

Box 10 AR5994 1/14

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Letter
"James Aronson to Kerner" 1946

*** POLITICAL PARTIES IN BAVARIA ***

If you consider the enthusiasm and the fanatical belief that most Germans had for Hitler, then you will see why we in censorship are interested to know all we can about the political parties in Germany. We are, as you have been told before, "the eyes and ears of the United States Government over here, and of all democratic-minded nations", and it is our duty, yours and mine, to see that no new "Führer" emerges from the ruins and the discontent of the German people. That is why we should know something about the Underground Movement and the Political Parties permitted in Bavaria. This knowledge will enable us to report any illegal political activity to the Agency which is dealing with political investigation. First I shall try to give you the names of some political parties which have existed in Germany during the last 25 years. Some of these parties functioned as underground organizations during the Nazi Regime. It is suspected that many of them are active today (during the Allied Occupation). Many of the organizations of the Right stand for much the same things in principle as the Nazis. They were Non-Nazi or became Anti-Nazi largely as a result of conflicts of personalities. Such organizations should be watched and the activities of their members viewed with suspicion. Virtually all of these organizations were illegal under the Nazis and it is very likely that some of these organizations are active today, functioning illegally under the eyes of the American authorities. I shall ^{use} give the expression political orientation in giving you the view-point of some of these organizations. By Right is meant politically, economically and socially conservative. By Center is meant middle of the road and by Left is meant radical.

"BAUER" (Defense)

Program: An organization designed to coordinate the underground activities of the Social Democrats, Zentrum, Deutsche Demokratische Partei and labor unions. Existed during period of Nazi dictatorship.

"ALA" Anti-Nazi Student Movement.

"ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND"
Political Orientation: Left.

"AMICALE DES TRAVAILLEUR FRANCAIS" (Brotherhood of French Workers)
Program: Anti-Nazi Underground of French workers.

I mention this organization because of the well known fact that there are today many foreign workers left in Germany who were very willing to work for Hitler because of their Fascist leanings. They might have formed a similar underground movement during the American Occupation.

"BAYRISCHE BAUERN-UND MITTELSTANDE BUND"
(Bavarian Farmers & Middle Class League)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: Center.
Related Organization: Deutsche Bauern Partei.

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"BAYERNWACHT" (Bavarian Watch)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Paramilitary organization of the "Bayrische Volkspartei".

"BAYRISCHE EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE" (Bavarian Evangelical Church)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Lutheran religion. Politically fairly conservative.

"BAYRISCHER HEIMATS-UND KÖNIGSBUND"

(Bavaria for Home and King League)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Favors putting the WITTELSBACH family again on the throne of Bavaria.

"BAYRISCHE SCHUTZEMANNEN" (Bavarian Protection Corps)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: A paramilitary Freikorps-type organization.

"BAYRISCHE VOLKSPARTEI" (Bavarian People's Party)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Bavarian branch of German Zentrum party. It was Catholic influenced and had a large peasant following.

Related Organizations: Einwohnerwehr, Bayernwacht, Gesellenverein, Verein für soziale Wahlen & Soziale Angelegenheiten.

"BLAU WEISS" (Blue White)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Independence for Bavaria-or at least Autonomy.

Related Organizations: WITTELSBACH

(Blue white are the Bavarian royal family colors). These are symbolical colors rather than being an organization in the strict sense of the word.

"DEUTSCHE FREIHEITSBEWEGUNG" (German Freedom Party)

Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Anti-Nazi, Anti-Communist, Pro-Catholic.

Related Organization: Deutsche Aufbaubewegung Gruppe Dr. Roeck.

"DEUTSCHE AUFBAUBEWEGUNG" Gruppe Dr. Roeck.

(German Rebuilding Movement)

Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Designed to be a sort of City Council of several parties to give advice to the local government on problems arising during the reconstruction.

"DEUTSCHER BAUFARBUND" (German Farmers League)

Area of Activity: Kitzingen, Mainfranken.

Political Orientation: Center.

Program: Farmer's organization closely connected with the Deutsche Demokratische Partei.

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"DEUTSCHER TURNERBUND"

Political Orientation: Right.

In this connection I should like to point out to you the importance of paying attention to so-called sport organizations in name. They are very often a cloak (Deckmantel) for political activities.

"DEUTSCHE WERKGEMEINSCHAFT"

Area of Activity: Nurnberg region.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Most members went into the Nazi Party following October 1922. Nationalist and Anti-Semite.

Leader: Julius Streicher.

Even if Streicher today is one of the war criminals being tried at Nurnberg, some of his fanatical followers might want to reorganize his old party. After you have been here awhile you will have heard most Germans affirm that they never were Nazis-oh no!!

"DEUTSCH-NATIONALER HANDLUNGSGEhilFENVE BUND"

(German National White Collar Trade Union)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

"EDELWEISS PIRATEN" (Edelweiss Pirates)

Area of Activity: Germany.

Program: Anti-Hitler Jugend.

Leaders: Horst Hellwig, Leipzig
Helmut Jordan, Duesseldorf
Hans Josting, Duesseldorf

Related Organizations: Buendische Jugend, Pfadfinder, Kittelsbach Piraten, Totenkopf.

Date of Founding: During period of Nazi dictatorship.

Pay particular attention to these "Edelweiss Piraten" as they are supposed to be an active underground movement, very much alive today and despite their official program, not at all Anti-Hitler. The same is true of another organization, called: "ADLER AUGEN".

"EINWOHNER WHR BAYERN" (Bavarian Dwellers Defense)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Paramilitary, largest of the armed Freikorps units.
Disbanded: 1921.

"FREIES DEUTSCHLAND" (Free Germany)

Area of Activity: Russia

Political Orientation: Left.

Program: The Russians used captured German officers for propaganda purposes against the Germans.

Leaders: General Von SEYDLITZ. Field Marshal Von PAULUS.

Related Organizations: Freikorps Freies Deutschland.

Date of Founding: 1942.

"FREIBAUER BAYERN" F.A.B. (Free Bavaria Movement)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: It alleged it was Anti-Nazi, but did not seem to be able to make up its mind whether it favored an independent Bavaria.

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OTTHEINZ
LEILING, MÜNCHEN

Leaders: Dr. Rupprecht Gerngrose, Munich.
Related Organizations: Freiheits-Und Aufbau Aktion Bayern.
Date of Founding: Probably April 1945.

It was ordered to shut down in Munich at the end of May 1945.

"KAMPFBUND DER FALKEN" (Struggle League of the Falcon)
Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: Left.
Program: Communistic Anti-Nazi underground.

"KAMPFBUND STUDENTEN JUGEND" (Struggle League of Young Students)
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Nationalistic conservative student - Anti-Nazi Underground.
Leaders: Professor Scholl, Munich.

His children were executed after the Munich University protest against the war - 1943.

"KITTELSBACH PIRATEN" (See: Edelweiss Piraten)

"ORGANISATION SIEBEN" (Organization Seven)
Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Program: Socialistic, with related overtones.
Leaders: Franz Schneider, Munich.
Date of Founding: Probably April 1945.

Ordered to shut down in Munich about 17 May 1945.

"PFADFINDER" (Path Finder) (See: Edelweiss Piraten)

Undoubtedly, and I should like to stress this point, not all of the organizations that I have given you are operating illegally and against the Allied occupation policies. Some of these organizations are the primary supporters of the Allies and many of their members should be useful in public positions. But nevertheless, by familiarizing yourselves with their names, and always keeping in mind that there are many good German Nazis all over the country, you will achieve the mission you came here to fulfill.

Now I shall come to the main point of my talk to you.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN BAVARIA

The recent election in which 83% of the eligible voters cast their ballots, marked the first step in the rebirth of free political voting in Germany for the past 13 years.

Seventh Army commented on political activity saying: "The leading posts in the recognized political parties seem now to be held by former political office boys, who because of their insignificance, were not accorded by the Nazis the distinction of being terminated. The average German's participation in politics was not a crowning success and the present De-nazification program points also to the belief that it may pay to be non-political. Counter actions against members of certain parties are feared in the event of a German nationalist reaction. The average German therefore is waiting. That the present political leaders are not up to the task is evident, though under existing conditions even more talented leaders would probably fail to promulgate a clear program containing something more than sheer generalities.

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The majority of the leaders fancy themselves in the roles of the pre-1933 heads of parties in a free and sovereign Germany and after promising obedience to the occupying forces, they discuss problems over which Germany now exercises no control, such as socialization of industries, cooperative movements, guaranteed living standards and economic laissez-faire."

The first outstanding development affecting the political life in Germany took place in August. It was the decision of the Tripartite Conference in Potsdam, announced on August 2nd, to ^{give the German people} prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis." As one means of stimulating this reconstruction, the conference further announced that "all democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany." While democratic political parties had been permitted in the Soviet Zone since June, political life in the U.S. Zone had previously rested under a ban on political activity which continued from the commencement of occupation through most of August. On August 27th the Military Government issued a revised directive permitting political activities. Parties were formed during September under directives permitting party activities at the Kreis level. And since I have mentioned the term Kreis level, I shall try to give some information on the meaning of "Kreis", "Stadtkreis", and "Landkreis."

The basic unit of German local government is the "Kreis". The whole of the Reich has since 1939 been divided into "Kreise". A "Kreis" is usually a bigger town with a number of surrounding villages.

A "Stadtkreis" is usually formed by a town with over 20,000 inhabitants and "Landkreise" are formed by the smaller town communes and the countryside. The former are presided over by a Chief Mayor (oberbuergermeister) while the latter come under the authority of the "Landrat". By the way, a "Landrat" is a state official and at the same time the head of the self-government of the "Kreis".

The Landkreise are further sub-divided into "Stadtgemeinden" and "Landgemeinden" which are led by a mayor (Buergermeister). In 1942 there were 894 Landkreise and 238 Stadtkreise, a total of 1132 Kreise in Greater Germany. Landkreise are comparable in size with a French arrondissement or an American county, but are generally smaller than an English county.

The coming Kreis elections are to be held on April 28, 1946 and the various political parties are at present in the process of preparing extensive party propaganda for the elections. At a meeting on February 19th 1946 at which members of the leading political parties attended, it was agreed that parties could publish a propaganda pamphlet every two weeks and that party insignias and emblems could be worn, as long as they are not identical with, or similar to insignias and emblems authorized under the Nazi Regime.

Today the number of Kreise represented throughout Bavaria, in which temporary authorization has been granted to democratic political parties, has extended to a total of 136, approximately 96% of all Military Government Detachments in Bavaria. (142 Kreise) .

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The statistical break-down is:

- a) Total number of democratic political groups Temporarily authorized at Kreis level: 369
- b) Total number of different types of parties: 27
- c) The breakdown of parties is:

Social Democratic Parties	117
Communist Parties	101
Christian Social Union Parties	95
German Democratic Parties	9
Christian Democratic Parties	7
Christian Union Parties	4
Christian Socialist Parties	4
Liberal Democratic Parties	3
Democratic Political Parties	2
German Democratic Peoples Parties	2
Democratic Parties	2
Anti-Fascist Parties	2
Christian Democratic Peoples Party	1
Christian Democratic Union Party	1
Economic Reconstruction Party	1
Union of Free Democrats	1
Anti-Fascist Democratic Union	1
South German Women's League (Suddeutscher Frauenarbeitskreiss)	1
Bavarian Farmers Party	,1
Citizens Democratic League	1
Democratic Peoples Party	1
Farmer's Reconstruction Party	1
Farmer's Party	1
Bavarian Home and King Party	1
International League for World Peace	1

The four large democratic political parties which have counterparts in the American, English, and Russian Zone were generally organized by small groups of politically interested public leaders who were for the most part reliable Anti-Nazis and Democrats. These men, however, represent only a part of the German population. Their program of eradicating the last vestiges of Nazism and German militarism do not represent the will of that great mass of German people who either have remained confirmed National Socialists or have now rejected Hitlerism only because it had lost the war, or who have been and still are traditional German militarists and nationalists.

The Deutsche Nationale and Deutsche Volkspartei, for instance, and certain elements of the old Democratic Party, all proved before 1933 to be Hitler's most influential and powerful supporters. In fact, as a result of their ideologies, they found it easy to join with him in 1930-32. Because of their means, their connections, their education, and the subtlety of their program, these people were, in the last analysis, as dangerous as the National Socialists.

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Inasmuch as the present four political parties do not cater to the needs of these German reactionaries, it is to be anticipated that these elements may again seek to form their own political groups, just as they did after the last world war. It is to be feared that like Hitler and the ultra-conservative pre-1933 parties, they will use democratic and idealistic language to cover ultra-reactionary policies.

Wide sections of the population consider that the parties and leaders which present themselves today are to ~~be~~ a large extent the same as those who were unable to solve the problems of the "Weimar Republic", or prevent the coming of Hitler and that these leaders now seem to put forward very little that looks new or constructive.

I fear that I am already burdening you with too much, but on the other hand, it will help you in your work to know something about political personalities and political parties. This also seems a good occasion to point out to you the importance of being well informed. Make it a daily practice to keep up "with the news". There are several papers in either English or German, which are available to you. For instance: The Stars & Stripes, News of Germany, Neue Zeitung, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, or maybe you can also manage to have some Danish newspapers sent to you from home.

