

Approx. 15
June 43.

MERZ went by train via BERLIN to HAMBURG, to visit his family. Meanwhile, MERRING and EYLITZ were going to arrange passports and visas for MERZ and GRAD.

Approx. 16-20
June.

In HAMBURG, with family.

Approx. 21
June 43.

MERZ back in WARSAW to fetch GRAD.

Approx. 23-28
June.

Both arrive in BERLIN and stay at DOM HOTEL, Mittelstr. 7, near Friedrichstrasse Station. GRAD registers as Dr. OTTO HUSEL, his pseudonym for journey to ATHENS.

MERZ's wife stays at hotel, leaving three children in charge of Merz's mother in HAMBURG. (I.O.'s Note: Similar privileges are commonly granted to German agents just before going on a long mission involving great risks.)

Meanwhile EYLITZ (of AMT VI) was going to have passes and identity cards made out for MERZ and GRAD (Dr. HUSEL) as members of the Organisation TODT. EYLITZ seems to have been unsuccessful.

MERRING, therefore, had regular German passports made out for both. These two passports had identical dates and visas, GRAD's was made out in the name of Dr. Otto HUSEL.

(b) First Journey with GRAD (Husel) to ATHENS.

Note: MERZ's profession is stated to be that of a Technischer Kaufmann (a 'technical' merchant, merchant of machinery, etc.)

2 July 43

(Date certain as it agrees with stamps in passport.)
Departure from Berlin by train.

3 July 43

Arrive in CROATIA (stamp in passport).

4 July 43

BELGRADE (stamp in passport).

Approx. 9-10
July 43.

Arrival in ATHENS. (In previous reports MERZ seems to have described this part of the journey correctly. There were great delays over trains, both finally getting onto a German troop train. One delay was caused by the destruction of a viaduct at LAMION).

MERZ explained the absence of a German control stamp in ATHENS as due to the fact that they were on a troop train on which they dispense with the ordinary civilian control.

In ATHENS GRAD made his contacts, mostly in MERZ's presence, as described in part in previous reports. THELIS agreed to get WANDA over to Egypt via the Dodecanese, through his own organisation. (Details of activities in ATHENS in Chapter J, MERZ's contacts in Greece with LEADERS of GREEK ORGANISATIONS.)

Delay in ATHENS due to GRAD's refusal to risk another lengthy train journey from ATHENS to BELGRADE.

Approx. 24-25
July 43.

JU-52 Passenger A.C. of LUMILMSA to SOFIA. Same evening, without calling on anyone at SOFIA, they take the train back to VIENNA.

27 July 43

(Stamp in Passport.) ARRIVAL in BELGRADE.

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28 July 43

SOPRON & SAUERBRUNN (Stamps in Passport.) Arrival in VIENNA. Dr. GRAD returned from there to WARSAW. MERZ went to Berlin.

(c) Leave in Germany and Preparations for Second Journey to Athens.

MERZ in BERLIN. Reported to MEHRING at AMT VI that arrangements with Crooks in Athens had been made for Grad's courier from ATHENS to CAIRO.

30 or 31 July 43.

MERZ went to HAMBURG to visit family. Trains running only as far as LUNEBURG because HAMBURG had been bombed and large part of population was being evacuated to other parts of Germany. As he could not get through to HAMBURG, MERZ decided to go to HESSEN (between BRAUNSCHWEIG-DRUBENWICK and MAGDEBURG) where his wife's parents live, in the hope of getting news of his family. He found them there and spent his leave with them. He went to LUNEBURG once more to discover the whereabouts of his brother who had been in hospital in HAMBURG during the bombardment. His brother could not be traced and was listed as missing.

Approx. 6 Aug. 43.

To WARSAW, stayed as usual at MAJCHREK's house. GRAD handed to MERZ a copy of WANDA's photograph which was to be used in her German passport, also details about WANDA. MAJCHREK supplied him with food and drinks for Germany.

Approx. 8 Aug. 43.

Back in Berlin. MEHRING of AMT VI made arrangements for WANDA's passport.

Approx. 9 Aug. 43.

To HESSEN with Polish food and drink for his family.

Approx. 11 Aug. 43.

Back in BERLIN.

Approx. 13 Aug. 43.

Back to Warsaw. Two seats on A.C. from VIENNA to ATHENS had been booked but arrangements had to be made for WANDA's transport to VIENNA. It was decided that MAJCHREK would act as her escort as far as Vienna. MERZ handed to him her passport and all other official passes and papers.

Approx. 15 Aug. 43

Back in Berlin.

(d) Second Journey with WANDA (Maria JOZEFOWSKA alias Margarota NORDACH) to ATHENS.

(Note by I.O.: For journeys to the Balkans travellers are given a yellow pass (Gelber Schein für Süd-Ost Reise.) This pass is surrendered at BELGRADE, on return journey. WANDA still has her yellow pass.)

17 August 1943.

JU.52 of LUFTHANSA to VIENNA. There MERZ met MAJCHREK and WANDA who had arrived by train on the same day. Night in VIENNA.

Among other documents MAJCHREK had the code which WANDA was to hand to General ANDERS. This code, according to MERZ a Polish military code, was to be used in direct "Secret" communications between Polish H.Q. in W.S. and M.I.P. H.Q. in WARSAW. MAJCHREK had a photostat copy made of this code and sent it to AMT VI, so that they could keep a careful check on all messages.

18 August 43 early morning.

MERZ left with WANDA by JU.52 for ATHENS. Intermediate stop at BERLIN (Pass control stamp of BERLIN airdrome in passport, dated 18th August 43.)

