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BAVARIAN TARGET STUDY: EXPELLEES AND EMIGRES

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Contents

I.	Introduction	page 1
II.	Expellees	2
	A. General Characteristics	2
	B. The Sudeten German Expellees	5
	C. The Silesian German Expellees	10
	D. Conclusions	11
III.	Emigres	12
	A. Roof Organizations	12
	B. Rumanians	15
	C. Bulgarians	20
	D. Yugoslavs	22
	E. Czechoslovaks	24
	F. Hungarians	28
	G. Ukrainians	33
	H. Emigres From USSR, Including The Caucasus and Central Asia	39
APPENDIX A:	List of Expellee Organizations and Institutions in Munich	A-1
APPENDIX B:	Biographic Information on Selected Expellee Leaders in Western Germany	B-1
APPENDIX C:	Sources	C-1

SECRET

SECRET

BAVARIAN TARGET STUDY: EXPELLEES AND EMIGRES

Problem

To examine the expellee groups in Bavaria with particular reference to economic and political factors, leaders and organizations; and to assemble information on emigre organizations, leaders and publications.

Scope and Limitations

This report was prepared primarily for DDP internal use. It consists of a narrative describing the expellee group in Bavaria with special attention to the two most significant groups, the Sudeten Germans and the Silesians; and a directory in outline form of emigre organizations, which have headquarters or representatives in Bavaria. The study is based on research material available in Washington, both in the Agency and the Department of State. In accordance with the requester's wish, no attempt has been made to levy special requirements on the field.

The information on emigres contained in Part III is limited by the fact that available material is in many cases out of date.

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These reports give a comprehensive picture of the emigre groups with which they deal. However, the fact that they are in some cases several years old means that the information cannot now be considered current or complete.

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

The biographic data in Appendix B, with the exception of the report on Dr. Koch, was prepared by Biographic Information Division of the Department of State.

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BAVARIAN TARGET STUDY: EXPELLEES AND EMIGRES

I. Introduction

The presence in Bavaria of large numbers of foreign born residents is an important factor in the political, economic, and social life of the Land. The non-native residents fall into several categories: the expellees (Vertriebene), the refugees (Fluechtlinge) and the non-German speaking emigres. For the purpose of this paper, expellees are considered to be the inhabitants of the German provinces east of the Oder-Neisse line and the ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) whose homes were outside the boundaries of the German Reich as of December 31, 1937. Refugees are those former inhabitants of the Soviet zone and East Berlin who fled to West Germany for reasons of personal safety, political or economic considerations. Non-German speaking emigres are foreign nationals from the USSR, the satellites or Yugoslavia, who are opposed to the current political regimes in their homelands.

Of the three groups, the expellees are most important in the Bavarian scene because of their large numbers, the problems involved in their integration into the Federal Republic, and their irredentism. Section II of this report deals with the expellees as a whole, describing their current economic and political situation and their organizations. The two most important expellee groups, the Sudeten Germans and the Silesians, are considered in detail.

The refugees, coming into a culture very similar to that which they left and consisting to a greater degree than the expellees of young employable individuals, have assimilated rapidly into the Federal Republic. Although political and cultural associations have been formed by the refugees, they have not attracted sufficient interest or support to be effective pressure groups. The desire of the refugees to "disappear" in West Germany to avoid pressure which might be exercised against them from the East Zone has also tended to discourage the formation of identifiable groups or the rise of refugee leaders. Refugees, therefore, while included in some of the material dealing with expellees, are not discussed separately as a group in the following report.

Emigres, of minor interest in the political or economic development of Bavaria, have nevertheless an intelligence value as sources of information on the homeland, propagandists, or potential leaders in case of a change of government in their former homes. Section III on emigres identifies where possible their organizations, leaders and publications.

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II. EXPELLEES

A. General Characteristics

The problem of assimilating the expellees was more severe in Bavaria than in other Laender of the Federal Republic. Although expellees possessed a language and a cultural background generally similar to that prevailing in West Germany, each expellee group had its own history, traditions and habits and in many cases had adopted some elements of the native culture of its former homeland. Bavaria, with its strong local traditions and characteristic reserve or even hostility towards newcomers, experienced more friction than did other less particularistic areas. In addition, other factors complicated the situation. The relatively backward state of communications and the long distances between rural communities in the Land made it difficult to move expellees who had been unsuitably placed in the first distribution. The agrarian structure of the country--small farm holdings and not much free land available--made an additional problem in settling the agrarian expellees satisfactorily. The usual solution of employing them as farmhands suited neither the formerly independent expellees nor the highly individualistic Bavarian peasants. 1/

Of the approximate eight and one-half million expellees located in the Federal Republic, 1,850,200 are in Bavaria. They account for 20.2 per cent of the population, a percentage exceeded only by Schleswig-Holstein (28.1 per cent) and Lower Saxony (25.8 per cent). By far the largest group of expellees are the ethnic Germans who inhabited the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia before World War II. According to statistics compiled in 1950, of the 1,912,000 Sudetens living in West Germany, over one-half, (1,026,400), are settled in Bavaria. The next largest group were the Silesians, of which 461,000 or about one-fifth of the total number in West Germany were in Bavaria. Other substantial groups of expellees in Bavaria are the former residents of East Prussia, West Prussia, Memelland and Danzig (104,600), ethnic Germans from Yugoslavia (67,500), from Hungary (49,200), from Poland (48,800), from Rumania (46,100), and from the former German province of Pomerania (34,800). German expellees from the USSR total 10,700 and from the former Baltic nations, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 8,900. 2/

In sex and age composition, the expellee group shows the same structure as the post-war resident population, i.e. a deficit of males, especially young adults, and a preponderance of middle aged individuals, especially women. However, the displaced population shows a more normal age-sex structure than the resident population, having a smaller proportionate surplus of females, fewer aged and a stronger representation of young adults, especially young men. 3/

The expellees are younger than the rest of the population, the median age for males being 28.5 years and for females 32.5 years, according to statistics dated September 1950. The difference in age and sex structure between the expellee and the resident groups resulted from the higher birth rate of the Eastern European Germans, the selective processes of flight and expulsion, and the fewer war casualties suffered by the German minorities. 4/

In terms of occupational skills, the expellees represent a strong industrial population. In contrast with the Bavarian labor force which in 1939 had 38.2 per cent of the total employed in agriculture, 34.3 per cent in industry and handicrafts, 14.5 per cent in trade and transportation, and 13 per cent in other

SECRET

vocations, the expellees in their former occupations had 39.7 per cent engaged in industry and handicrafts, 35.1 per cent in agriculture, 14.3 per cent in trade and transportation and 10.9 per cent in other vocations. East Zone refugees show an even higher proportion of workers in the industrial, handicrafts, trade and transportation groups. 5/

Although the difficulties involved in finding work in their new locations has meant occupational downgrading for many expellees who have taken jobs in which their previous skills are not used, it is estimated that the largest occupational group among the expellees is employed in the manufacturing trades. Expellee employment generally is increasing. In September 1950, unemployment among expellees was about twice as high as for the rest of the population; in April 1956, it was estimated that the expellees accounted for 24 per cent of the unemployed as opposed to 17 per cent of the total population. 6/

The increasing integration of the expellees into the predominantly agricultural Bavarian economy has tended to diversify and industrialize it. In 1951, although expellee and refugee industrial, handicraft and trade establishments amounted to less than 10 per cent of all such establishments in Bavaria, in textiles, glass and processing of artificial materials, the share was much higher. Expellee effort, mainly on the part of the Silesians and Sudetens who came from areas where the textile industry was highly developed, has made an important contribution to the embroidering and knitting mills in Oberfranken and South Schwaben. Large glass making centers have grown up in Kaufbeuren, Schwaben, Bayreuth and Oberfranken where Sudeten expellee groups are practicing their traditional skills. The costume jewelry industry in Neu Gablonz, an important dollar earner, was established and developed by Sudeten initiative. 7/

The relatively high degree of economic integration which the expellees have reached in Bavaria is the result in part of action by the Land government in providing funds, both loans and grants, to help expellees establish themselves. Bavaria also set up a Committee for Refugees and Expellees, supported by Landtag funds, whose function was to aid expellee industry, recommend legislation to improve expellee conditions, answer inquiries, and provide legal aid. Resettlement and land reform programs were also undertaken. 8/

Politically the expellees have not tended to unite in a single party. The closest thing to an expellee party is the All-German Bloc-League of Expellees and Disenfranchised (Gesamtdeutsche Block-Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten - GB-BHE), which, however, does not include all or even the most prominent expellees active in political life. Moreover, the BHE does not consist exclusively of expellees and refugees. Its local chairman in Bavaria, Willi Guthsmuths, has only a tenuous claim to the Sudetenland having served there as a government official from 1941 until 1945. The disappearance of the BHE as a national party in the September 1957 elections indicates a growing tendency among the expellees to work toward their aims through the major political parties rather than as members of a special interest group.

In Bavaria the leaders of the BHE are attempting to divorce the party from its original concept as an expellee and refugee group. The statement announcing the party's withdrawal from the four-party Land coalition following the national elections was made in the name of the Gesamtdeutsche Block (GB), the initials BHE having been dropped entirely. There are indications that some of the party leaders believe that its future lies in the

SECRET

formation of a new right of center party which would include the BHE, FDP and other conservative elements. 9/

Contrary to the early expectations voiced by Allied observers, expellees have not joined extreme rightist political parties in any considerable numbers. The extreme Left, as might be expected, attracts no support among expellees who resent the Communists as the authors of their exile.

Expellee organizations have been formed for economic, social, cultural and professional reasons. The principal group, organized on the federal level is the League of Expelled Germans (Bund der vertriebenen Deutschen - BvD), which has principally represented expellee and refugee economic interests. The BvD provides its members with information on their financial claims, lobbies for social and economic benefits, and attempts to further the nomination of expellee candidates for public office. It has made special efforts to further such legislation as the Equalization of Burdens Law (Lastenausgleich Gesetz), and the Federal Law on the Legal Status of Expellees and Refugees (Bundesgesetz ueber die Angelegenheiten der Vertriebenen und Fluechtlinge). The three chairmen of the BvD Land chapter in Bavaria are: Dr. Joachim Borngraeber, Josef Boehm and Herbert Rubusch. 10/

Probably more important in Bavaria are the homeland associations (Landsmannschaften) of expellees from the same country of origin which have concentrated on maintaining the cultural ties between the expellees and their former habitations and on seeking to obtain recognition of their homeland claims from the Federal government, the Western allies and the satellite exile groups. The Landsmannschaften are organized according to the regional location of the expellees in West Germany into Land chapters (Landesverbaende), which are subdivided into Bezirksverbaende, Kreisverbaende, and Ortsverbaende according to the size and location of the expellee groups. 11/ Within the Landsmannschaften there are also groups (Heimatgruppen) of expellees who claim the same locality of origin in the homeland.

Nineteen expellee Landsmannschaften have joined together to form a Federal roof organization, the League of Homeland Associations (Verband der Landsmannschaften - VdL). A loose association whose primary purpose is to coordinate policy, the VdL has been moderate in pressing its claims to the homeland and enjoys good relations with the Bonn government from which it receives some financial support. The chairman of the Bavarian Land chapter is Dr. Hans Menzel; Dr. Paul Illing is the manager. A number of the member associations maintain headquarters or regional offices in Munich. The Sudetens and the Silesians are the most significant of these groups because of their large memberships and aggressive attitude toward their eventual return to the homeland. 12/

Expellee youth has its own organization: The German Youth of the East (Deutsche Jugend des Ostens - DJO). Formed in 1951, it is composed of semi-autonomous youth groups sponsored by the individual Landsmannschaften. The national chairman is a Bavarian Sudeten youth leader, Ossi Boese. Although dedicated to keeping alive the memory of the homeland among its members, the DJO appears to be generally inactive in political and Landsmannschaft affairs. The rapid assimilation of expellee youth into their new environment suggests that their indifference toward expellee matters is likely to increase. 13/

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SECRET

Other expellee organizations* centered in Munich are scientific and cultural institutions, religious and welfare groups, and research institutions concerned with refugee questions. One of the most interesting of these is the Eastern European Institute (Ost-Europa Institut) at the University of Munich, directed by Dr. Hans Koch.** A center for Eastern European studies, principally in the fields of law, history and politics, the Institute sponsors publications and lectures on Eastern European subjects. It is reportedly financed by the Federal Republic and Land governments. Dr. Koch, a long time specialist on eastern affairs, is frequently consulted by the Federal Republic Foreign Ministry on eastern problems. He accompanied Adenauer to Moscow in 1955 as an advisor. 14/

B. The Sudeten German Expellees

The Sudetens are the most nationalistic and best organized group among the expellees. The Sudeten German Landsmannschaft has about 350-360,000 members in Western Germany of which an estimated 197,000 are in Bavaria. The Landsmannschaft spokesman, Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen, a long time exponent of Sudeten interests, has been for many years the leader of the organization and of the Sudetens generally. Recently, however, his leadership has been challenged by groups both within and without the Landsmannschaft who feel that at 79 he is too old to exercise his authority competently and that his handling of Sudeten affairs is too much a one-man show.

In addition to the VdL, Sudetens form a strong group in the BvD. Sudetens also play an important part in the expellee youth organization, the DJO. A Bavarian Sudeten, Ossi Boese, the DJO national chairman, is as well the chairman of the Sudeten German youth group, a member of the Executive Committee of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft and of the Sudeten German Council. In Munich the Adalbert Stifter Society is a Sudeten-sponsored cultural organization. 15/

Several factions with varying political complexions and aims exist within the Sudeten group. Of these the most influential, in that its aims correspond generally with the majority of Landsmannschaft members, is the Witiko Bund. Small in numbers--it has an estimated 400 members--it nevertheless includes some of the most aggressive and energetic personalities in the Landsmannschaft. Leader of the Bund is Frank Seiboth, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Landsmannschaft. Federal Minister of Transport Hans Cristoph Seebohm is also reputedly a member, as are Dr. Walter Becher, *** Secretary General of the Sudeten German Council, and Dr. Herbert Tusch, personal aide of Seebohm and a functionary of the Deutsche Partei (DP) in Bavaria. 16/

Said to be a continuation of an earlier group of the same name which was organized in Bohemia in 1901 by a group of German-speaking intellectuals to defend German interests, the Witiko Bund was revived in Germany after the post-war expulsion. It is composed of right wing elements who describe themselves as national though not nationalistic, i.e. aggressive in defense of Sudeten

* See Appendix A: "List of Expellee Organizations and Institutions in Munich."