Now lets try to concentrate on the major political parties permitted in Bavaria.

I. The Social Democrats advocate "Social Democracy" - a guarantee for the "New Germany". The party platform states: "Now we are once again called upon to take the fate of our fatherland and of ourselves into our hands. Reaction, which is to blame for our present unspeakable misfortune, is not yet dead. Reactionaries acted like blood-thirsty wolves against democracy and now reappear in the garb of apparently harmless sheep, as honorable democrats."

Once again many opportunists are returning to Socialism and Democracy, while they still regret inwardly that Hitler and his Party suffered such an ignominious defeat. One must look out for these people, and determine from which quarters they seek protection and what they regard as their "political sphere of activity".

"Since its foundation the S. P. has stood for the foundation of democracy. It has never changed this conception. We demand the right to work and demand pay which does not lower the standard of living. Work is the only asset of our people. We guarantee freedom of belief and conscience. We turn to the young voters who have not yet learned to know the blessing of democratic institutions and administration, because they grew up in a false spirit of obedience to Hitler's dictatorship. The young voters must recognize that Germany can be reconstructed only in the social-democratic spirit and that they are called upon to play a particularly important role in the work of rebuilding Germany. We turn to the women and mothers who have experienced so much grief through Hitler..... We Social Democrats want to be the haven of all those who have become politically homeless, no matter of what faith and class. Only through a great and powerful Social-Democratic Party can Germany be lifted out of chaos and led toward a better future."

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II. The Communists herald their platform with a rallying cry against "Fascist reaction" and for the unity of the great Democracies as well as the co-operation of Anti-Fascist democratic Parties. The power of industrialists and financiers, as well as that of "Junker" landowners must be effectively broken in order to clear the way for a democratic reconstruction of Germany. Reparations must be paid, but they are said to be not so severe as to eliminate the possibility of creating a unified autonomous Germany. Big banks, cartels, and trusts must be abolished, and this process must go hand in hand with the splitting up of feudal estates. Employers association must not be allowed to return, private and cooperative initiative must make "allowances for a German peace economy and for the satisfaction of the most pressing needs." We want the purging of Fascist elements to free the new State and economic organization from every restraint and sabotage. We want punishment, however, to be meted out strictly according to the amount of guilt, and we want to see the less tainted to be given an opportunity to win their way back into the community of decent Germans through devoted activity. We favor most decidedly the exchange of guiltless POW's for active Nazis, so that here too, innocent people may not be made to atone for the crimes of the Hitler Regime."

III. Christian Social Union, formerly the Christian Democratic Union, pledged itself to this program: "For the first time since the beginning of the Hitler dictatorship.....the German people can speak once again. Democracy, about which there is so much talk today, should through you in the village and districts receive real life and form for the first time. Before everything you must overcome the temptation to think only of your own interests, of your own church tower. This heap of ruin, Germany, will not be rebuilt by eccentrics or blockheads, splinter parties or class parties. Only strong and big parties can do it, who know what they want and openly discuss it."

The Christian Social Union claims to be the unifying party of both Christian churches, but it by no means excludes other denominations. It attempts to carry out its reconstruction on the basis of Christian principles. The party appeals for the formation of more local groups, wherever "unobjectionable men and women reside". The C.S.U. is the heir to the former Catholic Center Party. It is believed that many members of C.S.U. audiences are ex-Nazis of the nominal sort at least. However, the union has done nothing to encourage such support and men like Dr. Kogon, one of its most effective speakers, have sharply hit at this non-thinking attitude among their followers.

I will have to deviate from my course somewhat in mentioning a party which has gained some prominence in Greater Hesse. It is the

IV. National Democratic Party and its leader a Dr. Leuchtgens. This party licensed in several communities in Greater Hesse, has been catering to militarist and nationalists, who find themselves without representation in the four big parties

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The party, basically rejects de-Nazification, urges an Army for Germany and the formation of a Western Bloc ostensibly directed against the Soviet Union.

And now comes a party which we must all watch and try to get as much information on them as possible. This party is the:

V. Liberal Democratic Party - which styles itself "not a continuation of the old bourgeois parties, but a ~~combination~~ ^{combination} of all circles willing to start on a reconstruction program with new and timely goals. The platform of the Liberals is the following: "To reeducate the German citizen towards a liberal world view and a democratic philosophy of state; to imbue them with ideas of responsibility" to fight dictatorship" to tolerate free speech and freedom of worship and to respect the life of the individual."

The Liberal Democratic Party is set against political division according to vocations or denominations; it demands a unified German state, centrally administered and rejects all federalistic and particularist efforts of the "Lander" (mention here 3 Lander Division of Am. Zone: Bayern, Württemberg/Baden and Hessen). How all that sounds rather beautiful but in reality the party needs watching. It is not at all liberal or democratic. The Liberal Democratic Party is the catch-all for all elements of the German Nationalist Right and its support seems to come from people who, if not nominal ex-Nazis, were nevertheless not too willing to let the Nazis come to power. Consequently the party is very evasive on de-Nazification and wants it sharply reduced. Naturally the party leadership is ~~very~~ ^{not} clean politically, if it were not, the party would not have been permitted to function. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of the party leaders as to the sections of the population from which they derive their support - reactionaries and violent Anti-Leftist. Just to be on the safe side, the party pays lip service to some moderate socialistic measures, but at the same time, in the words of one of its leaders, the L.D.P. identifies itself with the past 200 years of German history (before 1933), that means and it is intended to mean, that the party believes in the aims of all German imperialist leaders from Frederick the Great through Bismarck to the late Kaiser. If this party wins any sort of controlling position in future political developments - and this is not at all impossible, our plans for the reeducation of Germany should be sharply intensified. And the very last party that I shall bother you with is the:

VI. Bavarian Home and King Party. (Bayrische Heimat-Und Koenigspartei). In an advertisement published by the "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" on March 1st 1946, the Bavarian Home and King Party appeals to the Munich public in the following words and I shall quote in German: "Ein neuzeitliches Koenigtum eine demokratische Verfassung und die Grundlage des Staates christliche Weltanschauung. Sollen die Grundlage des Staates sein. Aus solchen Erwagungen heraus ruft die Bayrische Heimat- Und Koenigspartei mit folgender Zielsetzung zur Sammlung. Errichtung eines selbständigen Bayerischen Staates Ruckkehr zum Koenigtum durch einen Volksentscheid."

The leaders of the party are: Kronprinz Rupprecht, Baron von Redwitz and Professor Lebsche, among others.

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Those then are the most important political parties from left to right. On the surface it would seem that all believe in some sort of socialism and democracy. All protest their hatred of Nazism. And granted that they are sincere in their beliefs, it is still our duty to watch their activities. Judging from the past history of Germany it is fitting and right for us to be suspicious. Let us watch out for any indication of illegal political activity on the part of individuals or organizations, be it only a trend, a new political thought expressed by a public official that will give us a clue, or maybe just a rumor worthwhile reporting. You, people from Denmark, who came here to help the cause of Democracy, you, who have seen, watched and suffered while the Germans occupied your country, you can be of immense help. Do not underestimate the importance of your work, even if it seems boring and quite uninteresting at times. At the end of this course, some of you will be assigned to be telegraph examiners or Telephone monitors. No matter where you will go, you will always be the backbone of this organization. Without you, without your co-operation and your alertness, nothing will function. And now, I would like to thank you for your patience. My very best wishes are with you.

EDITH C. PALM

15 March 1946.

Sources

CIC Monthly Bulletin	26 July 1945
Weekly Report Land Bavaria	February 1946
Intelligence Summary	February 1946
Weekly Information Bulletin	January 1946
USFET Report	January 1946
Germany Basic Handbook	July 1944
Intelligence Summary	January 1946
Sueddeutsche Zeitung	1 March 1946

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***** POLITICAL PARTIES IN BAVARIA *****

If you consider the enthusiasm and the fanatical belief that most Germans had for Hitler, then you will see why so many consulars are interested to know all we can about the political parties in Germany. We are, as you have been told before, "the eyes and ears of the United States Government over here, and of all democratic-minded nations", and it is our duty, yours and mine, to see that we are "bearers" of good news from the ruins and the discontent of the German people. That is why we should know something about the underground movement and the political parties permitted in Bavaria. This knowledge will enable us to report any illegal political activity to the agency which is dealing with political investigations. First I shall try to give you the names of some political parties which have existed in Germany during the last 25 years. Some of these parties functioned as underground organizations during the Nazi regime. It is suspected that many of them are active today (during the Allied occupation). Many of the organizations of the right stand for such the same things in principle as the Nazis. They were pro-Nazi or became anti-Nazi largely as a result of conflicts of personalities. Such organizations should be watched and the activities of their members viewed with suspicion. Virtually all of these organizations were illegal under the Nazis and it is very likely that some of these organizations are active today, functioning illegally under the eyes of the American authorities. I shall ^{use} the expression political orientation in giving you the viewpoint of some of these organizations. By right is meant politically, economically and socially conservative. By center is meant middle of the road and by left is meant radical.

"Alliance" (Alliance)
 Program: an organization designed to coordinate the underground activities of the Social Democrats, Central, Business Confederation Party and labor unions. Related during period of Nazi dictatorship.

"Anti-Nazi Movement"

"Alliance of German Democrats"
 Political orientation: left.

"Alliance of French Workers" (Brotherhood of French Workers)
 Program: anti-Nazi underground of French workers.

I mention this organization because of the well known fact that there are many many foreign workers left in Germany who were very willing to work for Hitler because of their Communist leanings. They might have formed a smaller underground movement during the American occupation.

"Alliance of Bavarian Farmers & Middle Class League"
 (Bavarian Farmers & Middle Class League)
 Area of activity: Bavaria.
 Political orientation: center.
 Related organization: Catholic Bavarian Party.

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- "BAVARISCHER" (Bavarian Watch)
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Paramilitary organization of the "Bayrische Volkspartei".
- "EVANGELISCHE KIRCHEN" (Bavarian Evangelical Church)
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Lutheran religion. Politically fairly conservative.
- "BAYRISCHER HILF-UND ERHILFVERBAND"
(Bavaria for Help and King League)
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Favors putting the WITTELSBACH family again on the throne of Bavaria.
- "BAYRISCHER SCHUTZVERBAND" (Bavarian Protection Corps)
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: A paramilitary Freikorps-type organization.
- "BAYRISCHE VOLKSPARTEI" (Bavarian People's Party)
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Bavarian branch of German Zentrum party. It was Catholic influenced and had a large peasant following.
Related Organizations: Einwohnerwehr, Bayernmacht, Gesellenverein, Verein für soziale Wahlen & Soziale Angelegenheiten.
- "BLAU WEISS" (Blue White)
Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Independence for Bavaria or at least autonomy.
Related Organizations: WITTELSBACH
(Blue White are the Bavarian royal family colors). These are symbolical colors rather than being an organization in the strict sense of the word.
- "DEUTSCHE FREIHEITSPARTEI" (German Freedom Party)
Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Anti-Nazi, Anti-Communist, Pro-Catholic.
Related Organization: Deutsche Aufbaubewegung Gruppe Dr. Kneck.
- "DEUTSCHE AUFBAUBEWEGUNG" Gruppe Dr. Kneck.
(German rebuilding movement)
Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Designed to be a sort of City Council of several parties to give advice to the local government on problems arising during the reconstruction.
- "DEUTSCHE FÄRGER" (German Farmers League)
Area of Activity: Altsingen, Mainfranken.
Political Orientation: Center.
Program: Farmer's organization closely connected with the Deutsche Bauernpartei.

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"REINIGUNGSKAMPF"

Political Orientation: Right.

In this connection I would like to point out to you the importance of paying attention to so-called sport organizations in case. They are very often a cloak (Deckmantel) for political activities.

"REINIGUNGSKAMPF"

Area of Activity: Nürnberg region.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Most members went into the Nazi Party following October 1922. Nationalist and Anti-Semite.

Leader: Julius Treicher.

Even if Treicher today is one of the war criminals being tried at Nürnberg, some of his fanatical followers might want to reorganize his old party. After you have been here awhile you will have heard most Germans affirm that they never were Nazis--oh no!!

"DEUTSCH-NATIONALER ARBEITERSCHUTZVERBAND"

(German National White Collar Trade Union)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

"WELWEISSER PIRATEN" (Edelweiss Pirates)

Area of Activity: Germany.

Program: Anti-Hitler Jugend.

Leaders: Horst Hellwig, Leipzig

Helmut Jordan, Düsseldorf

Hans Josting, Düsseldorf

Related Organizations: Deutsche Jugend, Wolfenbinder, Mittelsbach Piraten, Potencepf.

Date of Founding: During period of Nazi dictatorship.

Pay particular attention to these "Edelweiss Piraten" as they are supposed to be an active underground movement, very much alive today and despite their official program, not at all anti-Hitler. The same is true of another organization, called: "WELTER ARBEITER".

"WELTER ARBEITER" (Bavarian Dweller Defense)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Paramilitary, largest of the armed Freikorps units.

