresight of the Swiss in protecting vulnerable monies was negated by Roosevelt's order, and over \$229 million of Jewish assets disappeared into U.S. custody along with millions more from other sources. Some of this money, approximately \$500,000 was eventually returned after the war. The rest was kept by the U.S. Treasury on the grounds that as accounts which had been dormant for five years, they were deemed abandoned. Hence passing irrevocably to the U.S. government. A significant number of confiscated bonds ended up in the hands of Roosevelt Administration official, Jesse Jones and a smaller number in the hands of one of Roosevelt's sons.

One would ask the question that if no one was able to access their accounts during the five years the Treasury Department held them, how could they ethically be considered abandoned? The answer, quite obviously, lies in the amount of money, coupled with what obviously was a total lack of official U.S. interest in the welfare of European Jews. While there was disinterest in assisting these unfortunate Jews, there was no lack of interest in acquiring their money.

After the war, Swiss accounts which could be proven not to be of "Nazi origins" was returned, but none of the Jewish funds seized by Roosevelt, with small exceptions, ever surfaced again.

The Paranoia of Josef Stalin

The Great Purge of Josef Stalin began in early 1937 and continued, with a pause for the Great Patriotic Fatherland War in 1941, until his death in 1953. Many biographers of the Georgian dictator and historians of the era have offered various motivations for this terribly bloody side of Stalin's nature, a series of increasingly psychotic acts that claimed the lives of at least twenty million of his fellow Party comrades. Here is a different view of the motivations of Josef Stalin and somewhat more believable reasons for his savage bloodbaths.

M: You ask me if the Soviet society has stabilized since the late '30s and I would have to say that it certainly would like to, but I seriously doubt if Stalin will allow it to do so. I do have some knowledge of his private demons after all, and I doubt if Comrade Josef has entirely finished with his bloodlettings.

Q: Why so? He did kill off his enemies in the last purge, didn't he? Wiped the slate clean?

M: Oh, he killed millions of people then, but I doubt if he has finished.

Q: So you think he might be crazy? A bloodthirsty and irrational man?

M: Mad in one sense, but certainly not irrational. Stalin is an extremely pragmatic and logical man...at least according to his way of thinking, which is the way of the biologist studying a disease. There is no sentiment involved, only deadly pragmatism

Q: It's felt that the big purge was something he did to rid himself of any encumbrances from Lenin's time. Do you agree?

M: Oh, certainly, to a degree, but the savagery has its roots in a number of factors. These were his small and brutalized beginnings as a very poor and physically abused Georgian, one of the many minorities in Soviet Russia and certainly not a dominant one. And, of course, the Soviet society was once very much oriented to the historical Bolshevik. A man might be brilliant, as I think Stalin is in many areas, but if his pedigree relating to the revolution is not particularly strong, he would have been held in contempt by those like Trotsky who fought the Whites in the front lines. Stalin is like Bormann; a very hard working bureaucrat who played no particular role in the bloody upheavals in Russia after the beginning of the October revolt, and certainly not before. And this inferiority complex was triggered by the perception that not only was he held in contempt by the senior members of the club of revolutionaries, but that they were engaged in denigrating him as well, and terrible to relate, plotting to overthrow him. Stalin, who was essentially a terrorist and a plotter, was absolutely frightened of others doing to him what he had done so often and so successfully. And consider this, almost all of the top leaders of the Bolshevik movement, to include Lenin himself, were either Jewish or part Jewish in origin or had married Jewesses. And make no mistake, as a Georgian, Stalin loathed the Jews, though I must say he made use of their services in breaking the back of the middle class.

Setting him in motion was not difficult in the end. I ought to know about this setting in motion because I am the one who did it.

Q: You?

M: Are you talking to the stenographer by any chance? Yes, of course, me. The groundwork for the big purge was already laid in Stalin's mind, but I was the one who gave him the gentle shove over the cliff. And he's still falling, even today.

Q: I sincerely hope you will honor us with a much fuller account. Though I have heard that Heydrich supplied several faked letters by General Tukhachevsky indicating some kind of dissatisfaction with Stalin, and as I read it, indicating a Putsch might be in the offing., but no one now feels that Stalin believed these crude forgeries and had planned to clean out the high command of the Soviet military early on.

M: He may well have viewed them as potentially dangerous to him, but let me say right away that Heydrich did not supply several fake letters...there were hundreds of documents involved by the way, and Stalin certainly did believe them because I made certain that they directly addressed his private concerns. You have the time before we finish for today and we have to dress for dinner. Shall we discuss the American election or shall we discuss Comrade Josef?

Q: One is in the future and the other the past. Why not the latter?

M: Why not indeed. More pencils, my dear, because you will certainly need them. Let me enlighten you here about my first, and probably my very best, operation against the communists. And I am very proud of the results although as a member of a civilized society, I have to admit in private that even I was shocked at the results. It is like kicking a small rock down the side of a mountain and discovering that this starts an

enormous avalanche which buries two towns, a railroad station, sixteen beer gardens and a convent under thirty feet of rocks.

Very well. All beginnings are difficult so I will not give you a long history of the radical movement in Imperial Russia, but get down to fairly current history and my own actions.

There was a former Czarist officer in Paris named Skoblin. This gentleman supplied Heydrich's SD, and others, with various bits of interesting information from his former country...and of course, supplied the NKVD with interesting information about us. We paid him and they paid him. Now Skoblin did not work for me. He was Heydrich's man and Heydrich was incompetent in matters of practical counter-intelligence. In mid-1936, Heydrich talked to me at length about this man and his information because he knew nothing about the communists and I did. Initially the Chief, as he loved to be called, just wanted any background I could give him, but in the end he was so far out of his depth that I simply took the project over, although I was more than respectful to him at the time.

The Russian had reported that certain top Soviet generals were dissatisfied with Stalin and might be encouraged to overthrow him. As Hitler for one, and myself for another, viewed Russia as our absolutely most dangerous enemy, naturally this talk was something to listen to. Given Skoblin's duality, and Heydrich indicated that he knew the creature worked both sides of the table, I felt that we ought not to trust him. Very possibly there was such a plan and equally, it was possible that Stalin, or those around him, wanted to get confirming material about such a plot so they could use it to attack a segment of their society they wanted to get rid of. Both valid points of view.

The Russian had not asked for anything from us nor made any suggestions, but in our talks, both Heydrich and myself wondered what would happen if somehow Stalin got it into his suspicious head that there really was some kind of a plot? The old-line Bolsheviks we were not concerned with, but the military was another matter. And Marshal Tukhachevsky was a very formidable character and a brilliant military leader. It was he who led the fight to regain lost Polish territory and although the Poles beat him outside Warsaw in 1920, it was more a case of Russian incompetence rather than any lack of ability on Tuchachevsky's part. Stalin, by the way, was involved in this campaign and performed very badly, at least in the eyes of the military.

So, I thought about this for a few days and then got back to Heydrich with my own idea. Rather than get involved directly with double agents, why not use them as a source of mischief? I suggested that we might prepare a large file concerning anti-Stalin activities, a file which would convince him that it was a vast conspiracy indeed, and one in which he would entirely believe. Heydrich listened carefully and then wondered what, if any, effect it would have on Stalin or the growing menace of the Red Army. I pointed out that it certainly was worth trying and we couldn't lose anything substantive by doing this, and in the end he suggested that I proceed with the project, under his supervision, of course.

This meant that if it was successful, he wanted the credit with Himmler and Hitler. At that point in my career, which had just begun, I had very little choice, but to defer to his ambition and his ego. I must say here that I am certainly ambitious, but my ego does not get in the way of success. It never has.

Q: Such a modest person you are! I feel very humble sometimes.

M: I can understand why. To go on, I decided that we would not just prepare a few incriminating papers and give them to Stalin's men. That is far too simplistic and someone as shrewd as Stalin simply would not accept this. My plan was to create a thick and impressive file which would be full of interlocking and entirely believable papers, most of which had to either be completely authentic or unassailable in construction. I began to assemble files of papers dealing with information and observations from our military and diplomatic intelligence services, interviews with those who had knowledge of the inner workings of Stalin's system, statements from such one-time communists as Albrecht, newspaper cuttings, actual correspondence from Soviets in our various archives and so on. Keeping a central theme in mind, these papers had to reflect not only a *Putsch* against Stalin, but to undermine and eventually destroy his confidence in his senior military commanders.

Having assembled a great pile of papers, I went through them, moving them around and putting slips of yellow paper between documents where a created work could go. On a separate page, I listed each marked place and indicated what was needed. I should say that it didn't take very many additives and every one had to fit right into the whole and not appear to be merely stuck in. Let me tell you, my friend, that this was a most difficult task, but in the end, I had my file.

The Gestapo had a number of excellent forgers on its staff and I made full use of them. They used original Russian typewriters, paper and copies of official stamps and perfect signatures that could pass any test. There were, after all, only a few such papers...perhaps ten or eleven...but along with the other material

taken as a whole, absolutely explosive. When I finished with the file...and we even added German translations of Russian papers...I took the lot to Heydrich to approve.

He and I sat side by side at a table in his office and worked over these for nearly six hours, and finally he declared that he was entirely satisfied and paid me several compliments. The next person to see the file was Hitler himself and Heydrich told me that the *Führer* was immensely impressed, especially when Heydrich pointed out that most of the papers were original.

Now, with Hitler's consent, it was up to me to feed this poison to Stalin in a way in which he would accept it without reservations.

Q: I understand you used the Czechs for this.

M: No, but that country played a part. Firstly, I had the SD man who acted as liaison with Skoblin to go to Paris and have a talk with him about another matter. During the course of this conversation, he was instructed to work into it the fact that there was a significant file of papers in Gestapo headquarters in Berlin about a projected internal Putsch aimed at liquidating Comrade Stalin. The SD man was ordered under no circumstances to draw special attention to this file, nor to elaborate on it, but merely to drop it into the conversation only if he could without appearing obvious, and then go on to other matters. This he did, and he reported to me that the General appeared to be genuinely interested at the time, but that our man avoided any continued discussion of the matter. So much for that beginning.

Now, down in Czechoslovakia, I had a Gestapo man working with the anti-Hitler Germans who had fled there after 1933. The Strasser people for one. This man was posing as a refugee German communist and was very valuable to us in keeping a close eye on our enemies as well as watching as much of the activities of the Czech communists as he conveniently could.

The point was that this man had the ear of Soviet agents in Prague and so I instructed him to be more specific there, than our man in Paris was. He told the Russians that he had specific knowledge, through a friend, that this file existed and reported bits and pieces of the contents.

Then one had to sit back and wait for the big fish to take the bait. Given the slowness of bureaucracies, and especially in Russia, it took a full month to hear back and believe me, we did. Paris and Prague were snapping at the bait like hungry fish, so the next act of my little drama began. First off, there was a special room in Gestapo headquarters where we kept very sensitive material. Only a few trusted persons had any access whatever to it. Now there was a clerk in the Prinz Albrecht building who we had been watching for a time. He was a socialist from the pre-1933 times and we suspected that he was in touch with the Soviets or they with him. We redoubled our watch on him, his mail and his telephones, and after about two weeks, we were rewarded when contact was made with him. He met a suspected Polish communist at a beer garden where they talked for some time. It was not surprising to me to hear that this man, our dubious member, soon wanted to see about a transfer to the file rooms and away from the typist pool. I immediately arranged for him to be turned loose in the special vault room where he had access to the files, but because of the constant presence of others, could never copy a word.

Sure enough, he got into the doctored files and read everything in them, rushing off to report his findings to Pavel the spy. Pavel had to talk to his superior, whom we located by following Pavel, and the superior had to contact Moscow. Immediately, and this took two more weeks, our Soviet friend asked to work in the evenings so he could go to school in the daytime, a practice I liked to encourage. Now I was beginning to move closer to my goal. We put him into the room at night with only one other man present.

This one knew something, but not everything, but his being there made it impossible for the spy to copy or steal anything. Then we instructed the second man to tell the spy that he had a new girl friend and wanted to sneak off twice a week to meet his lady love at his apartment. Would our spy be willing to sign out for him?

Of course the spy would, because it meant he would be alone in the vault for six hours, twice a week, and while he couldn't take anything out, he could bring something in, such as a camera. So for a number of weeks, this worthy fellow photographed the entire contents of the special file. We had a key to his apartment and when he was at work, our men watched the progress of the filming. A few rolls ruined by bad exposures, but in the end, the wonderful spy got the whole file.

Then, with all this material so badly wanted by the NKVD and Stalin, he went to the usual rendezvous with his Polish friend and they negotiated the sum he would be paid for his treason. We had a neighboring table and the waiter on our payroll so we knew everything.

Another week went by and the Pole showed up with a cardboard suitcase full of what turned out to be authentic Mark notes. Several hundred thousand German Marks.

Q: You say original notes. We were told by Höttl that these were fake notes and rubles.

M: Höttl is fake and a crook on top of it. I tell you it was two hundred thousand Marks and the notes were all good. Our spy stuffed some of this into his pockets in the cafe lavatory and took the rest out in the paper suitcase. How providential that we had two lowlife characters rob him while he was crossing the park to the tram stop. The money did come in handy to pay for certain matters we did not want to have on our books. I am sure you know about such underhanded, but practical matters. At any rate, our spy never reported the theft of his treasure to the police and contented himself with the money in his pocket, and the knowledge that the Worker's and Peasants Paradise had been warned about the evil wreckers, as Stalin called them.

Q: What happened to the spy? Dare I ask? Another walk in the woods?

M: No, nothing like that. After all, he was a provable and useful source for the NKVD who might well require his services later on. Shall we make it easy for them by keeping the man on the rolls, albeit under strict supervision, or shoot him and let the Russians know we uncovered him? The answer is obvious. We merely promoted him and moved him to an area where he could do nothing more of damage. Unless, of course, the Russians wanted to activate him again at which time we could transfer him back to the vault because of his wonderful performance there the last time.

Q: If you scratch a cynic, you find an idealist, General.

M: Not always.

Q: From what happened after this, in 1937 onwards, it seems that Stalin took the bait.

M: Yes, and you see, I took the trouble to incriminate the old time Bolsheviks in the business just for entertainment, and because I knew Comrade Stalin detested them. I found out much later that the game had a much bigger effect than even I thought it would. When the NKVD tortured the suspects, all of them not only admitted to the alleged and often entirely fictional crimes, they implicated everyone else; their wives, their friends, their doctors, dentists, the local street sweepers, and so on. At first Stalin was furious, but when he read the interrogations of the suspects, he became terrified at the degree and extent of the hatred for him and he simply did what I had hoped he would do: He killed everybody, even the wives and small children of his enemies.

Q: That's genuinely horrible.

M: Oh don't be such a weakling. Nits make lice after all, and they didn't grow up to fight in the Red Army. If you can't look at it this way, let us discuss other matters. In the end I was responsible, directly I am delighted to say, for the destruction of the entire Soviet High Command.

The final, butcher's bill included nearly 90 percent of all Soviet Generals and Marshals, nearly all of the army commanders, over half of the corps commanders, nearly all of the divisional commanders and about half of the brigade commanders. And, as you know, almost all of the old line Bolsheviks and the surviving Lenin workers. All of them, with very few exceptions were liquidated, and hundreds of thousands of the more radical communists were packed into cattle cars and shipped off to the slave camps in Siberia to work themselves into a very quick death. They say the rivers around these camps were filled to the banks with the bleaching bones of the dead. And the only reason this stopped, or at least slowed down, was the war.

Now you watch things in Russia. Josef will be back again with more purges because he was completely convinced that he had broken the back of a huge conspiracy against him. Yes, to refer back to your earlier statement, Stalin is mad, at least in one area. The alienists would say he was a paranoid and he really became one. My faked papers triggered corroborating confessions from my victims that totally convinced the great Georgian that he was indeed a few centimeters away from assassination. Fear makes a man so rational and responsive to pity, doesn't it?

Q: I suppose you have copies of some of your handiwork?

M: Certainly, but it wouldn't do your Mr. Wisner any good after all. They're all dead and rotten in their graves now and only Stalin and his next batch of probable victims are still alive to bedevil the world with their lunatic religion. Eventually, when God has ceased having fun with their posings, he will kill them all off and we will all be living in a much better world.

Q: Does anyone know how many died in these purges?

M: No one. Millions, probably twenty million or more died, and when Josef gets the wind up again, millions more will die. Pray that someone doesn't give him a file showing the United States is planning to attack him or you will find out firsthand what Stalin's rage is like.

Q: I am so pleased that you have decided to work for us, General.

M: I wouldn't quote my last comment to anyone else.

Q: Just out of curiosity, if Heydrich took the credit for all this...

M: And he did.

Q: Yes, well what was to prevent him from somehow removing you as a dangerous person? One who had knowledge that could discredit him?

M: Quite simple. Heydrich badly needed my expertise, very badly. He had no experience with the game of counter-intelligence and besides, I told the entire story to Himmler and later, when I had much more power, to Hitler himself. Of course by that time, Heydrich was dead, but I did finesse the violist's hand.

Q: You refer to Heydrich's musical accomplishments, no doubt.

M: Certainly. He was as good on the violin as I am on the piano and once we had a lovely afternoon of music with the wife of Admiral Canaries who also played the viola. Isn't culture such an uplifting thing?

Historical Perspective~Reflections of the Author

There is no question that at the beginning of 1937, Soviet dictator Josef Stalin launched a series of terrible, bloody purges in his country that, as Müller indicated, wiped out not only the surviving *corps d'elite* of the early Bolshevik movement, but the entire high command of his army as well.

There has been some question as to whether Stalin planned this slaughter to strengthen his position as chief of state by removing any possible opposition, or whether he was pushed into it by German forgeries.

The latter thesis has proven to be unpalatable to various historical writers for two specific reasons.

The first of these is that nothing the Germans did ever succeeded, and therefore, the forging of documents had no effect on the Russian dictator who had already made up his mind to kill off his rivals for power. The proponents of this thesis are prepared to go one step further and claim that the clever Stalin actually tricked the incompetent Germans into forging documents he could use to begin his campaign of terror.

This thesis is one dimensional and without any foundation in logic because Stalin held so much absolute power that if he had wanted documents forged to commence a purge, he did not need to lure the Germans into providing them.

The second of the scenarios is that Stalin was an irrational madman on the one hand, or a devious and cruel schemer on the other. In either case, his determination to obliterate any opposition or potential opposition springs from a diseased mind and not from any laughable German forgeries.

Rather than make a study of Josef Stalin's twisted psyche to arrive at a determination of whatever passes for objective truth, it might be better to make a study of the motives of those who write about him. Anti-communist writers are by no means popular with major publishing houses. Although communism has officially died as a state religion in Russia, many of its believers are alive, very active and practicing in other countries. With rare exceptions, mainline anti-communist works are seldom seen in the major bookstores or on their mail order book lists. Liberal themes are far more attractive, and far safer, than strongly conservative ones and publishers and book sellers like the media always go where the money is.

For years, many Stalin apologists such as Isaac Deutscher, have claimed that there was a genuine plot against Stalin on the part of Soviet generals, a plot that Stalin was entirely justified in eradicating. With the death of Stalin, anything he did became the object of criticism and Soviet historians, safe from the attentions of the dictator and his murder squads, decided, post mortem, that there really was no plot at all and Stalin was a betrayer of the ideals of Marx and Lenin and a crazy murderer.

What is generally not discussed by any historian or journalist of a liberal persuasion is that just before his death by a stroke in 1953, it has been well established that Stalin was planning a *pogrom* against Soviet Jewry which would have put to shame anything attributed to the Germans of Hitler's Third Reich. This was the so-called "Doctor's Plot" and is a classic example of the way in which Stalin perpetrated his Mongolian massacres. Firstly, charges were made by loyal supporters that certain doctors, all Jewish, were responsible for the murder of their patients. These charges were well publicized and orchestrated demands on the part of the public were made for the punishment of these unfortunates. Many prominent doctors, among them the Kremlin medical staff, were rounded up, horribly tortured and either shot on the spot or kept alive in dungeons for another of Stalin's famous show trials. From a reading of material now available in Russia, it appears that Stalin's ultimate aim was to use the excuse of murderous Jewish doctors to launch a terrible purge of all Jews throughout his empire, but most especially in Moscow.

The coming reign of terror followed a long-established pattern of arrests, extorted confessions, false accusations, fictitious charges aired in the press and the removal of many Jewish functionaries of the Communist Party higher ranks. At the same time, thousands of boxcars were assembled at railroad sidings in and near Moscow for the sole purpose of deporting all of Moscow's Jewish population into the winter

wilds of Siberia, there to be left without shelter, to die very swiftly of hypothermia or slowly of starvation. Only a providential stroke prevented this terrible act. If Stalin had indeed followed through on his plans for the mass extermination of his Jewish population, it would have been interesting to see if the media would have replaced Stalin for Hitler in liberal circles as the greatest , butcher of the Twentieth Century.

However, given the mindset of ideologues, it is highly doubtful if this would ever come to pass.

In actual fact, Jewish plot or no, Stalin had already surpassed Hitler, Genghis Kahn and the Khymer Rouge as the greatest murderer of recorded history, and killing his former Jewish friends in huge numbers would only have added a very small Pelion atop a very large Ossa.

Writing to an idea is certainly not limited to journalists of the left wing as may be seen in the writings of British author, David Irving. Irving was determined to exculpate his idol, Adolf Hitler, from any knowledge of, or blame in, the uprooting of Europe's Jews and the subsequent deaths of many in the work camps. His early works were well-written and significant treatments of a revisionistic, but professional and very well-researched nature, whereas his later works, including the disastrous and tendentious biography of Hitler's Propaganda Minister, Goebbels, dropped any pretensions to objectivity or research, and devolved into disjointed attempts to prove that it was Goebbels, not Hitler, who bore the full responsibility for the deportation of the Jews.

Many of those who write in this vein, as well as those at the other end of the political spectrum who write in praise of Stalin, conveniently ignore the reality that in the cases of both dictators, the so-called *Führerprinzip* or leadership principle, strongly advocated and practiced by both men, held that the leader was given full authority over his subjects by these same subjects, but only in return for his complete assumption of full responsibility for his, and their, actions. If one accepts that both Hitler and Stalin actively practiced the *Führerprinzip* and required their followers to do likewise, the ultimate responsibility of the leader for the actions of his subordinates is without question. If one wishes to achieve and maintain ultimate power, then one must also accept the full responsibility not only for their own actions, but for those whom they command.

The acceptance of this postulation may seem entirely reasonable to those not involved in ideology, but to the true believer of any persuasion, it is an idea that will never germinate. Those who have serious objections to Müller's comments and actions, both during and after the war, find it intolerable that he not only survived the war, but went on to achieve, if not fame, then certainly fortune and power in the ranks of his former enemies. It is this galling fact that causes so many in the establishment to recoil from admitting what to their politically correct orientation is monstrous heresy, thus, reducing them to a perpetual state of denial.

The Wet World of Josef Stalin

One of the more important roles played by Stalin's NKVD was the removal of his enemies, both in the Soviet Union and abroad.

Q I think the problem we face here is that so many of the Soviet agents have used cover names.

M Not only that, but they also change their names for political reasons. For example, Trotsky was actually Bronstein, Lenin was Ulanov and Stalin was once known as Dzhugashvili. But most of the changes were made by Jews who wanted to appear more Russian. This made for great confusion about the identities of various people. I had a number of very capable former Soviet intelligence people working for me and they had to make up lists with various different names for the same person. It could be very confusing and I spent as much time working out the names of the players as in trying to identify their games.

Q We have had that problem repeatedly. How often were names changed?

M Inside Russia itself, not often. For foreign intelligence operations, as often as they liked. For example, if you could identify a certain Yaroslavski as being born Gubelman or someone with the Russian name of Alexander Orlov as being Lev Feldbin you made a beginning.

Q Pash had this problem too when he was working on the Manhattan Project as chief of security. German refugees always used their real names but Russians almost always had fictitious names. They claimed this was to avoid persecution by Soviet agents in the United States, but Pash felt that most of them were themselves Soviet agents. When I was working on the Nuremberg trials, I had dealings with a number of Russians, all of whom we were sure were NKVD people, and I never knew... do you by any chance recognize the name Zaitzev?

M Oh, very well indeed. One of Beria's top assassins. Only his name isn't Zaitzev; it's Leonid Fedorovich Raikhman. You had dealings with him? A professional murderer of the worst sort. He was involved along with Eitingon in the murder of Trotsky in Mexico. He was the man, who on direct orders from Stalin, slaughtered the Polish officers at Katyn...

Q My God! I had lunch with him once...!

M You had lunch with me today, too. And did you like him?

Q No, a nasty and vulgar man. He married a ballet dancer...

M Lepeshinskaya. Difficult to pronounce. Russian always sounds like you were trying to spit out a mouthful of nettles.

Q I think you are right about her. I don't remember the name...

M I remember everything. What was he doing at Nuremberg?

Q Working with the Soviet team under Rudenko. He supplied many documents used in the trial. I'm afraid most of them were forgeries...

M Oh my yes, the Soviets love to fake up papers. They do this in their great public trials and have been doing so for years. Did your people know this?

Q Certainly, but no questions were asked.

M And how many people did you hang with Party Comrade Raikhman's forgeries?

Q Their evidence was always the strongest, so I would assume all those executed were involved.

M And it never troubled your conscience that you were killing people by using faked evidence? You were an accomplice of Stalin's at that point.

Q This was a government policy at the time and I had no control over it whatsoever. But Raikhman's role doesn't surprise me at all.

M He was behind the attempt on Ambassador von Papen's life in Ankara as well. Stalin wanted the Turks either neutral, or on his side, and decided that von Papen needed to be removed. It went from Stalin to Beria to Beria's co-religionist...

Q Raikhman was Jewish as well?

M Almost all of the NKVD people, and the commissars and the prison officials are Jewish. The assassins of Trotsky and the NKVD killers at Katyn were too. The von Papen incident was rather amusing. The actual killers were supposed to shoot the Ambassador in public, for greater effect, and then throw down smoke bombs and escape in a cloud. Unfortunately for them, the lead assassin threw down his bomb first and was at once blown into small pieces. The second one, covered with brains, was so terrified that he forgot to shoot and was quickly caught. These were not smoke bombs at all, as you can imagine. Such loyalty to your people! Stalin wanted trouble, but did not want to take the blame for his murderous activity so the idea was to get the killers to blow themselves up, but only after they killed the Ambassador. But let

us return to Nuremberg for a few moments. First, the so-called trials were not legal, at least not under your legal system.

These are called *ex post facto* punishments and even your government must recognize that you cannot try someone for something that was not illegal. Now take Streicher, for example. I admit that he was not a pleasant person. A man of gross character, I would call him, but not a war criminal by any stretch of anyone's imagination. The reason you tortured him and later hanged him is because of his magazine. Everyone knew Streicher was a terrible anti-Semite, but if that were a hanging crime, half the politicians in your country, South America and elsewhere would be swinging on lampposts.

Q General, I don't think this is the forum to discuss what is past...

M But everything you have been asking me deals with the past.

Q You know exactly what I mean, I am sure.

M Of course, and you know what I mean. So you had lunch with the head hyena? Did you know he personally directed the massacre at Katyn?

Q No, I did not.

M Would you still have had lunch with him if you had? I know you aren't Polish, but I would think that you might have smelt the blood across the table.

Q There were a number of other people there. It was a formal meal, not a private meeting.

M Well, that's another one with a fake name.

Q Do you think that he was up to anything serious at Nuremberg? Aside from the fake papers that is?

M Who knows. Stalin conducted a whole series of political assassinations prior to that point, but what could he do in Nuremberg with a killer? Aside from killing German leaders with fake papers.

Q I was struck about how insistent they were that Hitler was dead, in public, but that in private, the Russians I had dealings with were even more insistent that Hitler was not dead and were spending a lot of time, money and vodka trying to pry information out of our side on that subject.

M We have mutual advantages here, don't we? No one wanted Hitler alive, but they all wanted him dead. I assume that if Stalin learned that Hitler was alive, someone like Raikhman would have finished him off for sure. After all, Stalin once planned to kill Roosevelt...

Q Oh come now, General, I must ask you to keep your strange sense of humor out of this record.

M I don't make jokes about such matters and you are well aware of it. As you say, this is the record. I said that Stalin once planned, or rather had serious discussions, to have Roosevelt removed. The way it was set out, I am sure it would have succeeded.

Q General, I would appreciate it if you would not just toss bombs into this and then sit back and smile at me. I would like you to at least explain what you started.

M The idea wasn't to remove Roosevelt because Stalin disliked or feared him. Stalin viewed Roosevelt as his good and very cooperative friend. The problem was one of how long he could depend on Roosevelt. There were rumors...even we heard them in Germany...that Roosevelt was very sick and was going to die. Then there was the question of succession. The Soviets were more than happy with Roosevelt and would have been delighted with Wallace as President. But Roosevelt was to be elected in 1944 and what if someone other than Wallace was his successor? Who would this be? Someone like Wallace who was entirely in the communists pocket or some unknown person? And what if Roosevelt was not reelected? Not a strong probability but certainly a possibility.

Stalin, you see, was a man who looked into the future and planned for it. Roosevelt and Churchill did not. Roosevelt wanted another useless League of Nations and Churchill wanted to keep his rotten empire together. Stalin wanted security for Russia, and to him security meant buffer states between him and the West, who had invaded Russia before, and, of course, wanted also to grab all of the German industrial base in the Ruhr. Hence, his instigation of the Stauffenberg plot. Stalin felt, and of course, all of this came from my own sources through the radio "playback" system and captured agents, that Roosevelt and Wallace were known and useful tools. Churchill was not even considered by Stalin who viewed him as a crazy drunk...

Q Roosevelt said the same thing.

M Yes, and Stalin needed security and support for his expansion programs after the war. Roosevelt or Wallace would have supported these absolutely without question, but someone else might not have. And, of course, Stalin was right. Wallace was not the Vice-President when Roosevelt died and your President Truman was an instant enemy of Stalin. Your press should realize that Truman certainly kept the red flag from flying over the White House and stop attacking him as they do. But then, the press is full of Stalin-lovers, isn't it?

Q Yes, and the movie people are worse. But please, go on about the subject of killing Roosevelt. If you can prove it. . .

M I can if I want to.

Q Then let us have it for the record. You have given some motivation which makes sense. I take it that if Roosevelt were killed by whatever means, the succession would be safe enough?

M Wallace was a crazy man and also far healthier than Roosevelt. Yes, safe enough to allow Stalin to expand as far as he liked without interference. The specifics, and I stress that this was only in the planning stage, are when Roosevelt and his aides flew to Tehran at the end of 1943, Stalin would make an appraisal of Roosevelt's attitudes and his health and try to find out if he were planning to stand for reelection in 1944 with Wallace as his Vice-President. If Stalin felt that Roosevelt was in bad health, that was one thing, but the important business is whether or not Wallace would be in the line of succession in 1944 and 1945—the critical period for Stalin. Roosevelt apparently did not appear to be seriously ill at the time of the conference, was very cooperative with Stalin's views and indicated that he planned to run for office again with Wallace in 1944.

Stalin was now more or less satisfied with the situation, so the plan to kill Roosevelt was put on the shelf.

Q How was this assassination to be accomplished? At Tehran?

M Oh no, Stalin is far too clever to do things so obviously. His plan, and it certainly has technical merit, was for Roosevelt to be shot down by German aircraft on the way back from Tehran. Of course, they would be real German aircraft but with Soviet crews. The Soviets had captured a number of German aircraft, and used them for intelligence operations just like we captured a number of your aircraft and used them in a similar manner during the war. It would have been very simple to attack Roosevelt on his way back, shoot him down in flames, and the Germans would have the blame. Of course Hitler forbade this kind of action. The Russians called this "wet action" by the way, but I can assure you that if we had known of the route, we would have shot him down—Hitler's orders or not. The Russians had the exact route and the time schedules, so it would have been simple to effect. Also, I understand that Stalin had an even more interesting suggestion. The Soviets had a number of American and British aircraft and one idea was to repaint these in Allied markings and "accidentally" shoot Roosevelt down. That would have caused all kinds of squabbling, especially if it was a British aircraft that did it. As I have said, Stalin is a very clever man and very devious.

As it turned out, Stalin discovered at the Crimean conference that Roosevelt was not only dying but had lost his reason and Wallace. The new Vice-President was an unknown factor and Stalin hates unknown factors. From his point of view, he made the wrong choice at Tehran.

Q You mentioned German use of American aircraft just now. You know there were rumors that this was going on during the war. Aircraft were sighted that followed our bombers on their raids and we suspect that larger aircraft, like big bombers, were used to move agents around.

M Certainly this happened. Although we never dropped bombs from US marked aircraft on the Vatican or some other such target, nor ever shot at your planes, these aircraft were used for intelligence purposes. I must tell you that as a pilot and aircraft technician, I was fascinated with some of your military aircraft. I think the best was the Flying Fortress bomber. I actually flew inside one once, and sat up in the greenhouse next to the pilot. A very fine plane, well made and extremely dependable. It was much better than our 177, which kept catching on fire. We used those for reconnaissance flights and especially for dropping our agents in England before the invasion. The other plane that was excellent was your 51. . .

Q The P-51 Mustang.

M Yes. A very fine aircraft. I never flew one but I have watched them being flown. Our Dora (Focke Wulf 190D) was as good, but that was for sure an excellent plane. As you can see, I can be very objective when I want to. Here were two planes that killed hundreds of thousands of German civilians, one with bombs and the other by shooting people in the streets, and I can still praise their construction, if not their usage.

Q You are certain about Stalin's interest in killing Roosevelt? You will be asked about this later, I am certain.

M I have no problems with this. I am sure the British would relate to this. After all, they killed all kinds of people in such a way. Inconvenient people. Stalin would kill his mother for bad cooking, but he would find some way to blame it on another enemy. I am sure that he would like to wipe Truman out but it would be difficult to get at him in the United States. Truman should not fly to Europe again. I am not in power anymore, but from bits and pieces I have heard from this or that source, Stalin hates Truman who began to

remove all his top agents from your government, and let me say this, from the ministerial levels...you call them cabinet officers as I recall...as well.

Q Cabinet officers? You mean like the Secretary of State or Commerce?

M Or Treasury or whatever you like. Oh yes, Stalin had many friends. He used the anti-fascist bait to attract some of them into his arms.

Q I could probably make a very educated guess, but we can save that for later.

M Write it on your pad of paper and give it to me. Let us see how perceptive you are. That doesn't go on the record.

Q Why not? (Pause)

M You are wrong on one name but absolutely correct with the other two. But I notice that none of them are still ministers of state. Do you think your Truman was well informed or fortunate?

Q Well-informed, and certainly well intentioned.

M Complete agreement.

Q Now as far as names are concerned, I have here several lists that I would like to go over with you. I will incorporate these names into this record by giving a copy to the stenographer and one to you. If you will be so good as to look over the first list which contains the names of German and Austrian refugees, you might be able to recognize names of persons who might have had communist connections while they were in Germany or Austria. That is the first list and after you have had a chance to read it over, please indicate to me any names you might recognize. Now merely because someone might not like the government of the Third Reich is not what we are interested in.

M You are looking for communists and perhaps other antisocial individuals, I believe.

Q You might say that. Let me hand this to you now and if you will oblige me by looking through it, I would be appreciative.

M Of course.

Q Thank you.

(The following is a complete copy of the list in question)

Andras Angyal
Reinhold Baer
Max Bergmann
Peter Bergmann
Felix Bernstein
Eric Beth
Konrad Bloch
Walter Burg
Hans Cassel
Alexis Dember
Immanuel Estermann
James Franck
Rudolf Ladenburg
Rolf Landshoff
Erich Marx
Lothar Nordheim
Fritz Reiche
Marcel Schein
Klaus Schocken
Guenther Schwarz
Martin Schwarzschild
Hertha Sponer
Otto Stern

(Resumption of interview)

M Very well, I have looked at it and marked a number of names that I personally recognize as known persons with communist connections. There are five, as well, that have involvement with radical Zionist organizations. I have marked the first with a "K" and the second with a "Z". Will you want to discuss these now?

Q If you will supply us with any specific information you have on these people, I would appreciate it.

M Certainly. I note that most are German Jews and all the names I recognize are in the field of physics. Are they working for your atom bomb programs or can you say?

Q Some are, some aren't. Let us worry about that and I should say that some of the names are merely put in as a sort of control.

M I see you don't wish to trust me yet.

Q That's not the point here. You already have made a comment which shows me that you know what we want and why. You have spoken to me about a certain list you have in your possession that you are prepared to give to us. Perhaps you can state for the record what this list comprises and from whence it came to you.

M Certainly. This is a listing of Americans who we knew to be involved with Soviet intelligence. They were listed by the Soviets as reliable sources and sympathetic with the aims of the Soviet government. All of these sources have been identified by their names in various communications with Moscow. We were intercepting radio traffic, both from the United States and Canada, and these names are a compilation of both sources, plus information gained from my own interrogations. They are not in any order, either by name or by position, but of course, you will recognize, as I did, that some are very important fish indeed.

Q And you identify these as communist agents specifically?

M No, I positively identify these as very important sources for the Soviets and I know that some are, in fact, paid agents of Moscow. I will indicate which are which in the event our negotiations are successful.

Q I will have this list placed in the record.

(The following is a complete copy of the list in question)

<i>Benjamin Cohen</i>	Executive Advisor to the President
<i>Adolf Berle, Jr.</i>	Assistant Secretary of State
<i>Herbert Feis</i>	State Dept. Advisor on Economic Affairs
<i>William Bullitt</i>	Ambassador to France and Russia
<i>Ambassador Steinhardt</i>	Ambassador to Russia
<i>Henry Morgenthau, Jr.</i>	Secretary of the Treasury
<i>Henrietta Klotz</i>	Assistant to the Secretary of the Treasury
<i>Anna Michener</i>	Assistant to the Director of Research
<i>Harold Nathan</i>	Assistant Director, FBI
<i>Alger Hiss</i>	Assistant Solicitor, Justice Dept.
<i>Nathan Margold</i>	Solicitor, Dept. of the Interior
<i>Louis Bean</i>	Economic Advisor, Dept. of Agriculture
<i>M. S. Eisenhower</i>	Dir. of Information, Dept. of Agriculture
<i>Nathan Golden</i>	Chief Motion Picture Div. Commerce Dept.
<i>Frances Jurkowitz</i>	Ad. Assist. Secretary of Labor
<i>Lester Herzog</i>	State Administrator, WPA N.Y.
<i>Jacob Viner</i>	Assist. Secretary of the Treasury
<i>Boris Kostelanetz</i>	Assistant U.S. Attorney
<i>Nathan Strauss</i>	Administrator, U.S. Housing Authority
<i>Louis Domeratzky</i>	Division Chief, Department of Commerce
<i>Benjamin Frank Berman</i>	U.S. Dept. of Commerce
<i>Frances Perkins</i>	Secretary of Labor
<i>Anna Weinstock</i>	Commissioner, Department of Labor
<i>E. A. Goldenweiser</i>	Asst. Administrator, FEA
<i>Harold L. Posner</i>	Asst. Director, FEA
<i>Abe Fortas</i>	General Counsel, FEA (later Supreme Court)
<i>David Saposs</i>	Chief Economist, National Labor Relations Board
<i>Joseph P. Lash</i>	Ex-communist Youth Leader
<i>Harold Ickes</i>	Secretary of the Interior
<i>Frieda Miller</i>	Commissioner of Labor, New York State
<i>Colonel William F. Freidmann</i>	War Department, Cryptographic Division
<i>Louis Resnick</i>	Director of Information, Social Security
<i>Samuel Dickstein</i>	Congressman for New York, 12th Dist.

<i>Leo Wolman</i>	Amalgamated Clothing Workers
<i>Vito Marcantonio</i>	Intl. Labor Def. (later legislator, New York)
<i>Dr. Alexander Sachs</i>	Chief, Research Div., N.R.A.
<i>Max Lerner</i>	Editor <i>The Nation</i>
<i>Jerome Frank</i>	Chairman, Security and Exchange Commission
<i>Harry Dexter White</i>	Assistant, Secretary of the Treasury
<i>Dr. Robert Oppenheimer</i>	Physicist, Manhattan Project
<i>Dr. Edward Teller</i>	Physicist, Manhattan Project

(Resumption of interview)

Q In reading over this, General, I must say that I am horrified. Of course, I recognize many of the names and I must ask you to be very certain about your identification of many of them. We have two Cabinet officers and one high FBI official listed here. You are certain?

M I am certain. Again, who were merely sympathetic, who were unaware that they were dealing with Stalin's agents and who were professional spies, will be made clear later. About three quarters of that list were actual spies by the way.

Q I think you are using this as bait, but I will send it on by cable.

M Please do so, but be sure the Soviets aren't reading your mail. A courier would be much safer these days. By the way, have you a list of the British you want to check on? I am better off with that. I can give you one very good name for your people: Victor Rothschild. Do you know the name?

Q The name is, of course, very famous. What position does he hold...and I assume this is in England?

M Yes. Very high post in British Intelligence.

Q Was or is?

M You can tell me. *Was* I am sure of but *is* I can not say.

Q Don't worry, we can find out. We don't trust the British at all, but the question is: Are they spying on us for England or Russia?

M At this point, is there a difference?

Q Actually, no, but we do need to be specific. I'm sure you understand.

M Of course.

Q And while on the subject of organizations, I have a long list of American organizations for you to look over. It's something you will have to take some time over, so we can discuss it later. I don't really think that you will be of much help here. It's a domestic matter and the FBI has already filled us in but anything you could add would be helpful.

M You are doing the correct thing in tracking down these people and silencing them. We had an identical problem in Germany during the Weimar period, believe me. Soviet assassins roaming around the country, killing people at will, and a great proliferation of communist groups masquerading as intellectual assistance societies in every major city and all of them tied direct to Moscow. Did you know that when we broke into the Soviet Embassy in Paris in 1941, we found a perfect murder mill? Execution chambers, crematoria, torture rooms and so on? It looked like a charnel house in there. The Russians are brutish by nature, all Slavs are, as a matter of fact, but the communist branch of the tribe is one step removed from the caveman. The history of bolshevism in Russia...and Hungary as well...is a history of sadism, brutality and degeneracy run wild. You must know about Bela Kun in Hungary, and I know personally about the butchery in Munich when the Russians tried to set up one of their criminal "Council Governments" there. You would have to experience the insanity and criminal brutality to really understand why I loathe these scum and have made it my life work to root them out and destroy them. Working for you is not business with me. I look at it more as virgin territory to cleanse of filth and degeneracy. When you had an extra atom bomb, you should have dropped it on Moscow instead of the Japanese. One was enough with them, but the other would have incinerated the sewer rats of the Kremlin in a second. You will regret not having done that.

I told you once that Stalin will not invade you as long as he has a state within a state in Washington. We both know he had that when Roosevelt was on the throne, but now that he has lost the center of power, look for his trained rats to burrow deeper into your government and society and try to rip it apart from within. The professional Soviet agitator, and your country is full of them disguised as labor leaders, intellectual activists, writers and film producers, will find any opportunity of getting a toe in the crack. They will play one group off against another, degrade public opinion of the government, attack the

system by many different means. Their most important goal is to discredit your system and then put their own filth up as a perfect antidote to that which they hate. And if these broken down creatures have their way, they would institute a reign of terror in your country that would make the one they had in Russia look like a church choir outing in the country.

And while we are on the subject of hostile foreign activity in your country, don't disregard the British. They may be morally and financially bankrupt, but they still hate you, and I know they spy on you as a matter of course. I don't think they will ever forgive you for financially raping them at the beginning of the war.

Q I think you are overstating the matter here. They needed help and we gave it to them, but of course, these bills had to be paid...

M Oh yes, and were. One of the conversations between Churchill and his Ambassador in Washington covered his views about how Roosevelt had broken the back of the Empire. I will give you a copy of that for evening reading. I hope you get as much pleasure reading it as I did six years ago. To get back to our original discussion, I will give you a list of all the top Soviet intelligence agents and their different names. That, I think, your people will find most interesting. And I will look over the list of groups this evening. We will both have some interesting reading, I believe.

Q I think you like to disillusion me, General.

M No. I like to confront you with reality once in a while.

Q Enough said on that.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

With the collapse of communism in Russia, as opposed to the United States, an increasing amount of information and documentation has become available to historians and researchers. Great care has to be taken, however, to consider the source of this information because the descendant of the dreaded NKVD, the KGB, has been reorganized but still maintains the security of its own files. Documents from this source are to be considered as extraordinarily suspect insofar as accuracy is concerned. This agency, which supplied carloads of faked documents for Stalin's murderous purges, is still in the business of preparing counterfeit papers to suit whatever needs might arise. Foreign journalists pay large sums in hard currency and are given boxes of papers for research and eventual publication, just as the Stasi sold the counterfeit Hitler diaries for much needed foreign currency.

In the area of early communist organizations and history, much of the information is considered harmless historical background and is often released without the doctoring and fabrications found in papers relating to more current events. Anything relating to assassinations, high-level Soviet agents in foreign countries, Soviet agendas of subversion and aggression and their intelligence contacts with foreigners in sympathy with the aims of the former Soviet Union are certainly not available. A thick file on Lee Harvey Oswald has been displayed, but never opened to anyone, and other files on such political personalities as Willi Brandt, former West German Chancellor, and US President William Clinton are not for public consumption. Although at least one American intelligence agency firmly believed that Roosevelt's chief advisor, Harry Hopkins, was in the pay of the Russians, no file on Hopkins, who spent considerable time in direct contact with Stalin, is even admitted to exist by current Russian officials.

It should be noted that the Soviet intelligence agencies kept extensive files on anyone of interest to them. Records of persons known to be hostile to their aims share the same locked archives as files covering those known to be sympathetic to or cooperative with Soviet ideology and intentions.

Post-communist Russian intelligence agencies have made a healthy profit selling stacks of counterfeit papers to journalists. Most of these papers were forged during the Cold War and deal with various individuals at high levels in the Third Reich. Military plans, diaries of the prominent, correspondence dealing with such matters as the slaughter of civilians and so on were cranked out by the forgery factory in the KGB and sequestered until they were needed for propaganda campaigns. When the Soviet Union disintegrated, Germany was no longer an ally of the United States to be vilified but was, instead, a wealthy potential trading partner against whom these paper weapons were not needed.

Even with the release of former Soviet files, no one should be surprised about the internal and external programs of murders and assassinations ordered by Stalin and carried out by his immense cadre of ideological killers. Although it was far easier to liquidate Polish prisoners of war, internal dissidents, uncooperative Ukrainian peasants and potential sources of rebellion in conquered territories, Stalin's NKVD (which changed its title to KGB after Stalin's death but not its aims) found ways to kill dangerous opponents outside the borders of the communist empire.

White Russian leaders in Paris, exiled Leon Trotsky in Mexico and inconvenient foreigners were shot, poisoned, hacked to death or kidnapped and dismembered inside Soviet diplomatic missions in hidden rooms set aside for this purpose. Unlike Roosevelt and Churchill, Stalin had a much clearer view of his own goals and his massacres and assassinations had a far more pragmatic basis than mere revenge and killing for its own sake.

Müller's comments about the duplication of Soviet agent messages sent from the United States and Canada to Moscow is of considerable interest in current times. US intercepts of Soviet radio traffic were purported to be extremely difficult to decrypt and were termed the Venona Project. The allegation has been made that the US National Security Agency, one of the best equipped and effective agencies in the world in the area of interception and decoding, and its predecessors in this field, have labored for over 30 years to break the Soviet agents' coded messages. The statement has been made that only fragments have been decoded in all that time. The fact that the Germans intercepted and decoded identical messages, sent in a different code from Canada, is not mentioned, but a reading of it makes it very clear why the hitherto unfathomable delays have occurred in the release of Venona material, because these US intercepts shows the degree and extent of Soviet penetration of American top-level intelligence, military and political circles. The material is shocking in the extreme as the names of some of the leading luminaries of the Roosevelt New Deal are encountered. The delays in releasing Venona appear to be more in the nature of political damage control rather than code complexities. The top secret atomic bomb program, the Manhattan Project, was compromised and Soviet agents were either in place in or had close contact with very high-level persons in the Roosevelt Cabinet, OSS, FBI, Treasury Department and War Department.

It appears that Roosevelt himself, though not a communist, had no difficulties in utilizing their services both to maintain his presidency and assist Josef Stalin, his closest ally in the war against Hitler. The OSS was so infiltrated with avowed Communists that Harry Truman disbanded it as quickly as he could when he became President in 1945. Cabinet-level personages suspected of working for Stalin's agents were quietly retired and a very discreet shake-up was instituted.

That the Roosevelt Administration was filled with Soviet sympathizers and actual agents is well known. The many lists compiled by Müller, some of which have been reproduced in this work, reflect the names of many prominent Soviet *sources* but in all fairness, a distinction must be made between a source and an agent.

A source could well be a person sympathetic to the Soviet system, a US government official who was merely cooperating openly with a wartime ally, a high-level Roosevelt Administration personage who was acting as an official conduit between the President and the Soviet government, or even a name stuck into a report by an ambitious Soviet agent to impress Moscow with his contacts.

In reviewing material released by the US National Security Agency on the Venona project and comparing this with far more extensive material intercepted by the Germans during the war, it becomes evident that actual agents in place are never referred to by their actual names but are given code names while sources, whatever their ideology, are almost always identified by their own names. Closer reading of the German and US intercepts indicates that often a source would be turned into an actual agent and at that point, a code name would be used in transmissions. However, Soviet agents were not noted for their intelligence and even these disguised entities are easily identified in the texts by addresses, positions or reference to previous input.

The legacy of Stalin's army of spies is with us today, and fear of their exposure is a motivating factor in the timorous release of information to the general public.

Bloody Sunday

The outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 saw the commencement of a brutal sub-war against the civilian populations of both hemispheres—a trend which has continued unabated until the present day.

Many historians point to the Sino-Japanese war of the 1930s as the precursor of this trend and even more have singled out the Polish campaign as its inauguration in Europe. Müller's comments on this ugly aspect of history are well worth studying.

Q The problem of the Combat Groups²¹ keeps cropping up and we really need to get some comment from you about this. I assume you have some first-hand knowledge of the matter?

M Of course. This actually was under Heydrich in the beginning and later the chain of command was changed. First, it was the Main Security Office²² through the chief of the Security Police, but later it went directly from Himmler through the Senior SS and Police Leaders.²³ I was actually not in the command chain, but of course, a number of Gestapo personnel were detached for duty with these groups.

Q It is just this that I would like to address. These groups have a very unsavory reputation and your connection with them is of importance.

M I imagine from the point of view of the communists, they would have such a reputation. And, also bandits, criminals and murderers would not have found them to their liking. As I said, these groups were not under my command although I was once asked to command one. I did refuse this, not because I thought they were wrong in their actions, but because I had too many other more important things to do than to run around after these creatures.

Q Yes, but they did hunt down and kill Jews, didn't they?

M They hunted down and killed the people I just mentioned to you. If Jews were guilty of these things, then Jews were also included, but not specifically because they were Jews.

Q Why should there be these armed raids on Polish territory, if not to exterminate your political or especially your racial enemies?

M If you think anyone had the time or the interest in having a wild hunt after Jews, you are sadly in error.

Q But surely in Poland...

M Yes, in Poland. What do you think was going on in Poland at the beginning of the campaign there? Tell me what you think, not that I couldn't guess.

Q Well, of course, the extermination of Poles and especially of Polish Jews is the first subject that comes to mind. These groups, and this was well covered at Nuremberg, are known to have run amok in Poland and slaughtered many people... and in Russia as well...

M Let us take things in their proper order.

Q Very well, please proceed.

M I don't see any reason for giving you a history lesson here, because neither one of us really care. But, I would like to set aside some misconceptions, just to be accurate. I have said that I did not participate in those things, but I most certainly knew all about them, even from the beginning. What do you know about German relations with the Poles. Anything?

Q It is not my field.

M For a time, it was mine, so I will enlighten you a little and improve your knowledge, if not your point of view. Germany and Poland were bitter enemies after the Versailles Treaty. Large areas of Germany, areas that had been German for centuries, settled and developed by Germans, were given to the Poles by your idiotic President Wilson. I would say that Wilson alone was the most responsible for the last war, absolutely without question. He made an agreement with our government about the peace, and then when Germany was disarmed, deliberately changed it. I can see the return of the French territories, but the business in East Germany and especially Silesia was monstrous.

From the beginning, those Germans who remained in our former territory were harassed and brutalized by the envious Poles. It was so bad that the British and French observers, sent there to assist in the theft, made protests about Polish barbarity. No one paid any attention and the business went on.

In 1932 when the Poles thought Hitler might come to power, they massed troops on the borders of East Prussia and Silesia and threatened to invade us. We had a small army and could not have prevented

²¹ *Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD.*

²² *Reichssicherheitshauptamt- RSHA*

²³ *Höhere SS und Polizeiführer- HSSPF*

this, so Hitler had to give way to their demands, mostly that we sign treaties favorable to them, and of course, to cease dealing with their enemies—the Soviets.

Later, after the Union with Austria, and especially after the Sudeten business, the Poles became very much alarmed that we would try to get back our stolen land. Instead of trying to negotiate with us, they tried to threaten us. Of course, by that time, the army was much expanded and such threats meant nothing. For some reason, these idiots thought that they were a world power instead of a dwarf without legs. They went to the French and the British and insisted on having a pact with them. They defied Hitler and refused to even negotiate on the Corridor with him. Naturally, this angered Hitler who felt that of all his territorial demands in Europe, the Corridor and Danzig was the most legitimate.

Beck, their Foreign Minister, was an arrogant mule with delusions of greatness and behaved like Louis XIV. But a Louis without an army or an economy or, even worse, an intelligent population. The Poles are, without question, some of the most stupid and brutal creatures on earth...

Q Now...

M Please, let me finish. You can comment when I am through. And I said “brutal.” In, I think, April of 1939, Warsaw began a campaign of terror against the German minority in Poland as a means of warning Hitler that there were potential hostages if he became too aggressive. Anyone who knows Hitler would tell you that you did not deal with him by pointing a gun at his head. They had gotten away with that once, but never again. Of course, reports of beatings, arson and killing came into Berlin, to the Foreign Office mainly, from German diplomats in Poland, and each report drove Hitler into a rage. If there had been one incident, it would have passed, but the campaign went up a notch every week until it was really impossible to ignore.

A number of the more fortunate and daring Germans escaped into Germany and brought all manner of terror stories with them. Of course, Goebbels made the best of it and the papers were full of these things. And in spite of what you might think, most of these stories were true, as we found out later.

We can skip over the actual outbreak of war now and get down to the reasons for the German behavior in Poland. We can discuss Russia later. Immediately after the war broke out on the 1st of September, the Poles in the former German districts, on specific orders from Warsaw, attacked the German minority with bestial ferocity. Women and children, even babies, were tortured and butchered in ways that I will not even begin to discuss here. I have thousands of police photographs which I would be more than happy to show you later, but let me proceed. Those Germans fortunate to escape this slaughter fled to the German lines and sought the protection of the troops. Many of them formed themselves into Self-Protection units and aided the military. When our soldiers advanced and then saw for themselves the evidence of the Polish barbarity, feelings ran very high and demands were made to round up the Poles who had committed these terrible crimes.

Now in the Sudeten area, the Security Police had sent in units in support of the occupation, and their purpose was to maintain order behind the advancing troops. They were also to round up anti-Hitler Germans who had fled to Czech territory and who were engaging in propaganda and occasional commando-type activities across the border. The security people were also after Czechs who were expected to offer resistance and also those who had attacked the Sudeten German minority. The Czechs were angels of mercy compared with the Poles, let me tell you.

Once the Polish campaign began, these security units were formed again, and for the same purposes as before. I knew about this from the beginning, because as I said before, the Gestapo loaned a number of its agents to assist the regular security police and I had to approve the choices and the transfers. I attended a number of conferences on this, and I was completely aware of what the goals and the purposes of these security groups were.

The discovery of the widespread slaughter of German civilians added another factor to the situation. When Hitler learned of what had happened, he went into a terrible rage and summoned Himmler and Heydrich, and later, myself, into his presence and ordered in the most emphatic way that not only must something be done to protect the Germans in Poland from such atrocities, but that those responsible must be apprehended and shot at once. At first, the military was shocked by this, but suddenly they changed their song when it was revealed that German prisoners of war had been brutally murdered by Polish military units. Eyes were cut out, genitals cut off, living people disemboweled or set on fire while still alive. Oh yes, many such incidents, and of course, the military now demanded that justice be done. And of course it was. The problem was not improved when the surviving Germans, now assisting the military as official auxiliaries, began to conduct their own counter-campaigns which were just as terrible as the Polish ones. In

fact, worse I might say. It got so bad that the military demanded that such things cease and eventually these groups were disbanded, and those of military age were officially taken into the armed forces.

As for the rest, the security forces rounded up as many of the murderers as they could find and brought them to justice. There were proper courts set up, evidence was presented and death sentences handed out. This was an orderly process, unlike the revenge attacks of the German civilians.

Q I can see the other side, at least from your view, and I really do not want to see any pictures but we both know many Poles were liquidated, don't we?

M Certainly. Not enough in my view. Do you know how many German civilians were slaughtered?

Q I have no idea...

M I do. 13,000 corpses of old people, women, children and babies were identified. There were tens of thousands more who were so mutilated or so decomposed that identification was completely impossible...

Q Total?

M Over 50,000 dead, mostly unidentified. Now, do you understand the counteraction? My own opinion then, and I had seen the reports and had numerous interviews with my own men when they came back, was that we should have driven the whole lot of them into the swamps and drowned them. It would have saved time and ammunition. Jews? Actually, not many were involved in the killings. Don't forget, the Poles loathe the Jews and killed a number of them on their own without any help from us.

