

## CHAPTER FOUR

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### The CIC and Right-Wing Shadow Politics

Allied intelligence organizations monitored communist parties in postwar Germany and Austria, but they also worried about Nazi resurgence. Many former Wehrmacht and SS officers were involved in political intrigue after the war.<sup>1</sup> Scholarly accounts of such movements exist, but the new CIC records have hundreds of files on such groups. What follows are two examples—the *Bruderschaft* (Brotherhood), a shadow organization in West Germany, and the *Spinne* (Spider) a shadow organization in Austria.

#### The Bruderschaft

The Bruderschaft (Brotherhood) was a semi-secret postwar organization of perhaps 2,500 right-wing German nationalists. The outlines of the organization are known. It was formed in 1949 in the British occupation zone amongst staff officers from the army's elite Grossdeutschland Division, former SS officers, and senior Nazi party members who had been held in England after the war. It worked behind the scenes of West German politics. It maintained ties with right-wing parties and groups in West Germany and with neo-Fascists and ex-Nazis abroad, advocating a Europe independent of either the United States or the USSR, and disintegrated owing to internal fights in 1951. Its significance lay within the rearmament debate in West Germany in 1950 and 1951.

The Bruderschaft's effect was marginal, but the threat it represented for Atlantic security earned it close surveillance by the U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps (CIC), which discovered the organization after its first meeting in Hamburg in July 1949. The CIC quickly developed sources within the organization. Some 1,500 to 2,000 new pages on the Bruderschaft have now been released. CIC surveillance revealed how badly compromised some of its leaders were, while revealing a fuller picture of the organization's overall strategy and personality feuds.

The Bruderschaft had two leaders. One was SS Col. Alfred Franke-Gricksch. He joined the Nazi Party in 1926 and the SS in 1935. He served as an intelligence officer in the SS Death's Head Division in 1939 and in 1943 moved to the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) Personnel Office (Amt I) first as Personal Adjutant to Maximilian von Herff and then as the head of the office. In 1943 Franke-Gricksch traveled through occupied Poland, visiting the camps of Auschwitz and Maidanek and witnessing the suppression of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. He marveled at the wealth collected from Jewish ghettos as well as Auschwitz's efficiency in disposing of Jews.<sup>2</sup> Even in April 1945 he remained a true believer calling for a renewal of Nazi concepts, this time by a group of elite leaders rather than a single man.<sup>3</sup> He was in British captivity from 1945 to 1948, during which time he provided information for MI6.<sup>4</sup> He then returned to his castle near Bielefeld and worked to implement his vision through the political system.

The other leader was Maj. Helmut Beck-Broichsitter, an ex-staff officer from the Grossdeutschland division, who had a reputation as "one of the best qualified young General Staff [sic] Officers in the German Army."<sup>5</sup> Beck-Broichsitter joined the Army in August 1939, serving in Poland, France, Greece, and the USSR. But he joined the Nazi Party in 1931, was a member of the SA in 1932, and a member of the police until 1939. As an Army officer from 1939 to 1944, he served in a variety of field gendarme units, which helped to combat partisans behind German lines. This placed him in the category of automatic arrest.<sup>6</sup>

Other leaders in the Bruderschaft were more notorious. Karl Kaufmann was one of the Nazi Party's earliest members (1922). He was the party Gauleiter in Hamburg from 1929 to 1945 and Hamburg's governor (Reichsstatthalter) from 1933 to 1945. From a stolen Jewish villa, he ran one of Germany's most corrupt administrations, wherein Jewish property and capital rewarded supporters. In

September 1941 Kaufmann became the first city official to deport Jews to occupied Poland. He protected himself after the war with the myth that he opposed the Gestapo, that he lived a modest life on a modest salary, and that he tried to minimize anti-Jewish measures in Hamburg. The British arrested him in May 1945, but Kaufmann was released for health reasons in October 1948. By 1950 CIC knew him as a “bad type” who “controls a group of former NSDAP members.”<sup>7</sup>

A January 1950 story in the *New York Herald Tribune* alerted the public to the Bruderschaft. It painted the Bruderschaft as a shadow general staff that provided advice to West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer through Gen. Hasso von Manteuffel, the Grossdeutschland Division’s commander for much of 1944 and one of Adenauer’s informal advisers on rearmament. Could the Bruderschaft have signaled that a reconstituted Wehrmacht might overturn the new German democracy?<sup>8</sup> Though Manteuffel publicly denied Bruderschaft membership (many sources said he was a member), the press in both Germanys registered concerns. U.S. High Commissioner John McCloy responded that Allied agents were studying the group.<sup>9</sup>

The CIC began investigating the Bruderschaft in July 1949 with mail intercepts after learning of a secret meeting in Hamburg. The British shared intelligence from their zone. They cryptically revealed that Franke-Gricksch was a “high-category Nazi who was released under certain restrictions” but “failed to live up to the conditions of his release.”<sup>10</sup> The CIC recruited its own more moderate sources from within the Bruderschaft. These included Col. Eberhard Graf von Nostitz, a former staff officer from the 2nd Panzer Army and close friend of Manteuffel. He worked for British intelligence, with a net that included former Foreign Office and Gestapo personnel, and also worked for the Gehlen Organization. Though he, like Manteuffel, denied membership in the Bruderschaft, he maintained frequent contact with its members and attended its meetings.<sup>11</sup>

Centered in Hamburg, the Bruderschaft was strongest in the British zone, but it also had members in the French, U.S., and Soviet zones. Its overt aims were easy to learn, since Beck-Broichsitter spoke with Allied authorities and the press. These aims reflected well-worn army officers’ thinking: anti-Soviet and pro-Western policies that also called for the rehabilitation of German soldiers through restored state pensions and the release of officers from war crimes enclosures. Beck-Broichsitter told U.S. High Commission members that the