Disbanded: 1921.

"FREIES DEUTSCHLAND" (Free Germany)

Area of Activity: Russia

Political Orientation: Left.

Program: The Russians use captured German officers for propaganda purposes against the Germans.

Leaders: General Von WISMAR, Field Marshal Von PAULUS.

Related Organizations: Freikorps Freies Deutschland.

Date of Founding: 1942.

"FREIE BAVARISCHE BEWEGUNG" F.A.B. (Free Bavaria Movement)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: It alleges it was anti-Nazi, but did not seem to be able to make up its mind whether it favored an independent Bavaria.

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OTTHEINZ LEILING,
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Leaders: Dr. Rupprecht Gerngross, Munich.
Related organizations: Freiheits-Und Aufbau Aktion Bayern.
Date of founding: probably April 1945.

It was ordered to shut down in Munich at the end of May 1945.

"KAMPFBUND DER FAALLEN" (Struggle League of the Fallen)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: left.
Program: Communistic Anti-Nazi underground.

"KAMPFBUND STUDENTEN JOGEND" (Struggle League of Young Students)

Political Orientation: right.
Program: Nationalistic conservative student - Anti-Nazi
Underground.
Leaders: Professor Scholl, Munich.

His children were executed after the Munich University protest
against the war - 1943.

"KAMPFBUND FÜR DEN" (See: Edelweiss Firaten)

"KAMPFBUND FÜR DEN" (Organization Seven)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Program: Socialistic, with related overtones.
Leaders: Franz Schneider, Munich.
Date of founding: probably April 1945.

Ordered to shut down in Munich about 17 May 1945.

"KAMPFBUND" (Fata Fider) (See: Edelweiss Firaten)

Undoubtedly, and I should like to stress this point, not all
of the organizations that I have given you are operating illegally
and against the Allied occupation policies. Some of these organiza-
tions are the primary supporters of the Allies and many of their
members would be useful in public positions. But nevertheless, by
familiarizing yourselves with their names, and always keeping in
mind that there are many good German Nazis ^{left} all over the country,
you will achieve the mission you came here to fulfill.

Now I shall come to the main point of my talk to you.

THE SITUATION IN BAVARIA

The recent election in which 85% of the eligible voters cast
their ballots, marked the first step in the rebirth of free politi-
cal voting in Germany for the past 13 years.

Seventh Army commented on political activity saying: "The
leading posts in the recognized political parties used now to be
held by former political office boys, who because of their insigni-
ficance, were not accorded by the Nazis the distinction of being
terminated. The average German's participation in politics was not
a crowning success and the present De-nazification program points
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something more than sheer generalities.

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The majority of the leaders fancy themselves in the roles of the pre-1933 heads of parties in a free and sovereign Germany and after promising obedience to the occupying forces, they discuss problems over which Germany now exercises no control, such as socialization of industries, cooperative movements, guaranteed living standards and economic laissez-faire."

The first outstanding development affecting the political life in Germany took place in August. It was the decision of the Tripartite Conference in Potsdam, announced on August 1st, to ^{GIVE THE GERMAN PEOPLE} "bring the reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis." ^{THE OPPORTUNITY TO} As one means of stimulating this reconstruction, the conference further announced that "all democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany." While democratic political parties had been permitted in the Soviet zone since June, political life in the U. S. zone had previously rested under a ban on political activity which continued from the commencement of occupation through most of August. On August 27th the Military Government issued a revised directive permitting political activities. Parties were formed during September under directives permitting party activities at the Kreis level. And since I have mentioned the term Kreis level, I shall try to give ^{you} some information on the meaning of "Kreis", "Stadtkreis", and "Landkreis."

The basic unit of German local government is the "Kreis". The whole of the Reich has since 1933 been divided into "Kreise". A "Kreis" is usually a bigger town with a number of surrounding villages.

A "Stadtkreis" is usually formed by a town with over 20,000 inhabitants and "Landkreise" are formed by the smaller towns, counties and the countryside. The former are presided over by a Chief Mayor (Oberbürgermeister) while the latter come under the authority of the "Landrat". By the way, a "Landrat" is a state official and at the same time the head of the self-government of the "Kreis".

The Landkreise are further sub-divided into "Amtsgemeinden" and "Landgemeinden" which are led by a Mayor (Bürgermeister). In 1942 there were 334 Landkreise and 238 Stadtkreise, a total of 572 Kreise in Greater Germany. Landkreise are comparable in size with a French arrondissement or an American county, but are generally smaller than an English county.

The coming Kreise elections are to be held on April 28, 1946 and the various political parties are at present in the process of preparing extensive party propaganda for the elections. At a meeting on February 19th 1946 at which members of the leading political parties attended, it was agreed that parties could publish a propaganda pamphlet every two weeks and that party insignias and emblems could be worn, as long as they are not identical with, or similar to insignias and emblems authorized under the Nazi regime.

Today the number of Kreise represented throughout Bavaria, in which temporary authorization has been granted to democratic political parties, has increased to a total of 138, approximately 95% of all Military Government Detachments in Bavaria. (142 Kreise).

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The statistical break-down is:

- a) Total number of democratic political groups temporarily authorized at Kreis level: 369
- b) Total number of different types of parties: 27
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Christian Socialist Parties	4
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German Democratic Peoples Parties	2
Democratic Parties	2
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South German Women's League (Süddeutscher Frauenarbeitskreis)	1
Bavarian Farmers Party	1
Citizens Democratic League	1
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Farmer's Reconstruction Party	1
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Bavarian Rose and Ring Party	1
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The four large democratic political parties which have counterparts in the American, English, and Russian scene were generally organized by small groups of politically interested public leaders who were for the most part reliable Anti-Nazi and Democrats. These men, however, represent only a part of the German population. Their program of eradicating the last vestiges of Nazism and German militarism do not represent the will of that great mass of German people who either have remained confirmed National Socialists or have not rejected Hitlerism only because it had lost the war, or who have been and still are traditional German Militarists and nationalists.

The Deutsche Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Volkspartei, for instance, and certain elements of the old Democratic Party, all proved before 1933 to be Hitler's most influential and powerful supporters. In fact, as a result of their ideologies, they found it easy to join with him in 1930-32. Because of their means, their connections, their education, and the subtlety of their program, these people were, in the last analysis, as dangerous as the National Socialists.

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Inasmuch as the present four political parties do not cater to the needs of these German reactionaries, it is to be anticipated that these elements may again seek to form their own political groups, just as they did after the last world war. It is to be feared that like Hitler and the ultra-conservative pre-1933 parties, they will use democratic and idealistic language to cover ultra-reactionary policies.

Wide sections of the population consider that the parties and leaders which present themselves today are to be a large extent the same as those who were unable to solve the problems of the "Weimar Republic", or prevent the coming of Hitler and that those leaders are seen to put forward very little that looks new or constructive.

I fear that I am already burdening you with too much, but on the other hand, it will help you in your work to know something about political personalities and political parties. This also seems a good occasion to point out to you the importance of being well informed. Make it a daily practice to keep up "with the news". There are several papers in either English or German, which are available to you. For instance: The Stars & Stripes, News of Germany, Neue Zeitung, Nachrichtenzeitung, or maybe you can also manage to have some British newspapers sent to you from home.

Now lets try to concentrate on the major political parties permitted in Germany.

I. The Social Democrats advocate "social democracy" - a guarantee for the "New Germany". The party platform states: "Now we are once again called upon to take the fate of our fatherland and of ourselves into our hands. Reaction, which is to blame for our present unpeppable misfortune, is not yet dead. Reactionaries acted like blood-thirsty wolves against democracy and now reappear in the garb of apparently harmless sheep, as honorable democrats."

Once again many opportunists are returning to Socialism and Democracy, while they still regret inwardly that Hitler and his party suffered such an ignominious defeat. (We must look out for these people, and determine from which quarters they seek protection and what they regard as their "political sphere of activity".

"Since its foundation the S. D. has stood for the foundation of democracy. It has never changed this conception. We demand the right to work and demand pay which does not lower the standard of living. Work is the only asset of our people. We guarantee freedom of belief and conscience. We turn to the young voters who have not yet learned to know the blessings of democratic institutions and administration, because they grew up in a false spirit of obedience to Hitler's dictatorship. The young voters must recognize that Germany can be reconstructed only in the social-democratic spirit and that they are called upon to play a particularly important role in the work of rebuilding Germany. We turn to the women and mothers who have experienced so much grief through Hitler..... The Social Democrats want to be the savior of all those who have become politically homeless, no matter of what faith and class. Only through a great and powerful social-democratic party can Germany be lifted out of chaos and led toward a better future."

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The party basically rejects de-Nazification, urges an Army for Germany and the formation of a Eastern Bloc ostensibly directed against the Soviet Union.

Who now owns a party which we must all watch and try to get as much information on them as possible. This party is the:

V. Liberal Democratic Party - which styles itself "not a continuation of the old bourgeois parties, but a combination of all circles willing to start on a reconstruction program with new and timely goals. The platform of the liberals is the following: "to reeducate the German citizens towards a liberal world view and a democratic philosophy of state; to imbue them with ideas of responsibility," to fight dictatorialism; to tolerate free speech and freedom of worship and to respect the life of the individual."

The Liberal Democratic Party is not without political division according to vocational or geographical divisions; it demands a unified German state, centrally administered and rejects all federalistic and particularist aspects of the "Länder" (Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, etc.). Now all that sounds rather beautiful but in reality the party needs watching. It is not at all liberal or democratic. The Liberal Democratic Party is the cat's paw for all elements of the German Nationalist Right and its support seems to come from people who, if not actual Nazis, were nevertheless not too willing to let the Nazis come to power. Consequently the party is very evasive on de-Nazification and wants it sharply reduced. Naturally the party leadership is very politically active. If it were not, the party would not have been permitted to function. There seems to be no doubt in the mind of the party leaders as to the sections of the population from which they derive their support - reactionaries and violent anti-leftist. Just to be on the safe side, the party pays lip service to some moderate socialistic demands, but at the same time, in the words of one of its leaders, the L.D.P. identifies itself with the past 200 years of German history (before 1933), that means and it is intended to mean, that the party believes in the aim of all German imperialist leaders from Frederick the Great through Hitler to the late Kaiser. If this party wins any sort of controlling position in future political developments - and this is not at all impossible, our plans for the reconstruction of Germany should be sharply intensified. And the very last party that I shall bother you with is the:

VI. Bavarian People's Party. (Bayerische Volkspartei). In an advertisement published in the "Bayerische Volkspartei" on March 1st 1940, the Bavarian People's Party appeals to the Munich public in the following words and I shall quote in German: "Die demokratische Volkspartei eine demokratische Volkspartei und die Grundgesamtheit aller christlichen Volksgenossen sollen die Grundlage des künftigen neuen. Aus solchen Bewegungen herausgrüßt die Bayerische Volkspartei mit folgender Zielsetzung zur Errichtung eines selbstständigen Bayerischen Staates. Rückkehr zum christlichen Glauben durch einen Volksentscheid."

The leaders of the party are: Erwin von Haeften, Baron von Helldorf and Professor Leber, among others.

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II. The Communists herald their platform with a rallying cry against "Fascist reaction" and for the unity of the great Democratic as well as the co-operation of anti-Fascist Democratic parties. The power of industrialists and financiers, as well as that of "Junker" landowners must be effectively broken in order to clear the way for a democratic reconstruction of Germany. Reparations must be paid, but they are said to be not so severe as to eliminate the possibility of creating a unified autonomous Germany. Big banks, cartels, and trusts must be abolished, and this process must go hand in hand with the splitting up of feudal estates. Employers' association must not be allowed to return, private and cooperative initiative must make allowances for a German peace economy and for the satisfaction of the most pressing needs. We want the purging of Fascist elements to free the new State and economic organization from every restraint and sabotage. In want punishment, however, to be meted out strictly according to the amount of guilt, and we want to see the least tainted to be given an opportunity to win their way back into the community of decent Germans through devoted activity. We favor most decidedly the exchange of guiltless POW's for active Nazis, so that here too, innocent people may not be made to atone for the crimes of the Hitler Regime."

III: Christian Social Union, formerly the Christian Democratic Union, pledged itself to this program: "For the first time since the beginning of the Hitler dictatorship is.....the German people can speak once again. Democracy, about which there is ^{much} talk today, should through you in the villages and districts receive real life and form for the first time. Before everything, you must overcome the temptation to think only of your own interests, of your own church tower. This heap of ruin, Germany, will not be rebuilt by eccentrics or blockheads, splinter parties or class parties. Only strong and big parties can do it, who know what they want and openly discuss it."

The Christian Social Union claims to be the unifying party of both Christian churches, but it by no means excludes other denominations. It attempts to carry out its reconstruction on the basis of Christian principles. The party appeals for the formation of more local groups, wherever "unobjectionable men and women reside". The C.S.U. is the heir to the former Catholic Center Party. It is believed that many members of C.S.U. audiences are ex-members of the nominal sort at least. However, the union has done nothing to encourage such support and men like Mr. Hogan, one of its most effective speakers, have sharply hit at this non-taking attitude among their followers.