Arrival in ATHENS in evening. WANDA spent night with

Jewish neighbours of Mr. & Mrs. BERTI. MERZ spent first night with bed bugs in small hotel near LARISSA Station.

18 August-
5 Oct. 43

MERZ in ATHENS. (Most details in Chapter J, MERZ's contacts in Greece.

19 Aug. 43

MERZ moved to Hotel ATHENS.

Michael TSEETIS, George FANTOUKIS, YANNOUKIS, Philipinos LADRIE, LEONIDIS(.....?), COSTAS (.....?), BERTI and others contacted again. There were frequent changes of plans which had previously been agreed upon with Dr. GRAD. At one time WANDA was to be taken with the LAM courier from ATHENS to "GHESSALIAIS, H.Q. ELIAS, near Mt. OLYMPUS, and was to be flown from their aerodrome or landing ground to CAIRO, probably in one of the regular British courier A.C.

At another time WANDA was to go to the PAPHOS, thence by calque via the Dodecanese to Egypt.

(Note by I.O.: MERZ, either on the pretext of having all this done for WANDA and the Poles, or possibly with the connivance of some of the s/m Greeks, seems to have penetrated the secret communications of the "Communist" wing of E.L.S. in ATHENS, and of ELIAS, the military wing, in the mountains. MERZ has admitted passing on to ROBERTSMAN, "Poliziattoche" in Athens, much if not all the information obtained from BERTI.

For details see Chapter J, Merz's Contacts in Greece.)

Approx. 9-
10 Sept. 43

The Pole M. JUCHERAK arrived in ATHENS, ostensibly as one of the leaders of M.i.P., in reality sent there from AM VI, with two W/T sets, one a sender, the other a receiver. These were to be used by Michael TSEETIS, leader of the Dodecanese group in SAM, to notify "secretly" M.i.P. in WARSAW of WANDA's safe return to ATHENS from CAIRO. Dr. GRAD was, thereupon, to fly immediately to ATHENS and obtain first hand news of results obtained by WANDA in M.E.

TSEETIS had promised to Dr. GRAD that he could get WANDA over to Egypt through his Dodecanese Organization.

The truce between M.i.P. and the Germans had apparently been terminated when HIDERER had ousted Poles from the good land around LUBLIN and settled Germans there. HIDERER felt that MENDEL, GRAD and others had shown too much independence and had helped the Polish soldiers fighting Germans there.

(Note by I.O.: Perhaps GRAD had been inconvenient in their M.E. plot, in which WANDA seems to have been a mere tool. It is significant that MERZ allowed the Greeks to write a letter to GRAD knowing that by that time GRAD was dead.)

While in ATHENS, M. JUCHERAK played the role of MERZ's chief, sent by M.i.P. WARSAW, to make final arrangements with the Greeks.

Approx. 18
Sept. 43

HÖCKELBARTH informed MERZ that he had received news from SIFG, BERLIN, that about mid-September ANTONI, Chief of M.i.P., Dr. GRAD, MARIAN (Code name for chief of Military Group of M.i.P.) and three other leaders of M.i.P. had been shot in the streets of WARSAW by patriotic Poles, with the permission of the DELEGATURA, at the request of "OLLEK" or ALEXANDER, now chief of M.i.P. SPILKER of WARSAW SIFG had apparently insisted on liquidation of these six Poles and had approached "OLLEK",

Approx. 20-
21 Sept. 43.

MERZ's first visit, with WANDA, to H.Q. Communist

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or Political Wing of E.A.M. in ATHENS, at No.26 Avenue ALXANDRIA, in the house of Philippina LADRIS, apparently chief of this branch of E.A.M. WANDA was to leave for Egypt on the following day.

MERZ's second visit, alone, in LADRIS's villa. MERZ had obtained permits from German area commander for 3 cars to go to the country "to fetch food", in reality for one of them to take WANDA to H.Q. ELIAS. The car did not fetch her, although the three cars left ATHENS. LADRIS could offer no explanation for this action on the part of EAM men.

MERZ reported this to HÜSSELBARTH, who, according to Me, did not wish to hear any more about details of EAM. Both agreed that EAM might have become suspicious of MERZ and for some reason did not wish to get WANDA out of the country.

It was now decided that MERZ should go to Turkey via SOFIA, and notify WANDA's Polish connections in ANKARA of her inability to get to EGYPT.

On this date, according to entries in MERZ's passport, he obtained a Bulgarian visa and a Turkish visa.

HÜSSELBARTH notified his colleagues, Regierungsrat HOFFMANN, Polisattaché at SOFIA, that MERZ would be there shortly, that he was to be provided with money and that his further journey to Turkey was to be facilitated.

WANDA copied out on two large white sheets the codes with instructions. MERZ was to deliver them to KROTINSKI, her Polish cousin-in-law in ANKARA.

W.T. & CODE.

Unfortunately MERZ claims not to know anything about W.T. or codes, and remembers only the following facts:

It was a Polish Military Code.
The key was to be changed daily.
GRAD had stated that N.i.P. used a 100 Watt
W.T. Set.

(Note by I.O.: The sheets containing code have apparently not yet been surrendered to the British.)

WANDA also gave to MERZ the following items for delivery in ANKARA:

- A long letter from WANDA to her husband Col.(?) JOZEFCIKOW of the Polish Forces in M.E.
- A personal letter from his sister to Prof. KOT, (she is the chief of the Women's branch of M.i.P.)
- A letter from WANDA to her cousin, Mrs. KROTINSKI in Ankara.
- A pamphlet entitled "Division 503", dealing with engagement of Polish troops on various fronts. Edited by PIEDLER.
- 2 sets of illegal postage stamps of M.i.P. which were "confiscated" by THRELLS, probably for his own stamp collection.
- A number of copies of "illegal" M.i.P. pamphlets and newspapers.
- A letter from ANDRZEJ, chief of M.i.P. to General ANDERS.