Soviets aimed at “the Bolshevization of Western Germany and Western Europe through phony peace initiatives and the offer of German unity.” The United States, he said, should counter Soviet efforts. “It had been Germany’s historic mission during the past 1,000 years,” he said “to defend the Occident against Russian onslaughts.”<sup>12</sup> Beck-Broichsitter further noted that the officer class “feel that their honor has been insulted by the mass arrests and other indignities they have endured as an aftermath of World War II.”<sup>13</sup>

The Bruderschaft’s covert aims were more dangerous. A CIA assessment of August 1950 noted “the implications of the covert program, together with the political backgrounds of the leaders and most of the members, leave little doubt that the organization espouses neo-Nazism, with changes from the Nazi program dictated by an opportunistic appraisal of the present international situation.”<sup>14</sup> The Bruderschaft insisted that the Federal Republic and its constitution were illegitimate Allied-imposed structures. Karl Dönitz, Hitler’s successor who surrendered militarily to the Allies in May 1945 and was now serving a prison sentence, never surrendered state power. “Under these circumstances,” read a secret Bruderschaft statement of February 1950, “the [former] German state must be considered as still in existence.” The Bruderschaft favored dictatorship by elite officers: “We hope,” said the statement, “that the era of the masses has passed, and that the moment for the development of the elite has come.”<sup>15</sup>

The Bruderschaft aimed to create such a condition by forging right-wing party coalitions, placing its members in key government positions, and exercising influence behind the scenes. Intercepted correspondence from 1949 revealed that Beck-Broichsitter tried to forge a CDU-Deutsche Partei coalition in Schleswig-Holstein to maximize the right-wing vote there.<sup>16</sup> In November 1950 Beck-Broichsitter talked of a “National Representation” of right-wing parties, including the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich Party (SRP) which “would form a state within a state and would be independent of both the Bonn Government and the Government of East Germany.” British sources said that former Gen. Heinz Guderian, the famous tank commander who served as Hitler’s loyal army chief-of-staff in 1944 and 1945, agreed to lead the National Representation.<sup>17</sup> Franke-Gricksch said privately that parliamentary government in West Germany would collapse by 1953 and that there were “sufficient qualified men within the Bruderschaft’s ranks to take over the entire administration of Germany.”<sup>18</sup> The CIA noted “several instances of lower-level relationships between

the Bruderschaft and regional officials of the federal coalition parties....”<sup>19</sup> There was no evidence that the Bruderschaft influenced government policy but some members, including Manteuffel, had access to senior figures.<sup>20</sup>

The Bruderschaft’s covert foreign aims included an armed independent European force under German leadership, as anti-American as it was anti-Soviet. It thus rejected German membership in NATO. As special agent Edward Hoffer noted, the Bruderschaft was “not pro-Allied. They are simply pro-Deutsch, and against any form of east or west occupation or protection.” They even rejected the Gehlen Organization’s work under ostensible U.S. supervision.<sup>21</sup> Guderian said in August 1950 that he would “rather raise the pistol to both the Americans and the Russians at the same time,” but for the impracticality of such a step.<sup>22</sup> “The covert program,” according to the CIA,

projects a united Europe in which Germany would presumably play the leading role by virtue of its size, power, and position. This Europe would withdraw from close political and military cooperation with the US and, although opposing international Bolshevism and Soviet interference in European affairs, could take a neutral position between the US and USSR or even enter as an equal partner into alliance with the USSR. The authoritarian government envisioned for Germany, despite Bruderschaft claims that it is against Fascism and dictatorship, would presumably be extended to the other European countries through the foreign neo-fascists with whom the Bruderschaft maintains contact.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, the Bruderschaft insisted on restoration of Germany’s 1937 boundaries, which its members believed could be attained with timely lies to the Soviets and Americans alike. The Poles, who had benefited most from border readjustments in 1945, would not be consulted.<sup>24</sup>

How were the covert aims to be brought about? The Bruderschaft maintained close ties with like-minded Germans from former Nazis to Ruhr industrialists as well as right-wing groups throughout Western Europe. Franke-Gricksch was in frequent touch with British Fascist Oswald Mosley, and Beck-Broichsitter claimed to have met Pope Pius XII. “The Catholic Church is very interested in our movement,” Beck-Broichsitter said, “because we represent the first line of

defense against Bolshevism.”<sup>25</sup> Franke-Gricksch also cultivated contacts in the East Germany. These included secret Bruderschaft members with whom Franke-Gricksch maintained courier nets. They also included members of the Socialist Unity Party and the Soviet Military Administration. Franke-Gricksch hoped that Moscow’s various statements on German unity in return for “peace”—whatever this might mean to the Soviets—might be used to good effect.<sup>26</sup>

In August 1950 Karl Kaufmann talked of “primarily siding with the Russians, and later turning against them in order to reestablish the old Germany.”<sup>27</sup> In March 1951, Franke-Gricksch argued that “Germany should pretend to collaborate with the East until certain concessions are granted by the West, then shift toward the West to gain concessions from the East.”<sup>28</sup> In November 1950, he told the Americans through Günther d’Alquen (the former editor of the SS magazine *Das Schwarze Korps*) that “the Americans sooner or later will be compelled to turn to the Bruderschaft for assistance. . . .”<sup>29</sup> In fact, Franke-Gricksch’s relationships in East Germany opened the Bruderschaft up to penetration by communist agents.<sup>30</sup>

What could be done about the Bruderschaft? Adenauer’s top military advisers, Gen. Adolf Heusinger and Gen. Hans Speidel, viewed the Bruderschaft as “young, overambitious, ex-officers” who comprised a “radical right wing group” with a “liberal sprinkling of SS elements” who “became bitter over their fate after the war and decided that their life under Hitler wasn’t so bad after all.” According to the British, Manteuffel and other senior army officers in the Bruderschaft were mostly interested in restoring the Wehrmacht’s good name and were “horrified by the public exposure of their names as leaders of an underground movement in association with those of ex-Gauleiters and SS leaders.” Equally uncomfortable with Franke-Gricksch’s Communist ties, they hoped to reorganize the Bruderschaft along more conservative lines in 1950. Heusinger and Speidel argued that state pensions for officers and the release of Army personnel from war crimes enclosures would satisfy ex-officers and help the Bruderschaft to “die a natural death.”<sup>31</sup>