** See Biographic Appendix.

*** See Biographic Appendix.

SECRET

SECRET

interests but tolerant of the rights of other national or ethnic groups. Nominally non-political, the Bund aims to propagandize Sudeten objectives quietly and among small groups by placing its members in leading organizations and offices in German life. Among political parties it is closest to the BHE and the Free Democratic Party (Freie Demokratische Partei - FDP), although some of its more radical elements incline to the rightist fringe parties. 17/

According to a report dated 1 June 1954, a small section of extreme nationalists were cooperating at that time in certain Communist propaganda objectives. The Deutsche National Zeitung, a weekly newspaper published in Munich and reported to be subsidized by Communist sources in the Soviet Zone, had several members of the Witiko Bund associated with it and, in connection with the 1954 Sudetendeutsche Tag, published a special edition devoted entirely to the Sudetens. Sudetens were urged to repudiate the policy of Dr. Lodgman, which called for a federation of the Danubian basin areas, and to work for a neutral and unified Germany. Despite the large sale of the special edition (40,000 copies), it does not appear that the paper has much following or influence among the Sudetens generally or the Witiko Bund in particular. The majority of the Witiko Bund members follow a policy of identification with the West. They see the solution of the Sudeten problem in the incorporation of the Sudetenland into a unified Germany. 18/

The second faction within the Landsmannschaft is the Seliger Gemeinde, a group of Social Democrats who wish to work out expellee problems within the framework of Social Democratic domestic and foreign policies. Since approximately 30 per cent of the Sudetens are Social Democrats, they appear to have a solid base for influencing the party. The results of the recent national elections, however, suggest that the Gemeinde has not enjoyed much success in its efforts. The poor performance of the Social Democratic Party (Social-Demokratische Partei - SPD) in Bavaria, particularly in the border areas adjacent to the Iron Curtain, is thought to be due to the unpopularity of the SPD position on foreign and defense policies. Wenzel Jaksch, Sudeten-German SPD Bundestag member from Hesse and a co-chairman of the Seliger Gemeinde, decried SPD "bungling" in a recent article on the elections in the SPD-Sudeten publication Die Bruecke. Leading figure in the Gemeinde in Bavaria is SPD Bundestag deputy Richard Reitzner, one of three co-chairmen. 19/

The third grouping among the Sudetens is the Ackermann Gemeinde. Named after the Ackermann aus Boehmen (The Plowman from Bohemia, a 14th century discourse on life and death), it grew out of a nucleus of members of the pre-war Catholic students' and workers' associations in the Sudeten areas. Its membership, which includes Catholic clergymen and laymen active in religious affairs, amounts to about one per cent of the Sudeten group. However its close association with the Catholic Church, from which it receives financial support, and its good political connections give it a more consequential position than its numbers suggest. The Ackermann Gemeinde's basic goal is to teach its members to lead a life consonant with religious ideals and to maintain the cultural traditions of their homeland. 20/

Politically it is close to the CDU/CSU and supports Adenauer's policy of integration with the West. For east-central Europe it advocates a form of federalized structure in which the Sudeten areas would have an autonomous status. Its conservative and Catholic orientation attracted the monarchist element among the Sudetens and, according to a report dated 1 June 1954, it had close ties with Otto von Hapsburg who had recently moved near

SECRET

SECRET

Munich. The leaders of the Ackermann association were then stated to be Hans Schuetz, CSU Bundestag deputy, Pater Sladek, a Jesuit priest, and Emil Franzl, a Catholic convert and former Marxist theoretician. 21/

The three factions among the Sudetens do not differ on long term Sudeten aims which are: recognition of the Sudetens' right to return to their homeland, their right to compensation for losses suffered during their forced expulsion from Czechoslovakia, and their right to equality of treatment with other peoples in the area of Czechoslovakia on the basis of self-determination. They disagree on immediate goals and on the methods by which both long and short term aims can be accomplished. Lodgman, although he is in accord with the general program for the Sudeten future, has had frequent differences of opinion with each of the three groupings, particularly the Witiko Bund, whose tendency toward radicalism he reportedly deploras. 22/

Several recent developments have diminished Lodgman's influence and position within the expellee group. An internal reorganization, carried out in 1954, relieved him of the administrative work of the Landsmannschaft. Lodgman declined reelection as Landesobmann of the Bavarian branch of the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft in favor of his follower, Rudolf Gertler, in order to devote himself to policy-making. 23/

During the same year the local organizations of the Landsmannschaft elected a legislative body, the Federal Assembly, and an executive organ, the 14-member Federal Council. Dr. Lodgman was unanimously elected Speaker (Sprecher). However his candidate for chairman of the Council was defeated by Frank Seiboth, a rival for Sudeten leadership. Dr. Seebohm became President of the Assembly. The new alignment, while testifying to Lodgman's personal prestige, appeared to contain more members of the opposition than Lodgman supporters and represented a successful revolt against his authority. 24/

In the field of foreign policy the Working Committee for the Protection of Sudeten German Interests (Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Wahrung Sudetendeutscher Interessen) was reorganized. This group, formed in 1947, concerned itself with the conduct of Sudeten affairs in international politics and in relation to other national groups. It drew up memoranda for the United Nations, collected documentary material on the expulsion and negotiated the agreement with the right wing exile Czech group headed by Gen. Lev Prchala on the return of the Sudetens to their homeland.* In April 1955, it was reorganized as the Sudeten German Council (Sudetendeutscher Rat) with 28 members including a presidium of four chairmen. The four chairmen who officiate in rotation for a period of six months each are: Dr. Rudolf Lodgman, Richard Reitzner, Hans Schuetz, and Dr. Johannes Strosche,** a member of the BHE. Dr. Walter Becher, chairman of the BHE Landtag faction and former secretary of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft, is Secretary General of the Council. 25/

* The agreement between the Czechoslovak National Committee headed by Prchala and the Working Committee under the leadership of Lodgman was signed in August 1950. Its terms provided for the Sudeten right to return to Czechoslovakia without defining the future boundary of that country and granted restitution of damages suffered by both Czechs and Germans either as exiles or refugees.

**See Biographic Appendix.

SECRET

The establishment of the Council was due at least in part to a desire on the part of some of the Sudeten factions to widen the base of authority for conducting foreign relations rather than leaving it exclusively in the hands of Dr. Lodgman. Although Dr. Lodgman has retained a position of authority on the Council's presidium, he shares it with Reitzner and Schuetz, both of whom represent distinct factions within the expellee group and political parties with whose policies Lodgman is not always in sympathy. Furthermore, Lodgman's physical frailty--he has recently had to forego his turn as chairman--has decreased his activity and influence. 26/

One of the principal issues of controversy between Lodgman and other Sudeten leaders is the group of young men who surround Lodgman and staff his office. Some of these, it is felt, shelter behind the Sprecher's office and prestige while attempting to manipulate Sudeten policy in the direction they desire. The principal target for criticism is Lodgman's personal assistant, Dr. Rudolf Hilf.

Dr. Hilf has been intimately involved in the Czech language broadcasts from Radio Madrid. These programs were initiated in December 1955 under the joint sponsorship of the Czech-Sudeten German Federal Committee* and the European Documentation and Information Center (EDIC), a monarchist organization controlled by Otto von Hapsburg. Although the Sudeten group had long agitated for broadcasts urging Czech-Sudeten understanding and a new approach to the problems of Central Europe, and had complained bitterly that their position was not properly represented by Radio Free Europe (RFE) and other Western radio stations, the Madrid programs have been a source of friction between various Sudeten expellee groups. 27/

The Socialist and BHE-oriented segments accuse Lodgman of trying to bypass the Sudeten-German Council on a matter of foreign policy. They feel, in addition, that the scripts, which are reportedly written by Hilf and Locher, are of such low quality that they will not provide effective propaganda and will be easy for the Czech regime to ridicule and refute. Further aspects which arouse distrust among many Socialist Sudetens include the connection between EDIC and the Abendlaendische Akademie, an extreme rightist organization active in Bavaria since 1951, and the employment for the broadcasts of Dr. Bohdan Chudoba, who had been accused of anti-semitic activities under the Nazis and of Communist collaboration in the early post-war period. Among the expellee adherents of the BHE, the feeling that the programs would confuse the issue of the fight against Communism was expressed. 28/

The most persistent critic of Dr. Hilf and other young men in the Kanzlei of the Sprecher, is Erich Maier, member of the Witiko Bund and publisher of a number of expellee publications including the newspaper, Der Sudetendeutsche, Der Vertriebenen Anzeiger, a weekly newspaper for expellees in general, and two weekly newsletters, Mitteilungen und Informations Dienst (MID), covering events of interest to expellees, and Mid-Ost, devoted to developments within the satellite countries. Maier has not attacked Lodgman directly but has criticized his staff on several issues including the Madrid broadcasts, the forged "Spellman"

* This body, formed in about 1951 to foster Sudeten-Czech relations, consists of Lodgman, Reitzner and Schuetz for the Sudetens and Prchala, Locher, and Kervicer of the London Czech group.

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SECRET

letters,* and the continuous disregard for the Sudetendeutsche Rat as a policy-making organization. Dr. Hilf has been defended in the columns of the Sudetendeutsche Zeitung** with the result that the differences between the Sudeten factions have developed into a well-publicized and running controversy. 29/

It seems probable that with Lodgman's increasing disability or death the struggle for leadership among the Sudetens will continue and be intensified. Since none of the other Sudeten leaders command the respect or popular support that Lodgman does, the chances of unifying opinion among the various groups are small. Should the partisans of the Sudetendeutsche Rat win a greater degree of influence within the movement, it is possible that the Sudetens could develop relations with other more flexible and conciliatory Czech exile groups instead of limiting their contacts to the adherents of General Prchala. However, in view of the hostility which the Sudeten expellees have demonstrated toward RFE and the Czechs involved in its broadcasts to Czechoslovakia,*** one of the few subjects upon which Sudetens of all shades of political opinion seem to agree, such a development does not appear probable in the near future. Some observers have suggested that the Madrid broadcasts, by giving the Sudetens an opportunity to voice their own problems and opinions, may reduce the friction between them and RFE.

Even if the Sudetens succeed in reaching a position of amity among themselves and in extending their relations beyond the extreme right wing of exile Czechs, they do not appear to have any considerable potential as a political influence in Germany under present circumstances. The moderate tone of their recent public pronouncements, the tendency for expellees to align themselves with one of the established West German political parties rather than the special interest BHE party, and the increasing degree of economic integration achieved by the expellees in West Germany all indicate that, at least as long as the present stability of West German political and economic life is maintained, the Sudeten problem is progressively less significant.

* A series of forged letters, allegedly written by Cardinal Spellman, expressing support of Lodgman. The letters were made public and hailed by Dr. Hilf as being of great political significance.

** Munich daily newspaper devoted to Sudeten interests. It was reported in 1955 to be under the joint ownership of the firm Eides GmbH. (75 per cent control) and Dr. Lodgman (25 per cent control). Dr. Hilf is said to be influential in the formation of the paper's editorial policy. 30/

*** RFE frequently has been attacked by the Sudetens as anti-German. Wenzel Gaksch, CSU deputy to the Bavarian Landtag, presented a bill of complaints to the Landtag in August 1955 in which he charged that the station's activities hindered German-Czech understanding by tacitly approving the expropriation of German property and by slandering General Prchala. More recently RFE was sharply criticized by the Sudetendeutsche Zeitung for its role in the Hungarian crisis. A leading article published in February 1957 demanded that the Federal government make representations in Washington to influence a change in the RFE's expellee policies. 31/

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C. The Silesian German Expellees

Silesian Germans make up the largest expellee group in West Germany (2,053,300) of which approximately one-fifth (461,100) are located in Bavaria. They are organized on the Federal level in two Landsmannschaften--the Silesian with headquarters in Bonn, and the Upper Silesian with headquarters in Frankfurt. 32/ The Silesian Landsmannschaft is represented in Bavaria by a local branch (Landesverband) with an estimated 50,000 members. Landesverband officials (as of 1955) were: Herbert Hupka,* 1st Chairman; Franz Zdralek, 1st deputy Chairman; Karl Klammt, 2nd deputy Chairman. Of these, Hupka, who is also deputy chairman of the Federal organization is reported to be sympathetic to the aims of the SPD and Zdralek is an SPD Landtag deputy from Nuremberg; Klammt is a member of the BHE. The election of these officials appears to indicate a growing influence on the part of SPD or SPD-oriented members in the Landsmannschaft and a further decline in the conservative elements, never very strong at any time. The CSU/CDU has not attracted much support among the Silesians although it should be noted that Dr. Walter Rinke, honorary chairman of the Federal Landsmannschaft and probably the most influential personality in the organization, is a CDU/CSU Bundestag deputy. 33/

The Upper Silesian Landsmannschaft is a small organization of expellees who wish to preserve the traditional distinction between Upper and Lower Silesia. It has several branches, possibly one in Bavaria. Other Silesian organizations include The Friends of the Eichendorf Guild (Freunde der Eichendorfgilde), a cultural association located in Munich. The Silesians have cooperated with the Sudeten and other expellees in the VdL and the BvD and maintain a youth group which is a member of the expellee youth group, the DJO. 34/

The Silesian expellees have as their long time aim the return to the homeland. Cognizant however of the practical difficulties which the realization of this aim entails, they have been moderate in their demands for support and appear to enjoy good relations with the Federal government. They have on the whole supported Adenauer's foreign policy although some expellees, notably the Bavarian group, are unenthusiastic about German rearmament, believing that it will further postpone reunification and the settlement of their claims. 35/

The Silesian expellees have attempted to make contact with Polish exile groups in order to work out a solution for the central European problem for the future. These attempts, however, have foundered on the Oder-Neisse question, since neither group is willing to make concessions as to where the final Polish-German boundary should be. 36/

Although Herbert Hupka, at the 1955 meeting of the Bavarian branch of the Silesian Landsmannschaft, cited statistics which he claimed indicated that the organization was growing and that the number of local branches in Bavaria was increasing, it seems improbable that there has been in fact a real increase in interest among the expellees. The membership of the Landsmannschaft appears rather to be declining and the Silesians, as is the case with other expellee groups, are more inclined to look to the political parties for advancement of their aims. 37/

* See Biographic Appendix.