Q Yes, I know something about that. Did you know that when Auschwitz was liberated by the Soviets, there were about 12,000 sick Jews your people left behind when they moved the camp personnel to the west? A really ugly story, but I had to verify it once, so I know. When the Soviets came into the camp, the guards at once began to slaughter the Jews by machine-gunning the barracks they were in. A Soviet infantry colonel told me at Nuremberg that blood was running out the doors. The guards who did the shooting were all Poles who had been hired by your people to take over the camp when they closed it.

M That I was not aware of, but it only bears out what I just told you, doesn't it? What did the Russians do?

Q Nothing at all. They didn't like the Jews either and they did nothing about it. Several Jewish officers tried to stop it but it was too late.

M And, of course, we get blamed for all that now.

Q But, you maintain that the Gestapo was not involved directly in this business?

M No, I do not. I told you we supplied a good percentage of the makeup of the security groups. I, myself, was not in the line of command although I was fully aware of what was going on, and to be most honest, I agreed then with their course of action, and I agree now. I do believe that allowing the self-defense groups to participate in actions was bad judgment on the part of the group commanders and I know that these Germans, for whatever reason, justified or not, did exceed their instructions.

Q Do you not then agree that the German authorities were ultimately responsible for the excesses?

M From a moral standpoint, yes. From a practical standpoint, no. And military and police operations are not conducted by moralists. The Old Fritz²⁴ said once that if a soldier started to think, he would leave the ranks at once. This does not excuse anything, but all armies engage in savage behavior from time to time.

Q Yes, but your record...

M My record? I don't think so. I told you I did not run any of these groups. Approving of their actions is not an admission of guilt.

Q I recall one episode that I had to prepare a brief on for Nuremberg, a massacre of Jews outside Kiev in 1941. Weren't 30,000 Jews taken out of the city and shot by the SS?

M No. The Ukrainian police, set up and armed by the army, let me advise you, had an afternoon of fun and shot about 3,000 Jews. Yes, that part is true, but the numbers have been changed. Someone added an extra zero. The leader of the group was later shot by us.

Q What? For shooting Jews?

M Unauthorized killings. Now, I suppose you will say that because the Germans armed these Ukrainians and that we were in occupation of the area, we were responsible. Indirectly, yes. I agree with you on that. And, if an American soldier gets drunk in Antwerp and rapes and kills a Belgian woman, your military is also responsible.

Q We hanged them.

M So did we. Bad for discipline—rape and pillage. But to get back to the actions in Poland, and later Russia, please note that such things did not happen in France, Denmark or Norway. There was no need for such things. These were civilized people, not Poles or Slavs. There is a difference. Since the Russians are

²⁴ *Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, 1740-1786.*

now your enemies, why should you care how many bandits we put up in trees or shot? Your people don't care about butchered German civilians and I personally don't care about hanged bandits. If you ever have to deal with these creatures, you would come running to me asking me to destroy them. In fact, you already have discussed the Bartholomew Program with me and it amounts to the same thing, doesn't it? Only, that program is preventive, not punitive. Timing is everything in this sort of business. Be assured that I did not have any direct command or direct responsibility for the security units. That's what you want to hear, isn't it?

Q I think we will have to edit this extensively before we submit it.

M Of course. Now you sound like the Russians with your editing. When your superiors give you all these pointless questions that you have to put to me, doesn't it strike you as a waste of time? I give you this example: A lunatic is up in a building, shooting at random into the streets. Completely innocent people are being killed. The police get a man on a rooftop and he shoots the lunatic through the head. Justified? Of course. But there are always idiots who will say that the poor lunatic was a misunderstood man. Maybe his mother beat him as a baby. No one understood him and now kind doctors can't even examine his brain because a terrible policeman splattered it all over the wall behind him. Now if the daughter or son of one of these chronic weepers got one through the stomach, they would sing out of the other side of their mouth, wouldn't they?

Q I recall the verse about soldiers and God being implored in need but not before.

M You can add the police to that too.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

Blutsonntag (Bloody Sunday) was a massacre of civilians that actually did occur in September 1939 in various towns and cities throughout the former German provinces, especially at Bromberg, but certainly not limited to that city. Extensive coverage of the killings was provided by foreign journalists who were brought into the areas by German military press units.

The *Einsatzgruppen* were not designed to liquidate Poland's three million-strong Jewish community, but to act as political police behind the advancing German armed forces. The fact that their numbers were never high and that they were officially disbanded in November of 1939, would indicate that their duties were over. Rounding up and killing three million people of any persuasion would have been impossible in three months for a force of less than 6,000 police officials.

Postwar German historian, Martin Brozart claims that only 4,000 to 5,000 German civilians were murdered and that an additional 2,000 died as a result of the war.²⁵ The figures concerning identified victims cited here were valid as of February 1940, but the balance of the victims were so badly decomposed or scattered that an exact count and identifications were impossible.

Postwar German historians have, almost without exception, engaged in an extensive and often repulsive *mea culpa* litany, coupled with garment rending and other manifestations of social self-abuse found in those who wish to curry favor with publishers. The total lack of objectivity in their writings has left a large gap in German history. Students in the German school system find that German history ends in 1933 and begins again in 1945.

After the fall of Napoleon and the temporary return of the vapid Bourbons, it was strictly forbidden to write about or even possess a picture of the former Emperor. This official, and very often mindless repression, led directly to the destruction of the Bourbons and the eventual elevation of Napoleon's nephew to the throne of a Second Empire. It has been said the Bourbons learned nothing and forgot nothing, but this failing is certainly not limited to French monarchs.

That a large number of Poles were rounded up and shot following the massacres is beyond question. Whether or not those who engaged in the slaughter of German civilians deserved their fate is a matter for the reader to determine.

Even larger numbers of Soviet partisans were, to use a German phrase often mistranslated, rooted out and executed by the same *Einsatzgruppen*, aided cheerfully by local Russian militias, the German armed forces and members of various Baltic and Croatian military units allied with the Germans.

The massacre of some of Kiev's Jewish population is known as the *Baba Yar* incident. Extensive correspondence exists between the *HSSPF* of Kiev, Jeckeln and Himmler concerning the killings carried

²⁵ Martin Brozart, 'Nationalsozialistische Polenpolitik, 1939-45' Stuttgart, 1961. p. 47.

out by a Ukrainian militia headed by one Berutko. Jeckeln, without direct orders, wanted to shoot Berutko. Himmler agreed with him, but suggested that the SS leader take over the militia and provide strict supervision, which was lacking under army control.

An extra zero was added to the totals at some point during the preparation of evidence to be used at the Nuremberg trials.

Gertrude the Screamer

Although the great body of the Müller interviews is serious and often endlessly technical, there are occasional moments of genuine humor.

Witness the following exchange about interrogation techniques:

Q Unfortunately for us, such a body of propaganda about the methods of the Gestapo has been developed that I can't see any way to rationalize it to certain gentlemen in Washington. Your name means nothing, frankly, but the word "Gestapo" conjures up images of torture chambers and so on.

M You shouldn't have started such nonsense.

Q Of course we did. Propaganda is necessary to whip up enthusiasm in wartime. You know that.

M I do, but our sessions in the Prinz Albert building were not what you think they were. We Germans are very bureaucratic and love to follow routines, and wild torture sessions, beatings, hot irons and so on are nonsense. I often said we ought to bring up the Iron Virgin of Nuremberg and set her in the interrogation rooms. Do you know about the Iron Virgin?

Q No.

M Looks like an iron mummy case with the front that opens in half. Put the victim inside and close the doors on him. The doors are full of sharp spikes that penetrate the eyes, the brain, the heart and other parts. I always thought if we put some fake blood on the floor in front of it, a suspect would be much more inclined to sing his songs to us. Unfortunately, the museum people in the Nuremberg castle refused to loan it to me and I am sure that to this day, some of them think we were actually going to use it. Besides, it is rather short... people were shorter in those days... and it would be just about right for a 15 year-old boy but not a grown man. But, we did have Gertrude the Screamer, the Mad Doctor and Horst Kopkow instead.

Q When you look at me that way, General, I know you want me to insist you explain your sly remarks. Very well, who was Gertrude the Screamer?

M A typist in our office. Wanted to be an opera singer but didn't have the least talent for singing, but my God, what a screamer she was! You see, we would bring in an important suspect and take him into a special interrogation room. Then I, or someone else, actually mostly myself because I can control myself and not laugh when I shouldn't, would start to question the suspect. When I was going over his answers, say in about the first half hour, one of my men who looked like a circus freak with a huge head and hands... a nice fellow actually but he looked like a monster... would open the door and announce that we had just arrested the suspect's wife and were bringing her upstairs. This used to frighten the suspect but he tried to put a good face on it for a while. We would install Gertrude in the office next door with some cream buns and a bottle of mineral water and Kopkow, who had a loud, nasty voice, used to start shouting threats at the wall and then he would end up beating a leather sack full of sand from a boxing gym with a big stick. My God, it sounded absolutely terrible through the door. And Gertrude would put her head back and start to screech at the top of her lungs and whimper and moan.

This was usually enough to get the suspect sweating and many just gave up and told me what we needed to know, but sometimes they were tough so Kopkow would shout out that he was going to break her fingers, one by one. What he did was to snap a big stalk of celery and then, of course, Gertrude would really begin to shriek. Of course, we told her who the suspect was and she began to call out his name and ask him to help her.

Q Oh, this is really too much.

M That is nothing at all, my friend. If he hadn't confessed by that time, Kopkow would start thrashing the bag again, and Gertrude would begin to wail like an air raid siren, and there would be a great crash as Kopkow knocked over a chair, and then silence. A secret weapon then came along in the person of the Mad Doctor. This man was actually a driver and quite decent, but like the other one, he looked strange—a thin face, thick glasses and hair that could never stay combed. We stuck him in a doctor's white coat, splattered it with red ink and he would open the door after the chair fell over and say to me that he thought they had broken her leg. Usually at this point, the suspect would start to blubber and go on like a stuck gramophone record.

Of course there were some problems with this. On a hot day, we had to keep the windows open and when she was in full voice, you could hear Gertrude three streets away. People must have heard her all the way to Unter den Linden. And right below us were more secretaries, and they could hear the noise, so most of them were sent home for the day. God knows what they told their families. And one time, the bloody doctor had to go down to the toilet and someone saw him—a woman clerk—on the stairs and

fainted away. She fell down to the landing and broke her collar bone and we all felt very badly about that. I even brought her flowers in the hospital but I couldn't tell her what was really going on. You simply cannot trust people to be quiet about such things. I told her our doctor was a lunatic who had escaped from an asylum, gotten out of the cells and had a nosebleed. The ink always looked fresh and the only real expense was the celery and the food that we had to get for Gertrude.

Q She sounds like she must have been quite fat.

M Be kind. She was comfortable. But, at least the celery wasn't a loss. We sent it down to the cook in the office canteen and it went into the soup pot. Are you quite all right? Please try not to get sick here. (Pause)

Q I am sorry but I couldn't help myself.

M You should have better control at your age. Now you've spewed coffee all over the table. That's a valuable table. Here, clean it up with your handkerchief or I will have to call someone in to do it for you. There you go. Try to be neat about it. I admit that the business has some humor about it but you seem to be hysterical. Now don't get started again on that; it's hardly that humorous.

Q The celery...

M Yes, well, I hate to see food wasted after all.

Q The images in my mind...I am sorry but I can't help it. You were so serious ten minutes ago, and then this business about...(Pause)

M I said to control yourself. What will my charming stenographer think? Gertrude...please, make some attempt at self-control.

Q Take this out of the record.

M And of course when the suspect found out that his wife was actually quite well and had been at home reading a romance while he thought our little theater group was beating her into cat meat, he was terribly embarrassed.

Q I'm...it sounds like the Ziegfeld Follies.

M What is that?

Q Vaudeville. Slapstick comedy. My God, it must have been a regular circus in there...

M Oh no, it might be humorous to you...and I confess I used to find it funny too, but mark me, we were very serious about the whole thing. It simply makes things easier if you can laugh once in awhile. Hitler liked vaudeville, you know. Absolutely loved to go to the theater and watch the dancers and the comedians. I used to have a sense of humor, I am told, but somewhere along the line I lost it.

Q I really don't think so.

M How kind of you to attribute human feelings to me.

Q Now in all seriousness, General, I beg you not to tell such stories when you meet with the Admiral's man. I can assure you that they will not find Gertrude...excuse me please...find that story funny. I am very sorry. Will not find it funny at all. Most of these people have absolutely no sense of humor, even black humor. You will put this project in jeopardy if you can't be absolutely serious.

M You mean we can't have someone in a bloody doctor's coat burst into the room waving a leg of mutton around?

Q Please...

M You see, once you get started laughing, it is hard to stop. And now the charming young lady is also laughing as well. Have more coffee and let us go on to more substantive matters, like the radio nets you wanted to know about. And the interlocking teletype systems. Just consider this a comic interlude and let us go on with really important matters. I will never say "celery" again in your presence.

An Explosive Career

Müller's professional career was highlighted with bomb explosions.

M I do not consider myself to be an explosives expert in any sense, but over the years I got quite an education on the subject, believe me.

Q The July 20 business, for example?

M Yes, that too, but there were others. I was heavily involved in the “Hindenburg” business in 1937.

Q I thought that was an accident. Static electricity.

M No, it was a bomb. Oddly enough, both your government and ours tacitly agreed that an accident was the best official solution. Actually, that was before Crystal Night and we did cooperate with your investigators on the scene, or rather they allowed our people to go over and assist them. Very discreet at the time.

Q I have traveled on a Zeppelin before and I genuinely loved it.

M I too, although I found it very hard to adjust to. I was used to a different kind of flying, but I agree that the experience was one not forgotten. Too bad the airship is a dead issue. Of course, if your government had given us helium, the disaster would never have happened.

Q How do you know it was a bomb, and who was responsible?

M To the first question: Because that was the official but private conclusion, and as to the second, I admit no one knew. There are educated guesses, for sure, but nothing conclusive. From the beginning, Hitler did not want it to be sabotage and we had to conduct our investigation accordingly. There had been bomb threats before, you know, and the Gestapo was responsible for searching the luggage of all passengers boarding the craft in Germany. For this reason, I had some initial interest and once the tragedy happened, we had to go over our information to see what we might have known about passengers and crew. There are some interesting factors involved in the business. How much do you know about it?

Q Nothing other than the ship caught fire just as it was landing.

M Then I should educate you. The *Hindenburg* had been threatened before and we instituted a rigorous search of luggage in Germany. The ship, on the trip in question, ran into some very heavy weather with stiff headwinds that slowed her down by almost twelve hours. She was supposed to arrive in America and dock at about six in the morning, but instead was delayed to the point where she was only able to put down at six in the evening. The twelve hours I mentioned. Now we were able to interrogate the German nationals who had been on board, including the passengers and crew. And all of the evidence from the officers in the control car and from the crew, inasmuch as they had specific evidence, was that there was a small explosion inside the ship, down inside by one of the huge gas cells. Not an explosion on the top of the ship. I mean, you saw the fire break out above, but the fire started down inside the ship. There were three men in the tail and two were absolutely positive about the source of the initial explosion. The officers confirmed also that there was no loss of gas registered on the control boards and that the landing was perfectly normal up to the point of the explosion.

Your people and ours went through the wreckage and could find nothing significant in the way of bomb parts or timing devices, but many people had carried off souvenirs, and the fire was very hot, so a small timing device could easily be overlooked, stolen or destroyed. After all, a destructive device on such an airship did not need to be large or very powerful—only powerful enough to rip the gas cell, which was made of treated cloth, and start a fire. A few ounces of powder, a battery and a detonator were sufficient. I could put such a device in my coat pocket and you probably wouldn't see it, and of course, we didn't strip the passengers who were boarding. No, I went through all the evidence and even talked with the ship's designers, so I am satisfied that a bomb destroyed the *Hindenburg*. Of course for political reasons, it was better to call it an accident.

This I can say: I firmly believe that the bomb was planted in the ship before she left Germany. *Hindenburg* was not full on the way over, but she was sold out on the return trip. That is where I had the best clues as to what happened. Now, follow along with me: She was twelve hours late, as I have said. I am sure that a crew member or a passenger could have gotten up inside the ship and put the bomb where it would go off, but I cannot believe that anyone would be insane enough to want to stay on board when the airship blew up. If someone embarking in Germany had planted the bomb *before* the delay occurred, I am positive they would have had time to go back and retrieve it before it went off. I don't think anyone would want to be burned alive that way.

So, if we take that as a starting point, let us go on to the next point: If the bomb was planted in Germany, the planter would not know in advance that the ship would be twelve hours late. These airships were very reliable and quite on time, give or take an hour or so. But she was twelve hours late after all. Now if all had gone as expected, the *Hindenburg* would have landed around 6 A.M., disembarked her passengers, refueled and reprovisioned, and made ready for the return flight—no more than a few hours for this, and off she would have gone. Only this time, she would have had a full complement of passengers—mostly wealthy Americans bound for the Coronation in London. I said I was able to interview all the German passengers on the fatal flight that survived, but I could not get at the American survivors, so that leaves a gap. But still, the timing is what is really important.

In theory, had she not run into unexpected headwinds going to America, the *Hindenburg* would be back out over the Atlantic with a full house when she blew up—probably no survivors and absolutely no evidence. After all, when she burned, it only took a minute or so before she was gone, so over the ocean with no ship traffic in sight, and possibly no time to send out a distress message, it could have gone down as one of the mysteries of the sea.

If this were the plan, why put the bomb on board in Germany, hoping to destroy the ship when coming from America? Why make it look like the sabotage came from your side, not ours? That might indicate some plot in Germany aimed at your country, but there was no reason for this at that time in history. Many of your citizens did not like Hitler, especially the Jews, but the real problems between the two countries had not yet heated up. And a plot by the Jews would not want to blow up Americans, but the evil Nazi passengers.

I did get and examined very carefully, a list of those who were slated to take the return passage and most were wealthy Americans, as I have said. We had enough cooperation with your law enforcement agencies to indicate to me at least three possible subjects whose death might be of value to someone else. It would have to be someone who had connections in Germany and who could have a bomb put on board with a clockwork device set to go off when the *Hindenburg* was on her way back.

Q A question here: You said a clockwork device. Are there such things that could be set for two or three days?

M Of course. We had just such a device called the J-Feder 504 that could work up to 21 days. We used that to blow up the Naples post office in 1944. A small device that I could easily hold in one hand and still have room for a good cigar. It could be set to, let us say, sixteen days, five hours and three minutes. Isn't science wonderful?

Q Who were the suspects?

M Not important at this point. Personal gain was the main motive, as I believe it, not political objections to the swastika. The insurance policies would, in some cases, have a caveat about acts of terrorism negating payment. It might have been instructive to compare the passenger list with such policies, and of course, consider relatives or spouses who could benefit by such a sudden tragedy. Lost at sea and never found.

Q In America, there often is a period of waiting. Seven years.

M I'm sure there would be something found to prove the ship had blown up. Some wreckage on the water, a few bodies or pieces of bodies. I'm sure enough to convince anyone that the passengers were all well done and either at the bottom of the sea or in some shark's belly. It was all speculative anyway. And, of course, I could be wrong in my opinions. Here, we are dealing with opinions and observations and not forensic facts. The *Burgerbräu* blast was another matter. But initially I still was in error.

Q Now this I would be interested in. The one in 1939?

M I didn't know that there were two such explosions.

Q I'm sure you know what I mean. The attempt on Hitler's life in Munich.

M I thought I might have missed some event. Well, we can talk about it if you wish. What do you know about that business? It might save me some time here.

Q Nothing official, but I did hear that there might have been more to it than a single assassin working alone.

M You heard with great exactness. I meant for you to give me your version of what happened on November 8, 1939.

Q Hitler was addressing a group of his old stalwarts in a Munich beer hall, left early, and a bomb went off, bringing down the roof just over where he was standing. Your people thought the British were behind it and kidnapped Best and Stevens from Holland, tried the man who claimed to have placed the bomb and that's about it.

M Yes, clear enough. Many people have questioned Hitler's early departure and his short speech that night...he often went on for hours...but I know for a fact that he had just reset the date for the offensive in the West and was determined to go back to Berlin and keep up with events there. It was the weather, after all, that was holding him up. I, too, had some doubt about this quick speech but I satisfied myself at once about this. He flew down to Munich from Berlin, but because of the chronic bad weather, had to schedule his special train to take him back. Now, the railway system could accommodate this special but there had to be schedules...there was, after all, regular rail traffic to consider...and the best opening was such as to make him cut his speech short. And then, as you say, the bomb went off ten minutes after he left. Much confusion.

I was called in along with other high ranking police officials, and Munich was in turmoil, believe me. You see, Hitler's security in the beer hall was under the Party. In his headquarters, it was under the Army, and when traveling it was under the RSD (the State Security Service). This was a group of very professional police officials, mostly Bavarian, who were constantly around him and who were commanded not by Himmler but by Rattenhuber. And he was answerable only to Hitler and no one else. They were, indeed, professional but neither this group nor the Gestapo who was also involved in Hitler's security, were allowed inside the building where the bomb was. Of course afterwards, I was able to get this matter cleared up and then both my people and the RSD were jointly responsible for security.

After the explosion, a border guard station, also under my control on the Swiss border, seized Elser and discovered he had documents connecting him with the outrage. Elser claimed he worked alone, and Himmler was in a terrible state about this because Hitler was absolutely certain the British were behind it. The SD had been playing with the British Intelligence in Holland, pretending to be Hitler enemies so as to get information from them and this convinced Hitler that the British were involved. The two senior British agents were kidnapped and I personally questioned them. I must say that I believed them when they claimed they knew nothing about the attempt, but Hitler did not. I was positive that Elser did not work alone and I was very severe in my interrogations of him. Finally, he managed to convince me that he had indeed made the bomb and placed it in the hall, simply because he actually built a replica of it in front of me. I kept this on my desk in Berlin for a time to remind myself not to be so quick to come to conclusions.

But in the end, oddly enough, Hitler was quite correct: The British were indeed, involved in the attempt but not through their regular intelligence agencies.

Q Are you certain? Did you get the entire story out of Elser? And what happened to him?

M He was not tried but kept on ice in Dachau and in the last weeks of the war, I had him shot. He did work with the British, although he didn't realize it at the time. The reason I had him shot was because the man who acted as a middleman between him and the British was a Gestapo agent from Munich. Oh yes, don't look so startled. That's why Elser went away in the end. I knew that Elser had been unemployed for quite a long time yet seemed to have plenty of money for travel, lodging and food. I wanted to know where that had come from and he kept talking about a friend. He didn't know the friend's real name but he did recall that when he was staying at a lodging in the Munich area, his friend knew the owner.

The owner did not recognize the false name Elser had been given but eventually recalled who the man was. A great shock to me when I found out it was a man who had been in the Gestapo but resigned to go into military service. This, of course, I could not let get out, as it would do my reputation no good whatsoever so we tracked the man down and I had him seized when he came home on a special leave I arranged for. Such a surprised man after all! He wet his pants when they grabbed him and shoved him into the car. Oh yes, and I had a nice, friendly chat with him. After I told him in great detail what I would have done to him, he began to admit what had happened. He had committed some indiscretion a few years before and somehow the British had heard about it. He was approached and more or less forced to give assistance. It was either work for the British or risk his misdeeds coming to my attention. Perhaps I should explain this: The man was involved in sexual matters with a very young girl. That, of course, is a criminal matter in Germany as it is in most civilized countries. Of course, as head of the NKVD, Beria can rape anything female over the age of three and get a promotion out of it, but elsewhere, in civilized countries, such things are viewed with disgust. If I had learned of this criminal misconduct, I would have turned the miserable monster over to the Criminal Police with a strong recommendation to have him shortened by a head. I confess that this is a personal prejudice entirely. A man in my position often has to deal with repulsive creatures in order to get information, but I assure you that debauchers of small children are too much for me to stomach. You might say that I personally feel that insects like that should be exterminated on the spot, but even in Germany, to shock you, we had courts and a legal system. No, this former Gestapo person, I think, was far more afraid of what I would do to him if he were exposed than the danger in

working for the British. There was a British official in Berlin who wanted to kill Hitler and he was in a position to set this in motion.

Q This was official? I mean the British authorized this assassination plot?

M No, they did not. In fact, they were apparently completely opposed to it but our man decided to do it anyway. You keep jumping up and down in your chair there, so let me calm you by telling you it was a Colonel Mason-MacFarlane, the British military attaché in Berlin!

Q God, I knew him in Italy. He was involved with the Italian surrender and he was a perfect, obstructionistic ass. The man wrote documents to the Italians that were in direct opposition to official policy and did it deliberately. I met him once and he was a thoroughly arrogant and probably unbalanced man. The General was commandant of Gibraltar and a friend of Churchill.

M Commandant of Gibraltar was he indeed. He was there when Sikorski had his fortunate accident, wasn't he?

Q Yes, he was.

M Well, by the time we found out about your General friend, he had left the country under his own power. I assure you, diplomatic immunity or no, had I discovered the connection, he would have gone home in a box with a lot of his pieces missing. He was a cripple, as I recall, and a missing leg or two wouldn't make much difference.

Q I must say, you are most bloodthirsty today, General. Did you have raw meat for breakfast?

M No, an omelet, coffee with double cream, two fresh rolls and fruit preserves.

Q What happened to the Gestapo man?

M The unfortunate child-rapist was told that we would not put him in jail for the time being, but that he must stay in Munich where he would be kept under surveillance. One winter night, he decided to cross the Isar on the bridge by the National Museum. Two of my men came towards him from one side of the bridge and two were right behind him. It was snowing very heavily and no doubt he observed that he was not alone, so I assume that is why he suddenly leapt over a high parapet, crashed through the ice on the river below and drowned in the water before we could rescue him. What a tragedy indeed. They found him in the spring down by the dam when he warmed up a bit and began to bloat. There was an article in the paper about the soldier on leave who had a tragic accident. I had a hand in the writing of the article but I did not send flowers to the funeral. It would hardly have done to prosecute him and then have his connection with the Gestapo come out, coupled with child-perversion and high treason, now would it?

Q Probably not. Were there any other accidents like that?

M Six, all together, all connected with this business. Two heart attacks, one street traffic accident where a bicyclist was run over by a large truck, one suicide...no two suicides, and one person who fell into the Ammer Lake and was never found. I suppose you will blame all of this on my breakfasts, won't you?

Q I was only making a small joke with you.

M Do you disapprove of my attitude on child-rapists?

Q Good Lord no, of course not.

M There are predators in society that should be taken away quietly so as not to excite comment and put to death without notice. You can comment all you like about legality and decency, but it certainly is not going to change my opinion. I do have a problem with determining which is worse: child abuse or high treason. I think we should simply kill the lot of them in a private mine shaft somewhere and let the devil decide the issue later.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The destruction of the Zeppelin *Hindenburg* was generally believed to have been sabotage, although never proven. Germany's official explanation of the explosion...an accident. Germans could not admit that one of their most prominent national symbols had been destroyed by enemies of the state.

Müller's comments regarding the attempt on Hitler's life in November of 1939 are important since he was in charge of the investigation. He initially felt that the British were responsible or somehow connected, mainly because Hitler believed this, and Himmler was determined to prove the *Führer* correct. Müller's repression of a former Gestapo officer's involvement and his removal of both the middle-man and Elser is consistent with his determination not to be disgraced by the actions of a former subordinate. Although Heinrich Müller had a cynical sense of humor, this extract clearly indicates how ruthless he could be when he found it necessary. In the 1990s, Müller's draconian punishment for child abuse would have more supporters than critics.

Colonel (later, General), Noel Mason-MacFarlane wanted to assassinate Hitler and attempted to convince his superiors in London to allow him to proceed with his plans. London, however, refused permission. In a post-war interview, Mason-MacFarlane revealed that he had planned to shoot Hitler with a high-powered, telescopic rifle during Hitler's birthday parade on April 20, 1939. He stated that he had an unobstructed view of the tribune from the lavatory window of his apartment house. Mason-MacFarlane, a man of contentious disposition and who took delight in causing mischief wherever he went, certainly was engaging in wishful thinking in the matter of the April assassination because as military attaché he had been standing on the reviewing platform with all the other military attachés during the entire four-hour parade.

The General proved to be most uncooperative during the final negotiations for the Italian surrender to the Allies in 1943. Whether or not he proved more cooperative with the strong anti-Sikorski feelings of Winston Churchill is open to conjecture. He was, indeed, Governor of Gibraltar when the troublesome Polish leader met with a most convenient aircraft accident while taking off from the Gibraltar airfield and wrote later that he had doubts about the legitimacy of the crash. Whether this was mere conjecture or indicative of more specific knowledge was not indicated in his private journals.

The Jews in the Cellar

M: Tell me, when you were working for Göring selling off stolen Jewish art, what did you think of Berlin?

Q: It was a huge city and not as pleasant as Munich.

M: I have to agree with you on that. Of course as a Bavarian I have some prejudice about that business. The Prussians have no taste at all.

Q: And I don't really like your snide remarks about stolen Jewish art.

M: My, my, have I hurt your feelings again? I suppose it's time to do that today. We have to hurt your feelings every day or you won't feel happy later when I am nice to you. Not stolen? Nonsense. When Hitler rounded up all the Impressionist art and lumped it in with Klee and Kandinski, Fat Hermann got more than his share. Of course I managed to get off with a few pieces too. My wife did not like Renoir's fat, mongoloid nudes hanging up in her very proper living room so I just took six Monets, one Manet and some minor pieces I gave to my poorer relatives for Christmas. You, on the other hand, helped old Hermann sell off his loot and don't deny it. You know you have no secrets from me, don't you?

Q: We do not need to discuss my situations with you here.

M: The stenographer knows everything. What you haven't told her, I have. Still, if you improve your chess game a little, we might spin these talks out a few more weeks until we discover if Mr. Truman gets elected, but you did sell stolen paintings after all. And how many did you take back to your nice family in America? One? Two? Maybe three or four, just to protect them of course. Five maybe?

Q: I didn't take anything back with me if you must know.

M: When I get to America maybe I will visit you at home and see how truthful you really are.

Q: We can't do that, General. I will stay here and you have things to do in Washington that don't concern me at all.

M: Maybe we can meet somewhere and then you can show me your paintings.

Q: I told you, I don't have any paintings.

M: I'll find the von Glöden picture albums we took from Stauffenberg and you can cut out all the nice pictures and put them up on your wall. I don't suppose your family would like that at all, unless they are very open-minded.

Q: I am not interested in pictures of young Italian boys.

M: Maybe we could find some young Chinese boys.

Q: General, for God's sake, must you go on about this?

M: God has nothing to do with it in the end. Or wherever else. Tell me, does your family know about the stolen Jewish art?

Q: I say, must you go on about this? Why are you so savage today?

M: No particular reason. Some idiot turned on the cold water on the second floor when I was taking a shower this morning and I almost scalded the more important parts of my body. That does not put one in a good mood. And speaking of that, one of my gardeners said he saw you in town yesterday with a particularly ugly woman at a cafe. Was she a relative by any chance?

Q: No, she was not a relative. Just a friend.

M: If you have the same taste in art as you do in women friends, I ought to give you a Renoir so you can explode with joy looking at the immense, flabby ass before breakfast. Notice I am now crediting you with rolling about with fat woman and not slim young Chinese nancy boys.

Q: I said just a friend.

M: What was the discription I got? Built like a beer keg with hair cut shorter than mine and no makeup. Is she tattooed by any chance? A sailing ship on her arm? Maybe a skull and dagger somewhere? Beware of women with men's shoes and tattoos. Does she smoke cigars as well?

Q: A lady I know.

M: Well, you have too much taste to do the mattress polka with her. The only kind of a man who would even want to go at her would be a veterinarian. Besides, she's six inches taller than you are, and built like the man from the brewery who delivers beer kegs to my service entrance. Come to think about it, it might well be the man with the kegs. No, an error. She has a bigger mustache. No doubt she was a guide for the night life here in Geneva. And believe me, nighttime is the only time someone like that should leave the girl's school. You saw "Maidens in Uniform" didn't you?

Q: Whatever do you have against Lesbians?

M: Fortunately, absolutely nothing connected to my body. Ah well, what is on the agenda for today? Any more looted art for me to sell for you?

Q: No, not today, but there is that Boucher we talked about...

M: Fake.

Q: I am sure not. Why do you say that?

M: It isn't right. One gets a feeling about such things. By the way, did you get any of the Klees when Hermann was selling them?

Q: Do you like Klee?

M: Listen, if I ever brought one of those spastic sketches into my house, I would frame it in tile to match the lavatory walls which is exactly where I would hang it. I think Hitler was right when he had all of that trash burned. Not the Impressionist works, but the rest of it.

Q: Now you're making anti-Semitic remarks again.

M: Do try to be funny and not flippant. I was speaking of burning degenerate art, not Jews. And besides, no one burned any Jews unless they were dead first. And those paintings were very, very dead as far as I am concerned.

Q: You know many Jews were burned.

M: That's right. We used to have Jew-burnings on the Kudamm in Berlin every Friday night. After all the good Catholics finished their herring dinners, they went out and roasted Jews on the street corners. The little children helped with the babies you know. Listen, almost all of the Jews who lived in Berlin before the war were there after it was over. Unless, of course, you killed them with bombs first. I should tell you a really funny story.

Q: God, please no. You are not in a very good humor today and we have business to discuss.

M: Oh, let me tell you about the Jews in the cellar.

Q: Please do not.

M: It's actually a heartwarming story of the basic kindness of mankind, so often overlooked these days. I will go on. You know in Berlin I lived on Cornelius Street in a very decent part of the city. Have you ever been on that street?

Q: I don't recall.

M: It doesn't matter. One day, the neighbor's maid told my wife that her employer was hiding Jews in the cellar. That, of course, was considered a serious offense. One went away for doing things like that. Anyway, my wife told me and I said I would take care of it. I wanted to ask her where she kept the carving knives in the kitchen and I could go over and do some radical surgery on them, but I didn't. With my wife, discretion was the better part of valor, believe me.

So, one Sunday, I decided to do my duty as a good guardian of the state and I put on a nice suit and took a package with me, and went to call on my neighbors with the Jews in the cellar.

This was the Schallmeyer family. He was a Lutheran minister and somewhat of a prig, but they were neighbors so I was very polite when I knocked on their door. The daughter came to the door and I asked her if her father was in. He was, of course, and he came into the entrance hall looking like death in a black suit. They were all terrified of the head of the Gestapo, and I must say I had such well-mannered neighbors. And

there the good man stood, looking like he was about to wet his pants. Such polite conversation. "Good morning, General" he said and I said "Heil Hitler" just to keep him on his toes. Naturally, he replied in kind and we just stood there and smiled at each other like a couple of monkeys. I got tired of looking at his sheep-like face so I held out the package to him.

"Oh my, sir, what's that?" he said. "Well," I said, "just a little present from me. Something I think you can use." When people tell me that, they usually give me a sweater that looks as if it was knitted by drunken baboons.

Q: What was in it? An arrest warrant? A pair of handcuffs?"

M: No. One of those large india rubber things that women who smoke cigars like to call "Darling." What was in it? Guess.

Q: Something awful, I suppose. A human hand?

M: Try to be serious. He took the package and stared at it like it was full of cobras. I had to tell him to open it at least twice.

Q: I don't think I need to hear any more about this.

M: Oh don't be so sensitive. You always look like someone had just boxed your ears. He finally opened it and just stared and stared.

Q: Very well, I will play your sadistic game. What was in it?

M: I don't know if I should even tell you. Well, perhaps I ought to after all. What's the point of telling a good story if you don't finish it properly. It was full of ration books for clothing and food. Without them, one could not buy anything during the war.

Q: Ration books?

M: Yes. When Herr Schallmayer asked me what the ration books were for, I told him with such a nice smile that they were for the Jews he had been hiding in his cellar. I was sure the poor man would mess himself and I did find out later from his daughter....

Q: Not so soon after breakfast, please.

M: Found out that he sat down on the floor for about ten minutes after I left. He was sure I would come back with the Green Minna and take the whole family away. As for me, I tipped my hat and went home so I could change my clothes and go to work on my motorcycle. Did you know that I used to drive a motorcycle? BMW R-75. Wonderful machine. We make the best motorcycles and there was nothing I enjoy more than working on motors. That was my trade before I terrified the local ministers, beat everyone in Berlin at chess, and maybe even had a baby roast for Sunday lunch. Why are you looking at me like that?

Q: Is that a true story?

M: Of course it is. It's far too stupid to make up. Whatever is the matter with you?

Q: Did you do that? You actually did that, didn't you? What happened to them?

M: Who? The Schallmeyers? I suppose they're still there unless the Russians raped and ate them.

Q: The Jews. I mean the Jews. Did you take them away?

M: Of course not. Why should I do that?

Q: It was against the law.

M: It's against the law to sell stolen art and we do one deal a week after all. Maybe I should have turned the Jews into garden slaves and get them to pull the damned lawn roller, or maybe dress up in costumes and stand around like big dwarves under the trees. They weren't bothering anyone down there and who was I to get old Schallmayer into trouble with his employer?

Q: What about their maid? What did she do?

M: The maid. Well, I had an encounter with her just after that and described the joys of the women's block at Ravensbrück so she settled right down and shut her mouth. One word and that would be the last one heard of her. I know who the old hag you were with yesterday reminded me of. One of the Stauffenberg

women. The men were all strange looking and most of them married Russian women that looked like something you would stick out into a field to terrify birds.

Q: They died for your sins.

M: Oh come now. We only did two of them in. Of course we did stick the rest of them in various outdoor recreation centers, but I assume they survived intact. I don't know for sure, but then I don't care. We locked up almost all of them. Stauffenberg's mother used to squat in her cell quoting Schiller by the hour. Of course she did that when she was at liberty and I really don't think she had any idea where she was. That's why I detest the aristocracy. Strange looking people with funny names like "Wahwah" or "Clumps." Circus people. And children looking like laboratory specimens swimming in glass jars.

Q: You really must have scalded yourself today.

M: First I tell you about your fairy girlfriend and make you angry, then I make you happy when I tell you about the Jews in the cellar, and now you are angry because I make fun of the decadent old rabbits with a string of titles longer than your arm and about as many brains as a turtle. What do you have besides the fake painting? What about that nice chess set? Why not just take that out of the bank and give it to me as a present. The Rothschilds will never miss it and maybe using it will improve your game a little.

Q: You keep pestering me on these things. You know I just can't go down to the bank and give you these things. There has to be a *quid pro quo* after all.

M: You keep pestering me about the Czar's amber fittings. Now that I sold them for you, you want to know if I have any more pieces lying around. You can be such a pest at times. Do you want to ship the pieces home for the family?

Q: I have you there! You do have more pieces.

M: A very few and you can't have them. On the other hand, the Dürer looks magnificent in my office, thank you very much. Tell me something about your President Truman. Does he like art?

Q: You will have to define your terms. The bathing suit ads in the papers could be considered art, you know.

M: And no doubt you are a connoisseur of such things, as well as the snapshots of the late von Glöden, but Truman, does he collect art?

Q: I don't know everyone in America and I don't know Truman. I don't think so. He's a simple man from the country. If he likes paintings, they would probably be of flowers or a sunset somewhere.

M: No fat Renoir nudes?

Q: My God no. His wife would never allow such things.

M: If something is worth a lot of money, wives can overlook sagging breasts.

Q: Who are you talking about? Mrs. Truman?

M: No, the paintings, you idiot. Unless you had an affair with the woman and can discuss her anatomy from personal experience.

Q: Listen, can't we be serious and get to business now?

M: I just wanted to know if we could bribe the President with some of our stolen art, that is all. You at once begin to discuss the sagging breasts of the President's wife, and I notice you refuse to admit to having a long affair with her so why not get down to business. Can I give him a painting or two?

Q: Why don't you ask him, if they ever let you within a mile of him.

M: I will bathe first and rub my body with Cologne water. Don't worry, I will wager you that I will get the opportunity of meeting with him. If I step in cow messes first, maybe he might take more kindly to me. Of course the wife might object to my making tracks on her carpets, but then they belong to the public. Not the wife, the carpets. I ought to tell you about the party Goebbels held on the Swan Island in Berlin. What a terrible farce that was. The Minister tried so hard to have a super elegant affair to rival some of the shows Göring put on. A beautiful villa all fixed up with flowers and servants, bands playing, all kinds of pretty girls in fancy dresses dancing around, and nice lanterns in the trees. Of course, many of the guests were old

Party stalwarts who promptly got into the free liquor and became very drunk. While Goebbels and his attractive wife were trying to impress the members of the diplomatic corps and various prominent foreigners, there were frightful scenes in the wings and drunken Party bosses ran around trying to rape the pretty girls. Goebbels had to shout to be heard over the screaming, the smashing of crockery and the bellowing Golden Pheasants. I had to go out of necessity and I must say that I thoroughly enjoyed myself watching the orgy. It looked like a meeting of the Hungarian parliament. Tell me, do such things go on in Washington?

Q: People know how to behave themselves in Washington.

M: Well, I do like my entertainment. I imagine many of your Senators like to have a drink once in a while. What went on in the Roosevelt period? I am told the President was a cripple so I can't imagine him chasing women around and from her pictures, the wife looked like the northern end of a horse moving south. She would have been safe anywhere, anytime. There are some advantages in being ugly.

Q: Mrs. Roosevelt did not like men. I do have a nasty story for you, but then we must get back to work, please.

M: Go on, please do.

Q: Well, I heard this from several reliable sources so I assume it is true. There is this fellow, Joe Lash. A leader of the young communists in America. Mrs. Roosevelt liked him....

M: From what I know, she loved his politics better...

Q: As I was saying...I don't interrupt you, do I?

M: You wouldn't dare. Do excuse my crudeness. I never went to a fancy college.

Q: As I was saying, Lash went into the Army and was out somewhere in the western part of the United States at a training camp when Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary came to pay him a social call. He got a leave and they all went out for dinner and afterwards, they ended upstairs in the hotel bedrooms. Now it seems that the Army suspected Lash of being a practicing communist so they put a microphone in his room. All of the noises were recorded in a room down the hall. At first, someone thought that Lash was having sex with Mrs. Roosevelt, but it then turned out, after careful listening, that it was really Mrs. Roosevelt having sex with her secretary. Lash was in the next room with his girl friend.

M: And Mrs. Roosevelt was in bed with hers.

Q: FDR learned about this and had a fit about it. The tapes were ordered destroyed, but they weren't. One of my friends heard them and said it was hilarious.

M: You must try to get a private hearing for me some time. God knows I have heard more than my share of such inarticulate gruntings and loud cries of passion. We did the same thing, as I am sure you know from personal experience., but we stray from business. Shall we leave the subject of sexual deviations behind and proceed to the making of money?

Q: I have been trying to do that for the past ten minutes.

M: Your watch is slow. I make it twenty.

Historical Perspective ~ Reflections of the Author

The text is self-explanatory, but several items reported need to be clarified. "Kudam" stands for the Kurfürstendamm, one of the principal streets in Berlin.

Joseph P. Lash had been intimately connected with Communist causes until he became acquainted with Eleanor Roosevelt and resigned his various positions to live in the White House as her guest. Another friend, also resident in the White House was Lorena Hickock, an overweight and mannish Associated Press reporter, best described as Mrs. Roosevelt's long time friend. Hickock moved into the White House after the Roosevelts took possession in 1933 and slept in Eleanor's room until she left, after a jealous fight, in 1937.

The episode reported by CIA station chief, James Kronthal, concerning the interlude in the hotel has been reported before, but it has always been reported by friendly Roosevelt biographers that Mrs. Roosevelt was intimate with Joseph Lash instead of with Miss Thompson, her confidential secretary.

In 1943, Lash, still enjoying the patronage of the First Lady, was drafted into the Army and sent to Chanute Field in Illinois to be trained in meteorology. Mrs. Roosevelt had visited Lash on the weekend of March 13-14, 1943 where they shared separate rooms in the hotel.

On March 12, Lash again checked into the Urbana Lincoln Hotel with a lady named Mrs. Trude Pratt, a married woman who was having an affair with Lash. The Army had bugged their rooms and recorded a number of episodes of lovemaking.

In March of that same year, Mrs. Roosevelt and her secretary, Malvina Thompson, checked into the Hotel Blackstone in Chicago and were joined by Lash.

The recordings mentioned were made at the Blackstone by U.S. Army Counter Intelligence. Roosevelt found out about this through General George Marshall and turned his top aide, Harry Hopkins, loose on the Army unit. The CIC was disbanded by Roosevelt's orders and in April, 1943, Lash was promptly shipped overseas.

At the time, Mrs. Roosevelt was fifty-eight years old and Lash was thirty-three.

Lash later became a popular icon of the American liberal community, writing a number of highly laudatory biographies of the Roosevelts.

The CIC was reformed after Roosevelt's death in 1945, and Mr. Lash subsequently married Mrs. Pratt. Who later became intimately associated with the former First Lady is not recorded, although Marian Anderson, the famous black singer, was a strong candidate in well-connected Washington circles.

Rudolf Hess and the Flight to England

A subject that has long intrigued historians is the flight of Rudolf Hess, the second man in the Third Reich, to England in 1941. His motives for the flight, his treatment in England and his death are subjects of great interest. The Gestapo conducted a thorough investigation into the Hess flight, but British files on what happened to Hess once in England and on his death are not available to researchers, nor are they ever likely to be.

Q Your people conducted an investigation into the Hess matter, didn't they?

M A very thorough investigation, believe me. Hitler was in a terrible rage about this and he demanded that he be given the truth of the matter as quickly as possible. He had Hess's aides put under arrest and wanted everyone, including the wife, interrogated without delay.

Q I think the question we all would like to know the answer to is whether Hitler had sent Hess to England to seek a negotiated peace so that Hitler could attack Russia. Is there any truth to that?

M No, none at all. Hitler had no knowledge of the flight in advance; neither did he instigate it or even approve it. He was stunned by it and realized the propaganda value it would have for the English.

Q Did Hess know about the attack on Russia?

M Yes, but Hess was not in the military picture, and there I think, lies the real reason for the flight. Hess is a mystic, like your Wallace, and was personally very loyal to Hitler. He was not a practical man at all and made no real efforts to maintain his position with regards to Hitler. As long as there was peace in Germany, Hess had no problems that he was aware of, although these existed for certain. I, of course, refer to his chief deputy, Bormann. This one was always seeking to climb up to the sun and he certainly had his connection with Hitler. But, as long as Hess was there, Bormann found his path to power blocked. You see, neither Hess nor Hitler enjoyed the detail work of the bureaucrat. I, on the other hand, am used to it and realize that it is the bureaucrat who works six days a week that can accomplish more than the brilliant politician who only works when he feels like it.

Bormann was very efficient and made life easier for Hitler and Hess, by tending to all the small details. Of course, as both of these men depended on his activities more and more, Bormann achieved a good deal of power. But not the kind of power he wanted. Bormann wanted to have immediate and direct access to Hitler at all times. As a functionary of Hess, he did not have this, so he began to scheme to remove Hess. He could not kill him because if Hitler found out, Bormann would have had a fatal heart attack within a week or died in a car crash. No, Bormann had to find another way.

The outbreak of the war gave him his opportunity. Hitler decided to run the war himself and began to spend most of his time at his headquarters with his generals. High Party leaders were not invited to headquarters except for occasional ceremonial functions, and so Hess found himself more and more out of the picture. With him, it was not a question of power but one of personal feeling. He deeply admired Hitler and felt rejected when he was no longer able to communicate with him on a regular basis.

Q Do you think Hess was in love with Hitler?

M A good point. It had occurred to me at one time, but I think it was a mental attitude, not a physical one. Hitler had the ability to attract people to him and many of these people worshipped him, almost literally. I was immune to this personality business, but I could see the effect Hitler had on most people. He never tried to mesmerize me, and in my case, I think he felt that an appeal to my professionalism was important and in this way, he was successful. But Hess was a Hitler worshipper and was suddenly cut off from his idol by the war. Now, Bormann saw a chance to get Hess to commit some kind of an act that would close the door between himself and Hitler.

Q Bormann was the force behind the flight?

M Yes, in a sense he was. You know that I detested Bormann, but I must admit that he was very patient and he could be very subtle when he wished to be. The prize was worth the wait to him. He began to work on Hess, who was a very untidy and emotional man, and finally convinced him that he could make a great coup by persuading the British to negotiate a peace settlement with Hitler.

You must be aware, of course, that Hitler was initially pro-British and actually wanted to make peace with them. That was before the bombing, of course. With Churchill in power, there was no chance to achieve this end, as you must realize. Churchill was not a sane man and was determined to eradicate Germany forever by any means he could find and at whatever cost to his country in capital and manpower. We undertook private conversations with the British in neutral countries like Sweden and Switzerland with Hitler's consent, and actually, by his order. Their Foreign Office people were receptive. After all, Hitler

was willing to make a peace treaty that took nothing away from England at all. Certainly, more reasonable than the peace treaty that Bismarck prepared for the French in the 1870 war and that was certainly more than reasonable. No, Churchill forbade any contact with us on the matter and it should have been evident to everyone in the *Reich* leadership that England under Churchill would never make any kind of a peace.

Bormann insinuated to Hess that Hitler had mentioned often in his presence that the man who could make peace with England would be worth twenty new divisions. I don't know if Hitler actually said this, but it did reflect his thinking at that time.

Q Could Hitler have used Bormann to influence Hess?

M No. It would not have been necessary. All Hitler would have had to do to send Hess off to England would have been to ask him. Hitler was not that devious, but Bormann certainly was. And Hess saw this as a chance to bring a precious gift to Hitler and regain his personal position once again. I told you that Hess was not a practical man. Hitler did not reject Hess at all, but Hess saw it that way. I reviewed all the reports afterwards and it became very clear to me what had happened. But, there was no proof that Bormann had pushed Hess into this and after Hess left, he got the position and quickly consolidated it. Bormann now stood right behind Hitler and at this point, it was not a good idea to challenge him.

If I had had proof of a positive nature, I could have seen to it that Hitler knew but I did not. Afterwards, Bormann wanted to arrest everyone connected with Hess, including his wife, and put them away where they wouldn't talk but Hitler wouldn't hear of it and nothing happened. Bormann made initial problems for everyone connected with this but finally gave up and trusted to fear to keep people quiet.

If there had been no war, Hitler would have kept to his social schedules and these would have included old comrades like Hess. Therefore, Bormann would have had to try and find another way to get into power.

Q Then your analysis is that Hess felt himself out of the picture, was convinced by Bormann that the best way to get back into favor was to perform some spectacular deed?

M Yes. Hess was a pilot and to personally fly to England at some danger to himself and bring about a successful conclusion to a war Hitler did not want, would certainly have achieved his end. We all saw the triumphal return of Prien* to Berlin after he sank the *Royal Oak* in the Scapa Flow and I think that certainly this must have had an effect on Hess.

Q In what way?

M Hess saw, of course, that Prien received a great deal of attention for his act and Hess is a person who needed recognition from Hitler. It is obvious to me that Bormann made use of Hess' insecurity to push him into leaving his post. Bormann saw Hess as an obstacle, a man who had been with Hitler since the War and someone on whose loyalty Hitler could depend. Given Hitler's personality, he would have never gotten rid of Hess because Hitler was consistently loyal to his early adherents.

So, Bormann could only rise so high and no higher with Hess in the way and then the best thing to do, short of having Hess killed, was to get him to leave on his own. Hess was unstable enough to persuade him to do this. You see, these complicated things usually have a very simple foundation.

Q You know that Hess was very brutally treated by the British. He was physically abused and they even broke his leg.

M That doesn't surprise me at all. You should see all of the papers we captured from the British murder-commandos at Dieppe. Killing unarmed prisoners, killing Frenchmen who might be friendly to us, putting poison in wells, killing children and making it look like we did it. No, nothing can surprise me about British brutality. And they put on such a face about being the saviors of liberty and democracy—and then go out and butcher the Irish or the blacks somewhere. And forcing the Chinese to take all the opium they were raising in India and turning that country into drug addicts. No wonder there were uprisings in China and that the Boxers began to slaughter Westerners in 1900.

If you draw a bill, you have to pay it one time or another. But Hess was absolutely earnest about trying to make peace with England, believe me. I have gone over all of his papers and reviewed the interviews we made with his wife, friends, aides and so on. Hess was motivated only by a desire to make peace and I am sure the British knew that when they broke his leg. Of course it was foolish because with Churchill in power, no kind of settlement could ever be reached. He bombed our cities and hoped we would retaliate, which Hitler did in time. And then he used this to get your country to help him.

But Hess is now in Spandau for the rest of his life which is a miscarriage of justice based on what I know about the affair. Then, of course, revenge was the sole motivation for the Nuremberg business and we both know that. It would have been less complicated if you had simply shot every government leader you caught rather than make up a faked trial. You have set an ugly precedent with that nonsense, believe

me, and it will come home to haunt you. Suppose your country got into a war with Mexico and their partisans were all shot when captured. And this would not be a problem unless you lost the war.

Q There has been some debate about that issue and your point is well taken, but we digress from the Hess matter. Did Hess have knowledge of the impending invasion of Russia?

M Yes, he did. That was a primary worry for Hitler at the time: Would Hess tell them?

Q Apparently he did say something at the time. I understand that he was subjected to physical abuse to the point where his leg was broken. The British passed the information to the Russians, but we know that Stalin ignored it.

M What a wonderful commentary on Anglo-Saxon justice! Here is a man who makes a genuine attempt to achieve peace and he is beaten and eventually tried for war crimes and given a life sentence. Hess had nothing at all to do with the war and certainly was not involved in planning any part of it. He had nothing to do with the Jewish problem either, but he was seen as a Nazi and punished just for this. This reminds me of the fate of those Germans who tried to stop Hitler and went to the British for help. Churchill simply turned their names over to my people and they died for their belief in British justice.

The Hess flight is not a mystery to anyone who knew about it. Hess was a harmless eccentric with a desire to do good and look what it cost him. I know that Bormann tricked him into it, but I doubt if Bormann realized what would happen to Hess in the end. I don't think that would have bothered Bormann, but Hitler would have had Bormann's head if he had ever found out. We can now expect to see many books about Hess from retired intelligence agents and journalists who like to eat.

Q The date of the Russian invasion was certainly known to both the British and us, you know.

M How could you keep something that enormous a secret? That's like trying to hide a cow in your bedroom cupboard. The only way we could try to conceal huge troop movements was to try to convince Stalin that this was a show to lull the British into a sense of security. Did you know that we actually printed up thousands of maps, guides and so on for the invasion of Britain? And of course left them around for Hitler haters and various agents to find. It did convince Stalin in the end and we were able to smash him flat in the first year of the campaign there.

Q Mr. Dulles was of the opinion that the Hess flight was a sacrifice to give false information to the British.

M You know what I think of the intelligence of your friend Dulles. I should tell you about the time that my Swiss friends and I were having a very nice lunch at a restaurant in Bern when one of my men rushed in to tell us that Dulles and his staff were coming for lunch. We all had to run out the back door and, how amusing, Dulles sat at our table. I kept his seat warm for him. Did you know their housekeeper, by the way?

Q Yes, I did.

M Such an efficient woman. Sold everything to us and the Russians. I think she even tried to sell the dinner plates to the gypsies.

Q There are no gypsies in Switzerland.

M Maybe she sold them to the bears at the Bern zoo.

* Günther Prien, commander of the U47 that penetrated the heavily-guarded anchorage of the British fleet and sank the battleship Royal Oak.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The Hess flight has become to European journalists what the Kennedy assassination has become to their American counterparts.

All that may accurately be said of the Kennedy matter is that the American president was shot at least once while traveling in an official motorcade in Dallas in November of 1963. The only known film of the murder indicates that the official car with the President and Governor of Texas slowed nearly to a stop and then the President was fatally shot in the head from a position to his right. On the other hand, the Governor was shot from above and behind with a smaller caliber weapon.

Beyond this, we know little. And, beyond the fact that Rudolf Hess flew a Messerschmitt 110 from Germany to Scotland in 1941, was captured by the British, eventually tried at Nuremberg and sentenced to life imprisonment—a sentence terminated by his suicide many years later—very little else has actually been released to the public.

In both cases, journalists have produced a large number of works on their subjects which range from the serious to the lunatic in nature. Stories about secret flights of Hess to visit the Duke of Windsor, his murder in England and the substitution of a duplicate Hess have heaped upon each other like Pilon upon Ossa.

It would seem reasonable to believe that the goal of a historian would be to look for facts and conclusions by removing irrelevant undergrowth from their subjects. William of Ockham, a British philosopher, stated that entities must not be multiplied beyond need. Reason has little to do with the writing of history, but point of view and book sales certainly do. A short chapter on the reasons for the flight of Hess from the papers of the Chief of the Gestapo, who closely investigated the case, is not as spectacular as a work that depicts Hess as a murder victim or a secret British agent.

In the same vein, the facts of Bormann's death and Kennedy's shooting are far less interesting than inventive speculations and inverted logic. The Hess case has not received the manic attention that the former have been plagued with, but as time goes on, no doubt it will.

The Resurrection of Odilo Globocnik

The career of SS General Odilo Globocnik, a man little known to historians of the Third Reich and of only minimal interest, like that of his nemesis Heinrich Müller, contains a wealth of information about the mechanics and the reality of what is called the Final Solution or the planned massacre of Europe's Jews.

Q There is...or rather there...Let me start over again. A problem concerning a senior SS officer is confronting us. Since you have some knowledge of this man, perhaps you might be able to give us your suggestions and views on the problem.

M I will do what I can.

Q This concerns SS Group Leader (*SS-Gruppenführer*) Globocnik. You mentioned him earlier on. Remember?