In fact, the Bruderschaft died even before such developments owing to splits between Franke-Gricksch and Beck-Broichsitter. Disagreements over strategy were decisive. By 1951 Beck-Broichsitter and the military clique, though still hoping for military independence, advocated cooperation with the United States and rejected connections with the USSR. Franke-Gricksch’s backers believed a pro-Soviet policy offered the best chance for German unity and that “One cannot

trust the words of [NATO Commander] Eisenhower since he remains what he has always been, namely a German hater.”<sup>32</sup> In a bitter meeting of February 1951 Franke-Gricksch accused Beck-Broichsitter of spying on the Bruderschaft for the Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz (BfV), West Germany’s domestic intelligence agency. Beck-Broichsitter resigned from his leadership post rather than undergo a trial by the Bruderschaft’s honor court. The CIC later established that he had a relationship with the BfV, which was surely interested in Franke-Gricksch’s connections with East Germany and the Soviets.<sup>33</sup>

After his ouster in February 1951, Beck-Broichsitter took the Bruderschaft factions from the French occupation zone and from Baden-Württemberg in the U.S. zone, and renamed his group the Bruderschaft Deutschland. Ostensibly he rejected cooperation with former Nazi figures, but in July 1951 he appointed Erich Bujalla, a former Gestapo officer from Bremen, as his local designate in Frankfurt. Bujalla pledged to “use a definite National Socialist spirit in leading the Frankfurt Bruderschaft.” He quickly recruited old Nazi police friends for the Bruderschaft Deutschland.<sup>34</sup> For the rest, Beck-Broichsitter maintained contact with Hans Speidel during the rearmament debates, advocating a paramilitary program for German boys under the Bruderschaft Deutschland that included marching, reconnaissance, and the like. He increasingly became a non-factor as West Germany remilitarized, joined NATO, and saw its ex-Wehrmacht officers released from Allied prisons.<sup>35</sup> Franke-Gricksch continued to build the Bruderschaft. But in October 1951, during a trip to East Germany, he was arrested and tried for war crimes in the USSR. He reportedly died in a Soviet prison camp in 1953.<sup>36</sup>

## The Spider

Previously released CIC materials contained spotty information on Austria thanks partly to the scattered and fragmentary nature of the operational records of the 430th CIC Detachment, which monitored the U.S. occupation zone there.<sup>37</sup> The most interesting material thus far has been the lengthy personal file of Wilhelm Höttl, a SD officer who served in Hungary in 1944 and who created two intelligence nets for the CIC in 1948.<sup>38</sup> The new records contain more information on such activity. The tale of an organization called the Spinne (Spider) serves as an example.

The Spinne is the stuff of legend. It was “uncovered” in 1949 by the American journalist Curt Reiss who wrote that Goebbels’s subordinate Dr. Johannes Leers stood at its head. In the 1960s it was said to be a secret organization of former Nazis with high contacts in West Germany that helped war criminals escape to the Middle East, South Africa, and elsewhere.<sup>39</sup> The true Spinne was actually a secret association of Austrian Nazis who in 1949 pressed for the rehabilitation of Austrian Nazis and for a pan-German agenda that included a second Anschluss with a reunited Germany. Its significance lies in the Austrian national election of October 1949.

Austria had roughly 700,000 Nazis when the war ended. In May 1945 Austria’s new government legally banned the Nazi organizations, prohibited former Nazis from voting and state employment, and required all Nazis to register (about 524,000 did so). A War Criminals Law of June 1945 established People’s Courts throughout Austria that heard some 136,000 cases and pronounced 13,607 guilty verdicts over the next decade.<sup>40</sup> The National Socialist Law of February 1947 established categories of Nazis including war criminals (including illegal Nazis from the 1933 to 1938 period); “incriminated” Nazis (SS and Gestapo members for instance); and “less-incriminated” Nazis. A law of April 1948 amnestied “less-incriminated” Nazis (about 550,000 persons), allowing them to vote. With only 2.5 million voters in Austria, this group and their families were an important voting bloc.<sup>41</sup>

The four occupying powers initially licensed three political parties in Austria. The Austrian People’s Party (Österreichische Volkspartei—ÖVP) represented Catholic conservatives. The Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ) and the Communist Party of Austria (Kommunistische Partei Österreichs—KPÖ) represented the moderate and extreme left. The ÖVP and SPÖ formed an anti-Communist coalition government in 1945. But was a coalition between conservatives and social democrats the only anti-Communist alternative? Might a more rightist alternative be attractive to former Nazis in 1949?

Herbert Kraus was the main figure vying for the votes of former Nazis. Born in Zagreb in 1911, Kraus was a German economic official in the Ukraine from 1941 to 1943 who was removed for speaking against German policies. He then served in a combat intelligence unit. He emerged after the war in Salzburg where he lived in the renovated Schloss Frohnberg (later made famous in *The Sound of Music*).