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D. Conclusions

The expellees constitute a substantial section of the Bavarian population. They are represented by able and vigorous leaders who take an active part in both Federal and Land politics. Expellee organizations maintain a unity of national and cultural traditions among the various groups and keep alive their claims to return to the homeland. However, in spite of these factors making for separatism, the expellees appear to be increasingly integrated into the political, economic and social life of the community and less significant as a separate group capable of influencing German policy into extremist courses.

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III. EMIGRES

The following information on emigre groups, centered in Bavaria or with members and affiliations in Bavaria, is drawn from available State Department and Agency material. It should be noted that much of this information is now out of date; source material in general dates from 1954-1955 although some is even earlier.

A. Roof Organizations1. Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations
(Anti-Bolschewistischer Bloc der Nationen - ABN)

Headquarters: Zeppelinstrasse 67/0, Munich 8

Executive Committee:
(1954)

Presidium of the Executive Committee

President: Jaroslav Stetzko, Ukrainian
 Vice Presidents: Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, Hungarian
 Christo Stateff, Bulgarian
 Secretary General: Prince Niko Nakaschidse, Georgian

Presidium of the People's Council

President: Dr. F. Durcansky, Slovakian
 Vice Presidents: Dr. Ostrowski, White-Ruthenian
 Lev. Prchala, Czech
 Secretary General: J. Gytis, Lithuanian

Arbitrary Committee

Chairman: Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff, Bulgarian
 Members: Dr. Wilhelm von Szepesvaraljay-Haendl, Hungarian
 Peteris Biezais, Latvian
 Dr. Kukulja, Croatian
 Mgr. Jaroslau Bencal, Ukrainian

Financing: Donations from members and followers. The major part of the budget is raised by the groups of Ukrainian emigration which sympathize with ABN. Other contributors are: Ukrainian Congress Committee, Congress of the Ukrainians in Canada, Friends of the ABN in America, and the Scottish League for European Liberty.

SECRET

- Aims:** To coordinate national liberation movements aimed at fighting Communism and Russian imperialism and to restore independent national states within the ethnic frontiers of the peoples in Eastern Europe.
- Member Organizations:**
- a. Bulgarian National Front
(Dr. D. Waltscheff, Kirill Ewdokimoff)
 - b. Estonian Liberation Movement
(Dr. O. Loorits)

Estonian Organization VEKO
(Otto Kiesel)
 - c. Georgian National Organization
(Michael Alschibaja, Prince N. Nakaschidse, Dr. Georg Kordsachia)
 - d. Cossack National Liberation Movement
(N. Moltschanov)
 - e. Croatian National Liberation Movement
(Hinko Alabanda, M. Beljan)
 - f. Latvian Farmers' Union
(V. Hazners, Peteris Biezais)
 - g. Lithuanian Regeneration Movement
(J. Gytis)
 - h. Slovakian Liberation Committee
(Dr. Durcansky, Dr. Otibor Pokorny)
 - i. Czech Movement for Liberty (Za Svobodu)
(Jaroslav Myslivec)
 - j. National Turkestan Unity Committee
(Veli Kayum-Khan, Dr. Baymirza Hayit)
 - k. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists
(Bandera wing) (Jaroslav Stetzko,
Jaroslav Bencal, Dr. Wasyl Stronickj)
 - l. Hungarian Liberty Movement
(Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarmak,
Dr. W. von Szepesvaraljay)
 - m. White-Ruthenian Central Committee
(R. Ostrowski, Polikarp Mankov)
 - n. National Committee for Free Albania
(Hussein M. Matrova)
 - o. Committee for Free Armenia
- Characteristics:** Politically right wing, dominated by Ukrainians. Progressively less influential as emigre coordinating center.
- Publications:** ABN Correspondence - published monthly in English, French and German editions. Editor: Slawa Stetzko.
ABN Hiraldo (Hungarian section).

SECRET

2. Democratic Exile Union
(Demokratische Exil-Union - DEU) 39/

Headquarters: Reulandstrasse 25, Munich 25

Organized: 1954

Executive Committee (1955):
Matus Cernak*
Ion Gheorghe
Vasil GlaskovSecretary
General: V. PekelskyOrganizing
Committee:
Dr. Stefan Buc, Croatian
Mr. Schamia, Croatian
Gen. Gustav Hennyey, Hungarian
Eng. Glasgov, Cossack
Mr. Gakachvili, Georgian
Mr. I. Popinceanu, Rumanian
Mr. Pekelsky, Czech
Mr. Lilaikis, LithuanianMember Organizations: **
Bylorussian National Center
Bulgarian National Committee (D. Penew)
Hungarian National Committee
Supreme Cossack Representation
(Cossack Supreme Council)
(W. Glaskov)
League of Free Rumanians
Croatian National Committee in Europe
(Stipe Buc)
Slovak National Council
(Matus Cernak)
Union of Democratic Groups and Parties
from Czechoslovakia
(V. Pekelsky)

Characteristics: Anti-Communist. Formed by dissident elements in ABN which split in December 1954 as the result of a revolt against the authority of the President, Dr. Stetzko. An attempt on the part of Pekelsky, Cernak and Gheorghe to find a broader platform for their political ambitions. Organization's activities are hampered by lack of funds and sponsorship.

* Died April 1955.

** Another list of member organizations, compiled at the same time (1954), gives the Latvian National Guard as a member and omits the Hungarian National Committee and League of Free Rumanians.

SECRET

B. Rumanians

1. Union of Rumanian Associations and Institutions in Germany
(Union of All Rumanian Associations and Institutions;
Federation of Rumanian Associations of Germany - UARG) 40/

Organized: 9-10 October 1954

Member Organi-
zations:

- a. Association of Rumanians of South Germany (Munich)
- b. Association of Rumanians of South-west Germany (Freiburg)
- c. Association of Rumanians of North-west Germany (Cologne)
- d. Association of Free Rumanians of Germany (Munich)
- e. Association of Orthodox Youth Abroad (Bonn)
- f. Association of Rumanians in Berlin (The Rumanian Colony of Berlin)
- g. The Rumanian Library (Freiburg)
- h. The Mihai Eminescu Library of Delmhorst (The Rumanian Library in Delmhorst)
- i. Association of Rumanian University Students*
- j. Association of Unitary University Students*
- k. General Association of Rumanian Students in Germany (Munich)*
- l. The N. Balcescu Association of Rumanian Students*

Officers:

President:	Gheorghe Racoveanu
1st Vice President:	Gheorghe Blotescu (Bordea)
2nd Vice President:	Valeriu Dobrescu
Secretary:	Gheorghe Acrivu
Treasurer:	Sorin Nicolae
Censors:	Mircea Crendovici Constantin Nagacerschi Vasile Barbulescu

* Items i and j appear as "founding members" on list compiled in 1954; k and l on list dated 1955. Whether they are identical organizations under different names or different groups is not known.

SECRET

Church Representatives: Father Emilian Vasiloschi (Orthodox)
 Father Ioan A. Tautu (Greek-Catholic)

Functional Sections:

- a. Culture and Education:
 Virgil Mihailescu
 Leonida Lututovici
 Gheorghe Carsteanu
- b. Social Assistance:
 Dr. Dumitr Parau
- c. Legal:
 Romolu Opris
- d. Economic:
 Gheorghe Branea
- e. External Relations: Vacant

Aims: At the time of founding, the organization's aims were social and cultural. It hoped to establish other "Unions" in other Western states and eventually to evolve an exile Rumanian government.

Characteristics: Member groups of the Union are mostly former adherents of the Iron Guard who have broken with Horia Sima. General Ion Gheorghe, leader of the Free Rumanian group, although not among the officers, is very influential within the organization.

2. Movement of Legionaries - Iron Guard
 (Legionaersbewegung - Eisene Garde) 41/

Established: January 1941

Headquarters: Munich

Membership: Unknown. Formerly the largest and most politically active of Rumanian emigre groups. In 1954 a more moderate faction led by Vasile Iasinschi, Ilie Garneata, and Constantin Papanace, split off and formed an independent organization (see below), leaving a small group of Horia Sima adherents behind. The Sima rump is said to wield less influence among the emigres as a result.

Characteristics: Anti-Communist; rightist.

SECRET

3. Old Legionaries - "Liberal" Group
(Alt-Legionaere) 41/

Established: 1954

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee (1955):
Ilie Garneata
Vasile Iasinschi
Constantin Papanace

Membership: Unknown. Represents dissident faction which seceded from Sima Iron Guard group. Includes the three regional associations of Munich, Cologne and Freiburg.

Characteristics: More liberal segment of Iron Guard. Garneata and Papanace are reported to have contributed to some extent to the formation of the UARG.

4. Association of Free Rumanians in Germany
(Vereinigung der freien Rumaenen) 43/

Headquarters: Munich

Directors:
(1955)
Gen. Ion Gheorghe
G. Balotescu
Ion Popiceanu
Dumitru Parau
Capt. Andrei Nicola
Stefan Marinescu
Anton Ishoda, engineer
Ovidiu Baldeanu

Membership: Ca. 120 members

Characteristics: Member of the League of Free Rumanians, Rumanian roof organization with headquarters outside of Germany headed by Gen. Nicolae Radescu and after his death by Mihai Farcasanu. Cooperates also with the Democratic Exile Union (Demokratische Exile Union - DEU), a roof organization for East European exile groups.

Publications: Patria, a monthly newspaper. In 1955 Gerhard von Mende, head of the German Office of Homeless Foreigners, was reported to be considering subsidizing it. He suggested a subsidy of 500 DM per month if Gen. Gheorghe's name were suppressed as editor. Ion Popinceanu and Ion Gheorghe, Jr., were suggested as possible editors for the German language section which von Mende thought should be added.

SECRET

5. Association of Rumanians of Southern Germany 44/

Headquarters: Munich

Directors:
(1955) Col. Dumitru Alexandrescu, former prisoner of war who went over to the Germans; Legionnaire sympathizer.

Victor Apostolescu, doctor; Legionnaire

Virgil Popa, lawyer

Laurian Talnariu, lawyer; Legionnaire

Gudi, lawyer

Characteristics: Member of UARG. Delegates who attended founding meeting of UARG in 1955 were: Victor Apostolescu, Gheorghe Branca, Scarlat Prescornitciu, Dumitru Alexandrescu, Constantin Braga.

6. The Rumanian Club

Headquarters: Munich

Directors:
(1955) Vasile Dumitrescu
Ion Jusko
Mircea Popa
Aurica Petrescu (or Popescu)
Dumitru Piturca, aviator
Herwath Scheiner
Georg Mergl

Characteristics: A dissident group which formerly belonged to the Association of Free Rumanians in Germany. It is a discussion group rather than a formal organization. The group belonged to the Rumanian Coordination Center, a roof organization formed in 1954-55 by Dumitrescu, but which shortly thereafter became inactive.

7. Association of Combatants and Veterans of War 46/

Organized: November 1954

Headquarters: Ismaningerstrasse 102/II, Munich

Directors:
(1955) Gen Platon Chirnoaga, Honorary President

Grigore Scorochirja, Lieutenant in SS, President

V. Dumitrescu, candidate reserve officer

Herwath Scheiner

Lt. Piturca, aviator

V. Comanescu

SECRET

Characteristics: Simaist inspired organization; members include very few former combatants. Some honorary members are chosen from among German aviators.

8. Rumanian Institute of Culture 47/

Headquarters: Hedwigstrasse 2/III, Munich

Executive Committee: (1954)

Director: Grigore Manoiilescu*

President: Monsignor Albert Buttner, Chief of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations of the Catholic Church at Bonn

1st Vice President: Constantin Sassu, Former Director of Government Archives in Brasov, Rumania

2nd Vice President: Prof. Walter Hoffmann, President of the Association of German Refugee Professors of the East

Members: Prof. Dr. Ernst Gamillscheg, former Director of the German Institute in Bucharest

Prof. Fritz Valjavec, director of the Sudosteuroopa Gesellschaft of Munich and Professor of History

Dr. Florian Muller, Director of the Rumanian Catholic Mission in Germany

Dr. Karl Kurt Klein, former professor of the University of Iasi, the University of Cluj, and at present a professor at the University of Innsbruck

Dr. Virgil Velescu, former professor in Rumania

Aims:

- a. Scientific study and research on present conditions in Rumania. Information to be drawn from study of newspapers, periodicals, and books from Rumania and the Soviet Union.
- b. Preparation of scientific studies of the problems of reorganization which will be necessary at the time of the liberation of Rumania.

* Information dated June 1955 states that Manoiilescu had emigrated to Spain. Velescu is said to be head of the Institute.

SECRET

- c. Preparation of studies intended to protect the interests of Rumania at the time of liberation.
- d. Establishment of close relations with leaders of other emigration groups to prepare for joint action at the time of liberation.
- e. Encouragement of literary and scientific activity among the Rumanian emigration by the publication of reviews and possibly books.

Characteristics: Closely connected with Horia Sima group of Iron Guardists. According to information dated June 1955, Institute is inactive,

C. Bulgarians1. Bulgarian National Committee "Free and Independent Bulgaria" - Sub-Committee for Germany (BNC) 48/

Headquarters: Elisabethstrasse 4/11, Munich 13

Organized: 1948

Officials: Zvetko Peneff (Innsbruck, Austria)
(1953)

Georg Kiroff (Munich), President of the Sub-Committee, member of the left wing Bulgarian Social Democratic party.

Milorad Mladenoff (Munich), Secretary. Member of the left wing Bulgarian Peasant and Agrarian Party. Representative of the International Peasant Union in Germany. Accused by his political opponents of collaboration with the Communists.

Georg Noeff (Munich)

Members:

Georg Tschardaklieff, Importer
Ivan Donoff, gardener
Peter Petroff
Georg Georgieff, engineer
Doitschin Pereff, engineer
Georg Schischkoff, scientist
Assen Mandikoff
Michael Nebolieff, RFE
Mirko Saliski, businessman

Executive Committee: (1954)

Zvetko Peneff (Socialist)
Jordan Raitscheff (Agrarian)
Georgi Loeff
Doitschin Penew

Characteristics: Established as an attempt to bridge the Rightist and Leftist groups among Bulgarian exiles. Consists mainly of left-radical groups. One of the exile organizations through which the Free Europe Committee works. Activities in Bavaria are not extensive.