I will have to deviate from my course somewhat in mentioning a party, which has gained some prominence in Greater Germany. It is the

IV: National Democratic Party and its leader is Dr. Leuchter. This party, licensed in several constituencies in Greater Germany, has been catering to militarist and nationalists, who find themselves without representation in the four big parties.

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These then are the most important political parties from left to right. On the surface it would seem that all believe in some sort of socialism and democracy. All profess their hatred of Hitler and granted that they are sincere in their beliefs, it is still our duty to watch their activities. Judging from the past history of Germany, it is fitting and right for us to be suspicious. Let us watch out for any indication of illegal political activity on the part of individuals or organizations, be it only a tract, a new political slogan expressed by a public official that will give us a clue, or maybe just a rumor worth while reporting. You, people from Germany, who came here to help the cause of democracy, you, who have seen, watched and suffered while the Germans occupied your country, you can be of immense help. Do not underestimate the importance of your work, even if it seems boring and quite uninteresting at times. At the end of this course, some of you will be assigned to be Telegram messengers or telephone operators. No matter where you will go, you will always be the backbone of this organization. Without you, without your co-operation and your assistance, nothing will function. And now, I would like to thank you for your patience. My very best wishes are with you.

WALTER C. PAUL

15 March 1946.

SOURCES

CIO Monthly Bulletin	26 July 1945
Weekly Report Land Bavaria	February 1946
Intelligence Summary	February 1946
Weekly Information Bulletin	January 1946
U.S. Report	January 1946
Germany Basic Handbook	July 1944
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Die Deutsche Zeitung	1 March 1946

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***** POLITICAL PARTIES IN BAVARIA *****

If you consider the enthusiasm and the fanatical belief that most Germans had for Hitler, then you will see why we in conservatism are interested to know all we can about the political parties in Germany. We are, as you have been told before, "the eyes and ears of the United States Government over here, and of all democratic-minded nations", and it is our duty, yours and mine, to see that no new "Hitler" emerges from the ruins and the discontent of the German people. That is why we should know something about the Underground Movement and the Political Parties permitted in Bavaria. This knowledge will enable us to report any illegal political activity to the Agency which is dealing with political investigations. First I shall try to give you the names of some political parties which have existed in Germany during the last 25 years. Some of these parties functioned as underground organizations during the Nazi regime. It is suspected that many of them are active today (during the Allied Occupation). Many of the organizations of the right stand for such the same things in principle as the Nazis. They were Neo-Nazi or became anti-Nazi largely as a result of conflicts of personalities. Such organizations should be watched and the activities of their members viewed with suspicion. Virtually all of these organizations were illegal under the Nazis and it is very likely that some of these organizations are active today, functioning illegally under the eyes of the American authorities. I shall ^{use} the expression political orientation in giving you the view-point of some of these organizations. By Right is meant politically, economically and socially conservative. Center is meant middle of the road and by Left is meant radical.

"VANGUARD" (Defense)

Program: An organization designed to coordinate the underground activities of the Social Democrats, Zentrum, Deutsche Demokratische Partei and labor unions. Existed during period of Nazi dictatorship.

"AIA" Anti-Nazi "Vanguard" Movement.

"BREMENIAER DEUTSCHER DEMOKRATISCHER VERBAND"

Political orientation: left.

"FRATERNITE DES TRAVAILLEURS FRANCAIS" (Brotherhood of French Workers)

Program: anti-Nazi underground of French workers.

I mention this organization because of the well known fact that there are today many foreign workers left in Germany who were very willing to work for Hitler because of their fascist leanings. They might have formed a similar underground movement during the American Occupation.

"BAYERISCHER BAUERN-UND ARBEITERSCHUTZ VERBAND"

(Bavarian Farmers & Workers Class League)

Area of activity: Bavaria.

Political orientation: Center.

Related Organization: Deutsche Bauern Partei.

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- "ALPENSTURM" (Bavarian Watch)
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Paramilitary organization of the "Bayrische Volkspartei".
- "EVANGELISCHE LUTHERISCHE KIRCHE" (Bavarian Evangelical Church)
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Lutheran religion. Politically fairly conservative.
- "BAYRISCHE FREIHEITLICHE BUNDEGENOSSENSCHAFT"
(Bavaria for Home and King League)
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Bavaria putting the Wittelsbach family again on the throne of Bavaria.
- "BAYRISCHE SCHUTZCORPS" (Bavarian Protection Corps)
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: A paramilitary Freicorps-type organization.
- "BAYRISCHE VOLKSPARTEI" (Bavarian People's Party)
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Bavarian branch of German Centre party. It was Catholic influenced and had a large peasant following.
Related Organizations: Lindebund, Bayernbund, Gesellenverein, Verein für soziale Kultur & Soziale Angelegenheiten.
- "BLAU WEISS" (Blue White)
Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Independence for Bavaria or at least autonomy.
Related Organizations: Alpensturm
(Blue White are the Bavarian royal family colors). These are symbolical colors rather than being an organization in the strict sense of the word.
- "DEUTSCHE ERBEPARTEI" (German Inheritance Party)
Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Anti-Nazi, Anti-Communist, Pro-Catholic.
Related Organization: Deutsche Arbeitsbewegung Gruppe Dr. Koch.
- "DEUTSCHE WIEDERBAUVEREINIGUNG" Gruppe Dr. Koch.
(German Rebuilding Movement)
Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.
Political Orientation: Right-Center.
Program: Designed to be a sort of city council of several parties to give advice to the local government on problems arising during the reconstruction.
- "DEUTSCHE BÄUERNBUNDE" (German Farmers League)
Area of Activity: Aitzinger, Ostfranken.
Political Orientation: Center.
Program: Farmer's organization closely connected with the Deutsche Demokratische Partei.

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"NATIONALSOZIALISTEN"

Political Orientation: Right.

In this connection I would like to point out to you the importance of paying attention to so-called sport organizations in Germany. They are very often a cloak (Schmuckel) for political activities.

"NATIONALSOZIALISTENVERBAND"

Area of Activity: Nürnberg region.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Most members went into the Nazi Party following October 1921. Nationalist and Anti-Semite.

Leader: Julius Streicher.

Even if Streicher today is one of the war criminals being tried at Nürnberg, even if his fanatical followers might want to reorganize his old party, after you have been here awhile you will have heard most Germans affirm that they never were Nazis - oh no!!

"DEUTSCH-NATIONALER SAISONVERBAND"

(German National White Collar Trade Union)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

"SCHWARZE PIRATEN" (Black Sea Pirates)

Area of Activity: Germany.

Program: Anti-Hitler Jugend.

Leaders: Ernst Hellwig, Leipzig

Helmut Jordan, Düsseldorf

Hans Josting, Düsseldorf

Related Organizations: Burschenschaft Jugend, Haffländer, Mittelrhein Piraten, Totenkopf.

Date of founding: During period of Nazi dictatorship.

Pay particular attention to these "Schwarze Piraten" as they are supposed to be an active underground movement, very much alive today and despite their official program, not at all Anti-Hitler. The name is true of another organization, called: "ADLER ADLER".

"BAYRISCHER SAISONVERBAND" (Bavarian Swallow Defense)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Paramilitary, largest of the armed Freikorps units.

Disbanded: 1921.

"FREIE DEUTSCHLAND" (Free Germany)

Area of Activity: Russia

Political Orientation: Left.

Program: The Russians used captured German officers for propaganda purposes against the Germans.

Leaders: General Von ~~Witt~~ 174. Field Marshal Von ~~Witt~~.

Related Organizations: Freikorps Freies Deutschland.

Date of founding: 1941.

"BAYRISCHER SAISONVERBAND" F.A.S. (Free Bavaria Movement)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: It alleged it was Anti-Nazi, but did not seem to be able to make up its mind whether it favored an independent Bavaria.

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OTTHEINZ LEILING,
MÜNCHEN

Leaders: Dr. Rupprecht Gerschewski, Munich.
Related Organizations: Freiwille-Bund aufbau Arbeit Jugend.
Date of founding: Probably April 1943.

It was ordered to shut down in Munich at the end of May 1945.

"KAMPFBUND DER JAHRE" (Struggle League of the Years)

Area of activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: Left.
Program: Socialistic anti-Nazi underground.

"KAMPFBUND JUNGER JUGEND" (Struggle League of Young Students)

Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Nationalistic conservative student - anti-Nazi
Underground.
Leaders: Professor Scholl, Munich.

His children were executed after the Munich University protest
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"KAMPFBUND FÜR DIE ARBEIT" (See: Edelweiss Division)

"KAMPFBUND FÜR DIE ARBEIT" (Organization Seven)

Area of activity: Bavaria.
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Political Situation in Germany

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voting in Germany for the past 13 years.

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The leading posts in the recognized political parties were now to be
held by former political office holders, who because of their insignif-
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The first outstanding development affecting the political life in Germany took place in earnest. It was the decision of the party conference in Leipzig, announced on August 2nd, 1945, for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis." As one means of stimulating this reconstruction, the conference further announced that "all democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany." While democratic political parties had been permitted in the Soviet Zone since June, political life in the U. S. Zone had previously rested under a ban on political activity which continued from the commencement of occupation through end of August. On August 27th the Military Government issued a revised directive permitting political activities. Parties were formed during September under directives permitting party activities at the Kreis level. And since I have mentioned the term Kreis level, I shall try to give you some information on the meaning of "Kreis", "Stadtkreis", and "Landkreis."

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Inasmuch as the present four political parties do not cater to the needs of those German reactionaries, it is to be anticipated that these elements may again seek to form their own political groups, just as they did after the last world war. It is to be feared that like Hitler and the ultra-conservative pre-1933 parties, they will use democratic and idealistic language to cover ultra-reactionary policies.

Wide sections of the population consider that the parties and leaders which present themselves today are to a large extent the same as those who were unable to solve the problems of the "Weimar Republic", or prevent the coming of Hitler and that these leaders now seem to put forward very little that looks new or constructive.

I fear that I am already harassing you with too much, but on the other hand, it will help you in your work to know something about political personalities and political parties. This also seems a good occasion to point out to you the importance of being well informed. Make it a daily practice to keep up "with the news". There are several papers in either English or German, which are available to you. For instance: The Stars & Stripes, Voice of Germany, Neue Zeitung, Suddeutsche Zeitung, or maybe you can also manage to have some Polish newspapers sent to you from home.

Now lets try to concentrate on the major political parties permitted in Germany.

1. The Social Democrats advocate "social democracy" - a guarantee for the "new Germany". The party platform states: "Now we are once again called upon to take the fate of our fatherland and of ourselves into our hands. Reaction, which is to blame for our present unspeakable misfortune, is not yet dead. Reactionaries acted like blood-thirsty wolves against democracy and now reappear in the garb of apparently harmless sheep, as honorable democrats."

Once again many opportunists are returning to Socialism and Democracy, while they still regret inwardly that Hitler and his Party suffered such an ignominious defeat. One must look out for these people, and determine from which quarters they seek protection and what they regard as their "political sphere of activity."

"Since its foundation the S. D. has stood for the foundation of democracy. It has never had any other conception. We demand the right to work and demand pay which does not lower the standard of living. Work is the only asset of our people. We guarantee freedom of belief and conscience. We turn to the young voters who have not yet learned to know the blessing of democratic institutions and administration, because they grew up in a false spirit of obedience to Hitler's dictatorship. The young voters must recognize that Germany can be reconstructed only in the social-democratic spirit and that they are called upon to play a particularly important role in the work of rebuilding Germany. We turn to the women and mothers who have experienced so much grief through Hitler..... The Social Democrats want to be the savior of all those who have become politically homeless, no matter of what faith and class. Only through a great and powerful social-democratic party can Germany be lifted out of chaos and led toward a better future."

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II. The Communists herald their platform with a rallying cry against "Fascist reaction" and for the unity of the great Democracies as well as the co-operation of Anti-Fascist democratic parties. The power of industrialists and financiers, as well as that of "Junker" landowners must be effectively broken in order to clear the way for a democratic reconstruction of Germany. Reparations must be paid, but they are said to be not so severe as to eliminate the possibility of creating a unified autonomous Germany. Big banks, cartels, and trusts must be abolished, and this process must go hand in hand with the splitting up of feudal estates. Employers association must not be allowed to return, private and cooperative initiative must make "allowances for a German peace economy and for the satisfaction of the most pressing needs." We want the purging of Fascist elements to free the new State and economic organization from every restraint and sabotage. We want parliament, however, to be voted out strictly according to the amount of guilt, and we want to see the less tainted to be given an opportunity to win their way back into the community of decent Germans through devoted activity. We favor most decidedly the exchange of guiltless IG's for active Nazis, so that here too, innocent people may not be made to atone for the crimes of the Hitler regime."

III. Christian Social Union, formerly the Christian Democratic Union, pledged itself to this program: "For the first time since the beginning of the Hitler dictatorship is.....the German people can speak once again. Democracy, about which there is ^{much} talk today, should through you in the villages and districts receive real life and form for the first time. Before everything you must overcome the temptation to think only of your own interests, of your own church tower. This heap of ruin, Germany, will not be rebuilt by eccentrics or blockheads, splinter parties or class parties. Only strong and big parties can do it, who know what they want and openly discuss it."

