

**Target Central Europe:  
American Intelligence Efforts Regarding Nazi and Early Postwar Austria**

**Siegfried Beer  
Professor  
Karl-Franzens Universität Graz, Austria  
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Over the last decade or two we have learned a lot about the impact of intelligence on the conduct and analysis of international relations in this century, particularly for the era of the two world wars.<sup>(1)</sup> Specialists of a newly developed historical sub-discipline called "intelligence studies" have even spoken of an "intelligence revolution" as they have directed their research on the role of intelligence organizations as related to major aspects of political, economic, and particularly military strategy and behavior during the last global military conflict from 1941 to 1945.<sup>(2)</sup> Several scholars have even been tempted to attribute a revolutionary effect of this research on the historiography of World War II. A number of serious studies have been made to assess the significance role of this intelligence revolution for the emergence and subsequent evolution of the First Cold War.<sup>(3)</sup> However, while relatively liberal access to wartime archival sources has greatly benefited research into the nature and consequences of the intelligence struggle during World War II, the marked lack of access to documentary evidence for the roughly 45-year period of the Cold War has equally diminished the quality if not the quantity of intelligence-related analyses of international politics since 1947.<sup>(4)</sup>

Beginning with Gorbachev's structural policies of perestroika and glasnost and certainly since the subsequent breakup of the Soviet empire as well as the total demise of the superpower Soviet Union, conditions have been favorable at least to the partial opening of Soviet/Russian archives, including selected holdings of the KGB, and this in turn has exerted new and necessary pressure on both London and Washington to follow suit in the

policy of relaxing access to Cold War intelligence records.<sup>(5)</sup> Over the last few years, these developments have finally led to a new willingness on both sides of the Atlantic to reconsider the terms of declassification of intelligence documents.<sup>(6)</sup>

The release of intelligence records of the period examined in this paper was already begun in the 1970s when the State Department opened its analytical intelligence documents to research and was continued from 1983 to the mid-nineties when the CIA effected the transfer of the administrative and operational records of its predecessor organizations up to the fall of 1946 to the National Archives. These war and early postwar intelligence records on U.S. central intelligence activities worldwide amount to more than 6,500 cubic feet or close to 12,000 boxes of textual records which equals about 10 million pages. Roughly 5 percent of these deal with Central European and Austrian matters.<sup>(7)</sup>

### **On the Evolution of American Intelligence from 1919 to 1947**

During the interwar period, U.S. intelligence had been kept at traditionally low levels. It relied mainly on the work of military and naval attaches and the usual political reporting from diplomatic outposts. Army intelligence continued to be organized within the Military Intelligence Division (MID) while naval intelligence, collected and implemented through the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) was considered of higher importance and prestige. Until June 1939 there was no real effort to achieve a coordination of intelligence.<sup>(8)</sup>

President Roosevelt moved to create a central intelligence organization in July 1941 when he appointed William J. Donovan as Coordinator of Information (COI). Probably its most important and long term accomplishment was the systematic buildup of a research and analysis branch, known as R&A, in which established and promising young scholars from various fields and backgrounds were asked to produce three general categories of intelligence: 1) comprehensive regional studies; 2) specialized studies of particular factors in a region or country and 3) foreign policy studies to support the development of American foreign policy in a given area. Eventually R&A also produced the Daily Intelligence Summary and the Political Intelligence Weekly. When COI was transformed into OSS in June 1942 and placed under the control of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), R&A became one of its eight major branches. Other branches of OSS were responsible for training (S&T), research and development (R&D), surveillance of exiles and immigrants (Foreign Nationalities), clandestine collection of information (SI), propaganda (MO), subversion and sabotage (SO) and counter-espionage (X-2). By 1944, OSS operated worldwide and on the whole successfully although it had to accept throughout the war that it was only one of seven major intelligence producers.<sup>(9)</sup>

Even though OSS became an early victim of postwar demobilization in the fall of 1945, it was soon and generally recognized as a creator of important traditions for the future of U.S. national intelligence.<sup>(10)</sup> Already in October 1945, R&A was taken over by the State Department and was combined with other analytical units to form the Interim Research and Intelligence Service (IRIS). The War Department took over the Secret Intelligence

(SI) and the Counter-espionage (X-2) branches which continued to perform their previous activities and functions in selected areas of strategic interest to the U.S., among them Germany and Austria. This transitional organization was called Strategic Services Unit (SSU).