M Of course I remember. What about him?

Q He is in custody now...

M Good. The best place for him. Are you planning to try him for his activities?

Q Not specifically. That is where the problem is.

M Someone said that he was dead.

Q No, unfortunately, he is not dead. He was captured by the British after the war in Carenthia. He made some kind of an agreement with them about not prosecuting him in exchange for money.

M Typical Globocnik. It must have been a local agreement.

Q Yes, it started out that way. Globocnik had hidden a very large amount of gold and other valuables in Austria...

M Stolen from his murder camps, no doubt. I said this...

Q Yes, yes and there are documents on this too. Initially, he gave his British Army captors a very large amount of British paper money to let him go...

M My God! Paper pounds? But of course we printed hundreds of millions of counterfeit pounds during the war. He gave them these to save his life?

Q No, these were good notes that he got at the Lublin camps. The British soldiers took the money of course...

M Naturally they did. Why didn't they take the money and then kill him out of hand? That would be more their style. He could have been shot while trying to escape or have committed suicide while eating dinner full of poison.

Q No, they did spare him because they only got a very small amount of the valuables.²⁶ And, of course, news of this spread quickly until London heard of it and then the matter was out of the local's hands.

M Then the British government decided to get the rest of the money to keep it safe I suppose?

Q That was the idea but they didn't get that much more and Globocnik is not an easy person to deal with.

M A swine of the worst sort, believe me. A criminal and a thug. Then what happened to him?

Q The British became very nervous about him and his associate whom they found in Hamburg and decided to get rid of them by turning them over to us in exchange for some documents we had located in Germany.

M Documents? May I ask what kind of documents?

Q Concerning correspondence between a certain famous member of the British royal family and Hitler...

M Ah! The Duke of Windsor's papers. Would you like to see photocopies of these? I have them put away.

Q No. We gave them, as I understand, the originals or at least some of them and they gave us Globocnik and Wirth...

M Oh my God, you must be joking with me! I know who Wirth was and he was killed during the war. An SS Major. You can't tell me that one survived, can you? I was...I saw the reports on that. Are you talking about Christian Wirth? He would be in his late 50s or early 60s by now. He worked in the camp system but before that he was at Hadamar. The sanitarium where they killed the hopelessly sick, idiots and the feeble minded. That Wirth?

Q I believe so.

²⁶ *An original copy of a US CIC document containing a full listing of this huge cache of treasure will be found in the Appendix.*

M I'm certain he was killed.

Q Confirmed?

M As I remember, he was supposed to have been killed in a fight with partisans. What happened then?

Q I'm not fully briefed on this but I understand he realized what would happen to him so he vanished...like a number of others whose names come to mind.

M Yes, I'm sure they do. Well, now who has this monkey? You?

Q The problem is that the British passed them off on our people as experts in partisan warfare...

M Nonsense! They are a pair of real murderers, not partisan fighters. That's typical British double-dealing for you. If you can't swindle your enemies, try your allies. Now what is the problem? Not that I can't see it. If anyone finds out about that pair, your government will be boiled in oil in the press. I, at least, never slaughtered hundreds of thousands of Jews. Didn't you check them out?

Q It was all done on a very high level and we had no knowledge of it until lately. I think the CIC, has its hands full with this issue.

M Well, don't touch either one of them. Take my advice and shoot them both quietly and bury them in the woods.

Q Unfortunately, there is still the money matter. The money is needed and Globocnik has been turning up just enough of it to preserve his skin.

M I don't suppose I should ask you why you want the money.

Q Well, what did the SS do with the counterfeit British money?

M Probably the same thing you are doing. Keeping some of it safe for a retirement and using the rest for intelligence operations that don't bear scrutiny by self-righteous bureaucrats.

Q Exactly.

M And the problem?

Q What to do with them.

M Why I can see two solutions, aside from shooting them. You could take them to America and let them solve the problem you have with the Negroes. I'm sure they would do a wonderful job on that. Globocnik isn't even a German and is a disorganized Slovene, but Wirth is a very businesslike German technician. Wirth could clear up your racial problems in a few months and Globocnik could pull out the gold teeth and open a bank in New York City. Don't make faces at me, please. And the second solution would be to give them to Stalin as a present. Those creatures would be greeted with open arms by Comrade Joseph. He would probably keep them so busy in Russia that they would die of exhaustion killing Stalin's enemies. Just the sort of scum that the Bolsheviks would love. There would be a close kinship there, believe me. They are all a pack of subnormal, murderous apes anyway. Just the thing!

Q Now consider the record here. We mustn't get carried away.

M Don't lecture me. You people have the problem, not I. If it was up to me, I would force Globocnik to cough up the money and then dispose of him as fast as I could before anyone found out. As far as Wirth is concerned, he has no money so off to the woods in a sack right now. If it had been up to me, I would have hanged Globocnik in 1943 but it wasn't. I'm the one who turned the SS judicial office loose on Globocnik but then he was Himmler's friend so that went nowhere in the end. Just plant him in the ground as quickly as you can. Have I helped you?

Q That is more or less why I brought the subject up to you.

M Why bother me with a problem that has so simple a solution? What are you going to do with them?

Q Perhaps follow your suggestion. The problem is that Globocnik is liable to say things about the British, and now us, and we do need the money. Probably, the army will send them to Syria or Lebanon to work with the Arabs.

M What are they going to do down there? Gas camels?

Q There is some concern about the new Jewish state...

M You people must be raving idiots! What can you be thinking of now? It's too bad you killed Himmler or you could have sent him down there too. Why bother with the Jews?

Q The British are upset with them...

M That doesn't surprise me at all. They had to leave Palestine and all the oil down there, didn't they? I told you the British deliberately kept Jews out of that area when I was trying to send them there. The Arabs didn't want them there and the British don't like Jews anyway, even though their upper classes are full of them. And what if the Zionists find out about this Boy Scout camp full of SS men? There will be the devil to pay if that happens.

Q Well, that's the army's worry, not ours. If the money gets found, it has to be shared equally between us, the British and the army.

M Listen, we don't need to discuss these matters anymore. And I can tell you right at this instant that I want nothing to do with the Arabs, Globocnik and especially Wirth. I still cannot believe that Wirth didn't die in the war. If the Jews get their hands on either one of them, they certainly will die. These Jews have been killing off their enemies at a great rate down there. Not that I blame them especially. You don't want to get involved with all that, now do you?

Q That area is no longer under British control and Washington is becoming alarmed at the Soviet connections with Israel. The Jews are getting weapons from them and they could attack the Arab states and get control of their oil.

M That's a possibility I suppose. But be careful how you handle all of this. First your President supports Israel and now orders his army to prepare to attack it. At least that is how it might look to others. I told you before, go after the Communists in your own country and don't worry about the Jews. And if Stalin ever attacks you, he will use saboteurs and spies rather than tanks and aircraft. He will launch a secret war against you on every level but direct force. Now that Roosevelt is gone, he will have a much harder time of it but don't underestimate Stalin. This secret attack is what you will have to address in the end. Why not try to make friends with the Zionists now? If Stalin has no luck with them, and he probably won't because Jews can never agree on anything, he will go after the Arabs and then he will have all the oil you need. This is the area I can help you in but I do not want to get involved in any more anti-Jewish activities, even at a distance. That was Hitler's biggest error. If he had left the Jews alone, he might still be in Berlin now watching Speer put up buildings.

Q But there are problems with the Jews in some areas.

M There are always problems with everyone in some areas. Catholic Bavarians hate Protestant Prussians, French hate Germans, Slovaks hate Czechs, Russians hate Ukrainians, white Americans hate black Americans, and Japanese hate everybody. That's why policemen are always in fashion.

Q Hopefully, a time will come...

M Never! When there are two people left alive in the world, they will be hunting each other. Then all that will be left are rats and cockroaches and God can start all over again, only the next time He won't use mud to make humans. Maybe He can do better with rat droppings.

Q I think perhaps here we should redirect ourselves to what is on my agenda.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

In the early 1980s, a file on Odilo Globocnik surfaced in the hands of John Costello, an English researcher and historical writer. Costello, who later died of AIDS while enroute to Miami, had obtained these from Robert T. Crowley, retired CIA official, once deputy head of the Clandestine Operations Division, with whom he worked. Because the contents were considered by Costello as too controversial for him to deal with in print, it was passed on to the author who was digging into the post-war history of Heinrich Müller. In 1988, a copy of this file was sent to Gitta Sereny, an American of Hungarian origin who had written a book on Stangl, one of Globocnik's camp commanders.

She found the contents of sufficient concern to bring them to the attention of the London *Sunday Times*, a major British newspaper, that duly commissioned her to write an article on the papers. Before progressing further with this subject, seven important pages are transcribed so that their impact can be better understood.

These papers are US Army Counter Intelligence (CIC) reports. They are dated November 30, 1948 and were prepared in the CIC Region VIII headquarters located in Berlin. The author of the initial report was one Severin F. Wallach, a CIC Special Agent and a Viennese-born Jew who specialized in interrogations of German sources.

The cover sheet of the report is marked WD 341/1 Jun 47 and is a standard War Department report form. It is headed "Agent Report" and was originally classified as "Secret", a classification subsequently removed. Portions of this report are heavily censored and a full copy can be found in the Appendix.

The subject is: "Former SS Generals MUELLER and GLOBOCNIK/ RE: Soviet Investigations/ RE: Project UEBERSEE/3. The file number is 'VIII-12203'.

1. Recent investigations by special teams of Soviet agents in the Western Zones seeking definitive information about the possible whereabouts of former SS Generals Heinrich MUELLER and Odilo GLOBOCNIK have apparently uncovered sufficient information to justify increased activity.

2. Allegedly the Soviets have uncovered leads which cause them to suspect that the two above named subjects were not killed at the end of the war. This is part of their ongoing probings in re(ference) the possible possession of the West of high level Nazi leaders wanted by the Soviets either for trial or possible intelligence use by their agencies.

3. Up to this point in time, Soviet efforts have been directed towards discovering the whereabouts of HITLER, BORMANN and former SS General FEGELEIN. The Soviet view that these leaders fled from Berlin in April/May of 1945 and are being harbored in the West has been officially and strongly denied by careful coordination of all Western agencies concerned.

4. As former chief of the GESTAPO, MUELLER is an especially attractive target for the Soviets but GLOBOCNIK, because of his connections with the concentration camp system in Poland is considered to be a more valuable propaganda target.

5. MUELLER's value to Western intelligence is beyond doubt but continued protection of GLOBOCNIK might prove to be an extreme embarrassment. British intelligence, because of their cooperation in the transfer of GLOBOCNIK, has become increasingly insistent that GLOBOCNIK either be terminated at once or relocated in such a manner as to totally remove him from Soviet investigators areas of search. (Here is a handwritten comment: 'approved' and the initials 'JST')

6. GLOBOCNIK's value as an expert on partisan warfare has proven to be less than useful. The current projects he is involved in do not appear to be supplying the desired information or is the Historical Section (of the US Army) pleased with the quality of his information.

7. Copies of British requests are attached herewith as are joint in depth evaluations of the probability of Soviet discovery of UEBERSEE 2 and 3. It should be noted that Soviet probes in Spain are of necessity, extremely clandestine in nature, due to the hostility of the Spanish Government but it has been observed that the Soviets have been concentrating their activities in the BARCELONA (underlined with the notation "ck" for "check") area in recent months.

8. Cash assets (underlined) belonging to GLOBOCNIK, now being held in trust, could easily be transferred should the decision be made to relocate him in the Western Hemisphere. A full accounting of these funds is also attached herewith. (There is a notation "OK" and the initials "JST").

9. A complete reevaluation of UEBERSEE might well be indicated."

Paragraph 10 has been totally censored.

11. For a more detailed exposition of the UBERSEE I situation and its involvement with HITLER and other top Nazi leaders, see the previously mentioned report of former Oberstabzahlmeister (a German military administration rank equivalent to Captain) FRANZBACH (underlined) of KO Spanien, Gr. III. (encircled).²⁷ This should make the current apprehensions fully clear. The Spanish port...(from this point the balance of paragraph 11 has been censored).

12. If UEBERSEE II and III are to be at least partially continued, funding is certainly indicated. Special funds now...(censored)... and under the control of Untersturmfuehrer Gross of RSHA.; Amt VI/D4²⁸ can...(censored)... and also from the former Max Heillger Konto of the Reichsbank..." This was a secret SS bank account later taken over by the US for intelligence funding. The balance of Paragraph 12 is censored.

13. The utilization of RM and British Pound notes from these sources is counter indicated for the above reasons and the use of US dollars is strictly prohibited because the...(censored)...gold and platinum should be refined first. ("approved" with an illegible initial).

14. Original appraisals of former SS personnel with unsavory backgrounds such as GLOBOCNIK and WIRTH should certainly be reconsidered, whereas the obvious value of MUELLER and SKORZENY are self-evident and are clearly in line with the policy recently set...

(the balance of paragraph 14 and all of paragraphs 15 and 16 are censored).

²⁷ "KO Spanien" was the title of the Army Intelligence (Abwehr) organization in Spain. Franzbach was head of Group III or counterintelligence. His speciality was the distribution of foreign currency and passport matters. His headquarters was located in Barcelona. A.A.:Pol I M 30: Abwehr, KO Spanien: September 1940-August 1944: Band 1:282343-49. This section was taken over by Müller on February 12, 1944.

²⁸ Group D4 of the RSHA-SD was run by Gross according to the January 1945 table of organization of the SD. This Group dealt with South America. OKH:H2/114: 9 Januar 1945.

17. Anticipated objections by the HALDER group over the use of MUELLER... "Censored...." HPA Chef can be circumvented by establishing a separate sub-unit within the...(censored)...so that it will be possible to officially refute..."

(the balance of paragraph 17 and all of paragraph 18 are censored).²⁹

19. A full report by...(censored)...on the results of his review of Soviet agents under his command see...(censored)...will be the determining factor in...(censored).

AGENT'S NOTES: A careful review of Annex "A" will present a much clearer view of the ongoing situation as regards Operation...(censored)...The concerns of the P...(censored. Although a phrase is partially lined out, it appears the censored part reads "President and the Chief of Staff")...can be directly addressed in the final paragraph of Annex "A".

Severin F. Wallach (signature)

Special Agent CIC

APPROVED: Andrew L. Venters (signature)

ANDREW L. VENTERS

Special Agent CIC

Operations Officer

The attached Annex, or supplement, was originally classified 'Secret' and declassified at a later point in time.

ANNEX "A"- The Development and Usage of Former Senior SS Officers

Subject: Former SS Generals GLOBOCNIK and MUELLER

1. With the evident intentions of the Soviet powers to force a military solution upon the Western Powers in the immediate future, it has become evident that the Germans will be called upon to assist in the defense of their country as well as the other countries of Europe.

2. The Western Powers are sadly lacking in meaningful intelligence concerning the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviets and that only the body of military technicians with recent and valuable experience are the Germans.

3. The decision to rebuild the German Armed Forces under the aegis of the Western Powers has already been taken and is now in train. Study and Historical groups composed of former German military personnel with direct strategic and tactical experience in dealing with the Soviet military are rapidly achieving the goals set for them.

4. Parallel with the development of military structures is the construction of intelligence gathering agencies, again composed of experienced German military personnel. These former Wehrmacht members have indicated considerable willingness to cooperate with the Western Powers.

5. Following the 20th of July attempt on HITLER's life, the SS took over the functions of the Abwehr. Both the Gestapo under General MUELLER and the SD under General Kaltenbrunner finally controlled nearly all the incoming flow of intelligence. German Army intelligence was under the control of the Chief of the General Staff and directed by General GEHLEN of Foreign Armies East.

6. The great majority of former Wehrmacht personnel of field grade and higher are strongly anti-Nazi, were often involved in anti-HITLER plots and lived in fear of HIMMLER and his SS. Therefore, ongoing cooperation between the former Wehrmacht members and former SS members would be difficult in the extreme.

²⁹ The Halder referred to here is Franz Halder (1884-1972). As Colonel General, Halder was Chief of the Army General Staff from September 1, 1939 until September 24, 1942 when he was dismissed from his post by Hitler. After the war, Halder worked for the United States Army Historical Branch as head of a group of former senior German officers engaged in writing military history. The HPA Chef referred to could only be General Wilhelm Burgdorf. Burgdorf had been head of the HPA (Heeres Personal Amt), or Army Personnel Office, from October 10, 1944. The only other such officer to head this office was General Schmundt who died in October of 1944 as the result of injuries received in the July 20, 1944 attempt on Hitler's life. The significance of Burgdorf's appearance here in a post-war context is that he was in the Führerbunker in Berlin in the month of April, 1945, and has repeatedly been stated to have died there. No body was ever recovered and the reason for this is now evident.

7. Also considered is the loyalty of the SS to HITLER. The army was not loyal to HITLER but the SS was his private army and swore an oath of loyalty to him alone. Most surviving SS members are not aware of HITLER's departure from Berlin and assume he died in the defense of the city. Their immediate loyalty is certainly not to the Western Powers. As SS men are accustomed to a totalitarian state, many have sought out cooperation with the Soviets, the closest to their former system. Individual SS men can certainly be used but must be carefully watched. In the event of a Soviet invasion of Europe, their assistance might well swing over to the Soviets.

8. As the reemergence of HITLER on the international scene, even in the event of a renewal of hostilities with the Soviets, is completely unthinkable, the use of his elite troops in combat or intelligence gathering is not foreseen at present.

9. The transfer of vast sums of money abroad by BORMANN during the last years of the war has proven to be of considerable use to the Western Powers. Former Nazis have agreed to relinquish a portion of their funds to aid the United States in its attempts to defend Europe against Soviet military adventures. Furthermore, a considerable body of extremely valuable information has been made available to US intelligence agencies. Former SS General MUELLER has proven to be of genuine worth and his intelligence files of tremendous value.

10. MUELLER himself is certainly not a Nazi, having joined the Party very late. As a former member of the Bavarian State Police whose duty it was to neutralize the early Nazi movement, he feels that his survival and promotion was "a miracle" and he fully expected to be arrested in 1933. MUELLER is a professional police officer who specializes in internal political affairs and is well known as being strongly anti-Communist. His cooperation has proved to be of the greatest value. As soon as MUELLER's transfer to the United States has been approved, he will be flown out of Berlin along with his entire collection of files. These files have been stored under conditions of extraordinary security at Wolzogenstrasse 15, Region VII Headquarters.

11. While former SS General Odlio GLOBOCNIK does not have the expertise that MUELLER does and is extremely unpleasant to deal with, nevertheless, he has abilities which might well fit in with joint British-US Middle East concerns. In the event of military action on the part of the Soviets, it is anticipated that attacks will be made on the oil producing centers of the Middle East. The recent emergence of a highly radical Zionist State in Palestine has caused considerable apprehension in the West. It is felt that many of the Zionist leaders are former Russian citizens and have been and are engaging in acts of terrorism. The assassination of such men as Lord Moyne in Cairo and others as well as a particularly vicious campaign of deadly terrorism directed against the British in Palestine has led to the belief that the Soviets might well establish dangerous links which would certainly be exploited in the event of their moving into the Middle East. Also, vital oil-producing Arab states are expressing extreme concern over the establishment of a Zionist state.

12. In the event it should prove necessary for the Western Powers to take military action against the Zionists, the use of former SS men like GLOBOCNIK has been repeatedly put forward by the British. As it would be impossible to maintain such persons in a protective setting in the United States, it has been suggested that they be set up in Syria in the event they are needed as specialists in detaining and coping with dissident elements.

13. GLOBOCNIK has repeatedly expressed considerable determination in the matter of the recovery of monies concealed in certain areas of Austria. Some of these assets have been recovered by British Intelligence units and a portion thereof was turned over to us at the time GLOBOCNIK passed into American custody.

14. GLOBOCNIK has been advised that these funds, which he claims were part of some "special German government project" but which appear in truth to be loot from his death camps, are being held in a form of trust for him until some future time.

15. It would appear that these missing items consist of cash, precious metals and jewels and that British units have not been successful in making anywhere near a full recovery.

16. GLOBOCNIK indicates that he will give us exact locations of these caches which he alleges have a very large value, providing that he personally be given 50% of all recovered funds and that specified members of his family receive an additional 25% of the total.

17. It has been pointed out to GLOBOCNIK that he has been most fortunate in his treatment in view of his past record and that continued importuning on his part could well result in probably terminal unpleasantness for himself. The British had similar problems and a report is appended.

18. It should be noted that these caches apparently contain no documents of importance other than Reichsbank receipts for deposits of specie.

19. GLOBOCNIK also strongly objects to being earmarked for the Syrian project. He claims that he "does not hate Jews" and only wants to enjoy a peaceful retirement.

20. It is suggested that GLOBOCNIK be supplied with legitimate papers from Yugoslav sources. Since the TITO break with Moscow earlier this year, the Yugoslavs have made numerous approaches to the Western Powers in the matter of possible military assistance in the event of a Soviet invasion. One of the benefits of this attitude is the cooperation of Yugoslav intelligence units with Western units. As GLOBOCNIK originated in Trieste, it is felt that he can be given a legal Yugoslav identity and sent to Canada under the care of ... (censored) Later, transfer to the Miami area can be done with a view to sending him to Syria via our transfer point... (censored.)

Andrew L. Venters (signature)
Special Agent CIC
Operations Officer

When she read over these documents, Gitta Sereny was horrified at the implications contained in them. As a journalist specializing in Nazi-hunting, she viewed the use by both England and America of Müller and Globocnik as an outrage. Because of the gravity of the material, it was imperative that she use extreme care in establishing the authenticity of the papers.³⁰ She quickly contacted Robert Wolfe of the US National Archives, Captured German Records Section, and a recognized expert on German military papers. These papers were American and post-war but Wolfe indicated he would do his best to assist Sereny. He personally was shocked by the contents of the papers which he also found outrageous but because of the recent Klaus Barbie scandal, the documents might well be genuine.

Wolfe took the papers to the US Army Intelligence and Security Command at Ft. George Meade, Maryland which contains the archives of US Military Intelligence and where originals of these papers would be found. When he showed the papers to Colonel Walsh, the director, Walsh felt that aside from a missing declassification stamp, not unusual to find missing, the documents looked authentic. With the director's assurances that he would have the archives searched for anything relating to the subject, Wolfe conducted his own investigation in his National Archives files. There he discovered an original file with the signature of Severin Wallach and this signature matched the one on the Sereny file. It also established that Wallach was attached to the Berlin CIC at the time in question.

After a considerable silence from Ft. Meade, Wolfe finally wrote a formal request to Colonel Walsh for all material in their files on Heinrich Müller and Odilo Globocnik. Several days later, Wolfe received word that the Meade repository had *no* files on either Globocnik or Müller. Since Müller was a major player in the intelligence game, the lack of any information on him in U.S. intelligence files was unbelievable to Wolfe.

Sereny found this so upsetting that she came to Washington in person where she decided to contact the OSI for their assistance. This agency, the Office of Special Investigations, is a small branch of the Justice Department established to track down possible ex-Nazis who had slipped into the United States by making false statements to the Immigration service. They had considerable investigative authority and Sereny hoped that they could search the files at Meade for confirmation. In a meeting held with top level OSI officials, it was mutually agreed that the documents in question contained potentially serious problems for both Britain and the United States and that any investigation had to be carried out thoroughly and promptly.

It came as no surprise that the special team of OSI investigators were able to locate a file on Müller and also on Globocnik in the Meade records. They did not give copies of these documents to either Wolfe or Sereny but advised them that the file on Globocnik was very small indeed, while the one on Müller was only 40-plus pages and indicated that he was suspected of working for the Russians.

³⁰ Sereny later wrote a detailed but tendentious account of her attempts at authentication and much of the material covering these attempts comes from this article published in the British "The Independent on Sunday" of July 19, 1992.

In point of fact, the file on Heinrich Müller runs to over 130 pages as the author discovered when he received a copy in September of 1993. Fifty eight pages of the file, which is numbered XE 235539 WJ., were withheld because the staff at Meade decided that they were currently and properly classified as Secret and Confidential and the release of these pages could “reasonably be expected to cause serious damage to the national security.” Some of the material withheld appears to be concerned with an extensive correspondence between the German Federal Prosecutor’s Office concerning their apprehensions that the Americans might know where Müller was. The German requests for information, which are withheld in their entirety from the Meade file, and the American answers, which do exist but which are heavily censored, tally exactly.

The only mention in the entire file of a possible Russian employment is a brief report of March, 1951 wherein a German informer named Dr. Wilhelm H. Schmitz claimed that he believed that Müller might be working for Czech intelligence. There is no mention made of Russia but perhaps the OSI was confused.

The OSI turned copies of the Sereny file over to the FBI for detailed forensic investigation. The FBI checked the typewritten material and stated that the typewriters and the typefaces were correct to the period. They also ran the text of the papers through a computer system to check the style of writing with known original reports of both Wallach and Venters. The reports indicated that the writing styles were identical.

Various sections of the Justice Department checked with former CIC agents who knew both men and who verified the styles of writing used by both men. Sereny later located a former CIC officer who knew both men very well and was told “It is extraordinary....The format is right, the methodology is correct, and given the personalities of the two people who allegedly wrote this, even the tone and the breadth of the concept fits.”

Instead of resolving the issue, these disclosures only created more problems. No one wished to comment further upon the CIC file in general or on General Heinrich Müller in particular. His Meade file is filled with references to his escape, references that are reinforced by reviewing the post-war German attempts to locate him. The final word from official Washington came from Robert Wolfe who had had the opportunity of witnessing the frenzied activities of terrified bureaucrats to hide historical cat boxes. When formally queried about his own opinions on the authenticity of the Sereny file he stated in a letter of August 19, 1993... “based on all the internal evidence, the documents would appear to be authentic.”

Since the papers exist only as copies, Wolfe had never seen any originals and thus limited his comments only to appearances and his own experience in the field. As to what actually exists in the Meade records, no one outside of that institution knows. The fact that they believe certain papers relating to Müller bear directly on current national security might tend to indicate that the Sereny file represents the tip of a very dangerous iceberg. In attempting to research the postwar career of Heinrich Müller, the author wrote to numerous official agencies both in the United States and Europe. The responses varied from prompt and helpful to delayed and nonsensical. One US agency, the FBI, stated that it would be necessary for Heinrich Müller to personally sign a notarized statement giving permission for material on him to be released. Other agencies declined to answer at all.

Because Müller’s 1948 interview was, according to the cover pages, conducted by the CIA, a request for information under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) was made to the CIA in September 1993. A very prompt answer by the CIA was sent on September 27 stating that they had had another request for information on Müller’s records and were processing it.

On January 11, 1995, the CIA FOIA office responded by stating that they had finally reviewed the files; that these files were to be denied in their entirety on the basis of specific exemptions. The first exemption was that the material was ‘properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of national defense or foreign policy. The second exemption consisted of the ‘Director’s statutory obligations to protect from disclosure intelligence sources and methods, as well as the organization, functions, names, official titles, salaries or numbers of *personnel employed by the Agency*, in accord with the National Security Act of 1947 and the CIA Act of 1949, respectively.’ (Emphasis added.)

The forbidden files run to a total of slightly over fifty pages and exist, not only in the CIA archives but also are part of the Ft. Meade files. One report is under date of December 18, 1959 and the other file, consisting of various sections, is undated. Requests for information on Müller were made only under his real name and not the two known cover names Müller used after the war. FOIA requests in that area might generate even more interesting paperwork.

One man who might be able to address this issue would be Dr. David Marwell who, as an investigator for the OSI, reviewed the Müller files at Ft. Meade. As the CIA reports are currently a part of this file, Dr. Marwell might possibly be able to shed some light on their contents. As Director of the Berlin Document Center, Dr. Marwell proved to be most helpful in disproving the existence of two of Trevor-Roper's key witnesses but he declined to address the Müller files. There was an international scandal about thefts of documents from the Document Center as well as obvious plantings of incriminating documents in their files. The Document Center, then under the control of the US Department of State, was closed down and the files turned over to German authorities. Later, Dr. Marwell was made head of the Presidential Commission investigating the assassination of President Kennedy.

The first volume of the series on Heinrich Müller, Chief of the Gestapo, (Bender Publishing, San Jose, California, 1995) was the author's first book on any subject and because of the controversial nature of much of the material, it was necessary to carefully check out each and every fact, publication of which could cause controversy in various predictable circles.

The documents used in the book were subjected to various tests by different agencies and individuals. For example, the CIC papers on Globocnik, his buried treasure and his use by British and US intelligence, were checked and rechecked from every angle. The typewriters were correct to the period. The authors were in place at the times specified, and their handwriting matched known samples in official US archives. A computer check of the writing styles of both contributors to what we now refer to as the Sereny file matched perfectly with known original documents.

The positive information on the authentication of the Globocnik papers was very clearly covered in a lengthy, illustrated article appearing in the British paper, *The Independent* on Sunday of July 19, 1992. The author of this article was Gitta Sereny. It was this positive commentary on the originality of the Globocnik documents that persuaded three publishers to accept the manuscript for publication. As an act of courtesy, in retrospect an error of judgment, the author thanked Sereny for giving the impetus to the publication to the first volume taken from the Müller papers.

The book first appeared in print in Germany, put out by the publishing house of Druffel Verlag, and at once began selling very well, achieving best-seller status within six months. The English version, published by Bender Publications, was a slower starter but following favorable book reviews and national advertising, also sold very well. Both publishing companies, as well as the Russian publisher, have indicated that the book has benefited tremendously from referrals. Pleased readers inform their friends and so the good work prospers. These sales were materially assisted when a private foundation bought up nearly half the first run to distribute to college, and some lower level, libraries.

The great bulk of the correspondence to both the publisher and the author was very favorable and positive. There were, however, some virulent exceptions. As a case in point, Sereny wrote a book review in a tabloid British paper in which she completely reversed the facts that she had published in her 1992 article. Sereny claimed that all the documents in the book had been fakes, and that the book was "a piece of filth." Her comments resulted in lawsuits for defamation against both Sereny and her publisher by the author, and this specific aspect of the matter cannot be discussed any further.

Among other suspect comments, Sereny now claimed to have absolute proof that Globocnik died in British captivity. This so-called 'absolute proof' consists of an out-of-focus photograph purporting to show the corpse of Globocnik wrapped in a rug, and a sad commentary on the poor quality of modern government technicians. Earlier photographs on the same subject were obvious fakes and the new picture came from the same source.

No doubt Sereny hopes her original and obscure article about the CIC papers published in 1992 is forgotten. Or perhaps, even more likely, Sereny herself does not recall what she once wrote and persuaded reluctant publishers to accept the authenticity of these important and pivotal papers as a reason for publishing. It may be interesting to print excerpts from the original article.

Sereny speaks of having received a copy of the CIC report from an American source, not this author, and of being intrigued with its implications. Securing a £30,000 advance from the London *Sunday Times* on the strength of her belief that the documents were original, Sereny began her investigations which eventually led her to Washington, DC.

"The first person I turned to was Dr. Robert Wolfe at the National Archives in Washington, a world authority on the Third Reich and its aftermath. When he saw the document, he was horrified: if authentic, it recorded the most outrageous act his country-and Britain- would have committed after the war. True, the language seemed extravagant in places, but many CIC agents were men of foreign extraction whose English was stilted. And the patchiness of the 'sanitizing' could be due to the inexperience

or apathy of the clerks who prepared documents for release under the Freedom of Information Act. In view of the then-recent disclosures of the CIC's misdeeds in the case of Klaus Barbie, it seemed only too possible that the document was genuine.

And when Dr. Wolfe took it to the director of the Fort Meade Repository, Colonel Walsh, his reaction was that, except for a declassification stamp which was missing (not a unique occurrence), it looked authentic. Col. Walsh would assign an assistant to look for either the original, or any other documents that might substantiate it.

Dr. Wolfe had soon found in the National Archives another report by Special Agent Severin Wallach, concerning the 20 July plot on Hitler's life; it confirmed that Wallach had indeed been working in Berlin at the time when the report was written. But given the urgency Dr. Wolfe had impressed on Fort Meade, their search appeared frustratingly halfhearted.

At the end of April, Wolfe decided that restraint was ineffective, and wrote an official letter, requesting all information held on Müller or Globocnik. Col. Walsh was on holiday, but a few days later Dr. Wolfe had a phone call from an assistant to say that they had no information at all on Müller—the head of Nazi Germany's secret police. That was incredible enough, but it was followed by a letter extending this absence of knowledge to Globocnik: they claimed to have nothing at all on the man in charge of the murder of Jews in Poland.”

Sereny then mentions the Annex written by Wallach's superior in the Berlin CIC, Captain Andrew L. Venters: This was an even more disturbing document, allegedly written by Wallach's superior, Andrew Venters, whose signature was immediately authenticated from known documents.

Sereny continues that Wolfe, unable to penetrate the defenses of the Intelligence Command at Ft. Meade, contacted the OSI or Office of Special Investigations, a branch of the US Department of Justice which investigated cases of illegal entry into the United States by individuals who might be wanted for alleged war crimes. This agency had better investigative powers than Wolfe and discovered that the Meade facility, in fact, had easily located material on both Müller and Globocnik. None of this material was made available to Wolfe, however. Sereny continues:

“The OSI was ready now to undertake an official investigation, Their remit included access to the Fort Meade archives, forensic examination by the FBI and psycho-linguistic analysis of the documents I had presented to them.

The FBI's report was inconclusive: the many-times copied document did not lend itself to forensic examination but the typewriters and typefaces were of the correct period. The OSI now had some information about the putative signatories of the documents, though they were both dead. Severin Wallach and Andrew Venters, his operations officer who countersigned the first report and was the author of the “Annex,” had worked as a team in Berlin at the relevant time. And it was quite normal for a Special Agent to prepare a report while the Operations Officer wrote an “Annex”—an explanation or extension of the report.

In Washington, several former CIC officers had been contacted and, while some were understandably reticent and all were appalled at the prospect of further scandalous disclosures, none seemed to consider that it was impossible. Severin Wallach, Viennese by birth and a lawyer by profession, was described as a brilliant and solitary man, convinced of the Soviet threat. He had run 30 to 60 agents at any one time, and conceived a number of projects which he ‘kept very close to his chest.’ And Venters, the alleged author of the ‘Annex,’ was apparently prone to high-flown language.

A former CIC officer whom I visited in Germany, who had worked closely with both men for years, provided an authoritative ‘bottom line.’ ‘It is extraordinary’ he said, ‘whoever produced this had to have been in-or closely advised by someone from-Region VIII. The format is right, the methodology is correct and, given the personalities of the two people who allegedly wrote this, even the tone and the breadth of the concept fits.’

Even a cursory reading of Sereny's evaluation of the CIC file would give any reader the clear impression that while American experts and officials may have been shocked and dismayed by the contents of the papers, there was no proof of any kind that the documents were fakes. In point of fact, when the author wrote to Robert Wolfe in 1993 following the initial Sereny article, he promptly replied, in a letter on official National Archives stationery that... *“based on all the internal evidence, the documents would appear to be authentic.”*

With the Sereny article and the Wolfe letter in essential agreement as to matters of fact, the Müller book included the CIC documents as authentic and made direct references to both the letter and the article.

On April 21, 1996, Sereny wrote a series of reviews on books she viewed as hostile to her favorite, and very lucrative, topic: the Holocaust. Sereny claimed that the entire Müller book was a tissue of lies, in general, and that the CIC documents concerning the capture of Globocnik, his faked suicide and the looting of his funds by British officials were deliberate fakes, in specific, known as such to the author. How Sereny could come to such a contorted conclusion is not difficult to assess. In her original article, Sereny herself supplies the obvious answer:

“That weekend, I discussed the situation with four top OSI officials in Washington. There was complete agreement that a document so potentially damaging to the British and US governments had to be thoroughly examined.”

Had to be more than thoroughly examined. If the examination could prove, as it clearly did not, that the document was a hoax, then the matter was concluded and an appropriate article by Sereny, trumpeting her brilliant success in uncovering this hoax could appear in the London paper justifying their expenditure of £30,000.

Unfortunately, Sereny could not write such an article since all of her discoveries pointed to an opposite conclusion. Nevertheless, if she were able to convince her editor that such were the case, the fact that she was actively cooperating in assisting both the British and US governments in concealing a deadly secret could be forgotten and her fees unreturned.

Sereny states in her diatribe that...

“...he maliciously thanks me for my ‘research into the authenticity of the key documents, without which this book could not have been written.’”

It is evident that this public connection of Sereny’s name to the CIC papers forced her to distance herself as far from this conclusion as possible:

“Many questions raised by the behavior of various parties to the investigation remain unanswered. Why , for instance, were the OSI’s efforts so halfhearted, with only one investigator left to pursue the matter, largely in (sic) his own time? Why did Fort Meade lie to Dr. Wolfe about the existence of files on two important Nazis? Why has there been no attempt in Washington to discredit the forged documents officially...?”

In matters of historical accuracy, only the former Soviet Union was more mendacious than official British sources. There were a number of British officers directly connected with Globocnik after his capture. These names were supplied by Sereny in a published article as a result of her own investigations: Brigadier Guy Wheeler of Military Intelligence; Lt. Ted Burkett, also of MI; Major Ken Hedly of the 4th Hussars, an armored unit; and Major Alex Ramsay of British Special Forces. After the disappearance of the captured Globocnik, two of these officers subsequently retired from ill-paid military service and both purchased large estates in England. As Sereny admits to having “excellent relations” with British intelligence (as well as similar relations with other such entities, not British), her persistent efforts to denigrate the Venters papers are entirely understandable.

Shakespeare said that it was the galled jade that winces and in the morass of the Sereny wailings can be seen the fury of a thwarted writer. Although claiming to be addicted to truth, Sereny had been responsible for an unbelievable post-mortem “interview” with a dead man. This appeared in 1974 and was entitled *Into That Darkness* and purports to be based on an interview Sereny had with Franz Stangl, an SS officer who ran a camp in occupied Poland during the war where many prisoners were later stated to have been gassed. The book contains a lengthy section quoting Stangl, who according to Sereny’s version, fully admits his part in the purported killings and asks for forgiveness from God and his victims. The balance of the work consists of various supplementary testimonies from former associates and family members, all attesting to the evil nature of Stangl’s activities and all clearly acknowledging his willing cooperation in a state-sponsored program of genocide.

Sereny, it should be noted, has made a comfortable living writing books and articles dealing with the Jewish holocaust. But this particular book shows with great clarity the pitfalls that occur when a journalist, as opposed to a legitimate academic historian, produces a work which is not only entirely anecdotal in content, but ideological in thrust. There is no documentation, whatsoever, in this work which relies almost entirely on the author’s purported interviews with various people. Stangl died on the day following Sereny’s visit to him in prison where he was appealing his life sentence.

Herein lies the key to the questionability of the entire book. Stangl had been sentenced to a life term in prison as the result of his easily-foreseen conviction as a camp commander. He, through his

attorneys, was appealing this sentence. It is highly doubtful if either Stangl or his attorneys would permit such a damaging interview to take place and to permit Sereny, whose extremist views were well known, free and unfettered access to the prisoner. There would appear to be no question that Sereny and her photographer husband, Don Honeyman, did indeed visit the prison and did see Stangl. Sereny's husband took several photographs of him, photographs which are extensively reproduced in the book. The published pictures, however, do not support statements alleged to have been made by the former Austrian SS officer, but merely prove that he permitted himself to be photographed by his visitors. By making such incriminating statements as Sereny placed, *post mortem*, in his mouth, Stangl would have irrevocably destroyed any chance he might have had in his pending appeal before the German courts.

It is beyond reasonable belief that such statements were made under the circumstances indicated. A dead Stangl, however, could comfortably be alleged to have made any statement that the author chose to put into his mouth, and without the possible embarrassment to her or her publisher of an instant denial or possible legal proceedings.

A careful reading of the book not only disclosed the author's prejudice towards Stangl and the system he served, but also is entirely devoid of any facts to support her thesis. She notes that a number of witnesses died before the book was published, of course including her main source, Stangl. Much of the anecdotal material Sereny has put together to support her case is of such a nature as to preclude its ever being introduced in a court of law. Several examples are set forth as illustration.

In one, Sereny claims that Stangl's wife wrote her a letter following an interview Sereny had with the wife in Brazil. In this letter, which is not reproduced, Frau Stangle allegedly states that in 1945 two members of the U.S. Army's Counter Intelligence agency interviewed her, and that they knew of her husband's whereabouts in an American jail. "I examined their papers," she is quoted as writing, "I have no doubt whatever that they were genuine." The flaw in this scenario is obvious. It is simply not believable that the wife of an obscure SS officer would have the slightest idea what "genuine" U.S. CIC identification papers looked like. But Sereny states that the woman would have no reason to invent the incident. Perhaps the invention did not originate with Stangl's wife, but with the author herself.

At another point, Sereny introduced "Franciszek Zabecki" who she alleges was a Polish railroad worker, stationed in the vicinity of the Concentration Camp at Treblinka in German-occupied Poland. Sereny has this man counting all the trains carrying prisoners to the camp, standing outside in all kinds of weather and at all hours for a period of two full years. From his unrecorded and highly questionable comments, "Zabecki" states categorically that 1.2 million persons were killed in Treblinka during that time.

It is anecdotal and imaginative material, at charitable best, that suffuses and supports the entire untenable structure of this work. Unfortunately, a large proportion of what purports to be important historical studies are based either on entirely faked documents or on the wishful thinking of mendacious and ideological journalists. Generations must pass before the fictive is eventually weeded out from the factual, and in the meantime an appellation which has been applied to the Sereny book, *Dialogs with the Dead*, could well be applied to other mendacious creative writing essays now so prevalent in published historical works.

The refusal of any Jewish group to address the Müller matter was explained to the author in an interview with an official of the Simon Wisenthal Center in Los Angeles.

"The survival and postwar usage of Müller by the CIA or any other official American agency is a subject we wish to avoid addressing. If we did so, our membership would virtually demand an investigation... which no one wants, especially us. The American government is very supportive of Israel and local Jewish groups and if we were forced to highlight this issue, we would unquestionably suffer financial and political retaliation."

It might be most instructive to investigate the finances of these individuals and ascertain if any of the four were able to buy large estates in Scotland and Ireland respectively after the war. British officers were not paid at a level that would account for such expenditures. However, had any or all of them, as stated by a US CIC report, dipped their individual or collective hands into Globocnik's loot, a trail should be clearly evident.

When the book was first published, there was no official comment from US sources even though it contained highly damaging correspondence from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which clearly stated that Müller worked for the American government. This correspondence resulted in the dismissal of at least two senior CIA officials.

Most agencies had never heard of Heinrich Müller and could care less. Many believed the book to be a hoax or deliberate disinformation since their files, with the exception of the US Intelligence files at Ft. George Meade, Maryland and, of course, the CIA, contained no references at all to Heinrich Müller. The author found it necessary to explain that the former Gestapo Chief certainly did not work for the U.S. under his real name. When this obvious fact finally penetrated the Stygian gloom that seems to envelope all government agencies, there was a sudden awakening of alarmed interest.

Much of Müller's postwar career is covered in this book, and a good deal of additional information concerning the postwar years came from Karl Müller, grandson of the late *Gruppenführer*, who, like his grandfather, holds a responsible post in law enforcement.

Both the author and publisher were bombarded with letters from people claiming to be historians, stating that each and every one of them had "valuable" material on Müller which they would love to share with us. The only caveat was that they wished to look through the entire body of Müller files, which contain over 800 microfilm rolls, to "help them with research" matters. As none of them were able to answer even the simplest questions about Müller, or produce copies of one picture or document they claimed to possess, it became the usual practice to toss these suspect, clumsy approaches into the trash.

The very clumsiness of these approaches would strongly indicate that the seekers undoubtedly were employed by the government who was determined to find out exactly what evidence, if any, existed outside of their control that would indicate that the chief of the Gestapo was a post-war CIA employee.

The general goal of these ham-handed individuals was to establish the existence of the papers and then, having read them, to report back to their employers who then would attempt to replevin, or seize, the entire lot because of what is vaguely termed "national security."

To the small handful of petulant and outraged academics who have also made attempts to visit the author and study his files, the reply is, in essence, that no academic of any kind is to be trusted with valuable papers. Academics could, and would, make copies of them and then rush the contents into print under their own name, suitably embellished and written by a favorite, and discreet, student. Showing an academic anything with which he can make money is like presenting a burglar with a ladder.

In 2001, a group of four American 'academics' were commissioned by the Central Intelligence Agency to prepare a study of official records with the sole purpose of proving that Heinrich Müller had neither survived the war nor ever worked for the Central Intelligence Agency. Here is a copy of this report with comments by the author:

The Official CIA Report on Heinrich Müller

April 27, 2001

Record Group 263: Records of the Central Intelligence Agency

Records of the Directorate of Operations

Analysis of the Name File of Heinrich Mueller

Prepared at the request of the Central Intelligence Agency by the following persons:

Timothy Naftali, Miller Center of Public Affairs, University of Virginia

Norman J.W. Goda, Ohio University

Richard Breitman, American University

Robert Wolfe, National Archives (ret.)

Introduction

The CIA file on Heinrich Mueller, chief of Hitler's Gestapo and a major Nazi war criminal, sheds important new light on U.S. and international efforts to find Mueller after his disappearance in May 1945. Though inconclusive on Mueller's ultimate fate, the file is very clear on one point. The Central Intelligence Agency and its predecessors did not know Mueller's whereabouts at any point after the war. In other words, the CIA was never in contact with Gestapo Mueller. *(Comment: Since Müller and his Deputy, SS Colonel Willi Krichbaum, worked for the so-called Gehlen Org, commanded by the CIA's James Critchfield, this statement is incorrect)* To assist other scholars, the press, and the general public in making sense of this new information about the CIA's investigation of this controversial war criminal, the authors have drawn on other documents at the National Archives for this report.

Mueller and the Nazi Regime

Mueller was born in Munich on April 28, 1900. After serving as a pilot in World War I, he joined the police in Munich, soon acquiring a reputation as a skilled anti-communist investigator who did not feel bound by legal norms of police investigation. As such, he would draw the attention of Heinrich Himmler and Reinhard Heydrich, leaders of Hitler's SS. Following Hitler's rise to power in 1933, Himmler and Heydrich consolidated German regional police units while creating a national political police, the Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo). *(Comment: The Gestapo was not created by Heydrich. It existed during the Second Empire under Kaiser Wilhelm II)* Mueller entered the SS in 1934 and quickly rose through the ranks of that organization as a police official. In September 1939, when the Gestapo and other police organizations were consolidated into the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA), Mueller was made the Chief of RSHA Amt IV - the Gestapo.

As Gestapo chief, Mueller oversaw the implementation of Hitler's policies against Jews and other groups deemed a threat to the state. The notorious Adolf Eichmann, who headed the Gestapo's Office of Resettlement and then its Office of Jewish Affairs, was Mueller's immediate subordinate. Once World War II began, Mueller and Eichmann planned key components in the deportation and then extermination of Europe's Jews. *(Comment: Müller and his Gestapo had absolutely nothing to do with running the Concentration camps: They merely oversaw the transportation of persons to these camps. The Gestapo did have a presence in many of these camps but had nothing to do with the running of them)*

Mueller was involved in other criminal affairs as well. He helped plan the phony Polish attack on Gleiwitz radio station in 1939 (used to justify Germany's attack on Poland). He signed the "Bullet Order" of March 1944 (authorizing the shooting of escaped prisoners of war) and authorized the torture of officers who had conspired to kill Hitler in July 1944. Mueller's zeal in countering the 20 July plot earned him the rare military decoration of the Knight's Cross to the War Service Cross with Swords in October 1944.

Mueller also managed security and counterespionage operations. His most spectacular counterespionage success was the development of a double-cross network that fed disinformation to the Soviet intelligence services between 1942 and 1945. Located in Berlin and a few other Western European capitals, this network had been extremely successful in sending sensitive political and military information to Moscow. Mueller's Gestapo team was able to capture a number of these agents and "turn" them. Codenamed Rote Kapelle (Red Orchestra), *(Comment: The Rote Kapelle was most certainly not a Gestapo operation. This is the code name the Gestapo gave to a Soviet spy ring, operated out of Moscow.)* this Gestapo operation was among the greatest Soviet intelligence setbacks of the war. *(Comment: Where this information originated is not known. It is not in any of the accounts of the Rote Kapelle published since the end of the war and is certainly not in any official Gestapo, Abwehr or any other official German records of the period.)*

Mueller and the End of the War

In the war's final year, it seems that Heinrich Mueller stubbornly believed in a Nazi victory. He told one of his top counterespionage case officers in December 1944 that the Ardennes offensive (known in the U.S. as the Battle of the Bulge) would result in the recapture of Paris.¹ *(Comment: The sole and well-known goal of the Ardennes Offensive was to capture the port of Antwerp. Since the SS was heavily involved in the intelligence preparations for this operation, Müller would certainly have known this and it is doubtful in the extreme if he would have made such a statement to anyone)* Mueller also reportedly redoubled efforts to drive a wedge between the Soviets and the Western allies by using his double agents.

Not everyone was convinced of his sincerity. There were rumors among German intelligence officers that Mueller had himself been turned by the Soviets. Walter Schellenberg, chief of the RSHA's Foreign Intelligence Branch (Amt VI) and a bitter rival of Mueller, was the source of some of this speculation. When interrogated by OSS in 1945, Schellenberg claimed that Mueller had been in friendly radio contact with the Soviets, and Schellenberg's postwar memoirs contain verbatim exhortations from 1943 by Mueller on Stalin's superiority to Hitler as a leader.² SS-men close to Mueller considered such rumors unfounded and illogical. *(Comment: Schellenberg's "memoirs" written at the time of his death and published post-mortem were forgeries by his wife and literary agent. Comments by Schellenberg about Müller in this book are very much a matter of fiction.)* Mueller's immediate superior Ernst Kaltenbrunner (Chief of the RSHA), later insisted under Allied interrogation that Mueller could never have embraced the Soviets. Similarly, Heinz Pannwitz, Mueller's Gestapo subordinate who ran Rote Kapelle, categorized the notion that Mueller had turned as "absolutely absurd" in a 1959 CIA interrogation.³

The First Search for Gestapo Mueller

Months before the fall of Berlin, Anglo-American counterespionage officers began their postwar planning. Under the combined leadership of British MI 5 and MI 6 and the X-2 (counterespionage) branch of the American Office of Strategic Services, the SHAEF G-2 Counter Intelligence (CI) War Room began operating in February 1945. Using Allied lists of Nazi intelligence officers, the War Room supervised the hunt for the remnants of Germany's military and police intelligence services. Initially, the chief concern of the officers of the CI War Room was that Nazi intelligence units would survive the war and, financed with looted assets, launch paramilitary operations in the Bavarian Alps. Intelligence reaching the War Room in the last months of the war did not mention Mueller as a possible leader of postwar Nazi operations, but given his command of the Gestapo, Mueller remained an important man to capture. *(Comment: If there was no mention of Müller in these studies, how could he remain an important man to capture? Müller was a very private man and very little was known about him during the course of the Third Reich.)*

On May 27, 1945 the Counter Intelligence War Room issued a statement about its priority targets for interrogations in what it called the German intelligence service. At the top of the list were Nazi intelligence officials involved in foreign intelligence (RSHA Amt VI). Next in priority were security police and SD units in occupied countries. Gestapo officials came farther down the target list. A War Room instruction to interrogators of captured RSHA officers listed the top missing persons: interrogators were to ask: "Where are: SCHELLENBERG, OHLENDORF, MUELLER, STEIMLE, SANDBERGER?"⁴ (All but Mueller were subsequently located and interrogated.) A War Room fortnightly report covering the period ending June 18, 1945 stated that no leading officials of the Gestapo had yet been arrested, and "it seems clear from most reports that Mueller remained in Berlin after the collapse."⁵ His fate was contrasted with that of other Gestapo personalities who fled south. A separate OSS X-2 (counterintelligence) report at the end of the month repeated that no highranking Gestapo officials had yet been captured and that Mueller had remained in Berlin.⁶

A War Room monthly summary in late July 1945 reported that Amt VI officials had largely surrendered, while most Amt IV (Gestapo) officials remained at large. Mueller's fate was still unknown: "Some of our evidence, though it is by no means conclusive, suggests that Mueller himself may have remained in Berlin until the last [while]... the greater part of Amt IV collected itself at Hof, near Munich, and at Salzburg and Innsbruck."⁷ A War Room intelligence arrest target list, dated August 21, commented about 'H. Mueller, head of the Gestapo': "Last reported Berlin, Apr. 1945."⁸ A later revision to the arrest

target list reported the arrest of several Gestapo officials, including Walter Huppenkothen who was part of the Red Orchestra team. But not Heinrich Mueller.⁹

Ultimately the Allies would find many Heinrich Muellers in occupied Germany and Austria, but not the right one. Heinrich Mueller is a very common German name. By the end of 1945, American and British occupation forces had gathered information on numerous Heinrich Muellers, all of whom had different birth dates, physical characteristics and job histories. Documentation on some of them is included—one might say mistakenly jumbled together—in the "Gestapo" Mueller Army IRR file, which the National Archives released in 2000. Part of the problem for U.S. record-keepers stemmed from the fact that some of these Muellers, including Gestapo Mueller, did not appear to have middle names. An additional source of confusion was that there were two different SS-Generals named Heinrich Mueller. In at least one instance, an index card purporting to collate information on Gestapo Mueller, which was prepared by an American official after the war, actually contains two different birth dates, as well as data about a third man of the same name. A Heinrich Mueller was held briefly at the Altenstadt civilian internment camp in 1945.¹⁰ Another killed himself along with his wife and his children in April 1946.¹¹

Throughout this period the Counter Intelligence War Room functioned as the ULTRA/top secret collecting point for information about the locations of the Allies' top intelligence targets. Although the occupation forces had encountered quite a few men named Heinrich Mueller, the War Room's verdict was unambiguous: Gestapo Muller had not been found.

In the initial period after the Nazi surrender U.S. counterintelligence attempted to track down all leads to Mueller. Information reached U.S. army intelligence that Gestapo Mueller had taken the assumed name Schwartz or Schwartzer and had gone south from Berlin with another Gestapo official Christian A. Scholz. But no traces of either man were ever found.¹² In 1947, British and American authorities twice searched the home of Gestapo Mueller's mistress Anna Schmid for clues, but found nothing suggesting that Mueller was still alive. With the onset of the Cold War and the shift of resources to the Soviet target, the assumption took hold in U.S. intelligence that Gestapo Mueller was dead.¹³

The West German Investigation

The dramatic Israeli abduction of Mueller's subordinate Adolf Eichmann from Argentina in May 1960 created new interest in Nazi war criminals and particularly in Mueller. Imaginative theories that Mueller (along with Eichmann) had escaped Berlin and were still alive had been in the press for some time, as well as in the best selling memoir by Wilhelm Hoettl, himself a former SS officer.¹⁴ Eichmann himself helped to fan speculation about in Mueller, when during his Jerusalem trial, he voiced his belief that Mueller survived the war. Already in July 1960, the West German office in charge of the prosecution of war criminals [Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen] charged local police authorities in Bavaria (Mueller's family still lived in Munich) and Berlin to investigate. The West Germans were skeptical that Mueller was working for the Soviets, but did think it possible that Mueller was corresponding from somewhere with his family or possibly with his former secretary Barbara Hellmuth. All of these West German citizens were closely watched, and in May 1961 the Bavarian police asked the U.S. occupation forces to put Mueller's relatives and Hellmuth under surveillance. West German police also searched the Berlin home of Anna Schmid, Mueller's former mistress, and spoke with her. Schmid told the West German investigators that she had not seen Mueller since 24 April 1945, when he gave her a vial of poison and then disappeared. Her own efforts to find him in the subsequent days and weeks had been fruitless.¹⁵

According to various witnesses interviewed by the West German police in 1961, the last time Mueller was seen alive was the evening of May 1, 1945, the day after Hitler's suicide. Several eyewitnesses placed Mueller at Hitler's Chancellery building that evening while recounting his refusal to leave with the breakout group that night. Hans Baur, Hitler's pilot and an old friend of Mueller's, recounts Mueller as saying, "We know the Russian methods exactly. I haven't the faintest intention of ... being taken prisoner by the Russians." Another claimed that Mueller refused to leave with the rest of Hitler's entourage, and was overheard saying "the regime has fallen and...I fall also." He was last seen in the company of his radio specialist Christian A. Scholz. (*Christian Scholz was not Müller's radio specialist. Scholz, who was a*

personal friend, worked for the Luftwaffe Radio Interception unit at Wildpark-Werder and was with him just before he vanished.) And while the bodies of others that remained that night were recovered and identified, no one in the final group witnessed the death of Mueller or Scholz.¹⁶

West German authorities pursued three major leads in an effort to confirm Mueller's death and burial in Berlin in 1945. First, there was the testimony of Fritz Leopold, a Berlin morgue official who had reported in December 1945 that Mueller's body was moved (along with many others) from the RSHA headquarters at Prinz Albrecht Strasse (2000 feet from the Chancellery) for reburial in a local municipal cemetery on Lilienthalstrasse (Berlin-Neukoelln) in the Western half of the city. Leopold was later deemed an unreliable source, but the burial was officially registered with the Berlin authorities and a headstone would be placed at Mueller's "grave" which read, "Our loving father Heinrich Mueller - Born 28 April 1900 - Died in Berlin May 1945." A second story came from Mueller's ex-subordinate Heinz Pannwitz, who had been captured by the Soviets and returned to West Germany in 1957, whereupon he told the German Secret Service [Bundesnachrichtendienst - BND] that his Soviet interrogators revealed to him that "your Chief [Mueller] is dead." The body, they said, had been found in a subway shaft a few blocks from the Chancellery with a bullet through the head and with its identity documents intact.¹⁷

The final story came from Walter Lueders, a former member of the German Volkssturm (civilian fighters) who maintained that he had headed a burial detail in the summer of 1945. Of the hundreds of bodies buried by the detail, only one, said Lueders, wore an SS-General's uniform, and it was found in the garden of the Reich Chancellery with a large wound in the back. Though the body had no medals or decorations, Lueders recalled with certainty that the identity papers were those of Gestapo Mueller. It was moved to the old Jewish Cemetery on Grosse Hamburgerstrasse in the Soviet Sector, where it was placed in one of three mass graves. In fact, in 1955 the German Armed Forces Information Office (Wehrmachtsauskunftsstelle - WAST) inquired with district authorities in East Berlin and received confirmation that Gestapo Mueller was buried at the Grosse-Hamburgerstrasse cemetery in 1945. Since the grave was a mass grave, however, there was no actual plot.