The Christian Social Union claims to be the unifying party of both Christian churches, but it by no means excludes other organizations. It attempts to carry out its reconstruction on the basis of Christian principles. The party appeals for the formation of more local groups, wherever "unobjectable men and women reside". The C.S.U. is the heir to the former Catholic Center Party. It is believed that many members of C.S.U. audiences are ex-Nazis of the nominal sort at least. However, the union has done nothing to encourage such support and men like Dr. Eucken, one of its most effective speakers, have sharply hit at such non-thinking attitude among their followers.

I will have to deviate from my course somewhat in mentioning a party which has gained some prominence in Greater Weese. It is the

IV. National Democratic Party and its leader is Dr. Sauckel. This party, licensed in several communities in Greater Weese, has been catering to militarist and nationalists, who find themselves without representation in the two big parties.

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The party basically rejects de-Nazification, urges an Army for Germany and the formation of a western bloc ostensibly directed against the Soviet Union.

The new course a party which we must all watch and try to get as much information on them as possible. This party is the:

V. Liberal Democratic Party - which styles itself just a continuation of the old bourgeois parties, but a combination of all circles willing to start on a reconstruction program with new and timely goals. The platform of the Liberals is the following: "To reorganize the German citizens towards a liberal world view and a democratic philosophy of state; to imbue them with ideas of responsibility; to fight dictatorship; to tolerate free speech and freedom of worship and to respect the life of the individual."

The Liberal Democratic Party is not against political division according to vocations or localities; it demands a unified German state, centrally administered and rejects all federalistic and particularist reforms of the "Länder" (Länder were: 3 Länder division of Pr. Land: Bayern, Württemberg/Baden and Hessen). Now all that sounds rather beautiful but in reality the party needs watching. It is not at all liberal or democratic. The Liberal Democratic Party is the match-all for all elements of the German Nationalist Right and its support seems to come from people who, if not involved in Nazism, were nevertheless not too willing to let the Nazis come to power. Consequently, the party is very evasive on de-Nazification and wants it merely reduced. Naturally, the party leadership is German political, if it weren't, the party would not have been permitted to function. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of the party leaders as to the sections of the population from which they derive their support - reactionaries and violent anti-Semites. Just to be on the safe side, the party pays lip service to some moderate socialistic measures, but at the same time, in the words of one of its leaders, the L.D.P. identifies itself with the past 200 years of German history (before 1933), that means and it is intended to mean, that the party believes in the line of all German imperialist leaders from Frederick the Great through Bismarck to the late Hitler. If this party wins any sort of controlling position in future political developments - and this is not at all impossible, our plans for the reunification of Germany should be sharply intensified. And the way that party that I shall bother you with is the:

VI. Bayrische Volkspartei (Bavarian People's Party). (Bayrische Volkspartei). In an advertisement published by the "Bavarianische Zeitung" on March 1st 1946, the Bavarian Volkspartei appeals to the Munich public in the following words and I shall quote in German: "Ein neues deutsches Volkstum eine leuchtende Verfassung und die Grundgesetze - dieses christliche Weltanschauung bilden die Grundlage des Staates sein. Aus solchen Erwägungen herausgruft die Bayrische Volkspartei mit folgender Zielsetzung zur Verwirklichung. Errichtung eines selbständigen 3. Reiches durch die Rückkehr zum Reichstum durch einen Volksentscheid."

The leaders of the party are: Erwin Pröll, Hermann von Helldorf and Professor Lebesch, among others.

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These men are the most important political parties from left to right. On the surface it would seem that all believe in some sort of socialism and democracy. All profess their hatred of Nazism, and profess that they are sincere in their beliefs, it is still our duty to watch their activities. Judging from the past history of Germany it is fitting and right for us to be suspicious. Let us watch out for any indication of illegal political activity on the part of individuals or organizations, be it anti-Communist, a new political thought expressed by a public official that will give us a clue, or maybe just a rumor or corporate reporting. You, people from Germany, who have here to help the cause of democracy, you, who have been, welcomed and suffered while the Germans occupied your country, you can be of immense help. Do not underestimate the importance of your work, even if it seems boring and quite uninteresting at times. At the end of this course, some of you will be assigned to do telephone assignments or telephone contacts. Do better than you will do, you will always be the backbone of this organization. Without you, without your co-operation and your assistance, nothing will function. And now, I would like to thank you for your patience. My very best wishes are with you.

WALTER C. PAUL

15 March 1946.

Source

Old Monthly Bulletin	26 July 1945
Weekly Report and Summary	February 1946
Intelligence Summary	February 1946
Weekly Information Bulletin	January 1946
OSR Report	January 1946
Germany Basic Handbook	July 1944
Intelligence Summary	January 1946
Vandenberg Zeitung	1 March 1946

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"How To Write A Submission."

"Headlines."

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Practical Application.

Preparation of Submission Slips

Where information to complete a box is not available, the word "NONE" will be written in the space, except in boxes "STATION & RECORD NO." (to be left blank for I.R.D.) "PREVIOUS RELEVANT RECORDS" & "ALLOCATION"

"DATE OF CALL:"

self explanatory - 16 March 1946

"TIME START:"

if in the morning, up till noon - time 0800

Time conversation began or was cut in.

if after noon time, 1200, 1320, 1445, etc.

"MINUTES:"

Actual length of conversation or of time monitored, if the whole conversation was not monitored.

"WARN:"

For the time being, fill in "NONE" later on "YES" or "NO" depending on whether or not the censor has interrupted the call.

"TOPIC"

"PERSONAL", "OFFICIAL", "BUSINESS", "FINANCE", "DIPLOMATIC", "MILITARY", "TRADE", "COTTON"

"FROM" and "TO:"

To be filled out as completely as possible. If a speaker's name is unknown, "MALE VOICE" or "FEMALE VOICE" should be entered. Names of German agencies should be written in German. Copy names & addresses exactly as given to you on your telephone board. If in doubt about a given name,

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always add a question mark after the name → place or number (?)

"ADDRESS" and "TEL. NO." - Self explanatory. The city should be included in the address whenever possible. Always put the street address before the city.

HERR KARL SCHMITT
LEBENSMITTEL-HANDLUNG
FRAUENSTRASSE 28
MUENCHEN
MUN. 46325

"LIST" - The name under which the telephone used is listed.

"IDENT. NO. and NATLTY." The nationality & the identity card number of the party located in Germany are required on international calls only.

"OCCUP." Self explanatory. "RECHTSANWALT", "GESCHAFTSFÜHRER", "VIZEPRÄSIDENT DER INDUSTRIE UND HANDELSKAMMER", etc.

"LANGUAGE" - Self explanatory.

"REC. FILM" - The number of the film on which the recording is made.

"TRACK" - Numbers of the tracks on the film used for the recording, for instance, "27-35"

"SERIAL NO.:" For the time being fill in "NONE", later on, the serial number of an international call.

"PREVIOUS RELEVANT RECORDS" For the present, leave this space blank.

The numbers of previous submissions containing information pertinent to the present case are entered here by the DAC in charge of your shift.

"CIRCUIT"

"INTRA-CITY" if within the city of Munich

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"INTER-CITY" if the call is made from Munich to Augsburg or vice-versa.

"MONITOR"

- Monitor numbers, always with MT in front of number. MT 120, etc.

"TYPING DATE"

To be left blank for I. R. D.

"ALLOCATION"

To be left blank for I. R. D.

It is very important that no personal opinion or interpretation should be reflected in either the heading or the body of the comment.

Ask yourself:

the heading: Who - What & Where?

The heading must be brief and yet must give a clear idea of the content of the submission. Put as much information as possible into the headline. Munich Council-Man, etc.
"Schlagzeile" Newspaper headings.

Always ask yourselves why you are submitting this report, go through every line of your submission, pick out the important points & the finding of a proper & suitable headline will become very simple.

Examples of Headlines:

Rumor that "Pfadfinder" and "Frauentkreis" act as cloak for possible subversive activities.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Criticism of Present Conditions Affecting Youth
And Homeless.

Possible Illegal Dealings In Rationed Goods.

Alleged Illegal Sale of Fuel By Resident of

Large Stocks of Material, Possibly Undeclared.

Munich Grocer, Possibly Dealing In Black Market
Coal.

German Acts As Intermediary For Transmission
of Mail From Switzerland To Germany.

Munich Pharmacist In Favor of Stricter
Employment Regulations As Release of
Personnel Allegedly Causes Shortage of
Medical Supply.

Contemplated Sale of Food Ration Stamps.

Munich Housewives Complain About Shortage
of Bread, Possibly Caused By Bakers Withholding
Flour.

Intended Violation of Law # 52

" " " " # 8

Smuggling of Boats Into French Zone.

Employee of "Kruppenfahrbereitschaft" Orders
Return of Confiscated Motorcycle To Former
P. G.

Conversation Dealing With Possibly Unautho-
rized Construction of Radio-Installation
In Attic.

American Military Officer Discusses
Confidential Information Over Civilian
Telephone-Line.

Nuns Possibly Involved In Illegal Mail-
Carrying Between French & U. S. Zone.

Germans Claim M. G. of No Help To Them.

Shortage of Fodder Causes Reduction of
German Animal Stock.

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the heading will be printed in block capital letters and will be underlined.

If more than one subject is treated in one submission and more than one heading is required, the headings will be placed under each other at the top of the comment and numbered serially in Roman numerals.

(I. II. III. etc.)

The corresponding Roman numeral will be placed opposite the paragraph beginning each subject.

Give examples of headlines dealing with more than one subject:

I. Unfair Distribution of Gasoline By "Fahrereitschaft"
II. Large Number of "Fabrischulen", a Detriment To Fuel Supply.

I. German Asserts Regular Priced Merchandise Resold at Black-Market.

II. Rumors Concerning

A) Contemplated Emigration of German Business Man To Canada, In Order To Foster German Trade

And

B) Existence of German "Druckerei" In L0D2, Possibly Printing and Smuggling Forged Currency.

I. Vice-President of "Ind. & Handelst." Asserts New German Tax Law An Encouragement To Black-Market and a Detriment To Laborers.

II. Criticism and Comments On New Denazification Law.

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- I. Germans Discuss:
 - A) Director of "Vereinigte Werkstätten", Allegedly a Friend of Hitler and Göring and Propose
 - B) Names of Former Nazis Be Publicized For Purpose of Exposing Same.
- II. Inefficiency of "Trenkhänder."
- III. Vice-President of "Ind. & Handelst." States Germans Fear Return of Nazism.
- I. German Claims Uncertainty of Policy in British Zone, Causes Discharge of Factory Workers.
- II. Russia Charged with Policy of Starvation in Contrast to U.S. & British Occupation Aims.
- I. Indication of Possible Illegal Mail Traffic.
- II. Release of Individual, a Possible Cause of Fear to Munich City Council - Man.
- I. Rumors Concerning Withdrawal of UNRRA.
- II. Criticism of American Confiscation of WEIDEN Factories.
- I. Forestry Employees Allegedly Not Affected By Law No. 8
- II. Responsible Offices in BAYREUTH Government Held By Possible Former Nazis, Nominally in Subordinate Positions.
- I. Wolfratshausen Factory Allegedly Still Employs Former Nazis in Supervisory Positions.
- II. Former S.S. Man, Now M. S. Interpreter, Falsifies Official Translation.

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the Body of the Submission.

the body of the comment may be written in longhand, but must be clearly legible and all proper names must be printed in block capitals. the report may be made either in narrative style or by verbatim reproduction.

If the submission is not written in the language of the conversation reported, ambiguous expressions should be quoted in the original, in parentheses after the translation.

If the comment is not completed on the first page, a legal turn should be used and the comment continued on the other side of the sheet. If still another sheet is needed, only the "TO" and "FROM" boxes will be filled out.

When more than one page is used, "PAGE OF PAGES, with the blanks appropriately filled in, will appear at the bottom of each page.

monitor's Note:

any pertinent factual information derived from personal knowledge or from previous records will be incorporated in a monitor's note at the end of the comment. In this connection it is important that you make use of Telephone Directories to look up names, addresses, firms etc. Give samples of

monitor's Note: 1) monitoring began when conversation had already started.
2) the 1943 Telephone Directory lists:

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- 3) Previous submission MUN. 46-4268 reveals that..... has been previously engaged in black market dealings.
- 4) Previous unreported conversation reveals that on March 1, 1946 Herr..... called Frau..... & the following conversation took place.....
- 5) Call was put through by long distance operator, who mentioned Herr Huber Mun. 48621 calling Herr Dr. Graf, Augsburg 7892

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The statistical break-down is:

- a) Total number of democratic political groups Temporarily authorized at Kreis level: 369
- b) Total number of different types of parties: 27
- c) The breakdown of parties is:

Social Democratic Parties	117
Communist Parties	101
Christian Social Union Parties	95
German Democratic Parties	9
Christian Democratic Parties	7
Christian Union Parties	4
Christian Socialist Parties	4
Liberal Democratic Parties	3
Democratic Political Parties	2
German Democratic Peoples Parties	2
Democratic Parties	2
Anti-Fascist Parties	2
Christian Democratic Peoples' Party	1
Christian Democratic Union Party	1
Economic Reconstruction Party	1
Union of Free Democrats	1
Anti-Fascist Democratic Union	1
South German Women's League (Süddeutscher Frauenarbeitskre s s)	1
Bavarian Farmers Party	,1
Citizens' Democratic League	1
Democratic Peoples' Party	1
Farmer's Reconstruction Party	1
Farmer's Party	1
Bavarian Home and King Party	1
International League for World Peace	1

The four large democratic political parties which have counterparts in the American, English, and Russian Zone were generally organized by small groups of politically interested public leaders who were for the most part reliable Anti-Nazis and Democrats. These men, however, represent only a part of the German population. Their program of eradicating the last vestiges of Nazism and German militarism do not represent the will of that great mass of German people who either have remained confirmed National Socialists or have now rejected Hitlerism only because it had lost the war, or who have been and still are traditional German militarists and nationalists.