SECRET

- Publication: A paper, Free and Independent Bulgaria, appears irregularly.
2. Bulgarian National Front (BNF) 49/
- Headquarters: Munich-Allach, P. O. Box 4
- Organized: 1949
- Organizing Committee: Ilja Zlateroff
- Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff
- Dr. Ivan Detscheff, former leader of the organization of Bulgarian National Legions.
- Executive Board: (1954) Christo Stateff (Rome), president
- Dr. Detscheff (Toronto), manager
- Dr. Waltscheff (Rosenheim-Munich), press and propaganda
- Dr. Stefan Popoff (Madrid), foreign policy
- Characteristics: Created by an exile group opposed to BNC. Organization is pro-monarchy. Its character in Germany is largely determined by Dr. Waltscheff, an ambitious, experienced politician who has occasionally been critical of US policy.
- Publication: The paper, Nationales Bulgarian, appears irregularly.
3. Bulgarian Council of European Movement in Germany 50/
- Headquarters: Franz-Josefstrasse 32, Munich 13
- Organized: 1949
- Executive Board: (1953) Tosche Damianoff, President (RFE)
Michael Balsamoff, Vice President (VOA)
Todor Schekoff, Secretary (RFE)
Georg Tschardaklieff, Treasurer
- Members: Dr. Michael Nebelieff
Gentsche Genscheff
Dr. Matthias Jeikoff
Michael Mischaikow
Georg Noeff
- Control Commission: Dr. Dimiter Detscheff
Peter Petroff
Kiril Evdekimoff
- Characteristics: Originally established as a section of the Sub-Committee for Germany as an attempt to reconcile opposing emigre groups on the broad basis of the European Movement.

SECRET

4. German Representation of Movement of Professor Alexander Zankoff 51/

Leader: Georg Dideff
Isabellastrasse 25, Munich

5. Rodina e.V. 52/

Headquarters: Munich
Characteristics: Social and cultural organization

D. Yugoslavs1. Croatiansa. Croatian National Committee 53/
(Hrvatski Narodni Odbor)

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee: (1954) Ivo Brozovic
Dr. Branko Jelic
Dr. Stipe Buc

Members: Dr. Branko Benzon
Dr. Filip Lukas
Dr. Vinko Kriskovic
Monsignor Saric
Stjepan Horvat
Dr. Balic

Characteristics: Anti-Communist; favors a free and independent Croatia. Members are followers of Ante Pavelic.

Publication: Information Bulletin (irregular)

b. Croat Catholic Community 54/

Headquarters: Munich

Characteristics: Croat political organization, closely identified with the Ustascha.

c. Croatian Field Division 55/

Headquarters: Von-der-Tannstrasse 44, Augsburg

Chairman: Franz Deeg

Characteristics: Veterans organization

2. Serbsa. Serbian National League in Germany 56/
(Srpska Narodna Obrana)

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee: (1954) Momcilo Vukovic-Bircanin
Velimir Djurdjinovic

SECRET

- Membership: Unknown. Organization claims 16 city committees and 10 local groups in the Federal Republic.
- Characteristics: Pan-Slavic. Engages in cultural, social welfare and propaganda activities.
- b. Zbor Society 57/
- Headquarters: Munich
- Executive Committee: (1954) Jasa Ljotio
Branko Begovic
Radko Parezanin
- Membership: Estimated 200 members throughout Federal Republic.
- Characteristics: Anti-Communist, anti-Titoist, rightist. Advocates a Yugoslav state under Serbian hegemony.
- Publications: Iskra, monthly periodical.
Hrvatska Zora
- c. YMCA/YWCA for Yugoslavia
(Hriscanska Zajednica mlakih Ijudi/zena) 58/
- Headquarters: Munich (Praesidium)
Hanover (Secretary)
- Membership: 600 members and 20 local groups throughout the Federal Republic.
- Aims: Cultural and educational.
- d. Association of Veterans of the Royal Yugoslav Army
(Draza Mihailovic - Udruzenje Boraza Kraljevske Jugoslovensko Vojske) 59/
- Executive Committee: (1954) General Miodrag Damjanovic
Branan Civkovic
- Characteristics: Organization headquarters are in London. However, the fact that General Damjanovic lives in Germany and that it has probably the largest membership within the Serbian emigration make it important in Germany. Anti-Communist, anti-Titoist. Advocates Yugoslavia as a 3-peoples state with equality of rights for each. Carries out social welfare work among emigres in Germany.
- Publication: Periodical, Ravnoforski Borac

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SECRET

E. Czechoslovaks1. Czechsa. Association of the Czechoslovakian Political Refugees in Germany (Alliance of Czechoslovakian Refugees) 60/

Headquarters: Karlstrasse 42/11, Munich

Executive Committee: (1955)

Josef Nemecek (Agrarians)
Rudolf Ruzicka (Slovakian Democratic Party)

(1954)

Jar. Kusy (Catholic People's Party)
Miroslav Mikl (Slovakian Social Democratic Party)
Orest Cernek (Ruthenian)
B. Stolicka (National Socialist)
Kunicir (Catholic People's Party)
Dr. Miroslav Mestan (National Democrat)

Membership:

Estimated 2,200 according to own statements.

Characteristics:

Supports the policy of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. Reportedly has received funds occasionally from FEC through Free Europe Citizens Service. It was used in the anti-redefection campaign. Carries on social welfare activities and propaganda among the emigres.

Publications:

Hlas Exilu. Monthly, appearing in 3-4,000 copies. Distributed throughout Germany and Austria. Edited by Josef Nemecek, Karlstrasse 42, Munich, although most of the active editorial work is done by emigres with journalistic experience. Personnel difficulties within the staff reportedly have hampered regular production of the paper. Periodical carries emigre news, information on welfare and resettlement, and some comment on world affairs.b. Movement for Liberty - Prchala Group (Hnuti Za Svobodu) 61/

Seat:

London

Chairman:

Lev Prchala

Representative in Germany:

Milos Svoboda, Munich

Characteristics:

Acknowledges the right of Slovaks to an independent Slovakia and of the Sudeten Germans' right of self-determination and their claim on the homeland.

SECRET

SECRET

Publication: Tschechische Exil Presse Dienst (TEPD). Appears 3 times a month; mimeographed. Edited by Milos Svoboda, Barerstrasse 15, Munich, (see above) and follows the Prchala line. It is pro-Czech separatism and friendly toward the Slovak separatists and the various German expellee groups. Opposed to the existence of a Czechoslovak state, it is hostile to the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, RFE, and the Free Europe Committee. Serves chiefly as a news service for the German press, and its reports are reprinted frequently in the German expellee press.

c. Association of Czech Democratic Federalists
(Sdruzeni Ceskych Demokratickych Federalistu - SCDF) 62/

Headquarters: Dachauerstrasse 9, Munich 2

Executive Committee: (1954) Vladimir Pekelsky, Chairman
Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wiener
Prof. Dr. Josef Korejs
Bohumil Horak, Secretary General

Membership: 1,236 registered members; greater number of followers.

Characteristics: An off-shoot of Prchala's Czech National Committee. Advocates recognition of an independent Slovakia in an All-European Confederation. Acknowledges Sudeten Germans' claim to their homeland. Anti-Communist. Anti-Council of Free Czechoslovakia, RFE, and FEC.

Publication: Weekly periodical Bohemia. Estimates of circulation range from 2,500 to 5,000 copies. Edited by Frantisek Janik-Horak; owned and published by Vladimir Pekelsky. Supporting funds are thought to come from German sources.

2. Slovakians

a. Slovakian Liberation Committee
(Slovensky Oslobodzovaci Vybor - SOV) 63/

Headquarters: Munich-Waldperlach

Executive Committee: (1954) Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, Munich
Dr. S. Merciar, Buenos Aires

German Representation: (1954) Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman
Josef Kerak, Vice Chairman

Ludovit Pastucka (Postucha), Organization and Personnel

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Emil Pachnik, Finance
 Karol Wildner, Military
 Frantisek Babic, Information
 (1953) Ludovit Salka, Secretary
 Stefan Hovancik, Social
 Kristina Salkova, Cultural

Membership: About 520 registered members (out of an estimated 1,000 Slovakian emigres in Germany).

Characteristics: Led by Dr. Ferdinand Durcansky, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nazi puppet state of Slovakia, organization advocates an independent Slovakia. Four political parties are said to be represented in the organization: the National, Agrarian, Christian Social and Labor parties. Cooperates closely with the anti-Czech Sudeten German expellees. According to report SOV has also made efforts to cooperate with Procala's Czech National Committee and the Slovak National Council Abroad. SOV is also close to ABN. Dr. Ctibor Pokorny, Chairman of SOV in Germany, is Durcansky's representative in this organization. Affiliated with the Social Representation of Slovaks in Germany and the Association of Slovakian Students Abroad.

Publication: Slovak. Appears monthly; circulation unknown. Edited by F. Durcansky, Waldperlach/Munich, Leopoldstrasse 5. Strongly Slovak-separatist, anti-RFE, anti-FEC. Also opposed to more moderate separatists represented by Slovak National Council. Reportedly supported by German funds.

b. Slovakian National Council in Exile (German Section) 64/

Headquarters: Munich

Membership: Unknown; estimated to be about the same as the Slovakian Liberation Committee.

Characteristics: Anti-Communist; anti-Czechoslovak; anti-RFE. In favor of Slovakian separatism.

Publications: Svobodne Slovensko. Appears irregularly, approximately monthly. Circulation estimated at about 500. Paper originally founded by Matus Cernak about 1946. Since Cernak's death has been published by Prof. Dr. Vojtech Bucko, Prof. Dr. Heinrich Bartek and Kristof Greiner.

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Advocates Slovak separatism, although not as violently as Slovak.

Slowakische Korrespondenz, a German-language newsletter which draws most of its material from Svobodne Slovensko. Appears twice monthly. Edited by Kristof Greiner, Friedrichstrasse 21, Munich.

- c. Social Representation of Slovaks in Germany e.V. 65/
 Headquarters: Munich
 Chairman: Dr. Ct. Pokorny
 Characteristics: Social organization. Affiliated with Slovakian Liberation Committee.
- d. Slovak Social Committee e.V. 66/
 Headquarters: Munich
 Characteristics: Social organization.
- e. Association of Slovakian Students Abroad 67/
 Headquarters: Munich
 Characteristics: Affiliated with the Slovakian Liberation Committee.
- f. Independent Periodicals 68/
- (1) Ceske Slovo Appears monthly. Claimed circulation approximately 6,000 including 1,000 paid subscriptions. The paper, taking the name of one of the leading newspapers of Czechoslovakia, the organ of the Benes Czechoslovak National Socialist Party, has attempted to carry out the tradition of the Sunday non-political issue of the old Ceske Slovo. It is organized by a group of RFE editors, members of the National Socialist Party. It is pro-Council of Free Czechoslovakia, pro-RFE, and advocates the continuance of a Czechoslovak state after liberation. Chief editor is Josef Pejskar, Munich, Postfach 91.
- (2) Demokracie v. Exilu. Appears monthly in approximately 3,000 copies. Published by Jaroslav Kusy, Josefstrasse 32, Munich. Kusy, a news editor for the Czechoslovakian desk of RFE started the paper as the German voice of the Catholic Lidova Strana Party of which he is a member. Claims to support the publication from subscriptions and his own private funds, although some financial support is received occasionally from leaders of the Lidova Strana in the US and possibly from some of its prosperous members in Europe. The paper is pro-Catholic, pro-German, pro-RFE, and FEC.

SECRET

F. Hungarians1. Hungarian National Council
Hungarian National Committee 69/

Founded: 1948

Headquarters: New York
Munich (German section)

President: Bela Varga
(1954)

Chief Munich
Branch Office: Gusztav Hennyey
(1951)

Characteristics: Founded as an attempt to unify the many dissident elements of the emigration and to obtain the recognition and support of the West. Varga, the president, from 1946 to 1947, was president of the National Assembly in Hungary and last Speaker of the Hungarian Parliament, and the council is therefore regarded by some as the de facto if not de jure government-in-exile. Its leaders represent most of the trends of traditional Hungarian politics excluding Communists and Nazis and are experienced in Hungarian political, diplomatic, cultural or religious life. Protestant elements dominate the Council but Catholic and Jewish groups are also represented. Supported by Free Europe Committee. As of 1953 the Council was divided into a Right and a Left Bloc, the Left headed by Ferenc Nagy, Zoltan Pfeiffer and Karoly Peyer and the Right by Tibor Eckhardt. The Left appeared to predominate. The Council avoided close contact with the rightist military elements of the emigration, with the exception of Tibor Eckhardt who was a member of the MHBK. Currently efforts are in process to unify the various emigre factions, although without much hope of success. The Council's center of activity is in New York; little information concerning the activities or personnel of its Munich branch is available. Hennyey is a former career officer in the Hungarian Army. He was arrested by the Germans after the Szalasi coup. He has been very active in welfare work among Hungarian emigres. He has no known political affiliation.

2. League of Hungarian Veterans
Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans
Friendship Circle of Hungarian Veterans
(Magyar Harcosok Bajtarsi Kozossege - MHBK) 70/

Headquarters: Innsbruck
Munich (German section)

SECRET

SECRET

Membership: An estimated 1,000-4,000 members in West Germany, former members of the Hungarian armed forces. Small full-time working group appears mostly to be composed of young former officers.

Officials:

Chief:
(1956) Gen. Andras Zako

Executive
Committee:
(1951) Ervin Gevay, adjutant
Miklos Korponay, liaison*
Bela Benko, personnel
Lajos Nadas, registrar
Laszlo Hory, propaganda
Zahonyi, counter-intelligence
Attila Kovacs, intelligence**
Gyorgy Ujszaszy, finance
Bela Almay, representative (US)*
Bela Janik, representative (France)
Ferenc Koszorus, representative (US)*
Gyula Kovach, representative (Germany)
Bela Lengyel, representative (Germany)
Hugo Sonyi, representative (England)*
Istvan Tolgyessy, representative (US)
Jossef Vasvary, representative (Germany)

Aims: Stated aims of MHBK are: the maintenance of an anti-Communist underground, acquisition of intelligence concerning Soviet troops in Hungary and political and economic activities of the Hungarian regime, counter-intelligence against Communists among refugees, compilation and dissemination of information about Soviet violations of human rights.

Characteristics: MHBK is an outgrowth of World War II Hungarian resistance and intelligence organization (Kopjes Mozgalom) formed under German supervision. General Zako, then chief of G-2 of the Hungarian General Staff, was responsible for its creation. Leaders and members of the organization fled west before the advancing Soviet armies and surrendered to US forces in Germany and Austria. From 1945 until 1948 Generals Zako and Kisbarnaki-Farkas were interned by the US Army. During this period Zako contacted other military exiles and in 1949 the first manifesto of the MHBK was issued.