(Note by I.O.: Most of these documents reached the British but were sent to LONDON before they could be discussed in interrogation.)

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MERZ told WANDA that he would place all these documents carefully in his suitcase and paste a false bottom over them so that the customs officials could not detect them. MERZ claims not to have done this but to have carried most of them in his pockets.

(NOTE ON WANDA BY I.O.: Throughout the interrogation MERZ has stoutly defended WANDA against any accusation of having any knowledge of the German plot, or of GRAD's and other Poles cooperation with Germans. She believed MERZ to be a Dutchman who had very cleverly worked his way into the German SIPO, but who was in reality working for M.I.P.

WANDA expected her husband, Colonel JOSEPHIKOW of the Polish forces in Moe. to come to ANKARA as soon as he learned of her being in ATHENS. She also thought that General ANDERS would immediately send a Polish or British A.C. to Moe. KILLAS, with a Polish officer who would get her out of ATHENS to this Moe. KILLAS and fly her over to CAIRO.

WANDA was worried when MERZ decided to go to Turkey and he therefore told her that he would be back in ATHENS in 10 to 12 days.)

The Greek leaders thought that MERZ was leaving for WARSAW to report to M.I.P. Therefore they gave him a letter in French, signed by YANOUKIS and SKOPA, who styled himself Chief of Communist Party, addressed to Dr. GRAD and MAJCHERAK. In this letter the two Greeks apologized for the delay in sending WANDA to Egypt and detaining MERZ. They explained that there had been trouble in the mountains and no suitable caiques could be found, that it would have been easier if the courier had been a man.

(Note by I.O.: As was pointed out above, MERZ did not tell the Greeks that Dr. GRAD, had been liquidated before they wrote this letter to him.)

(e) RETURN TO BERLIN.

5 Oct. 43

MERZ left by JU.52 of LUFTHANSA for SOFIA. Reported to Bejlerungart HOFFMANN, Polizeiatteche, who was to supply him with money for journey to Turkey. HOFFMANN informed MERZ that a signal had arrived ordering him urgently back to BERLIN. The same evening Merz left for Germany by train.

6 Oct. 43

In BELGRADE (stamp in passport).

7 Oct. 43

ZEMEN (stamp in passport), HUNGARY, SLOVAKIA (stamp in passport.)

8 Oct. 43

Arrival BERLIN. MERZ reported immediately to MEHRING of AKT VI. Severe reprimand for attempting to go to Turkey without direct authorization from BERLIN. MEHRING confirmed death of Dr. GRAD, ANDRZEJ and other Poles.

AKT VI and apparently entire Reichsicherheitshauptamt were being evacuated to PRAGUE, with all files and records, because of air raids on BERLIN. Merz is still hoping that his own record sheets will get lost or mislaid in the re-shuffle.

9 Oct. -
10 Oct. 43.

Weekend in WARSAW. Confirmation of GRAD's and other Polish leaders' death by Stefan MAJCHERAK and SPILNER. MAJCHERAK, in New York gangster fashion, had supervised the funeral arrangements for the leaders whom he had helped to betray. MAJCHERAK told MERZ that Dr. GRAD's girl-cousin had come to see him "about a possible inheritance". This cousin works in a pharmacy at the Drod Krzesz Plats (Three Crosses Square). She is a member of S.W.K. acting in it as an informer for Dr. GRAD. (MERZ claims that M.I.P. and S.W.K. both spy on each other by

this means.) The cousin, according to MAJCZEREK, did not know that SPILKER, Kommandeur of WARSAW GPO, had brought about the liquidation of the Polish leaders, through "CLEEK" new chief of M.i.P. who had first had this execution legalised by obtaining the approval of the DELEGATURA through "proof of the leaders' collaboration with the Germans." The cousin had learned from Dr. GRAD that MAJCZEREK worked for the Germans. This may have been one of the reasons for her visit.

MAJCZEREK told HERRZ that in a few weeks he would go to LISBON and/or MADRID to contact Polish circles there for the Germans. HERRZ claims that he gave no further details. MAJCZEREK, though he had a share in the liquidation of the Polish leaders, was badly shaken by it. He bought precious stones with his money, which had not been paid to him directly by Germans, but was revenue from concessions or monopolies granted by the Germans. These egg and yeast concessions brought in considerable sums of money, chiefly on the black market. He intended to take the jewelry with him to Spain and Portugal to have ready cash available if he found a return to Poland inadvisable. He planned to go to South America in that case. He proposed to HERRZ to come with him but the offer was declined as HERRZ felt he could not get through unnoticed.

If MAJCZEREK returned to WARSAW he was assured of partnership in the new triumvirate of the M.i.P.

SPILKER informed HERRZ at the GPO office in Warsaw that several agents had left or were leaving for other countries, to contact Poles and establish an information service similar to that planned for M.i.P. and Poles in M.E. Among these agents was SENDEK, for LONDON, via STOCKHOLM; Herbert GRUBER, a German from LODZ, formerly of the Polish army, who was to accompany SENDEK as Polish officer. A Jew, name unknown, who left via SWITZERLAND for U.S.A., having been given large sums of money.

(Note: Details of these and other agents will appear in the Chapter on Personalities.)

SPILKER told HERRZ that he no longer wished to work with M.i.P. and preferred to have the party suppressed altogether as they had caused the Germans much trouble over HILBERG's settlement of Germans on Polish land in the LUBLIN area. SPILKER told HERRZ to consider his task finished as far as M.i.P. was concerned.