On 22 January 1946 President Truman issued a presidential direction creating a National Intelligence Authority (NIA) under which a Central Intelligence Group (CIG) was established, headed by a Director of Intelligence (DCI) who became responsible for coordination, evaluation and dissemination of intelligence. By the fall of 1946 SSU was absorbed by CIG.

The National Security Act of July 1947 totally restructured national defense and national intelligence in the U.S. It created a National Security Council (NSC), a national military establishment with three distinct services: Army, Navy, and Air Force under the Secretary of Defense, and a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) under the DCI. The CIA was at first only envisioned as a central coordinator and evaluator of intelligence, not necessarily as a new producer. The explicit role as separate collector and independent producer of intelligence, short term analyses as well as broad estimates, fell upon the CIA only by the end of 1947 when the State Department under George C. Marshall finally and officially withdrew from covert intelligence gathering.

The following narrative provides a broad sketch of American intelligence interests and activities in Central Europe as evidenced mainly in connection with Austria during the years 1941 to 1946 when U.S. intelligence first tried to understand, then to penetrate and finally, in support of the U.S. occupational administration, to help control and rebuild Austria as a democratic and peace-loving state in the geopolitically sensitive center of Europe.<sup>(11)</sup>

### **U.S. Intelligence and Austria, 1919-1947**

An early example of American intelligence activity on the territory of Republican Austria is evident detected in the so-called Coolidge Mission of January to May 1919 when the Wilson Administration sent a team of observers and experts to Vienna to report on developments in the various countries of the collapsed Habsburg Empire. One of these militarily trained field agents was Lt.Col. Sherman Miles who was sent to Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo and played an important role in the settling of the border question between (German) Austria and the newly created Kingdom of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.<sup>(12)</sup> Twenty years later Sherman Miles was to become Director of the Military Intelligence Division in which position he became one of the prominent victims of the intelligence disaster at Pearl Harbor.<sup>(13)</sup>

It is noteworthy that some of the higher echelon American diplomats at Vienna during the last years of the First Austrian Republic later figured among key players in the arena of U.S. intelligence during World War II. Outstanding examples of this are George V. Earle III, American minister to Austria in 1933/34, who was stationed in Sofia and Istanbul during the war and John C. Wiley, U.S. charge d'affaires in Vienna in 1937/38 who was

to occupy a leading position in the Foreign Nationalities Branch of COI/OSS.<sup>(14)</sup>

*COI and OSS: Knowing and Penetrating Austria: 1941 to 1945.* The Final Report of the U.S. General Consulate in Vienna, written at the occasion of closing its office in the summer of 1941, was one of the first substantive reports analyzed and distributed by the newly established Office of the Coordinator of Information.<sup>(15)</sup> American diplomatic and military reporting on Austria during the interwar period had been consistent and comprehensive, but the reduced consular staff, which was at times totally inundated with visa applications, was not able to keep up a steady flow of information on the rapid post-Anschluss transformation of the territory of the Ostmark.

From the very beginning of its existence, the OSS started to collect and produce situation reports on general developments in the territory of the former Austrian Republic, the so-called Danubian and Alpine Lands, relying on information from exiles, emigrants, international businessmen, journalists, and later by deserters, POWs and various other informants. There was a noticeable increase in intelligence output after 1 November 1943, when the Moscow Declaration on Austria by the three Allied Powers created a new awareness of an Austrian problem potentially separate from the German problem. Appropriately, the first of almost two dozen lengthy analyses by R&A Washington on Austria, produced during the war, dates from 13 December 1943 and dealt with the armament manufacturer Steyr Works (R&A 1690). Four months later, "The Attitude of the Austrian People towards the Moscow Declaration for Austria" was examined in an impressive 70-page study. (R&A 1704).<sup>(16)</sup>

The task of surveillance and analyzing the activities and political infighting of the Austrian emigration in the United States fell upon the Foreign Nationalities Branch which, between the months of April 1941 and November 1945 managed to produce and distribute altogether 911 so-called AU-reports. Among the major figures of the Austrian exile community Archduke Otto of Habsburg (code named variously HERMANN, MR. Y, or NIKLAUS), Hans Rott, Julius Deutsch, and Friedrich Czernin stand out as most frequently contacted and reported upon.<sup>(17)</sup>

By late 1943, first contacts with significant elements of Austrian resistance were established through OSS-stations in Algiers (mainly through its labor branch there), Bern and Istanbul. The most promising of these contacts was with the Viennese Maier-Messner Group code named CASSIA/ ARCEL/ REDBIRD which, however, quickly collapsed in March of 1944, when its head, Dr. Franz Joseph Messner (code named DIANA or OYSTER), the general manager of Semperit in Vienna, was betrayed by double agents of the CEREUS operation of OSS Istanbul.<sup>(18)</sup> Through that connection OSS Bern--headed by Allen W. Dulles, the seasoned intelligence veteran of World War I and the Paris Peace Conference as well as future DCI--and OSS Istanbul had received important target information on major armament and industrial plants within the German Reich, including several reports on the Peenemünde facilities. The flow of information on developments in the Danubian and Alpine Lands, particularly on the morale of Austrians, increased significantly from the spring of 1944.