The Deutsche Nationale and Deutsche Volkspartei, for instance, and certain elements of the old Democratic Party, all proved before 1933 to be Hitler's most influential and powerful supporters. In fact, as a result of their ideologies, they found it easy to join with him in 1930-32. Because of their means, their connections, their education, and the subtlety of their program, these people were, in the last analysis, as dangerous as the National Socialists.

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Inasmuch as the present four political parties do not cater to the needs of these German reactionaries, it is to be anticipated that these elements may again seek to form their own political groups, just as they did after the last World War. It is to be feared that like Hitler and the ultra-conservative pre-1933 parties, they will use democratic and idealistic language to cover ultra-reactionary policies.

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Now let's try to concentrate on the major political parties permitted in Bavaria.

I. The Social Democrats advocate "Social Democracy" - a guarantee for the "New Germany". The party platform states: "Now we are once again called upon to take the fate of our fatherland and of ourselves into our hands. Reaction, which is to blame for our present unspeakable misfortune, is not yet dead. Reactionaries acted like blood-thirsty wolves against democracy and now reappear in the garb of apparently harmless sheep, as honorable democrats."

Once again many opportunists are returning to Socialism and Democracy, while they still regret inwardly that Hitler and his Party suffered such an ignominious defeat. One must look out for these people, and determine from which quarters they seek protection and what they regard as their "political sphere of activity."

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I will have to deviate from my course somewhat in mentioning a party which has gained some prominence in Greater Hesse. It is the

IV. National Democratic Party and its ~~is~~ leader, a Dr. Leuchtens. This party, licensed in several communities in Greater Hesse, has been catering to militarists and nationalists, who find themselves without representation in the four big parties.

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The party basically rejects de-Nazification, urges an Army for Germany and the formation of a Western Bloc ostensibly directed against the Soviet Union.

And now comes a party which we must all watch and try to get as much information on them as possible. This party is the:

V. Liberal Democratic Party - which styles itself "not a continuation of the old bourgeois parties, but a ~~continuation~~ ^{combination} of all circles willing to start on a reconstruction program with new and timely goals. The platform of the Liberals is the following: "To reeducate ~~the~~ the German citizens towards a liberal world view and a democratic philosophy of state; to imbue them with ideas of responsibility" to fight dictatorship; to tolerate free speech and freedom of worship and to respect the life of the individual."

The Liberal Democratic Party is set against political division according to vocations or denominations; it demands a unified German state, centrally administered and rejects all federalistic and particularist efforts of the "Länder" (Mention here: 3 Länder Division of Am. Zone: Bayern, Württemberg/Baden and Hessen). Now all that sounds rather beautiful but in reality the party needs watching. It is not at all liberal or democratic. The Liberal Democratic Party is the catch-all for all elements of the German Nationalist Right and its support seems to come from people who, if not nominal ex-Nazis, were nevertheless not too willing to let the Nazis come to power. Consequently the Party is very evasive on de-Nazification and wants it sharply reduced. Naturally the party leadership is ~~not~~ clean politically, if it were not, the party would not have been permitted to function. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of the party leaders as to the sections of the population from which they derive their support- Reactionaries and violent Anti-Leftist. Just to be on the safe side, the party pays lip service to some moderate socialistic measures, but at the same time, in the words of one of its leaders, the L.D.P. identifies itself with the past 200 years of German history (before 1933), that means and it is intended to mean, that the party believes in the aims of all German imperialist leaders from Frederick the Great through Bismarck to the late Kaiser. If this party wins any sort of controlling position in future political developments - and this is not at all impossible, our plans for the reeducation of Germany should be sharply intensified. And the very last party that I shall bother you with is the:

VI. Bavarian Home and King Party. (Bayrische Heimat-Und Koenigspartei). In an advertisement published by the "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" on March 1st 1946, the Bavarian Home and King Party appeals to the Munich public in the following words and I shall quote in German: "Ein neuzeitliches Koenigstum, eine demokratische Verfassung und die ~~christliche~~ christliche Weltanschauung sollen die Grundlage des Staates sein. Aus solchen Erwägungen heraus ruft die Bayrische Heimat- Und Koenigspartei mit folgender Zielsetzung zur Sammlung. Errichtung eines selbständigen Bayerischen Staates Rückkehr zum Koenigstum durch einen Volksentscheid."

The leaders of the party are: Kronprinz Rupprecht, Baron von Redwitz and Professor Lebsche, among others.

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Those then are the most important political parties from left to right. On the surface it would seem that all believe in some sort of socialism and democracy. All protest their hatred of Nazism. And granted that they are sincere in their beliefs, it is still our duty to watch their activities. Judging from the past history of Germany it is fitting and right for us to be suspicious. Let us watch out for any indication of illegal political activity on the part of individuals or organizations, be it only a trend, a new political thought expressed by a public official that will give us a clue, or maybe just a rumor worthwhile reporting. You, people from Denmark, who came here to help the cause of Democracy, you, who have seen, watched and suffered while the Germans occupied your country, you can be of immense help. Do not underestimate the importance of your work, even if it seems boring and quite uninteresting at times. At the end of this course, some of you will be assigned to be Telegraph examiners or Telephone monitors. No matter where you will go, you will always be the backbone of this organization. Without you, without your co-operation and your alertness, nothing will function. And now, I would like to thank you for your patience. My very best wishes are with you.

EDITH C. FALK

15 March 1946.

Sources

CIC Monthly Bulletin	26 July 1945
Weekly Report Land Bavaria	February 1946
Intelligence Summary	February 1946
Weekly Information Bulletin	January 1946
USFET Report	January 1946
Germany Basic Handbook	July 1944
Intelligence Summary	January 1946
Sueddeutsche Zeitung	1 March 1946

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*** POLITICAL PARTIES IN BAVARIA ***

If you consider the enthusiasm and the fanatical belief that most Germans had for Hitler, then you will see why we in censorship are interested to know all we can about the political parties in Germany. We are, as you have been told before, "the eyes and ears of the United States Government over here, and of all democratic-minded nations", and it is our duty, yours and mine, to see that no new "Führer" emerges from the ruins and the discontent of the German people. That is why we should know something about the Underground Movement and the Political Parties permitted in Bavaria. This knowledge will enable us to report any illegal political activity to the Agency which is dealing with political investigations. First I shall try to give you the names of some political parties which have existed in Germany during the last 25 years. Some of these parties functioned as underground organizations during the Nazi Regime. It is suspected that many of them are active today (during the Allied Occupation). Many of the organizations of the Right stand for much the same things in principle as the Nazis. They were Non-Nazi or became Anti-Nazi largely as a result of conflicts of personalities. Such organizations should be watched and the activities of their members viewed with suspicion. Virtually all of these organizations were illegal under the Nazis and it is very likely that some of these organizations are active today, functioning illegally under the eyes of the American authorities. I shall ~~use~~ the expression political orientation in giving you the view-point of some of these organizations. By Right is meant politically, economically and socially conservative. By Center is meant middle of the road and by Left is meant radical.

"ABWEHR" (Defense)

Program: An organization designed to coordinate the underground activities of the Social Democrats, Zentrum, Deutsche Demokratische Partei and labor unions.
Existed during period of Nazi dictatorship.

"ALA" Anti-Nazi Student Movement.

"ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND"

Political Orientation: Left.

"AMICALE DES TRAVAILLEUR FRANCAIS" (Brotherhood of French Workers)

Program: Anti-Nazi Underground of French Workers.

I mention this organization because of the well known fact that there are today many foreign workers left in Germany who were very willing to work for Hitler because of their Fascist leanings. They might have formed a similar underground movement during the American Occupation.

"BAYRISCHER BAUERN-UND MITTELSTANDS BUND"

(Bavarian Farmers & Middle Class League)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Center.

Related Organization: Deutsche Bauern Partei.

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"BAYERISCHER HEIMATS-UND KOENIGSBUND" (Bavaria for Home and King League)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Paramilitary organization of the "Bayrische Volkspartei".

"BAYRISCHE EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE" (Bavarian Evangelical Church)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Lutheran religion. Politically fairly conservative.

"BAYRISCHER HEIMATS-UND KOENIGSBUND"

(Bavaria for Home and King League)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Favors putting the WITTELSBACH family again on the throne of Bavaria.

"BAYRISCHES SCHUETZENKORPS" (Bavarian Protection Corps)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: A paramilitary Freikorps-type organization.

"BAYRISCHE VOLKSPARTEI" (Bavarian People's Party)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Bavarian branch of German Zentrum party. It was Catholic influenced and had a large peasant following.

Related Organizations: Einwohnerwehr, Bayernwacht, Gesellenverein; Verein für soziale Wahlen & Soziale Angelegenheiten.

"BLAU WEISS" (Blue White)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Independence for Bavaria-or at least Autonomy.

Related Organizations: WITTELSBACH

(Blue White are the Bavarian royal family colors). These are symbolical colors rather than being an organization in the strict sense of the word.

"DEUTSCHE FREIHEITSBEWEGUNG" (German Freedom Party)

Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Anti-Nazi, Anti-Communist, Pro-Catholic.

Related Organization: Deutsche Aufbaubewegung Gruppe Dr. Roeck.

"DEUTSCHE AUFBAUBEWEGUNG" Gruppe Dr. Roeck.

(German Rebuilding Movement)

Area of Activity: Augsburg, Schwaben.

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

Program: Designed to be a sort of City Council of several parties to give advice to the local government on problems arising during the reconstruction.

"DEUTSCHER BAUERNBUND" (German Farmers League)

Area of Activity: Kitzingen, Mainfranken.

Political Orientation: Center.

Program: Farmer's organization closely connected with the Deutsche Demokratische Partei.

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DEUTSCHE WERKGEMEINSCHAFT
Political Orientation: Right.

In this connection I should like to point out to you the importance of paying attention to so-called sport organizations in name. They are very often a cloak (Deckmantel) for political activities.

"DEUTSCHE WERKGEMEINSCHAFT"

Area of Activity: Nürnberg region.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Most members went into the Nazi Party following October 1922. Nationalist and Anti-Semite.

Leader: Julius Streicher.

Even if Streicher today is one of the war criminals being tried at Nürnberg, some of his fanatical followers might want to reorganize his old party. After you have been here awhile you will have heard most Germans affirm that they never were Nazis-oh no!!

"DEUTSCH-NATIONALER HANDLUNGSGEHILFENVERBAND"

(German National White Collar Trade Union)

Political Orientation: Right-Center.

"EDELWEISS PIRATEN" (Edelweiss Pirates)

Area of Activity: Germany.

Program: Anti-Hitler Jugend.

Leaders: Horst Hellwig, Leipzig

Helmut Jordan, Duesseldorf

Hans Josting, Duesseldorf

Related Organizations: Buendische Jugend, Pfadfinder, Kittelsbach Piraten, Totenkopf.

Date of Founding: During period of Nazi dictatorship.

Pay particular attention to these "Edelweiss Piraten" as they are supposed to be an active underground movement, very much alive today and despite their official program, not at all Anti-Hitler. The same is true of another organization, called: "ADLER AUGEN".

"EINWOHNERWEHR BAYERN" (Bavarian Dwellers Defense)

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: Paramilitary, largest of the armed Freikorps units.

Disbanded: 1921.

"FREIES DEUTSCHLAND" (Free Germany)

Area of Activity: Russia

Political Orientation: Left.

Program: The Russians used captured German officers for propaganda purposes against the Germans.

Leaders: General Von SEYDLITZ. Field Marshal Von PAULUS.

Related Organizations: Freikorps Freies Deutschland.

Date of Founding: 1942.

"FREHEITS AKTION BAYERN" F.A.B. (Free Bavaria Movement)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.

Political Orientation: Right.

Program: It alleged it was Anti-Nazi, but did not seem to be able to make up its mind whether it favored an independent Bavaria.

MÜNCHEN

Related Organizations: Freiheits-Und Aufbau Aktion Bayern.
Date of Founding: Probably April 1945.

It was ordered to shut down in Munich at the end of May 1945.

"KAMPFBUND DER FALKEN" (Struggle League of the Falcon)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Political Orientation: Left.
Program: Communistic Anti-Nazi underground.