Kraus formed a private think tank in Salzburg called the Österreichische Forschungsinstitut für Wirtschaft und Politik, which conducted public opinion polls and reported news and opinion in a weekly called *Berichte und Informationen*. He also had a relationship with CIC, having turned over various SS personalities to U.S. authorities after the war and having helped create four intelligence operations including Project Jackpot, aimed at the KPÖ. *Berichte und Informationen* was highly critical of the Soviets but also complained about the “punitive” nature of denazification in Austria, which prevented a more “spiritual denazification” and the joining of Austria with the western bloc of nations. The CIC viewed Kraus as reliable and pro-American, with “mild rightist tendencies.”<sup>42</sup> The CIC’s operations chief in Salzburg, Maj. James V. Milano, noted in 1948 that up to one-third of the Army’s intelligence efforts in Austria depended on Krause.<sup>43</sup> In fact, his research institute might have had an intelligence-gathering function.<sup>44</sup>

In February 1949 Kraus formed a fourth political party called the League of Independents (Verband der Unabhängige—VdU). It was a non-religious party committed to free markets that aimed to attract the uncommitted 30 percent of the Austrian electorate, including “intellectual Nazis,” right-wing Socialists, and conservative independents, all of which, he felt, could produce 1.5 million votes.<sup>45</sup> Kraus hoped he could form a right-wing coalition with the ÖVP. The Spinne was an organization of former war criminals and other “implicated” Nazis. They could neither vote nor serve in state office, and they faced possible criminal charges. They aimed to take over the VdU from within and govern from behind the scenes afterwards. Austrian historian Lothar Höbelt dismisses the Spinne entirely in his apologetic history of the VdU.<sup>46</sup>

The CIC first learned of the Spinne in September 1949 after the ÖVP began an anti-VdU press campaign aimed at maintaining ÖVP vote totals.<sup>47</sup> In an extensive investigation CIC special agents interviewed VdU functionaries who had resigned from the party, intercepted and transcribed telephone calls to and from VdU leaders, and studied key VdU documents. One of the informants was Karl von Winkler, a former Abwehr major who had worked against the Nazis in Austria and who was a founding member of the VdU, hoping that it might become a legitimate nationalist party.<sup>48</sup> Another was Hans Georg von Schwarzkopf, Kraus’s private secretary, who was a reliable U.S. informant, providing extensive information on Kraus, the VdU, and its Nazi supporters.<sup>49</sup>

The Spinne initially formed in U.S. Detention Camp Marcus W. Orr in Glanzenbach near Salzburg. This camp held more Nazi officials than any other enclosure in Austria, some 12,000 in all.<sup>50</sup> It was a hothouse of unreconstructed Nazism and political intrigue. The CIC had an agent within the camp and a number of informants including von Schwarzkopf. “The inmates of Camp Orr,” reported CIC Special Agent F. K. Richter, “regarded themselves as the elite of Austria, and they were firmly convinced that Austrian recovery depended entirely upon their release.... They felt absolutely certain that they would regain their power, staff the government with experts rather than ‘politicians,’ and establish a new and better National Socialist regime [,] naturally avoiding the errors made by Hitler and his ‘false advisors.’”<sup>51</sup> Members of the Spinne organization, according to various informants, swore “an oath of loyalty and solidarity” and were “devoted to the re-establishment of their personal power.” The name Spinne referred to “a centrally located body... and a web, reaching to all National Socialists and into all Allied Intelligence Services.”<sup>52</sup> Camp Orr officially closed in August 1948.

The leaders of the Spinne were Erich Kernmayer and Karl Kowarik, both implicated Austrian Nazis. Kernmayer joined the Nazi Party and the SA in 1934, when both were illegal in Austria. After the Anschluss in 1938 he became the editor of the formerly anti-Nazi periodical *Deutsche Telegraf*. From 1939 to 1940 he was the press chief for Gauleiter Joseph Bürckel of Vienna, during a period of intense anti-Jewish violence, expropriation, and expulsion there. When Bürckel became Gauleiter in the Westmark (the Saar, Bavarian Palatinate, and Lorraine), Kernmayer again became his press chief. In 1941 during Germany’s invasion of Greece, Kernmayer was assigned to the Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler as a war propagandist. Later service took him to the USSR, to Hungary, and ultimately in 1945, to American captivity.<sup>53</sup> In Camp Orr, Kernmayer broadcast news analysis over the public address system. His anti-Soviet comments predicted imminent war between the United States and the USSR. A CIC agent in the camp, Special Agent F. K. Richter, suspected that Kernmayer was behind the murder of Professor Alois Koch in March 1947 for Koch’s collaboration with the Americans.<sup>54</sup>

Karl Kowarik was another Vienna Nazi who joined the Party in 1930. He became the Hitler Youth leader in Vienna in 1934 and eventually all of Austria. Described as “an old National Socialist of outstanding conviction,” he became an SS officer in 1939.<sup>55</sup> According to one CIC agent, Kowarik was one of Camp Orr’s

most violent Nazis, “a man who would have been nothing save for the Nazis, and who could never be expected to give up his National Socialist convictions.”<sup>56</sup>

Kernmayer and Kowarik were released from Camp Orr in 1947. They found work as operations chiefs in the CIC intelligence nets created by Wilhelm Höttl in 1948. The CIC dropped both nets in 1949 owing to their unreliability. But Kernmayer continued to find work as a U.S. intelligence source while also writing an anti-Semitic apologia for Nazism published in Switzerland entitled *Die grosse Rausch* (The Great Intoxication, 1948), which sold 12,000 copies in Austria within three months (the Allies later banned sales of the book in Austria).<sup>57</sup> It was the first of a number of books in which Kernmayer glorified the Nazi past. CIC agents in Salzburg protected Kernmayer. In 1948 Austrian authorities arrested him for trial in Linz. CIC officials “advised the Austrian judicial authorities to take no further action in the pending case until further advised by the American authorities,” then asked them to halt prosecution altogether. As late as January 1949, Kernmayer was still connected with a CIC network, and as late as 1952, the CIC reported that he was “selling spurious intelligence reports to intelligence agencies in Austria” regarding Soviet activities.<sup>58</sup>

Kernmayer and Kowarik supported themselves through peddling intelligence. But they wanted political power, and Kraus’s VdU was the perfect vehicle. Kernmayer might have known Kraus from his time in Camp Orr. His broadcasts were culled from Kraus’s *Berichte und Informationen*. In 1948 Kernmayer approached Kraus, introducing him to Camp Orr’s leading Nazis who were looking for a “political mouthpiece.” According to Kraus’s secretary Hans Georg Schwartzkopf, “the Nazis fed Dr. Kraus’ ambition and vanity” and the “entire organization of the VdU was submitted to Dr. Kraus by these Nazis.”<sup>59</sup> Another source noted that, “from the very beginning [Kernmayer] told Dr. Herbert A. Kraus that he [Kernmayer] was the man who could lead the great mass of the former Nazis into the VdU.”<sup>60</sup>