MAJCZEREK, however, hoped to build up the party again and for that, purpose seems to have contacted AMT VI which held different views from AMT IV, SPILKER's chiefs.

- 10 Oct. 43 Train back to BERLIN. A few days' wait for new visas for the Balkans. Brief visit to family at HINNSTEDT. Returned to Berlin. EVILTZ of AMT VI brought passport to him at DOM Hotel, and \$200 for journey to Turkey. (f) JOURNEY TO TURKEY & SYRIA.
- 15 Oct. 43 A.C. to VIENNA. Evening at cinema. No contacts in Vienna.
- 16 Oct. 43 A.C. to SOFIA, via BELGIN (stamps in passport). Travelling as merchant. Other passengers: Sonderführer FRIEDRICH and Col. HOLMBERG (See Personalities) with whom he had supper at Hotel BULGARSKI. Air-raid alarm. No taxi, therefore on foot to station. Left by train at 2300 hrs.
- 17 Oct. 43 ISTANBUL. Bought ticket for A.C. to ANKARA. Delivered letter from Greek dancer SUSIE in Athens to her sister (name forgotten) in BEYOGLU (PERA), near the Hotel TOKATLI. Night at Hotel TOKATLI (entry in passport.)

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18 Oct. 43

By Turkish air-line to ANKARA. To Hotel PARK PALACE. Visited KROTIENSKI, whose wife is WANDA's cousin. Both out in afternoon. Met them in evening in their flat. JENYSHIR, Bilgi Sokak 5, Appartment 2 (ground floor, left).

MERZ handed letter to Mrs. K. from WANDA (real name Maria JOSEFOKOWNA), and other documents to Mr. K.

Three Poles called, a married couple (name forgotten; and Captain LODOCHOWSKI. MERZ had presented himself to Mr. and Mrs. KROTIENSKI as a Dutchman but was introduced to the visitors as an Englishman, though they carried on a conversation in German. (Note: MERZ has not been able to explain this inconsistency satisfactorily. WANDA had written to Mrs. K. that MERZ was a Dutchman but spoke excellent German).

19 Oct. 43.

Called on K. again at his flat. A Polish visitor was there and they conversed in German. LODOCHOWSKI appeared soon after and stated that he had discussed matters with KROTIENSKI and that he, L., being a good friend of Col. JOSEFOKOWNA WANDA's husband, would arrange WANDA's journey through him.

(Note: WANDA had told MERZ in ATHENS that as soon as her husband received news from her he would come to ISRAEL and that Gen. ANDERS would send a Polish or British A.C. to H.E. ADAMS in Greece and fetch her over to Egypt.)

LODOCHOWSKI asked for exact whereabouts of WANDA and details about MERZ.

20 Oct. 43.

Met L. in his flat. Proposal made to go to General ANDERS in ALEPPO and make a general report to him, to tell him about exact conditions in Poland and to explain exactly how WANDA could be brought over. The entire trip would only take a few days and L. could return to ATHENS and look after WANDA. L. would meanwhile fetch a new Polish or British passport for M. from ISTANBUL. MERZ was to report back four days later.

21 - 23 Oct. 43.

MERZ visited town and consulted the telephone directory. He had been told by MET VI that if he got into serious trouble, but only then, he should appeal to their GERMAN agent MOJTECH in ANKARA. No details were given but he was told he would find the name in the Ankara telephone directory. He found it there and remembers that the Christian name was typically German, probably KARL.

In ATHENS WANDA had told him to go to the Polish Consulate if he could not contact KROTIENSKI.

24 Oct. 43

MERZ forgot that this was the morning on which he was to meet LODOCHOWSKI. The Polish captain called him on the phone, in the evening and seemed to fear that MERZ "had changed his mind".

MERZ had meanwhile considered his situation carefully. In BERLIN he had been told that HAMBURG-BERLIN Camp were enquiring about his unauthorized absence (MERZ had hoped that his records had been destroyed in air-raids), that S.S. Court in BRNO was making similar enquiries. REHRING told him that he had learned that severe punishment, the mildest probably long internment in K.L. (Konzentrationslager), would be meted out to him. He had counted too much on MET VI being able to have his past bad record, during his work in MET VI, expunged. He had now little incentive to return to Germany. He had handed all of WANDA's documents to LODOCHOWSKI and was now asked to turn over to him his German money, passport and all other private possessions, except his clothing, as L. could get them past the Turkish and Syrian customs with his diplomatic passport. MERZ felt he was being "sold up the river" and that L. wished to prevent his return

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to Germany. Under the circumstances M. realized that he was faced with Hobson's choice and that he might be better off with the "Allies". This although he now distrusted LODZKOWSKI.

(Note by I.O.: In the light of MEE's persistent lying on most vital matters which might have helped the Allies, this part of his story is probably untrue. The trip to the Allies, with the possibility of one more penetration, as with the Secret Polish and later the Greek organization, may well have been planned for him by ANT VI, if offered the opportunity.)

25 Oct. 43

L. & H. left for ALBINO in the evening, arriving there on Wednesday morning.

27 Oct. 43.

ALBINO. MEE had his story ready for General ANDRE. It came as a shock to him to be interviewed by a British Major. LODZKOWSKI warned him at the last moment, when he was taken to the British officer, under no circumstances to tell the British any of the Polish secrets or political trouble in Poland.

There was no time to think over an entirely new story and he inadvertently gave some details about the Poles.

Trip with LODZKOWSKI to BRIENT, by train to TRIGALL, thence by bus. On the train L. coached M. once more in the tale he was to tell the British at his next interview. On the bus they conversed in English.