"KAMPFBUND STUDENTEN JUGEND" (Struggle League of Young Students)

Political Orientation: Right.
Program: Nationalistic conservative student - Anti-Nazi
Underground.
Leaders: Professor Scholl, Munich.

His children were executed after the Munich University protest
against the war - 1943.

"KITTELSBACH PIRATEN" (See: Edelweiss Piraten)

"ORGANISATION SIEBEN" (Organization Seven)

Area of Activity: Bavaria.
Program: Socialistic, with related overtones.
Leaders: Franz Schneider, Munich.
Date of Founding: Probably April 1945.

Ordered to be shut down in Munich about 17 May 1945.

"PFADFINDER" (Path Finder) (See: Edelweiss Piraten)

Undoubtedly, and I should like to stress this point, not all
of the organizations that I have given you are operating illegally
and against the Allied occupation policies. Some of these organ-
izations are the primary supporters of the Allies and many of their
members should be useful in public positions. But nevertheless, by
familiarizing yourselves with their names, and always keeping in
mind that there are many good German Nazis all over the country,
you will achieve the mission you came here to fulfill.

Now I shall come to the main point of my talk to you.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN BAVARIA

The recent election in which 83% of the eligible voters cast
their ballots, marked the first step in the rebirth of free polit-
ical voting in Germany for the past 13 years.

Seventh Army commented on political activity saying: "The
leading posts in the recognized political parties seem now to be
held by former political office boys, who because of their insig-
nificance, were not accorded by the Nazis the distinction of being
terminated. The average German's participation in politics was not
a crowning success and the present De-Nazification program points
also to the belief that it may pay to be non-political. Counter
actions against members of certain parties are feared in the event
of a German nationalist reaction. The average German therefore is
waiting. That the present political leaders are not up to the task
is evident, though under existing conditions even more talented
leaders would probably fail to promulgate a clear program containing
something more than sheer generalities.

pre-1933 heads of parties in a free and sovereign Germany and after promising obedience to the occupying forces, they discuss problems over which Germany now exercises no control, such as "socialization of industries, cooperative movements, guaranteed living standards and economic laissez-faire."

The first outstanding development affecting the political life in Germany took place in August. It was the decision of the Tripartite Conference in Potsdam, announced on August 2nd, to ^{give the German} prepare people for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic and peaceful basis. ^{and the opportunity to} As one means of stimulating this reconstruction, the conference further announced that "all-democratic political parties with rights of assembly and of public discussion shall be allowed and encouraged throughout Germany." While "democratic political parties had been permitted in the Soviet Zone since June, political life in the U.S. Zone had previously rested under a ban on political activity which continued from the commencement of occupation through most of August." On August 27th the Military Government issued a revised directive permitting political activities. Parties were formed during September under directives permitting party activities at the Kreis level. And since I have mentioned the term Kreis level, I shall try to give some information on the meaning of "Kreis", "Stadtkreis", and "Landkreis."

The basic unit of German local government is the "Kreis". The whole of the Reich has since 1939 been divided into "Kreise". A "Kreis" is usually a bigger town with a number of surrounding villages.

A "Stadtkreis" is usually formed by a town with over 20,000 inhabitants and "Landkreise" are formed by the smaller town communes and the countryside. The former are presided over by a Chief Mayor (Oberbuergermeister) while the latter come under the authority of the "Landrat". By the way, a "Landrat" is a state official and at the same time the head of the self-government of the "Kreis".

The Landkreise are further sub-divided into "Stadtgemeinden" and "Landgemeinden" which are led by a mayor (Buergermeister). In 1942 there were 894 Landkreise and 238 Stadtkreise, a total of 1132 Kreise in Greater Germany. Landkreise are comparable in size with a French arrondissement or an American county, but are generally smaller than an English county.

The coming Kreis elections are to be held on April 28, 1946 and the various political parties are at present in the process of preparing extensive party propaganda for the elections. At a meeting on February 19th 1946 at which members of the leading political parties attended, it was agreed that parties could publish a propaganda pamphlet every two weeks and that party insignias and emblems could be worn, as long as they are not identical with, or similar to insignias and emblems authorized under the Nazi Regime.

Today the number of Kreise represented throughout Bavaria, in which temporary authorization has been granted to democratic political parties, has extended to a total of 136, approximately 96% of all Military Government Detachments in Bavaria. (142 Kreise) .

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Political Parties In Bavaria.

If you consider the enthusiasm & the fanatical belief that most Germans had for Hitler, than you will see, why we in censorship are interested to know all we can about the political parties in Germany. We are, as you have been told before, "the eyes & ears of the United States Government over here" ^{of all democratic minded nations} and it is our duty, yours & mine, to see that no new "Führer" emerges from the ruins & the discontent of the German people.

That is why we should know something about the Underground Movement and

the Political Parties ^{Knowledge} permitted in Bavaria. This will enable us to report any illegal political activity to the agency which is dealing with political investigations. First I shall try to give you the names of some political parties, which have existed in Germany during the last 25 years. Some of these parties functioned as underground organizations during the Nazi-Regime. It is suspected that many of them are active today (during the Allied occupation) many organizations of the Right stand for much the same things in principle as the Nazis. They were non-Nazi or became Anti-Nazi largely as a result of conflicts of personalities. Such organizations should be watched and the activities of their members viewed with suspicion. Virtually all of these organizations were illegal under the Nazis and it is very

likely that some of these organizations are active today, functioning illegally under the eyes of the American authorities.

I shall use the expression political orientation in giving you the view-point of some of these organizations. By right is meant politically, economically and socially conservative. By center is meant middle of the road and by left is meant radical.

"ABWEHR" (Defense)

Program: An organization designed to coordinate the underground activities of the Social Democrats, Zentrum, Deutsche Demokratische Partei and labor unions.

Existed during period of Nazi dictatorship.

"ALA" Anti Nazi Student Movement

"ALLGEMEINER DEUTSCHER GEWERKSCHAFTSBUND"

Political Orientation: Left.

"AMICALE DES TRAVAILLEUR FRANCAIS"

(Brotherhood of French Workers)

Program: Anti Nazi Underground of French Workers.

I mention this organization because of the well known fact that there are today many foreign workers left in Germany who were very willing to work for Hitler because of their fascist leanings. They might have formed a similar underground movement during the American occupation.

"BAYRISCHER BAUERN-UND MITTELSTANDSBUND"

(Bavarian Farmers & Middle Class League)

Area of Activity: Bavaria

Political orientation: Center

Related organization: Deutsche Bauern Partei

"BAYERNWACHT" (Bavarian Watch)

Pol. orientation: Right-Center

Program: Paramilitary organization of the
"Bayrische Volkspartei"

"BAYRISCHE EVANGELISCHE KIRCHE"

(Bavarian EVANGELICAL Church)

Pol. orientation: Right-Center

Program: Lutheran religion
politically fairly conservative

"BAYRISCHER HEIMATS-UND KOENIGSBUND"

(Bavaria For Home & King League)

Pol. orientation: Right

Program: Favors placing the WITTELSBACH family
again on the throne of Bavaria.

"BAYRISCHES SCHUETZENKORPS"

(Bavarian Protection Corps)

Pol. orientation: Right

Program: A paramilitary Freikorps-type
organization.

"BAYRISCHE VOLKSPARTEI"

(Bavarian Peoples Party)

Pol. orientation: Right-Center

Program: Bavarian branch of German
Zentrum party. It was Catholic
influenced & had a large peasant
following.

Related organizations: Einwohnerwehr
Bayernwacht

Gesellenverein
Verein für soziale Wahlen &
soziale Angelegenheiten

"BLAU WEISS"

(Blue White)

Area of activity: Bavaria

Pol. orientation: Right

Program: Independence for Bavaria - or at least
Autonomy

Related organizations: WITTELSBACH
(Blue White are the Bavarian
royal family colors)

These are symbolical colors rather than being
an organization in the strict sense of the word.

"DEUTSCHE FREIHEITS BEWEGUNG"

(German Freedom Party)

Area of activity: Augsburg, Schwaben

Pol. orientation: Right - Center

Program: Anti-Nazi, Anti-Communist,
Pro-Catholic

Related organization: Deutsche Aufbaubewegung
Gruppe DR. ROECK

"DEUTSCHE AUFBAUBEWEGUNG" GRUPPE DR. ROECK

(German Rebuilding Movement)

Area of activity: Augsburg, Schwaben

Pol. orientation: Right - Center

Program: Designed to be a sort of city council
of several parties to give advice
to the local government on problems
arising during the reconstruction.

"DEUTSCHER BAUERN BUND"

(German Farmers League)

Area of activity: Kitzingen, Mainfranken

Pol. orientation: Center

Program: Farmers organization closely connected with
the Deutsche Demokratische Partei.

"DEUTSCHER TURNERBUND"

Political orientation: Right

In this connection I should like to point out to you the importance of paying attention to so-called sport organizations in name. There are very often a cloak for political activities.
(Beeckmantel)

"DEUTSCHE WERKGEMEINSCHAFT"

Area of activity: Nürnberg region

Pol. orientation: Right

Program: Most members went into the Nazi party following October 1922
Nationalist & Anti Semite.

Leader: Julius Streicher

Even if Streicher (is today) one of the war criminals being tried at Nürnberg, some of his fanatical followers might want to reorganize his old party. After you have been here awhile you will have heard most Germans affirm that they (were never) Nazis - oh no!

"DEUTSCH-NATIONALER HANDLUNGSGEHILFENVERBAND"

(German National White Collar Trade Union)

Political orientation: Right - Center

"EDELWEISS PIRATEN"

(Edelweiss Pirates)

Area of activity: Germany

Program: Anti-Hitler Jugend
(although they may be just bell-ringing kids)

Leaders: Horst Hellwig, Leipzig
Helmut Jordan, Duesseldorf
Hans Josting, Duesseldorf

Related organizations: Bündische Jugend
Pfadfinder
Kittelbach Piraten
Totenkopf

Date of Founding: During period of Nazi dictatorship.

Pay particular attention to these "Edelweiss Piraten" as they are supposed to be an active underground movement, very much alive today & despite their official program, not at all Anti-Hitler. The same is true of an other organization, called
"ADLER AUGEN"

"EINWOHNER WEHR BAYERN"

(Bavarian Dwellers Defense)

Political orientation: Right

Program: Paramilitary largest of the armed Freikorps units

Disbanded: 1921

"FREIES DEUTSCHLAND"

(Free Germany)

Area of activity: Russia

Political orientation: Left

Program: The Russians used captured German officers for propaganda purposes against the Germans.

Leaders: General von SEYDLITZ

Field Marshal von PAULUS

Related organizations: Freikorps Freies Deutschland.

Date of Founding: 1942

"FREIHEITS AKTION BAYERN" F.A.B.

(Free Bavaria Movement)

Area of activity: Bavaria

Pol. orientation: Right

Program: It alleged it was Anti-Nazi, but did not seem to be able to make up its mind whether it favored an independent Bavaria.

Leaders: Dr Rupprecht Kerngross, Munich
Ottheim Leiling, Munich

Related organizations: Freiheits- und Aufbau Aktion
Bayern

Date of Founding: Probably April 1945
It was ordered to shut down in Munich at
the end of May 1945

"KAMPFBUND DER FALKEN"

(Struggle League of the Falcon)

Area of Activity: Bavaria

Pol. orientation: Left

Program: Communistic Anti-Nazi underground.

"KAMPFBUND STUDENTEN JUGEND"

(Struggle League of Young Students)

Pol. orientation: Right

Program: Nationalistic conservative Student-
Anti-Nazi Underground

Leaders: Professor SCHOLL, Munich
(His children were executed after the
Munich University protest against
the war - 1943)

"KITTELSBACH PIRATEN"

(See: Edelweiss Piraten)

"ORGANISATION SIEBEN."

(Organization Seven)

Area of Activity: Bavaria

Program: Socialistic, with related overtones

Leaders: Franz Schneider, Munich

Date of Founding: Probably April 1945
ordered to shut down in Munich about
17 May 1945

"PFADFINDER."

(Path Finder)

(See: Edelweiss Piraten)

Undoubtedly and I should like to stress this point, not all of the organizations that I have given you, are operating illegally and against the Allied occupation policies. Some of these organizations are or will be the primary supporters of the Allies & many of their members should be useful in public positions. But nevertheless, by familiarizing yourselves with their names, and always keeping in mind that there are many good German Nazis left all over the country, you will achieve the mission that you came here to fulfill.

Now I shall come to the main point of my talk to you.

Political Parties in Bavaria.

The recent election in which 83% of the eligible voters cast their ballots, marked the first step in the rebirth of free political voting in Germany for the past 13 years.