When he announced his plans to form the VdU in February 1949, Kraus, according to CIC sources, stated that he “intended to recruit the million votes now controlled by former Nazis and their families.”<sup>61</sup> Such would give him 40 percent of the vote. “The Nazis will not run my Party,” Kraus told former German intelligence official Hans Gostentschnigg, “we need them only to increase our votes and our membership.”<sup>62</sup> “He stated to me,” said Hans Georg Schwarzkopf,

“that the VdU could not exist without the Nazis and that he had to be careful not to let the Nazis deprive him of his own power at some later time.”<sup>63</sup>

How did Kraus plan to control the Nazis within his party? The CIC learned that Kraus “proposed to use alleged non-implicated Nazis who enjoy the fullest confidence of the former National Socialists to secure this voting block [sic].”<sup>64</sup> But the implicated Nazis had different plans. The initial general meeting of the VdU on March 26, 1949, included implicated Nazis, and according to Schwarzkopf, it took place in an atmosphere reminiscent of “old-time Nazi gatherings. The old National Socialists present were determined to gain the upper hand.” A few non-Nazis, such as Kraus himself, occupied senior positions, but it was “only the agreement of the Nazis which [allowed Kraus] to maintain his position as chairman of the VdU.” U.S. authorities reported that “While the VdU is ostensibly a democratic and non-Nazi party operating under the slogan of ‘decency’ (Anstaendigkeit), and was probably originally intended as such by its founder, Dr. Kraus, it could not maintain such a direction for very long, because of the National Socialist advisors with whom Dr. Kraus surrounded himself. Dr. Kraus is considered to be a very pliable man...”<sup>65</sup>

Kernmayer placed Spinne members in the VdU’s national administration and, according to the Austrian authorities, they constantly reported back to him.<sup>66</sup> His network included Franz Pesendorfer who belonged to the SS Standarte 89 in Vienna, responsible for the 1934 murder of Chancellor Engelbert Dolfuss. Pesendorfer led the VdU’s press office.<sup>67</sup> Felix Rinner, another former member of SS Standarte 89, told a CIC informant in 1949 that “I work for the VdU in Vienna because it is ‘our’ party... I am not a member of the VdU but I devote all of my time to informing our people that they must vote only for the VdU. We are a completely right-wing party and we hope to constitute a two-third majority in Austria, together with the ÖVP.”<sup>68</sup> Numerous sources placed Hötzl within the Spinne as the VdU’s intelligence chief. As Austrian police authorities told the Americans, “Kernmayer and Kowarik hope that they can get rid of Dr. Kraus without any difficulties; they are waiting only for the moment in which the Nazis, through the VdU, will get ... a voice in parliament, in order to show their demands and carry them out.”<sup>69</sup> Already on September 20, telephone intercepts revealed calls to Kraus with warnings such as “we do not agree with your program, change it.” Special Agent Roger E. Lankford concluded that, “the ‘Spider Group’ is a group of ex-high Nazis who are hopeful of regaining political power in the future; that they are actually the ‘power behind

the thrown [sic]’ as far as the VdU is concerned; that they are actually giving Kraus ... all orders.”<sup>70</sup>

What was the VdU agenda? According to Schwarzkopf, “Dr. Kraus and his VdU are completely pan-German in their orientation.” They favored a united Germany joined with Austria. Kraus had frequent meetings with members of the Deutsche Union in Germany, particularly former Wehrmacht officers, who, according to Schwarzkopf, “look upon the founding of the VdU as a trial run for a similar movement in Germany.” Kraus, meanwhile, was sure that the VdU would gain at least 30 percent of the vote and that even ÖVP and SPÖ functionaries would defect to the VdU shortly before the election. The victory, he said, would be “of landslide proportions.” VdU intelligence officers including Höttl were “almost exclusively Nazis,” who followed the tactics to undermine the Austrian government that had proven successful in 1938.<sup>71</sup> Karl von Winkler told CIC investigators that “...the VdU, as it stands today and has always stood, is pan-German and antisemitic in intent ... Dr. Kraus is completely swayed by his Nazi advisors.”<sup>72</sup>

As the October 1949 elections drew closer, others showed increased concern. Andreas Rohrbacher, the Archbishop of Salzburg, with whom Kraus had been friendly, now admonished Kraus. “Your party,” said the Archbishop, “will materially weaken the conservative front and thus increase the power of the leftist parties.... I have misgivings about some points of your program, which sound rather radical, and then also because of the incorrigible Nazis ... you are providing cover for a group of people now who, sooner or later, will show their real face....”<sup>73</sup>

The ÖVP launched a press campaign against the VdU hinting that Kraus was a CIC agent and that his party was a front for a Nazi resurgence. The CIC worried that Kraus and other intelligence contacts would be compromised. “Such a campaign,” wrote Major Milano, “can be a serious blow to US intelligence as well as result in the loss of a large financial investment. Dr. Krause [sic] is definitely a long-range proposition.” Milano also worried that Krause could retaliate against the ÖVP’s own intelligence connections that had a Nazi taint. The entire feud could have major repercussions, which, according to Maj. J. V. Milano, could “kill one third of the USFA [what is this organization?] intelligence effort....”<sup>74</sup>

Instead, the CIC managed its own campaign. Dr. Gustav Canaval was the conservative editor of the *Salzburger Nachrichten*, the first licensed newspaper in the U.S. zone of Austria. He had been a friend of Kurt von Schusschnigg,

the Austrian Chancellor ousted by Hitler, and he was the editor of the *Deutsche Telegraf* in 1938 when Kernmayer took it over. He thus had a score to settle.<sup>75</sup> Canaval launched an anti-VdU press campaign, partially funded by the Austrian government. Canaval even coordinated with the World Jewish Congress (WJC), and, with the help of U.S. contacts, he published translated versions of WJC articles sent to French, Swiss, and U.S. news agencies about the VdU. The CIC kept its role invisible to avoid compromising its relationship with anyone who might be “possible future sources of information.”<sup>76</sup>