* Individual has left the organization or there is some doubt about his current membership. [redacted] (b)(1)

** Deceased. [redacted] (b)(3)

(b)(1)
(b)(3)

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Activities of the MHBK include welfare, search for prisoners of war, disseminating information to emigres and collecting information pertaining to Hungary and the emigration (including material losses), cooperation with social and cultural organizations and unpolitical emigre movements.

Zako has called his organization unpolitical, however its leadership appears to have a pronounced rightist or fascistic orientation. In the fundamental cleavage in the Hungarian emigration between the "moderate" and "rightist" elements, the MHBK is ranged against the Hungarian National Council, the principal organization of the more democratic elements. It is however more moderate than the extreme neo-Nazis among the emigration, who would prefer to have Gen. Farkas head of the organization.

Internal tension and the need for external financial and political support have been a constant threat to Zako's position. In the maneuvering among exile groups he appeared to have allied himself with Archduke Otto and Admiral Horthy and to have maintained his leadership of the organization. During the Hungarian uprising, he was reported to have said that the MHBK was making preparations for infiltrating from Austria into Hungary to fight with the Nationalists. He claimed promises of arms supplies from Italy and Spain.

Within the framework of the "Working Community of the German and Hungarian Soldiers" established between the MHBK and the German Veterans League, a number of former German generals were named as honorary members of the MHBK. They are: Gottfried Hansen, ex-Admiral, Presidium of the Deutscher Soldatenbund, Bavaria; Otto Stapf, ex-General (infantry), Presidium of the Deutscher Soldatenbund, Bavaria; Hans Friesner, ex-Colonel-General; Rudolf Konrad, ex-General (mountain infantry); Hans Kraner, ex-General (armor).

Publications: Hadak Utjan (The Martial Way), monthly magazine. Edited by Lajos Szilagyfi, Ohlmueellerstrasse 15/III Rgb., Munich 9.

Tajekoztato, a bulletin.

3. The Hungarian Liberty (Freedom) Movement
(Magyar Szabadsag Mozgalom - MSZM) 71/

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee: (1954)

Gen. Ferenc Farkas-Kisbarnak
Prof. Dr. W. von Szepesvaraljay-Haendl
Dr. Istvan Martonffy

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Membership: Estimated 400 in the Federal Republic.

Characteristics: Organized by Gen. Farkas at the same time as MHBK. Originally a joint platform existed between this organization and MHBK, however, increasing rivalry between them led to a complete rupture. Affiliated with the ABN and reportedly has contacts with French military circles, especially those sympathetic with De Gaulle. Its link with ABN has made it unpopular with some Hungarian exiles who dislike ABN's Slav leadership, its use of terroristic methods, and the fact that it appears to favor a dictatorship for the future.

Gen. Farkas, about 67 years old, commanded the Sixth Hungarian Army Corps on the Eastern Front during World War II. Later he was in charge of evacuation operations in which capacity he reached Germany and was interned by the Allies. He appears to be the Hungarian neo-Nazi candidate for leadership of the military elements of the emigration.

Publication: Abn Hirado - organ of MSzM and ABN's Hungarian section.

4. Hungarian Supreme Defense Council
(Magyar Legfelsobb Honvedelmi Tanacs) 72/

Headquarters: Munich - Regensburg

Executive Committee: Field Marshal Archduke Josef von Hapsburg
General Farkas
General Zako
Captain Ender Apostaghy

Characteristics: Established in 1954 as an effort to unite the military elements of the Hungarian emigration under the leadership of Archduke Josef in opposition to the Hungarian National Council and the military groups responsive to the leadership of Admiral Horthy.

5. Hungarian Student League 73/

Headquarters: Munich

President: Geza Soos*

* Probably identical with the Rev. Geza Soos, leader of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America and editor of Uj Magyar Ut (New Hungarian Way), formerly a rightist publication, now published in Washington and apparently supported by the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

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Characteristics: Non-sectarian youth organization based on Hungarian nationalist principles. Reportedly a rival of the Hungarian Catholic Student League for student allegiance.

6. Soli Deo Gloria 74/

Headquarters: Munich

President: Geza Soos*

Characteristics: Successor to the Calvinist student organization which had existed in Hungary. Its relations with the Hungarian Catholic Student League are reported to be strained because of religious differences.

7. Hungarian Cultural Society 75/

Headquarters: Munich

8. Hungarian Welfare Service 76/

Headquarters: Munich

9. Association of Hungarian Craftsmen, Businessmen, and Industrialists, e.V. 77/

Headquarters: Munich

Publication: Mitteilungen (Information Bulletin)

10. Other Hungarian Emigre Publications 78/

- a. Föld Es Nepe (The Soil and Its People) Monthly magazine of the Hungarian Christian Popular Movement, headed by Msgr. Kovi-Horvath.
- b. Harangzo (The Peal of Bells)
- c. Hungaria (Hungary) Predominantly conservative, rightist, and nationalist in opinion. Published weekly in Munich by Zoltan Makra. Described as most widely read emigre paper with a circulation of 10,000.
- d. Ifju Nemzedek (Young Generation) Youth magazine, appearing monthly. Edited by Gabor Horvath (1951).
- e. Jojjetek (Come) Published monthly by the Hungarian-Evangelical Reformed Church. Also reported as published in Innsbruck, editor: Andras Harsanyi (1953).

* Probably identical with the Rev. Geza Soos, leader of the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America and editor of Uj Magyar Ut (New Hungarian Way), formerly a rightist publication, now published in Washington and apparently supported by the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

SECRET

Mykhayle Veskebiynyk, Minister of Press
and Information

Mykola Khrobak, Minister without Portfolio

Alexander Yurchenko, Secretary

Characteristics: The legislative organ of the exile Ukrainian National Republic, the UN Rada, is regarded by many Ukrainians as the actual government in exile. When the Ukrainian National Republic was reactivated in 1948 in Western Germany it was recognized by practically all political exiles. In 1950 the Council was split by the decision of the organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Revolutionaries - Bandera group (OUNR) to quit the Council.

According to information dated 1955 the Council is made up of Left, Center and Right blocs. The Left bloc consists of four Socialist parties: the Ukrainian Social Democratic Worker's Party (Ukrainska Sotsial Demokratichna Robitnicnya Partia - USDRP); Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries (Ukrainska Partia Sotsialistiv Revolyntsioneriv - UPSR); Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party (Ukrainska Sotsialistichna - Radikalna - Parti - USRP); and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (Ukrainska Revolyntsiino Demokratichan Partia - URDP). After World War II, the first three, which had existed since 1917, united to form the Committee of Ukrainian Socialists (Ukrainski Sotsialistichni Obednannya - USO), a single party, also known as the Union of Ukrainian Socialists (SUS). The party follows Kautsky and Bebel rather than Marx. It holds six of the 36 seats in the UN Rada. The fourth party, the URDP, is an exile party founded in Neu Ulm in 1946. It represents the Eastern Ukrainian element of the emigration and attempts to preserve some aspects of the Soviet Union political, social, and economic structure and to reconcile them with the objectives of the established emigre parties. Suspicion has been reported that there was Communist influence in establishing the Party. The URDP split in 1947 into Right (Neu Ulm) group and the more socialist Left ("Vpered") or Regensburg group.

The Center bloc is composed of two parties: the Ukrainian National State Association (Ukrainski Natsionalno Derzhovni Sovuz - UNDS) and the United National Democratic Union (Ukrainska Natsionalno Demokratitschne Obednannya - UNDO). Both parties are small, but, because both contain experienced political leaders, are influential among the emigration. Leader of the UNDS in 1955

SECRET

was thought to be Mykolo Livitskiy, son of former UNR President Andrei Livitskiy and in 1954 Vice Chairman and Foreign Minister of the UN Rada. In 1950-52 the leaders of the UNDO were reported to be: Dr. Vasyl Mudry; Dr. Stepan Wytwytski, President of the UNR; Stanlo Kalba; Dr. Lubomyr Makarushka, member of the Presidium.

The Right bloc consists of the faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) headed by Andrei Melnyk (OUNM). Melnyk's group is further to the right than that of Bandera with whom he broke in 1940. Its followers stress private property, private agriculture, artisan manufacture and trade. OUNM is opposed to Russian emigre parties but participates with other Ukrainian parties in the UN Rada where it holds six seats. In an internal struggle, OUNM at the close of the Third Congress of the Council in 1954 refused to participate in the Executive Committee. The question was finally solved by making Osyp Boydunyk, of the OUNM, chairman of the Presidium of the National Council, a largely honorary figure.

In addition there are two peasant parties and a "Group of Constructive Forces," led by Prokupchuk. As of reports dated 1954, their position was not clear but they apparently belonged with the Center group. The largest, the Ukrainian Peasant Party, led by Prof. Volodymyr Dolenko, consisting mainly of young emigres from the Eastern Ukraine, appeared to be one of the strongest emigre parties.

Principal problem of the Rada is cooperation with Russian exile groups as proposed by the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism. This has been favored by some Council members (Livitskiy, Voskoviynyk, Dovgal) and opposed by others (OUNM and URDP) who fear that Ukrainian interests would be bypassed in favor of Russian claims. As of 1954, the Rada indicated that it was willing to participate in radio propaganda and in the Institute for the Study of Culture and History of the USSR provided it would not be bound by the political proposals of the American Liberation Committee.

Publications:

Ukrainski Visti (Ukrainian News), four-page bi-weekly with estimated circulation of 8,000 copies. Edited by A. Romashko (assistant editor, M. Voskoviynnk); published at Ludwigstrasse 10, Neu Ulm. Organ of the Neu-Ulm group of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party.

SECRET

Vpered (Forward), organ of the Left wing or Regensburg group of the URDP. Issued irregularly, appears approximately once a month. Editor is B. Livitskiy, assistant editor Ivan Maistrenko, Postschleissfach 22, Munich 25. Circulation is reported to be 3,000 copies.

2. Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Revolutionaries - Bandera (OUNR or OUNB) 80/

Headquarters: Zeppelinstrasse 67, Munich 8

Executive Committee: (1954) Stepan Bandera
Jaroslav Stetzko
Stepan Lankawskyj
Jaroslav Bencal

Characteristics: Group under the leadership of Stepan Bandera which split from the parent Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in about 1940. However both groups (OUNR and OUNM, led by Melnyk) advocate permanent revolution against Communist or foreign occupation of the Ukraine. Both are totalitarian in ideology. The OUNR considers itself the sole legitimate party. It desires collaboration with other anti-Communist national elements rather than with the Western powers as advocated by OUNM. Bandera and Stetzko founded the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in an attempt to contact and influence all Soviet emigres. In 1949 OUNR became a member of the National Council, but withdrew the following year.

Dissension within the OUNR developed as early as 1948. It involved not only members of OUNR but also members of the foreign representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation (ZP UHVR), a body established in about 1944 to unify and coordinate all Ukrainian liberation forces on a worldwide basis, who disapproved of Bandera's assumption of absolute power (at the time UHVR was founded, OUNR was announced as its political arm). The controversy grew until in 1954 a definite schism between Bandera and the ZP UHVR (Rebet-Matla group) divided the emigration.

OUNR, at least in Munich, appears to control the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA), an organization of military exiles who engaged in partisan activity against the Germans and Russians during World War II.

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Publications: Dozbroi (To Arms). Appears irregularly, approximately once every two or three months. Founded in 1947 as a military-political journal devoted to military questions and the activities of the UPA in the Ukraine. Edited by Bohdan Krynitskiy, Postfach 4, Munich 38.

Surma (Trumpet). Monthly party organ of OUNR, intended for internal distribution only. Publishes mainly political polemics.

Shlyak Peremohy (Way to Victory). Edited by Jaroslaw Bencal.

3. Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation (UHVR) 81/

Headquarters: Karlsplatz 8/III, Munich 2

Executive Committee: (1954) Dr. Hrynioch
Volodymyr Stachiv
Dr. Rebet
Daria Rebet
Dr. Lubomyr Ortynskiy

Characteristics: Appears to have been founded in 1944 by leaders of UPA and OUN in the Ukraine as the supreme governing body in the Ukraine and Ukrainians in exile. It is in opposition to the Ukrainian National Republic and its National Council for this role. At its foundation, UPA was announced as its military arm and OUNR as the political organ. It has its own representation for foreign affairs (ZP UHVR) which has been engaged in a struggle for power with Bandera.

Publication: Suchasna Ukraina (Ukraine Today). A bi-weekly, edited by Volodymyr Stachiv. Paper has a claimed circulation of 1,000 copies, a considerable number of which are said to be distributed in the United States and Canada.

4. Ukrainian Veterans Association (UVA) 82/

Headquarters: Neu Ulm

Characteristics: Appears to be dominated by the older military exiles. Has a Central Executive Committee in Bavaria, a Central Executive Committee of European Union in Paris and branches throughout the world. Opposed to OUNR.

5. Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army 83/

Leaders: (1951) Chaplain Mikhail Levynez
Col. Pobihuschtschiy
Capt. Bohdan Pidayniy
Capt. Efrem Schypaylo

Publication: Visti (News)

SECRET

6. Ukrainian Free Cossacks 84/

Headquarters: Munich

Leaders: General Diomid Gulyai
(1951) Inspector I. Zapko

Characteristics: Theoretically independent, it is influenced somewhat by the exile Socialists. In 1951 became a participating member of the newly organized Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

7. Ukrainian Liberation Movement 85/

Founded: 1951

Leaders: General Diomid Gulyai
(1951) V. Zolotarenko, secretary

Characteristics: Anti-Communist pro-Russian organization. Coordinating center for six emigre organizations: Republican Cossack Movement, Ukrainian Free Cossacks, Ukrainian Democratic Party of Wuerttemberg, Association of Ukrainian Agrarians, Ukrainian People's Movement, Ukrainian Democratic Union, which were probably created in 1951 by Ukrainians who were already members of Russian emigre groups. Member organizations reported favorably inclined to cooperate with American Committee for Liberation. Because of pro-Russian attitude is in opposition to UN Rada and the OUNR.

Publications: Byuleten Ukrainskogo Vizvolnogo Rukhu
(Bulletin) Published in Munich.

Nova Ukrayna (New Ukraine). Published in Munich.