The Fritz Leopold story was checked first, and in September 1963, the Mueller "grave" at the Lilienthalstrasse cemetery in West Berlin was exhumed. Investigation revealed that in fact, the grave contained the remains of three different people, none of whom were Mueller. The skull, moreover, belonged to a man ten years younger than Mueller would have been in 1945. The German authorities had no means by which to verify either Pannwitz's or Lueders' story. Pannwitz's information had come from Moscow, and there was no official liaison between Soviet intelligence and the West Germans on the Mueller case. Lueders's story could not be checked since Grosse Hamburgerstrasse was on the other side of the two-year old Berlin Wall. Adding to the confusion was the mystery of Mueller's effects. WAST, according to its own records, returned to Mueller's family in 1958 not only the Gestapo Chief's papers, some of which Lueders claimed to have found on the body, but also Mueller's decorations, which neither Leopold nor Lueders claimed to have found. These items were never checked for authenticity.¹⁸

The CIA investigation

The CIA started its involvement in the hunt for Mueller at roughly the same time as the German search, albeit from a different source base. The January 1961 defection and interrogation of a Polish intelligence officer brought Western counterintelligence tips that led to several Soviet and Polish agents active in the West, including George Blake, a mole in the British MI6, Harry Houghton, a clerk in the British navy, and Heinz Felfe, a highlevel West German intelligence officer. The defector surely was Lt. Col. Michal Goleniewski [TN], the Deputy Chief of Polish Military Counter Intelligence until 1958, who had also operated as a mole for the KGB in the Polish service. In recounting his work as an interrogator of captured German officials in Poland from 1948 to 1952, Goleniewski revealed information about the fate of some Nazi intelligence officials, including Gestapo Mueller. Goleniewski had not actually met Mueller. However, he had heard from his Soviet supervisors that sometime between 1950 and 1952 the Soviets had picked up Mueller and taken him to Moscow.¹⁹ There was little with which to evaluate this claim, and some reason to be skeptical of this hearsay. Pannwitz, after all, had recently dismissed as "nonsense" to CIA

interrogators the idea that Mueller worked for the Soviets while claiming that his own Soviet interrogators repeatedly said that Mueller was dead.²⁰

The CIA tried to track down the men Goleniewski named as having worked with Mueller in Moscow. The CIA determined that Jakob Loellgen, the former Gestapo chief of Danzig, was alive and resided in West Germany. In 1945 the Soviets had captured Loellgen but then released him, whereupon he returned to West Germany, working as a local police chief and as a private investigator. The CIA turned this information over to the Germans and the BND located Loellgen in 1961.

The Germans dropped the ball. Although the BDN (*sic. BND*) apparently began assembling material for his arrest, Loellgen was never arrested. The CIA never quite figured out what had happened. The BND seemed to be preoccupied throughout 1961 with another of Goleniewski's leads, Heinz Felfe. Felfe was a highlevel BND officer, who had already provided thousands of West German secrets including names of agents, cover names, addresses, and documents, to Moscow. In the midst of the Felfe scandal, West German investigation of Loellgen just fell between the cracks.²¹

The CIA did collect some information on its own that bore on the "Mueller in Moscow" thesis. In June 1961, another source was asked to assess Goleniewski's information on Soviet contacts with former Nazis. The source, who appears to have been a KGB officer, reported having read a "Mueller file," in which Mueller is described as having been captured by Soviet intelligence at the end of World War II. The identity of this source is not given in the CIA file, but is likely Petr Deriabin [TN]. (Deriabin had worked on counterintelligence matters in the Austro-German department of the First Chief Directorate of the KGB.) The defector wrote in a 1971 memorandum for the record that in 1952 he had heard from his own superiors that Moscow had recruited Mueller and that he himself had read excerpts from an interrogation. He even included the names of four Soviet officers who had once debriefed Mueller in 1951.²² *Comment: As Heinrich Müller was an expert in Soviet espionage and had wrought terrible havoc in the ranks of Stalin's spies, executing the ones he could not turn, there is no conceivable reason for the Soviets to wish to "turn" Müller. Had he extensive knowledge of Western intelligence operations equal to his knowledge of Soviet operations, then the Soviets would have found a use for him.)*

Despite the partial corroboration of the information from Goleniewski, the CIA appears to have relied on the West Germans to take the lead in the investigation of Mueller's whereabouts and did little follow-up in the 1960s. The remainder of the decade saw various news reports that Mueller had escaped to various points in the West (Argentina, Cuba), as well as tragicomic episodes. In 1967, a false sighting of Mueller in Panama led to the arrest there of one Francis Keith, who was released once fingerprints revealed he was not Mueller. (*Comment: Keith was an American citizen working on construction projects in Panama.*) Later the same year, two Israeli operatives were caught by West German police in an attempted break-in at the Munich apartment of Mueller's wife. Reams of newspaper copy were produced by such episodes, but there was only limited CIA interest. *Comment: The Mossad agents were instructed to search for letters from Müller and to plant electronic listening devices in Frau Müller's flat. This information was published in several Munich newspapers. The Mossad agents were jailed for common burglary and later released at the urgent request of the Israeli Ambassador in Bonn. If Müller was dead, as the American authorities wished so badly to prove, why would Israel go to so much trouble to locate a dead man over twenty years after his alleged death?*

Yet one particular report did catch CIA's attention. In the aftermath of the Eichmann trial, the West German weekly Stern ran two articles by the journalist Peter Staehle that appeared in January and August 1964. Staehle said that after having followed a path after the war that included the Soviet Union, Romania, Turkey, and South Africa, Mueller became a senior police official in Albania before fleeing for South America.²³ From the very start, CIA suspected that Staehle's articles were a "plant" - part of a "clever bit of [disinformation] work" to mislead the public, as well as intelligence agencies.²⁴ The CIA checked - and disproved Staehle's claim that Mueller was in fact an Albanian police official named Abedin Bekir Nakoschiri.²⁵ The BND and CIA also discovered that Staehle had failed to get his articles printed in the more respected weekly Die Zeit thanks to a suspect source base about which Staehle had reportedly lied.²⁶

In May 1970 a Czech defector, very likely Ladislav Bittman [TN], a disinformation specialist himself, weighed in.²⁷ Bittman said that the Stern article was planted from Prague in order to neutralize rumors that Mueller might in fact be in Czechoslovakia. Bittman added for good measure that within Czech intelligence circles, it was common knowledge that the KGB had used Nazi war criminals for intelligence purposes and that key sections of Nazi archives had also been captured by the Soviets for use in "operational aims."²⁸

These comments caught the eye of the CIA's Counter-Intelligence (CI) Staff, headed by the legendary James Angleton. If Mueller really had been in the USSR or elsewhere in Eastern Europe, and if he had taken RSHA central files with him (many of which had indeed vanished after the war), then numerous leading West Germans (presumably on the political right) could still be compromised. It was crucial to discover what had happened, not necessarily to Mueller, who well might have been dead in any case, but to the files. Angleton also had a special interest in Soviet disinformation. The CI Staff undertook a through-going inquiry of Mueller starting in late 1970, and it is likely that this inquiry resulted in Mueller's name file (along with the above-mentioned material on the West German search) being assembled by CIA at all. It certainly resulted in a forty-page Counter Intelligence Brief - "The Hunt for 'Gestapo' Mueller" - which was circulated as an internal report of the Directorate of Plans in December 1971. A memo in the file dated 9 December 1971 explaining the purpose of the report states that:

Our principal original objective in preparing the attached study of the MUELLER case was to produce a training aid illustrating the vagaries and pitfalls of protracted investigations. In the past, MUELLER had been viewed mainly as a missing war criminal. As the material was collected, however, we became aware of another important possibility: that MUELLER had defected to World War II Soviet counterintelligence (SMERSH) and had taken with him a large assortment of files. (The central files of the German National Security Service (RSHA), of which Mueller was de facto chief... in the last weeks of the war, were never recovered by the Western Allies....) If SMERSH actually seized MUELLER and the best part of the RSHA records, Soviet capabilities to control important Germans and some other Europeans would far exceed those heretofore attributed to them."²⁹

In the process of putting together the report, the CI staff undertook some new inquiries of its own. A re-reading of a 1963 article in the German weekly Der Spiegel, which discussed the exhumation of Mueller's West Berlin "grave" that year, revealed that a mysterious woman in Berlin unrelated to Mueller had purchased the headstone.³⁰ Perhaps this purchase too was part of a disinformation campaign designed to hide the fact that Mueller was used by the Soviets after the war.³¹ In December 1970 the West Germans allowed CIA to examine the exhumation records for the identity of the mysterious woman who had purchased the Mueller tombstone, albeit with no results. CI also hoped that the West German government would locate and interview Walter Lueders (who had found the body buried in the Grosse-Hamburgerstrasse cemetery) and verify, if they could, the authenticity of the personal effects returned to Mueller's family in 1957.³² German memoirs from the 1950s with cryptic clues on Mueller were reread.³³ CI also asked Soviet defector Peter Deriabin to write a memorandum for the file in November 1971.

The CI team found fault with how Goleniewski's leads had been handled in 1961 and wanted to return to that trail. Loellgen, wrote one CI investigator, "must have an interesting tale to tell about what happened to Heinrich Mueller and how the [Soviet] operation to penetrate the Nazi stay-behind operation fared"³⁴ "How do we get Loellgen to talk?" asked another. "Have we [an] interviewer that might 'accidentally' look [him] up?" But reasons for skepticism remained. "It seems to me," the same agent said, "that [Soviet intelligence] would never have let LOELLGEN go back to the West if in fact they had MUELLER. The scandal of sheltering this number one war criminal would have been too risky."³⁵ In any event, Loellgen was not questioned. The 40-page CI report ended on a note of skepticism. "No one appears to have tried very hard," it said,

to find MUELLER immediately after the war while the trail was still hot, either in the West or the East.... The presumption is that Allied officials searching for MUELLER soon

stumbled over the...holdings of his effects and the...burial record and considered these sufficient proof that he was dead....There is little room for doubt, however, that the Soviet and Czech services circulated rumors to the effect that MUELLER had escaped to the West. These rumor were apparently floated to offset the charges that the Soviets had sheltered the criminal....There are strong indications but no proof that MUELLER collaborated with [the Soviets]. There are also strong indications but no proof that MUELLER died [in Berlin]One thing appears certain. MUELLER and SCHOLZ had some special reason for entering the Berlin death trap and remaining behind in the Chancellery. If their object was to carry out a memorable and convincing suicide, they really bungled the job.

The CI Staff requested a deeper CIA investigation to find proof that would confirm or disprove these competing theories. Yet it appears that the CI Staff's request for a full-fledged investigation of the Mueller matter was not accepted.³⁶ The Mueller file itself ends in December 1971 with the circulation of the CI Staff report.

The Integrity of the CIA File

The heart of the file comprises documentary support for all the key judgments in the 1971 CI Staff report "The Hunt for Gestapo Mueller." Whatever confidence one can have in the integrity of the file's declassified contents thus hinges on judgments regarding the CI Staff's objectives in assembling and writing its report. In 1971 the United States was not being accused of having harbored Gestapo Mueller. Instead it seems that the CI Staff was prompted to investigate the Mueller case both as a possible example of Soviet deception and as a check on the reliability of key CIA defectors and West German informants. If the CIA had evidence that Mueller had been contacted by the West and not the Soviets, then the CI Staff's handling of these defector cases that most likely involved Bittman, Deriabin, and Goleniewski makes no sense. In the 1960s and early 1970s, the CIA was riddled with doubt over the reliability of its stable of Soviet defectors. There were fears that Moscow had sent agents to the West to mislead the Allies about Soviet capabilities and intentions. It was in the interest of the CI Staff in particular and the CIA in general to determine whether high profile defectors like Bittman, Deriabin and Goleniewski were telling the truth about Mueller. Moreover, in assembling materials for its report, the CI Staff had no reason to believe that these documents would eventually be declassified. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that the CI Staff report, and by extension the CIA Mueller name file, represents a compilation of the best information on Gestapo Mueller available to CIA at that time.

More information about Mueller's fate might still emerge from still secret files of the former Soviet Union. The CIA file, by itself, does not permit definitive conclusions. Taking into account the currently available records of the War Room as well as other documents in the National Archives, the authors of this report conclude that Mueller most likely died in Berlin in early May 1945.

(Comment: In a letter to the author under date of 11 January, 1995, Mr. John H. Wright, Information and Privacy Coordinator for the CIA, wrote the following:

"We located two documents (on Müller. Ed), a report dated 18 December 1959 and one undated report, reviewed them, and determined that they must be denied in their entirety on the basis of (b) (1) and (b) (3) exemptions of the FOIA. An explanation of exemptions is enclosed.

(b) (1) applies to material which is properly classified pursuant to an Executive order (by the President. Ed) in the interest of national defense or foreign policy.

(b) (3) applies to the Director's statutory obligations to protect from disclosure intelligence sources and methods, as well as the organization, functions, names, official titles, salaries or numbers of personnel employed by the Agency...." (emphasis added)

Now, from the current official account, the CIA has a considerable number of reports on Müller in its files, not just two. The word 'integrity' ought not to be used on conjunction with anything emanating from the CIA or its paid, subservient, researchers. The great bulk of evidence is that Müller did not die in Berlin in 1945 and at least one report in the US Army's files, now open to one and all, states that Müller escaped to the south, using the name of Schwartz or Schwartzner. Since that was the name Müller used while working for Swiss intelligence between 1945 and 1948 [when he was hired by the CIA's James

Critchfield] it is interesting this information, a matter of public record, has somehow escaped the quartet of CIA researchers' attentions.

But then, these individuals were not paid to question Müller death but to affirm that he must have died in Berlin and therefore, was not in a position to work for the CIA between 1948 and 1952.

The prevarications and obfuscations uncovered in the 9/11 investigations on the part of the CIA are not a recommendation for their veracity in the Müller or any other matter.)

Notes of Sources Used Not from Mueller's Name File

1. Excerpts from interrogation of Heinz Pannwitz, cited in CIA, Directorate of Plans, "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" a Counterintelligence Brief issued in December 1971, CIA Name File, Heinrich Mueller, (hereafter Mueller File), vol. 2. The origins of this brief are explained below.
2. Walter Schellenberg, *The Labyrinth*, trans. Louis Hagen (New York: Harper Brothers, 1956 [1951]), pp. 319-20. Excerpts from the debriefing are in memo 201-742896 of 10 February 1965, Mueller file, vol. 1.
3. For Kaltenbrunner's interrogation, see the excerpts in memo 201-742896 of 10 February 1965, Mueller file, vol. 1. On Pannwitz, see [CIA/EUR] to Chief, EE and Chief SR, [A]-44835, 24 September 1959, Mueller file, vol. 1. Pannwitz's name is redacted in this document but it is clear who he is from other evidence in the file.
4. War Room Publication, G. I. S. Priorities for Interrogation, 27 May 1945, NA RG 226, Entry 119A, Box 22, Folder 621. War Room Publication, Tactical Interrogation of Members of the RSHA, 21 May 1945, NA RG 226, E119A, B 22, F 621.
5. W. R. C.3 Fortnightly Report for the period ending 18th June, 1945, NA RG 226, E 119A, B 25, F 639.
6. Progress Report, X-2 Branch, 1 June-30 June 1945, attached to Saint (London) to Saint, Stockholm, 13 July 1945, NA RG 226, Entry 125A, B 7, F 76.
7. War Room Monthly Summary No. 4, 23 July 1945, NA RG 226, E 119A, B 24, F 629.
8. NA RG 226, Entry 119A, B 22, F 621.
9. Arrest Target List-Revision Note, 1 November 1945, NA RG 226, E 122, B 1, tab 6.
10. Two consecutive index cards, probably prepared in 1946, are reproduced in Gestapo Mueller's IRR File and give two birth dates: the correct date and 7 June 1896. Card #2 includes the misinformation that Heinrich Mueller was being detained at Civilian Internment Enclosure #10, Altenstadt. It is quite possible that a Heinrich Mueller was there, but neither of those two whose birth dates were listed. U.S. Army did not list any further dealings with the Altenstadt Mueller. NA RG 319, IRR File Mueller, File XE 23 55 39.
11. See note by the Intelligence Bureau, C.C. G. (British Element), Bad Oeynhausen to G-2 (CI), USFET, 23 May 1946. There is also a reference to this information in "Subject: Mueller, Heinrich," 5 May 1961, the same U.S. Army consolidated report that lists Mueller as having been in Altenstadt in December 1945. NA RG 319, IRR File Mueller, XE 23 55 39. This report was easily dismissed because Gestapo Mueller's wife and children were still alive.
12. See Cards photocopied in the U.S. Army's Mueller File. NA RG 319, IRR File Mueller, XE 23 55 39.
13. See "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" p. 12.
14. The 1950 book, *Die geheime Front: Organisation, Personen und Aktionen der deutschen Geheimdienstes* was published under the pseudonym Walter Hagen and translated into numerous languages including English. It argued that Mueller had escaped through a secret passageway known only to him and Eichmann.
15. On the paragraph above see Landeskriminalamt Baden-Württemberg Sonderkommission Zentrale Stelle, Tgb. Nr. SK. ZSt. III/I-79/60, 29 July 1960 to Barnett at the U.S. Consulate, IRR, XE 23 55 39; Landeskriminalamt Baden-Württemberg Sonderkommission Zentrale Stelle, SK ZSt. I/1-79/60 to Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, 27 February 1961, *ibid.* The U.S. Army helped for ninety days beginning in May 1961 with the surveillance of Mueller's father and children, but this surveillance yielded no results.

16. The witnesses, questioned in connection with a West German police investigation in 1961, are quoted in "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" pp. 16, 18.
17. [CIA/EUR] to Chief, EE and Chief SR, [A]-44835, 24 September 1959, Mueller file, vol. 1.
18. On the details above, see the lengthy German police reports of 1960 and 1961 submitted to U.S. Army Counter Intelligence and contained in Mueller's IRR file, NA RG 319, IRR File Mueller, XE 23 55 39. Fainter copies of these reports were made available by the Army to the CIA in 1970 and are included in the CIA Mueller File, vol. 2; See also "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" pp.19-26, 32-3, 34-37. On the effects, see "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" p. 33.
19. Memo [A]-744, 10 May 1961, Mueller file, vol. 2; Memo of 17 March 1961, Mueller File, vol. 2. The defector's name is redacted.
20. To: Chief, EE, Chief SR, A[Excised] LCIMPROVE/[Excised]/[Excised] /Operations Further [Excised] Reports on Rote Kapelle Personalities, 24 September 1959, Mueller File, Vol. 1. The informant is revealed by name as Pannwitz in "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" pp. 14-16, Mueller File, Volume 2.
21. On Felfe, see Mary Ellen Reese, General Reinhard Gehlen: The CIA Connection (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1990), pp. 143-72. On Loellgen's non-arrest, see Review of File: Jakob LOELLGEN, 9 February 1971, Mueller File, vol. 2.
22. See CIA/Eur, June 23, 1961 in Mueller file , vol. 1. Regarding the defector's comments in 1971 see "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" pp. 25, 25a and the Memorandum for the Record of 18 November 1971 in Mueller file, vol. 1. This defector had never seen Mueller himself.
23. "Gestapo-Müller lebt in Albanien," Stern, January 1964; "Die Spur f&#uuml;hrt nach S&#uuml;damerika," Stern, 16 August 1964. The latter article in full is xeroxed in Mueller file, vol. 1.
24. On the possibility of disinformation, see [CIA/EUR] dispatch [A] - 3564 CS, 31 January 1964.
25. Memo [A]-13564, 31 January 1964, Mueller file, vol. 1.
26. [CIA/EUR] to Chief, EE, [A]-63831, 5 February 1964.
27. Staff memorandum December 9, 1970, Mueller File, Volume 1. This is a debriefing of a defector with inside knowledge of Czech intelligence and KGB active measures. The 1971 CI Staff history further identifies this source as an apparently reliable Czechoslovak defector. See "The Hunt for 'Gestapo Mueller,'" p. 38. The information which this defector provided and the timing of this defection strongly suggests that this source was Ladislav Bittman.[TN]
28. Memo [A]-19267, 9 December 1970, Mueller file, vol. 1.
29. The 9 December 1971 memo is in Mueller file, vol. 2.
30. "Gestapo-Müller - Kein Nazi," Der Spiegel, 16 October 1963, copy in Mueller file.
31. Chief, WOMUSE, via Chief, EUR, to [CIA/EUR], [CIA/EUR] 22899, 7 October 1970, Mueller file, vol. 1.
32. Memo [CIA/EUR] 22984, 15 December 1970, Mueller file, vol 1.
33. See the xeroxed copies of Schellenberg, The Labyrinth, and Hagen, Die geheime Front, dated December 1970 in Mueller file, vol. 1.
34. Memorandum for the Record, 10 February 1971, "The Man who probably knows what became of Heinrich (Gestapo) Mueller," Mueller File, vol. 2.
35. "How do we get LOELLGEN to talk?" 10 February 1971, Mueller file, vol 2.
36. As a part of the CI Staff's investigation, the CIA requested files from the U.S. Army on some of Mueller's associates. Those documents were released to NARA, but are largely illegible

Since the publication of the first book on Heinrich Müller in 1995, the posture of the CIA has been to maintain a stony public silence. To private or official inquiries about the allegations that their agency employed not only the head of the Gestapo but many other top Third Reich intelligence officials, the CIA simply refused to discuss the matter stating, in private, that the author was probably mad and should not be encouraged by any means whatsoever.

In September of 1996, Colonel James Critchfield, the retired head of the CIA-controlled Gehlen organization (that later became the official German *Bundesnachrichtendienst* or BND) wrote to the author, under the misapprehension that he had been a member of the CIA, and discussed his, and the CIA's employment of Müller and others.. When Critchfield discovered that the author was not a former CIA agent, (the misrepresentation was deliberate but generated by others to embarrass Critchfield) he became vitriolic, demanding the return of his correspondence immediately and

forbidding, under threat of vague Federal prosecution for violations of what he termed “national security,” any mention of Critchfield, the Gehlen Organization and their connection with Heinrich Müller.

Critchfield and his former employers, however, were fighting a losing battle as more and more bits of information concerning Gestapo Müller’s postwar employment began to leak out.

In June of 1998, the CIA became alarmed at the thought that the author was in possession of documents that could prove that the Gestapo Chief had been in their employ. There also existed photographs of Müller in the White House at an official function and photographed by the U.S. Army Signal Corps, American driver’s license information, military membership papers, including photo identification, family post war records and other pieces of distinctly unwelcome paperwork.

Since threats seemed to have no effect, the next round bordered on the slapstick and ended up costing the U.S. government several hundred thousand dollars but without any results whatsoever..

The first approach was made to the author by a Ted Landreth of Los Angeles. He put himself forward as a former news director at CBS who owned a small television production company and was deeply interested in doing a story on Müller’s government employment. In actuality, Landreth had once been a CBS News director but now was reduced to running a Los Angeles soup kitchen for street people, retired prostitutes and hungry winos. Very large sums of money as payment were lightly thrown about and eventually, Landreth met with the author upon several occasions.

In spite of the fact that Heinrich Müller was a man whose files, in the author’s possession, showed him to be a major player in the German intelligence community, all Landreth was interested in was learning as much as he could about the Gestapo chief’s connections with the CIA.

Landreth advised the author that he and an unnamed “associate” had gone to Mainz, Germany, and opened negotiations with ZDF (*Zweiten Deutschen Fernsehen*), the State-owned television network. Landreth claimed he had met with top officials of ZDF and was prepared to work with them in producing what he called a “blockbuster” television eposure on the subject.

A reporter from TIME magazine, a friend of Landreth, informed the author that he would appear on the cover of that magazine and be “really world-famous!”

As if that stunning accolade were not enough, the second approach was made by a representative of ZDF, a certain Herr Holger Hillesheim, who was to be flown to the United States for a personal meeting with the author both in Washington and later in a suburb of Chicago where the author resides.

Before the arrival of the German ZDF representative, Landreth hastily prepared a contract, signed it and sent it by fax to the author for his immediate signature. It was a fairly brief document filled with a number of ‘heretofores’ and ‘wheras’ scattered about but in his haste to obtain a signature, Landreth had made a number of typographical errors.

The author informed Landreth that certain “cosmetic” alterations would have to be made, mostly, Landreth was assured, of a purely cosmetic nature.

Misspellings were corrected, grammatical errors corrected and a few words altered.

The corrected copy was duly faxed back to Landreth who immediately made all the changes requested and returned the document, duly signed, to the author.

The contract stated that once the contract was signed, payment would be made and the contract would then be operative.

The funds, in a certified check, arrived and were deposited in the bank and a frantic Landreth made numerous calls to determine if the money had arrived and, discovering that it had, then announced in a somewhat different tone of voice that he would be sending a courier to pick up all of the CIA postwar material.

Up to this point in time, the Los Angeles television producer cum soup kitchen executive had always been polite to the point of obsequiousness but now that he possessed a signed contract, which, he assumed, gave him control over the controversial and dangerous post war CIA documents, he became far more businesslike and even demanding.

When the subject of a courier being sent to obtain the CIA papers was broached, it was suggested gently to Mr. Landreth that perhaps he might be better served if he read over the contract signed by the author. His attention was specifically drawn to the clause discussing the documents in question.

Landreth initially read from his first copy of the contract but when it was pointed out to him that the operative document that the author had signed was the one to read, it took him some time to locate it.

Finally, he read the paragraph which stated that immediately upon the execution of the contract, the party of the second part, the author, “shall give to the party of the first part (Landreth) all of the below-listed documents.” Thereupon followed a long list of CIA post war documents pertaining specifically to Müller’s employment by that agency. He apparently was still reading from the initial copy and when his attention was specifically drawn to the final version of the contract, he became highly enraged. The improved version read...”may give to the party of the first part” and it had to be pointed out to him that the word “may” is permissive.

He did not get the documents in question.

What the author neglected to inform him was that several months before, a friendly former CIC operative living in New York had passed along the information that the Landreth family were all CIA. His father Edward lived on the very wealthy upper east side of New York City and before he retired, had run the Sterling Chemical Company in Havana, Cuba. This company was a CIA front, and Landreth, Sr. was the CIA station chief in Havana. Also, a Landreth niece was still employed by the agency and Landreth himself had even more and stronger connections with Langley.

Forewarned is always forearmed and the author was guided accordingly.

In spite of these revelations, Landreth’s money was gratefully received. however, regardless from where it might have originated, probably from the privy purse of the CIA because Landreth was not a wealthy man and, in fact, soup kitchens in Los Angeles are not considered profitable ventures.

Mr. Landreth had absolutely no interest in any of the wartime Müller papers but shortly after regretting his grammatical alterations, he had a long conversation and, it later emerged, a long personal visit, with various government officials in Germany. As a direct result of this visit, the author was then approached by the German State Television network, the ZDF who expressed an eager hope that they could work with the author in preparing a script based on the papers of one Heinrich Müller. This was supposedly to be part of a series called “Hitler’s Helpers” that was being produced by the network.

The individual in charge of the Müller project was one Holger Hillesheim and he flew, along with his wife, to meet with the author at his home outside of Chicago in July of 1998.

Hillesheim was reasonably conversant in English but seemed to have absolutely no knowledge of the persona or activities of Heinrich Müller. Acting, as he said, on behalf of the Direction of ZDF, he was prepared to offer the sum of \$30,000 in four equal payments of \$7,500 each in return for any important documents prepared by Müller during his tenure as Chief of the Gestapo.

This offer was made in the presence of a number of other persons but when Hillesheim was able to speak to the author in private, he added confidentially that actually what ZDF wanted were the CIA papers which, he explained, would be the central point of their Müller documentary.

Would these be available? He understood that there had been an earlier problem with Mr. Landreth but it was now agreed that ZDF would take over where Landreth had left off.

The author advised Hillesheim that any and all documents would be available when a proper contract was prepared but until such an event occurred, he would be unable to permit Hillesheim to photo copy the CIA papers.

ZDF required a listing of Müller documents available for use and the author willingly obliged with a list of over 17,000 pages of wartime Gestapo documents available. This was no problem because an extensive catalog , existed of such documents, located in the U.S. National Archives and supplied willingly by Robert Wolfe of that institution and was sitting on the author’s writing desk under a Lenbach portrait of Bismarck while Hillesheim was negotiating.

A list of twenty-five subjects was subsequently prepared from this index for the senior management of ZDF and duly faxed to them. Although many of the subjects had no bearing on Müller’s personal career, they were immediately accepted by the television entity, a contract was drawn up, signed by a Herr Hans-Joachim Hübner. In an accompanying letter, Herr Hübner stated “By the way, please discuss all matters of the material direct with Holger.”

It was interesting to note that the contract contained no mention of any postwar CIA documentation.

The Germans must have been satisfied because on August 11, 1998, the sum of \$11,180.18 was forwarded to the author’s account in Paris. In return, Herr Hillesheim was sent 991 pages of the complete records of one Walter Schellenberg, 287 pages of classified RSHA telegrams sent by Himmler, Müller, Schellenberg and Wolff from August 1941 through January 1943 and a 185 page report on the 1939 bomb attack on Hitler. All of these were on microfilm at the National Archives but since the Germans demanded paper copies, these had to be made from the microfilms.

In this shipment of interesting documentation there were no CIA documents included, which would explain the fax from Hillesheim of September 21, 1998. Among other things, Hillesheim said: "Please don't let us forget about the other things we talked when we met last time in Freeport. You promised to show me the originals of the M-material. Just me in person; no accompanying people, no photographs or anything else. We talked about the after-war photographs from you, from Mr. Bender, from the other guy. (These were pictures of Müller in America after 1948: Müller in a U.S. Army Colonel's uniform; Müller at a White House function and an old driver's license with a postwar picture of the former Gestapo chief.) We talked about the American name... why don't you tell it to Bob Wolfe?" (This was the new name the CIA had given Müller when he was sent to the United States.)

No such material was sent to Hillesheim because it was not specified in the contract.

The author then called ZDF offices in Mainz, Germany about future shipments, and payments, but was informed that only Hillesheim could address this and further, that he was not actually an employee of ZDF but a contract worker.

Since the postwar Müller CIA papers were not forthcoming, the payments abruptly stopped.

On December 15, 1998, the author sent the following fax to Hillesheim:

'To: Holger Hillesheim
ZDF Historical Division

From: Gregory Douglas
Fax No.: 608 325-2316
Date: 15. XII 1998

Dear Holger:

I am forwarding to you via fax another selection of the documents you have contracted for.

With reference to my fax of 9. November last, the markings on these are not legible and should, therefore, prove not to present ZDF any trouble.

I have spoken with Mr. Wolfe about these and he has advised me that he no longer has any interest in this project, i.e., the ZDF documentary on Heinrich Müller.

I have had no answer to my last three faxes to you concerning these papers so I would greatly appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible about the following specific points:

1. ZDF has indicated that it wishes only copies of the microfilms and does not wish printed copies. Please confirm this as soon as possible by fax.
2. I have received from you the Federal Express Shipping Account number for ZDF. Am I still to use this number or does your company wish another form of transmittal. Please confirm this as soon as possible by fax.
3. There is a balance of \$22,500 coming to me upon your receipt of these microfilms.

I have already given you some microfilmed material and the current fax sending is a sample of some of the contracted documents.

Will the payments be made in increments as we agreed and if so, please list each shipment of documents you require from the contract and in the order in which your firm wishes to receive it.

Please note that although I have moved, my bank account has remained the same and I assume that payment will be made by direct wire as was the last payment.

I would like to conclude this venture as soon as conveniently possible so I would request that you respond to my specific questions as set forth above in the text of this message.

I will be traveling after the first of the year and would greatly like to have you expedite this at your earliest possible convenience.

Sincerely,"

There was no answer to this fax and a subsequent telephone call to Hillesheim indicated that his phone had been disconnected. Another call to ZDF in Mainz disclosed that Hillesheim was no longer in the employ of ZDF and further, ZDF was no longer interested in either the author, any existing contract or documents he might have.

Apparently, Hillesheim was only a temporary employee of ZDF and when the CIA papers were not forthcoming, because they were not included in the contract, the entire operation was disconnected and shut down.

This, however, did not take ZDF off the hook on the contract and on November 1, 1999, a civil suit [1:99CVO2901] against ZDF and the Federal Republic of Germany was filed in U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia by the author.

ZDF and its controlling agency, the German government, were charged with fraud and breach of contract.

Up to this point in time, someone had paid out over \$15,000 to the author in order to obtain the CIA papers and had received nothing for their generosity with the taxpayer's money.

Upon being served with papers, ZDF and its law firms fought back in the courts. Their basic contention was that as ZDF was an organ of the German government, it had sovereign immunity and could not be sued. This matter was thrashed out in the courts with the result that a court ruling was obtained stating that both ZDF and the German government were to be held liable for their actions and the case was permitted to proceed in the Federal court system.

Once this determination had been made, ZDF at once opened settlement negotiations with the plaintiff's attorney. One stipulation was that the German government be dropped as a party defendant and the wrangling went on for a number of tedious years. Finally, an agreement was hammered out between the parties in which ZDF would pay the balance of the contract and all of the plaintiff's legal fees in return for the balance of the documents listed in the contract.

The settlement fees were placed in escrow and the author then made 17,000 paper copies of all the documents requested from the National Archive microfilms.

At one point in the negotiations, the question of authenticity arose and the author suggested that since most of the captured German records existed in copies in the American National Archives, it was to be agreed by both parties that if a document's authenticity was questioned, its current existence in the National Archives would constitute proof of authenticity.

Since all of the documents in question existed on microfilm in the Archive findings, this was an entirely safe offer to make and apparently the defendants agreed with it because it was accepted and became a part of the settlement agreement.

The Germans received over 30 reams of printed documents, which satisfied the settlement agreement.

These were certainly valuable historical documents and no one knows exactly what their final cost was but it would appear to be well in excess of a hundred thousand dollars if various legal fees, transportation costs for several German experts and other expenses were taken into account.

The microfilms involved in this project cost less than four hundred dollars, the printing of the documents another two hundred and fifty and the shipping costs no more than a hundred.

At the end of these financial debacles the famous CIA post war employment papers still had not been neutralized and if the Agency had been behind the simplistic manipulations, they apparently had learned a very expensive lesson and no further attempts were made to lure the author into further business ventures.

It should be fairly evident that if the CIA's current statements that Müller must have died in 1945 according to American intelligence records, are true, *someone* had spent a very large amount of money for nothing.

It is to be hoped that ZDF enjoyed their 17,000 page treasure trove of secret Third Reich documents as much as the author has enjoyed his pleasant new home in Normandy.

There is a saying that sums all of this up very cogently:

Do not teach grandmother to suck eggs.

The Lion of Münster

Unlike the mythical Final Solution thesis, the euthanasia program in the Third Reich is better documented. There even existed a decree signed by Hitler authorizing the State agencies involved to proceed on a case-by-case basis. This program, instituted at the beginning of the Second World War, was brought to a sudden halt in August of 1941. Müller's involvement in this cessation throws considerable light on the matter of Hitler's actual control over all aspects of life in Germany.

Q I would like to address the so-called mercy killing program that was instituted in...I believe...1941. Chronically ill persons, mental defectives and so on were gassed on Hitler's order. Is that correct?

M Yes, quite correct. I have seen the order he signed on that. What can I say about this?

Q The program was eventually canceled, is that not correct?

M Yes, I believe in late August or early September of 1941. To correct your date, the program began in September of 1939. This individual Wirth you seem to have under your protection was one of the organizers of the machinery. It is entirely true that a large number of the chronically ill, that is to say persons who were mentally ill, permanently crippled but aside from the war wounded from the 1914 war and so on, were put to death.

Q Why did it stop?

M Hitler ordered it stopped after Bishop von Galen publicly condemned it. His final sermon was, I believe, on the third of August in 1941 at St. Lambert's church. He gave a very powerful sermon about the murder of innocent German citizens and this speech was printed and circulated throughout the country. I, myself, had a great deal to do with this business if you wish to hear about it.

Q Of course, please continue.

M The Bishop, who by the way was a very strong German nationalist, had been given information about the killings and sent out a pastoral letter about this. Of course this at once came to the attention of the Gestapo offices in the area and I was sent a copy. He certainly was most direct in his condemnation of this program for which I cannot fault him. He saw this as a violation of the Commandments and in this case, I personally found myself in agreement with his views. Gassing small children and the elderly was criminal behavior without any question. I had to watch this matter most carefully in order that it not get out of control and I sent the head of the regional Gestapo office to speak with the Bishop and warn him to leave this subject strictly alone. This, of course, was my official view, not my private one. In any case, the Bishop refused to compromise his views and word of his activities spread to Himmler and back to me again. Himmler and I discussed this at some length. Himmler had been a Catholic once and I was still in the Church so we had some common ground there. He felt very uncomfortable about the entire matter, especially now that it was becoming public. He did not like the fact that the SS had involvement with this. Himmler could never make up his mind on anything so I took advantage of this to inform my people not to molest the Bishop in any way but merely to continue observation. Then on, I believe, the third of August, he gave his sermon. I knew he would do this and I had a Gestapo official in the church to make full stenographic notes of the text. I must say von Galen was a man possessed of great spirit and determination. He accused the government and specific persons in it of murder. There was no compromise whatsoever. I had the entire text that night and I gave a copy to Himmler and sent one by messenger to Goebbels. Goebbels, too, had been a Catholic but unlike Himmler, he had a very clear head and understood at once the contents of my covering report. That was if the Bishop was arrested, there would be a terrible disturbance in the Gau that could not be controlled. Goebbels called me to discuss this and I said that I would go personally to speak with the Bishop and see that this business was stopped at once. I discussed this with Himmler who agreed that something final had to be done at once. Then I went to see von Galen and spoke with him at some length. He asked me quite forcefully if I personally approved of this program and I told him that I did not. I explained that I had several very good reasons for this. In the first place, as a Catholic, I agreed with him on the points of theology he had used. In the second place, this business would reflect badly on the SS in particular and the German people in general. And for the third, I had a very young daughter who was afflicted with the same problems that other children were being killed for having...

Q I'm sorry to hear this.

M It was a source of great personal grief and stress to me and my wife and it caused dissention in our family. But to simply kill a poor child was not even to be considered. As you see, then, I had a number of non-National Socialistic reasons for finding myself in complete agreement with the Bishop. And I did

admire his civil courage which seemed to be sadly lacking at that time. I told the Bishop that he must not continue on his path or he would end up in a camp. He replied that he could do nothing else...that he had no choice. I recall mentioning that Luther said the same thing at the Diet of Worms and asked him what it would take for him to be silent. He demanded that the entire program be canceled at once and in return he would say or write nothing more. When I returned to Berlin, I spoke both to Himmler and Goebbels who now informed me that Hitler was in a rage and that evil Bormann not only wanted to arrest the Bishop but execute him as well. I prepared a report which I gave to Goebbels and to Himmler as well and very fortunately, Hitler agreed to halt the program. I must say that Bormann was furious which bothered no one. And I was not the only one who pled the Bishop's cause with Hitler. Other members of his staff and some of the senior government people joined in. He did rescind the order and von Galen kept his word. Of course Bormann disliked being thwarted and was capable of all manner of treachery so I permanently assigned Gestapo people to be certain that the Bishop came to no harm. He was arrested after the 20th of July business and held in detention but was, I assure you, treated well and not abused. Yes, it was an ugly business but the other killings went on in the East. I suppose that if the victims weren't German citizens it was more acceptable. Von Galen was fortunate. A cleric from Berlin ended up in a camp because he took up von Galen's theme. It was foolish on his part because the business was ended and the general idea was not to talk about it anymore. Of course that doesn't bring back the dead, does it?

Q No. Von Galen died just after the war, complaining about the Allied treatment of prisoners of war. Did you know that?

M Yes. Did you do that?

Q Do what?

M Kill the Bishop of course.

Q No. He was an old man and he died of food poisoning.

M You sound exactly like Heydrich.

Q That is outrageous.

M So was Heydrich. No he, on the other hand, was all for killing the Bishop in an auto accident or an aircraft crash...just like your Mr. Churchill enjoyed doing to his own enemies. No, I don't think you killed the Bishop but in twenty years you might be blamed for it.

Q Von Galen is considered one of the pillars of the anti-Hitler resistance...

M Oh nonsense. There's no truth in that at all. The Bishop was a strong nationalist but he was a stronger Catholic and the one belief overcame the other. I can assure you from personal knowledge that von Galen had nothing to do with the Stauffenberg perverts or the whining old Generals. His resistance came from his faith and not his ego. There is quite a difference there, after all, and I am sure you can see that. You know, the prison camps were filled with all kinds of creatures, not just Jews and anti-Hitler people. The prisoners were everything from Communists, perverts, professional criminals to religious lunatics, stateless people, drifters, layabouts and so on. Just because someone was in a camp does not make them a saint and I'm sure if you haven't found this out, you will. You must not make saints out of shit. Why don't you just welcome all the camp people into the United States and give them government employment? In a few months, most of them would be back on a boat to Bremen and you would have to fumigate their offices.

Q I know we are having problems along those lines and we would like to get at your files to put a stop to this.

M A great flood of these miserable creatures has come into your country, as I believe, using their imprisonment in a camp as a sort of moral passport. I actually don't have these files because the camp system was not under my control but I think it would be possible to check names against court records and convictions which I do have access to. You don't want people like that in your country, believe me. The Jews aside, I have spent much of my career locking such individuals up...in removing them from society. I refer to the criminals, the degenerates, Communists and the anti-social. I have seen first hand what terrible damage these creatures can cause to a well-ordered society. During the Imperial period, laws were enforced of course but the people of Germany were not inclined to lie about and whine or engage in acts of civic violence. When the collapse came in 1918, all of these reptiles came out of their dens and began to crawl around in the streets. There were fairy and lesbian dance bars in major cities, perversion and pornography were rampant, the use of narcotics had increased and violent crime was everywhere, even in the small towns and villages. Professional Communist agitators, most of them foreigners, were stirring up the lower classes and provoking them into open revolt against a social system that they felt denied them their just rewards.

Q Rewards in what sense?

M In any society there are persons who can and do achieve and as long as the nation is stable, others wish to do so too. To make a good wage and support a family or to go to university and secure a good education. The malcontents are mostly failed intellectuals or really pseudo-intellectuals. In their hearts they know or believe they are nothing. They cannot create anything...they cannot paint or write poems or plays so that anyone would notice. What they do is inferior in quality and does not sell on the open market. Pascal mentions this.

Q Where?

M In his essay on thoughts. As I recall the passage he says that men would be great but know that they are small, would be happy but are miserable, wish to be perfect but know that they are full of imperfections and wish to be honored and loved by others but know that their flaws merit only contempt. I believe the passage goes in that way. And it continues to say that these persons become violently angry against these truths which so clearly expose their faults. This man becomes a Communist or a liberal as they call them in England. He sees that only in reducing all men to a common state he can feel, if not superior, at least equal. These persons cannot achieve or create but can certainly destroy that which others have achieved or created. You find these creatures in the academic world filled with hatred that they cannot create that which they teach or in trade unions where they curse the man who has built a factory that they could not. And if they come to power, they only ruin what they touch. I know you have many of these in your country, many born there but more than a few that have fled Europe. I have had direct experience with them and you have not. Get them out of the country before they pollute everything in sight. They start out by demanding that you accept the idea that all men are equal and every man must be the equal to...but not the superior to...his neighbor. In mathematics this is called a common denominator. Now these intellectual unemployed want all men to be equal and they of course are the natural leaders of these masses because of their superior brains. They manipulate the masses to whom they condescend in order to overthrow an existing government and supplant it with themselves. And the tyranny of the market place, which is more or less natural, is replaced by the tyranny of the failed intellectual who knows with a certainty that he alone is right and wishes to force everyone not as brilliant as himself to worship him as a small clay God. And I should make a comment about God as well. Whatever you may believe, I must say that without God, or a strong central moral force, a society will rapidly fall into separate factions, each one trying to occupy the vacant cathedral. When you destroy or reduce the authority of a central moral force, you leave a vacuum behind. And what can you say about the vacuum?

Q Of course that nature abhors a vacuum...

M And something replaces it. Beware of the man who wishes to be God.

Q Doesn't this apply to Hitler?

M I had Lenin in mind but, yes, in a sense it can apply to Hitler. In another sense it does not. After 1918 there was social, political and moral chaos in Germany. Most people want only peace and quiet so they can get about with leading their lives and improving their lot. In the Weimar days there was no feel of belonging to a community or in moving upwards through honest labor. Corruption, vice and criminality were kings then and all Hitler did was to show the frustrated and even frightened masses of people that there were values still and they could indeed restore a sort of moral order in their lives. Unlike Stalin who rules by fear, Hitler always kept his eye on the wishes of the people and would take them into consideration. Thus we spoke about von Galen a few minutes ago. Hitler obviously was furious that someone had challenged his authority in public but he could see with great clarity that if he moved against the Bishop, he would severely tarnish his image with the German people...

Q But the Jews?

M In Germany, most of the people looked with favor on forcing the Jews out of the country. Not to murder them in the streets but to force them out of their society. In that area, Hitler was only responding to what the public wanted. On the other hand, he was an intellectual anti-Semite, that is, he cloaked his dislike of the Jews in intellectual terms. He certainly had no problem in stirring up the people against the Jews from personal bias. I consider this to be a grave error of judgment because now there will be generations after us who will have to hear an endless and growing outcry from Jews and even long after the last living Party member is dead and in his grave, his children, grand children and great grand children will be making apologies. The danger of this for the Jews is that eventually Germans will grow tired of being constantly accused of war crimes, death camps and the like and will turn on their accusers. And what does this turning bring? Violence? No, indifference which is much worse.

Q From a historical standpoint, I agree with you but the Germany of today still has to come to grips with the happenings in the Third Reich.

M Correct. And the Soviets will eventually have to come to grips with the far greater horrors that they have inflicted on even their own people. And it never stops, does it? What did I say about rat droppings?

Q I recall your views being expressed.

M Do you agree with them?

Q It isn't my mission to agree or disagree with you. I merely have a number of questions I am required to ask you. Our discussions held off this record are certainly interesting and very often provocative but everything has its place, General.

M You consider me provocative?

Q Of course I do. And you take great pleasure in poking at me. I wonder why you do this?

M To show you that what you accuse me of you too are guilty of.

Q Guilty of what?

M Of not caring. I lived through the stability of the Kaiser period, the stress of a major war, the collapse of my entire society, revolution and murder in streets that had always been very orderly, political reaction, wars and catastrophic bombings and slaughters. You have only been an observer from a wealthy and disinterested country. Every government justifies its actions to history and its people by propaganda. You have your propaganda and we ours. If you do nothing in your life, learn to stand outside and observe everything with your own eyes and not those of others. You see it in a book so it must be true because there it is, right on the page. The Germans had corpse factories in the 1914 war and they nailed babies to the wall. It must be true because the British said so. On the other hand, you slaughtered all your Red Indians and spent a good deal of time hanging black people in trees. Then we have the Jews who everyone knows murder Gentile babies and eat them as part of their religious services. What other kind of nonsense shall we talk about? The workers and peasants paradise? The joys of Communism? Lenin raising the dead and walking on the water to the edification of generations of feeble-minded university professors and bad poets? How about the British slaughtering the Irish? Or the Belgians civilizing the blacks in the Congo with whips and buckshot? Ah, consider the Armenians chastised by the Turks. Now there's something to consider. The British in South Africa slaughtering white people in the very first ever concentration camps. Now that I am no longer employed as a policeman, I can take some advantage of my free time in looking backwards from where I came and try to find the vision of the eagle flying over the landscape rather than keeping the vision of the worm beneath it.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The authorization for the euthanasia program is believed to have come from Hitler but the only document that might tend to confirm this was a photocopy of a handwritten note given by Hitler to Philip Bouhler, the head of his Chancellery.³¹

This note was written in October 1939 but had been backdated to September 1, 1939. From his conversations, there is no doubt that Hitler approved of mercy killing but only in special cases and only after these cases had been fully and adequately investigated by State authorities. There is nothing on record indicating that Hitler wished large numbers of the old and the feeble-minded to be put to death.

Clemens, Count von Galen (1878-1946), was Catholic Archbishop of Münster and was subsequently made a Cardinal by Pius XII. He came from a very old German family, and as Müller notes, was a strong nationalist and conservative. In spite of these views, the Bishop, who became known as the "Lion of Münster" not only took exception to the mercy killing program but attacked it with great fury. The final sermon of August 3, 1941 was lengthy, detailed and spared no official in its wrath.

Fellow Christians! In the pastoral letter of the German bishops of June 26, 1941, which was read out in all the Catholic churches in Germany on July 6, 1941, it states among other things: It is true that there are definite commandments in Catholic moral doctrine which are no longer applicable if their fulfillment involves too many difficulties.

However, there are sacred obligations of conscience from which no one has the power to release us and which we must fulfill even if it costs us our lives. Never under any

³¹ Case 1, transcript 2690.

circumstances may a human being kill an innocent person apart from war and legitimate self-defense. On July 6, I already had cause to add to the pastoral letter the following explanation: for some months we have been hearing reports that, on the orders of Berlin, patients from mental asylums who have been ill for a long time and may appear incurable, are being compulsorily removed. Then, after a short time, the relatives are regularly informed that the corpse has been burnt and the ashes can be delivered. There is a general suspicion verging on certainty, that these numerous unexpected deaths of mentally ill people do not occur of themselves but are deliberately brought about, that the doctrine is being followed, according to which one may destroy so-called 'worthless life,' that is, kill innocent people if one considers that their lives are of no further value for the nation and the state.

I am reliably informed that lists are also being drawn up in the asylums of the province of Westphalia as well of those patients who are to be taken away as so-called 'unproductive national comrades' and shortly to be killed. The first transport left the Marienthal institution near Münster during this past week.

German men and women, section 211 of the Reich Penal Code is still valid. It states: 'He who deliberately kills another person will be punished by death for murder if the killing is premeditated.'

Those patients who are destined to be killed are transported away from home to a distant asylum presumably in order to protect those who deliberately kill those poor people, members of our families, from this legal punishment. Some illness is then given as the cause of death. Since the corpse has been burnt straight away, the relatives and also the criminal police are unable to establish whether the illness really occurred and what the cause of death was.

However, I have been assured that the Reich Interior Ministry and the office of the Reich Doctors' Leader, Dr. Conti, make no bones about the fact that in reality a large number of mentally ill people in Germany have been deliberately killed and more will be killed in the future.

The Penal Code lays down in section 139: 'He who receives credible information concerning the intention to commit a crime against life and neglects to alert the authorities or the person who is threatened in time...will be punished.'

When I learned of the intention to transport patients from Marienthal in order to kill them, I brought a formal charge at the State Court in Münster and with the Police President in Münster by means of a registered letter which read as follows: "According to information which I have received, in the course of this week a large number of patients from the Marienthal Provincial Asylum near Münster are to be transported to the Eichberg asylum as so-called 'unproductive national comrades' and will then soon be deliberately killed, as is generally believed has occurred with such transports from other asylums. Since such an action is not only contrary to the moral laws of God and Nature but also is punishable with death as murder under section 211 of the Penal Code, I hereby bring a charge in accordance with my duty under section 139 of the Penal Code, and request you to provide immediate protection for the national comrades threatened in this way by taking action against those agencies who are intending their removal and murder, and that you inform me of the steps that have been taken."

I have received no news concerning intervention by the Prosecutor's Office or by the police...Thus we must assume that the poor helpless patients will soon be killed.

For what reason?

Not because they have committed a crime worthy of death. Not because they attacked their nurses or orderlies so that the latter had no other choice but to use legitimate force to defend their lives against their attackers. Those are cases where, in addition to the killing of an armed enemy in a just war, the use of force to the point of killing is allowed and is often required.

No, it is not for such reasons that these unfortunate patients must die but rather because, in the opinion of some department, on the testimony of some commission, they have become 'worthless life' because according to this testimony they are 'unproductive national comrades.' The argument goes: they can no longer produce commodities, they are like an old machine that no longer works, they are like an old horse which has become incurably lame, they are like a cow which no longer gives milk.

What does one do with such an old machine? It is thrown on the scrap heap. What does one do with a lame horse, with such an unproductive cow?

No, I do not want to continue the comparison to the end--however fearful the justification for it and the symbolic force of it are. We are not dealing with machines, horses and cows whose only function is to serve mankind, to produce goods for man. One may smash them, one may slaughter them as soon as they no longer fulfill this function.

No, we are dealing with human beings, our fellow human beings, our brothers and sisters. With poor people, sick people, if you like unproductive people.

But have they for that reason forfeited the right to life?

Have you, have I the right to live only so long as we are productive, so long as we are recognized by others as productive?

If you establish and apply the principle that you can kill 'unproductive' fellow human beings then woe betide us all when we become old and frail! If one is allowed to kill the unproductive people then woe betide the invalids who have used up, sacrificed and lost their health and strength in the productive process. If one is allowed forcibly to remove one's unproductive fellow human beings then woe betide loyal soldiers who return to the homeland seriously disabled, as cripples, as invalids. If it is once accepted that people have the right to kill 'unproductive' fellow humans--and even if initially it only affects the poor defenseless mentally ill--then as a matter of principle murder is permitted for all unproductive people, in other words for the incurably sick, the people who have become invalids through labor and war, for us all when we become old, frail and therefore unproductive.

Then, it is only necessary for some secret edict to order that the method developed for the mentally ill should be extended to other 'unproductive' people, that it should be applied to those suffering from incurable lung disease, to the elderly who are frail or invalids, to the severely disabled soldiers. Then none of our lives will be safe any more. Some commission can put us on the list of the 'unproductive,' who in their opinion have become worthless life. And no police force will protect us and no court will investigate our murder and give the murderer the punishment he deserves.

Who will be able to trust his doctor any more?

He may report his patient as 'unproductive' and receive instructions to kill him. It is impossible to imagine the degree of moral depravity, of general mistrust that would then spread even through families if this dreadful doctrine is tolerated, accepted and followed.

Woe to mankind, woe to our German nation if God's Holy Commandment 'Thou shalt not kill,' which God proclaimed on Mount Sinai amidst thunder and lightning, which God our Creator inscribed in the conscience of mankind from the very beginning, is not only broken, but if this transgression is actually tolerated and permitted to go unpunished.

Bishop Clemens von Galen - August 3, 1941

This sermon was printed and extensively circulated throughout Germany and to the troops of the *Wehrmacht* and the ensuing uproar had a devastating effect on Hitler. As Müller comments, the program was halted and the Bishop unpunished for his thundering attacks on the program and those who implemented it.

Müller's subsequent comments on the moral decay of society and the necessity for a strong moral center reflect his own religious and political views, tempered by long experience as a police official in both the Weimar period and the Third Reich. Müller was a strong Catholic and conservative, and his comments on the motives of Bishop von Galen reflect his own views.

Kurt Gerstein: A Soul in Torment

Q More or less as an aside here, I wanted to mention a name to you to see if you had any knowledge of an SS man. A specific man. I know there were so many....but this one is someone I had to research when I was working on the Nuremberg cases and there are a number of very sketchy areas. It was a peculiar situation.

M You're absolutely right. There were hundreds of thousands of SS men and I hardly knew a tiny fraction of them. Name?

Q Kurt Gerstein.

M Oh yes, I recall him. Low commissioned rank. Connected to the medical service branch.

Q Was involved with the gassing of....

M That's the one. What's the question?

Q How did you know about him and what did you know?

M It's a curse sometimes to have a good memory, let me tell you. So much garbage floating around inside your head. Gerstein was down in Lublin with your dear friend, Globocnik...

Q Please, less sarcasm.

M Well, he certainly isn't my good friend. Gerstein came to my attention in I think it was 1944, early. Or perhaps late in 1943. This was the time when Himmler had Globocnik close down his camps and obliterate any trace of them. Yes, I think it was more likely at the end of 1943. Give or take a month or two. Himmler had a confidential conversation with me about this man. He had been going around making slanderous statements about the SS and Himmler had him arrested but he was alarmed at what this man was saying which was that there were huge gassings going on and tens of thousands were being killed every day. Gerstein was also mentioning the *Führer* as being present at these events and so on. Himmler was genuinely torn between fury and fear because this Globocnik business...the Lublin camps and other places Globocnik had control of...was not to become an issue or even be known. Gerstein had run around to various people telling these tall tales and word got to us...the Gestapo...and someone told Himmler at once. He felt that on the basis of the preliminary examinations of this man that he was not right in the head but he was not sure what to do with him.

Q And you were asked to make a resolution?

M That's the idea. We had Gerstein brought up from the cells and I questioned him very severely. I am not an alienist but I could see the man was highly nervous and not making a great deal of sense so I had a discreet alienist brought over from the Charity Hospital to sit in the room and work with me. Criminal and political matters were no problem with me but mental cases were not in my field you understand. There is no point in going over the entire interrogation but I will summarize it for you. By the way, did you try Gerstein at Nuremberg?