Seventh Army commented on political activity saying: "The leading posts in the recognized political parties seem now to be held by former political office boys, who because of their insignificance, were not accorded by the Nazis the distinction of being terminated. The average German's participation in politics was not a crowning success and the present denazification program points also to the belief that it may pay to be non-political. Counteractions against members of certain parties are feared in the event of a German nationalist reaction. The average German therefore is waiting. That the present political leaders are not up to the task is evident, though under existing conditions even more talented leaders would probably fail to promulgate a clear program containing something more than sheer generalities. The majority of the leaders fancy themselves in the roles of the pre-1933 heads of parties in a free & sovereign Germany & after promising obedience to the occupying forces, they discuss problems over which Germany now exercises no control, such as socialization of industries, cooperative movements, guaranteed living standards & economic laissez-faire." 9)

the first outstanding development affecting the political life in Germany took place in August. It was the decision of the Tripartite Conference in Potsdam, announced on August 2nd, to give "the German people the opportunity to prepare for the eventual reconstruction of their life on a democratic & peaceful basis." As one means of stimulating this reconstruction, the Conference further announced that "all democratic political parties with rights of assembly & of public discussion shall be allowed & encouraged throughout Germany." While democratic political parties had been permitted in the Soviet Zone since June, political life in the U.S. Zone had previously rested under a ban on political activity which continued from the commencement of occupation through most of August. On August 27th, military government issued a revised directive permitting political activities. Parties were formed during September under directives permitting party activities at the Kreis level, and since I have mentioned the term Kreis level, I shall try to give ^{you} some information on the meaning of "KREIS", "STADTKREIS" and "LANDKREIS".

The basic unit of German local government is the "KREIS." The whole of the Reich has since 1939 been divided into "KREISE." A Kreis is usually a bigger town with a number of surrounding villages.

A "STADTKREIS" is usually formed by a town with over 20,000 inhabitants and "LANDKREISE" are formed by the smaller town communes & the countryside. The

formed are presided over by a Chief Mayor (Oberbürgermeister) while the latter come under the authority of the "LANDRAT."

By the way, a "LANDRAT" is a state official & at the same time the head of the self-government of the "KREIS."

The Landkreise are further sub-divided into "STADTGEMEINDEN" & "LANDGEMEINDEN" which are led by a Mayor (Bürgermeister).

In 1942 there were 894 Landkreise & 238 Stadtkreise, a total of 1132 Kreise in Greater Germany. Landkreise are comparable in size with a French arrondissement or an American county, but are generally smaller than an English county.

The coming Kreis elections are to be held on April 28th 1946 and the various political parties are at present in the process of preparing extensive party propaganda for the elections.

At a meeting on Feb. 19th 1946 at which members of the leading political parties attended, it was agreed that parties could publish a propaganda - pamphlet every 2 weeks and that party insignias & emblems could be worn, as long as they are not identical with, or similar to insignias & emblems authorized under the Nazi-Regime.

Today the number of Kreise represented throughout Bavaria, in which temporary authorization has been granted to democratic political parties, has extended to a total of 136, approximately 96% of all Military Government detachments in Bavaria. (142 Kreise)

The statistical break-down is:

a) Total number of democratic political groups ¹¹⁾

- temporarily authorized at Kreis level: 369
- b) Total number of different types of parties: 27
- c) The breakdown of parties is:
- 117 Social Democratic Parties
 - 101 Communist Parties
 - 95 Christian Social Union Parties
 - 9 German Democratic Parties
 - 7 Christian Democratic Parties
 - 4 Christian Union Parties
 - 4 Christian Socialist Parties
 - 3 Liberal Democratic Parties
 - 2 Democratic Political Parties
 - 2 German Democratic Peoples Parties
 - 2 Democratic Parties
 - 2 Anti-Fascist Parties
 - 1 Christian Democratic Peoples' Party
 - 1 Christian Democratic Union Party
 - 1 Economic Reconstruction Party
 - 1 Union of Free Democrats
 - 1 Anti-Fascist Democratic Union
 - 1 South German Women's League
(Süddeutscher Frauenarbeitskreis)
 - 1 Bavarian Farmers Party
 - 1 Citizens' Democratic League
 - 1 Democratic Peoples' Party
 - 1 Farmers' Reconstruction Party
 - 1 Farmers Party
 - 1 Bavarian Home And King Party
 - 1 International League For World Peace

The 4 large democratic political parties which have counterparts in the American, English & Russian zone were generally organized by small groups of politically interested public leaders who were for the most part reliable anti-Nazi Democrats. These men, however, represent only a part of the German population. Their program of eradicating the last vestiges of Nazism & German militarism do not represent the will of that great mass of German people who either have remained confirmed National Socialists or have now rejected

Hitlerism only because it had lost the war —
or who have been & (are still) traditional German
militarists & nationalists.

The Deutsche Nationale & Deutsche Volkspartei,
for instance, & certain elements of the old
Democratic Party, all proved before 1933 to
be Hitler's most influential & powerful supporters.
In fact, as a result of their ideologies, they
found it easy to join with him in 1930/1932.
Because of their means, their connections,
their education & the subtlety of their program,
these people were, in the last analysis, as
dangerous as the National Socialists.

Inasmuch as the present 4 political parties
do not cater to the needs of these German
reactionaries, it is to be anticipated that these
elements may again seek to form their own
political groups, just as they did after the
last World War. It is to be feared that like
Hitler & the ultra-conservative pre-1933 parties,
they will use democratic & idealistic
language to cover ultra-reactionary
policies.

Wide sections of the population consider that
the parties & leaders which present them-
selves today are to a large extent the same
as those ^{who} were unable to solve the problems of the
"Weimar Republic" or prevent the coming of
Hitler & that these leaders seem now to
put forward very little that looks new or
constructive.

I fear that I am already burdening you with
too much, but on the other hand, it will help
you in your work to know something about
political personalities & political parties. This
also seems a good occasion to point out to
you the importance of being well informed.
Make it a daily practice to keep up with the

news." there are several papers in either English or German, which are available to you. For instance: the Stars & Stripes, News of Germany, Neue Zeitung, Sueddeutsche Zeitung, or maybe you can also manage to have some Danish newspapers sent to you from home.

now let's try to concentrate on the major political parties permitted in Bavaria.

I. The Social-Democrats advocate "Social Democracy

- a guarantee for the "new Germany".

The party platform states: "Now we are once again called upon to take the fate of our fatherland & of ourselves into our hands. Reaction, which is to blame for our present unspeakable misfortune, is not yet dead. Reactionaries acted like blood-thirsty wolves against democracy & now reappear in the garb of apparently harmless sheep, as honorable democrats."

Once again many opportunists are returning to Socialism & Democracy, while they still regret inwardly that Hitler's & his Party suffered such an ignominious defeat. One must look out for these people and determine from which quarters they seek protection & what they regard as their political sphere of activity."

"Since its foundation the S.P. has stood for the foundation of democracy. It has never changed this conception. We demand the right to work & demand pay which does not lower the standard of living.

Work is the only asset of our people. We guarantee freedom of belief & conscience. We turn to the young voters who have not yet learned to know the blessing of democratic institutions & administration, because they grew up in a false spirit of obedience to Hitler's dictatorship. The young voters must recognize that Germany can be reconstructed only in the

social-democratic spirit & that they are called upon to play a particularly important role in the work of rebuilding Germany.

We turn to the women & mothers who have experienced so much grief through Hitler. We Social-democrats want to be the haven of all those who have become politically homeless, no matter of what faith & class.

Only through a great & powerful Social-democratic Party can Germany be lifted out of chaos & led toward a better future.

II. The Communists herald their platform with a rallying cry against "Fascist reaction" & for the unity of the great Democracies as well as the cooperation of Anti-Fascist democratic Parties. The power of industrialists & financiers, as well as that of "Junker" landowners must be effectively broken in order to clear the way for a democratic reconstruction of Germany. Reparations must be paid, but they are said to be not so severe as to eliminate the possibility of creating a unified, autonomous Germany. Big banks, cartels & trusts must be abolished; and this process must go hand in hand with the splitting up of feudal estates. Employers' associations must not be allowed to return, private & cooperative initiative must make "allowances for a German peace economy & for the satisfaction of the most pressing needs." We want the purging of Fascist elements to free the new state & economic organization from every restraint & sabotage. We want punishment, however, to be meted out strictly according

to the amount of guilt, & we want the less tainted to be given an opportunity to win their way back into the community of decent Germans through devoted activity. We favor most decidedly the exchange of guiltless P.O.W's for active Nazis, so that here, too, innocent people may not be made to atone for the crimes of the Hitler Regime.

III Christian Social Union, formerly the Christian Democratic Union.

Pledged itself to this program:

"For the first time since the beginning of the Hitler dictatorship... the German people can speak once again. Democracy, about which there is so much talk today, should through you in the villages & districts receive real life & form for the first time. Before everything, you must overcome the temptation to think only of your own interests, of your own church-tower. This heap of ruin, Germany, will not be rebuilt by eccentrics or block-heads, splinter parties or class parties. Only strong & big parties can do it who know what they want & openly discuss it."

The Christian Social Union claims to be the unifying party of both Christian churches, but it by no means excludes other denominations. It attempts to carry out its reconstruction on the basis of Christian principles. The party appeals for the formation of more local groups, wherever "unobjectionable men & women reside." The C.S.U. is the heir to the former Catholic Center Party. It is believed that many members of C.S.U. audiences are ex-Nazis of the nominal sort at least. However, the union has done nothing

to encourage such support & men like DR. KOGON, one of its most effective speakers, have sharply hit at this non-thinking attitude among their followers.

I will have to deviate from my course somewhat in mentioning a party which has gained some prominence in Greater Hesse.

It is the
IV. National Democratic Party & its leader,
A. DR. LEUCHTGENS.

This party, licensed in several communities in Greater Hesse, has been catering to militarist & nationalists, who find themselves without representation in the 4 big parties. The party basically rejects denazification, urges an army for Germany and the formation of a Western Bloc ostensibly directed against the Soviet Union.

And now comes a party which we must all watch & try to get as much information on them as possible. This party is the

V. Liberal Democratic Party - which styles itself "not a continuation of the old bourgeois parties, but a combination of all circles willing to start on a reconstruction program with new & timely goals. The platform of the liberals is the following: "To reeducate the German citizen towards a liberal world view & a democratic philosophy of state. To imbue them with ideas of responsibility; to fight dictatorship. To tolerate free speech & freedom of worship & to respect the life of the individual."

the Liberal Democratic Party is set against political division according to vocations or denominations; it demands a unified German state, centrally administered & rejects all federalistic & particularist efforts of the "Länder". ^(mention here: 3 Länder division of am. zone:) (BAYERN-WÜRTEMBERG/BADEN and HESSEN.)

Now all that sounds rather beautiful, but in reality the party needs watching, it is not at all liberal & hardly democratic. The Liberal Democratic party is the catch-all for all elements of the German Nationalist Right; its support seems to come from people who, if not nominal ex-Nazis, were nevertheless not too willing to let the Nazis come to power. Consequently the party is very evasive on denazification & wants it sharply reduced. Naturally the Party leadership is politically clean, if it was not, the party would not have been permitted to function. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of the Party leaders as to the sections of the population from which they derive their support - Reactionaries & violent Anti-Leftist. Just to be on the safe side, the party pays lip service to some moderate socialistic measures, but at the same time, in the words of one of its leaders,

the L. D. P. identifies itself with the past 200 years of German history (before 1933) that means & is intended to mean, that the party believes in the aims of all German imperialist leaders from Frederick the Great through Bismarck to the late Kaiser.

If this party wins any sort of controlling position in future political developments & this is not at all impossible, our plans for the reeducation of Germany should be sharply intensified.

and the very last party that I shall bother you with is the

VI. Bavarian Home And King Party

(Bayrische Heimat-Und Königsparthei)

In an advertisement published by the "Sueddeutsche Zeitung" on March 1st 1946, the Bavarian Home And King party appeals to the Munich public in the following words, I shall quote in German: "Ein neuzeitliches Königtum eine demokratische Verfassung und die christliche Weltanschauung sollen die Grundlage des Staates sein. Aus solchen Erwägungen heraus ruft die Bayrische Heimat-Und Königsparthei mit folgender Zielsetzung zur Sammlung.

Errichtung eines selbständigen bayrischen Staates
Rückkehr zum Königtum durch einen
Volksentscheid.

the leaders of the party are: Kronprinz Rupprecht,
Baron von Redwitz and Professor Letsche,
among others.

those then are the most important political parties from left to right. On the surface it would seem that all believe in some sort of socialism and democracy. All protest their hatred of Nazism. And granted that they are sincere in their beliefs, it is still our duty to watch their activities. Judging from the past history of Germany it is fitting and right for us to be suspicious. Let us watch out for any indication of illegal political activity on the part of individuals or organizations. ~~It~~ maybe it's only just a trend, a new political thought expressed by a public official that will give us a clue, or maybe, it is just a rumor worthwhile reporting. You, people from Denmark, who came here to help the cause of democracy, you, who have seen, watched and suffered while the Germans occupied your country, you can be of immense help. Do not underestimate the importance of your work, even if it seems boring and quite uninteresting at times. At the end of this course, some of you will be assigned to be Telegraph examiners or Telephone monitors. No matter where you will go, you will always be the backbone of this organization. Without you, without your cooperation and your alertness, nothing will function. And now I would like to thank you for your patience. - My very best wishes are with you.

March 15, 1946

Edith C. Falk.

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