In BRIENT, in the corridor outside the office where he was interrogated by a British Captain, LODZKOWSKI again warned MEE not to reveal any Polish secrets to the British.

(Note by I.O. MEE volunteered these statements about LODZKOWSKI's warnings to him. In cross-examination he changed the wording to "LODZKOWSKI did not threaten me every time, but he told me I had better not talk about Polish affairs to the British".

It is important to remember that though LODZKOWSKI handed over some of the other papers to the British, he has apparently not released the code for use by Polish M.E. in M.E. and M.i.P. in WARSAW. Any messages sent to M.i.P. from M.E. will be interrupted by ANT VI as they have a copy of the code and as the new leaders of M.i.P. are tools of ANT VI.)

4 Nov. 43

Arrival in JERUSALEM and thence journey to CAIRO.

D. PURPOSE OF MEE'S MISSION.

(a) Facts Fairly Well Established by Interrogation.

1. Main Aim.

Despite repeated cross-examination on this point MEE does not seem to have revealed or admitted the full extent of his mission. He claims that the main purpose of the venture was the establishment of V/T communication between General ANDRE and the Poles in M.E., and M.i.P. in WARSAW, under the surveillance of ANT VI of Reichssicherheitshauptamt which had been provided with a copy of the code to be used in these communications.

The following further details seem, however, reasonably well established as a result of interrogation:

2. GRAD's Abortive Mission to M.E.

Dr. GRAD had originally planned, in the early spring of 1943, with

the approval of AM IV D 2 to go to M.E., contact General ANDERS and other members of the Polish Forces in M.E.; make arrangements for regular T/T communications between them and M.E. in BERLIN; ascertain whether Poles in M.E. were ready to lay down their arms because Russia had now become Enemy No. 1 of the Poles; persuade ANDERS to fly Polish officers to Poland to organize the Military Branch of M.I.P. for armed resistance to the Russians, in opposition to Z.W.Z. the Polish Secret Military League with whom M.I.P. had had disagreement. This plan had been worked out with the help of MERZ, under the auspices of AM IV, Section D.2 (General-gouvernement Polen) O.C. Dr. BAURELING. GRAD had not gone on this mission because Herr HILBER would not trust any Pole to work loyally for the Germans.

3. AM VI Takes Over.

While taking his course in preparation for a Kriminalkommissar in Berlin in 1942/43, MERZ discussed with HERRING and NYLITZ, comrades at the school, GRAD's abortive mission to M.E. When HERRING and NYLITZ had become Kommissars in AM VI (Foreign Countries), at Reichsicherheitshauptamt, in April 43, they called MERZ to BERLIN and informed him that if he was still interested in GRAD's scheme, AM VI would be glad to back it, although it had previously been dropped by AM IV (Gestapo) as soon as HILBER's disapproval seemed certain.

4. MERZ Work for AM VI with GRAD.

MERZ was delighted to undertake the work himself, with the help of GRAD, because at the time he was under a very heavy cloud, with an investigation into his activities in Poland, under AM IV, having more or less proved him guilty, and with a trial pending in an S.S. Court. He was, moreover, temporarily relieved of his official duties and doing penance as a "shoveller of sand" in the Labour "Education" camp of HEDDING-HEDDING.

5. WANDA (Marie JOZEFOWSKA) Chosen as Courier to CAIRO.

MERZ went to WARSAW to enlist GRAD's help and discuss details of the new plan. GRAD was no longer ready to risk a second grab from HILBER but proposed to send as courier to CAIRO, to make direct contact with ANDERS, one of his most trusted workers in M.I.P., Mado JOZEFOWSKA, alias WANDA, her pseudonym in Polish Secret Societies. WANDA, though she knew of M.I.P. agreement with the Germans, was not informed of the extent of this collaboration and thought that this task, involving risk of life, was merely her patriotic duty. She knew MERZ only as a Dutchman who was working for the Poles and who had cleverly insinuated himself into the SliO and was, as a man trusted by them, able to obtain German passports and other papers for M.I.P. members.

6. ATHENS as Link with CAIRO.

Dr. GRAD and MERZ decided to go to ATHENS because GRAD had many contacts there, having been there before the war as an archaeologist, and because he thought that his courier could most easily be taken across to CAIRO through one of the Greek Secret Societies. This was to obviate the establishment of entirely new Polish channels.

7. Anti-Communist M.I.P. and "Communist" EAM Collaboration.

A secondary reason for the choice of ATHENS as jumping off place for the courier would seem to have been Dr. GRAD'S desire to establish collaboration between some of the Greek secret societies and M.I.P. Dr. GRAD was invited by Greeks in Athens to write propaganda articles for them and they were going to return the compliment to M.I.P. Some of the first Greeks contacted were men with a Polish background or with Polish connections, chief among them MICHAEL THEMILIS, for 15 years merchant in WARSAW, and George MOTONIS who was born in Poland, speaks perfect Polish and has a father probably still living in GREECE. Oddly enough, the people contacted were "Communists", the very people whom M.I.P. hated most, both GRAD and MERZ posing as good communists with them, MERZ pretended to be able to establish closer contact between EAM and MOSCOW.

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Penetration of HAM and MERZ.

Another subsidiary plan in Greece was the penetration of HAM by MERZ. Although he admits it only partially, MERZ succeeded in obtaining valuable information about HAM's contacts with G.H.Q. and the British in the Middle East, their communication routes, the names of some of the couriers, the exact location of H.Q. ELIAS and their courier system, and the details being immediately reported to HUSSEIN-BETH, "Polizeiattaché", Berlin, and by him to Reichsicherheitshauptamt. WANDA may well have been a convenient cloak for the plans of AMT VI. Another strange feature of the plan was the planting on these Greeks of two W/T sets by MAJCHEREK and GRAD, ostensibly for the sole purpose of sending one single message to WANDA concerning the return from Egypt to Athens of WANDA. MERZ has admitted that AMT VI sent these sets to Greece.