By mid-1944, planning and preparations for the penetration of enemy territories within the borders of the former Republic of Austria were undertaken mainly by the German-Austrian section within SICE (Secret Intelligence Central Europe) of the 2677th Regiment OSS (Prov.) in the Mediterranean Theater of Operations (MedTO) centered in Bari/Caserta under the leadership of Col. John B. McCulloch, and later under Lt. Alfred C. Ulmer. Early in 1945, SI MedTO was joined in their penetration efforts by SI London under its operation officer Lt. Bill Casey (the future CIA chief) and by SO Siena (Company D) under Captain B. Nelson Deranian.<sup>(19)</sup>

The most spectacular of these penetration operations, mostly by parachute, have been described in Joseph Persico's *Piercing the Third Reich*. Persico mentions a total of 24 missions of which only ten were at least partially directed towards Austria. I have been able to reconstruct almost 50 planned secret operations into Austrian territory, most of them executed near the end of hostilities from Italy, England (via Dijon) and to a lesser degree through Switzerland and northern Yugoslavia. Among these there were a few spectacular successes like GREENUP, DOCTOR, VIRGINIA and GEORGIA and many failures like ORCHID, DUPONT, DILLON or FOSTORIA/ DARTMOUTH. Of the 34 agents of OSS Bari/Caserta 8 were killed or missing in action; 13 more were captured and one was discovered to have been a double agent in German employ. Of the 76 OSS agents infiltrated into Austrian enemy territory about a third were so-called deserter-volunteers (DV's), Austrian patriots willing to contribute to the Allied cause.<sup>(20)</sup>

These penetration missions, generally dropped by parachute and provided with radio communication equipment, could serve a number of purposes, from gathering of tactical information, contacting and materially assisting resistance groups, and preparing the ground for the advancing Allied armies. Most importantly perhaps, some of these operations were meant to provide reliable and fresh information on the potential of the Alpine Redoubt.<sup>(21)</sup>

In the context of these operations, particular mention needs to be made of the Austrian agent K-28 (Fritz Molden, later also code named LINDLEY) who from September 1944 onward became OSS Bern's most important source on Austrian resistance and underground politics, particularly on the activities of the Provisional Austrian National Committee (POEN) and its military arm, O5. Molden managed to become one of the premier informants of Allen Dulles in Switzerland and was to remain close to American intelligence operations in central Europe even beyond his involvement during the OSS/SSU period.<sup>(22)</sup>

Of all the OSS stations concerned with Austrian intelligence and penetration of the southern provinces of the Third Reich, Bern was clearly the most important and productive. A.W. Dulles and his associates, particularly Gero van Gaevernitz and later Gero van Arkel, were able to develop a number of individual and chain contacts on Austria, both within Switzerland and, starting in the fall of 1943, with representatives of Austrian opposition groups. Probably the earliest and most consistent contact and source was the lawyer and financier Dr. Kurt Grimm (code name: UTO) through whom a permanent liaison with the Austrian "Verbindungsstelle Schweiz," directed by Hans

Thalberg, was established. OSS Bern was in regular contact with several Austrian patriots including: the social-democratic politicians Anton Linder (code number: 834) and Ludwig Klein (code number: 480); the young journalist Robert Jungk-Baum (code name: CHINA); the banker Josef Joham (code name: MANA); and the diplomats Alois von Auersperg (code name: PICASSO, code number: 502) and Johannes Schwarzenberg (code number 837). Through OSS, Paris Fritz Molden (K-28, later LINDLEY) was able to connect and cooperate with Ernst Lemberger (code name: Jean Lambert and HOFER), with whom K-28 (Molden) undertook a dangerous but successful mission to Vienna where they managed to meet with Adolf Schärf and to convince him to join POEN.<sup>(23)</sup>