Ukrainski Demokrat (Ukrainian Democrat)

8. Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences 86/

Location: Augsburg

Founded: 1945

Characteristics: Founded by emigre intellectuals as center for Ukrainian scientists and students.

9. German-Ukrainian Herder Society 87/

Headquarters: Munich

Founded: 1954

Officers: Erwin Mittich, President
(1955) Ivan Mirtshuk, Deputy President
Dr. Hans Koch, Honorary President

SECRET

Characteristics: A cultural organization established to improve German-Ukrainian relations. Reported to have probably received support from the Federal Republic government through von Mende.

10. Other Ukrainian Emigre Publications 87/

- a. My Shche Povernemos (We Shall Yet Return)
- b. Tserkovnyya Vedomosti (Church Gazette), published in Munich-Bogenhausen by the Orthodox Church in Germany.
- c. Za Svobodnyu Rodinu (For the Freedom of the Motherland)

H. Emigres From USSR, Including the Caucasus and Central Asia1. Coordination Center for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia (Kordinazionny Tsentrosoboschedeniya narodov Rossii - KTSONR) 88/

Bloc of National Federalists; League for the Liberation of the Peoples of the Soviet Union (LVNSS)

Headquarters: Josephsplatz 6/III, Munich 13

Executive Committee: (1954) Prof. Sergej Melgunov, (Paris), Chairman
 Prof. Ivan Kurganov, (New York), Vice Chairman

Aims: Coordination of political emigration from the USSR in the anti-Bolshevist struggle.

Characteristics: KTSONR evolved from the Coordinating Center of the Anti-Bolshevik Struggle (KTsAB) which originated in Munich in 1952 and which later in 1953 split into two groups, KTsAB and the Paris Bloc (MAKTS). Founded in an effort to construct an instrumentality through which the American Committee for the Liberation for Bolshevism could work with emigre groups, KTsAB split as the result of the dissension over the treatment and future status of the minority groups within the USSR, and in 1953 ACLB terminated its financial support. In September 1954, the Coordinating Center changed its name to KTSONR (Coordinating Center for Liberation of the Peoples of Russia) emphasizing the pro-Russian character of the organization.

Member Organizations of
 KTSONR: (1955)

Azerbaijan National Union

Belorussian Democratic Union

Kalmyk Committee for the Struggle Against Bolshevism

SECRET

Crimean Tatar Anti-Bolshevik Union
 Committee of United Followers of Vlassov
 Union of Armenian Fighters for Freedom
 Union of Ukrainian Federalists and
 Democrats
 Russian National Movement
 North Caucasian Anti-Bolshevik National
 Union
 Union of Warriors of the Liberation
 Movement
 Tatar-Bashkir Committee
 Ukrainian Liberation Movement
 Central Union of Postwar Emigres

Subsequently the Azerbaijan National Union and the Armenian Fighters for Freedom withdrew. In September 1955, KTSONR was disbanded but at the same time its members, except the Union for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, the United Vlasovites and the Kalmyk Committee, met and reorganized as the Bloc of National Federalists. The new organization was reportedly founded by NTS initiative.

At approximately the same time the members of the Paris Bloc met in Munich and organized a new alignment, the League for the Liberation of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. The organizing conference was attended by representatives of emigres from Azerbaijan, Belorussia, Armenia, Georgia, Idel-Ural, North Caucasia, Turkestan and the Ukraine. A Georgian, N. K. Tsintsadze, was chosen as the League's program director.

2. National Representation of the Russian Emigration
 (Nazionalnoje predstavitelstwo rossiiskoi emigracii -
 NAZPRE) 89/

Headquarters: Prinzregentenplatz 14/III, Munich 8

Executive Committee: (1954) Feodor T. Lebedev, Chairman

Characteristics: Founded as opposition group to ZPRE (see below). Emphasis on social and cultural interests and legal aid. In 1950 reported to have 7,500 members. Now believed to be greatly reduced in numbers and activity.

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3. Central Representation of the Russian Emigration
(Zentralnoje predstavitelstwo russkoj emigracii - ZPRE) 90/
- Headquarters: Pienzenauerstrasse 30, Munich 27
- Executive Committee: (1954) Fabricius von Fabrice, Chairman
Arziuk*
Jonin*
Mossitschkin*
- Characteristics: Activities mainly social, cultural; issues so-called "national passports." Dominated by radical rightist elements. Reported to have branch offices in Stuttgart and Cologne.
4. Russian National Popular Movement (RONDD)
Russian Pan-National People's Movement; All-Russian People's State Movement
- Headquarters: Pienzenauerstrasse 30, Munich 27
- Executive Committee: (1954) Arziuk
Jonin
- Characteristics: Radical-rightist, anti-Semitic, Great Russian.
- Publication: Nabat (Alarm), monthly periodical.
5. Fighting League for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia
Union of the Struggle for the Freedom of Russia
(Sojus borby sa oswoboschdenije narodow Rossii - SBONR) 92/
- Headquarters: Munich
- Executive Committee: (1954) Michail Antonov
- Characteristics: Membership consists of World War II emigrants. Anti-Marxist. Advocates federal state for future.
- Publications: Golos Naroda (Voice of the People); appears irregularly.
Borby (Struggle)
Narodnaya Volya (People's Freedom)
6. Association of Fighters of the Liberation Movement
(Sojus wolnow oswoboditelnowo dwischenija - SWOD) 93/
- Headquarters: New York
Munich is center of activities.

* Reported also to compose the Executive Committee of the "Patriotic Front," a roof organization of Russian emigre groups, most of which are said to be fictitious. "Patriotic Front" characterized as anti-Semitic, neo-fascist, radical rightist.

SECRET

- Executive Committee: (1954) Feodor Aromov, Chairman of Munich group
- Characteristics: Small membership throughout world all of whom also are members of SBONR.
7. Committee of United Vassov Followers
(Komitet Obyedinennykh Vlassovzhev - KOV) 94/
- Headquarters: Regerplatz 9, Munich
- Executive Committee: (1954) Turkul, Baron v. Wolff
- Characteristics: To some extent a continuation of the tradition of the "Whites" in Russian civil war. Membership also includes more recent emigration. Advocates federalist state. Has membership groups in the US.
- Publication: Dobrowolez (The Volunteer), monthly; reported to be distributed abroad also.
8. Central Association of Post-War Emigrants 95/
(Tsentralnoye Obyedineniye Posle-Voyennich Emigratov iz USSR - TSOPE)
- Headquarters: Gaiglstrasse 25, Munich
- Founded: November 1952
- Executive Committee: (1954) Grigorij Klimov
- Characteristics: Pro-Vlasovism, anti-Marxism. Reported to have good connections with West German government. Organizes demonstrations, propaganda and leaflet actions.
- Publication: Der Anti-Kommunist, German language magazine published in Munich and Berlin. Editor is Theodor Arnold. Editorial staff: Gisela Achminov, Gregory Danilow, Michail Dziuba, Igor Kronsas. Munich address: 25 Gaiglstrasse.
- Kolokol (The Bell)
9. National Labor Union of Solidarists (NTS) - Munich group 96/
National Working Association
- Headquarters: Frankfurt/Main; dissident group in Munich.
- Executive Committee: (1954) Poremsky
Okolovich
Artyemov
Baidalakov
- Characteristics: Great Russian. Aims to overthrow Bolshevism by means of a revolution from the inside. Engages in propaganda activities beyond the Iron Curtain including leaflet and balloon actions and radio. Dissident faction led

SECRET

by Baidalakov, Evstafy Mamukov, Evgey Posdeev, Girogy Kiverov, reported in 1955 to have established itself in Munich. Dissident group was estimated to be from 10 to 50 per cent of membership.

Publication: Za Rossiya published by RIA, All-Russian Information Agency, Munich, Destonsche-strasse 2, for the Munich faction of NTS. Should not be confused with publication of the same name published by parent Poremsky-Romanov NTS group in Frankfurt.

10. National Union of Russian Jurists
(Natsionalnoye Obyedinenie Russikikh Yuristov) 97/

Headquarters: Pienzenauerstrasse 30, Munich

Characteristics: Has same address as that of RONDD (see above). Probably exists only on paper.

11. Islam-Moslem Society for Social Welfare
Moslem Religious Society Islam
(Muselmanlarin Bati Avropad aki "Islam" Camiyeti) 98/

Headquarters: Munich

Founded: 1952

Officers:
(1955)

Chairman: Ibrahim Gashioglu, Caucasian

Vice Chair-
man: Salich Sabanovic, Albanian

Secretary: Sabiv Ischembet, Turkestanian

Advisory Coun-
cil: (1955)

Chromalic Hamid, Balkan
Achmet Magoma, Caucasian
Garip Sultan, Tartar-Bashkir
Aman Berdimurat, Turkestanian
Muraz Oroys, Caucasian
Derwisch Abdulhanin, Krim-Tartar

Characteristics: Social welfare activities for Moslem emigres from USSR and the Balkans.

12. National Turkestanian Unity Committee (NTUC) 99/

Headquarters: Duesseldorf; branch office in Munich.

Executive Com-
mittee:
(1953-54)

Veli Kayum Khan, President

Dr. Baymirza Hayit, organization and research

H. Teshabay, business

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SECRET

Munich Branch: Kurban Sonat, President
A. Halmatoglu
K. Egamkul
Rusican
Dekambay
Sattarali Babazada
Nasaroglu

Characteristics: Organization of extreme nationalists who advocate dismemberment of Soviet empire and complete independence of Turkestan. Probably consists of 300-400 active members. Strongest support comes from Uzbek and Tadzhik membership. Branches in Middle East and South Asia where Turkestan colonies exist. Kayum Khan chairman of the political department of ABN. Monthly magazine, Millij Turkestan, published in Duesseldorf in English, Turkish and Arabic, although some doubt that it is still appearing.

13. National Turkestan Liberation Committee - "Turkeli" 100/

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee: (1954) Karis Kanatsay

Characteristics: Small organization consisting of possibly several hundred members. Anti-Communist; will cooperate with other anti-Communist groups if principle of self-determination for Turkestan is accepted. Has relations with emigre groups in Pakistan and the United States. Cooperates with American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism and has several members employed at Radio Liberation and the Munich Institute. In 1953 organization split by ideological quarrel over cooperation with the Russians. Those opposed formed secessionist group (also called "Turkeli") led by Aman Berdimurat.

Publication: Turkeli (Turkish Homeland), monthly magazine, published in Munich in Turkish and Russian.

14. Byelorussian National Committee
Byelorussian National Center 101/

Headquarters: New York. Branch offices in West Germany.

Executive Committee: (1954) Mikola Abramczyk, Chief for Federal Republic
Dr. St. Stankiewicz, Munich

Characteristics: Advocates independence for Byelorussia; moderate attitude towards Russians. Oriented toward Catholic Church. Reported to be financed by Americans and the Vatican. Cooperates with Radio Liberation and the Munich Institute.

Publication: Backauscyna

SECRET

15. Byelorussian Central Council 102/

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee: (1954) Prof. Ostrowsky
Polikarp Mankov

Characteristics: Advocates independence for Byelorussia. Oriented toward Orthodox Church. Member of ABN.

Publication: Belorusskoye Slovo (The Byelorussian Word)

16. Supreme Cossack Representation 103/

Headquarters: Frauenstrasse 11, Munich

Executive Committee: (1954) Vassile Glaskov

Membership: Estimated 3,000 members throughout the world; several hundred in Federal Republic.

Characteristics: Advocates autonomy and separation from the USSR for the Cossack people. Member of DEU.

Publication: Kazakiy Vestnik (Cossack Messenger)

17. Cossack National Liberation Movement 104/

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Committee: (1954) N. Moltschanov

Characteristics: Right wing group. Member of ABN.

Publication: Kazakiya (Cossacks' Land)

18. Georgian Political and Cultural Union 105/

Headquarters: Munich

Organized: 1955

Leaders: (1955) Mikhail Tseretelli
Kalistrat Salia
Alexander Manvilishvili
David Vatchnadze
Mikhail Alshibaya
Nikolai Nakashidze
Grigol Robakidze
Vladimir Tshomelidze

Characteristics: Advocates Georgian independence. Dedicated to preserving and publicizing Georgian culture and history. Leaders in general are of rightist orientation.

SECRET

19. Georgian National Committee 106/

Headquarters: Munich

Executive Board: Mikhail Tseretelli
 (1951) Alexander Kordzaya
 David Vatchnadze
 Mosse Immaishvili
 Alexander Somaja (Tsomaia?)
 Nikolai Nakashidze
 Mikhail Alshibaya

Characteristics: Post World War II organization of some rightist elements including some which had participated in German sponsored National Committee organization of World War II. Branches were reported to exist in France and the United States but they do not appear to have been important. Advocates union of all Caucasian states in a federation allied with a Turkestani national state; opposes Russian imperialism.

20. Union of Georgians - Demetrashvili group 107/
Georgian Society

Headquarters: Munich

Leader: (1956) A. Demetrashvili

Characteristics: Anti-Marxist. Opposed to Georgian National Committee.

Publication: Vera Nadezhda i Lyubov (Faith, Hope and Love)

21. Azerbaijani Committee of National Union
Azerbaijan National Committee
(Azerbaidzhan Milli Birlick Meglisi) 108/

Headquarters: Munich

Organized: 1948

Characteristics: Founded by group led by Fatalibeyli, Ismail Akber, Muraz Oroys and Mecit Musazade as part of the effort to organize new emigration under the sponsorship of Gerhard von Mende and reportedly certain British interests. Quarrels among leadership disrupted group; reported still in existence in 1954 but status unknown.

22. Azerbaijani National Union 109/

Headquarters: Munich

Leader: (1956) Col. Mohammed M. Sadyk

Characteristics: Splinter group; joined KTsAB, but withdrew in 1955 on grounds KTsAB accepted Marxist elements and groups having pre-determinist and separatist policy. Advocates "federalist" concept. Too pro-Russian to attract many of emigration.