Q No, we did not. Can you tell me what you know and then I will explain my interest.

M Certainly. This man had a technical background of sorts...university training...and was a religious zealot. Apparently he fluctuated from group to group...a Protestant...and was always busy with some new project. A rather harmless busybody who had been pulled in on several occasions by the Gestapo and warned not to let his religious zeal spill over into the political arena. During the war, he joined the SS who were reluctant to enlist him because of his background, but everyone was needed. He got involved in the disinfecting branch of the SS medical service and was sent to the Lublin area. You see, this is where Globocnik was supposed to set up his Jewish Potemkin villages. Himmler wanted to take the local Polish Jews and the deportees and have them set up their own controlled communities in the east of Poland. These Jews were supposed to work in small factories and supply the Reich with finished goods as well as raw material. Frank, that is the Governor of the General Government, took exception to this as he wanted Germans in this area and ran into Himmler's strange visions. Himmler believed in the most impossible things, let me tell you. And there was his dear friend, Globos, a member of his personal staff and as stupid as a post, trying to set up all the happy little factories and villages for the deported city Jews to make fur coats in. Globocnik ran into the complete stupidity of the Poles, troubles from Frank and to top all of this, large numbers of Jews suddenly started arriving for this Jewish worker's paradise. Of course, Globocnik lied to Himmler and said his efforts were more successful every day so that now he had mountains of Jews dumped on him and no place to put them and no way to feed them. So he started killing them off for want of anything better to do with them and still more and more deportees began arriving. Globocnik was able to kill a few hundred by stuffing them in the back of a van and piping in the exhaust fumes but this took hours and was really awful. The truck was filled with what we police like to call bodily fluids and stank. My

assistant went down there at my request when I heard about this and came back green in the face, let me tell you. Globos and his dear friend, Wirth, couldn't kill these miserable creatures fast enough until this Gerstein, who was in charge of disinfection, happily suggested that he would show his wonderful superiors how to kill people much more neatly and in larger numbers. Gerstein had an airtight building constructed with one door and a hole in the roof. First, they shoved the room full of Jews and then Gerstein got up on the roof, opened the trap and dumped cans of cyanide crystals down into the room and slammed the trap shut. I understand it did work quite well...much better than the truck.

Q This is not what I expected but go on.

M Gerstein was now stuck with this horrible business because he had put himself forward as an expert and there he was, up on the roof, gassing Jews. Eventually, his mind snapped and he began to have delusions and terrible nightmares so he was taken off the job, but too late. Now he began telling everyone that he had seen these things, not done them, and tried to clear his conscience with God by believing that he was only a reluctant witness. This was not an uncommon happening at some of these camps, by the way. Most people couldn't live with such terrible things and many went mad while a number killed themselves.

Q And Gerstein went mad?

M Exactly so. He became unhinged and went around Berlin talking to religious people...even wanted to see the Holy Father to purge his soul. I suppose in times of real crisis, the Protestants turn to Rome. Wouldn't you agree?

Q Please, let us leave religion out of this.

M My point has been made. After talking with Gerstein for about three hours, I was able to get the facts from him, aside from the religious mania, and had my personal secretary write out a confession. The purpose of this was to get more evidence against Globocnik whom I was still planning to seize when I could. The doctor advised me that Gerstein was in the grip of a mania and that he was unlikely to recover from it. He also said that Gerstein was compelled to constantly repeat himself in an effort to deny his blame in crimes. I told this doctor that since *he* was not a maniac, if he even mentioned a word of this, I would have him shot at once and he certainly took my point.

Q And Gerstein?

M Oh well, we had him put in an institution, a private one. Himmler wanted to execute him but I pointed out that we should treat Gerstein as if he were completely mad. God knows how many people he had talked to and executing him would only have lent credence to his stories. The stories were basically true as far as gassing was concerned, but Gerstein had dragged Hitler, Himmler and everyone else into this. He had Hitler at Auschwitz watching an execution and talked about conferences with Himmler in which even larger gassings were put about. Naturally, Hitler had never been to Auschwitz and Himmler had never had lunch with Gerstein. As far as I know, Gerstein is still in the asylum and perhaps you can tell me why you are interested in him?

Q Certainly. Apparently he got out of the asylum and was living in a small town in the west. When the Americans were approaching, he became very hysterical and one morning they found him dead in his lodgings, hanging from a rafter in the attic. He had put on his uniform and when the CIC arrived, they thought he might be someone important, especially as the landlord informed them that Gerstein had given him a trunk full of vital documents. They could do nothing against Gerstein who was beginning to smell very badly, so they buried him and went through his papers. I have seen these and I agree with you and with the head of the CIC team that Gerstein was not sane. Some of his accusations were impossible while others made sense so the prosecution at Nuremberg took a bit from this paper and a bit from that and prepared an interesting and horrific paper. It had to be retyped, of course, and in English and there was trouble with this at the trials. I think you have told me what I felt all along but you know this man has a little reputation as a great hero of the resistance. How ironic that he himself was the instigator of the cyanide story. I mean his papers...he mentioned close connections with Dr. Niemoeller....

M Oh yes, I had forgotten that. Niemoeller was in jail for sedition and I recall that Gerstein claimed he was in daily touch with him. As this would have indicated a serious breach of security in the prison system, I personally investigated it. Nothing. Niemoeller had never heard of Gerstein and certainly had never been in touch with him. Neither had the representatives of the Holy Father, and I don't know if Gerstein told you this, the Vatican was not going to send a private plane to bring Gerstein to Rome for a personal conference with the Pope.

Q I saw that. Of course I didn't believe it.

M Gerstein was terrified that the Americans, or the Russians, would find out about his rooftop games and hang him. First he had a breakdown and then decided to invent stories to save himself. At the last minute,

with the “Amis” only a few miles away, as you say, he judged himself in the attic. I still have his signed confession if you want it. It’s the original one. I sent a copy to Himmler and another was in the RSHA files. I told you not to make heroes out of shit, didn’t I? Here you are kissing a man who personally gassed how many people? Just to make an impression on Globocnik who is nothing but a giant turd with a military hat on top. Wonderful irony, isn’t it? Now you have Globocnik and his dear companion Wirth in some expensive spa trying to get money out of him and a trunk full of lunatic ravings that have now passed into history.

Q I always felt that the Gerstein papers were not to be trusted and I am not the only one, but Kempner was delighted...

M That one. He had been in the Prussian Justice Ministry until he ran away and now you have him. Washington must resemble a cross between a lunatic asylum and a zoo.

Q Sometimes I must congratulate you on your observations but I cannot comment on them. Now I think we should get back to other matters and thank you.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The various disconnected statements of Kurt Gerstein are studded throughout the literature on the Holocaust like raisins in rice pudding. A number of statements attributed to him have appeared in various forms and wordings, none of which make a great deal of sense if taken as an entirety. Robert M.W. Kempner had been an official in the Weimar Justice Ministry who had fled Germany because he was a Jew. He returned after the war as a member of the prosecution staff. He later wrote on the subject of the Holocaust but is regarded by responsible historians as too ideological to consider as a valid source. Gerstein claimed that he accompanied Globocnik to Auschwitz where he met Hitler, there to witness the mass gassings of Jews. Unfortunately for accuracy, Gerstein is positive in his dates and on this his fictive account flounders because Hitler was in his military headquarters “*Werewolf*” in the Ukraine on the dates in question, engaged in serious discussions with the Turkish foreign minister. Unlike a number of documents introduced at the Nuremberg trials, the Gerstein papers were not forgeries but the heavily edited apologia of a tormented man who, instead of trying to save Jews, discovered a method to exterminate them like the vermin he was trained to obliterate.

Paris in the Spring

M Most of my wartime travels were connected with counterespionage and anti-terrorist activities in the occupied areas such as France and Greece, but then as well, I went to Italy and Spain at different times to look into various official matters. After one visit to Paris in 1942, there were very ugly problems that I ought to address for you since there might be something in a file somewhere that could cause problems unless you are aware of it first.

Q By all means, proceed. I haven't any knowledge of such a problem but go on.

M Well, it might emerge. After the campaign in France, we had little trouble with the civilian population in that country. Naturally, the French didn't like the Germans there but there was no extensive hostility and very few incidents against our garrisons. The French, after all, did not want another destructive war with Germany. The 1914 war all but ruined their country and they had had enough. They had behaved badly in the Ruhr, to be sure, but they did not want another major war. The British dragged them into it and of course France was the battleground. They didn't put up too much of a fight because their hearts weren't in it. After all, they got Lorraine back after 1918 and what did they care about Hitler? We could see that after the reoccupation of the Rhineland in 1936 and the total lack of French reaction to it that we had little to fear from them. And I might say that they had little to fear from us. The Munich settlement only reinforced this attitude on both sides. At any rate, as I said, our occupying forces had little trouble with the French. Hitler went out of his way to treat the French with decency and this was reflected in the overall occupation policy. Then, things changed. After the war with the Soviet Union broke out in June 1941, the French Communists, on orders from Moscow, began to strike at our people. To anyone who has studied the Communist methods, as I have, the reasons for this is evident. The Communists seek to disrupt their enemies with clandestine attacks which they know will be countered with growing frustration and brutality. This has two purposes: the first is to keep their enemy off balance and the second is to goad him into retaliation against perfectly innocent civilians thus creating allies and an atmosphere where they can better operate. The trick is not to fall into this trap but the military administration in France were innocents and there weren't enough police or counterintelligence people around to counsel them. And since the best of these, the most effective, were SS, the army did not wish to work with them...at least in the beginning. As I said, after the campaign in Russia began, Stalin issued an order almost immediately to launch what he liked to call partisan warfare but what we called bandit actions. Purely propaganda on both sides, these names. But this activity was launched all over Europe and in the Balkans as well. It got to be very brutal on both sides. In Russia, we were not only able to hold our own but in the end, neutralize most of their actions. It was different in the Balkans because of the nature of the populations and the topography.

Now France was a civilized, populated country whose citizens, mostly, wanted no trouble with the Germans. The so-called resistance groups that sprung up were either completely dominated by Communists and controlled directly from Moscow or were connected with DeGaulle and controlled from England. The average Frenchman had nothing to do with either side. Attacks against Germans became more and more frequent in Paris until the army began to complain strongly about it to the police forces...the German police forces and the French. Finally, it had gotten to such a state that in January 1942, I had to go to Paris and both to investigate and coordinate counter-actions. The Gestapo was officially a German organization and the Security Service was more of an extra-national operation. The SD had offices in Paris, and elsewhere, and the Gestapo had people attached here and there. My man in Paris was Dannecker who was more like an attaché. He was assigned to Eichmann who ran the office I once held...the Jewish emigration office. I have discussed some of this before but I will go over it once again, briefly. Hitler disliked Jews very much and did not want them in Germany. After the war broke out in 1939, he extended this ban to all the areas we occupied. As I said before, when I ran this immigration division, I found out right away that no country wanted anything to do with the Jews. Your people wouldn't do a thing to help them and the French disliked Jews very much. Our aim was to send them somewhere else but without very much success. When the war came, it was impossible to send Jews anywhere so they were stuck. There were quite a few Polish Jewish refugees in France but initially there were no problems with them. Of course we have to take the French into account here. They did not want their own Jews, let alone Polish ones, in France and saw in us the means by which they could get rid of them.

Q By killing them off?

M No, by deporting them. Then the Auschwitz factory complex got into development and workers were badly needed for the petrol plants and the rubber manufacturing program, not to mention all the smaller factories that were induced to move there. It was a great hunger for workers, believe me, that started so

much in motion. Hitler wanted the Jews out and the SS needed manpower, so the two ideas were quickly combined...this solution was obvious to anyone...and unwanted Jews were shipped off to the east to work.

Q Slave labor, in other words.

M In essence, yes. Of course we hired large numbers of Frenchmen, Belgians and so on to work there too. Oh yes, they were quite free to leave when their contracts had expired and were paid for their labor as well. But free Jewish labor was more interesting than expensive paid labor so the more free Jews the better.

Q But what has this to do with the Communists in Paris?

M I'm getting to that. I came to Paris, as I said, to solve and coordinate. I could see that the Military Commander for France, Heinrich von Stülpnagel, was a soft Francophile. Ineffective. He blamed the attacks on his men on Jews and Communists, something both the French police and the SD supported. But he did little to stop it and that he did badly. The conference ended with my comments that if these people, and by that I meant the hostile terrorists, could not be controlled, they were best interned, deported or shot, whichever solution seemed to be the best. When I got back to Berlin, I reported to Heydrich and suggested that the Military Commander be replaced. Heydrich agreed. Himmler appointed Oberg as the SS and Police leader there in Paris. Heinrich von Stülpnagel was replaced with his cousin, Otto who had served with Oberg in the 1914 war so it was felt that there would be better cooperation between them. So far, so good. At about this time, there was a plan discussed between Heydrich and Eichmann of my office to start deporting French Jews to the east. This was brought up to the French police in Paris because it was standard practice to get the local police and authorities involved in this process. Again, so far, so good. Then, with orderly deportations being discussed, in July the anti-Jewish French police got involved. Just before this, in June, Heydrich died in Prague as a result of a British attack and as a result, his office as head of the RSHA was vacant. There was uncertainty in Berlin as to who would take the office and a great deal of bureaucratic disruption. Even though Heydrich had gone to Prague to be the Protector, he still kept his hand in at the RSHA and when he was gone, his offices were like a disturbed ant hill. That gives you some more background. About mid-July, I got an urgent call from Himmler to come to his office at once...there were some problems that involved myself. It turned out that on July 16, the French, and let me stress the French, had, on their own, conducted a roundup of Jews in Paris under circumstances of great public barbarity. About 15,000 Jews were unceremoniously grabbed by the French police and jammed into a bicycle ring in Paris without food, water or sanitary facilities. The terrible part about this is that very small children were involved and the worst part is that the French police took obvious and sadistic pleasure in beating tiny children and old people without distinction. Then, our police were informed that this had happened and we could now take the Jews. There were no allowances for this program, no organized transport and the entire business was monstrous. However, the thing that enraged me is that the French, a swine in charge of the anti-Jewish police in Paris by the name of Darquier de Pellepoix, claimed that he was only obeying my orders. Himmler was embarrassed because not only the Catholic Church but the International Red Cross had been notified and Himmler hated publicity. I assured him that I had had nothing to do with this business and told him I would investigate it fully and at once. I ordered Eichmann to come to my office and sat him on the stove for awhile. He blamed Heydrich, who was dead and said Heydrich told him to help the French deport Jews for the east. He swore he had no knowledge of the French action but reminded me of our policy to utilize local authorities to assist us. This was true but I personally had never ordered nor condoned this business. And it was very ugly with screaming small children running around being thrashed by the French guards, old people killing themselves and no food or water for weeks. I demanded to know how my name had been attached to such infamous conduct. He said he did not know so I rang Danneker in Paris and put him on the stove. Oh such squirming and twisting he did! I had said in January that Jews must be deported and the SD took me at my word. I told him I would recall him to Berlin at once and give him the full treatment if he didn't clarify this at once. I had notes of my conferences there in January and there was nothing about the French tormenting Jewish prisoners or especially in seizing small children. I told him that he had about one hour to clarify this or I would send people for him before the sun went down. Eichmann was sitting there listening to all this and now he too was frightened. I told him he could join Danneker if he had had anything to do with this. Actually, Eichmann really had nothing to do with the business other than to initiate a request for labor but I didn't let him off the hook until the matter was settled. Danneker sent me a report at once and must have called me a dozen times in a state of contrite panic. Unlike Eichmann, he was well aware of what was going on, in advance, and he was too friendly with Knochen of the SD who was actually responsible for our control over the French there. Knochen was Heydrich's man but Heydrich was dead now and I didn't have to worry about him. Eventually, Himmler agreed that I had nothing to do with this but would do nothing to Knochen because he

didn't like to stir up trouble with Oberg. I, on the other hand, was able to deal with Danneker because he was under my command.

Q Did you have him shot?

M Much worse. I had him transferred from the fleshpots of Paris to the joys of Bulgaria. I don't think he enjoyed himself there at all. When he complained about his change in life style, I suggested to him that I could easily put him into a camp and improve his outlook on life. The French still continued to harass the Jews but insofar as we had any control over them, the business was not repeated. What amazed me about all of this is that France is not Poland or Albania, but a civilized country. My dealings with the French police showed me that they were highly educated and competent professional policemen and I was genuinely surprised that this sort of beastliness would go in a city like Paris but then on another level, I was not surprised. I suppose it is foolish of me to expect people to behave in a correct way.

Q I have heard about this action, in fact we are still looking for Pellepoix to try him for it, but I had no idea your name was attached to it. We have done a thorough search into records concerning you, as you know, but nothing has come up. We know you went to Paris in January but not about this. I appreciate your frankness in this.

M Well, I did have the papers destroyed concerning the allegations but there is always the chance that something or someone would mention it. Better to be safe now than regretful later.

Q In sum, you had no problem with the orderly transport of Jews but objected to the disorderly transport. Is that correct?

M No, don't you get started on that nonsense with me. I did not order these projects and when I had personal charge of them, nothing like that ever happened. Don't forget that I was involved in helping to bring down Koch at Buchenwald and put Morgen up to going after Globocnik for murdering people. And your government can take a share of the blame in all of this because no one wanted the Jews at all. If you, or the British, had taken them in, we wouldn't have needed to lock them up or misuse them. They, especially the Polish and Russian Jews, hated us and were involved in the bandit movements as leaders from the beginning. I don't care why. The fact is they were. Stalin turned them loose on us and they paid the price but the brutalizing of old people and tiny children is infamous regardless of who does it. Do you agree? And do you think I would get involved in such matters?

Q I agree with you and I do not think you would become involved in that aspect of the programs. I do know that now the French are blaming the Germans for the entire repression and deportation programs but I know personally that at the very least, the French thought it was a good idea. From that, it's only a short step to doing it on their own.

M Germans are bureaucratically unkind but the French do it out of enjoyment.

The Trials and Tribulations of the Duke of Windsor

One of the most discussed events of the 1930s was the abdication of England's King Edward VIII in 1936. The official reason given for the abdication was the King's infatuation with the American divorcee, Wallis Simpson. At that time, a divorced woman could not become queen but there were other reasons behind the drive to force Edward to abdicate.

Q You once spoke of papers or files you had on the Duke of Windsor. How extensive are these files? Are they originals or filmed copies and could we look at them?

M They are extensive. A number of papers are original. Many are on film and, of course, you can look at them. I said "look," however, not take away.

Q The Duke is no longer a figure of any importance except in society, but there is some interest in his connections with your side before and during the war.

M It was intended that the Duke become an object of interest before and during the war. The Duke's real power ceased the day he abdicated, but Hitler considered him a person that could be used to create a certain impression with the British. The Duke was forced off the throne, not because of his lady friend but because there were powerful people in England who viewed his pro-Hitler attitude with real anger and some fear. Crystal Night had not happened yet, but it became very obvious to Jewish groups both in England and your country, that their co-religionists in Germany were being mistreated and forced out of the country. I would imagine that this created quite a bloc of anti-Hitler persons in the British banking and finance community. Couple this unpleasant anti-Semitism with Hitler's barter system that bypassed the British banking system with its high-interest international loans, and you can understand the anger and fear directed at the new King. He didn't help matters at all by his pro-Hitler statements and the machinations of his German relatives. After all, the Windsor family had been Saxe-Coburgs until the 1914 war and were related to all the ruling families of Europe.

Q The Battenbergs changed their names to Mountbatten at the same time, as I recall.

M Oh yes, that was another matter. The Battenbergs were left-handed relatives of the Prince of Hesse. You see, Prince Alexander of Hesse married a Jewess in the 19th century and the family could not allow their descendants to be Hessens so they created the title of Battenberg. That's why I called them left-handed Hessens. If I recall, the current head of their house married the granddaughter of Ernst Cassel, the banker of Edward the Seventh. Also a Jew. But the Mountbattens are not important at all, although they too helped push their cousin off the throne, and for the same reason that the London bankers did. The Simpson woman was only an excuse. The new King was as feeble-minded as the rest of the family and could barely speak. If it wasn't for his wife, I doubt if he would have enough sense to remove his clothes before he took a bath. I must say that I have very little regard for royalty. They mostly seem to be inbred imbeciles who marry their cousins and produce children with the intellects of chickens.

Q The Queen is Scots.

M Yes, and a change from the idiots. Her uncle, by the way, was in touch with us before the war and was even more interested in Hitler than the King. A bit of history for you to chew on.

Now to get back to the Duke. Although as King he had very little actual power, he could and did see all the important political dispatches and could and did pass much of this on to our ambassador in London. I don't think you could consider this as treasonable, but was from the King's view, helpful to his German friends. We, of course, were most helpful to him, but rumors that we pushed the present Duchess into his bed are nonsense. In the first place, the Duke preferred soldiers, and in the second, I doubt if he and the Duchess ever slept together. From observing them and from reading many pages of reports, it appears that she was *his* husband but not in a sexual sense.

I met both of them at a reception in Berlin in October of 1937 and actually had an interesting conversation with the Duke. The wife, of course, could not speak German, but the Duke spoke it fluently, if a little stilted. He was actually a good and entertaining conversationalist and she was sitting near him, staring very intently at both of us. Someone had told the Duke that I was head of the Secret Police and he wanted to ask me some questions about the British Secret Service. The Duke felt that after his departure from England, he was constantly under surveillance by one agency or another, probably MI 6. This of course, was true, and I discussed this with him. It was not easy for the British to keep up with him in Germany because we watched their agents as closely as they watched the Duke. Of course, we used that too, and I will explain this a little later.

I found the Duke to be reasonably intelligent but not entirely normal in that he seemed to be obsessed with his rather masculine wife and quite confused in his mind about the forces that compelled him to abdicate. I was under orders from Himmler, once he found that the Duke wished to have a talk with me, to be very careful what I said. I was told that the Duke was a valuable tool and not to frighten him but to convince him that we were his real friends. That was not difficult to do because that is what the Duke really believed, so I gave him just some small background information to confirm his suspicions.

His closest associate, one Bedaux, had been on our side in 1914 and had been engaged in espionage in your country then. Later, there was a falling out with him because of some embezzlements of our funds, but then we all kissed and made up.

Q I know about him. We had him killed during the war in an internment camp. Too dangerous and he knew far too much about certain things.

M I knew that. Were you involved in that?

Q No, not personally, but one of my superiors was and he told me later.

M You people are so indiscreet after all. But then, so was the Duke. In 1937, the Duke had no access to state papers and was not wanted in England anymore. The new Queen hated him for pushing her dim-witted husband onto the throne and there was very bad blood between the brothers after that.

Q You have such a negative view of the British.

M You know that I have an even more negative view of the Soviets, but to be polite, I have said very little about your country except to discuss your habit of hanging black people, the slaughter of the red Indians and a few other small matters. At least in your country, if you get an idiot elected as President, you can always throw him out after four years. Of course, Roosevelt would still be in office if his brain hadn't given way.

Q Roosevelt was very popular in some circles.

M Certainly, and especially in Moscow. Now the Duke was an albatross around the neck of the British and I am sure they would have killed him if it wouldn't have been such a scandal. And they did watch him like an eagle watching a hare.

Q You said Hitler used him. Can you explain that?

M Certainly. We were reading British agent radio traffic and decided that, as the situation heated up in Europe, the British were afraid that we might invade them, and that we would use the Duke as a figurehead King to maintain order in England. That being the case, we played on that piano for quite a while. The Duke and Duchess were received in Germany with much pomp and ceremony. Why, when their train pulled into the Berlin station, there were only a few minor officials from the British embassy on the platform, but an entire regiment of our top people in full uniform. Oh yes, the Duke and his wife were given the special treatment with receptions, visits to various leaders and so on. This infuriated those in England who had forced the King out, and naturally they began to whisper and chatter to each other in their clubs that we were planning to put the Duke back on the throne someday, and his wife next to him. In those days, I had little direct contact with Hitler, not like later. But Himmler explained the matter very clearly when he said that the *Führer* was using the Windsors as a card to be played when the time came.

Q And the time came when the war broke out?

M Yes, that is when the Windsor card was played, along with others. You should understand that Hitler was not anti-British at all. He admired England for her achievements, and in fact, did not want war with her at all. He felt that after the Polish campaign was over with such brilliant and obvious military success that England and France would negotiate with him. All he wanted was to be left alone and had no intentions of attacking either country. This was not to be and it became very obvious that no negotiations would ever be possible, especially with Churchill in power.

Q I am sure Churchill did not want to see the defeat of England or loss of her territories.

M I am sure he did not, but then Hitler had no interest in taking anything away from England or France either. He only wanted to call a halt and decide if he would have to move against Russia or not. So to force the British to the table, he went to great lengths to plan—obviously plan—an invasion of England. From a military standpoint, such an invasion would have succeeded but would have had no practical point to it. Shipping was massed in channel ports; fake stories were spread in neutral capitals about this invasion; and we even printed up thousands of operational maps and books for our troops that we leaked to known British agents and unfriendly diplomats. At the same time, we were instructed to make it appear as if the Duke would be our puppet ruler in a defeated England, and this we did. It had some effect because the royal family was making serious plans to flee to Canada. The King wanted to go at once but his wife held him back. As I said, she is a formidable woman, but then, of course, she is not a drooling Coburg cousin.

Q There have been stories that the Duke supplied your side with valuable military information he obtained while attached to the staff of the British forces in France. Comment?

M Yes he did. He supplied very important information about troop positions and joint British-French military plans. This was very vital material and permitted our successful breakthrough by Sedan in 1940. However, the Duke did not give this material to us. He went on leave to Paris and told Mr. Bedaux everything. The Duke was that way, you see. He had been raised in a hothouse with absolutely no contact with the real world and as heir to a powerful throne, felt above politics and most people. He could not understand the interaction of people and duplicity was certainly not one of his characteristics. When I spoke with him in 1937, the Duke simply had no guile at all with me and in a sense, I rather felt sorry for him because he would never be able to understand the world outside the walls of Buckingham Palace. I have known a number of lesser royalty in my career and most of them were impractical people with no knowledge of anything except court gossip and protocol.

Mr. Bedaux went straight to Holland, then neutral, and told them everything at the Embassy. In that sense, the Duke was not a traitor to his country but a totally inexperienced man with a strong anger against his family for their slights to him. To my knowledge, he never gave military information to us nor probably would ever have done so. The Duke was not anti-English, only outraged about his treatment. We were told to call his wife "Royal Highness" although this was forbidden in England. This pleased both of them very much, which after all, was the idea. And that was made public which further enraged his enemies at home.

Q And these papers prove all that?

M I would say so, although an unfriendly person might take matters out of context and make a case that the Duke was a Nazi. He was not, of course, but he was very pro-Hitler, and one could say, very much pro-Third Reich. The other thing is that the Duke did not like Jews at all and they obviously did not like him. But, they were far more clever than he was and knew how to stay carefully in the background when weaving their plots.

You must understand that if I were a Jew, and especially a Jewish banker, in England in those days, I too, would be angry and frightened about a pro-Hitler king and certainly would want someone else on the throne. What they finally got was a human nothing on the throne and a maniac as his prime minister. In the end, the war destroyed their financial empire and I suppose our forging of their money didn't retard the progress. Most people never think very far ahead in the end. Even if the King wore a swastika around his neck and had a picture of Hitler over his bed, he had no real power in England and would certainly have been blocked from any adventures of a real pro-German nature.

Q There has been some speculation about the Duke's final days in Spain and Portugal. There was belief that you were going to seize him or that he was going to go to Germany so as to await his cross-Channel return to England as King.

M That was the idea, of course. We did contribute to this heavily, but I know from the top that Hitler never had any intention of invading England, and that the Duke was only a pawn on the board. Since there was to be no invasion, there was no real need to have the Duke in the meat locker to drag out when we needed him. But the British believed we were going to invade, and the British believed our planted stories that we were holding final negotiations with the Duke and acted on these beliefs. Basically, the British government warned him discreetly that if he didn't go to the Bahamas as Governor, they would kill his wife and so he went. That was a relief in Berlin, because if the Duke had fled to Germany, what in God's name would we have done with him? Put him in an old castle like the Belgian King and listen to his stream of complaints about the food and the service?

Q You know that the British went to great trouble to get as many of the files as they could find after the war. A grand hunt after all that material. We had some and gave it to them and so on.

M Did you ever see any of it?

Q We copied everything, even though Eisenhower forbade it, and I once looked at some of it. I would say you were correct when you say it could be taken several ways.

M I personally don't care about the Duke one way or the other, but in my professional opinion, he was only a vain, foolish man who was angry but certainly not any kind of a deliberate traitor. An accidental one, perhaps, but not deliberate. His sun has long set in any case and the field is now open for the journalists to speculate in.

Q The British become so obsessive and secretive about such simple matters that I don't wonder that everyone connected with them sees conspiracies around every corner. Latrine rumor, as we used to call it, credits the Duke with being a Nazi spy, but on balance, I suspect you are right.

M Of course, I am right. Naturally, if I were ordered to prepare a paper for Hitler that said the Duke was a suspected communist, I would do so without hesitation. And don't raise your eyebrows when I say things like that. I am sure you, and especially your Mr. Dulles, have done the same thing. You say what you are told to say and forget everything else. Isn't that correct? But in private—in private—we say what we really think, don't we?

Q I would say so. But, not to be offensive, are you always truthful with me?

M When it suits both of us, quite naturally. I mean, my comments on Windsor have no other motivation than to recall my impressions. You aren't going to arrest him and there is no more Hitler for him to support, so his bad judgment will pass into history suitably embellished to suit some third-rate author and his publisher.

I rather wonder what someone would do about my history? I would be depicted as a monster who rushed around Europe pulling out old women's toenails with a hot pincer if the wrong person decided to discuss my activities. I can just imagine a communist writer discussing me in print. You ought to make some notes and do a flattering work on me. I might give you the Czar's cigar box if you did. On the other hand, if you even mentioned my name outside of your office, they would be dragging the lake to try and find you. Or at least you would go to a very unpleasant Canossa indeed, and have to stand on the ice with your bare feet until you froze to the ground. Popes and conventional wisdom have the capacity for great cruelty.

Q I would much rather write about Monet.

M Well, you can have Monet. Give me Dürer. Now, is there any more curiosity about the Duke?

Q Not on my part. But there are those who would like to review your files on him. He was forbidden entrance to the United States during the war, you know. Hoover was involved with this, but Roosevelt ordered the ban.

M What, in God's name, could the Duke and Duchess do in your country?

Q I can't discuss that here.

M Now here, you want all kinds of information from me—information that will take me a considerable time to locate—and you won't mention why the Duke was forbidden to come into your country.

Q It's nothing important. Churchill asked Roosevelt to keep the Duke and his wife out. He thought they might say things about him if he were away from the strict control he had in the Bahamas. Nothing more than that.

M You see how simple answers are in the end? Then we have finished with the Duke and the Duchess and we can stop now for some coffee and rolls.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

Like the postwar delvings into the true meanings of Rudolf Hess' flight to England and his subsequent career in British custody, the abdication of Edward VIII and his subsequent career have occupied the careers of a number of historical journalists.

The tendency to seek new and sensational material on historical figures far overrides the actual necessity to remove any such material from the subject and attempt to find the root causes of events and personalities.

Both the Duke and Duchess of Windsor have been accused of being traitors to England, supplying the various agencies of the Third Reich with vital information and even offering to rule in a conquered England as Hitler's regents. An extensive search in official German files captured by the Allies does not prove these points, but then concealing or destroying embarrassing proofs would not be unrealistic on the part of English authorities in an attempt to protect the reputation of the Crown. However, the Müller papers contain duplicate copies of most of these released documents and none of them reflect that the Duke or his wife were traitors or active Nazi agents. Müller's comments about the Duke and his relatives, while pungent, would also tend to confirm that the Duke was a puzzled and angry man and that his wife was bitter and ambitious.

Churchill's often and loudly proclaimed cry that Hitler was going to invade the Mother of Parliaments was a successful attempt to secure American aid for a war he wished to lead to a brilliant triumph. These trumpet blasts may well have moved the Anglophiles in the United States, but they fell on deaf ears in the White House. Roosevelt was most willing to supply Churchill old weapons and decrepit shipping, but only if these were paid for in hard cash—preferably gold bars. When England was filled with America's old surplus weaponry and stripped of all her assets, Roosevelt consented to the Lend-Lease program.

Müller contends that Hitler did not plan to invade England and that the Duke was part of a deception to convince the British that he was serious in the execution of these plans. There has always been controversy about Hitler's plans to invade the Soviet Union and like the putative invasion of England, the question revolves around his motives.

Stalin would have been a genuine danger to Hitler had he decided to move west, but England was essentially a spent force after her ejection from the Continent in 1940. An all-out attack using most of the German armed forces directed at England would have left Hitler's entire eastern territories completely vulnerable to a Soviet attack, and such an attack would have quickly smashed Germany to pieces. There was no chance that England could attack Germany, except by air, and their initial air raids were pathetic in their results. A British attempt to seize Norway was countered by a successful German attack, and from the British point of view, had the disadvantage of establishing a strong German military presence close to their North Sea borders.

A German invasion, in all probability, would have been successful and extremely costly in manpower and equipment, but there was no military or political need for such an operation. All of Hitler's interest lay towards the east, not across the Channel, and in retrospect, Müller's offhand comments, backed with his specific knowledge of the working of his former employers, make more sense than the thesis of the Triumph of the Righteous Few over the Evil Many.

Charles Eugene Bedaux was a shadowy, secondary historical figure with connections to the German secret service, the Duke, and various American interests. Bedaux was an efficiency expert, whose timesaving programs made him a hated figure to American labor. Suspected of being a German agent during the First World War, Bedaux later settled in France, purchased a large chateau and acted as host and confidant to the Duke and Duchess of Windsor. He was arrested by the Americans in Vichy, North Africa, at the end of 1942. A number of compromising documents were taken from him at the time and he was flown back to Miami by US military intelligence personnel and turned over to the Justice Department. He was later alleged to have committed suicide, but there is strong reason to believe Bedaux was murdered to prevent him from revealing highly embarrassing contacts between US authorities, to include President Roosevelt and the Vichy French, whom Roosevelt warmly supported as legitimate representatives of the French government in the French colonial departments of Africa.

Excerpt on Roger Casement

Q Aside from the obvious forgeries surrounding the Reichstag fire, we understand that the Gestapo ran an extremely efficient forgery factory where they produced quite passable Soviet papers and identity books. Is that correct?

M Yes, they did. Although the early attempts were not particularly good and agents were caught, later on, the section became very proficient indeed.

Q Are any of these specialists available at the present time?

M Some I know of but the others...who knows?

Q Could you try on this for me?

M Yes, but Krichbaum³² would be a better source for you.

Q Do you have any examples of this work in your papers? Perhaps seals and samples?

M No, I didn't consider that important. I have original papers in my files. Of course there is one exception that has an interesting history to it.

Q Dealing with the Soviets?

M No, the British. Are you interested?

Q Depending.

M Just historical interest but perhaps some recent history that might enlighten you.

Q You have a habit of encouraging my questions...

M Of course, we can avoid the issue if you wish.

Q Well, obviously not. If you feel it's important, please go on.

M We received information from the Swiss that a criminal, a forger named Zwingleman, was living in the vicinity of Chur (in Switzerland) and had been approached by the British to forge German papers. The Swiss had no interest in this and sold us the information and we had men watching his home until we identified British agents coming and going. He lived apart from other people...

Q Have you seen the place?

M No, only pictures. We decided that since the British were as punctual as Swiss clocks, we could pay our own visit to the man and see what he was up to. He rarely left home and had a maid come in once a week so it was little trouble to get inside his house. That one was quite an expert, I can tell you. One whole floor in his house was dedicated to his trade which was high class forgery. I was told by our experts that the man was a genius.

Q Was?

M Yes, was. He is no longer living.

Q Too bad. We might have found a use for him.

M I don't think so. He was too deeply involved with the British to work for you...or us either. We discovered that early in our discussion with him. That one had been living in England before the 1914 war making an excellent income dealing in forged wills. Several prominent British attorneys, or I think they call them something else...

Q Barristers, perhaps?

M Yes, I think so. But he did very well in his business. Then the war came and he was visited by British Intelligence. He was proficient in German script too so they hired him. One of these attorneys had joined their naval intelligence you see, and felt the specialist might further the British cause. Let me get back to him in a moment. The place was searched thoroughly by four very professional men for five hours. They found a great deal of material he was working on and I think you might be interested to learn that along with forging the signatures of top officials of the German government, he also had the signatures and writing samples of some high level American intelligence and diplomatic persons as well. And not to mention a good deal of original paper from different agencies. He could have opened a stationary shop with his stock. The papers he was working on at the time we visited him concerned the alleged German development of poison gasses that they were trying out on concentration camp inmates. Not true, of course,

³² *SS-Oberführer Willi Krichbaum of the RSHA had been Müller's Deputy of the Gestapo border guards. He also was in command of the Geheime Feldpolizei. After the war, Krichbaum worked for Colonel Critchfield's man, Reinhard Gehlen as his chief agent recruiter and was stationed in Bad Reichenhall. It was Krichbaum who put his former chief in direct contact with the CIA who controlled Gehlen.*

but quite convincing to our experts. The British were paying him a good deal of money...in British pounds...

Q The fakes?

M No, good ones. This unfortunate fellow was so frightened about his activities that he broke away from my men and ran out into the woods.

Q He escaped?

M That depends on your religious views. He fell down a dry well in the woods and broke his neck. It was dark, after all, and he was not being careful.

Q Down a well? Oh, come now, you don't need to be so obtuse with me.

M In any case, he was dead. They searched his place for hours, until the sun came up I believe. And they found a most interesting packet of papers he had hidden away. Just after this, a man came to see him, most unexpectedly I am told. He turned out to be British and we tried to have a pleasant professional conversation with him but like his late friend, he too ran out into the woods and would you believe it, fell into the same well.

Q You aren't related to Hans Christian Anderson, are you?

M No. I wasn't there, after all. The maid didn't need to come by that week because we carted off everything we found. The team of men were certainly correct. They cleaned up the house and even filled in the old well so no one else might fall into it. The British, I understand, were most upset, especially because they were getting rather ugly papers forged up on your people.

Q You might want to discuss this with someone else. What was the surprise you were waving under my nose?

M Have you ever heard of the Black Diary?

Q No.

M This was an ugly and incriminating diary supposed to have been kept by the Irish diplomat Roger Casement. Do you know the story?

Q Oh, that one. The British executed him in 1915, didn't they?

M 1916. For treason. According to the contents of the packet of papers, our Swiss expert forged up a rather extensive work on specific orders of a British Captain Hall³³ for the sole purpose of discrediting the Irishman. He was accused of homosexual acts with young Negroes.

Q I have heard something about Casement but not very much. This man forged the diaries?

M Yes. I don't think he wanted to be the keeper of such nasty secrets so he retained all the British samples of Casement's original handwriting plus a duplicate diary he had produced himself. And there were some other official British papers there that indicated what he had done for them. It was wise that he kept these and he must have told them because he didn't fall down a well in England after he had completed his work. This packet was a sort of insurance policy. It may have saved him from the British but it didn't save him from us. The information had some value at the time in helping us persuade Irish rebels to work for us but I never had the chance to make much out of it.

Q Was Casement guilty?

M Of being a pervert? Probably not. Isn't it odd that people usually try to accuse their enemies of their own failings?

Q You don't mean that Captain Hall was a fairy, do you?

M I have no idea. A large number of upper class Englishmen are fumbling aunties, you know. It comes from going to boy's schools for years. Have I entertained you with my history?

Q It would have been more entertaining if I knew something more about it but yes, you have entertained me. Remind me not to go for a walk in the woods with you.

M Such distrust from my new associates!

Q You seem to like trips to the woods...

M Globocnik. Yes, the woods comes from the time following the Communist revolt in Munich after the war. Many of their murderers...the Communists...went for such walks in the forests around Munich. For a large city, Munich has some very thick and seldom visited woods and I know for a certainty that

³³ *Captain, later Rear Admiral, Reginald Hall, had been appointed Director of British Naval Intelligence in October of 1914. He was a brilliant but completely amoral intelligence officer and as the war progressed, virtually dictated British naval policy. Unscrupulous to a degree, Hall has long been suspected as being the moving force behind the forgery of the Casement diaries.*

Communists were used to fertilize the pines in those days. That is where that little allegory comes from. If you worry about the water, you can always buy a filter.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

Sir Roger David Casement was born on September 1, 1864 in Dublin County, Ireland. Although from an Ulster Protestant family, Casement was sympathetic to the cause of the Irish nationalist movement which sought to establish an Irish state free of British political and military control.

As a diplomat in the service of the British government, Casement gained great recognition for exposing the numerous atrocities practiced by the Belgians against the natives in their Congo colony, an endeavor that forced the Belgians to reform their administration. While posted to Brazil, Casement uncovered similar murderous activity by Brazilians in the Putymayo River area. This activity gained him a knighthood in 1912.

At the end of 1913, retired from the Foreign Service for health reasons, Casement became involved with the Irish nationalist movement and formed the Irish National Volunteers. After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Casement went to Germany in November of that year and attempted to secure German aid for an Irish rising against the British. The Germans proved to be unwilling to participate in this venture and Casement went back to Ireland in a German submarine on April 12, 1916. It was his intention to persuade the Irish nationalists to halt their impending Easter rising but he was captured in Ireland by the British a week later, removed to London where he was imprisoned in conditions of considerable barbarity and brutally treated until such time as he was put on trial for treason, found guilty and sentenced to death by hanging. International attempts to secure a reprieve for Casement because of his previous humanitarian activities were nullified by the sudden release by British intelligence of diaries purporting to have been written by Casement which detailed alleged homosexual activities. Casement was duly hanged on August 3, 1916.

The Easter rising was eventually suppressed by the British Army under circumstances of singular atrocity against the participants in particular and the population of Dublin in general. Boys as young as twelve were hanged for curfew violations and unarmed civilians, including women, were shot and bayoneted in the streets by the occupying forces. One of the leaders of the rising, though dying of untreated gangrene, was dragged from his cell and tied to a stretcher before being shot by a firing squad. This was a strikingly ugly episode in the history of a country with an official policy that resulted in countless historical examples of similar oppressive actions but noteworthy in that it was performed, not in some remote and unobserved area of Africa or India but within the borders of ostensibly civilized England and directed against white Christians.

The question of the authenticity of the diaries immediately arose and has attracted strong partisanship on both sides of the issue. In 1959, the British government released the diaries for inspection by scholars. Predictably, sympathetic British academics proclaimed them original while others held opposite views.

In February of 1965, Casement's remains were finally returned to Ireland and given a state funeral. The funeral oration was read by Irish President Eamon de Valera.

In light of Müller's comments on the diary forgeries still in his files, coupled with Hall's other activities of a similar nature during his tenure as Director of Naval Intelligence, the question of the forgery of the Casement diaries would no longer seem to be in serious doubt.

Sources: "*The Accusing Ghost: or Justice for Casement*," Alfred Noyes, 1957; "*The Black Diaries*," Peter Singleton-Gates & Maurice Girodias, 1960; "*Lusitania*," Colin Simpson, 1972; "*Rebels*," Peter de Rosa, 1990.

July 20th, 1944: Part 1

The high water mark of Müller's career as head of the Gestapo was the investigation and prosecution of the men who launched a plot against Hitler, which culminated in a bomb blast at his military headquarters on July 20, 1944.

The official report of the event was written by Müller and gives the clearest description of the actual event.

*Reichssicherheitshauptamt-IV-Sonderkommission 20.7. 1944.
Berlin, den 26. Juli 1944.*

Report on the assassination attempt against the Führer on 20 July, 1944.

I.

On 20 July, 1944, at approximately 12:50 PM, an explosion occurred in the "Wolfsschanze," Restricted Area "A," visitor's barracks, during the situation conference. The Führer suffered only slight injuries, although in the immediate vicinity of the center of the explosion.

Severely injured were:

*General Korten,
Colonel Brandt and
Stenographer Berger,
who have since died of their injuries, and
General Bodenschatz,
General Schmundt,
General Scherff and
Lt. Colonel Borgmann.*

Less severely injured were:

*General Buhle,
General Heusinger,
Rear Admiral v. Puttkamer and
Naval Captain Assmann.
Others present received lighter injuries.*

II.

Immediately after he learned of the assassination attempt, the Reichsführer-SS appointed a Special Commission of the Reich Main Security Office to conduct a full investigation which began the same day.

The Reichsführer-SS noted in his report to the RSHA that the perpetrator of the attempt was presumed to be Colonel Graf von Stauffenberg, Chief of Staff to the Commander of the Reserve Army. He had been present at the briefing session, then left without notice before the detonation. Immediately thereafter, he flew to Berlin by aircraft.

III.

The locality of the incident is to be found in the Situation Room in which the daily situation conferences were held, a 12.5 meter long and 5 m wide room, in whose center is a large map table, on the right side a round table and left, a writing table and a phonograph. The immediate area and the furniture was heavily damaged. Right of the entrance was a 55 centimeter hole in the floor. For a wider radius, floor was depressed and charred. Points of impact of metal fragments not detectable, but splinters of wood and leather fragments are embedded into the wood.

Bomb crater shows that the explosion occurred above the surface of the floor. Reconstructed fragments of the right section of the three sections of the table clearly show the direction of the blast wave. This is indicated in photographs and sketches. Lower pressure wave from detonation continued through cavities under floor of the entire barracks, noticeable by an upward buckling of the floor. Upper pressure wave destroyed the situation room to a large extent and exited through windows and doors, as well as through partition walls. Very exact sifting of mass of rubble has led to discovery of extremely small leather and metal fragments, obviously from a brief

case; of two pieces of sheet metal and two compression springs from English chemical-mechanical time fuse detonators; also, part of flat iron pliers. Other material discovered has no obvious connection with these findings.

IV.

Recovered leather fragments have been identified by witnesses as belonging to Stauffenberg's briefcase. Small parts of the fuse found at the locale come from two fuses that are of the same type as the two English chemical-mechanical time fuses found along the roadway. As two compression springs from this type of time fuse were found at the site of the explosion, the explosive charge must have contained two such time fuses. The charge that was found along the roadway was also arranged for two fuses. Therefore the explosive that was used for the attempt was presumably of exactly the same kind as that which was found later. According to the report of an explosive expert, the extent of damage at the site of the blast corresponds to the potential power of the recovered charge.

The driver of the car that took Stauffenberg to the airport noted that he threw an object out the window in the general area from which explosives were recovered and the driver has supplied an affidavit.

Thus, Stauffenberg's complicity has been objectively ascertained.

V.

As Chief of Staff under General Fromm, Stauffenberg has repeatedly taken part in briefings at the Führer's headquarters. The locale was therefore well known to him. He landed at Rastenberg airport 20 July, 1944, at 10:15 AM. Major General Stieff, chief of the Organizational Section of the Army General Staff, and 1st Lt. von Haefen, Stauffenberg's orderly, arrived at the same time. Stauffenberg went directly to "Wolfsschanze," Stieff to Army High Command quarters, von Haefen first with Stieff, was later to meet Stauffenberg at "Wolfsschanze."

Stauffenberg had breakfast in the officers' mess with headquarters commander and was later called to scheduled conference with General Buhle. General von Thadden, chief of staff of Military District I, Königsberg, also participated in this conference.

Afterwards, Buhle, von Thadden and Stauffenberg went to a conference with Field Marshal Keitel.

Throughout the entire time, Stauffenberg kept his briefcase with him. When all persons mentioned were ready to proceed to the daily situation conference from Keitel's bunker at 12:30 PM, Stauffenberg went to a room next door with his briefcase for a short time, so that the other persons had to wait for him. Presumably while there he activated the time fuses by pushing them in, probably with the assistance of the pair of flat pliers as his right hand and two fingers of his left hand were missing. Activating the time fuses without such aid would have been difficult for him. In the situation room, Stauffenberg was presented to the Führer as a participant in the briefing session and was welcomed by the Führer. Following this, Stauffenberg went to the map table, putting the brief case under the table to the right of Colonel Brandt. After a short time, he left the situation room and also left Restricted Area A.

Stauffenberg's absence was noted before the explosion, as he was expected to provide information. General Buhle looked for him. After the explosion, the telephone operator, Sgt. Adam, reported that he had seen Stauffenberg leave shortly after the start of the briefing session. Presumably latter was perpetrator of the explosion, said sergeant. From further interrogations and investigations, the following was developed: At about noon, General Fellgiebel, chief of the military signals office, appeared at the office of the headquarters signals officer (Lt. Col. Sander) in order to discuss several official matters with him. First, Fellgiebel and Sander went together to see Lt. Col. Waizenegger of General Jodl's staff on signals matters. Later, Fellgiebel and Sander returned to the latter's office in Bunker 88.

At about 12:30 PM, they noted that Field Marshal Keitel, accompanied by Stauffenberg and others, was headed for the situation conference.

In order to make sure that Stauffenberg would come to General Fellgiebel after the session, Sander telephoned Sgt. Adam and told him to have Stauffenberg come to Bunker 88 after the conclusion of the session.

Shortly after that, Lt. von Haefen appeared in Sander's office and asked Fellgiebel for assistance in procuring a vehicle as Colonel Stauffenberg had to leave immediately. Accordingly, Sander telephoned headquarters to request a car. At that time he was asked by headquarters to remind Stauffenberg that he was expected for lunch with the headquarters commander, Lt. Col. Streve, and that General von Thadden would also be present.

While this phone conversation was in progress, Stauffenberg had looked into the room and announced himself to General Fellgiebel as being ready for their talk. Then Fellgiebel and Stauffenberg went out in front of the bunker and discussed fortifications in the East. Sander joined them and reported that a car was coming, adding that Stauffenberg was expected for lunch with the commander. Stauffenberg thereupon told Lt. Col. Sander that he first had to go back to the briefing session once more then would come to lunch. He also pointed out that he had a car at his disposal. When Sander had informed headquarters accordingly and returned to the front of the bunker, the explosion happened. At that moment Sander noticed a very nervous demeanor on the part of Stauffenberg. In reply to Fellgiebel's question as to what was the matter, Sander stated, without giving much thought to the incident, that occasionally someone shot a gun or a land mine exploded.

Then Stauffenberg said he was not going back to the briefing session but instead would go to lunch with Lt. Col. Streve. He drove away with von Haeften, actually in order to go to the airfield.

The event in the visitors' barracks was noted by Guardpost I, so that the lieutenant on duty ordered the barriers closed. Accordingly, Stauffenberg was halted by the guard. He told the guard commander that he must get to the airfield urgently. As his pass was in order and additionally he was known to the guard commander, the latter let him pass, especially as the general alarm had not yet been sounded but came only 1 1/2 minutes later. At the outer southern guardpost, Stauffenberg was halted again. He went to the guard commander, Sgt. Kolbe, whom he told that he had by all means to get to the airfield at once. Instead of being persuaded, Kolbe pointed out the closed barriers. Then Kolbe telephoned headquarters, at Stauffenberg's request, and spoke with the adjutant, von Möllendorf, captain of cavalry, who was acting in the absence of the commander who was now at the scene of the explosion. Stauffenberg told Möllendorf that he had received the commander's permission to leave the security area and that he had to take off by 1:15 PM at all events. The adjutant, who did not know the reason for the alarm that had been sounded, did know that Colonel Stauffenberg was authorized to be at the Wolfsschanze and agreed, on the strength of Stauffenberg's statements, that he could depart and passed this to Sgt. Kolbe.

In this situation it should be considered that:

- 1. The alarm is sounded rather frequently.*
- 2. Stauffenberg's papers were in order.*
- 3. Since Stauffenberg was known as a seriously disabled man and an officer in excellent standing, von Möllendorf had no reason to be initially suspicious.*

Stauffenberg also passed the outermost gate and took off at 1:15 PM from the Rastenberg airfield for Berlin-Rangsdorf. Inquiry as to the origin of the aircraft has revealed that it was provided for Stauffenberg by order of General Wagner, Army Quartermaster General, by arrangement with the 1st Air Liaison Wing (2) Berlin, from Lötzen airfield. The aircraft was scheduled in any case to go to Berlin.

VI.

In light of the above report, the circumstances of the attempted assassination and the arrival and departure of the perpetrator can be considered as having been objectively determined.

It cannot be concluded that the security measures existing as a safeguard against such attempts broke down in this instance because the possibility that a General Staff officer summoned to a briefing session would lend himself to such a crime was not considered.

The incident does, however, require consideration of the future security measures to be taken for the protection of the Führer in all circumstances. Accordingly, proposals with regard to security measures will be submitted separately as per agreement with the RSHA.

Q Tell me about your role, and the role of the Gestapo, in the 20th July bomb plot.

M General Kaltenbrunner was chief of the State Security Office and was in charge of the entire investigation but the interrogation of actual suspects and development of cases was under my direct control at all times.

Q Did Kaltenbrunner assign this job to you?

M No, I was personally entrusted with it by Hitler. He wanted me to have the fullest power to follow every trail and to quickly seize any suspect I found through interrogations. There was a special commission for the 20th July set up under my direction. I had a staff of about four hundred specialists and was given extraordinary powers by Hitler. I was under orders to report only to Hitler when it was apparent that high

level persons had been involved in the attempt. Hitler, himself, decided what was to be put into the official record and what was to be kept out.

Q Did you see Hitler often at this time?

M I cannot be exact. I would have to consult my records to be exact. Quite a few times.

Q Were you alone with Hitler?

M Oh yes, a number of times. It all depended on the material I had for him. If it was very important, Bormann had to wait outside. I remember that Bormann was not at all pleased with this state of affairs and I once commented on that to Hitler. He replied that Bormann was a valued person but certain matters were not to be put about for any reason. He also said that Bormann wished to attack the army in general and had had to be silenced. If I had any problems with Bormann over this, Hitler was to be informed at once. These private visits, by the way, were really private. I would fly to the headquarters in the courier plane or, several times, on the courier train. My visits were completely off the record and kept secret and I had to see Hitler only when he was off duty so to speak.

Q But Bormann was always with Hitler, wasn't he?

M Most of the time. Mind you, Bormann did not control Hitler, only the access to him. If Hitler wanted to see someone, he saw them. Much of the time he didn't wish to be bothered with petty bureaucratic nonsense and used Bormann to keep high NSDAP officials from pestering him. Actually, no one controlled Hitler for that matter. Bormann was certainly useful to Hitler, but Bormann was jealous of his position and vindictive beyond necessity if anyone weaker than he attempted to get close to Hitler. I said that Bormann did not enjoy my visits and he did make some small efforts to hinder me but Hitler soon put him right. Of course, that enraged Bormann even further but he only controlled the Party machinery and I controlled the Gestapo so he couldn't harass my family or friends. You see, in the end, Bormann lost that battle with me because I don't forget either.

Q I have some questions about Bormann but we can come to that later on. Had you dealings with Hitler prior to the 20th of July matter?

M I had met Hitler a number of times. In the beginning...when I first took over the Gestapo, I did not see him very much. Mostly at ceremonial occasions.

Q How did you get on with Hitler?

M You must remember that before he came to power, my branch of the Bavarian Police dealt with the Party and we often prosecuted them. Therefore, Hitler was not inclined to much like me personally nor were many Party members from Bavaria particularly pleased with my appointment.

Q How did you get into the SS if you made so much trouble for the Party?

M General Heydrich brought me and some of my fellow workers in the political section into the national police after the coming to power in 1933. Heydrich was a highly intelligent and practical man who overlooked many things. Please do not forget that my agency was also in opposition to the Communists and had been even more severe in our treatment of them than of the National Socialists.

Q Had Hitler any other reason to dislike or distrust you? Or let us say not include you in his circle?

M My father-in-law was a political opponent of his and I was always a strong Catholic. I did not join the Party until I was forced to. Hitler, when he first began his career and even in Vienna, had a dislike of the police whom he said were always persecuting him. Hitler had been very poor and that class always fears the police.

Q But you did become on better terms with him later, didn't you?

M I think so. With Hitler it was impossible to tell what he really thought about anything. Later he became much friendlier to me and at the last in Berlin, he was very open and straightforward. He could be that way in private and it was a great surprise after one had seen him in public to discover that he was very human and easy to communicate with. Hitler, in fact, could be very amusing and entertaining at times. He could imitate people in a very perceptive and cruel way. He once did an imitation of Himmler, voice and gestures, that was remarkable. Hitler had a real eye for a person's character and could see right through people almost from the beginning of his contact with them. But he concealed so much. This was a man who was always on stage, always before an audience. But at home, so to speak, he was a quiet, normal and very pleasant person. Hitler did have a temper but mostly when he was lied to and the anger passed quickly. I think his most serious fault was his emotional nature. He could be extremely logical but a remark could set him off and he was very much upset quite easily. As I said, when he had a chance to quiet down, he was basically a very intelligent and reasonable person. At least I later found him so, but then he needed my services so I cannot say what Hitler really thought about me. But to answer your point, yes, towards the end of the war I did get along quite well with him on both a professional and personal basis.

Q You spoke about the 20th of July commission which you chaired. Can you give me some generalities about that plot? I think you would know more about what actually happened than almost anyone else. For instance, a number of people survived and have come to us seeking to work for us. They want to become political figures in the government of our zone and it might be instructive to hear your views on motives and personalities. In general, can you comment on those subjects?

M I have more papers on the 20th of July than you could imagine. Where do you want me to begin?

Q Just an overview. Who was behind it, the attempt I mean. People involved, motives and so on.