WANDA's Mission in M.E.

The Germans were still anxious to ascertain the exact degree to which they could rely on the Poles in M.E. not to continue the war on the side of the Allies so long as Russia remained Enemy and Menace No.1 and would prevent the re-establishment of an independent Poland, though possibly signed of some of her pre-war territorial wings. WANDA, a reliable contact, with valuable connections at Polish H.Q. in M.E., was apparently to tell ANDRES, as GRAD had intended to do before her, that the Poles in M.E. would resist by force of arms, if necessary under German leadership, any German invasion of their country. WANDA was to enlist ANDRES' support, again in the same form as GRAD would have done. (See para. D.2.)

Plans Not Yet Admitted by MERZ but Surmised as Result of Interrogation.

10. German Control Over M.E.-WARSAW Messages Through New M.I.P. LEADERS?

Other points in the programme have not yet been admitted by MERZ but may possibly be surmised.

The leaders of M.I.P. were to be liquidated in Machiavellian fashion as soon as they had got the scheme under way. They were actually replaced by three new men, after being murdered by their own countrymen who accused them guilty of working for the Germans. The new men could be called upon to transmit to AMT VI all messages from Polish H.Q. M.E. to Warsaw. A complete check of all "secret" messages could be made through interception by AMT VI. MAJCHEREK and MERZ had copied for the Germans the code which WANDA was to take to M.E.

11. ANKARA as Alternative Link between M.E. and M.I.P.-AMT VI?

The Polish circles in ANKARA were to be used as an alternative link with BERNARD by passing messages back and forth between Polish H.Q. M.E. and WANDA, whose delayed departure from ATHENS may well have been planned by the same brain which plotted the political murder of the six leaders of M.I.P. Perhaps the same fate is awaiting WANDA as GRAD, for "she knows too much".

12. MERZ to Establish ANKARA Link?

MERZ went to Turkey probably to make arrangements for the ANKARA link. He was far too easily "persuaded" by Capt. LODOWICZEWSKI of the Polish 5th Bureau to see General ANDRES in person and explain the Polish situation to him. Unless there was some pre-arranged plan or a better explanation than MERZ has offered, it is difficult to understand why General ANDRES should specially come up to ALERICO for a conference with a comparatively unimportant man.

13. MERZ to Penetrate Polish and Allied Circles in M.E.?

As MERZ had successfully penetrated Polish Secret organisations, and lately Soviet secret organisations, perhaps it was planned to risk the same in being the same with the Polish Forces or political groups in M.E. or even Allied Forces, or secretly pro-German groups. Perhaps MERZ was

merely to do the preparatory work. This plan may seem fantastic but it must be remembered that MERE was taking a desperate chance in crossing over into Allied-occupied territory. At any rate he did successfully pose as a friendly Dutchman for one month with British. He has made a feeble suggestion of finding employment with the Allies. He has expressed disappointment at not having been assigned any definite tasks by the Allies but having instead been continually interrogated. Up to the present he has denied all knowledge of German-Polish agents or secretly pro-German circles in P.S.

11. MERE'S FIRST CONTACTS WITH POLISH SECRET ORGANIZATIONS.

14. MERE Transferred to Poland.

In August 1939 MERE was transferred from HANNOVER to NIEBIA, in preparation for the German attack on Poland. He and other SIFO men were given a few lectures on their future work in Poland. Early in September they moved forward and by November MERE found himself established in KIELCE SIFO.

15. Z.w.z. (Związek Walki z Ciemnością - League for Armed Resistance).

In February 1940 a Lt. PODOLSKI of the Polish Secret Military League Z.w.z. appeared in KIELCE on orders of Major ROZKUBIENIEC to contact local groups of Z.w.z. As a SIFO man MERE interrogated the lieutenant and claims to have suggested to him a truce between the Germans and Z.w.z. The Lieutenant decided to go to CRACOV and discuss MERE's proposal with the Chief of Z.w.z. for Southern Poland, Col. WILKOWICZ. The Colonel could not be located and MERE and the Lieutenant returned to KIELCE. A few days later MERE acted as escort of PODOLSKI to RACH SIFO and allowed him to escape, for both were certain that P. would be condemned to death at RACH.

(Note by I.O.: When MERE was asked why he should have thus risked his career and his life, he replied that PODOLSKI's wife and parents-in-law who still live in KIELCE can vouch for the accuracy of this statement.)

16. Z.w.z. - Colonel ALBRECHT.

At the end of July 1941 Colonel ALBRECHT, chief of staff of Z.w.z. was arrested in WARSAW and transferred for safe-keeping to KIELCE. The O.C. of the local SIFO, THOMAS, failed to obtain any information through interrogation and MERE was given his second big case in Poland. He, too, failed to obtain details which could have led to further arrest. He therefore showed to ALBRECHT the card index with numerous names of members of Z.w.z. and this convinced the Colonel that many secrets of the party were known to SIFO. ALBRECHT made a proposal similar to MERE's own to PODOLSKI early in 1940; ALBRECHT was going to persuade the leaders of Z.w.z. to refrain from all further acts of sabotage or terrorism, and to collect and keep only with trusted party leaders all arms in possession of members of the league. Germany was to allow Z.w.z. to continue its existence, under strict control of its leaders under the conditions specified above, and was going to release members of the league in concentration camps on guarantee of their good behaviour being given by the leaders of Z.w.z.