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SECRET

23. North Caucasian National Committee 110/
- Headquarters: Munich
- Leaders: Achmed Nabi Magoma
(1956) Alikhan Kantemir
- Characteristics: Grew out of German sponsored National Committee of World War II and pre-War federalist movement. Affiliated with North Caucasian National Center in Istanbul. Has representatives with North Caucasian emigre groups throughout the world. Immediately after World War II was a member of ABN, but withdrew in 1953 as a protest against autocratic policies of Stetzko. Magoma was leading figure in formation of Caucasian National Committee (Committee for Caucasian Independence), a rightist Caucasian bloc in which North Caucasians played dominant role. Magoma and Kantemir represented the North Caucasians at conference in Munich at which LVNSS was organized.
24. North Caucasian National Union
(Severnoye Kavkazskoye Natsional'noye Obedineniye - SKANO) 111/
- Headquarters: Munich
- Leader: (1956) Abdurakhman Avtorkhanov-Kunta
- Characteristics: North Caucasian center bloc of emigres. Member of KTsAB from which it broke in 1953 in dispute over independence of minority nationalities. Joined Paris Bloc. Organization split in 1953. Dissident group, led by Sefedin Omar, organized North Caucasian Anti-Bolshevik National Union which joined KTsAB. Leader of dissident group in 1954 was Kubatiev (see below).
- Publication: Svobodny Kavkaz (Free Caucasus), published in Munich by North Caucasian Anti-Bolshevik National Union.
25. Caucasian Populist Movement
(Kavkazskoye Narodnoye Dvizheniye - KND) 112/
- Headquarters: Munich
- Executive Committee: (1951) Lazar Bicherakov, Chairman
Sizhazkev, Vice Chairman
Kubatiev, Secretary General
A. Gaidar
I. Shakhi
M. Khuako
M. Konov
M. Tozat
O. Makoyev
Korbut

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Characteristics: No recent information on this organization. It appears probable that it has dissolved.

Publications: Kavakszski Narodnik (Caucasian Populace), issued irregularly in Munich.

26. Other Emigre Publications 113/

- a. Literaturniy Sovremennik, published in Munich by the Fund for Intellectual Freedom.
- b. Russakay Ideya (Russian Idea)
- c. Svoboda (Freedom), published in Munich by the Post-War Defectors from the Soviet Union.
- d. Volya (Freedom), published in Munich by the Union of Former Political Prisoners from the USSR.
- e. Milli Balrak (National Flag), published in Munich by the Turkestan Council of National Unity Idel-Ural.
- f. Milli Hurriyet (National Freedom), printed in Munich in Turkish by the Free Caucasus press. Appears irregularly. Purpose to combat the Soviet re-defection campaign. Describes itself as non-party, representing emigres from the Caucasus, Turkestan, and Tartary.

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APPENDIX A

List of Expellee Organizations and Institutions in Munich 1/A. Home Associations (Landsmannschaften)

1. Home Association Weichsel-Warthe Federal Union
(Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus dem Weichsel - und Wartheland)

Speaker: Prof. Dr. Hans Koch, Munich

(Former Speakers: Georg Kowala, Dr. Johannes Scholz)

Administrative Officer: Horst Boltz

Publication: Stimmen aus dem Osten, information bulletin, Hamburg 13, Harvestehuderweg 26c
2. Sudeten German Home Association
(Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft)

Headquarters: Munich 2, Karlsplatz 11/II

Chairman: Frank Seiboth

Speaker: Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen (office of the speaker: Bonn, Poppelsdorfer Allee 15)

Administrative Officer: Dr. Paul Illing

Publication: Sudetendeutsche Zeitung
3. Home Association of Banat Swabians from Rumania in Germany
(Landsmannschaft der Banater Schwabien aus Rumänien in Deutschland)

Headquarters: Munich 15, Schmellerstrasse 16 (Gasthof "Alpenrose")

President: Anton Valentin

Speaker: Peter Ludwig, Augsburg 2, Burgermeister-Fischer Strasse 5

Administrative Chairman: Hans Diplich, Munich 15, Schubertstrasse 2

Administrative Officer: Fritz A. Hack

Publication: Suedost-Echo, Munich 22, Reitmorstrasse 31 (also the publication of the Bucovinian and Transylvanian Saxon Germans)

A-1

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4. Home Association of German Resettlers from Bucovina
(Landsmannschaft der deutschen Umsiedler aus der Bukowina
or Landsmannschaft der Buchenlanddeutschen)
- Headquarters: Munich 22, Himmelreichstrasse 3
- Founded: October 1949 in Munich. A similar organization exists in Graz, Austria.
- Chairman: Dipl. Ing. Jacob Jelinek (Dr. Hans Watzlawik)
- Speaker: Dr. Rudolf Wagner
- Administrative Officer: Dr. (fnu) Pawlick
- Publication: Suedost-Echo, Munich 22, Reitmorstrasse 31
(also the publication of the Transylvanian Saxon and Banat Swabian Germans)
5. Home Association of Transylvanian Saxons in Germany
(Landsmannschaft der Siebenbuerger Sachsen in Deutschland, e.V.)
- Headquarters: Munich 22, Himmelreichstrasse 3
- Chairman: Dr. Heinrich Zillich, Starnberg a. See/066.,
Fischhaberstrasse 15/II
- Speaker: Erwin Tittes, Munich 22, Reitmorstrasse 31/II
- Administrative Officer: Karl Schoenauer
- Publication: Suedost-Echo, Munich 22, Reitmorstrasse 31
(also the publication of the Bucovinian and Banat Swabian Germans)
6. Home Association of Germans from Hungary
(Landsmannschaft der Deutschen aus Ungarn)
- Headquarters: Munich 22, Himmelreichstrasse 3
- Chairman: Dr. Georg Bleyer
(Former Chairman: Dr. Ludwig Leber)
- Speaker: Heinrich Reitingen
- Administrative Officer: Franz Hergenroeder
- Publication: Suedost-Stimmen; Unsere Post, Stuttgart-S,
Neckarstrasse 222. The Hungarian Landsmannschaft also has a section in Suedost-Echo.
- B. Home Associations State Branches (Landsmannschaften)
1. Sudeten German Home Association (Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft) Landesverband (BAVARIA)
- Ex-Chairman: Dr. Rudolf Lodgman von Auen (also Speaker of Landsmannschaft)

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Chairman: Ex-Col. Rudolf Gertler (Deputy Chairman of Landsmannschaft; successor to Lodgman as Chairman of Landesverband)

Membership: More than 180,000; largest of the Landesverbaende.

2. Silesian Home Association (Landsmannschaft Schlesien) Landesverband (BAVARIA)

Chairman: Dr. Herbert Hupka

C. Scientific-Cultural Societies and Institutions of Expellees/Refugees

1. Central Committee of Refugees and Expellees (Hauptausschuss der Fluechtlinge und Ausgewiesene)

Headquarters: Munich, Ismaninger Strasse 109

2. Adalbert Stifter Society (Adalbert-Stifter Verein)

Headquarters: Munich 22, Ludwigstrasse 14

Chairman: Count (fnu) Kinsky

Administrative Officer: Dr. (fnu) von Herzogenberg (female)

3. Southeast German Cultural Center (Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk)

Headquarters: Munich 22, Ludwigstrasse 14

Chairman: Franz Hamm (Church President)

4. Cultural Association of Home-Expellees on Confessional Basis (Kulturelle Verbaende der Heimatvertriebenen auf konfessioneller Basis)

Headquarters: Munich 23, Beichstrasse I

Chairman: Hans Schuetz, member of Bundestag

Administrative Officer: (fnu) Kunzmann

5. Friends of the Eichendorf Guild (Freunde der Eichendorfgilde)

Headquarters: Munich 23, Beichstrasse I

Chairman: (fnu) Possel, Minister or Priest

Administrative Officer: Dr. (fnu) Jakiel, editor

6. Southeast German Catholic Study Group (Arbeitskreis Südostdeutscher Katholiken or Katholische Arbeitsstelle/Sued/fur Heimatsvertriebene)

Headquarters: Munich 23, Beichstrasse I

Chairman: Dr. Ludwig Leber, Stuttgart-N, Neckarstrasse 222

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D. Youth, Religious and Welfare Organizations

1. Center for Home-Expellee German Catholic Youth
(Aktion heimatvertriebener deutschen katholischer Jugend)

Headquarters: Munich 23, Beichstrasse I

Chairman of
Munich Branch: (fnu) Hackenberg, Frankfurt/Main, Unterweg 10

2. Catholic Center (South) for Home-Expellees
(Katholische Arbeitsstelle (Sud) fuer Heimatvertriebene)

Headquarters: Munich 15, Schubertstrasse 2

Director: Dr. Peter Sladek

3. Convent of Dispersed East Evangelical Churches
(Konvent der zerstreuten evang. Ostkirchen)

Headquarters: Hannover, Andreasestrasse 2A

Chairman: Franz Hamm, lay church president, Lengsdorf
bei Bonn, Im Ellig 3

Auxiliary Committees:

- a. for the Resettlers from Bucovina
(fuer die Umsiedler aus der Bukowina)

Headquarters: Munich, Himmelreichstrasse 3

Chairman: Edgar Mueller

- b. of the Transylvanian Saxons and Banat Swabians
(der Siebenbuerger Sachsen und Banater Schwaben)

Headquarters: Munich 22, Himmelreichstrasse 3

Chairman: Prof. Dr. Erich Roth

Administrative
Officer: Dr. (fnu) Alberti

- c. of the Evangelical Germans from Hungary
(des deutschen Evangelischen aus Ungarn)

Headquarters: Munich 22, Himmelreichstrasse 3

Chairman: P. Friedrich Spiegel-Schmidt, pastor

Administrative
Officer: Heinrich Reitingen

4. Church-Sponsored Missing Persons Center - Central Office for
the Local Records Section
(Kirchlicher Suchdienst-Zentralstelle der Heimatortskarteien)

Headquarters: Munich 15, Lessingstrasse I

Director: Dr. (fnu) Mueller

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5. Evangelical Welfare Board for Locating Internees and Prisoners of War (Evangelisches Hilfswerk fuer Internierte und Kriegsgefangene Erlangen)

Headquarters: Munich 22, Nymphenburgerstrasse 52

Director: Bishop D. Heckel

E. German Research Institutions Concerned With Refugee Questions

1. East Europe Institute at the University of Munich
(Osteuropa-Institut an der Universitaet Muenchen)

Director: Prof. Hans Koch

2. Southeast Institute (Institute for Cultural Research)
(Suedost-Institut (Institut fuer Kulturforschung))

Headquarters: Munich, Kaiser-Ludwig-Platz 1/II

1st Chairman: Min. Dir. (fnu) Meinzoll

Director: Prof. (fnu) Valjavec

3. European Research Group for Refugee Questions
(Europaische Forschungsgruppe fuer Fluechtlingsfragen)

Headquarters: Munich, Prinzregentenstrasse 5

General Secretary: Dr. M. Kornrumpf

4. Southeast German Culture and Research Center (Southeast German Cultural Work) (Verein Sudeostdeutsche Kultur - und Forschungsstelle e.V.) (Suedostdeutsches Kulturwerk)

Headquarters: Munich 15, Kaiser-Ludwig-Platz 1/II

Chairman: Franz Hamm

Director: Prof. Dr. (fnu) Valjavec

A-5

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APPENDIX B

Biographic Information on Selected Expellee
Leaders in West Germany1. BECHER, Dr. Walter

Dr. Walter Becher, a prominent member of the Sudeten-German group of refugees in the Federal Republic of Germany, was born on 1 October 1912, at Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia (then Austria-Hungary). Becher studied law and political science at the University of Vienna, and was an assistant at that University until 1935. He then became a journalist, editing a newspaper called Die Zeit in Drahowitz, a town near Karlsbad. A member of Konrad Henlein's pro-Nazi Sudeten-deutsche Partei, Becher was also a member of the Kameradschaftsbund, a quasi-Nazi organization of Sudeten-Germans who, however, disagreed with the principles of National-Socialism on technical grounds. During World War II Becher was a foreign correspondent in the Eastern sector of the German Occupied Territories. He served in the German Armed Forces during the latter part of the war.

According to the Berlin Document Center, Becher joined the Nazi Party of Germany on 12 December 1931, while in Vienna. He was expelled from the Party on 7 October 1932 because of "unknown whereabouts." Becher reapplied on 1 January 1939 and was given membership in the Party dating retroactively to 1 November 1938. On 20 March 1940 he was again expelled from the Party, this time for unknown reasons. His membership in the Kameradschaftsbund is believed to have been the cause for his second expulsion from the Party. The Berlin Document Center also lists Becher as a member of the Storm Troops (SA) and of the National-Socialist Association of Students. Becher has denied the above, notably in an article in the Neueste Nachrichten of 25 August 1957. He claims never to have belonged to the Nazi Party, and to have been imprisoned for six months by the Gestapo in 1940. He stated that he was imprisoned without cause at the request of the Gauleitung of the Sudeten German provinces. The Berlin Document Center has Becher's questionnaire of January 1939, requesting membership in the Party, on file.

Becher was released from internment as a prisoner of war in 1945. He chose to remain in Munich, where he was released, and he soon became active in the various organizations of Sudeten-Germans active in that city. Between 1945 and 1949 he was manager of the Wirtschaftshilfe GmbH (economic aid) in Munich. In 1949 he joined the right-radical Deutsche Gemeinschaft (DG - German Community), a political party under the leadership of August Haussleiter. He was soon admitted to the executive committee of the DG, and in December 1950 became vice chairman of that party. Elected to the Bavarian Landtag (Diet) in the 1950 elections, he became Landtag leader of the DG element of the combined DG/Refugee Party (BHE) faction. In May 1954 Becher joined a number of other DG representatives in bolting the DG and joining the BHE. Late in the same year he became chairman of the BHE faction in the Landtag. Becher has played a leading role in the Sudeten-German organizations not associated with Lodgman von Auen. Formerly secretary general of the "Working Group for the Protection of Sudeten-German Interests," he received the same position in the Sudeten German Council when the latter body was founded in September 1955.

B-1

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The American Consul General at Munich believes that Becher has given up much of his earlier right-radical activity, and that his switch from the DG to the BHE was a result of a gradual change toward more moderate political views. The following are excerpts from the Consul General's comments on Becher:

The present political officers of the Consulate General are not familiar with Becher's activities prior to 1953, but there is every reason to believe that his record was quite anti-American, at least in the sense of strong opposition on his part to the "crimes of Yalta and Potsdam" and to the Czech policy of Radio Free Europe; and also as pro-Nazi as was possible during the period, since the DG was, and still is, as extreme in its nationalism as any party in Germany, with the possible exception of the banned SRP.