In the October 1949 national election, the VdU gained only 11.7 percent of the national vote and 16 parliamentary seats out of 165. The SPÖ remained the ÖVP’s coalition partners. The VdU’s share of the vote was the strongest showing by an alternative right-wing party until Jörg Haider’s victory of 1990, but the party fell into dissension in 1952. It disintegrated by 1955. Kernmayer continued his dubious writing career under the pseudonym Erich Kern, maintained contacts with old SS colleagues, and continued to sell “spurious intelligence reports” on the Soviets to various agencies in Austria.<sup>77</sup> Kraus resigned as VdU chairman in 1952. In the meantime he continued to work as an anti-Communist agitator and established liaisons with French and German right-wing groups interested in European unity. Included among his contacts in 1950 were leading members of the Bruderschaft in Germany.<sup>78</sup>

## NOTES

- 1 The best summary in English is Martin A. Lee, *The Beast Reawakens* (Boston: Little Brown, 1997).
- 2 His report is excerpted in Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 142–43.
- 3 Gerhard Förster, Richard Lakowski: *1945: Das Jahr der endgültigen Niederlage der faschistischen Wehrmacht. Dokumente*. 2nd ed. (Berlin: Militärverlag, 1985), p. 239.
- 4 Stephen Dorrill, *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty’s Secret Service* (New York: Free Press, 2002), p. 103.
- 5 Special Agent Ibo Hecht, Region XII, 66th CIC Detachment, Die Bruderschaft, September 29, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 6 For Beck-Brochsitter’s CIC file see NARA, RG 319, IRR, Beck-Brochsitter, Helmut, D 119321.
- 7 On Hamburg see Frank Bajohr, “Gauleiter in Hamburg: Zur Person und Tätigkeit Karl Kaufmanns, *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, v. 43, n. 2 (April 1995), p. 272. On his postwar apologetics and CIC comments see NARA, RG 319, IRR, Kaufmann, Karl, D 002645.

- 8 “Ex-General Advises Adenauer to Get Infantry, Panzer Units,” *New York Herald Tribune*, January 4, 1950. Clipping in NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267241.
- 9 On Manteuffel’s membership, see “Bruderschaft,” *Der Spiegel*, March 2, 1950; Special Agent Fritz Weinschens, report of March 17, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240. For press, see “West German Military Group Being Studied,” *New York Herald Tribune*, February 2, 1950. Clipping in NARA, RG 319, IRR, Die Bruderschaft, D 267241. The Soviet press organ *Tägliche Rundschau*, reported that U.S. intelligence “actively encouraged” the *Bruderschaft*. “Hitler-Generale: Ein Glied der USA-Armee,” *Tägliche Rundschau*, February 23, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR, Die Bruderschaft, D 267241. On Manteuffel’s relationship with Adenauer, see David Clay Large, *Germans to the Front: West German Rearmament in the Adenauer Era* (Chapel Hill, NC, University of North Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 50, 138, 243.
- 10 Allen J. Hoden, Memorandum of February 13, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267241.
- 11 Col. David Erskine (HQ, CIC 66th Detachment) to Commanding Officer, Region X, MSG No. 10, February 20, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267241; CIC Region II to HH, 66th CIC Detachment, December 7, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR, D 267240. Also cards of November 10, 1950, November 15, 1950, and December 20, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR, Nostitz, Eberhard Graf von XE 020327 and D 020327.
- 12 Report by Kenneth Dayton, Chief, Internal Political and Government Affairs Division, HICOG-Frankfurt, No. 1188, Date Illegible, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 13 Headquarters Region V, 66th CIC Detachment, Organizational Summary Report [on the Bruderschaft in Regensburg], September 14, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, v. 1, D 267740.
- 14 Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Memorandum No. 281, August 15, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267740.
- 15 Quoted in Secret Report on the *Bruderschaft*, Enclosure to HICOG Frankfurt 969, June 7, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 16 Extract from SITREP No. 19 for Week Ending 3 November 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267241; Col. David Erskine (HQ, CIC 66th Detachment) to CIC Liaison Officer for Analysis Branch, MSG No. 1, February 20, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267241.
- 17 Directorate of Security Contribution to Intelligence Division Top Secret Summary for November 1950, November 28, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240. On the relationship with the SRP, see Special Agent Arnold C. Vollem, CIC Region IX, December 21, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 18 Special Agent Bronislaw F. Gmyr, Region I, 66th CIC Detachment, Die Bruderschaft, October 23, 1950, NAA, RG 319 Die Bruderschaft v. 1, IRR, D 267740.
- 19 Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Memorandum No. 281, August 15, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 20 Special Agent Leo Hecht, Region XII, 66th CIC Detachment, Die Bruderschaft, September 29, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740. Contrast with CIC Region II to HQ 66th CIC Detachment, December 7, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267240.
- 21 Special Agent Edward W. Hoffer, Special Team Report #33, September 13, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 22 Headquarters Region V, 66th CIC Detachment, Organizational Summary Report [on the Bruderschaft in Regensburg], September 14, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740. This report has Guderian as a member of the *Herrenklub*, a loose organization of high-ranking officers, and as a spokesman for the *Bruderschaft*. Guderian had ties with numerous underground right-wing groups and there are several U.S. Army Counterintelligence files on him that include mail surveillance in the new records. See NARA, RG 319, IRR Guderian, Heinz, XE 010802, vols. 1–5.