17. ALBRECHT's Release and Suicide.

On 5th September 1941 ALBRECHT was released from KIELCE prison in order to consult with his chief in WARSAW, General ROZKUBIENIEC. Ten days later MERE, his O.C. SIFO, KISLUBA, and two other members of SIFO went to WARSAW to receive ROZKUBIENIEC's answer. The Colonel did not come to the rendez-vous and MERE's O.C., THOMAS, surmised that the Colonel had betrayed them and gone into hiding. MERE realised that he would be blamed for the failure of this scheme and decided to avoid punishment by volunteering for the Russian front. The request was refused. Subsequently, MERE learned that ALBRECHT had committed suicide by poisoning, for reasons unknown.

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before the SIPO party arrived in WARSAW. As the news came from MAJCHEREK, it may not be true, and the colonel may have found his death by some other means, as yet not revealed to us by MERZ.

18. Stefan MAJCHEREK, the Polish JUDAS.

The man MERZ had sent to WARSAW to investigate the Colonel's disappearance was one STEFAN MAJCHEREK whose career and activities are fully described in Chapter L (Personalities). Though MERZ learned to know him intimately and collaborated more with him than any other Pole, MAJCHEREK (pronounced MAJCHAK) was not directly connected with secret organizations until recently but acted as informer and agent provocateur for SIPO. In 1940 when MERZ first met him in KIELCE, he was a penniless ex-Communist with approximately 9 years of prison life just behind him. With MERZ's help he soon got employment in the SIPO and receive his pay from them by obtaining monopolies and concessions. In a short time he moved to WARSAW where he is now said to be living in luxury. At present he is wavering between escaping with most of his money to South America, via Spain or Lisbon where he is or has been employed in 'organizing' Polish colonies, and becoming one of the three new leaders of M.S.P. and re-organising the party. While in KIELCE MAJCHEREK had initiated MERZ into the mysteries of the Communist Organisation. The knowledge thus gained enabled MERZ subsequently to pose as a Communist on several occasions.

19. MERZ has admitted that if anyone may be called the Polish JUDAS it is Stefan MAJCHEREK, generally known, like most Poles in Secret Societies, by his Christian name, STEFAN.

20. ONR (OGOSZ-NARODOWO-RADYKALNY - National Radical Camp).

In December 1941 a courier of ONR, a Polish Secret Society (See Chapter F), came to KIELCE from WARSAW to ask MERZ to see his chief and discuss various matters with him. The courier introduced himself as CZARK. He thinks he was approached because ONR had heard of his share in the negotiations with Zaw.2.

21. WITOLD - VICTOR (Prof. GOMEL).

On the pretext of week-end leave MERZ went to WARSAW to the Gare Europejski in Marshall Street where CZARK met him. He was conducted to a small bar, the name of which he has forgotten. There he was introduced to the Chief of the intelligence section of ONR, WITOLD. A truce was suggested between ONR and the Germans. A second discussion took place in a private house near the VICTORIA. There were no immediate results, but later MERZ, by-passing his immediate chief at KIELCE SIPO, arranged for meetings between WITOLD, VICTOR (code name for Prof. GOMEL), Chief of ONR and LEHMANN, Kommandeur of RADOM SIPO. A truce was arranged between the Germans and ONR on the following terms: ONR agreed to collaborate with Germans in their fight against communism, the party was to be tolerated by the Germans, and members of the party in KZ (Konzentrationslager) whose good behaviour could be guaranteed by the leaders of the party, were to be released. This plan was carried out and a number of ONR people were set free from KZ among them Madame DEMBOWSKA (or a similar name).

22. WITOLD.

In June 1943 MERZ met WITOLD in WARSAW and was threatened by him with a revolver. He could not explain satisfactorily why WITOLD was angry with him. MERZ later tried to explain this incident away as a mere joke on the part of WITOLD.

23. SPILKER & ONR.

MERZ reported the occurrence to SPILKER, Kommandeur of the SIPO SONDERKOMMANDO in WARSAW, on his last visit there in Oct. 1943, and was told that he should not have discussed anything with WITOLD as he (MERZ) was no longer employed in this work by AMT IV D2, but now belonged to AMT VI. SPILKER gave him the impression that WITOLD and his SIPO SONDERKOMMANDO were collaborating in Polish affairs and that

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SIPO was or would soon be a member of the DELEGATURA.

24. DELEGATURA.

This organization is the Polish secret parliament, nominally controlled from LONDON, by the Polish Government. SPENCER told MERZ that he had many appointees in the Delegatura and expected to have more. All names from the Polish Government in London were thus known to SIPO as well as, and sometimes sooner than to other members.

25. DELEGAT in Spring 1943.

A new DELEGAT, i.e. Chief of the DELEGATURA, was sent from LONDON, by the Polish Government, to WARSAW. SIPO in WARSAW knew before he arrived there but let him enter freely and contact the DELEGATURA, in the hope that he would reveal interesting secrets to SIPO's paid Polish members of the underground parliament. This Delegat was unacceptable to some of the Polish Nationalist circles and when he would not let them into any secrets he was betrayed by them to the WARSAW SIPO and arrested a fortnight after his arrival.

This Delegat (whose name MERZ has forgotten) was a member of SL (AMBONICTWO LUDOWY - People's Party), a Leftist Party whose chief is Prof. KOR.

All this information about the Delegat was given to MERZ by SPENCER of WARSAW SIPO in October 1943.