M There were many dissatisfied people as the war went on. In the beginning, a number of left wing personalities and intellectuals did not approve of the more unpleasant aspects of the new government. The early SA and Nazi types were basically street thugs and bullies and their actions offended a number of people. Hitler eventually purged most of the less acceptable people and tried to make his government more acceptable to the middle class. He was, I think, generally successful although the intellectual classes and especially the military class always detested him. The military always ruled Germany, even after the war, and they were...and still are...very caste conscious. They threw out the Kaiser when it suited them, made *Putsches* when they could and wanted to set up a sort of paper government in the Republic that they could control. The trouble was that these paper governments were weak and ineffectual and while the army could for certain run them, they had no public confidence and Germany merely drifted. The army wanted a leader who could strengthen the country while at the same time be subject to their control. They made a terrible mistake when they chose Hitler. No one ever came close to controlling Hitler. When they realized this, they were furious and wanted to get rid of him. And, of course, Hitler was not of their class. These were mostly land-owning squires from East Prussia who all knew each other, had all been in the socially acceptable regiments before the war and lived almost entirely in the past. They found Hitler and his loud NSDAP people terrible. So they sabotaged him when they could and grumbled in their messes and at their hunt meetings. None of them would ever credit Hitler with having broken the back of the radical movements in Germany or of greatly improving the economic lot of the working people. That meant nothing to them at all. Even though Hitler had been a front fighter during the war and had won both Iron Crosses, they had nothing but contempt for him. So, as long as they were able to enjoy the benefits of his programs such as a much increased military, they confined themselves to grumbling. A number of the old women on the staffs, like Halder and Beck, tried to interfere with his programs but always behind the scenes. And many of them had worked in Soviet Russia during the Weimar period and had grown to like the Russian style. Very unfortunate situation. When Hitler came to power in 1933, the Poles became very angry because Pilsudski³⁴ could see that a strong Germany on one side of Poland and a strong Russia on the other side could make trouble for him. So he planned to strike at Germany while the Reichswehr was still relatively weak and hoped to drive Hitler out of office. I don't think the Poles knew whom they hated more, us or the Russians. So, in early 1933, I believe in March, the Poles began massing troops along the Corridor and on the East Prussian borders. There was no real way we could beat them so Hitler had to play for time.³⁵ The Poles demanded that Hitler sever his connections with Russia, denounce the military aid treaty with them and sign a long term military friendship treaty with them. This Hitler was forced to do but I know he never forgot that episode and the Poles paid dearly for it later. The higher army commanders were also very angry with Hitler because he had cut off their friendly connections with the Russians. They could not, or would not, see that the security of the state, of their state, was more important than their training exercises in Russia. And these gentlemen now had another reason for disliking Hitler. These men may have been brilliant staff officers but they always thought in military terms, strictly military terms, and never considered anything else at all. Many of these officers joined the conspiracy when the war began to go against them. They were content to remain inactive as long as Hitler gave them Marshal's batons and high decorations but eventually, that wore off. Also, as I said, many of the older, higher ranking officers sabotaged Hitler's plans. I must say that while I am not a military specialist, I know that Hitler was far more often right in military matters than they were. He would issue an order and because some General was offended by Hitler's person, this officer would not obey it directly. If a disaster happened, he and his friends would blame it all on Hitler. And they would lie to his face very often. That was never a good idea.

³⁴ *Josef Pilsudski, 1867-1935. Polish Marshal, political leader and head of state. Pilsudski fought the Soviet Army in 1920 and defeated them.*

³⁵ *There is a considerable amount of published but relatively unknown material on the Polish plans. H. Roos, Die Präventivkriegspläne Pilsudskis von 1933, in "Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte," 3 (1955), pp 344-363 is very detailed.*

It got so bad that Hitler had to have all of his conferences recorded by stenographers. He simply could not trust his military people. I heard a very senior army officer say once, “This is Hitler’s war. If we lose it, it’s his fault.” I must say that is something to hear during a major war against deadly opponents who want only to destroy your country. Many of these officers were involved in the conspiracy and many wanted to join with the Russians against the West. In interrogating some of these people, I was shocked to discover how really ignorant they were of Stalin’s criminal methods and they obviously did not believe that if they got rid of Hitler, Stalin would quickly destroy them too.

Q At what level were the pro-Russian conspirators?

M At the very top.

Q Do you have specific names?

M Certainly I do. Stauffenberg himself was very pro-Russian as was the General of Cavalry von Köstring just to name a few. Schulenburg had been Ambassador to Moscow and Köstring had been military attaché and was actually a man born in Moscow. Then there was Gesievius, one of your good friends, whom we found out was a Soviet agent and there were active groups in the Foreign Office and even in the SS that supported a Russian solution.

Q In the SS?

M Yes, in the Germanic Section, the section that dealt with foreign Germanic volunteers in the Armed SS. I personally was of the belief that General Berger had connections with the Communists but I could not prove it and Himmler would hear nothing bad about Berger and became so angry that I was temporarily forced to abandon my pursuit of him. I never trusted the people in the Germanic section. There was too much contact by these mongrelized individuals with known Communists and Slavic groups.

Q Did you pass these suspicions to Hitler?

M Certainly, in good time.

Q To get back a little to what you said before. Stauffenberg was the man who planted the bomb, wasn’t he?

M Yes. He was the actual ringleader and he was in touch with the Soviets.

Q How did he come to get involved with the Russians?

M He was involved with setting up the Eastern People’s Military units through the Army High Command and came into contact with General Köstring.³⁶ This man was for certain involved with the Soviets but it was not known at the time. The army was very protective of its people and it was only after the shock of the bomb attack and my own strong and thorough probings that the army and Soviet connections were finally exposed. I must say that Hitler told me he was not at all surprised. The Seydlitz connection is not to be forgotten. . .

Q Seydlitz? The Free Germany Committee.³⁷

M The same. There was liaison, you know, between this group, which was certainly an agency of the Russian intelligence, and the dissident groups in the upper levels of the army. These gentlemen are more interested in a man’s ancestors than his political convictions. They knew only about the “old Fritz’s” general and not the modern traitor.³⁸ That is what we had to deal with, believe me. Don’t misunderstand me. There were very many brave and loyal officers, most of them in fact, but many of the very top generals, mostly aristocrats and Junkers, who were either infected with pro-Russian sentiments or were sabotegers of Hitler for reasons of class pride, got their fingers into the plot at one level or another. Often, while not directly involved, they tried to protect their guilty friends from discovery. In the end we found most of them. Although it really does not have anything to do with the 20th of July attempt, I should like to tell you some things here about Stauffenberg. There is a danger for you if you try to make him into some kind of a hero or a leader of the so-called resistance movement against Hitler.

Stauffenberg was not the leader of anything but a small cult of young men and their older friends. He got into the assassination affair through an uncle and some friends but his background is filled with very ugly

³⁶ *General of Cavalry, Ernst August Köstring born in Moscow 20 June, 1876, died 1953. German Military Attaché to Moscow. From 1941 to 1945, involved in the so-called Eastern People’s Army, a volunteer force of very large number made up of anti-Soviet Russian prisoners of war.*

³⁷ *General of Artillery Walter von Seydlitz-Kurzbach. Captured at Stalingrad and worked for the Soviets. Led the Free Germany Committee and was in contact with Soviet sympathizers in the German military. Returned to Germany in 1955 and was shunned by most former military personnel.*

³⁸ *Frederick the Great was often known as the “old Fritz”. The ancestor of Seydlitz-Kurzbach had been an outstanding heavy cavalry general under the great Prussian king.*

facts. If you would want me to continue, I will, but if your people would not be interested, I will keep my silence.

Q What would this go to? Stauffenberg has a sort of historical following now in Germany but we are not using his name for anything. Does this have anything to do with the Soviet connection?

M Some.

Q Then perhaps we should go on.

M I think that Stauffenberg's personality is important to consider. Any competent police officer likes to know as much as he can about a suspect. There was a man named Stefan George, a poet, who died in 1933. He taught elitism and racial superiority to a circle of young men that always surrounded him. He was the Oscar Wilde type.

Q George was a homosexual in other words.

M Yes, of course. I learnt of this affair after the 20th of July through a comrade in the Munich Police who had access to a long official report about George from the earlier times. George had seduced a pretty boy in Munich and his family intercepted disgusting love poems George had written to this boy. Complaints were made and an investigation followed. The names of the brothers Stauffenberg came up at several points. George was up in Heidelberg and had a sort of religious cult with all kinds of secret ceremonies with young men performing nude dances and so on. Revolting behavior.

Q And Stauffenberg was in this group?

M Yes, he and his brothers. Stauffenberg was quite handsome if you have seen his pictures. He was tall and slender with good features so I suppose George was drawn to him. Stauffenberg himself joined this cult when he was seventeen. George fled from Germany after the taking over of power in 1933 and the Stauffenbergs and others joined him in Switzerland. George died in that year.

Q But was this a permanent way of life for Stauffenberg or just something he experimented with as a young man?

M I could never prove anything for certain but many of Stauffenberg's fellow staff officers believed he was a fumbling auntie. Or a homosexual to be more formal. He always surrounded himself with pretty young officers whom he preached Greek culture to. He went on about the body beautiful and the soul perfect or however he termed it. Many older, normal, officers found him loud and obnoxious, very dirty in his personal hygiene and strongly objected to his male harem that he dragged around the offices.

Also, this George talked about a secret Germany that was to be led by his special young friends after he had converted them to his perverted way of life. I have many papers which show me that the so-called secret Germany was in reality a clique of homosexuals with an interest in younger men and I think a case might very well be made that some of the plotters who were allied with Stauffenberg were as interested in repealing the very strictly applied State laws against homosexuality as in overthrowing Hitler. The whole business reeked of perversion. Like the Redl case.³⁹

Q You have documentation on all this?

M Of course. I still have a huge file put away on these creatures. I told all of these things to Hitler who was disgusted and told me he wanted to hear nothing more about this. He said to me, "First there was Röhm and his gang of fairies and now this. Keep all that quiet for now. Later, we can bring it up and use it to clean out the degenerates from their positions but this is not the time."

Q Could we have copies of these papers?

M Certainly. Perhaps you would like to find out who else was in this society so you could make use of their services. I don't mean sexual services, of course, but such knowledge can assure better cooperation.

Q Let us say that we would be interested in more information in this area. I assure you we are not interested in blackmail...

M Oh, the furthest thing from my mind, I can tell you.

Q Do you think the Soviets know about this?

M They have a nose for such things. It is a cheap way to get free information and the Soviets are adept at sexual blackmail. I know that they were aware of this situation but exactly what they did about it is beyond my present knowledge.

³⁹ *Karl Redl had been a Colonel on the Imperial Austrian General Staff before the First World War. He was an active homosexual who had been uncovered by the Russian Secret Police. Redl worked for them, betraying many important secrets, until he was caught by Austrian counterintelligence and committed suicide.*

Q Would...if the Soviets knew about Stauffenberg's activities, would they have been...or would they be now...aware of surviving personalities who had connections with this group? The secret Germany group?

M Probably. If they have been running these people, you could turn them. While I am on that subject, I should tell you that there were a number of so-called heroes of that time who were very cooperative with me in supplying all kinds of information I needed, quite freely by the way, and helping me track down others in their various groups. Perhaps we could discuss someone whose name is probably known to you. Would you be interested in some history here

Q Why not.

M I read an interesting book not too long ago. By one von Schlabrendorff⁴⁰...ah, I see that you know who the gentleman is.

Q I didn't say a word to you.

M No, but your face did. So this von Schlabrendorff wrote a book that was published here in Switzerland. Did you read it by any chance?

Q I may have looked at it once. *Officers Against Hitler* was the title?

M Yes. Actually, I wonder who did write it. For certain it wasn't written by von Schlabrendorff.

Q Why would you say that?

M I interrogated him and he was one of those who was of great assistance to my work. Of course now he, or certainly his writer, puts a brave show of resistance to the Gestapo. Brave resistance! Let me tell you, this individual was as cooperative as could be with me. Not in the beginning, of course...

Q Wasn't he tortured?

M No, such foolishness. This man was a reserve officer attached to Army Group Center. He was involved with explosives intended to be used against Hitler. I wonder where these explosives came from? The British? They were certainly British in origin. The *Abwehr*? Or maybe they came from Switzerland. Perhaps your Mr. Dulles⁴¹ in Bern had a hand in that business. I kept a close eye on him and had two people inside his organization so I can speak with some authority about his actions. I believe that one of his top aides, a certain Gero von Gävernitz⁴² gave them to Schlabrendorff. Of course this could be done because Mr. von Schlabrendorff worked for your people. He was very cooperative indeed. We hanged five people on his testimony and even though he was involved in the plot, I kept him alive. After all, the war would be over soon enough and he was an American spy, wasn't he? A hero to you, perhaps, but a traitor to me. Generally, I saw to it that such traitors were hanged but an OSS man might be of some value to me later. Most of the OSS people I encountered were idiotic Communists. I always thought the OSS wanted to kidnap Hitler and make use of him. Or maybe another faction wanted to blow him up. We have the Russians running the Stauffenberg group, the Americans into the Kreisau circle and I wonder who the British had? They had a minor fairy diplomat, some Turks, a pen full of Italian monarchists and pomaded nancy boys, and a few anglophile Americans whose names I am sure you will be delighted to receive as a present from me. Who really wrote the book?

Q Mr. von Gävernitz edited the manuscript...

M Mr. von Gävernitz *wrote* the manuscript. The thing was too full of errors. Putting a bomb on Hitler's aircraft. Such nonsense.

Q Didn't that happen?

M No, that did not happen. The story goes that Schlabrendorff, stalwart hero, handed a fuzed bomb to a General Staff officer named Brandt, who was later blown up by Stauffenberg's real bomb, who took it onto Hitler's Condor aircraft. This bomb failed to explode so Schlabrendorff flew at once in a special plane to Rastenberg and picked it up. That's the story, isn't it?

Q As I recall it, yes.

⁴⁰ *Fabian von Schlabrendorff was an attorney and reserve Army lieutenant who was arrested after the 20th of July.*

⁴¹ *Allen Dulles was head of the Office of Special Services in Berne, Switzerland. His reports on conditions inside Germany during the war are noteworthy by their gross inaccuracies. He later became head of the CIA.*

⁴² *Gero von Schulze-Gävernitz was a top aide of Allen Dulles. He was the son of Gerhart von Schulze-Gävernitz, a former member of the Weimar National Assembly and professor of British economic history who had fled Germany because his wife was Jewish. His son had a US doctorate in economics.*

M Brandt certainly was at Army Group Center headquarters when Hitler was but he flew on the second aircraft and not with Hitler. Even if this fictitious bomb went off, it wouldn't have done a thing. Saved me from having a few more staff officers hanged later. And what about the bomb at the exhibition?

Q This I don't know about.

M You never heard about the brave Colonel who had a bomb in his pocket and planned to jump on Hitler at an exhibition and blow him up?

Q There have been so many stories along these lines that I can't reasonably be expected to remember them all.

M The Gersdorff myth.⁴³ The bomb in his pockets? There were no bombs in the hands of this one either. Gersdorff is a self-important man who started waving his arms around after the war claiming to have tried to kill Hitler with another fictitious bomb. I know who Gersdorff is. I assure you he has a guilty conscience, that's why the story about the failed bomb attempt. Maybe someone would like to know why he has a guilty conscience? We had to cover for Schlabrendorff to make it look as if he was only going to get a sentence in prison, just like his good friend, Gerstenmeier. Now the two of them pose like old whores in a window claiming to be heroes. I think they have a good point after all. They really do represent the true spirit of the resistance. I must agree with this. And tell your Gavernitz to do more research on his fairy tales next time. But my foresight in preserving Schlabrendorff when I should have liked to hang him has brought us together after all. Who would have thought it?

Q You, probably.

M I am just a simple Bavarian policeman trying to do his best. I'm not a subtle man after all. I read in some book that I was a stupid and brutal Nazi thug so it must be true. Books never lie, do they?

Q I really wish, General, that you would treat these sessions with some seriousness.

M If you keep bringing up funny stories, how can I keep from laughing?

Q To be quite frank, I cannot imagine you laughing at anything.

M We Germans have a great sense of humor. If I saw Stalin drowning in a sewage pit, I assure you I should find that something to laugh about.

Q I think we should return to the Stauffenberg business, don't you?

M More sewage and before lunch, too. Very well, let us proceed. What more do you want to know about the secret Germany happy boy society?

Q Was the Stauffenberg group working with the Soviets or were they merely friendly towards them?

M Worked directly with them! Stalin was afraid...you know the attempt came after the Western invasion of France and the breakout and Stalin was afraid that the West...the Americans and the British...would get into the industrial Ruhr before the Russians could. That was the big prize for Stalin. He must get the Ruhr and its industrial potential first. That's why they struck a bargain. Get rid of Hitler and replace him with someone with whom Stalin could deal and get physical control of the industrial areas of Silesia and the Ruhr quickly. They made many promises to get their way. Stauffenberg, Beck and the others could keep the power as a caretaker government until a new democratically elected socialist government could be set up. Russian-style socialism to be sure. A shot in the back of the neck or off to the work camps in Siberia. There was even talk about replacing Hitler with Himmler! That would have never been acceptable to the military or anyone else, for certain. But Himmler had been approached several times about replacing Hitler and he at least was interested in the idea. Himmler believed in his own importance and in the importance of the SS and wanted to stay in power. He once told me that he felt he alone had the position to deal with the West and with Russia. A very foolish man.

Q Did you mention Himmler's involvement to Hitler?

M Himmler had already done so as to head me off. One had to be very careful. I know that Hitler did not like Himmler on a personal basis and I think he would have replaced him given an opportunity. Hitler liked professionalism and Himmler was too much of a schoolmaster type to please Hitler. And next to the police, Hitler disliked the schoolmaster almost as much.

Q Might Hitler have given the National Leader SS position to you?

M I don't think so. I did not have the support of the old-time SS senior officers. What I do feel, and Hitler mentioned this to me a number of times, is that I might well have been given control of a unified intelligence system. I know that he was pleased with my performance after the 20th July and he gave me a signed portrait and a high decoration.

⁴³ *Rudolf-Christoph von Gersdorff was a Colonel in the General Staff who invented a story about his intended attack on Hitler.*

Q Which decoration was that?

M The Knight's Cross of the War Service Cross with Swords in October of 1944. Part of the reason for this decoration was my work on the enemy radio playback and the rest for the successes of the Gestapo in rooting out the 20th July plotters.

Q In looking at your record, I see you had received the Iron Crosses in 1940. Were you in combat?

M No. That was for my work in August and September of 1939. During the Gleiwitz business. Where Heydrich staged a fake Polish attack on the Gleiwitz radio station to give an excuse for the attack on Poland. The date had been changed because Hitler was attempting to negotiate until the last minute but one group didn't get the cancellation order and began to shoot at a German customs post. I had to go personally into the business and stop the shooting. But this wasn't the Iron Cross. It was a renewal bar for these medals that I got in the 1914 war.

Q We can discuss this at another time. Right now I am interested in the 20th of July. Was Hitler aware of the Russian connection in the plot and how did he react?

M He was aware and he did not seem surprised. He had first thought that the British were behind the whole thing from his own observations but he later rejected this when I gave him the evidence. Hitler always felt that the British were trying to assassinate him. Stauffenberg, through his wife's family, had British connections. The actual bombs and fuses were British in origin but we later determined that they had come from the *Abwehr* stores and were not intended for use specifically against Hitler.

Q Now you see you were accusing the OSS of doing this...

M A small joke.

Q How did the *Abwehr* get British explosives and fuses?

M The *Abwehr* had control of the entire SOE⁴⁴ network in Holland and the British dropped tons of weapons and sabotage equipment into the *Abwehr*'s hands. The British were unaware that they had been compromised. That's where it all came from. The first reports of the Criminal Commission indicated the use of British explosives and Hitler himself related to me his own experiences with British explosives in the war with the color of the blast flame and the odor of the explosives.

Q Is there any proof of the Stauffenberg group's Soviet connections?

M Certainly. The Gestapo seized all of Stauffenberg's personal papers from every source. Actually, when we searched his quarters in Berlin...I mean his private living quarters in Potsdam...we found that Stauffenberg had put everything down on paper. Not only that, we found the house stuffed with illegal black market food, wine, clothing and other luxury items. A very law abiding and patriotic man was Stauffenberg. You asked me about perversion before? Several albums of pictures of naked young Italian boys by the infamous von Glöden. Those I don't have in my papers. We followed up all the information we had and the Soviet thread came up almost at once. We missed Köstring although he was interrogated but we did get all of the others. Hitler ordered all these documents kept strictly secret and in my own hands because he wanted no one else to be aware of what he did or did not know. There were many frightened people after that time, let me assure you.

Q What happened to these documents?

M Stauffenberg's papers?

Q Yes.

M I kept them. And to answer your unasked question, I still have them. Except for the pictures of the little boys.

Q I don't think we would be interested in those.

M I would hope not. Now the British...

Q Please, shall we follow the agenda? Now, besides Stauffenberg, were other German personalities working for the Soviets?

M Many so-called intellectuals had sympathy with them such as the Red Orchestra that was rooted out earlier. That was typical. The Russians have a reputation for very good intelligence but what they do is tap into the pro-Communist intellectual groups in different countries and from these broken down creatures, get all kinds of free information. The Russians hate to pay for anything in the end. University students, writers, artists, professors and so on gladly give them state secrets just to help out the socialist cause. But personalities? No, not very many at best and then mostly secret supporters of Stalin. They had no real

⁴⁴ This stood for *Special Operations Executive*, a British Intelligence agency established by Churchill for assassinations, sabotage and other clandestine operations.

courage to act. Sneak around at night stuffing badly written leaflets in letter boxes or chalking anti-government slogans on walls. I said they were a sorry lot and believe me, they were.

Q One of the more important questions here on my agenda is to ask you if you have any knowledge of the diaries of Admiral Canaris?

M I do. After the 20th July, Canaris was not charged even though a number of his closest associates were involved in treason. Himmler protected him almost to the last. Then, in April of 1945, an officer accidentally found the diaries at the army headquarters, hidden in a safe. These were turned over at once to Rattenhuber...

Q Rattenhuber? The security officer?

M He was Hitler's chief of personal security from the RSD⁴⁵ He was a professional police officer, a Bavarian from Munich. He read through these and gave them to me at once.

Q Not to Kaltenbrunner?

M No, to me directly. By Hitler's order, all such things came to me first. And I read through the pages and had photographs made of all the papers. I showed the diaries to Hitler...

Q The originals or the photographs?

M The originals always for Hitler. He read over them carefully and told me to keep them safely in my custody. The photographs of selected pages were to be given to Kaltenbrunner and he later gave them to Hitler.

Q The originals? I mean what happened to the originals?

M I kept them safe.

Q Are they still safe?

M Good enough.

Q What was in the diaries?

M These idiots put everything down on paper. My problem in dealing with the traitors was not to find important papers but to decide which important papers were really important. Everyone from Stauffenberg on kept diaries, made notes and wrote all kinds of justifying documents which they kept locked up in desks, safes at their offices or in other equally easy to find places. Canaris was no different, even though as an intelligence chief he should have known better.

Q But the actual content of his diaries were...?

M The same as everyone else. To justify himself and his actions. It was a record of contacts with both the West and East by various high level officials of the government, religious persons and so forth. By the way, these religious gentlemen were the worst of all. Although I am a church goer, I agree with Bormann when it comes to the bleating sheep of the Lord. These moral pests all assumed that God wanted them to kill Hitler and that anything they did was acceptable because they had their collars on backwards. And they were the very first to inform on their friends, their friends' friends and anyone else they could think of. I personally preferred not to interrogate these creatures if I could help it. I had to interrogate Canaris on several occasions and he was a real Greek, that one was. He had answers for everything and none of them the truth. He should have sold carpets somewhere and kept out of the military. His diaries were his death warrant in the end. There was a plot to seize Hitler using the "Brandenburg" division which had been plotted right down to the last detail, Except, of course, they forgot to talk to the commanding officer or anyone on his staff. It came as a great shock to them later when the commander absolutely refuted their program and would not support them when he was interrogated. You have to understand, these idiots were arrested or detained and at once blabbed everything they knew to the Gestapo. I never had to mistreat anyone at all. It wasn't necessary. Of course I was very rough talking to this person but to that one, I was pleasant and friendly. The tone of the interrogation depends on the person one is questioning. Most of these creatures gave me all the information I needed as fast as they could and now when I read books about heroic resistance and terrible tortures, I have to laugh. Being locked up is not a pleasant situation, especially for

⁴⁵ *RSD-Reichssicherheitsdienst. A group of professional police officials officially attached to Himmler's staff but in fact completely independant. They were responsible for Hitler's security and accompanied him everywhere. They wore SS uniforms and insignia and were answerable only to Hitler and SS-Brigadeführer Hans Rattenhuber, RSD commander. Rattenhuber worked very closely with the Gestapo at such times when Hitler travelled or held large public meetings. Like Müller, Rattenhuber was a Bavarian and remained with Hitler until the end.*

some soft bureaucrat or arrogant general and the psychological pressures I applied were very strong but I had no one beaten.⁴⁶ It isn't necessary when most of them fell all over themselves to confess and implicate as many people as they could. And among many whom they implicated were quite innocent of any knowledge. I think we released far more than we kept. Of course when a suspect lied to me and tried to get someone else dragged into his mess, I could be very severe with him. Most of them were hanged anyway but they obviously wanted company.

Q How many were actually executed as a result of the 20th July? Four or five thousand is the figure...

M Nonsense. There were thousands in jail but as far as I know, only about two hundred were actually executed. I remember at the end, Hitler gave me a special order about these creatures. It was in Berlin in April. He said to me that he wanted all of these creatures liquidated at once so that if Germany was under the control of its enemies from without that the enemies from within could not now crawl out from under their stones and be made the new government. He was very serious about my doing this and he said, "Müller, if I can trust any man at this time, I feel I can trust you. Once we were enemies but I have come to see that you are a real professional man and as one, I ask you to see that this thing is done at once."

Q What were you expected to do and did you do it?

M Remove them, with or without a trial. You understand exactly what I was expected to do.

Q Murder them all in other words.

M Call it what you like. These men were guilty of high treason and of wishing to destroy the state for their own ends. Like the generals I talked about, the ones who said, "It's Hitler's war and if we lose it, it's his fault." And it is true that most of them hoped to become important figures in the post-war government. That is probably why they kept their criminally stupid memoranda and diaries so that they could produce them later as proof of their resistance to Hitler. You can give my actions any name you choose but do not forget that I had reviewed all of the evidence against them and had personally interrogated most of them so I have a better knowledge of their characters and motives than others from the outside do now. In furtherance of Hitler's orders, I got together a group of my men upon whom I could rely and passed on the order. I personally ordered these men to have the 20th July prisoners executed at once. The major criminals had already paid the penalty for their deeds but the Canaris gang remained and there were also some still in jail in Berlin awaiting trial or under sentence. As far as I was able to do so, I carried out Hitler's orders. Canaris and his gang were hanged at their prison and the others taken out and shot, some of them at the last minutes before the Russians arrived to save them. I must tell you very clearly that I have no problems with carrying out that order and if I have any regrets today it is that I missed a few along the way.

⁴⁶ *On June 12, 1942, Müller issued the following order over his signature. This order concerned itself with degrees of interrogation in general and in intensified interrogation in specific.*

1 *Intensified interrogation may only be applied if, on the strength of the preliminary interrogation, it has been ascertained that the prisoner can give information about important facts, connections or plans hostile to the State or the legal system, but refuses to reveal this knowledge, and the latter cannot be obtained by inquiry.*

2 *Under this circumstance, the intensified interrogation may be applied only against Communists, Marxists, members of the Bible study sect, saboteurs, terrorists, members of a resistance movement, enemy parachute agents, asocial persons, Polish or Soviet individuals who refuse to work, or drifters. In all other cases, my previous permission is required as a matter of principle.*

3 *The intensified interrogation may not be applied in order to induce confessions about a prisoner's own criminal acts nor may this means be applied towards persons who have been temporarily delivered by the justice system for the purpose of further investigations. Once more, exceptions require my previous permission.*

4 *The intensification can consist of the following, among other things, according to circumstances:*

simplest rations (bread and water)

hard bed

dark cell

sleep deprivation

exhaustion exercises,

but also the result to blows with a stick (in case of more than 20 blows, a doctor must be present)." IMT vol 27, pps 326-327.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

In spite of the extensive body of contemporary literature available on the assassination attempt against Hitler, there are still large areas of grayness to be found in most accounts of the event. Some of this is certainly due to the attitudes of the writers. All popular accounts of the resistance to Hitler stress the positive side of the anti-Hitler movement and should there exist, as there does, any information that might negate or neutralize their views, this aspect is very carefully ignored or finessed.

Müller made a very thorough investigation of the entire resistance movement, conducted the most detailed and intense interrogations in person and wrote reams of reports couched in his dry, official police language. That he disliked the plotters is evident at every turn in reading his papers but his facts are very clearly presented. Aside from his personal files, there is considerable evidence in archives that is readily available to any researcher and which presents a different view from the official one promulgated by historians. When confronted with the discrepancies between a work that canonizes Stauffenberg and his circle and official Gestapo reports, the biographer quickly assures his readers that the Gestapo reports are all lies, designed to minimize and degrade what are, after all, Godlike creatures who suffered numerous Christlike passions to liberate the German people from an evil tyranny.

These reaffirmations of the human spirit may give pleasure to some but have little bearing on historical fact.

Müller was always a stickler for accuracy. He was deeply involved in the investigation and was a very competent police official. The reports he compiled were sent directly to Hitler who certainly read them through. Müller was always an ambitious man with an eye on the main chance and Hitler was not a man easily or wisely fooled. Had Müller concocted stories to please Hitler he might have been successful for a time but in the end, the truth would have emerged in one form or another and Müller would have suffered accordingly.

The ugly facets of Stauffenberg's persona are entirely true and Müller's inelegant but blunt reports are not fictions designed to entertain Hitler and his entourage.

The comments on the homosexual poet, George, are true. They might be interpreted differently by persons who find themselves in sympathy with his lifestyle but this does not change their veracity. There are still reports in the Munich police files, not generally available to the public, that cover the subject in detail. There is no question that Stauffenberg and his brothers were intimate members of George's inner circle and accompanied him into exile in Switzerland. The point can be made that Stauffenberg's sexual activities do not negate his political ones but to understand clearly the nature of the resistance movement, it is necessary to examine not only the motives but the character of its participants.

The Stauffenberg family was, even to sympathetic biographers, strange.

Stauffenberg's father had been *Hofmarschall*, or major-domo, to the King of Württemberg. He managed the King's financial affairs and after the deposed King died, members of the royal family accused the elder Stauffenberg of dipping into the treasury. The elder Stauffenbergs were considered to be eccentric to a degree. Stauffenberg's father and uncle did not talk to each other but barked back and forth like dogs. Stauffenberg's mother wandered about the town of Lautlingen dressed in flowing gowns, reading poetry aloud to no one in particular.

Stauffenberg was initially impressed with Hitler, being attracted to dominant male figures, but soon grew tired of the new head of state and began to seek other father figures.

Often stated to be a brilliant staff officer, Stauffenberg was a competent and energetic planner but was so abrasive and opinionated that he was generally shunned by his peers. Stauffenberg was one of those persons whom one either deeply admires or detests. His personal hygiene left much to be desired. He bathed occasionally, wore clean uniforms when he thought about it, sometimes had his hair cut by a barber and rarely used a toothbrush. These eccentricities, coupled with his loud, insistent domination of any conversation he chanced to encounter, did not endear him to members of the German General Staff whose motto was, "Be more than you seem."

Merely because Stauffenberg possessed a number of irritating mannerisms does not mean that he was incompetent or in error in his actions. Stauffenberg was in error because he failed. He was also wrong because his overweening ego blinded him to the fact that his attempt was doomed to failure from the start. Killing Hitler and his top military leadership might have pleased Stalin but it would not have stopped the war with any degree of certainty and his plans for a quick and happy ending to the savage conflict are, at this remove, so idealistic as to border on lunacy.

Stauffenberg put a bomb under Hitler's table and almost literally ran out of the room to watch the carnage at a distance. He was not a martyr in any sense of the word. When he returned to Berlin after a three hour trip by slow aircraft, he found the headquarters of the Reserve Army in a state of torpid inaction. It was at this point that Stauffenberg committed an unforgivable act: he lied to his fellow plotters and told them that he had actually seen Hitler's corpse with his one good eye. On the strength of his insistence and the knowledge that if they did not take action, the Gestapo would soon be paying a visit to their headquarters in force, the reluctant Generals began to act. With his lie, Stauffenberg doomed most of the men around him to an ugly and degrading road to death but like most fanatics, to Stauffenberg the end justified the means.

A number of apocryphal stories about intended assassination attempts against Hitler have proliferated since the end of the war. Gersdorff's story about the bomb in his pocket has been proven false and the Schlabrendorff aircraft bomb has been disproved by the discovery of Hitler's official travel orders of the day in question that show Colonel Brandt on another aircraft. One story relates how intrepid officers were planning to bomb Hitler at an exhibition of new uniforms in Berlin. This failed, the story goes, because a bomb dropped by an Allied pilot destroyed the uniforms and the showing was canceled. In fact the display was made but not in Berlin and the uniforms in question were not developed until a year after the date of the imaginary attack.

In his book, *Putsch*, (Wyden, New York, 1970) Richard Hanser discusses the homoerotic nature of George and his movement. The poems to a handsome Munich youth are also mentioned. (pps.54-57.). On the other hand, Stauffenberg biographer Joachim Kramarz devotes an entire chapter to George and his influence over Stauffenberg, mentions the suspicion of homosexuality but dismisses it out of hand. It should be noted that Kramarz has also dismissed any negative report on Stauffenberg as Nazi propaganda designed to smear a great hero of impeccable character and high motives. The forward to his book was written by Trevor-Roper. (*Stauffenberg*, Macmillan, New York, 1967, pps 29-35.)

July 20th, 1944: Part 2

What did happen in the headquarters of the Gestapo on the day and evening of 20 July, 1944 is far more interesting than anything that happened in Hitler's headquarters or in the Bendlerstrasse where the plot was centered. A great deal has been written about both locales but nothing has been printed about the activity in the headquarters of the Gestapo.

Q There are still a number of unresolved matters, I suppose of a historical nature, that concern the attempt on Hitler's life and since you were so intimately connected with the subsequent investigation, I would like to go into this with you if I may.

M Certainly. I think we have discussed much of this before, have we not?

Q Not this aspect. I talked about your opinions on various parties involved in the plot. This time I would like to be more specific, if I can. I'm sure you will grasp my reasons as I go on.

M By all means, let me grasp your reasons.

Q First of all, did you, as chief of the Gestapo, have any knowledge of this plot before it happened?

M Stauffenberg in specific?

Q Yes, the actual attempt.

M I knew about Stauffenberg but not as a man planning a bombing attempt.

Q And you knew about him how?

M As in intellectual anti-government type. Also, there was a file on his suspected sexual proclivities but nothing was done about either issue. I was not especially interested in people who were opposed to the government, and by that I mean Hitler, but those who plotted against it, or him. As far as homosexual charges against high military officers are concerned, I had some knowledge of the Fritsch business in 1938 and did not want to become involved in such business again.

Q If we may digress here for a moment. You mentioned Fritsch.

M Yes. Meisinger of my staff was involved with these charges, which I advised him to leave strictly alone. Meisinger was out of his depth with this subject.

Q And the charges of homosexuality against Fritsch were fabricated by the Gestapo, were they not?

M They were not. Fritsch was certainly involved with homosexuality at one time but the specific charges in 1938 were incorrect. They were not fake charges but pertained to another military officer, not the Commander of the Army. This was obvious to me at the time and I specifically ordered Meisinger to drop the matter. He thought to improve his career and took them to others who did not like Fritsch. Someone wanted his job...Göring to be specific...and Meisinger was willing to help. It was really a disgusting business and instead of furthering his career, Meisinger was shipped off to Japan. You know the rest. Do you wish to get back to the 20th of July now?

Q Yes. You knew nothing about the bomb attempt in advance, is that correct?

M Nothing at all. It was a very small group involved and the decision to set off the bomb was made shortly before. There was no time for the information to spread around and get to my ears.

Q So the attempt was a complete secret?

M Oh no, not so. A number of people knew about it outside the circle of actual plotters. They were not involved directly with it but knew about when it was going to happen. This means that these people were guilty of a criminal offense in that they knew of the act and made no attempt to report it.

Q Accessory before the fact.

M Yes. Without spending months here on the subject, why not let me give you a brief chronology of the day's events from my own point of view? I have told you, quite frankly I believe, that I was taken by surprise and why. Now, let me tell you how I reacted when I knew and let my actions speak for themselves. On the 20th of July, I was in my office in Berlin trying to clarify a case we had been working on. This case had nothing to do with this matter. Reconciling the actual evidence with statements obtained by the Gestapo interrogators took up most of the morning and I was not in an especially pleasant humor when I got a telephone call from one of my staff that there had been some kind of a bomb explosion in the *Führer* Headquarters. There was no mention of a plot and there seemed to be a question of a mine exploding. A few moments later...perhaps fifteen minutes or so...Kaltenbrunner came into my office, very worked up. There had been a bomb explosion in Hitler's briefing room with him present and some were killed or wounded. Hitler was not seriously injured. Kaltenbrunner had been ordered by Himmler, who was nearby, to fly to East Prussia with experts to make an exact determination. I asked him, quite naturally, if this was some kind of a larger plot and he told me very abruptly that it was probably not and not to bother myself

with it. His attitude was such as to annoy me very much. Kaltenbrunner was a nasty piece of work and I paid little attention to him in the office. He was treacherous, unstable and vicious in turn. I can recall an incident when he crossed Pohl.

Q Oswald Pohl for the record?

M Yes. Kaltenbrunner had harassed one of Pohl's top people and had him confined to his house for some nonsense. Pohl who was very much in power with Himmler, ordered the man released, through Himmler. Kaltenbrunner was told to leave matters alone but as soon as Himmler and Pohl were out of Berlin, Kaltenbrunner struck again. This time, Pohl came personally to see Kaltenbrunner and made a terrible scene in Kaltenbrunner's office. Someone rushed into my office and said that Pohl had struck Kaltenbrunner in the nose and knocked him out of his chair. Of course I went at once to enjoy the scene and then I saw Pohl storming out of the building and Kaltenbrunner running down the hall with a very red face and blood coming out of his nose. He was screaming that he wanted Pohl arrested, which was quite impossible, and I interviewed Kaltenbrunner who by now had calmed down. Especially after I told him that he would be in even worse trouble if Himmler found out that he had disobeyed a specific order to leave Pohl's man alone. That's the sort of person Kaltenbrunner was. In any case, I did not like his attitude and I had no intention of keeping out of the business. If there was some kind of a revolt, it was my duty to investigate it. Then about 17:00, I got a call direct from Himmler telling me that a certain Colonel of the General Staff, von Stauffenberg, was to be taken into custody, if possible, from his office in the Bendlerstrasse and questioned about his knowledge of the bomb. Himmler told me that Hitler had been lightly wounded but was fully functioning and that this matter had to be treated with absolute secrecy. He asked me if I had heard any news of this through the Gestapo offices and I told him that I had not. He stressed repeatedly that I was only to observe matters and take no actions other than the apprehension of Stauffenberg. I must use the utmost discretion when bringing him to my office and no one was to know who did not have to. Why one would be discreet about an assassin's arrest eluded me and I asked Himmler directly. He became very annoyed and replied that there must be no friction with the army at that time. It struck me that Himmler was overly timid, once again, and that much stronger steps ought, at the least, be prepared in case this was not an isolated incident. Disregarding Himmler, I alerted all the Gestapo offices both in and out of the country to be on special lookout for any information about an attack on the *Führer*. I did not say that there had been such an attack, however. I at once sent out Colonel Piffraeder from my office to bring Stauffenberg back with orders to be absolutely discreet about the matter. No sooner had Piffraeder left than I began to get reports of an army coup. I must have had a dozen calls in as many minutes plus teletypes. The entire office was in an uproar, I can tell you.

Q What happened then?

M I at once put in a call to Himmler but could not get through. I tried again when I had more information, perhaps ten minutes later and was again informed that Himmler was not available. I assumed he was in conference so I wished to speak to Kaltenbrunner. Then I was told that they had left the *Führer's* headquarters and had come back to Berlin. I immediately ascertained that neither man was in the RSHA headquarters and no one in Berlin knew where they were. That was the time that I called the commander of the SS Bodyguard at Lichterfelde barracks and put him on immediate alert. I told him quite bluntly that a *Putsch* was in the making and he was to alert all the Armed SS units he could and have them stand by for action. I had no trouble with him over this but almost immediately I had a call from Kaltenbrunner who screamed that I was not to involve myself in this and that General Jüttner was in command of all Armed SS units by direct order of Himmler. I asked to speak with Himmler and Kaltenbrunner hung up the phone. At this point, considering all the information pouring in, I became highly suspicious of Himmler's absence and his constant attempts to play this business down. I rang up Goebbels but could not get through. The next thing I did was to go and see Schellenberg in his office. I wanted to know if his people had any information about foreign comment on the attempt. As soon as I walked into his office, I knew at once that there was some funny business afoot. Schellenberg was obviously very frightened. He was on the telephone and immediately hung it up when I came in. Don't forget, I am a trained police officer and Schellenberg was only a cheap lawyer and a schemer and time server. He was sweating and pulling at his collar so I asked him what was going on. He was very nervous...at best Schellenberg was tricky...and kept looking around the office and not at me. He said he had no knowledge of any foreign information but did say he had heard directly from Himmler who had ordered him not to involve himself in this. He suggested that this applied to me as well and told me, with some false bravado, that everything was being taken care of at the highest levels. I replied with some force that on security matters, I was the highest level. To get his reaction, I told him that I had personally alerted the Hitler Bodyguard and had also ordered the SS Watch unit to come to

the RSHA. I told him that we were arming the building. At this he became really very frightened and said that I had no control over the Armed SS and was running a terrible risk in countering Himmler's orders. I asked him where Himmler and Kaltenbrunner were. I said I knew they were in Berlin. Schellenberg began twisting around in his chair and said that he did not know where either man was. By now, I was entirely suspicious of these creatures and I gave orders that Schellenberg's telephone calls should be monitored at once. The man assigned to this was one I trusted and he was to make recordings and bring the transcripts to me. And also if there was anything said of importance, I was to be told at once but no one else.

Q Did you suspect that Himmler might be up to something? Perhaps that he might be involved in the coup?

M Oh yes, it did occur to me almost from the beginning but I had to be very careful. The next thing was that I was notified at about 1800 hours or perhaps a few minutes later, that the army's Guard unit had surrounded the government quarter. The first call I made was to Goebbels. I had trouble with an aide but I finally got through. I told Goebbels some of what I knew but he interrupted me to let me know that he was in conference with the commander of the Berlin Guard and that everything was under control. I could tell that there were other people in the room so I asked him if he needed assistance or was under arrest. If so, we would send troops at once.

Q You mean SS troops?

M Of course. I had no power with the army after all. He told me under no circumstances should I call out the SS. This could lead to serious consequences and then he assured me that he was secure and that the matter was being cleared up. I asked Goebbels if he had heard from Himmler and he replied that he had not. I was unable to locate Himmler until the man in charge of monitoring Schellenberg's telephone came and told me that he had overheard conversations between Himmler and Schellenberg that led him to think that Himmler was waiting to see what would happen. He mentioned the name "Königgrätz" to me and asked me if I knew what it meant. Aside from the battle in 1866, it meant nothing. He said Himmler had mentioned it several times but obviously was being very careful what he said. The transcripts were being prepared as quickly as possible but in the meantime, I told him to keep me right up to the line with any sort of information.

Q Did Himmler say anything indicating knowledge of the plot, say, before it happened?

M My man, who was very proficient and professional, believed that both men had some pre-knowledge but were waiting. Also I should say that Schellenberg spoke about me to Himmler in a very negative way. He said that I had alerted the Armed SS against Himmler's orders and wondered if Himmler would give him the authority to have me put in protective custody. Such nonsense. Himmler apparently was frightened and told Schellenberg to keep as far away from me as he could and tell me nothing. Tell me what? I determined then to lay hands on this snake and squeeze him so I told one of the Armed SS officers in charge of the guard in the building to go at once and bring Schellenberg to my office. You should have seen that creature when he was brought in. He had experience in backstairs manipulating but no experience in interrogation at all. With different people, one used different approaches. With that one I was very severe. I motioned the officer out of the room, picked up a file of papers that happened to be on my desk and began to read through it. I looked up and right in his eyes. He started to bluster at me and said that he would advise Himmler of my actions. Then I asked him to explain his part in the "Königgrätz" business and at once all the fight went out of him. If he had been frightened before, he was terrified now. I took my service pistol out of the desk and laid it on the table. This genuinely horrified him and I think he felt I was going to shoot him.

Q Would you have?

M It would have depended on the circumstances entirely. At any rate, I didn't point it at him. It was just to reinforce my severity if you follow me. He said he knew nothing about "Königgrätz" but might have heard the name. I asked him if he and Himmler had discussed it less than an hour ago. Then, of course, he went to pieces and began to weep. That's when I found out about the entire business.

Q This is becoming extremely interesting. I have never heard the name before either.

M A really filthy business if you can imagine it. There was a plot in certain circles of the SS to remove Hitler and make Himmler the head of state. This plot was hatched by Gottlob Berger and some of the foreign SS people. All of their contacts were in the east...in Moscow. I told you once, Stalin's major goal was to seize the German industrial base before your people could get it. This was the aim. Dissident elements and traitors in the military commands had been approached through Seydlitz and his people and Soviet agents in the Foreign Office. If Hitler were removed from office and Himmler put in place of him, a negotiated peace would follow. Himmler would be the head of state and the SS permitted to remain intact as an internal police force. The army would join the Soviets in resisting any western aggression in the Ruhr

and everyone would be happy. How any person with the slightest knowledge of Stalin could believe this great heap of shit is quite beyond me. Stalin would certainly not permit Himmler a very long reign, the SS would be broken up and the army would be thoroughly bolshevized after Stalin had shot all of their aristocratic leaders. This would have happened for certain, believe me. And Himmler not only knew about this but gave it his tacit support. I had it all from Schellenberg who didn't need any more prompting from me. He was now terrified that I would shoot him for treason and he had no idea where he stood until I told him that before I took any further action in his case, I would first have to speak with Himmler in person. At first, Schellenberg denied knowing where Himmler was but I soon convinced him to put through a call to *Reichsheini* and have him come at once to the Prince Albert building. Schellenberg then made a call on what he thought was a safe line. It was interesting to listen to him. If he had tried to warn Himmler, I would have found it necessary to use force on him but this proved to be unnecessary. Schellenberg always played to the side with the most power and at that moment, I had more than Himmler. I had knowledge and that was power. In due time, Himmler came, with a large entourage but without Kaltenbrunner. Himmler was obviously angry with me for interfering in his plans but as always, he was polite and courteous in front of his staff. I told him quietly that I had very important information for him. Matters of state. He hesitated and finally went into my office by himself. I had previously told the guard to keep everyone connected with Himmler out of the room. Schellenberg was locked in his office with no telephones. The guards in front of his door had orders to shoot him if he tried to escape. Fortunately for him, he did not. Now Himmler began to reproach me for activating the Armed SS in Berlin. He stressed that he was acting on Hitler's orders and trying to prevent a clash between the Party and the army at all costs. He had prepared his speech carefully and alluded to high level decisions that, of course, he could not discuss. I pointed to a phone on my desk and told him that I had just spoken with Hitler personally and was aware of what was in progress. At that, Himmler became very pale and said nothing. Once I had control of the situation, I began to interrogate him but in a careful way to be sure. I said that the headquarters of the Reserve Army was obviously the center of the coup and it would be necessary to seize it at once. I told him that Piffdrader had not returned after being sent to arrest Stauffenberg and also that I had spoken to Goebbels on the matter. I further said that the Watch units were now acting under Goebbels' command and would soon occupy the Bendler block. This made the alert for the Armed SS not necessary unless I had evidence that the coup was spreading in Berlin. Himmler had no choice but to agree with me and I said that Jüttner was more than capable of handling this business. I was acting only in a temporary capacity of course. Again, Himmler was very polite to me, expressing his thanks for my prompt actions. Himmler had no doubt that the *Putsch* was doomed. What else he knew, I was unaware of, but he certainly knew the Watch units were going into action and very obviously could see that the business was doomed. One would have thought that Himmler, as guardian of the state, would have been overjoyed that the business was coming to a quick end, and further, that one of his very own SS Generals, myself of course, had been instrumental in this end. This was not the case at all. He was conventionally polite but it was very plain that he was disappointed at the outcome. At that point, I said to him in a very cold but also correct way that I had uncovered the leadership of the bomb plot and I was deeply dismayed to discover that members of the SS were involved in it.

Q I should imagine that Himmler was as terrified as Schellenberg at that point. He had no way of knowing if you had actually been in touch with Hitler, had he?

M No. He assumed it. People assume a great deal sometimes to their disadvantage. He looked concerned and asked me very directly what I had uncovered. I only had to say "Königgrätz" and he began to twitch in the face. "I have never heard that name before," he said. My response was to tell him that I had the entire story from Schellenberg less than an hour before. I reminded Himmler that I had once told him not to trust Schellenberg. He broke in to explain that of course he had heard of plots to replace Hitler or to make peace with this side or that but he had no sympathy with this sort of thing. He had, naturally, listened to what was said to learn what was going on. He had advised Hitler, he said, very smugly, what was going on and Hitler had approved his course of action. I then wanted to know why I, as head of internal counterespionage and security, had not been informed about this? Himmler rolled his eyes and said that these things had best be kept very secret. I would have been notified when Himmler had all the evidence in hand. Yes, I told him, and now I had evidence from others which certainly was not favorable to a number of people in the SS leadership. I mentioned Gottlob Berger, the head of the Main Office and Himmler's chief supporter. Berger was the man most responsible for the organization and supply of the Armed SS. I think you know that the SS was outside the regular military and had to equip itself and secure recruits on its own. There were two men who were vital to Himmler's Armed SS. One was Pohl who raised the cash and the other was Berger who raised troops...mostly from eastern Europe, initially from racial Germans and then later almost anyone

who was warm. Very grotesque to find Moslems and Hindus in the SS. But Berger had Himmler's ear, believe me. Berger himself had been a combat soldier in the first war and no one questioned his bravery, but in politics he was a real toady. He was Himmler's spy, constantly running to him with tales, most of which he got from Schellenberg. Berger also constantly wrote letters to this or that official calling him to task about little breaches of etiquette. I told you about how obsessed Himmler was with the correct use of titles and so on. Berger was a nuisance to everyone...a genuine kisser of Himmler's backside. But a very competent organizer in the end. I have some knowledge of Berger...

Q During or after the war?

M During the war. You see, a number of senior SS officials decided that Germany was likely to lose the war. They had their own empire to think about and eventually...about 1943...they decided that they would get rid of Hitler and put Himmler up as the head of state. They were connected, as I found out later, with all the small resistance groups as well as with the enemy, both in the east and west. They could cover their tracks because they had the police power and I must say with some embarrassment that I had no specific knowledge of this. I did, however, know about how they were going to finance their empire, even after the war. It was the "Bernhard" operation...

Q Counterfeit money...

M Exactly so. The faking of British and American currency had a double purpose. The first was to cause economic havoc with the economy of both countries and to get funds to pay for intelligence operations and put away something for themselves. I objected to it on these grounds. When I complained to Himmler earlier about the enrichment aspect of this, he told me to mind my own business. I wonder how much he had put away?

Q As much as you had?

M I am sure not. He was basically very moralistic and would have been horrified at taking as much as I did. But then, you see, I'm here and he's off in the woods somewhere. It's far better to be a live dog than a dead lion, don't you think?

Q Please go on. Did you mention any of this to Hitler?

M No. There are matters best left unsaid in the end. When I mentioned Berger, Himmler became very agitated and said he would hear nothing about the true father of the Armed SS and his most reliable man. He glared at me and said that he wished all senior SS personnel were as loyal. Then he told me that as I was an SS officer, I was under his personal command and he forbade me to pursue this matter any further. My reply was that while I was indeed an SS general, my agency, the Gestapo, was not an SS organization but was a state agency and Hitler was my superior in these matters. I referred to the expected call from the Headquarters and said that if Himmler had any questions about this, we could both speak to the *Führer* about it. That pricked his boil and he began to shake his head. No, he said, we must not disturb him with this material which he was liable to misinterpret in his state of mind. Then Himmler asked me what I wanted from him. That, to my mind was a confirmation of my tentative conclusions. Of course, he said, no one was guilty of any treasonable offense and Hitler knew he was keeping in touch with the dissidents but it would be better to allow Hitler to run the war while he, Himmler, was his trusted shield on the home front. And, of course, at the front with his Armed SS who alone kept the enemy at bay.

My response was that Schellenberg must be kept away from sensitive material and that Himmler must rein Burger in and prevent either of them, and by implication Himmler himself, from fishing in troubled waters. There must be no more falls from grace. Himmler understood this very clearly and offered me a promotion in rank and suggested that I might like to replace Kaltenbrunner as head of the RSHA. I was never tempted although a promotion was not unattractive. I could see the end coming and I declined the RSHA but I did say that I must be given absolute control over the investigation of the plot otherwise the wrong people might find out what I had and there would be serious problems for the SS in general.

Damaging facts, I said, and Himmler agreed. I did get such a position and I had no further problems with Himmler. I did root out Arthur Nebe, head of the Criminal Police who was involved. It took us five months but we got him and strung him up nice and proper. A terrible pity. Arthur was such an unqualified shit that we should have displayed him at the zoo. Berger went off to Slovakia to put down a revolt and Kaltenbrunner ran around in circles like a stupid dog chasing his tail. You did hang him in the end and he deserved it. Kaltenbrunner was a crazy, sadistic and brutal man who was one of the genuine murderers of Jews and others. It was a moment of rare pleasure for me...and others...when Pohl punched him in the face. I wish I had a picture of Kaltenbrunner weeping with blood running out of his nose. Pohl, at least, never took part in the treason and self-enrichment. You ought to let him go after all.

Q I have no control over any of that and you know it. Schellenberg? He survived.

M And kept his office too. But every time I stopped in to say good morning to him, he used to turn white as flour. He certainly was on his best behavior, at least as long as he was around me. Skorzeny, who now works for you, told me that Schellenberg was an insect and ought to be stepped on. Large Otto is not a bad sort but hardly the master spy type. He will do what you tell him and aside from a great love of attention, is quite decent.

Q We can talk about Skorzeny later.

M I'm sure we will, And I hope you would keep your hands off of Schellenberg. If he ends up working for you, perhaps Otto and I could throw him out of a window. And you can add Globocnik to the bunch too. By the way, Nebe liked Wirth who gassed everyone and he even ran one of the Combat Commands in the east and slaughtered many Jews. Just the man to make a resistance hero out of.

Q We all know about Schellenberg who as far as I know has no future at all with our agency. I agree with your evaluation of him. Intelligent but no character at all. I had to interview him once and I personally have no use for him.

M Very much like Warlimont and Berger. Always whispering, always scheming. A real poison dwarf. Once creatures like that have been in power, they always hunger to get back into it again. Small men need large attentions. As for myself, I had far more power than any of them but it was real power. You understand that I did not appear on the stage at functions or carry around my own private photographers like Ribbentrop. The reality of power is far more important than its trappings. No one likes a policeman and no one wanted me at their pompous gatherings. I was content to spend my time working and doing the best I could while the other former gymnastic teachers or show riders strutted around in fancy uniforms. Heydrich was of the same cut but at least he had the intelligence to know what he was doing and the ability to succeed at what he did. He was a fine musician, a very good fencer and flew for the *Luftwaffe* during the war. He was a difficult and very often strange person but he was not the same as the others. Kaltenbrunner was a brute and so was Bormann. Bormann was more intelligent and less erratic but another whisperer. I see the matter in this way: We were fighting a deadly war against terrible enemies. The idea was to win and to preserve the lives and property of our citizens. Moving into big castles, driving around in huge limousines and stealing everything in sight, like Frank, was certainly against my nature. If I had my way, all of them would be sent to the front for the Ascension detail.

Q What?

M Out in front of the lines to find the minefields. Preferably with their feet. And then up to Heaven with a great bang. You have no military sense of humor, do you?

Q Not in that sense.

M I remember once when Warlimont sent his General Müller to see me about my taking part in the killing of people in the rear areas of Russia. The bandits. An oily man and full of oblique statements. I could help the country by killing off these evil people. I might even get a promotion out of it if I and the Gestapo helped the army slaughter any troublemakers. The shovel got full very quickly with that one and I stood up and told him very directly what I thought about him and his plans. I told him that if he or his chief ever came around me again with such criminal nonsense, I would personally send him down to the cells. He could have a nice long visit with Father Phillip.* Later I got a letter from Himmler about this. General Müller was so frightened that he had to take sick leave and Warlimont was whining about how uncivilized I was. You know that the SS has had to take responsibility for the crimes of the army but I personally would have nothing to do with this. Arthur, on the other hand, Arthur the champion of German decency and freedom, ran off to the east and killed his share of Jews and peasants. When Himmler asked me, as a matter of form, I flatly refused and nothing more was ever said about it.

Q Did you ever get the call from Hitler on the 20th?

M No, of course not, but Himmler kept expecting it. That sort of thing keeps people on their toes and also keeps the bowels open.

Q I think you have more than answered my questions. Thank you.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

Published material on the 20th of July affair has dealt mainly with the history of the plotters. The investigation into their motives, backgrounds and actions which fills extensive files both in the United States and German archives is largely ignored except to vilify the investigators. Since most of the records of the event fell into Gestapo hands, historians friendly to the plotters have had their work cut out to extract favorable references to their subjects while simultaneously ignoring anything of a negative nature.