- 23 Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Memorandum No. 281, August 15, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 24 Secret Report on the Bruderschaft, Enclosure to HICOG Frankfurt 969, June 7, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740; “Notes on West German Security,” July 1950, in Special Agent Eugene Kolb, report Views on Remilitarization, August 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 25 Special Agent Fritz Weinschens, report of March 17, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240. On Franke-Gricksch’s relationship with Mosley, see Graham Macklin, *Very Deeply Dyed in Black: Sir Oswald Mosley and the Resurrection of British Fascism after 1945* (New York: Taurus, 2007), pp. 91–93. Contacts with Countess Lili Hamilton, Bishop Alois Hudal, fighter pilot Hans-Ulrich Rudel, former SS Lt. Col. Otto Skorzeny and others are mentioned throughout the CIC *Bruderschaft* files. CIC information also pointed to continued contact between Franke-Gricksch and “British friends from the Secret Service.” See Franke-Gricksch, Alfred, Consolidated Information Collected from CPI Cards as of April 18, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 26 Franke-Gricksch said that there were 600 *Bruderschaft* members in East Germany and that some even occupied important positions in the East German *Volkspolizei*. On the *Bruderschaft*’s relationship with East Germany and the Soviet Military Administration see CO, CIC, Region II to HQ 66th CIC Detachment, December 5, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240; CIC Region X to HQ, 66th CIC Detachment, December 18, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240; Special Agent John D. Schlichtman, CIC Region II, January 10, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR, D 267240; Special Agent Lloyd R. Mabrey, Region II, 66th CIC Detachment, Bruderschaft Negotiations with the Soviet Military Administration, September 27, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740. On Stalin and German unity after 1945, see Gerhard Wettig, *Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East-West Conflict, 1939–1953* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2008), pp. 201–41.
- 27 Special Agent Bronislaw F. Gmyr, Region I, 66th CIC Detachment, Die Bruderschaft, October 23, 1950, NAA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.
- 28 Special Agents Bronislaw F. Gmyr and August A. Boelter, CIC Region I, March 16, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 29 Lt. Col. C. N. Coleman, HQ, 66th CIC Detachment Region IV, to HQ, 66th CIC Detachment, November 10, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 30 James H. Critchfield, *Partners at the Creation: The Men Behind Postwar Germany’s Defense and Intelligence Establishments* (Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute Press, 2003), p. 121.
- 31 On Heusinger and Speidel, see Activities of Former German Officer Groups, March 14, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft, D 267241. On Manteuffel, British Intelligence Summary #26, April 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240. On other Army officers see Directorate of Security Contribution to Intelligence Division Top Secret Summary for November 1950, November 28, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240; Information Report, December 6, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 32 Special Agent John D. Schlichtman, March 5, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240; Information Report, March 2, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240; Special Agent John D. Schlichtman, CIC Region II, March 6, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 33 Special Agent Bronislaw F. Gmyr, March 9, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240. On Beck-Broichsitter’s relationship with the BfV, see Special Agent John D. Schlichtman, CIC Region II, May 22, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Deutsche Bruderschaft v. 1, D 293797.

- 34 Special Agents Heinz C. Colbert and Joseph P. Coxedge, July 12, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR, D 293797; Special Agents Heinz C. Colbert and Joseph P. Coxedge, July 20, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Deutsche Bruderschaft v. 1, D 293797.
- 35 Extract, April 12, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Deutsche Bruderschaft v. 1, D293797; Special Agent John D. Schlichtman, CIC Region II, May 22, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D267240; Special Agent John D. Schlichtman, CIC Region II, June 1, 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft Factions, D 267240.
- 36 Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution*, p. 141.
- 37 Scattered reports for 430th CIC exist but very little of its operational files. [See RGs 165, 260, 319, 332, 338, and 498.]
- 38 Höttl's CIA Name File has a great deal of CIC material. See Norman J.W. Goda, "The Nazi Peddler: Wilhelm Höttl and Allied Intelligence," in Breitman, et. al., *U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis*, pp. 265–78.
- 39 "Half Die 'Spinne' bei der Flucht?" *Der Spiegel*, No. 47/1966, p. 87.
- 40 Figures in Hellmut Butterweck, *Verurteilt und Begnadigt: Österreich und seine NS-Straftäter* (Vienna: Czernin, 2003), p. 13.
- 41 Heidemarie Uhl, "From Victim Myth to Co-Responsibility Thesis: Nazi Rule, World War II, and the Holocaust in Austrian Memory," in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, ed. Richard Ned Lebow, Wulf Kansteiner, and Claudio Fugo (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 44.
- 42 Maj. J. V. Milano, to Lieutenant Colonel Carey, Memorandum for the Record, August 9, 1949; Jack E. Heibler, Assistant Chief of Operations, Land Salzburg Sub-Detachment to Chief, CIC, Land Salzburg Detachment, September 10, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902. Also Special Agent Harris C. Greene, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, November 10, 1947, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902; On *Berichte und Informationen* see the reports in NARA, RG 319, IRR Kraus, Herbert, XA 010790.
- 43 Maj. J. V. Milano, Memo for the Record, August 10, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 44 The Austrian Research Institute also had branch offices in Klagenfurt, Graz, Vienna, Innsbruck, Bregenz and Linz. The British authorities in Carinthia thought that the organization had a covert intelligence function, and from the start Kraus created it to be better informed than the Austrian government itself. See Intelligence Organization, Allied Commission for Austria, Ib/I/SF/1400/E, June 5, 1946, NARA, RG 319, IRR Kraus, Herbert, HE 079877; Civil Censorship Group Austria, Salzburg Station, S/T/1008, November 20, 1945, NARA, RG 319, IRR Kraus, Herbert, HE 079877.
- 45 See the partial report by Special Agent Harris C. Greene, NARA, RG 319, IRR Kraus, Herbert, XA 010790. See also Max Riedlsperger, "The FPÖ and the Right," in *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, v. 4: *Austro-Corporatism – Past, Present, Future*, ed. Günther Bischof and Anton Pelinka (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1996), p. 354.
- 46 Lothar Höbelt, *Von der Vierten Partei zur Dritten Kraft: Die Geschichte des VdU* (Graz: Stocker, 1999), pp. 75–76, 90.
- 47 Maj. J. V. Milano, Memorandum for the Record, September 26, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 48 On his wartime role see Radomir V. Luza, *Resistance in Austria, 1938-1945* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 168. On his expectations see Appendix A to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 49 Appendix C to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902. See also Appendix G of that document for an assessment of Schwarzkopf.