26. Dr. GRAD of M.i.P., KAJCHURZAK and MERZ.

In April 42 MERZ was introduced by KAJCHURZAK to Dr. GRAD, one of the leaders of M.i.P. (MIECZ i PLOUG = Sword and Plough), in the Cafe Moca, in Marshall Street, WARSAW. KAJCHURZAK pretended that the meeting was accidental but he must have arranged it beforehand with GRAD because the doctor immediately discussed the proposed truce agreement with Zew.L. and a similar arrangement for M.i.P. He questioned MERZ at great length on his contacts with Col. ALBERSCHET and the exact proposals made to him, and enquired if MERZ was still holding the same views on the desirability of a truce between Polish parties and the Germans. MERZ informed GRAD that he had no authority to arrange agreements in Poland as he was no longer employed there but had been transferred to BERLIN. He agreed to bring the matter to the attention of his new chief in BERLIN, Dr. DEIMLING, O.C. AMT IV D.2, at the Reichsaicherheitshauptamt. (AMT IV is the Gestapo Bureau, D.2 the Section for Generalgouvernement Polen.)

27. Negotiations between Dr. DEIMLING and Dr. GRAD, with MERZ as intermediary.

MERZ persuaded Dr. DEIMLING that an agreement with MIECZ i PLOUG would be advantageous to the Germans and that GRAD was the best man in the party for the discussion of the problem. MERZ arranged a meeting between GRAD and DEIMLING and was chosen as intermediary during the very lengthy negotiations because he possessed GRAD's complete confidence. This necessitated frequent week-end trips to WARSAW, during the Kommissar Course which he was attending at the SIPO School in Berlin. Incidentally, MERZ always took back with him to Germany Polish food and drink, chiefly Schnaps (brandy), provided by KAJCHURZAK and KOSALEKI, a wealthy KIJICE farmer.

28. ANDREW and MERZ.

On one of the week-end visits to WARSAW, MERZ met ANDREW (pronounced ANTY), Chief of M.i.P. with whom he also discussed the situation in Dr. GRAD's presence.

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29. SIPO PROCRASTINATION.

The agreement between SIPO and M.i.P. took months to conclude owing to HIMMLER's dislike of the Poles and his opposition to any concessions made to them, according to MERZ, who was present at several meetings between GRAD and SIPO officials. Finally, DEMMLING decided to have negotiations continued in WARSAW by STUCKER, Kommandeur of WARSAW SIPO DONDERKOMMANDO. MJCUREAK acted as intermediary as he speaks perfect German. The results were not wholly satisfactory to either side. MERZ blames STUCKER "who viewed it all not from a political, but from a police angle." The agreement is discussed in detail in Chapter G.

30. MULLER, Chief of AMT IV, and M.i.P.

DEMMLING of AMT IV D 2 informed MERZ that his chief, S.S. Gruppenfuhrer (=General) MULLER, a faithful follower of HIMMLER, was dissatisfied with the agreement, that the truce was benefitting only the Poles, and that M.i.P. was rapidly gaining in strength and influence. He would therefore no longer support the truce. MERZ pointed out to DEMMLING that M.i.P., if not merely officially suppressed but in reality abolished by SIPO, would probably commit acts of sabotage and carry on anti-German propaganda and would thus become a real danger to the Germans in Poland. DEMMLING replied that no argument seemed to make MULLER change his views.

31. GRAD'S Plan to Save M.i.P.

MERZ hastened to WARSAW to warn GRAD of the impending disaster. They discussed possibilities for countering MULLER's move and GRAD decided to go to CAIRO to enlist General ANDERS' support, hoping for a successful agreement with Polish H.C. in M.P., thus making of M.i.P. not only the greatest political but also military factor in Poland. This might make MULLER think better of M.i.P. As described previously, HIMMLER vetoed this plan, but the party was allowed to continue under the truce agreement. Meanwhile MERZ was sent to the Labour "Education" Camp at HAMBURG-NEUHOP as punishment for offences committed in Poland.

32. Other Threats to Truce.

Early in 1943 HIMMLER, contrary to the truce agreement with M.i.P., expatriated Poles and settled Germans on the land in the LUBLIN district. The Poles resisted the expulsion from their property by force of arms. M.i.P. seemed to lead the fight against the Germans, for most of the uniformed Polish bands wore the Sword and Plough (sieczak i Plug) emblem on their arms. MERZ heard later that the leaders of M.i.P. had directed the fight. In MERZ's opinion SIPO may have discovered subsequently that the leaders of M.i.P. were actively opposing them and this may have been a contributory factor in the decision to liquidate them, in Sept. 1943.

33. ANDRZEJ'S & GRAD'S Memorandum to HITLER.

MERZ discussed the troubles in the LUBLIN District on several occasions in early 1943 with GRAD and ANDRZEJ with whom he had become quite friendly. All three finally agreed that HIMMLER was responsible for most of the difficulties between Poles and Germans, that HITLER was probably wrongly advised by his satellites. ANDRZEJ and GRAD decided to address a memorandum directly to HITLER, by-passing HIMMLER and all other Nazi leaders and the SIPO. In the memorandum they presented the Polish views of the situation and proposed to join forces with the Germans against the Russians. MERZ was persuaded to deliver the document personally to the Fuhrer's Chancellery. The memorandum eventually reached HIMMLER and the SIPO. DEMMLING, of AMT IV D 2, informed MERZ that his meant rejection of the plan, though BOUHLER (BOULE), Chief of the Fuhrer's Chancellery had favoured acceptance of the proposals.

34. MERZ, the Friedensapostel.

On account of his many attempts to conclude a peace between

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M.I.P. and SIKO, the latter gave him the nick-name of "Priddenapostol" (Apostle of Rescue).

35. All subsequent contacts with Polish secret societies were made only in direct connection with M.I.P.'s mission to the Middle East.

Edmund Kelly, Major
INTELLIGENCE OFFICER.

19th December, 1947.
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