The reaction of the Gestapo to the Putsch in Berlin is only briefly considered. Höhne in his *Order of the Death's Head* mentions that Müller had no idea of what was actually happening in Berlin and took no counter-measures. He mentions the fact that Müller was only aware of the activity of the plotters in the late afternoon of 20 July although the blast had occurred at noon. The Gestapo had instituted an extensive telephone surveillance system throughout Germany and it would seem that if a revolt were in progress that their technicians would have learned of it almost at once. That nothing was done as a countermeasure until six hours after the bomb explosion at Hitler's headquarters is cited as an example of the ineptness of Müller's command. In actual fact, Kaltenbrunner was notified within minutes of the explosion and less than an hour later, an aircraft full of forensic police specialists was en route to East Prussia. It should be noted that the plotters in Berlin did not activate their revolt until after Stauffenberg had returned to Berlin and then only after considerable prodding and deliberate misstatements on the part of the assassin. Until late in the afternoon, therefore, there was no plot to counter, no orders issued over the monitored teletype and telephone systems and no unauthorized troop movements in the capital. When the machinery of revolt was set in motion, this movement came to Müller's attention at once. Historians rarely consider chronology but prefer instead to press their agendas.

In 1956, what was purported to be the memoirs of Walter Schellenberg of the SD appeared in print entitled *The Labyrinth*. Immediately accepted by a few serious historians as a valuable study of the inner workings of the German intelligence service and widely quoted, this work deserves careful analysis. Alan Bullock, a competent British scholar, wrote the forward to the book in which he brought out his own doubts about its authenticity. A manuscript had surfaced after Schellenberg's death in 1952 and was being touted in the publishing world as completely authentic. His wife and literary agent claimed to have seen Schellenberg working on it in the months before his death. There were no substantive or accurate works on the period in print in the mid-1950s and those books in print were grossly inaccurate, anecdotal in nature and ideological in thrust. In spite of Bullock's carefully worded doubts, *The Labyrinth* became part and parcel of the historical record. Forty years later, with archival material more easily available, it is painfully obvious that the Schellenberg memoirs are in the same category as the Hitler diaries and of equal uselessness as source material. Where accounts of Schellenberg's activities published before the book in question exist, the book quotes from them at length. Where nothing had been published previously, the book is silent. In relationship to the plot against Hitler in general and the actions in Berlin on the day of the putsch, there is not one word in the book. Other historically important events in which Schellenberg is now known to have played an important role are entirely missing as well, without any doubt because nothing had been published about them prior to 1956. If Schellenberg had, in fact, written the memoir, he would not have had to rely on another creative writer's activities to recall his own experiences.

Information on "Königgrätz" is extremely difficult to locate in any files but a declassified document from US CIC sources contains a brief reference to this. document Höhne, among others, has commented on Himmler's strange inactivity and apparent disinclination to take decisive action in the hours immediately following the attempt. This tardiness in an individual normally noted for his crisp efficiency becomes much more understandable in light of Müller's remarks.

Königsgrätz Revisited

Mention was made by Müller of an *Aktion Königsgrätz*. Müller commented that, “There was a plot in certain circles of the SS to remove Hitler and make Himmler the head of state. This plot was hatched by Gottlob Berger and some of the foreign SS people. All of their contacts were in the East...in Moscow.”

Almost nothing could be uncovered about this alleged plot until a report from the US Army Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) surfaced. There was only a brief mention of this intended action, but it was sufficient to establish that it was a viable factor.

To bolster the contention and support Müller’s comments, the first page of the CIC report was published in the American edition of the book but not the German. The entire CIC file is included here with commentary by the actual participants. A number of misspellings of German names and locations have been corrected in this review.

The report is on standard American military forms, WD 341/1 June 1947. It is headed, “Agent Report, German Nationalist Underground (Communist Penetration)/ RE Activities in the British Zone/ RE Project HAPPINESS/11.” The date is December 2, 1948 and the control number is IV-2090/11.13:

1. Reference is made to paragraph 161. Consolidated Orientation and Guidance Report, Headquarters, 7970th CIC Group, EUCOM, dated 9 July 1948.

2. Allegedly, the DAHLKE Group is an armed group in the German underground and all its members possess firearms. The group is also alleged to have connections with the SED. (Sozialistische Einheits Partei Deutschland -German Party of Socialist Unity, the Communist political entity in the Soviet Zone of Germany). The most prominent personalities of the group are:

1. Walter DAHLKE, HAMBURG, (L54/S55) Kielortallee 2

2. Alexander DOLEZALECK, former SS-Hauptsturmführer

3. Dr. Herbert BEER, LUETJENBURG (Ost Holstein)

4. Dr. Herta SUADICANI, BERLIN-WILMERSDORF

a. Walter DAHLKE, former Captain in a German Armored Division is now a student of law at the HAMBURG University where he is in contact with communist students. He is described as a very complicated and mistrusting person. He was recently contacted by members of the National Committee Freies Deutschland (A Soviet group of former German military personnel), who are said to have furnished identification and gave DAHLKE messages from a Captain who resides in the Soviet Zone. DAHLKE told a sub-source that all illegal transports of arms are brought into the Western Zones at a point between JERKSHEIM and GUNZLEBEN near HELMSTADT. The transports are camouflaged as furniture transports from LEIPZIG.

b. Alexander DOLEZALECK, former SS-Hauptsturmführer in the Germanische Leitstelle (of the SS Main Office), participated in the so-called “Aktion Königsgrätz” in 1944 (groups within the SS and the German Foreign Office who secretly sided with the Soviet plan to murder HITLER and replace him with HIMMLER). DOLEZALECK has resided in the Soviet Zone since 1945 and is working actively for the SED, FDJ (Freies Deutsche Jugend- Free German Youth, the Communist youth group with mandatory membership) and the Trade Unions. He has a leading position in SCHWERIN, and under the alias of BOMHOFF, attends to the cultural administration for the SED. He is a member of the Deutscher Volksrat (German Peoples’ Council, a Communist organization) and participated in the meetings of this organization. On March 19, 1948, he held a secret meeting with the DAHLKE Group in HAMBURG. He crossed the border illegally under the name of DORRNICK and was accompanied by a former German professional officer whose name is not known but who is allegedly a leading personality in the FDJ in DRESDEN (N52-F29). At this meeting, DOLEZALECK stated that it is his task to establish contact with illegal national groups in the Western Zones and to find a common basis for common action. Stress was also put on the Bodenreform (Land Reform movement of the Soviets) and Socialization during the meeting but a complete agreement was not reached. It was agreed that close contact should be maintained between DOLEZALECK, DAHLKE and BEER. Consequently, DAHLKE made several visits to DOLEZALECK in the Soviet Zone and Dr. BEER also went there in May 1948. DOLEZALECK also has the task of bringing former members of “Amt VI” of the RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt- SD) into the Soviet Zone. When DAHLKE returned from his first visit to the Soviet Zone, he told sub source about the secret training of

former German Army personnel in the vicinity of FUERSTENWALDE and DESSAU. DOLEZALECK is expected to return to HAMBURG in the middle of December, 1948 for another meeting.

c. Dr. Herbert BEER was a Major and Commanding Officer of an Engineer Unit in the German Army. In 1946, he started extensive political activity and built up an organization of his many friends from both the Western and Eastern Zones of Germany. Allegedly he was imprisoned by the Soviets, NKVD, at the end of 1945 and entered the Western Zones in 1946. He is also supposed to be covering his activity by working for British Intelligence. Knowing that he is closely watched by the British, he claims that he has succeeded in fooling his British liaison about his real activity. Besides his home in LUETJENBERG (M55/N83), where he runs a translation office, he has another apartment in HAMBURG, Isestrasse 139/III.

d. Dr. Herta SUADICANI, BERLIN-WILMERSDORF, was also a member of the "Germanische Leitstelle" and works with BEER, DOLEZALECK, and travels between BERLIN (N53/Z75), NUREMBERG and MUNICH. When in MUNICH, she resides at the apartment of former SS-Standartenführer SPAARMANN, MUNICH, Anglerstrasse 18. She is also very friendly with Gerhard RIEMER, MUNICH, Agnes Bernauerstrasse 86, the former Ortsgruppenleiter of the NSDAP in Poland. He is an employee of the laboratory of the METZLER tire factory in MUNICH and also works for BEER.

e. Gerda KIRCHNER, STUTTGART-BAD CANNSTADT, maintains liaison for BEER and he stays at her apartment when visiting STUTTGART (L49/S02).

f. Professor Dr. Rudolf SEWIG, BRAUNSCHWEIG (M53/X90), Campestrasse 7, works with DAHLKE and BEER. SEWIG is a leading employee of the Photo firm of VOIGTLAENDER and maintains another apartment in the same house as Dr. BEER in HAMBURG, Isestrasse 139.

g. Otto ZANDERER, former Hauptbannführer of the HJ (Hitler Youth) succeeded Reinhold SCHLOESSER as chief of the Cultural Department of the "Reichsjugendführung" (national leadership of the Hitler Youth) and is now chief of the Cultural and Political Department of the "National Zeitung" (a newspaper) in BERLIN, and also belongs to the DOLEZALECK Group.

h. Dr. BEER is also well acquainted with Generalarzt Dr. SCHREIBER, the right-hand man of General SEYDLITZ (the head of the Freies Deutschland group). SCHREIBER recently escaped to the Western Zones. BEER, who is regarded as SCHREIBER's future son-in-law, told Source that it was untrue that SCHREIBER, as officially reported, used the first opportunity to escape to the Western Zones when he was brought to the Soviet Zone. BEER also stated that SCHREIBER has been in BERLIN several times since 1945 and each time traveled back to MOSCOW on the "Blue Express." DAHLKE said that SCHREIBER's escape to the Western Zones was a well organized maneuver on the part of the Soviets.

i. Dr. BEER is in contact with a former member of the Waffen-SS (first name unknown) KOELN, LENSahn (Oldenburg). KOELN brought two members of the RSHA Amt VI, whose names are not known at present, into the Soviet Zone where they received good positions with the Soviet Intelligence. This was accomplished with the aid of a female Russian refugee in LUEBECK, whose name is unknown.

SOURCE: F-2518-IV-G EVAL: B-3

3. (Censored entirely)

Approved: MARIE T. CLAIR

ERNEST GUNTHER, Special Agent, CIC Case Officer.

This report on Soviet espionage in the Western Zones appears to be reasonably detailed. The purpose for including a copy of the first page in the Appendix of the American version was to indicate that there was a plan, fathered in Moscow, to kill Hitler and replace him with Himmler.

The names of the participants contained in the report were unknown, and who today might reasonably be expected either to be dead or in nursing homes awaiting the final trip to the cemetery. In December of 1995, the author received a letter from Alexander Dolezaleck, Director of a private library called the *Dokumentenabinett* located in the town of Vlotho in the vicinity of Hannover, Germany. Dolezaleck had read the German version of the Müller book, noticed the reference to *Königsgrätz*, and wrote to discuss his leadership of this action and his reasons for his participation. Dolezaleck had not seen the CIC report, which was not reproduced in the German edition, and had no idea of its existence.

In his letter, Dolezaleck stated that he had received an unsigned letter from someone inside Amt IV (Gestapo) of the RSHA, warning him that he was meddling in matters that were the prerogative of the *Führer* alone. He wrote that he had been head of the Planning Section (*Hauptamt "Planung"*) of the SS Main Office (*SS-Hauptamt*), Section D (which was later called the *Germanische Leitstelle*, and later the

Europa-Amt). This section dealt with foreign volunteers in the *Waffen-SS*. Dolezaleck's letter explained that there were over 36 countries represented by his section of the SS Main Office. He stated that Müller did not understand the concept of this section and would have put him in a concentration camp had he discovered what Dolezaleck and his friends were doing.

These activities were described as the concerned action of front-line soldiers, such as himself, regarding the outcome of the war. They were afraid of another dictated peace like Versailles or Trianon. They believed in using an "inner line" between East and West as a way to increase the numbers of contacts in internal and external politics. Dolezaleck referred to this as a dangerous and risky course and he had named the project after the battle of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 in remembrance of Otto von Bismarck's policy. Bismarck had once been the Prussian Ambassador to the Czar and was generally regarded as pro-Russian. This was, of course, before the Bolshevik Revolution in 1918. He ended the letter by mentioning that he could mail tape recordings and copies of documents to the author if he wished them.

Following this letter, the author sent a full copy of the CIC report to Dolezaleck and received a letter dated January 12, 1996, which was more specific than his first. In this communication, Dolezaleck stated that the CIC report was 90% pure fantasy and 10% misunderstanding. He claimed that he did not know Dahlke, Gerda Kircherer, Professor Dr. Sewig, Otto Zanderer and Frau (sic) Koeln. He did, however, know Herta Suadicani, who had married and was now Mrs. Schütze and lived in the city of Fulda. Dr. Beer was also known to him, but he had been dead for some time.

Dolezaleck stated that the report was due to the NKVD's penetration of the CIC and, like Dr. Beer, he had been imprisoned by the NKVD for unspecified reasons in 1950. He wrote that he would search through his files for more information.

The next, and last, letter received was dated January 18, 1996 and was much shorter than the previous two. Dolezaleck wrote that he had been advised by a friend (unnamed), that the report must have been the product of a Soviet double-agent. The writer did not appear to be pleased with the contents of the CIC report. However, he supplied no specific information to refute the charges of being a Soviet agent and addressed none of the points the CIC report had raised.

This was left to Dr. Herta Schütze neé Suadicani who wrote on March 15, 1996 from Fulda. She had received a copy of the CIC papers from Dolezaleck. Schütze stated that she had no knowledge of the Dahlke group or of Dahlke himself. She indicated that she was well acquainted with Dolezaleck and Beer, since she attended the Berlin University with them from 1933 to 1939. Schütze stated that Dr. Beer had died in 1971 and that she believed that he knew nothing about Königgrätz. She had known Dolezaleck since 1936 when she had been in a student work group with him at the Berlin University. After her graduation in the autumn of 1939, Schütze was in the Warthegau, once a part of Poland, where she worked with the resettling of German nationals between 1940 through 1944.

In August of 1944 and until the end of the war, Schütze was assigned to the *Europa Amt* of the SS Main Office which was run by *SS-Standartenführer* Erich Spaarmann. She lived in Berlin-Zehlendorf and not Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

After the war, Schütze visited Dolezaleck at the town of Gadebusch where he was a teacher. She neglected to say that Gadebusch was in the Soviet Zone, very close to the city of Schwerin. The CIC report stated that Dolezaleck worked as a functionary of the SED in Schwerin. She also acknowledged that when she visited Munich, she stayed with Alice Spaarmann, which is consistent with the CIC report. Schütze's final remarks indicated the entire CIC report was nonsense and that she had no knowledge of any persons mentioned in it.

The reader may draw what conclusions they wish from the CIC report and responses to it from Dolezaleck and Schütze. What is important is that Dolezaleck acknowledged he was in the SS Main Office on July 20, 1944, the day of the attempt on Hitler's life. He claims that he and his friends were seeking a negotiated settlement for the end of the conflict that involved Soviet contacts. Dolezaleck wrote that he lived in the Soviet Zone and had been visited there by his former classmate and fellow member of the Germanic Section of the SS Main Office, Dr. Herta Suadicani.

Both the CIC report and Müller have specifically stated that the action in question was Soviet-directed and was run from inside the Germanic Section of the SS Main Office and the German Foreign Ministry. Dolezaleck spoke of his interest in the Russian Volunteer units raised by the Army and the SS, and the man who prepared the organizational structure for these groups was Stauffenberg himself.

Müller and CIC agents have supplied the dots, and Dolezaleck and *Frau Doktor* Schütze have merely connected them and helped to clarify an important but hitherto very obscure part of German history.

Had the CIC report been included in the German version, it is rather doubtful that they would have ever written their comments and apologia.

The Müller interviews contain numerous sections on the July 20 episode and some of the more important ones are included here.

Excerpt on Rommel

Q Now, General, in going through these notes on the 20th of July, I have to get into the matter of Marshal Rommel and his part in the event. Can you address this?

M Rommel? Yes, certainly. What do you want to know about that?

Q Well, we have a study from a former general of his staff that indicates that Rommel was an active member of the plot and wanted to overthrow Hitler. Also, did Rommel commit suicide or was he killed? This should be within your knowledge.

M Oh yes, it was. I would assume that the study is by Speidel.⁴⁷

Q Yes.

M I never...we never interrogated Rommel but we did interrogate Speidel and his associates. Speidel was...or came to our attention after the interrogations in Paris and elsewhere of Hofacker. He was a colonel in the air force and a cousin of Stauffenberg. Hofacker was deeply involved in the plot to kill Hitler and was soon caught. Like the others, he at once confessed to his part in the business and again, like the others, fell all over himself to implicate anyone he could. Speidel was one of these. We interrogated Speidel in Berlin in...I believe September of that year...

Q In 1944?

M Obviously. I wasn't interrogating anybody in September of 1945. If I may go on...Speidel was very cooperative and also very evasive. He stated that Rommel was actively engaged in the plot to kill Hitler and, of course, this information had to be passed on to Hitler. Hitler did not believe Speidel but the matter had to be investigated further.

Q Did you believe Speidel?

M On some things but not on all. He was afraid for his life as most of them were. They could play with fire but they didn't want to get burned. I believe that Rommel knew nothing about the Stauffenberg murder plot. I do believe that Rommel felt some kind of a solution to the war had to be found. He sent a memo on this to Hitler, after all. But as far as a plot to kill Hitler goes, no, Rommel had no knowledge. You know that Rommel was a difficult sort of person. Very hard to get along with, stubborn, outspoken and abrasive to his staff. None of the senior army officers in France liked him. Also, Rommel was very popular in Germany because of his campaign in Africa and the assassins saw Rommel as a respectable facade for their *Putsch*. Rommel had no knowledge of the bomb attempt and was, in the final analysis, loyal to Hitler and would never have taken part in an assassination plot. But Speidel accused him, as did Hofacker, and the matter was turned over to the army investigation board. It came down to believing Speidel or Rommel, and Guderian and his clique did not like Rommel so they decided at the least to investigate him. Then something else came up. These gentlemen were afraid to bring Rommel to Berlin to question him for fear of what he might then decide to say about their anti-Hitler friends so Rommel was told to kill himself. I know this because the Gestapo office was involved in some of the details. It was not my decision nor Hitler's at that point. I know Hitler was upset, but at that time he was very angry and very suspicious of the military. On the other hand, he needed them badly. After we seized Fellgeibel...

Q The signals commander?

M Yes, that one. He was a leader in the plot and we seized him right away. There were others in his headquarters, Thiele⁴⁸ for example, who were also suspect and there were suicides and so on. I had to make

⁴⁷ Hans Speidel, born in 1897, was a Lieutenant General in 1944 and was Chief of the General Staff of Army Group "B," Rommel's command. Speidel himself was involved in the plot but when arrested, made statements about Rommel's involvement that were inaccurate and extremely self-serving. After the war, Speidel became a General in the Bundeswehr.

⁴⁸ Fritz Thiele, born in 1894, executed September 4, 1944. Lieutenant General in 1944 and senior signals officer in the High Command. Thiele had, among other things, passed highly secret material to a Soviet spy ring in Switzerland prior to his apprehension.

it plain that I had no intentions of bothering further with their department. Hitler told me to leave them alone because loyal or not, he needed their technical services. The same applied to other important officers. I am sure, for example, that Kluge was trying to surrender to the British but missed his connections. When we wanted him in Berlin, he drew the proper conclusions and killed himself. He knew what we were up to and did not want the disgrace of a trial. Rommel was a different matter though. In the end, he was as much a victim of Stauffenberg as Hitler was supposed to be. Just as an aside, much of the poor military behavior in France after the invasion was due to deliberate attempts on the part of the plotters and their friends to surrender to the West or to let the Americans and British through the lines to get into Germany before the Russians. Units were withheld from combat and all kinds of contacts were initiated with your side. Apparently, the lower level American and British officials were receptive to this but were blocked from acceptance by both Roosevelt and Churchill who only wanted to obliterate Germany from the map. How many people died as a result of this contemptible shortsightedness I cannot say. Now, no doubt, you might wish to employ Speidel in some post. You should use some caution, you know, in dealing with such creatures. If they would betray their seniors and their country so quickly, what would they do to you? I know Halder is working for you and that weak-kneed old grandmother will turn on you if he felt it was to his advantage. Here is a man who went to the CIC Army and asked him to get the police to assist the army in maintaining order in the rear areas in Russia and then later denying this and blaming the SS and Himmler for the excess he personally instigated. These aren't men at all. You are welcome to them. Why not take the lot to your country and keep them out of Germany? We don't need or want such filth.

Q In their defense, couldn't it be said that they saw in Hitler the incarnation of evil, a man who was destroying their country and who had to be stopped?

M Now you sound like the lambs of God. Hitler did not destroy Germany. You and the Russians did that and a country has the right to defend itself against its enemies. And I had the right and the duty to root out your agents and other forms of traitors during this struggle. I have absolutely no regrets whatsoever and if your people use such reptiles, be warned of the consequences. You know about Gehlen and his reports. Of course, I am quite certain that Gehlen does what you tell him to. But insofar as Rommel is concerned, it would be a disgrace to try to lump him in with the Speidels and Stauffenbergs. Rommel was, for all his personality problems, a good soldier, a loyal soldier and a very brave man. I would be personally outraged if you try to paint this war hero as a traitor and coward. I know that my opinions are not of any real importance but you have them and that's the end of that subject.

Betrayal from London

Q ...I have been requested to ask you about something pertaining to the 20th of July business and certain purported actions of the British in its aftermath. There is a report that shortly after the failure of the attempt, the British somehow supplied you, or the Germans at any rate, information about members of the conspiracy. Gave you their names in short. Can you speak to this at all?

M That was a nasty business. Quite correct. Broadcasts coming directly from the British side via *Soldatensender Calais* and another station named many actual conspirators, quite in public. Naturally, of course, I found this information incredible and at first did not believe it but of course checked it carefully and all of it turned out to be true. God knows how many people I managed to arrest from that source and I should say that my people in Bern received direct from a known British intelligence officer, lists of names, positions and addresses of plotters who had been in touch with their government since prior to the war. I must say that nearly all of this material was accurate and when I questioned the prisoners, they admitted their British contacts. Trott was one of these.

Q Can you...or rather did you know then why the British would do this? Weren't they betraying these people to certain death?

M Of course they were. The only reason I can give you is one I heard from a neutral diplomat of high rank who was in England at the time and a man who had excellent connections with the British leadership at the highest level. That is to say Churchill. It was his order...a specific and not a general order...to give us this information. I think you could say that Churchill was a creature that has certain problems. Someone like Freud would have liked to tinker with him. Churchill is probably more vicious than anyone I ever knew in Germany. He hated Germans to the bottom of his soul and to him, all Germans were evil and should be killed, even those who fought against Hitler. They even turned over to us the names of some German traitors living in Switzerland. Of course there was a problem dealing with these individuals because they were resident in a neutral country. Still, eventually, a number of them passed on to a better life or

accidentally crossed the border to Germany. Do I understand this behavior? From a rational standpoint, I do not, but then much of what Churchill did does not stand up to reason. An alienist might understand him; I do not.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

The exposure by the British government of Germans opposed to Hitler who had been in contact with it is a subject that has hitherto received very little coverage. Nevertheless, it is true and a first hand account may be found in Marie Vassiltchikov's *Berlin Diaries*, 1940-1945 published by Knopf in 1987, pps 218-219. There are also a total of eight period transcripts of intercepted British broadcasts from *Soldatensender Calais* and *Soldatensender Eins* in Müller's files. Corroborating these is one original British script in the hands of a private collector with the original British official stamps and notations that exactly matches one of the intercepts in Müller's files. Churchill remarked to his associate Brendan Bracken on this subject that: "the more Germans kill one another, the better."

Stauffenberg Envoy

Although the material in the Müller files on the 20 July plot runs to thousands of pages, probably the most dramatic material is contained in the final chapter.

Q Although this is not important to this discussion, could you perhaps answer a question about the twentieth of July aftermath? One of the Stauffenberg family has asked about the fate of the Colonel...

M He was shot in the courtyard of the headquarters of the Replacement Army in the Bendler Street early on the 21st.

Q I was referring to the actual disposition of the remains. There has been a rumor that the bodies were secretly buried somewhere in Berlin and the family wants to get some verification of this. This isn't because they are aware of your existence but I have a note here...

M They were taken away to the St. Matthew's cemetery and buried. The next day...or rather that day, I was at a conference with Himmler present and I mentioned to him that perhaps it would be a good idea to make positive identification of the bodies. I had not seen them and neither had Himmler. He agreed that this was probably a good idea. Then I suggested that I do this personally. Also, there was a question about what the final disposition would be. I said that we shouldn't leave even a scrap behind that our enemies could make relics from and again he agreed. I suggested that after the corpses were properly and accurately identified that they be totally destroyed. By cremation. And the ashes disposed of. There was general agreement then but the question of how the ashes should be gotten rid of came up. I said I would see to it personally. I went out to the cemetery with a forensic group and the bodies were dug up, photographed with and without their uniforms. The pictures went to Himmler and to me and I have a set somewhere if you want to see it. They weren't in the best of shape. Beck had head wounds and of course Stauffenberg had lost an arm and an eye before, not to mention a bullet hole in one shoulder. But they could be identified without any real problems and then we had them put into postal service cloth mail sacks and transported to a nearby crematorium and burned. I stayed there throughout and personally supervised the business. When it was all over, there was a question about the ashes. I had them put into a metal bucket that had been full of sand for fire bombs and made very sure there were no teeth or other bits left over.

Q Not a pleasant task for you, I imagine.

M You imagine wrong. The question of what to do with the ashes was solved when one of the technicians asked the director of the crematorium where the lavatory was. I could see at once what to do with the remains so I simply put the contents of the bucket down the toilet and pulled the chain. I think it took two or three flushings to finish the business. Only then did I let the man use the facility. There was nice frosting on their cake, believe me. The bucket I took with me and threw it into the river. Tell the family not to look too hard for poor Claus. I would say he was in his proper element. I mentioned this once to Göring and he laughed for quite some time and later sent me a box of very good cigars and a case of excellent wine.

Q I don't think I will repeat any of this conversation. At least not outside our agency. We don't view Stauffenberg as any kind of a hero but then we know quite a bit about him and not only from you.

M We should have done it all while he was still alive.

Müller and the Escape from Berlin

Q And now I wish to ask you some questions about your flight from Berlin. We have some reports that you might have done several things in the last days and it is vital to our relationship that these reports be confirmed or set to rest. I don't need to tell you that it will be necessary for you to go on in your own way. I have no intention of supplying you with leading questions but I wish to hear your account based on what you have been telling me. Will you start at the time you left Berlin and go into as much factual detail as you can, minute by minute if you need to.

M Certainly. If I may make some notes here to refresh my memory as to dates and times, I will begin.

Q Do you need more paper than the pad you have there? I can get some for you if you wish.

M This is adequate, thank you.

Q If you will please proceed, I will appreciate it.

M Do you wish to stop this for a small meal?

Q Are you hungry?

M No. I was thinking of your reporter and yourself.

Q I'm sure we can survive for a while more. Would you like to start, please?

M Yes. Let me begin at the moment I left Berlin. I had left the Chancellery area very early on the 29th of April and then I changed into an air force uniform. I was a major in the air force attached to the State Air Ministry as a specialist in light aircraft. This I was able to do because I have a background in flying and also in aircraft service. In the mechanical side. I was not planning to fly myself and I had a pilot already. He was an officer in the Security Service who was also in the air force and had very extensive experience with all kinds of modern aircraft. When I first spoke with him about this plan, it was in 1944 and he was absolutely willing to work with me. For some time I had used his services to get agents in and out of Switzerland and he was personally responsible for the entire project. Although we could send agents in by various public routes, sometimes it was better to move them without going through customs controls. This man set up the routes and would fly people there. I did not want, at that time, to fly direct into Switzerland because a German aircraft entering Swiss airspace would have problems if it were discovered by the Swiss or anybody else. It was better to land just outside the border and cross it on foot. The pilot...

Q Could you give me his name, please?

M No. He did me a great service and I have no reason to make trouble for him. Let me continue if you please.

Q Of course.

M He had organized a "Stork" plane, a light communications and courier aircraft that could take off in about 50 meters and was very reliable. Also, it could land in about 130 meters. He had used one before many times, and was very confident that it would be exactly what we needed. The actual aircraft sat two people with room for some baggage. There also was a radio. This "Stork" had been part of the park for the National Leader SS but he was not in Berlin most of the time so it was organized and put in reserve. Mechanically it was in first class condition and we had more than enough good petrol to see us through. There was additional tankage that gave us a range of a thousand kilometers and as the actual distance was about 750 kilometers, there was petrol enough to spare in case of an emergency. At this time, the Russians were closing in on the government quarter and were fighting on the south side of the Spree around the Reichstag building. We took off about 2300 hours from a road in the Tiergarten and that was, thinking back, the worst part of the flight. There was heavy fighting in the area and shelling so we were not sure if we would be hit or if the road would be blown up at the last instant. The city was mostly dark but there were fires to the north and south and the sky was lit up quite a bit then. The pilot checked the road and some of our soldiers asked him what he was doing. He was a good talker and he got some of them to drag a blown down tree off the road and then we took off. That was the most dangerous time for certain. This aircraft climbed quickly and we got above the trees almost at once. Then we could see the battle right below us as we got altitude. You could see the flash of artillery and hear the noise over the engine without any trouble at all. In that aircraft, the passenger has to sit directly behind the pilot and the cockpit is such that one can look down very easily. There were fires here and there and a lot of heavy smoke in the air but we soon got altitude and managed to get above most of it. The second worry, besides ground fire, was Soviet aircraft. There had been no bombing raids on Berlin for a while because the Russians were fighting inside the city and since the Americans and British never bothered to aim at anything when they dropped their bombs, it was no doubt agreed to stop the raids. It wouldn't do to kill a few Soviets. Now, of course, they probably wish they had bombed Moscow and called it pilot error. We flew southwest to get away from

the city. I can remember looking down to the right and seeing a flight of three Russian fighter aircraft below us, flying to the north. Just the shadows against the light from the fires. Those were the only aircraft we saw on the entire flight but it was not pleasant to see them. We had to fly southwest and then south towards Beelitz. From Beelitz we went towards Chemnitz. Below us were the Russians and the other worry was that we might have to make an emergency landing. Fortunately, this did not happen and from Chemnitz we flew direct to Salzburg. There was broken cloud cover and some bad weather but we flew above it. It was impossible to see the ground most of the time, and of course, when we were over German territory, all the lights were turned out below so it was instrument flying the whole way. The pilot could understand Russian and English and listened to the radio almost the entire time. Every so often, he would turn around and give me some piece of information that he overheard. It was all bad news but nothing about aircraft movements and no indications the Americans were out. As we got further south, he kept listening to their wavelengths to see if he could hear any aircraft communications but only once and then nothing important. At Salzburg we turned southwest for Innsbruck and then went almost west to Switzerland.

Q What part of Switzerland?

M The eastern border. The sky was becoming light in the east and the cloud cover not over our landing area, which had been cleared of trees some time before and was about 5 kilometers from the border. The only way to get to it, really, was by air and only with a helicopter, of which we had a few then, or a “Stork” plane. The pilot wanted to land so he didn’t have to turn on the landing light and he was able to do so, sometime after 0400 hours. After we landed, I climbed out after him and we moved the plane under the trees into a revetment that had been set up for it earlier, when he was smuggling agents. At that time we changed our air force uniforms for civilian clothing. I supplied papers for both of us showing we were Swiss citizens. The pilot also spoke the Swiss/German dialect which is very difficult to master and he was to do all the talking if necessary. Besides, he had actually lived in the country before the war.

Q Was he Swiss?

M No, a Saxon, but you would never have known it to hear him speak to the Swiss. In a small shed back in the trees, he had a motorbike with Swiss plates and a sidecar. We put the baggage into the sidecar and drove off through the woods with me on the back seat. It was a most interesting trip over the border and down the side of a mountain. There was a smuggler’s road there that you could not see from the air or even if you were standing on it. He had been up and down it a number of times but I would not wish to try it by myself unless I was crazy or at night ever. We got to a secondary road eventually and that problem was over. I noticed that there were very few people about and the pilot said to me when I mentioned this, “Of course General, it’s Sunday today!” but I had lost complete track of time in those days. It did seem strange to be driving through villages without bomb damage and without any kind of a military presence. Later as I became accustomed to things, it seemed even stranger not to hear the air raid sirens or hear bombs falling in the next town.

Q Would you care to say where you were?

M The pilot had a small house on a large lake. This was within a nice drive by automobile to Vaduz and a little further along to the Boden Lake. Look it up on a map. I slept straight through for two days after that.

Q Did you try then to contact anyone in Germany?

M No. I was very worried about my family but in about a month, I learned that they were safe and well. I could not contact them directly, of course. Besides, I was officially dead as you know.

Q I have seen the grave.

M Did you leave flowers?

Q No, I did not. Is there anyone in the grave?

M I wouldn’t know for sure. I think someone. Maybe you should dig it up to see if I am really dead or not. Perhaps we put Bormann down there at the last...after his final trip from the bunker.

Q I do not see this as a humorous matter.

M Neither do I and I’m certain Bormann wouldn’t have found it amusing either. You know we Germans are famous for gallows humor but if you think I am a jolly fellow, you should have heard some of the things the pilot used to say.

Q I think I would rather not.

M I don’t think so either.

Q We can check on the accuracy of the facts you have given me about your trip. Without an actual landing place or the name of the pilot or your specific destination, we may have to do some further investigation. There have been stories that you left Berlin with a fortune in gold and jewels. Is there any truth in that?

M No. Fegelein had a large bag full of such things but I did not. The briefcase Hitler handed me at the last was full of paper Swiss francs but no gold or jewels.

Q A great deal of money?

M Yes. And of course I have a very comfortable sum in the safe Swiss banks, some of it Hitler's gift and a great deal more of my own. Sometimes one must make certain compromises and I had to take a great deal of the 'Bernhard' profits away from Bormann and his friends and convert it to my own use. I am certainly not in need of any money from you or anyone else.

Q Did Hitler give you anything else when he left?

M All that was in the briefcase were bundles of large denomination Swiss francs, a case with a very high order and a personal letter from Hitler thanking me for my loyalty and presenting me with this medal. It was the highest medal he could give.

Q The Knight's Cross?

M No, no, that was a military decoration. This was called the German Order and not even Göring or Himmler had it.

Q Do you still have it?

M I threw it into the lake. Of course I still have it and Hitler's letter as well. And his silver framed picture. Also I have some pictures of my family.

Q Would it be possible to see the letter?

M No. That's a personal matter.

Q Did you contact any Gestapo agents while you were in Switzerland?

M Perhaps.

Q From the date you arrived in Switzerland, did you travel outside the country ever?

M No. I preferred to be quiet and lead a peaceful life.

Q You were reported as having been seen in Munich. Were you in Munich after the war at any time?

M I said I never left the country and Munich is in Germany.

Q Have you ever spoken with anyone from Soviet intelligence?

M Many times. When they were in custody. But not since the war. I suppose they would like to speak to me now but I do not see that happening, do you?

Q Hopefully not. There may very well be some questions about Hitler's flight later. Are you prepared to discuss this with anyone else? It is in the record, you know. In this record.

M I will repeat whatever is in this record but I have no intentions of assisting your people in finding Hitler so you can put that game right out of your head. Do you follow this?

Q We had hoped...

M No. And please don't tell me that American intelligence is surprised to learn about Hitler's disappearance. I know for a fact that your people are still sniffing around looking for him and you wouldn't waste your time if you thought he was dead, now would you?

Q There have been rumors...

M If you didn't believe them, you wouldn't be looking, now would you?

Q These have to be evaluated. You know the Russians don't believe he died in Berlin either...

M Do you believe what I have said?

Q Yes, we do. We want more information, though. Perhaps in Spain...

M Maybe the Russians can fly into Madrid and say to Franco, "We are looking for Hitler. Will you help, please?" And that is the last anyone would hear from those Russians. They would probably end up fertilizing someone's orange trees. And if I were you, I shouldn't try that game either or you might end up in the next orange grove over.

Q Well, I think we have taken this as far as we can. I suggest we have the lunch you mentioned earlier and after that, we can begin to outline what we see as your role in our organization.

M You are still fully authorized as to that?

Q I am. Of course you will have to meet with several people first but the conclusion is foregone. If you want it.

M There is something to say about using my abilities to achieve a higher end but at this point, lunch is more important. Postponement is not abandonment as you know.

The Death and Transfiguration of Heinrich Müller

The flood of reports concerning the fate of Martin Bormann that poured from the pens and imaginations of journalists, amateur historians and Nazi-hunters seeking publicity and funds is both overwhelming and a source of humor, but there is almost nothing published about the fate of Heinrich Müller. There were many rumors about his fate and some of them were discussed with Müller during his 1948 interview:

Q Although we have a decent working relationship with the Army CIC, we do not have anywhere near full cooperation with them. There is a good deal of information about your fate in Berlin in 1945, most of it false. Hoettl, for example...

M A typical Austrian fantasy spinner. I couldn't believe a word he said and told Kaltenbrunner and Schellenberg to sack him. Hoettl got into the Bernhard counterfeit money business and stole with both hands and his feet. What did he say about me?

Q That you had a secret bunker built under Gestapo headquarters with tunnels leading out all over Berlin. You had this built secretly and filled with food. And apparently escaped from there in 1945.

M Nonsense. How could anyone build a secret bunker under the headquarters without attracting attention? Actually, I had a Zeppelin up on the roof of the *Reichstag* and flew away in that at the last minute. Any other stories to entertain me?

Q In fact, there is some more substantive information that you were a suicide in Berlin along with your family and were identified by the Russians and buried.

M I thought you said "substantive information." How could I be a suicide and be talking to you?

Q Ah, I have you there. You had a double you shot and left lying outside along with your family.

M Not likely. And my family survived the war as I well know.

Q You had daughters?

M A daughter and a son.

Q Two daughters were mentioned. And your wife.

M And this comes from the Russians? They must have been blind drunk and cockeyed at the time.

Q They found your papers on the body.

M I burned them personally before I left. Have you seen them?

Q No one on our side has.

M Then don't worry about that. This is an entirely stupid conversation, I must say. Are you asking me if I am dead along with my daughters?

Q I am only discussing what we have been told. We don't want this to surface at this juncture and delay processing your employment.

M That, of course, is sensible. I have no idea what your unnamed informants are talking about unless the other Müller is involved.

Q Dr. Müller would be an obvious answer. Do you know what happened to him?

M No idea whatever.

Q Did you live on the Prag Street in Berlin?

M No, I lived on a number of streets in Berlin during my residence there but never on the Prag Street.

Q We are checking the Berlin Document Center to see if the other Müller lived there.

M You might develop this idea, after all. It could save all of us problems in the future if I was officially believed to be dead.

Q We had that in mind, but we do not know who might have your papers and it is probably too dangerous to rely on this.

M I said to develop it, not accept it right out of the oven.

Q We can tell them you fled to Argentina with Bormann.

M You keep bringing Bormann up to me. If I have told you once, I have told you a dozen times that Bormann is dead. Your intelligence people and the stupid journalists so love to hear yourselves talk. Actually, Bormann is on the moon living in a special colony of SS men, former Party members and pretty girls from the "Strength through Joy" Association. They flew there after they stole my Zeppelin that was up on the *Reichstag* building. If you walk around Berlin with a push cart full of cigarettes you can get thousands of eye witnesses who will swear they saw Martin waving good-bye to them.

Q You know that I am supposed to ask you certain questions, after all. These are not my questions.

M No, you aren't an idiot. From what I have heard of Mr. Wisner...

Q Now, now, let us watch ourselves. No one is perfect.

M I've been saying that for years.

Historical Perspective—Reflections of the Author

A US Counter Intelligence report dated June 4, 1946 and concerning Heinrich Müller, states in paragraph three that: "Reports from the Russian Zone of Berlin, seem to indicate that MUELLER shot himself, his wife and three other children on 27 April, 1946." This date has been circled with a question mark and is very obviously a typographical error. Another CIC report of May 8, 1961 states that: "... "SUBJ was killed or committed suicide close WWII and buried at Standort-Freidhof, Lillienthalstr, 35, Berlin Nuekoellin. Allegedly SUBJ body subsequently exhumed for positive identification by allied authorities." On the same page of the CIC file on Müller found at Fort George Meade in Maryland, additional information is given on Müller that answers a number of puzzling questions about his purported death. Given as his date of birth are both April 28, 1900 and June 7, 1896. Also given is a home address of Prag Street 10 in Berlin.

The Chief of the Gestapo was born in Munich on April 28, 1900 and lived at Cornelius Street 22 in Berlin-Lankwitz. However, there was *another* Heinrich Müller in the RSHA, *also* an *SS-Gruppenführer* but this Heinrich Müller was *Doctor* Müller and had once been a high-ranking NSDAP official in the state of Hessen in 1933. He was a friend of Dr. Werner Best whom he invited to be Police Chief in that state. When Best went into the SS, he brought his friend Dr. Heinrich Müller with him. It was to avoid confusion that Heinrich Müller was called "Gestapo" Müller.

Dr. Müller did kill himself just before the war ended and his body was subsequently found by the Soviets. The papers discovered on the body indicated that the owner was an SS General named Heinrich Müller from the RSHA, with the date of birth and home address which are both indicated in the CIC file and in the SS personnel records of the Berlin Document Center.

When it was revealed that Gestapo Müller had survived the war, worked for Swiss intelligence and, in 1948, became employed by the American CIA, the latter agency used the story of the other Müller as a ready-made but easily disproven means to distance themselves from inconvenient facts.

Heinrich Müller's son indicated in an interview with the author that his family had been notified by German authorities that the body of SS General Heinrich Müller had been buried and that papers found on the corpse identified it. Müller stated that he had been told that this body had been dug up, examined and reburied in another area. No papers were ever shown to the family and have never surfaced in the intervening years. The purported grave of "Gestapo" Müller was opened in 1963 and parts of three other people were found in it, not a reburied corpse of a single person.

Aside from considerable activity on the part of German authorities to locate Müller for prosecution, nothing was heard about the former Gestapo Chief until a tabloid article appeared in the German magazine *Focus* in late 1995. Coincidental with the announcement of the German edition of Volume I, it described how Müller had fled to the Argentine, was discovered by Czech intelligence agents, drugged, kidnapped, flown to Moscow and shot. Müller's son was supposed to have assisted in this, a statement greeted by the son with a mixture of humor, contempt and an emphatic denial of the claim.

Another important Third Reich personality has been subjected to a far greater flood of tabloid journalism over the years but in the case of Martin Bormann, the overall body of writing sounds as if it were part of a therapy program in an asylum.

It might be instructive to consider, briefly, the post-war career of Bormann, the former *Reichsleiter* and powerful Secretary to the *Führer*, because it can serve as a comparison between historical writing and journalism. Creative writers assertions to the contrary, the two are not the same and the latter merely obscures the former. The basic facts concerning the fate of Martin Bormann are that on May 1, 1945, those persons remaining in the Chancellery bunker complex made an attempt to escape the underground confines of Hitler's last headquarters. Among these were Bormann, Dr. Ludwig Stumpfegger, Hitler's last doctor, Artur Axmann, leader of the Hitler Youth and others.

They emerged from the relative safety of the bunkers to witness Soviet troops fighting the defenders of Berlin. The two Soviet generals leading this attack, Marshals Konev and Chukov, had both been charged by Stalin with the task of conquering the capital, but instead, attacked each other to impress Stalin. The streets were littered with rubble, the corpses of German and Soviet military personnel, and civilians who had tried to venture out of their hiding places in search of better shelter and food.

The escape party broke into smaller groups; one consisted of Dr. Stumpfegger and Martin Bormann. Sometime around midnight, Axmann came across the corpses of both men lying by the railroad bridge at the Invaliden Street. Neither man showed any sign of violence, but Axmann had no time to conduct a thorough investigation. After the cessation of hostilities, the Soviets had German civilians remove the corpses in the streets and bury them as quickly as possible. A number of persons came forward later to state that the bodies of Stumpfegger and Bormann were buried on the grounds of an exhibition hall near the railroad bridge. Searches were conducted but no bodies were located.

Bormann was charged, tried at Nuremberg and sentenced to death *in absentia* and in the ensuing years, a great manhunt for Bormann was conducted, mainly in the media.

Cataloging the various sightings of Bormann would assume epic proportions; but suffice it to say that the missing *Reichsleiter* was seen in Munich, Rome, Moscow, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Chile, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Portugal, Japan and Panama. He was disguised as a farmer, a Franciscan monk, an export businessman and the owner of a bowling alley in Buenos Aires. He escaped from the ruins of Berlin on foot, in a helicopter, in a boat, a floatplane and possibly even on a donkey. He fled to Denmark or the Bavarian Alps at the same time and from there began his world cruise that so occupied various persons over the years.

Dr. Fritz Bauer, a Jewish attorney and former concentration camp inmate, became the postwar Attorney General for the State of Hesse and launched a campaign to track down and punish his former jailers. Bauer was successful in locating a number of minor players but the famous Bormann was always just one step ahead of him. His favorite phrase, given at numerous press conferences was, "We are now closing in on Bormann and will have him in custody soon."

As the police will testify, whenever a particularly notorious murder has been committed, there are always a number of individuals with weak minds who come forward and confess. This is why the police always keep some details from their press releases and these details simply are not known to the spurious killers. A number of such individuals came forward from time to time to enrich the Sunday supplements and encourage writers like Ladislas Farago who claimed to have original postwar photographs of Bormann. When these proved to be fakes, Farago went on to other projects, leaving the field to Dr. Bauer and Simon Wiesenthal, an Austrian engineer who had also been incarcerated in a camp because he had the misfortune to be Jewish. Like the Attorney General, Wiesenthal was always just one step behind Bormann, but, the elusive man was constantly moving around, hidden in underground bunkers built by Nazi escapees deep inside various South American countries which these gentlemen claimed held more Third Reich leaders than the Nuremberg Party rallies.

Bauer and Wiesenthal were both motivated by a desire for revenge, but Bauer wished to try Bormann, and Wiesenthal was apparently far more interested in publicity and fund-raising. In the end, both they and a legion of tabloid journalists were to be disappointed. They never found a living Bormann, and their publishers, who would cheerfully print a street map of the lost continent of Atlantis with a perfectly straight face, began to look for other subjects such as flying saucer landings, plots by Martians to kill President Kennedy and Global Warming.

Although a living Bormann was never found, a dead one certainly was. On December 7/8, 1972, excavations at the site of the former exhibition hall uncovered two skeletons. They were located in the approximate area where the German gravediggers claimed they had put them in 1945. The remains were subjected to thorough testing by government pathologists and the final report indicated that without a doubt, these were the remains of Dr. Ludwig Stumpfegger and Martin Bormann. Quite naturally, journalists and other individuals with heavy investments in time or money were most unhappy about this closure of what had been a low-grade money machine.

The question arises that if Bormann had indeed been dead since May 1, 1945, who was running around the world in various guises, and positively identified by hundreds of absolutely trustworthy witnesses? Perhaps a simple explanation may be found in Müller's comment about the witnesses that could be located through the medium of a cart full of cigarettes or perhaps the person seeking his few moments of fame and bribed with a bad dinner and cheap wine at a Buenos Aires restaurant might be a more likely suspect.

Although Bormann has fallen off of the stage, rumors, backed up by more trustworthy witnesses have it that Bormann was rescued by a British intelligence team who were acting on the orders of Winston Churchill. Living safely in the English countryside, Bormann died several years ago and was buried in a secret, unknown grave in England. Martin Bormann now finds himself in good company, along with Lord

Kitchener, Amelia Earhart, the Grand Duchess Anastasia of Russia, John Wilkes Booth and Elvis Presley, all of whom have been seen at various places, long after their deaths, by absolutely trustworthy witnesses

The General, the Company, and the Road to Damascus

The agency which initially interviewed Heinrich Müller in 1948 was the newly-formed CIA. The CIA, or the Company as it was known in the intelligence community, won a bidding war against British intelligence for Müller's services only to lose him to the US Army's military intelligence after 1952 after a furious interdepartmental campaign.

Heinrich Müller was not the only German general officer involved in the intelligence game who worked for the CIA. Another general was Reinhard Gehlen, former head of the German Army's *Fremde Heer Ost* or Foreign Armies East.

In 1944, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, Regent of Hungary, secretly negotiated with the Soviets to surrender and prevent a Soviet invasion of Hungary, a country which is difficult to defend from a geographical point of view. German intelligence caught wind of this and in a quick coup, removed Horthy and replaced him with Ferenc Szalasi, head of the pro-Nazi and violently anti-Semitic Arrow Cross Party. Szalasi formally requested Himmler, through his senior officer in Budapest, to remove the Jews from Hungary. Ever eager for more free labor, Himmler readily agreed and informed Heinrich Müller, whose Gestapo oversaw such transports, that as many of the Hungarian Jews as possible were to be deported as slave labor to Auschwitz.

Müller, in turn, passed this unpalatable mission on to his chief deputy and friend, *SS-Oberführer* (Senior Colonel) Willi Krichbaum. Krichbaum then went to Budapest along with Adolf Eichmann, the Gestapo official directly in charge of the human shipments which eventually totaled over 350,000 Jews. Most of these Jews did not survive the war.

Müller, Krichbaum and Eichmann survived the war and went their separate ways. Müller and Krichbaum found new careers with the victors. Eichmann escaped to South America where he was later kidnapped. After a trial, he was found guilty and executed by the State of Israel.

On May 22, 1945, a German *Wehrmacht* General, Reinhard Gehlen, the former head of the German Army High Command's Foreign Armies East, surrendered along with his key staff members to the United States military at Fischhausen in southern Germany.

Gehlen's unit was responsible for gathering and analyzing military intelligence on the Soviet Union. His staff accomplished this by interrogating prisoners in army POW camps—captured Soviet military personnel and, in their headquarters—Soviet defectors. They also studied battlefield intelligence from captured Soviet documents, maps and code books. Further material was obtained by signals intelligence which listened to Soviet non-coded, low-level combat unit radio traffic. These methods of gathering combat intelligence are standard procedures still used by all armies.

During the war, Gehlen did not have intelligence agents in the Soviet Union. The General was not accustomed to gathering and analyzing Soviet political data. Unlike Müller, whose radio playback section had direct contact with very high-level Soviet intelligence agents inside Russia, Gehlen dealt strictly with combat intelligence.

Reinhard Gehlen was born in 1902 in Erfurt, Germany, the son of a publisher in Breslau. In 1920, he joined the *Reichswehr*, rising slowly through the ranks as an artillery officer. In 1933 he was sent to the General Staff college, and in 1935, Gehlen became a captain, the lowest rank in the General Staff.

Except for a brief period in 1938 when he was posted to the 18th Artillery Regiment as a battery commander, Gehlen spent his entire career in the German Army as a General Staff officer. On April 1, 1942, Lt. Colonel Gehlen of the General Staff was appointed head of Foreign Armies East in the High Command of the Army (OKH), a position he held until April 9, 1945 when he was fired by Hitler.

Like Müller, Gehlen had microfilmed all his files before the end of the war and he offered them, plus himself and his staff, to US Army intelligence. The offer was accepted. On August 26, 1945, Gehlen and four of his closest assistants were flown to Washington for substantive talks with US authorities. Gehlen was the subject of an inter-agency struggle when Allen Dulles of the OSS, once their station chief in Switzerland during the war, and General William Donovan, commander of the agency, attempted to secure Gehlen and his files for themselves. Dulles eventually won and his assistant Frank Wisner was appointed to oversee the former head of Foreign Armies East.

The Gehlen team was based at Fort Hunt, near Washington. Gehlen began his new career by preparing a series of reports which were well received. In July of 1946, Gehlen returned to Germany, and set up shop at Pullach, a former housing project for elite Nazi officials such as Martin Bormann. Gehlen was instructed to build an intelligence agency capable of conducting the highest level surveillance of the Soviets. His microfilmed files were sold to US intelligence for \$5 million. Considering that these files only

contained material on Soviet military units that had long been disbanded or were no longer combat ready, Gehlen was very well paid for very cold coffee.

Since Gehlen had no experience with internal Soviet intelligence or with their foreign intelligence, he was hard-pressed to use his former army staff officers to supply the US with relevant material. In 1946, Gehlen hired Willi Krichbaum, formerly the deputy chief of the Gestapo, as his senior agent recruiter. While Gehlen had no experience with Soviet spies, the Gestapo certainly did, and Krichbaum immediately sought out to hire many of his old associates.

At the same time, Krichbaum contacted his former chief, Heinrich Müller, who was now a resident in Switzerland, and a respected and wealthy citizen. Müller was, by no means, inactive in his enforced retirement and was in contact with Krichbaum almost from the beginning of his exile. Lengthy handwritten reports from Krichbaum to Müller spanning nearly three years exist and, while Müller's correspondence to Krichbaum is not in his files, the Krichbaum correspondence indicates without a doubt, that "Gestapo" Müller was supplying his former deputy with reams of information on prospective employees for the new Gehlen organization, as well as a flood of concise directives on the structure necessary to implement the needs of the US intelligence.

In 1946, Gehlen began the construction of his new agency, while the Soviet military machine in the East Zone of Germany was in the process of down sizing. The Second World War had proven to be a terrible economic disaster to Stalin. His troops were in the process of dismantling German factories which were still intact, ripping up the railroad system, and sending their spoils back to Russia.

The American armed forces were also being sharply reduced, since the war in the Pacific had ended in 1945. Military units were disbanded and their soldiers returned to civilian life as quickly as possible. On the economic front, businesses that had enjoyed lucrative government military contracts found themselves with empty assembly lines and tens of thousands of laid off workers.

It has been said that there never was a good war nor a bad peace. While the latter was certainly beneficial to the Soviets and permitted them to rebuild their economy, it certainly was not beneficial for either the rapidly-shrinking military or business communities in the United States.

This situation permitted the development of the Gehlen organization and secured its position as a vital American political resource. The US had virtually no military intelligence knowledge of the Soviet Union. But the Germans, who had fought against them for four years, had. Gehlen and his military staff only had knowledge of wartime Soviet military units which were either reduced to cadre or entirely disbanded. However, this was of no interest to the senior officials of US intelligence. Gehlen was to become a brilliant intelligence specialist with an incredible grasp of Soviet abilities and intentions. This preeminence was almost entirely fictional. It was designed to elevate Gehlen in the eyes of American politicians including President Truman and members of Congress, and to lend well-orchestrated weight to the former General's interpretation of his employer's needs.

In 1948, Stalin sent troops into Czechoslovakia after a minority but efficient communist coup which overthrew the Western-oriented government. This act, in February of 1948, combined with the blockade of West Berlin, then occupied by the British, French and Americans in June of the same year, gave a group of senior American military leaders a heaven-sent opportunity to identify a new and dangerous military enemy—an enemy which could and would attack Western Europe and the United States in the immediate future.

To facilitate the acceptance of this theory, Gehlen was requested to produce intelligence material that would bolster it in as authoritative a manner as possible. This Gehlen did and to set the parameters of this report, Gehlen, General Stephen Chamberlain, Chief of Intelligence of the US Army General Staff, and General Lucius D. Clay, US commander in occupied Germany met in Berlin in February of 1948, immediately after the Czech occupation but before the blockade.

After this meeting, Gehlen drew up a lengthy and detailed intelligence report which categorically stated that 135 fully-equipped Soviet divisions, many armored, were poised to attack. General Clay forwarded this alarming example of creative writing to Washington and followed up with frantic messages indicating his fear that the Soviets were about to launch an all-out land war on the United States.

Although the sequence of events might indicate that Clay was involved in an attempt to mislead US leaders, in actuality, he was misled by Chamberlain and Gehlen. They managed to thoroughly frighten General Clay and used him as a conduit to Washington. He was not the last to fall victim to the machinations of the war party.

The Gehlen papers were deliberately leaked to Congress and the President. This resulted in the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States. This was not a historical first by any means.

Elements in England at the beginning of the 20th century, alarmed at the growing economic threat of a united Germany, commenced a long public campaign designed to frighten the British public and their leaders into adopting a bellicose re-armament program based on a fictional German military threat.

Gehlen and his organization were considered vital to US interests. As long as the General was able to feed the re-armament frenzy in Washington with supportive, inflammatory secret reports, then his success was assured.

The only drawback to this deadly farce was that the General did not have knowledge of current Soviet situations in the military or political fields. He could only bluff his way for a short time. To enhance his military staffs, Gehlen developed the use of former SS *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) and Gestapo people, brought to him by Krichbaum, his chief recruiter.

At the same time, a joint British-American project called "Operation Applepie" was launched with the sole purpose of locating and employing as many of the former Gestapo and SD types now being employed by Gehlen. Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, after all. During the course of this hunt, the prize was considered to be former *SS-Gruppenführer* Heinrich Müller, then in Switzerland. Contact with the former Gestapo Chief was through Krichbaum, acting on Müller's specific instructions.

In the resulting bidding war, the Americans easily defeated the British, and the British public was spared the possible discovery of Müller appearing, under a new name, on their New Year's Honors List instead of being made a Brigadier General of Reserve in the United States Army under a new name.

The recently uncovered files on "Applepie" are of such interest that they will be the subject of a further in-depth publication. Other document series of equal importance will include the so-called Robinson papers and a series of reports on the British use of certain former Gestapo and SD personnel in Damascus, Syria by John Marriott of the Security Intelligence Middle East (SIME). Robinson (or Robinsohn as he was known to the Gestapo officials) was a high-level Soviet agent captured in France as a result of the *Rote Kapelle* investigations. Robinson's files came into Müller's possession and reveal an extensive Soviet spy ring in Great Britain. Such highly interesting and valuable historical records should also encompass the more significant intercepts made of Soviet messages by the Gestapo from Ottawa, Canada to Moscow throughout the war. These parallel the so-called Venona intercepts which have been fully translated and are extraordinarily lengthy.