However, since 1953, the drafting officer has known Becher fairly well and talked to him on numerous occasions. When he went over to the BHE, it can be said that he apparently left any really violent pro-Nazi or anti-American attitudes, which he may previously have held, behind him. There is no doubt that he is still a right-winger with very strong national and even nationalistic leanings: As a Sudeten German, he still publicly scores the "brutal" agreements of Yalta and Potsdam, especially at BHE party meetings; he is one of the leaders of the attack against alleged "leftist" influence in the so-called "Lizenzpresse" (i.e., press licensed by US Military Government), including the Bavarian Radio; he is a leading member of the right-wing Sudeten expellees group within the BHE known as the "Witiko Bund"; and he continues, on occasion, to attack the Czech policy of Radio Free Europe.

At the same time, however, local employees of the Consulate who have worked with the US Government since shortly after the war say that Becher has always been friendly toward American representatives; and the reporting officer can add, from personal experience during the years since 1953, that Becher has, on the whole, been extremely friendly toward all officers of the Consulate General and has, in many interviews, expressed his support for the general policy of the US in Germany and for the foreign policy and defense policy of the Adenauer government. In fact, he is among those leaders of the Bavarian BHE who have most stubbornly resisted the attempts of other BHE leaders to make common cause with the SPD against the Chancellor. His attacks against the Czech policy of RFE have continued, but on a greatly reduced scale, mostly restricted to speeches at party conventions, which have not been given great publicity. During the last four years, he has never taken the lead in attacking RFE in the Bavarian Landtag--and he, at least privately, supported the role played by RFE during the Hungarian crisis last fall. Representatives of RFE have informed us that their relations with Becher have constantly improved during the last few years and Ernst Langendorf, RFE Press Chief, recently told us that he thought an exchange trip to the US for Becher might be a desirable move toward softening his opposition to RFE still further. In all fairness, it must be stated that Becher's opposition to RFE is no greater than that of many other Sudeten leaders--.

B-2

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As is the case with most Sudetens, the principal motivation of all Becher's political actions is his desire to see the German expellees return to their Eastern homelands. This leads him to support such policies as converting the BHE into an "all-German Party," building up a strong German army, giving top priority to the reunification of Germany (including the areas lost after the war), opposition to the proposed Saar Statute, and opposition to "co-existence" with the Soviets or their satellites. Becher makes an attempt to appear reasonable and moderate in discussing his views on East European policy, but his nationalism clearly shows through: For example, he sees no reason for Germany to sacrifice any territory it held in 1937 and clearly considers the Munich agreement of 1938 to be a valid international treaty giving Germany legal claim to the Sudetenland, although he avoids arguing this point or taking a public stand on the question.

--Although his colleagues (and especially SPD leaders in and out of the Sudeten German movement) consider him to be a right-winger, only the most radical left-wing Social Democrats accuse him of being nationalistic to the point of opposing a democratic form of government.

In seeking to propagate Sudeten German interests, Becher has gone out of his way to invite Americans to Sudeten German meetings and conferences (notably a meeting at Herrenchiemsee in May 1956, which representatives of the Consulate General and Radio Free Europe attended) and to solicit support from Americans in the United States, especially Congressmen and Senators. Since he seems to feel he has had the most success in interesting right-wing American leaders, such as the late Senator McCarthy and Senator Jenner, in his cause, Becher is inclined to regard such leaders as friends and kindred spirits. 1/

Becher married the former Elisabeth Haas in 1950. He holds the Iron Cross and is a member of the Munich Kant Society. Becher has published a volume entitled Die koenigliche Erziehungskunst (The Royal Art of Education).

B-3

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2. HUPKA, Dr. Herbert

Dr. Hupka, an expellee from Silesia, was born about 1915. In 1946, he was listed as editor of a youth periodical entitled Wir und Heute, published at Tegernsee, Bavaria. In 1949 he was chief of the Main Department for Education and Culture of Radio Bavaria. During the same year he was a member of a delegation of German radio officials who visited the United States for the purpose of studying American radio techniques. At that time Dr. Hupka warned reporters from the New York Staatszeitung und Herold of the danger of renascent German nationalism.

In August 1950 Hupka, who had apparently been demoted, was listed as Supervisor of Literary Programs for Radio Bavaria. In January 1952 he was listed as chairman of the Lessing Society for the Furtherance of Tolerance. In March 1952 he was elected 2nd chairman of the Bavarian Assembly of Silesian Refugees. He was reelected to that position in July 1954.

In August 1955 Hupka reemerged as chief of the Cultural Section of Radio Bavaria. He was then elected 1st chairman of the Bavarian Assembly of Silesian Refugees. He was subsequently elected 2nd chairman of the Landsmannschaft of Silesian Refugees in Germany, probably the largest organization of German expellees from the former German provinces in Eastern Europe.

A newspaper report (Bonner Rundschau) of 28 March 1957 reports that Hupka will take over the position of Program Director of Radio Bremen.

Hupka is believed to be sympathetic toward the aims of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany (SPD).

B-4

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3. KOCH, Dr. Hans

Dr. Koch is generally considered to be one of the foremost German academic specialists on Eastern European problems. He is at present director of the Eastern European Institute (Ost-Europa Institut) at the University of Munich. Dr. Koch takes an active part in expellee activities. He is the Speaker of the Weichsel-Warthe Landsmannschaft and a leading policy advisor to the Verband der Landsmannschaft (VdL). In May 1955 he was chosen as the honorary president of the German-Ukrainian Society (Deutsche Ukrainische Herder Gesellschaft - DUHG) an organization formed in 1954 with headquarters in Munich whose purpose is the promotion of closer German-Ukrainian cultural relations. Established with some degree of governmental support, the society appears to be one of several such groups intended by the Federal government to assist in the revival of its role in Eastern policy. During the post-war period Dr. Koch has also served as a member of the executive board of the Organization to Aid German War Veterans of Soviet Origin, and on the board of directors of the German Association for Eastern European Information (Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Osteuropakunde).

Dr. Koch acts as an unofficial consultant to the Federal government on Eastern matters and was selected to accompany Chancellor Adenauer to Moscow in 1955 as a member of the West German delegation. His position was that of Eastern affairs advisor and high level interpreter. In 1956 he was chosen Deputy Rector of the Academy for Political Sciences in Munich.

Born 7 July 1894 in Lemberg, Dr. Koch began his academic career after World War I, specializing in church history, particularly Eastern European church history. From 1929-1935 he held the position of Instructor in the Protestant Theological Faculty at the University of Vienna. From 1935-1939 he was professor and director of the Eastern European Institute at the University of Breslau.

During World War II Dr. Koch served in the army with the rank of captain. A member of the NSDAP in Austria and Germany, he had carried out assignments for the Reich propaganda office in Breslau and acted as an instructor in Eastern European affairs for the German Foreign Office in Berlin.

A militant anti-Communist, Dr. Koch has asserted that he supports the foreign policy of Adenauer and has made efforts to restrain the more aggressive elements in the Landsmannschaft. He believes that German influence is increasing in the Eastern European sphere and should be encouraged by German stress on the European idea and the self-determination of peoples. Some observers feel that his views are an indication of the hopes of some of the nationalist Eastern experts and their plans for gaining influence over Eastern Europe.

Dr. Koch has been a contributor to the following journals: Osteuropa, Jahrbuch der Geschichte Osteuropas, and Kyrios. His publications include: Die Russische Orthodoxie im Petrinische Zeitalter (1929), Staat und Kirche in der Sowjet-Union (1930), Kiev, Byzanz und Ochrid 987-1037 (1938), and Geschichte der Slaven (Berlin, Propylaen Weltgeschichte) (1929).

B-5

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4. REITZNER, Richard

Richard Reitzner, a Social-Democratic Bundestag deputy from Bavaria, is a Sudeten-German who has played a prominent role in Sudeten-German affairs since his official expulsion from Czechoslovakia after World War II. Reitzner had actually left Czechoslovakia in 1938 and it is not known whether he returned to his homeland after the war.

Reitzner was born on 19 August 1893, at Einsiedel/Marienbad. After study at the teachers' college at Hollabruenn, Reitzner served in the Imperial Austrian Army during World War I and was taken prisoner in Russia. Having been active in the Social-Democratic youth movement in Austria-Hungary, Reitzner sympathized with the Bolshevik Revolution and served in Trotsky's Red Army. He returned to Czechoslovakia a Communist, but in 1923 joined the Sudeten-German branch of the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD). By profession a teacher, Reitzner was active in the Sudeten-German Socialist movement until 1938. Participating in the Workers' Internationale, and occupying various positions in the community and district administrations, Reitzner was a member of the executive committee of the Sudeten-German Social-Democratic Party when Hitler seized the Sudeten-German territories in 1938. He fled to England where he remained until 1946, participating with Wenzel Jaksch in the Sudeten-German Democratic Committee, founded in London during the war.

Reitzner chose Bavaria as his postwar home and soon became a leader in the Bavarian SPD, as well as in the organization of Sudeten-German refugees known as the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft. In 1947 he was elected a deputy chairman of the Bavarian SPD, at that time highly dependent on refugee votes. During the same year Reitzner served as one of two state secretaries in the Bavarian Ministry for Refugees. Elected vice chairman of the Bavarian SPD a year later, Reitzner became one of the SPD's delegates to the first Bundestag in 1949. There he served on the Procedure and Immunity, Reconstruction and Housing, Cultural Policy, and Youth Welfare Committees, in addition to his position as vice chairman of the Expellees Committee. Reitzner was reelected to the Bundestag in 1953, and also in the October 1957 elections.

Reitzner was a member of the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft executive until 1949 when he was dropped from the executive for allegedly having tried to win over the Landsmannschaft to an SPD point of view. In 1950 he reappeared as one of three presidents of the Association for the Safeguarding of Sudeten-German Interests, and served on the joint Sudeten-German/Czech Committee which reached an understanding on the future of the Sudeten-Germans in a non-Communist Czechoslovakia. In June 1954 he was once again elected to the executive committee of the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft. In 1955 he appeared as a member of the presidium of the Sudeten-German Council (Sudetendeutscher Rat) which replaced the former Association for the Safeguarding of Sudeten-German Interests. Reitzner is also co-chairman of the Seliger Gemeinde, an association of former Sudeten-German Social-Democrats under the leadership of Wenzel Jaksch.

Reitzner is married to the former Friederike Langmair, his second wife. He has three children from his first marriage. A Catholic, he is the author of a book entitled Vom Ostwind verweht (Scattered by the East Wind). Reitzner is reported to be fond of sports, particularly soccer and skiing.

B-6

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5. STROSCHE, Johannes

Johannes Strosche was born on 29 January 1912 at Teplitz-Schoenau in the Sudetenland. He attended high school in Leitmeritz in the Sudetenland, graduating in 1930. Strosche went on to study Germanic and Slavic philology at the Charles University in Prague, where in 1937 he received a doctor of philosophy degree and a license to teach in high schools. For three years he taught in Eger, Leitmeritz, and Aussig.

Strosche joined the Nazi Party and the National-Socialist Teachers Association in 1940. In view of the fact that Germany had annexed the Sudetenland as early as the fall of 1938, Strosche seems not to have been in any hurry to join the party, and became a member of the Nazi-sponsored teachers' guild probably when such membership had become essential to his career. In 1940 Strosche was inducted into the German Army and served until 1945 as an interpreter in the intelligence division, with the rank of corporal.

In 1945 Strosche was released from an American prisoner-of-war camp. After he and his family had been expelled from their homeland by the Czechs, he settled at Tirschenreuth in Bavaria. Unable to find a position in the Bavarian school system, he eked out a meager living by private tutoring. He soon became active in public life, serving as chairman of the Tirschenreuth Culture Association and as a member of the Sudeten-German Landmannschaft in Bavaria.

Strosche helped found the BHE party in Tirschenreuth County and in the Oberpfalz (Upper Palatinate) District in 1950. In November 1950 he was elected to the Bavarian Landtag (state parliament) on the BHE-DG (Deutsche Gemeinschaft - German Community) slate. He became faction leader of the BHE in the Landtag and deputy Land chairman of the BHE in Bavaria in 1952.

In 1953 Strosche became a member of the Bundestag, succeeding to the seat vacated by Dr. Guthsmuths' resignation. He became executive secretary of the BHE Bundestag faction and a member of the National BHE Executive Committee. Strosche was not reelected to the Bundestag in 1957, since the BHE was unable to achieve representation on the federal level.

Strosche appeared as a member of the Working Association for the Protection of Sudeten-German Interests in 1955 and, later that year, as a presidium member of the Sudeten-German Council which had replaced the Working Association.

Strosche has been described as a very able speaker who draws large crowds. He has made both moderate and extremely nationalistic remarks in his speeches, so that it is difficult to say exactly where he stands. Strosche has cooperated well with the SPD in Bavaria; this would indicate a moderate stand.

A Catholic, Strosche is married to Elfriede nee Sussman, a Sudeten-German from Leitmeritz. He is of average height and weight, balding, with brownish-gray hair and blue eyes. 2/

B-7

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APPENDIX C

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29. State despatch 177, op. cit.
30. State despatch 247, Munich, 21 Jan 55, Secret.
31. State despatch 47, Munich, 9 Aug 55, Official Use Only.
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32. [redacted] (b)(1)
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SECRET

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50. State despatch 284, op. cit.
51. Ibid.
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56. State despatch 334, op. cit.
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62. Ibid.
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(b)(3)
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64. Ibid.
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66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Czech and Slovak Emigre Publications in Germany and Austria,
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69. [redacted] (b)(1)
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70. Ibid.
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71. OIR Report No. 5522, op. cit.
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SECRET

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73. OIR Report No. 5522, op. cit.
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77. The Emigration From The East, op. cit.
78. OIR Report No. 5522, op. cit.
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87. Memorandum, Emigre Publications, op. cit.
88. The Emigration From The East, op. cit.
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92. Ibid.
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93. The Emigration From The East, op. cit.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
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SECRET

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99. (b)(1)
(b)(3)
100. Ibid.
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102. The Emigration From The East, op. cit.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
Memorandum, Emigre Publications, op. cit.
105. (b)(1)
(b)(3)
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Memorandum, Emigre Publications, op. cit.
 (b)(1)
(b)(3)

Appendix A: List of Expellee Organizations and Institutions in Munich

1. (b)(1)
(b)(3)

Appendix B: Biographic Information on Selected Expellee Leaders in West Germany

1. State despatch 262, Munich, 21 Jun 57, Confidential.
State despatch 56, Munich, 4 Sep 56, Confidential.
2. HICOG Bonn Biographic Data Report, 13 May 52, Confidential.

C-5

SECRET