- 50 Donald Robert Whitnah and Florentine E. Whitnah, *Salzburg Under Siege: US Occupation, 1945–1955* (New York: Greenwood, 1991). Siegfried Beer, “Hunting the Discriminators: Denazification in Austria, 1945–1947,” in *Racial Discrimination and Ethnicity in European History*, ed., Guðmundur Hálfðanarson (Pisa: PLUS, 2003), pp. 177–92.
- 51 Appendix G of Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 52 Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, September 30, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902. See also Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 53 Appendix “J”: Life History of Erich Kernmayer, born 27 February 1906 in Land Graz, Styria, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 54 Appendix G to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 55 Breitman, et. al., *U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis*, p. 276.
- 56 Appendix G to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Koch, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 57 Special Agents Carl H. Koch, F. K. Richter, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer In Charge, CIC Salzburg, Ref. No. S-5560, September 28, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902. On sales see Kernmayer’s intercepted letter of August 21 1951, NARA, RG 319, IRR Erich Kernmayer, XE 189259. On the banning of the book see NARA, RG 319, IRR Grosse Rauch, MSN 50254.
- 58 AG 383.7, December 16, 1948; John B. Burkel (Chief, CIC Land Salzburg Sub-Detachment, June 8, 1949; Berg MSG No. 1-X, Salzburg to Linz, December 27, 1948; and Untitled Security Information memo dated July 3, 1952, all in NARA, RG 319, IRR Kernmayer, Erich, XE 189259.
- 59 Appendix C of Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 60 Appendix H to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 61 Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 62 Appendix D to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 63 Appendix C of Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 64 Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 65 Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902. Also Appendix C of that document.

- 66 Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, September 30, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 67 Höbelt, *Geschichte des VdU*, p. 70.
- 68 Appendix E to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 69 Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, September 30, 1949, NARA, RG 319, Entry, IRR Spider, XA 000902. See also James A Reeder, Branch Chief, Political and Economic Branch, to Chief of Operations, 430th CIC Detachment, United States Forces Austria, September 30, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 70 Lankford Informal Memorandum to Colonel Schrantz, September 20, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 71 Appendix C to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 72 Appendix A to Special Agents F. K. Richter, Carl H. Kock, and Frank P. Otto, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, The League of Independents, Report No. 2, September 13, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 73 Civil Censorship Group Austria, Recorded Telephone Conversation between Kraus and Rohrbacher, September 27, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 74 Maj. J. V. Milano, Memo for the Record, August 10, 1949, NARA, RG 319, Entry, IRR Spider, XA 000902. Also Maj. J. V. Milano, Memorandum for the Record, September 26, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 75 Peter Sonnenberg, “Medienkontrolle während der NS-Zeit: Eine kollektiv-biographische Analyse ausgewählter Journalisten der 1938 verbotenen Wiener Tageszeitungen “Wiener Tag” und “Telegraf.” Magisterarbeit, Universität Wien, 2009, p. 51.
- 76 Robert S. Seaver, Chief, CIC Land Salzburg Sub-Detachment, CIC Salzburg Ref. No. S-5471, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, September 16, 1949, NARA, RG 319, IRR Spider, XA 000902.
- 77 For his activities see NARA, RG 319, IRR Kernmayer, Erich, XE 189259.
- 78 Col. Hugh H. Sargent, HQ, 430th CIC Detachment, September 9, 1952, and Biographic Report A-49, Kraus, Herbert, May 12, 1953, NARA, RG 319, IRR Kraus, Herbert, XA 010790; Secret Report on the Bruderschaft, Enclosure to HICOG Frankfurt 969, June 7, 1950, NARA, RG 319, IRR Die Bruderschaft v. 1, D 267740.



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR



5 MAY 1952

Mr. Argyle R. Mackey  
Commissioner of Immigration  
and Naturalization  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D.C.

SUBJECT: Mykola LEBED

Dear Sir:

inestimable value to this Agency in its operations. In connection with future Agency operations of the first importance, it is urgently necessary that subject be able to travel in Western Europe. Before subject undertakes such travel, however, this Agency must be in a position to assure his reentry into the United States without investigation or incident which would attract undue attention to his activities. Your Service has indicated that it cannot give such assurance because of the fact that subject was convicted in 1936 of complicity in the 1934 Assassination of the Polish Minister of the Interior and sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment. Subject's trial by the Polish court was largely influenced by political factors and this Agency has no reason to disbelieve subject's denial of complicity in this assassination. However, the conviction of a crime involving moral turpitude raises the question of subject's admissibility to the United States under the Immigration laws. Your Service has indicated that, if the subject reenters the United States on a reentry permit, an investigation must then be conducted. Such investiga-

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Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act  
PL 103-346

Date: 12/2/88

In order to remove the obstacles to the fulfillment of this Agency's projected operations and pursuant to the authority granted under Section 8 of the CIA Act of 1949, I approve and recommend for your approval, the entrance of this subject into the United States for permanent residence under the above Act because such entry is essential to the furtherance of the national intelligence mission and is in the interest of national security. In accordance with previous correspondence in Section 8 cases, it is understood that you will present this matter to the Attorney General for his approval. There is attached a memorandum of biographical information and Form I-125 in duplicate.

In line with the suggestion made in your letter of 31 March 1952, it will be appreciated if you will record the subject's admission for permanent residence as of the date of his original entry, 4 October 1949, to coincide with date of entry of his wife and daughter.

In view of the urgency in this case, it would be appreciated if you would give it your expeditious consideration.

Sincerely,

*Allen W. Dulles*  
Allen W. Dulles  
Deputy Director

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