In 1948, control of the Gehlen organization was assumed by the new CIA and put under the direction of Colonel James Critchfield, formerly an armored unit commander and now a CIA section chief.

At this point, Gehlen had a number of powerful sponsors in the US military and intelligence communities. These included General Walter Bedell Smith, former Chief of Staff to General Eisenhower and later head of the CIA; General William Donovan, former head of the OSS; Allen Welch Dulles, former Swiss station chief of the OSS and later head of the CIA; Rear Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, first head of the CIA; General Edwin Sibert of US Army military intelligence and Generals Chamberlain and Clay. American military intelligence officers were well aware that the Soviet Army threat was hollow and that the Soviets' act of dismantling the eastern German railroad system was strong proof that an attack was not in the offing, but they were strongly discouraged by their superiors from expressing their views.

In 1954, General Arthur Trudeau, chief of US military intelligence, received a copy of a lengthy report prepared by retired Lt. Colonel Hermann Baun of Gehlen's staff. Baun, who had originally been assigned to the German High Command (OKW) as an *Abwehr* specialist on Russia, eventually ended up working for Gehlen's Foreign Armies East which was under the control of the Army High Command (OKH). Baun was an extremely competent, professional General Staff officer who, by 1953, had taken a dim view, indeed, of the creatures foisted on him by Gehlen. Baun detested Gehlen who had forced him out of his post-war intelligence position with the West. Baun's annoyance was revealed in a lengthy complaint of Gehlen's Nazi staff members which set forth, in detail, their names and backgrounds.

General Trudeau was so annoyed with this report that in October of 1954, he took West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer aside as Adenauer was making an official visit to Washington, Trudeau passed much of this information to the horrified Adenauer, who had spent time in a concentration camp during the war. Adenauer, in turn, raised this issue with American authorities and the matter was leaked to the press. Allen Dulles, a strong Gehlen backer and now head of the CIA, used his own connections and those of his brother, John, Eisenhower's Secretary of State, to effectively silence Trudeau by transferring him to the remote Far East.

Trudeau's warning to Adenauer did not have a lasting effect and on April 1, 1956, former General Reinhard Gehlen was appointed as head of the new West German Federal Intelligence Service, the

Bundesnachrichtendienst or BND. In this case, as in so many other similar ones, virtue is certainly not its own reward.

Who, then, were the Gehlen organization people Colonel Baun took exception to working with? The first person on the list was former *SS-Oberführer* or Senior Colonel, Willi Krichbaum whom we have met before. Krichbaum was an associate of Müller⁴⁹ and later the Deputy Chief of the Gestapo. Krichbaum was in charge of the deportation of the Hungarian Jews in 1944—a deportation that took nearly 300,000 lives. According to Müller’s files, Krichbaum is also the man who shot Raoul Wallenberg. The *Geheime Feld Polizei* or the Secret Field Police which Krichbaum had commanded²⁵⁰ was responsible for all manner of atrocities, including the killing of Soviet prisoners of war.³⁵¹ Although Russia was not a member of the Geneva Convention, Germany was a signatory and this Convention forbade the execution of prisoners of war. Krichbaum, of whom Müller once said, “*war mit Blut verschmiert*” (was smeared with blood) was not only Gehlen’s chief recruiter, mostly of former Gestapo and SD people, but also informed Müller of the inner workings of the Gehlen organization which was considered a highly secret American intelligence resource. Krichbaum continued to work for Gehlen, according to an interview with Colonel Critchfield, until at least 1956 when the West German government took over control of the group.

The second name on the list was *SS-Standartenführer* or Colonel Walter Rauff who had a most interesting career. In 1942, Walter Rauff was chief of the SD units attached to the AOK Afrika, Rommels’ *Afrikakorps*. In 1943, after the collapse of the DAK, Rauff worked in Italy as the chief of the SD in Milan. In this capacity, Rauff was involved with SS General Karl Wolff’s negotiations to surrender the German troops in Italy in 1945. This was a pet project of Allen Dulles and was called “Operation Sunrise.” During the course of the negotiations, Dulles became very friendly with Rauff. Consequently, as the new Gehlen organization was formed, Dulles was instrumental in acquiring Rauff for an advisory position with them.

In 1941, Rauff had been involved with the SD anti-partisan activities in the captured areas of the Soviet Union. Rauff conceived, constructed and personally supervised the use of gas vans. These vans had the exhaust pipes vented inside the rear compartments which were then filled with Jews who died of carbon monoxide poisoning. While it spared some SD men from the guilt associated with murdering large numbers of civilians, it did have certain negative aspects—the collection of bodies in the back of the van. When the rear door was opened to remove the dead, the stench proved to be a serious occupational hazard. An ingenious man, Rauff had a special fitting constructed that helped alleviate this unfortunate problem. A lengthy file on Rauff’s gas vans is stored at the National Archives.

At the end of the war, Rauff was imprisoned in Italy. He later emerged in Germany, happily working for the Gehlen group. Unfortunately for him, his presence became known to the wrong people, and he found it necessary to move to Syria where he continued to represent Gehlen’s interests. As the stress of discovery there became too much for Gehlen to bear, it was decided that Rauff should move to Chile. His friend and later protector, Allen Dulles, ordered that he be given new identity papers and funds for travel and relocation. While in Chile, the loyal Rauff continued to provide intelligence reports to Gehlen and his other protectors.

Another senior Gehlen aide was former *SS-Oberführer* Dr. Franz Six. Six was an intellectual academic, Professor of Political Science at Königsberg University. Six joined the SS on April 20, 1935 and became a member of the SD. In 1941, Six was in command of an *Einsatzgruppe* and was directly responsible for the murder of the Jews in the Russian city of Smolensk. Following this military triumph, Six was made the head of Section VII of the RSHA. In 1943 he was sent to the Foreign Ministry where he was in charge of the Cultural Division. In 1946, Dr. Six was an early member of the Gehlen organization but was eventually tracked down and his supporters were unable to prevent his standing trial in April of 1948 for his actions. He received a sentence of 25 years. However, US authorities interceded on his behalf and on September 30, 1952, Six was released and at once returned to his duties with Gehlen.

SS-Sturmbannführer (Major) Alois Brunner was a Gestapo official who worked directly under Adolf Eichmann in the deportation department. Ambitious and energetic, Brunner was an instigator of the notorious *razzia* carried out in France in 1942 against the Jews of Paris. So outraged was his putative chief,

⁴⁹ Had extensive World War I combat experience, was a *Freikorps* activist, was an anti-communist, and an early Party member.

⁵⁰ From the beginning of the war.

⁵¹ Krichbaum was still carried on the rolls of the RSHA as a *SS-Oberführer* and Colonel of Police. He was never an army officer.

Müller, that Brunner was transferred to Sofia in Bulgaria. He was sentenced to death by a French court, *in absentia* because Brunner had gone to Damascus, Syria, as Gehlen's resident agent. He used a number of names including "Georg Fischer" and "Waldo Munk." Brunner was later made a part of a CIA-directed program to train the security forces of Abdel Nasser and Israeli agents attempted to blow him up with a letter bomb but failed. In addition to the French death sentence, Brunner was also on the wanted list of the CIC.

Probably the worst offender of all was *SS-Gruppenführer* Odlio Globocnik, once the *Gauleiter* of Vienna until fired by Hitler for theft and pillage. Globocnik went on to run the Lublin camps in Poland where he stole millions more and was responsible for the gassing of large numbers of Jews and Poles. His stolen millions saved him from prosecution. After working for a time for the British, he eventually ended up as an American resource, also in Damascus. The name of the program that sent him there was called "Argos."

Like its Biblical counterpart, the 20th century road to Damascus was traveled by converts to the new religion of the West.

There were many more individuals connected with the Gestapo or SD who openly worked for Gehlen including *SS-Standartenführer* Frederick Panziger, another old friend of Müller's who had married into his family. Panziger was not responsible for wartime atrocities but was a key player in the break-up of the *Rote Kapelle*, a Russian spy ring considered to be of great value to Gehlen.

If retired Lt. Colonel Hermann Baun had thought to damage his nemesis Gehlen, he was in error. His lengthy and detailed report only made Gehlen more popular with the US intelligence agency that ran him and, through them, with the US-controlled puppet government of West Germany—a government that did exactly what it was told and clicked its heels together while doing it.

What did the CIA and those in the more elevated US positions of command know about the flawed membership of their prize German possession? Was the quickly suppressed Baun report the only indicator that had surfaced between 1948 and 1956? If there was any substantive material on this subject, it certainly would never be made available to anyone and would, undoubtedly, be sequestered in some remote place in Arizona or perhaps even somewhere on the grounds of an academic institution closer to hand.

The author's correspondence and conversations with colonel James Critchfield, once the CIA overseer of the Gehlen organization during its tenure as an American agency, has shed considerable light on the subject.

Critchfield initially acknowledged awareness of the use by the CIA-run Gehlen agency of a number of the individuals encountered earlier in this chapter. However, the Colonel, now living in comfortable retirement in Williamsburg, Virginia, stated that aside from Dr. Six, he had no knowledge of any of the allegations of war crimes against his former employees, which he termed "outrageous." He stated finally that Krichbaum, whom he had earlier claimed to have played a "very important role in our history" was certainly not a member of the SS, not Müller's Deputy Chief of the Gestapo, not involved with the deportation and deaths of the Hungarian Jews, and could never have shot Raoul Wallenberg. The question of the Wallenberg killing comes solely from Müller's statements and no corroboration of it can be found though it is unlikely that Müller would admit on the record that he had ordered such a potentially damaging act unless he actually had. The membership of Krichbaum in the SS, his rank, and his position inside the Gestapo organization is absolutely beyond doubt. All of Willi Krichbaum's official history, as that of the others included in this study is presently available for public inspection in the US National Archives records in Washington.

Also beyond doubt is the participation of a significant number of unsavory individuals in the CIA-controlled Gehlen organization and no question whatsoever as to the atrocities they committed while members of the SD and Gestapo.

From 1945 on, the US had control of the Berlin Document Center, which was the repository for all SS, Gestapo and SD personnel files. US investigators were *required* to check the backgrounds of *all* potential German employees against their records. In addition, CROWCASS (Central Registry of War Crimes and Security Suspects) files contained the names of suspected or wanted war criminals. The CROWCASS information was widely circulated to American agencies, including the CIA, which were in a position to hire or come into contact with such people. These files, which contained a great deal of potentially damaging information on German nationals, were turned over to Gehlen in 1948, no doubt to assist his recruitment drives.

When pressed, Colonel Critchfield acknowledged the existence of the background and personal history files and dossiers but averred that the investigation of his employees had been a matter for the

Central Registry of the CIC. When asked if he had ever been advised by this agency that many of his senior functionaries were on the wanted lists, Critchfield gave no response.

Intelligence agencies have a tendency to place former military personnel in positions of responsibility precisely because they are trained to obey, without questioning, orders from superiors.

Reinhard Gehlen is not the actual focus of this study. The actual focus is the use by American intelligence agencies of persons who had no particular substantive intelligence value and whose employment by them was then and is now, indefensible. The knowing employment of the CIA of Krichbaum, Dr. Franz Six, and many others whose names can be found in the Baun report and the fact that this specifically led US intelligence to depend heavily on these badly flawed individuals is the issue. By their dependence on these people, the US agencies permitted ideological Germans with a strong and pervasive detestation of the Soviet Union and an overriding urge to seek revenge for their defeat by this country to promote, often with great success, their own agendas which in most cases were self-serving and certainly not in the best interests of the American public.

In 1996, the San Jose, California, *Mercury-News* published material alleging that elements of the CIA knowingly permitted and encouraged the sale of narcotics by Latino drug dealers to essentially black, inner city residents. The strong implication contained in this report is that the wave of dangerous, disruptive and fatal drug sales and use in the black communities stemmed, in large part, from CIA instigation, and an attempt on their part to finance the Contras of Nicaragua who were then engaged in guerrilla warfare with the Marxist Sandinistas. The CIA has long and often been accused of utilizing monies from the transportation and sale of illegal drugs, in the main heroin and cocaine, to fund many of its operations for which they were unable to obtain official Congressional monetary support.

In the case of the *Mercury-News* coverage, the resultant uproar from the outraged black communities brought responses from the CIA that were both predictable and instructional.

The *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times*, once known as friendly resources for official Washington, rushed into print with rebukes of both the San Jose newspaper's stories, editors and its reporter—a theme eagerly seized upon by other such media outlets. There is an old adage that "Once a newspaperman, always a whore." This is an erroneous and insulting statement. Whores perform their acts solely for money and nothing else. A slut, on the other hand, conducts her sexual rampages merely because it feels good. In the interest of accuracy and in defense of the character of whores, it might be better said that with few exceptions, the media are sluts ready to work for free for the US intelligence community.

John Deutsch, embattled Director of the CIA, made a public relations trip to Los Angeles where he spoke at an open meeting of the black community. He was booed and insulted by them, disbelieving his pious denials and promises of a "thorough investigation" into the allegations.

A predictable Congressional hearing into the issue was regaled by testimony from former Contra leaders who denied any of the published allegations. Again, their testimony was greeted with vocal outbursts from the audience who claimed that the business was being officially covered up, not unlike the previous hearings on the massacre at Waco, which were full of official sound and fury, signifying nothing. The statements contained in this chapter concerning the known use by the US intelligence community of identified war criminals are based solidly on fact and record. This will certainly not prevent those in government service, both official and unofficial, from following a parallel course to the countering of the *Mercury-News* coverage.

For some years it has been said that a controversial issue does not gain credibility in the eyes of the public until it has been officially denied in Washington. To this official denial must be added confirming attacks by the media, the official public relations outlet for the government. No one believes them either.

A very significant number of the German nationals belonging to the CIA-controlled Gehlen Organization have been discovered to have belonged to either the Gestapo or the RSHA, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt*. This was the blanket organization for all German State and Party intelligence and counterintelligence agencies.

The fact that an individual was assigned to the RSHA does not mean that they were involved in anything more sinister than clerical work in an office. But included in this list are a number of individuals whose wartime record indicates their activities were of a criminal nature and their inclusion in any U.S. sponsored and controlled agency has no justification whatsoever.

The American members of this group (the Gehlen Organization was *entirely* controlled by the U.S. CIA from 1948 through 1956) will be included in a subsequent study. The listing here of some, and it

must be emphasized that this treatment covers only the most serious offenders, is alphabetical and not by rank.

SS-Sturmbannführer Emil Augsburg, SS No. 307 925. Born May 1, 1905. Subject was a member of the RSHA, the adjutant to *SS-Gruppenführer* Globocnik who was SS and Police Leader in the Polish district of Lublin. He was the head of the concentration camps of Treblinka and Belzec. Augsburg later was a member of the Wannsee Institute in Berlin where he was a specialist in Polish problems. He ended the war on the personal staff of Heinrich Himmler.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Fritz Baader, SS No. 278 278. Born April 9, 1909. Dr. Baader was on the staff of the Senior SS and Police Leader in Hungary.

SS-Sturmbannführer Otto Barnewald, SS No. 6 469. Born January 10, 1896. Subject was on the staff of the Concentration Camp, Buchenwald.

SS-Sturmbannführer Ernst Biberstein, SS No. 272 692. Born February 15, 1899. Biberstein was a member of the RSHA. He also commanded *Einsatzkommando 6* of *Einsatzgruppe C*. The *Einsatzgruppen* were composed of RSHA personnel and operated behind the front lines in warfare against partisans. The activities of these groups often far exceeded their briefs and many of them were responsible for dreadful atrocities against partisans, civilians and Jews. Biberstein's activities were such as to secure a death sentence by an Allied court after the war, a sentence that was commuted in 1951, permitting him to work for the Gehlen organization.

SS-Sturmbannführer Ludwig Boehme, SS No.249 802. Born August 21, 1898. Subject was on the staff of the Concentration Camp at Auschwitz.

SS-Brigadeführer Christoph Diehm, SS No.28 461. Born March 1, 1892. Diehm was chief of staff of the Kaminiski Brigade. This unit was commanded by a Russian named Kaminiski and was involved in fighting partisans on the East Front. The unit took part in the fighting in Warsaw in 1944 where its behavior was so brutal that it was ordered disbanded and its leader shot.

SS-Sturmbannführer Karl Döring, SS No 67 310. Born February 5, 1903. Subject was on the staff of the Concentration Camp at Dachau. He was later the postwar West German Ambassador to the Camerouns.

SS-Sturmbannführer Dr.Max Eberl, SS No. 680 352, Born December 26,1892. Dr. Eberl was a member of the RSHA and was involved with euthanasia at Treblinka Concentration Camp under Globocnik.

SS-Standartenführer Hans Eichele, SS No. 21 640. Born May 1, 1901. Eichele was *Standortkommandat* at the Concentration Camp, Dachau

SS-Sturmbannführer Walter Huppenkoethen, SS No.126 785. Born December 31, 1907. Huppenkoethen was a member of the RSHA and Commanding Officer of the SD & Police in Lublin and Cracow (Poland). He was tried after the war for his activities.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Erich Isselhorst, SS No.267 313. Born February 5, 1906. Subject was Commander of the Police and SD at Strassburg and also Inspector of the SD, Stuttgart . He was also Commanding Officer of *Einsatzkommando 8* of *Einsatzgruppe A*.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Oswald Poche, SS No. 267 316. Born January 28, 1908. Poche was commanding officer of the Security Police and SD, Tromsö, Norway.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp, SS No.280 341. Born November 16, 1908. Subject was Inspector, Security Police and SD, Braunschweig and commanding officer of *Einsatzkommando 7*, *Einsatzgruppe B*.

SS-Standartenführer Walter Rauff, SS No. 290 947. Born June 19, 1906. Rauff was a member of RSHA and with Senior SS and Police Commander, Italy (Karl Wolff). Rauff was responsible for the construction of the gas vans and eventually had to move to South America to avoid prosecution.

SS-Oberführer Dr. Franz Six, SS No.107 480. Born August 12, 1909. Dr. Six was a member of RSHA, and Commanding Officer of *Einsatzgruppe Vorkommando Moscow*. Six was an early member of the Gehlen Organization, but was finally arrested and tried for his activities in 1948. He was sentenced to life in prison, but released in 1951. Six worked for Porsche and Gehlen after his release.

SS-Standartenführer Eugen Steimle, SS No. 272 575. Born December 8, 1909. Subject was a member of RSHA and commanding officer of *Einsatzgruppen B* and later *C*. He was subsequently convicted by an Allied court and sentenced to a long term in prison, but released in 1951.

SS-Sturmbannführer Alois Thaler, SS No.347 142. Born November 28, 1909. Subject was a member of RSHA and was Senior SS & Police Commander, Italy.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Ernst Weimann, SS No. 263 985. Born August 5, 1906. Commanding officer, Security Police & SD, Bergen, Norway

SS-Sturmbannführer Kurt Weisse, SS. No. 563 159. Born October 11, 1909. Subject was a member of SS Regiment Dirlewanger. Oscar Dirlewanger was a convicted child molester and friend of Himmler. His unit was made up of paroled convicts and used to fight the partisans. Like the Kaminiski unit, their record was so appalling that they were withdrawn from combat by Hitler's order. Dirlewanger vanished at the end of the war

SS-Sturmbannführer Eugen Wenner, SS No. 200 581. Born November 15, 1912. Wenner was a member of RSHA and was with the Senior SS and Police Commander, Italy.

SS-Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Wiebens, SS No.16 617. Born March 17, 1906. Subject was a member of RSHA and Commanding Officer of *Einsatzkommando 9* under *Einsatzgruppe B*.

These names represent only a small percentage (less than 4%) of the names found on a listing of all personnel of the Gehlen Organization from 1945 onwards. These are only the names of higher ranking officers in the SS/SD and Police. The names of many lower rank SS/SD and Police members are still being verified as of this writing, but the names of thousands of Croats, Slovenes, Balts and Russians are impossible to locate in existing files so they are excluded from this study.

The international uproar attendant upon the discovery that Klaus Barbie was gainfully employed by the U.S. CIC after the war, even after it became well known that Barbie was wanted for his Gestapo activities in Lyon, France, would pale to insignificance when the full impact of the Gehlen Organization's complete list becomes a matter of public record.

The Gehlen group was controlled completely by the U.S. Army from 1945 until 1948. It was then taken over and controlled directly by the Central Intelligence Agency under the command of Colonel James Critchfield until 1955-56, when the group was taken over by the Federal Government of Germany and renamed the *Bundesnachrichtendienst* (BND) or State Intelligence Service.

The excuse will doubtless be offered by all controlling parties that they had no way of knowing that their ranks contained such a significant number of Gestapo and SD officials, and many who were on the wanted lists called CROWCASS. This acronym stands for Central Registry of War Crimes and Security Suspects instituted by U.S. Intelligence in May of 1945, and eventually discontinued in 1948. These lists were contained in a total of forty books and were responsible for the apprehension of many wanted war criminals. It should be pointed out, that from 1945 until 1948 when the control of the Gehlen Organization passed to the CIA, *it was mandatory that all German nationals who were employed by U.S. authorities in occupied Germany had to be checked both through CIC Central Registry as well as the CROWCASS lists!*

There is absolutely *no possibility* that a valid claim of ignorance of the makeup of the Gehlen group can be made at this point in time. In fact, in 1948, all of the CROWCASS files were turned over to Gehlen and the CIA, very effectively blocking any possible inquiry into the makeup of the German-American spy network.

Because Gehlen had no knowledge of the inner workings of the Soviet Union, and being limited in his wartime duties of establishing Soviet order of battle, it was necessary for him to seek the services of German, Croatian, Baltic and Russian individuals who had a much broader background in non-military intelligence.

During the Second World War, Reinhard Gehlen was in charge of the German Army's Foreign Armies East (*Fremde Heer Ost*) branch of the High Command. In retrospect, his projected views of Soviet military moves were more often wrong than right, but Gehlen was both ambitious and egocentric, a combination which effectively precluded him from considering any views other than his own. Hitler eventually fired him for incompetence.

The American military had very little knowledge of the inner workings of the Soviet state because during Roosevelt's reign they had been strictly forbidden by the President to conduct any intelligence activity against his friend and ally, Josef Stalin. Soviet agents, on the other hand, ran rampant in the United States, spying on every important part of the U.S. government and military establishment. In this, the Soviets were eagerly assisted by a host of American communists who did not view their treachery as such, but rather as their sacred duty to the Soviet Union to whom they owed their entire allegiance.

The defense made, after the fact, by American intelligence agencies to charges of the unrestrained use of foreigners whose activities during the war were brutal in the extreme, was that the U.S. needed as much information on their new enemy as they could develop. Also, the backgrounds of many of their intelligence resources were secondary to their task of developing this intelligence.

Many of the individuals hired by Gehlen had very little experience in the intelligence field, but much in the area of partisan warfare. This combat experience consisted of engaging Soviet partisan and irregular units in warfare with the intention of liquidating them, the same goals, it ought to be pointed out, that the partisans themselves adhered to.

There is also the concept that Gehlen was used by elements in the United States government and military as a foil to convince a reluctant President Truman and the American Congress that Stalin was planning to launch an attack on western Europe. To forestall this attack, these elements urged, it was vital that the United States halt the demobilization of their military and the downsizing of American industry, and reverse the process.

Gehlen's reports prepared at the behest of his American controllers have proven to be as inaccurate as the ones he prepared for Hitler's High Command. But in the former case, Gehlen did what he was told to do while the latter case was more an example of ego than mendacity.

Most professional intelligence practitioners would agree, many with reluctance, that the use by either the United States or Great Britain of a superb counterintelligence personality such as Heinrich Müller would be fully justified considering Müller's expertise in the machinations of the Kremlin and its leaders.

Almost no one, except for bureaucratic types, could justify the use by Gehlen and his controllers, the U.S. Army and later the CIA, of such men whose names are now identified with membership in his organization.

Every nation in modern times has special military or paramilitary organizations at their disposal to enforce their will by ruthless and morally indefensible methods. The Germans had their *Einsatzgruppen*, their *Geheime Feld Polizei* and their *Jagdverbände*, the British their SAS, the U.S. their Special Forces and SEALS, and the Soviets their *Speznatz* units. All of these units were and are being trained in the techniques of control through terror and what, in the end, amounts to the control, repression and often the physical liquidation of the civilian populations of their military opponents.

It should be noted that the CIA was not alone in its hiring practices. Through documents released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA), it is discovered in a CIC report dated March 1951, that a certain Dr. Wilhelm H. Schmitz was in the employ of that agency. During the course of the Third Reich, Dr. Schmitz was an *SS-Sturmabführer* (as of April 20, 1941) and the head of the Gestapo bureau, IV E 6. This section was called "Counterespionage Section South" and covered Czechoslovakia, the Balkans, Hungary, Italy, Spain and South America.

When the British murdered RSHA chief Reinhard Heydrich in 1942 in Prague, the leadership of the Reich was in an uproar and Himmler went at once to the Czech capital along with Müller...and Dr. Wilhelm Schmitz. Dr. Schmitz, acting under Müller's orders, was responsible for the actions taken against the Czechs, including the destruction of Lidice and the shooting of over three thousand Czechs, some of whom were actually connected with the plot or were found to be British agents. After the war, Schmitz, whose background was known to his employers, worked in Prague as a double agent. (A copy of this report and one obtained from German archives about Schmitz' wartime employment may be found below and in the Appendix.)

Schmitz was one of the architects of the legend that Müller was working for Czech intelligence. The main architect of this delightful fable was the former chief of the Gestapo himself, who greatly enjoyed pulling the legs of his employers, but always, it must be added, with great care.

The CIC later discovered that they had been hoaxed and other documents recently released indicate that the perpetrators of the Müller-Czech stories were ordered to be terminated at once. This phrase is usually considered an official euphemism for assassination.

The hiring by Gehlen of highly undesirable individuals, many of whom were not German SS men, but equally as unpalatable, generally was overseen by Willi Krichbaum, his chief recruiter. Krichbaum, who had been Müller's chief deputy in the Gestapo and head of the dreaded *Geheime Feld Polizei* (GFP), filled the ranks of the Gehlen organization with a mixture of ferocious individuals who had the potential to cause terrible problems for the ultimate authority over them.

From 1945 through 1948, this authority was the U.S. Army and between 1948 and 1956, the CIA. What happened later was that the ranks of the newly-constituted *Bundesnachrichtendienst* or BND, of the West German government, were swelled with a significant number of former Gestapo and SD people who had the added liability of working for Soviet intelligence.

Müller, who by this time was comfortably ensconced in the United States, had nothing to do with this debacle, but certainly lived to fully enjoy it. Even though only a small percentage of the Soviet moles were ever publicly identified, the damage had been done.

Following the revelations that British intelligence agencies had been equally infiltrated with Soviet spies, both countries suffered from a drastic and permanent loss of confidence by the United States.

The use by the American intelligence, and governmental communities, of Germans with some expertise on the subject of the Soviet Union is pragmatically understandable. The only reason that Great Britain didn't make more use of former RSHA personnel is that they could not outspend the Americans, and further, England was so full of Soviet sympathizers and agents that the subject of utilizing the late enemy was anathema to them.

The individuals listed here had very little expertise in Soviet internal affairs, with a few exceptions, and their employment at any level is completely indefensible.

The foregoing study is not meant to show that U.S. Intelligence agencies actively sought to employ Germans who were accused of the commission of serious crimes. It does mean, in every sense, that such persons were knowingly employed by the intelligence agencies as an expedient.

All bureaucracies in all periods encounter the same problems: Maintenance. The actual secrets of the world are so few that one could carry them on small slips of paper in a back pocket. In order to justify acres of buildings filled with tens of thousands of employees, office equipment, telephones, code machines, shredders, computer systems, plastic passes, executive dining rooms, travel expenses and, finally, salaries, all intelligence agencies have to at least give the appearance of performing vital functions for the security of their state. No agency or bureaucracy has ever voluntarily reduced itself, but every one of them finds it necessary to expand itself to acquire more power, more employees, more parking space, and most importantly, larger budgets to be approved by those set above them.

Communism and Soviet expansionism proved to be as vital to the maintenance and growth of the U.S. intelligence and counterintelligence agencies, as capitalism, and U.S. expansionism was to Soviet intelligence and counterintelligence. These massive entities represent the upper and the nether millstone and what is ground between them are those who pay for the follies, the vices, and most important, the bill.

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 Roll 240, Frame 2729783 et seq. Personnel lists of RSHA members and offices through 1944;
 Roll 276, Frame 5487024 through 5487469, Material on Soviet policies;
 Roll 432, Frame 2962655 through 2962689, Gestapo offices and officials in 1945;
 Roll 577, Frame 491 through 563, Activities of US and British intelligence agents;
 Roll R644, Frame 669 through 705, Official Swiss orders concerning entry into Switzerland by German and Italian personnel;
 Roll R649, Frame 712 through 719, Memo from Müller to Security Police discussing British agents behind German lines.

Files of Heinrich Müller

File of correspondence between Himmler and Hitler from 1939 through 1945. Original Hitler and Bormann letters and copies of Himmler letters signed "Brandt."
 File of correspondence of Glücks, Chief of the Concentration Camp system, concerning numbers of inmates and inmate deaths in the system, 1939-1945.
 Files containing investigations into the 20 July 1944 attempt on Hitler's life.
 File containing material removed from Stauffenberg's home during investigation.
 Collection of forensic photographs of executed leaders of 20 July attempt.
 File of intercepts of British propaganda broadcasts.
 File with biographical and intelligence material on Winston Churchill.
 File with original intercepts of trans-Atlantic telephone conversations, 1941-1944.
 File on General Thiele, 20 July investigations.
 File on interrogations of Fabian von Schlabrendorff, 20 July investigations.
 File with copies of Duke of Windsor correspondence with Hitler and Ribbentrop.
 File of reports on intelligence sources in Great Britain, 1939-1945.
 File of reports on intelligence sources in Italy, 1938-1945.
 File of reports on intelligence sources Finland, 1940-1945.
 File containing Soviet radio networks.
 File with material on Operation "Bernhard"; bank deposit records outside Germany.
 File on "Sonderauftrag Linz".
 File with Swiss intelligence material concerning surveillance of OSS personnel in Switzerland, telephone and cable intercepts.
 File on British Intelligence operations based in Switzerland.
 File on Swedish Intelligence sources.
 Berlin Document Center, US Department of State; SS personnel file of Heinrich Müller, PA 2198.

US Intelligence Command, Ft. George Meade, MD; US intelligence file on Heinrich Müller, XE 235539 WJ. (A portion of this file had been withheld from release for reasons of current national security, but in March 1998 all of the hitherto-classified Müller file was finally released to the general public under the Freedom of Information Act. The CIA, on the other hand, who claimed they had only a three page file on Müller, eventually admitted they had ten thousands of pages but only released a selected number, carefully edited by friendly historical writers, to bolster their claim that Müller had never been employed by them in any capacity. A copy of the CIA evaluation is included. An agency with a multi-billion dollar budget to work with, the CIA has, in the words of a United States Senator, never been right since their inception)

The Role of CIA officer James H. Critchfield, USA

“The American Army even recruited and evacuated the head of the Gestapo, Heinrich Mueller. To prevent later accusations that the United States government was employing the notorious Mueller, the Americans used Gehlen’s organization to finance his work.” Trento, Joseph, “The Secret History of the CIA” New York, 2001, p29. Notes for this passage: “From CIA records in the personal files of Robert T. Crowley, a deputy of James Critchfield, a U.S. Army officer who conducted Nazi recruitments.”

Obituary of James H. Critchfield, Col USA, ret., May 2, 2003

In Memory of Jim Critchfield - Jim will be buried with full honors at Arlington National Cemetery on Friday, May 23. The service will begin at 1 pm at the Ft. Meyer Chapel followed by graveside burial. A reception following these ceremonies will be held at the Ft. Meyer Officers Club. All Jim's friends and colleagues are invited. In lieu of flowers, the family suggests contributions to the James H. Critchfield Memorial Fund: The Reeves Center for International Studies, College of William and Mary, PO Box 8795 Williamsburg, VA 23187. Dr. Mitchell B. Reiss, Dean of International Affairs and Director of the Reeves Center, will work with the family to use these funds in the furthering of Middle East studies at the Center.

Table of SS Ranks

<i>SS-Mann</i>	Private
<i>SS-Trumann</i>	Private 1st Class
<i>SS-Rottenführer</i>	Corporal
<i>SS-Unterscharführer</i>	Senior Corporal
<i>SS-Scharführer</i>	Sergeant
<i>SS-Oberscharführer</i>	Staff Sergeant
<i>SS-Hauptscharführer</i>	Sergeant-Major
<i>SS-Untersturmführer</i>	Second Lieutenant
<i>SS-Obersturmführer</i>	First Lieutenant
<i>SS-Hauptsturmführer</i> (originally <i>SS-Sturmhauptführer</i>)	Captain
<i>SS-Sturmbannführer</i>	Major
<i>SS-Obersturmbannführer</i>	Lieutenant Colonel
<i>SS-Standartenführer</i>	Colonel
<i>SS-Oberführer</i>	Senior Colonel
<i>SS-Brigadeführer</i>	Brigadier General
<i>SS-Gruppenführer</i>	Major General
<i>SS-Obergruppenführer</i>	Lieutenant General
<i>SS-Oberstgruppenführer</i>	General
<i>Reichsführer-SS</i>	National Leader

The History and Organization of the Gestapo

The *Geheime Staats Polizei*, or the Secret State Police, grew out of the Prussian Political Police, which had been formed by Hermann Göring after he became Prime Minister of the state of Prussia in 1933. The new agency was created by Göring on April 26, 1933. He remained as head of the *Gestapo* but turned the day-to-day running of the agency to *Oberregierungsrat* Diels, who had been head of the Observation of Communism in the Reich Ministry of the Interior.

In 1934, Himmler persuaded Göring to appoint him to Diels’ post. The *Gestapo* was not an official German agency until nearly three years after its inception. A series of decrees on February 28, 1933, March 8, 1934 and May 2, 1935 set forth the establishment of protective custody for political

dissenters and the final decree of 1935 stated that the *Gestapo* was not subject to judicial control. On September 20, 1936, a state decree authorized the *Gestapo-Amt* in Prussia to assume all the duties of similar police units throughout the country. On October 1, 1936 the agency was henceforth to be known as the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (or Secret State Police) and was now a national rather than a regional organization and although it was a State agency, it came under Himmler's control.

The primary function of the *Gestapo* was originally of a counterintelligence nature, and in the main, detected and prosecuted crimes of a political nature.

This new office was comprised of the *Sicherheitspolizei*, which consisted of the *Kripo* or Criminal Police and the *Gestapo* or Secret State Police and the *Sicherheitsdienst (SD)* of the SS. Internal references to this department were to the *Reichssicherheitsdienst*.

For correspondence with outside agencies it was termed *Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD*. In specific cases, the terms *Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Deutschen Polizei* or *Reichsminister der Innern* (National Minister of the Interior). Sections IV and V were permitted to use the titles *Geheimes Staatspolizei* and *Reichskriminalpolizei*, respectively. Depending on the subject addressed and the occasion, the controlling agency could be called the *RSHA*, *Chef SIPO und SD*, *RFSSuChDtPol*, *RMdI* or *Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt*.

The organization of the *RSHA* in 1944 was as follows:

<i>Amt I</i> <i>Personal</i> (Personnel)	Under <i>SS-Gruppenführer</i> Erwin Schulz
<i>Amt II</i> <i>Organisation, Verwaltung und Recht</i> (Organization, Administration and Law)	Under <i>SS-Standartenführer</i> Rudolf Siegert
<i>Amt III</i> <i>Deutsche Lebengebeite</i> (Spheres of German Life)	Under <i>SS-Brigadeführer</i> Otto Ohlendorf
<i>Amt IV</i> <i>Gegnerforschung und Gegnerbekämpfung</i> (Investigation and combatting of Opposition)	(Also known as the <i>Geheime Staatspolizei</i>) Under <i>SS-Gruppenführer</i> Heinrich Müller
<i>Amt V</i> <i>Verbrechenbekämpfung</i> (Combatting of Crime)	Under <i>SS-Standartenführer</i> Friedrich Panziger
<i>Amt VI</i> <i>Ausland</i> (Foreign Countries)	Under <i>SS-Brigadeführer</i> Walter Schellenberg
<i>Amt VII</i> <i>Weltanschauliche Erforschung und Auswertung</i> (Ideological Research and its Exploitation)	Under <i>Oberführer</i> Dr. Franz Six
<i>Militärisches Amt</i> (Military Intelligence)	Under Schellenberg

The *Gestapo* went through numerous alterations as it expanded, and in 1944 it controlled almost all of the intelligence and counterintelligence operations in the *Reich*.

When the Army's *Abwehr* was broken up in 1943, Müller obtained domestic counterintelligence, and by 1944, he had control over almost all other intelligence functions, both inside and outside of Germany.

The final organization, in early 1945, of the *Gestapo* was:

RSHA Amt IV - Gegner-Erforschung und Bekämpfung

Gruppe IVA

IV A 1

Opposition

IV A 1 a

Kommunismus, Marxismus und Nebenorganisationen (Nationalkomitee "Freies Deutschland") in Deutschland, den besetzten Gebieten und auch im Ausland

Communism, Marxism and affiliated organizations (National Committee "Free Germany") in Germany, occupied territories and foreign countries.

Rundfunk-Verbrechen

Violations of broadcasting regulations.

Illegale kommunistische und marxistische Propaganda

Illegal communist and marxist propaganda.

Feindpropaganda—durch Flugblätter und Auslandsendungen—und deren Verbreitung

Enemy propaganda—through leaflets and foreign broadcasts—and its dissemination.

Bandenunwesen in Deutschland, der Untersteiermark und Oberkrain

Guerrilla activity in Germany and annexed portions of northern Yugoslavia.

Deutsche und verbündete Kriegsgefangene in Sowjetrussischer Gefangenschaft

German and allied prisoners of war in Soviet captivity.

IV A 1 b

Reaktion

Reactionary movements.

Opposition

Opposition.

Liberalismus

Liberalism.

Legitimusmus

Monarchism.

Pazifismus

Pacifism.

*Heimtückeangelegenheiten
Zersetzung der Wehrmacht und
Miesmacherei*

Treacherous spreading of rumors, etc.
Undermining of the morale of the
Armed Forces, grumbling.
Defeatism.

Defaitismus

*Unzufriedene Wehrmachtsangehörige in
Deutschland, auch in Kriegsgefangan-
schaft und deren Angehörige*

Discontented members of the
Armed Forces in Germany, also
those in enemy captivity and
Their next of kin.

IV A 2

Sabotage

IV A 2 a

Sabotageabwehr und -Bekämpfung
Politische Attentate
Politische Pass- und Ausweissfälschungen

Prevention and combating of sabotage.
Political assassinations.
Forgery of passports and identity papers for political purposes.

Terrorism
Syndikalisten

Terrorism.
Syndicalists.

IV A 2 b

Fallschirmagenten
Funkspiele

Parachute agents.
Radio play back.

IV A 3

Abwehr

(Counter Intelligence)

IV A 3

Gesellschaftsspionage
Fahrlässiger Landesverrat
Spionage

Combating of espionage in society.
Treason through negligence, careless talk, etc.
Combating of political espionage.

IV A 3 b

Wirtschaftsangelegenheiten in Deutschland, den besetzten Gebieten, im Verkehr mit dem Ausland und umgekehrt
(siehe auch unter Amt III-RSHA)
Wirtschaftsspionage
Surveillance in der Schweiz
Devisenvergehen

Economic matters in Germany and the occupied territories, trade with foreign countries (see also Amt III of the RSHA).
Combatting of espionage.
Surveillance activities in Switzerland.
Violations of foreign exchange laws.

IV A 3 c

Grenzangelegenheiten, kleiner Grenzverkehr und Grenzzwischenfälle

Frontier Control, local border traffic and frontier incidents.

IV A 3 d

Abwehr über Nachrichtenverkehr

Signals and Communications counterintelligence (monitoring, censorship, etc.).

Verstöße gegen den Nachrichtenverkehr

Illegal Communications traffic.

IV A 4

Weltanschauliche Gegner

Ideological Opponents.

IV A 4 a

Katholizismus und Protestantismus, Sekten, sonstige Kirchen, Freimaurer in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten

Catholicism and Protestantism, sects, other religious agencies, Freemasons, in Germany and in the occupied territories.

IV A 4 b

Juden, Emigranten, Volks- und Staatsfeindliche Vermögensangelegenheiten, Aberkennung der Reichsangehörigkeit, im Inland, den besetzten Gebieten und Ausland

Jews, émigrés, Enemy and Opposition Property, removal of Reich citizenship at home, in the occupied territories and abroad.

IV A 5 <i>Sonderfälle</i>	(Special Cases)
IV A 5 a <i>Schutzdienst</i>	Protective Service (for leading Party and Governmental personalities).
<i>Sonderaufgaben</i>	Special duties.
<i>Asoziales Verhalten gegen Evakuierten</i>	Anti-social attitudes towards evacuees.
<i>Deutsche Arbeitsbummelanten</i>	German work-dodgers.
<i>Gemeinschaftswidriges Verhalten</i>	Anti-social behavior.
IV A 5 b <i>Parteiangelegenheiten und Presse</i>	Party matters and the press.
IV A 6 <i>Karteien und Fahndung</i>	(Card Indexes & Wanted Persons)
IV A 6 a <i>Kartei und Personalakten</i>	Card Index, Personal Files
<i>Auskunft</i>	Information.
IV A 6 b <i>Schutzhaft</i>	Protective Custody.
IV A 6 c <i>Ausländische Arbeiter und</i>	Foreign workers and prisoners
<i>Fremdländische Kriegsgefangene</i>	of war.
<i>Fluchtabsichten und Fluchten</i>	Escapes and attempted escapes by
<i>ausländischer Arbeiter in Deutschland</i>	foreign workers in Germany and
<i>und den besetzten</i>	the occupied territories (see Amt
<i>Gebeit (siehe auch Amt V- RSHA)</i>	V-RSHA).
<i>Unerlaubte Briefvermittlung</i>	Illegal transmission of mail to and
	from foreign workers.
<i>Arbeitsverweigerung der Ausländer</i>	Refusal to work by foreigners.
Gruppe IV B <i>Abwehrangelegenheiten</i>	(Military Counter Intelligence)
IV B 1	Western Europe, English-speaking countries, Scandinavia.
IV B 1 a <i>Frankreich, Belgien</i>	France, Belgium.
IV B 1 b <i>Holland, England, Nordamerika, Kanada</i>	Holland, England, North America, Canada.
IV B 1 c <i>Dänemark, Norwegen, Schweden, Finnland</i>	Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland.
IV B 2	Eastern Europe.
IV B 2 a	

<i>Ostgebiete, sowie Sowjet Union Weissruthenische, ukrainische Emigra- tion, Vertrauensstellen</i>	Eastern territories & Soviet Union. White Ruthenian and Ukrainian emigration, confidential agents.
IV B 2 b <i>General Gouvernement</i>	General Government (Poland).
IV B 2 c <i>Protektorat, Slowakei</i>	Protectorate, Slovakia.
IV B 3	Southern and Southeastern Europe, Africa and South America.
IV B 3 a <i>Balkan mit Ungarn und Rumänien, Bulgarien, Türkei, Ferner Osten</i>	Balkans, including Hungary and Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey, Far East
IV B 3 b <i>Schweiz, Italien, Spanien, Portugal, Afrika, Südamerika</i>	Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portu gal, Africa, South America
IV B 4 <i>Passangelegenheiten</i>	(Passport Matters)
IV B 4 a <i>Passwesen</i>	Passports.
IV B 4 b <i>Ausweisen, Kennkarten</i>	Identity papers and cards,
<i>Ausländerpolizei</i>	Registration and Control of Foreigners.
IV B 4 c <i>Zentrale Sichtvermerkstelle</i>	Central Office for Issue of Visas.

The *Gestapo* was divided into *Stapo-Leitstellen* or Regional Offices. These units were generally established in a Military District or *Wehrkreis* or in the administrative center of a *Reichsgau*. In general, the head of a Regional Office held the rank of *Oberregierung- und Kriminalrat* which was the equivalent of a Lt. Colonel.

There also existed *Stapo-Stellen* or *Gestapo* Office. These units were not under the control of the *Leitstellen* but were independent of them. Both levels were self-contained and operated as independent units. The head of a *Gestapo* Office was usually a *Regierungs- und Kriminalrat* which was the equivalent of a Major.

All of these *Gestapo* units were under the control of the *Befehlshaber der Sipo und des SD* or Commander of the Security Police and the Security Service.

STAPO-LEITSTELLEN

(Regional Headquarters of the *Gestapo*)

Berlin

Area:

Gross-Berlin and *Provinz*

Mark Brandenburg

Reg. Bez. (Regierungsbezirk) i.e., Administrative District

Potsdam and Frankfurt (Oder)

In direct control of:

Gross-Berlin (*Reichshauptstadt Berlin*)

Address:

C 2, Grunerstr. 12

Tel: 510023

Chief:

SS-Oberführer Bock

Under:

B.d.S. (Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei) Berlin

Supervising:

St. (Stellen) Potsdam

St. Frankfurt/Oder

Branch Offices:

Grepo (Grenzpolizei) Berlin-Tempelhof Airfield

Breslau

Area:

Provinz Niedersachsen (Reg. Bez. Breslau, Liegnitz)

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Breslau and Reg. Bez. Liegnitz

Address:

Museumstr. 2-4

Tel: 22211

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Scharpwinkel

Under:

B.d.S. Breslau

Branch Offices:

AuDst. (Aussendienststelle) Glatz, Glogau, Görlitz,

Gross-Wartenberg, Guhrau, Hirschberg, Liegnitz

Militsch, Waldenburg

Stapo Sagan

Arbeitserziehungslager Rattwitz (Kreis Ohlau)

Brünn

Area:

Mähren

In direct control of:

Area Mähren

Address:

Eichhornerstr. 70

Tel: 19988

Chief:

SS-Oberführer Dr. Rennau

Under:

B.d.S. Prag

Branch Offices:

AuDst. Iglau, Kremser, Mährisch Ostrau,

Mährisch Weisskirchen, Olmütz, Prerau,

Prossnitz, Ungarisch-Hradisch, Westin

Greko (Grenzpolizeikommissariat) Zlin

Grepo (Grenzpolizei) Bila, Bilnitz, Blumenbach,

Göding, Landshut, Oberlitz, Welka/Strassnitz

Arbeitserziehungslager Gross-Kunzendorf, Witkowitz

Danzig

Area:

Reichsgau Danzig-Westpreussen (*Reg. Bez.* Danzig,
Bromberg and Marienwerder)

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Danzig, *Landkreise* Marienberg, Marienwerder,
Rosenberg, Stuhm

Address:

Neugarten 27
Tel. 2105/56

Chief:

SS-Oberführer Venediger

Under:

B.d.S. Danzig

Supervising:

St.(Stelle) Bromberg

Branch Offices:

AuDSt. Elbing, Dirschau, Konitz, Marienwerder,
Greko Gotenhafen controlling:
Grepo Gotenhafen-Hafen, Helaheide, Danzig Hafen

Dresden

Area:

Land Sachsen

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Dresden-Bautzen

Address:

A 24, Bismarckstr. 16/18
Tel: 44021

Chief:

SS-Sturmbannführer Willy Müller

Under:

B.d.S. Dresden

Supervising:

St. Chemnitz, Leipzig

Branch offices:

AuDSt Bautzen

Düsseldorf

Area:

Rheinprovinz (*Reg. Bez.* Düsseldorf, Aachen,
Koblenz, Köln, Trier)

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Düsseldorf

Address:

Ratingen, Mühlheimerstr. 47
Tel: 2521/22

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Nosske

Under:

B.d.S. Düsseldorf

Supervising:

St.-Köln
St.-Koblenz

Branch offices:

AuDSt. Duisburg, Essen, Hamborn, Krefeld,
Mülheim/Ruhr, München-Gladbach/Rehyd,
Oberhausen, Remscheid, Solingen, Velbert,

Wuppertal

Greko Emmerich controlling:

Grepo Emmerich-Bahnhof, Elten-Babberich,
Emmerich-Hafen, Lobith

Greko Kaldenkirchen/Rheinland controlling:

Grepo Kaldenkirchen/Bahnhof, Kaldenkirchen-
Schwanenhaus

Greko Kleve controlling

Grepo Geldern, Goch, Kranenburg-Bahnhof,
Wyler-Wylerberg

Hamburg

Area:

Hamburg, *Reg. Bez.* Lüneburg and Schleswig

In direct control of:

Hansenstadt Hamburg and *Reg. Bez.* Lüneburg

Address:

Dammtorstr. 25
Tel: 341000, 341612

Chief:

SS-Oberführer Blomberg

Under:

B.d.S. Hamburg

Supervising:

St. Kiel (for *Reg. Bez.* Schleswig)

Branch offices:

AuDSt Celle, Fallingbostal, Hamburg-Bergedorf,
Hamburg-Harburg, Lüneburg, Soltau, Stadt des
KdF-Wagen/ Fallersleben
Greko Hamburg

Hannover

Area:

Reg. Bez. Hannover, Hildesheim, Osnabrück

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Hannover

Address:

Ruchmkorffstr. 20
Tel: 60031 and 60269

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Rentsch

Under:

B.d.S. Braunschweig

Branch offices:

AuDSt. Göttingen, Hildesheim, Neinburg, Nordhorn

Karlsruhe

Area:

Land Baden

In direct control of:

Land Baden

Address:

Reichstr. 24
Tel: 8582/85

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Gmeiner

Under:

B.d.S. Stuttgart

Branch offices:

AuDSt Baden-Baden, Freiburg/Breisgau,
Heidelberg, Mannheim, Offenburg

Greko Konstanz, controlling:

Grepo Konstanz-Kreuzlingertor

Greko Lörrach- controlling:

Grepo Lörrach-Stettin/Strasse and
Lörrach -Stettin-Bahnhof, Grenzacherhorn,
Weil am Rhein-Bahnhof

Greko Singen/Hohentweil controlling:

Grepo Singen-Bahnhof, Gottmadingen-Bahnhof

Greko Waldshut controlling:

Grepo Waldshut-Brücke, Erzingen

Greko Kehl /Rhein, Müllheim/Baden

Stapo Ettlingen, Mosbach, Pforzheim, Rastatt, Villingen

Kattowitz

Area:

Reg. Bez. Kattowitz, Oppeln, Troppau

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Kattowitz

Address:

Bernhardstr. 49 (Strasse der SA)
Tel: 32923/27

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Thümmeler

Under:

B.d.S. Breslau

Supervising:

St. Oppeln
St. Troppen

Branch offices:

AuDSt. Auschwitz, Beuthen, Bielitz, Gleiwitz,
Rybnik, Sosnowitz
Greko Teschen
Grepo Mosty

Königsberg

Area:

Provinz Ostpreussen

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Königsberg, *Reg. Bez.* Allenstein

Address:

Lindenstr. 7-15
Tel: 64331/36

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Freytag

Under:

B.d.S. Königsberg

Supervising:

St. Tilsit
St. Zichenau-Schröttersburg

Branch offices:

AuDSt. Allenstein, Braunsberf/Ostpr., Lötzen,

Neidenburg, Ortelsburg (also *Greko*), Rastenburg
Greko Lyck, Ortelsburg (also *AuDSt*), Pillau
Grepo Devau-Flughafen, Gehlenburg
Stapo Johannisburg/Ostpr.

Magdeburg

Area:

Provinzen Magdeburg, Halle-Merseburg, *Land* Anhalt

In direct control of:

Provinz Magdeburg, *Land* Anhalt

Address:

Klosterkirchhof 1

Tel: 33745/48

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Mohr

Under:

B.d.S. Braunschweig

Supervising:

St. Halle/Saale

Branch office:

AuDSt Dessau

München

Area:

Reg. Bez. Oberbayern, Schwaben

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Oberbayern, *Reg. Bez.* Schwaben

Address:

Dietlandenstr. 32-43

Tel: 28341/45

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Schaefer

Under:

B.d.S. München

Branch office:

AuDSt Augsburg

Grepo München-Riem (Airport)

Münster/Westf.

Area:

Reg. Bez. Münster, Minden, Arnsberg

Länder Lippe und Schaumberg-Lippe

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Münster, Osnabrück, Minden

Länder Lippe und Schaumberg Lippe

Address:

Gutenbergstr. 17

Tel: 41854/56

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Landgraf

Under:

B.d.S. Düsseldorf

Supervising:

St. Dortmund

Branch offices:

AuDSt. Bielefeld, Bottrop, Buer, Gelsenkirchen, Gladbeck, Meppen, Osnabrück, Paderborn,

Recklingshausen
Greko Gronau/Westf. controlling:
 Grepo Glanerbrücke, Gronau-Bahnhof
Greko Bentheim controlling:
 Grepo Bahnhof Bentheim, Nordhausen-Frensdorferhaar, Springbiel
Greko Borken/Westf. controlling:
 Grepo Bocholt-Hemden, Borken-Bahnhof

Nürnberg-Fürth

Area:
 Reg. Bez. Ober-und Mittelfranken, Niederbayern-
 Oberpfalz, Mainfranken and Eger
In direct control of:
 Reg. Bez. Ober-und Mittelfranken, *Reg. Bez.* Mainfranken
Address:
 Ludwigstr. 36
 Tel: 25541 and 27741
Chief:
 SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Otto
Under:
 B.d.S. Nürnberg
Supervising:
 St. Karlsbad
 St. Regensburg
Branch office:
 AuDSt Würzburg

Posen
Area:
 Reichsgau Wartheland
In direct control of:
 Reg. Bez. Posen, Kreise Altburgund, Dietfurt,
 Hohensalza, Gnesen
Address:
 Ritterstr. 21a
 Tel: 4365, 8261
Chief:
 SS-Obersturmbannführer Stossberg
Under:
 B.d.S. Posen
Supervising:
 St. Litzmannstadt
Branch offices:
 AuDSt Posen, Gnesen, Hohensalza.
 Jarotschin, Kosten, Lissa, Samter
 Arbeitserziehungslager Posen and Hohensalza

Prag

Area:
 Böhmen
In direct control of:
 Böhmen
Address:
 Bredauergasse 21
 Tel: 30041
Chief:
 SS-Obersturmbannführer Dr. Gerke

Under:

B.d.S. Prag

Branch offices:

AuDSi Beneschau, Budweis, Jitchin, Jungbunzlau,
Kladno, Klattau, Kolin, Königgratz, Paradubitz, Pilsen, Tabor
Grepo Prag (Airport)
Polizeigefängnis Theresienstadt
Arbeitserziehungslager Hradischko, Plan/Leinsitz,
Miroschau/Pilsen-Land

Reichenberg (Süd)

Area:

Reg. Bez. Aussig

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Aussig

Address:

Lerchenfeldgasse 3
Tel: 2554, 4665, 4666

Chief:

SS-Sturmbannführer Denk

Under:

B.d.S. Dresden

Branch offices:

AuDSi Aussig, Brüx, Komotau, Leitmeritz,
Teplitz-Schönau, Tratenau, Warnsdorf
Greko Böhmisches Leipa, Gablonz

Stettin

Area:

*Provinz Pommern (Reg. Bez. Stettin, Köslin,
Schneidemühl)*

In direct control of:

Reg. Bez. Stettin, Reg. Bez. Köslin

Address:

Auguststr. 47
Tel: 35321

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Bruno Müller

Under:

B.d.S. Stettin

Branch offices:

AuDSi Bütow, Dramburg, Flatow, Greifswald
Köslin, Kolberg, Neustettin, Schneidemühl,
Stolp, (also *Greko*) Woldenberg/Neumark
Greko Stralsund controlling:
Grepo Stolpmünde
Arbeitserziehungslager Hägerswelle/Stettin-Pölitz

Stuttgart

Area:

Land Württemberg and Reg. Bez. Sigmaringen

In direct control of:

Land Württemberg and Reg. Bez. Sigmaringen

Address:

Wilhelm-Murr-Str. 10
Tel: 28141, 29741/5

Chief:

SS-Obersturmbannführer Mussgay

Under:

B.d.S. Stuttgart

Branch offices:

*AuDSt. Heilbronn/Neckar, Oberndorf/Neckar,
Sigmaringen, Ulm*

Greko Friederichshafen

Grepo Stuttgart-Echtendingen (Airport)

Stapo Ellwangen, Tübingen

Arbeitserziehungslager: Oberndorf-Aistaig, Rudersberg/Schorndorf

Wien

Area:

*Reichsgaue Wien, Niederdonau, Oberdonau, Steiermark,
Kärnten, Salzburg, Tirol-Vorarlberg*

In direct control of:

Reichsgaue Wien and Niederdonau

Address:

Morzinplatz 4

Tel: A 17580

Chief:

SS-Brigadeführer und Generalmajor der Polizei Huber

Under:

B.d.S. Wien

Supervising:

St. Graz

St. Innsbruck

St. Klagenfurt

St. Linz-Donau

Branch offices:

AuDSt Sankt Pölten, Wiener Neustadt, Znaim

Greko Eisenstadt controlling:

Grepo Bruck/Leitha, Kittsee, Sauerbrunn and Nebenstelle Zwettl

Greko Lundenberg controlling:

Grepo Lundenberg-Bahnhof

Greko Wien controlling:

Grepo Aspern (Airport), Engerau, Marchegg, Wien-Reichsbrücke