Toward the end of the war, several German and Austrian Nazi functionaries contacted OSS Bern in self-proclaimed last ditch efforts to shorten the war. These included the purported armistice approaches of General Edmund Glaise-Horstenau (code name: GLORE) and of SD-officer Wilhelm Höttl (code name: ALPBERG), which stand out as at least noteworthy from the Austrian point of view.<sup>(24)</sup>

By February 1945, planning for the post-hostilities period in occupied Austria had progressed significantly as country and city teams for each of the relevant OSS branches were formed and trained. As soon as hostilities ended in Central Europe, OSS field stations were erected first in Salzburg, the logistical center for all U.S. occupational forces, for a short period of time in Innsbruck and Klagenfurt, in Linz, later on in Zell am See, and finally in Vienna.<sup>(25)</sup> Among the first Allied officers allowed by the Soviets to enter Vienna on a reconnaissance mission in early June 1945 was Lt. Col. Charles W. Thayer, the designated chief of OSS-Austria.<sup>(26)</sup>

By mid-August, OSS-Austria employed close to 200 military and civilian personnel, approximately two-thirds of them American citizens. Of these, 32 were then stationed at the unit headquarters in Vienna, 137 in Salzburg, 18 in Linz and only 8 in Zell am See. Within just a few weeks, OSS-Austria collectively may well have become the single best-informed U.S. or even Allied agency in all of occupied Austria. Its reports and analyses were focused not only zonally but federally on Austria as a whole, long before there was even a recognized national Austrian government capable of being reliably informed countrywide.

Organizationally OSS-Austria was responsible, through G-2, to the Commanding General, USFA (United States Forces in Austria). It claimed to have supplied 90 percent of the positive intelligence issued by G-2, USFA. Its intelligence gathering covered a full spectrum: from political, economic, and social questions to religious, cultural, educational, health, and public opinion issues. Some of SI's raw intelligence as well as R&A's analytical field studies proved to be of high-grade quality, equally valuable to military administrators and political decision makers then as they are to contemporary historians now.<sup>(27)</sup>

OSS also contributed to the systematic pursuit of NS-functionaries, a task which was apportioned primarily to the army's Counter-Intelligence Corps (CIC).<sup>(28)</sup> Its 430th Detachment in Austria was to develop into a major tool in the growing intelligence

struggle between the Western occupiers and their former Soviet ally. CIC and NKVD became direct opponents in the emerging Cold War as evidenced later and most dramatically in a series of political and economic kidnappings in Vienna and at demarcation points.<sup>(29)</sup>

While there was certainly rivalry and duplication of efforts among the various intelligence branches of the early American Military Government of Austria, there was also significant cooperation and sharing of responsibilities. While G-2 was still concentrating mainly on military intelligence and CIC on security and population control issues, OSS--mainly through its R&A field teams--continued to look at the broader question of Austrian reconstruction, particularly at the problem of the emergence of the old ruling elites, whether political, economic, or cultural and of its long-term consequences for Austria. At times this was recognized by Austrian partners or observers of OSS, prompting, for example, one group of former Upper Austrian resisters to conclude sadly but realistically that in Austria "Americans with influence have no understanding; Americans with understanding have no influence."<sup>(30)</sup>

OSS covered not only the American zone and Viennese sector of occupation but also the French, British, and particularly Soviet zones in Austria. It also participated in Nazi-hunting and war crimes-related pursuits. By the late summer of 1945, OSS-Austria had achieved a good reputation at Washington headquarters just as by early September the political knifing of OSS by the Truman administration was decided.

To the last days of OSS in Austria, the end of September 1945, its intelligence objectives remained centered on Austrian affairs, with a definite emphasis placed on Soviet occupational and Austrian communist behavior. However, some activities of SI and X-2 were already directed towards other countries. In August 1945, 123 of 150 reports produced by SI-Austria dealt with Austrian matters and only 27 with other countries. There was a Trieste Intelligence Unit run out of Salzburg and a Hungarian Intelligence Unit organized out of Vienna. A Special Projects Unit focused on South-Eastern Europe, another one on Soviet military organizations and weapons. Through source GOOSE, a former Austrian informant of the Dulles war operation in Bern, economic and financial intelligence on French and Soviet efforts both in Austria and Hungary was provided.<sup>(31)</sup>

October 1945 saw the gradual breakup of OSS-Austria as the outposts in Linz and Zell am See were closed and the highly productive Austrian R&A branch ceased to function as a unit. From the middle of May to the middle of October 1945, R&A Austria, a branch of never more than a dozen people, managed to produce finished intelligence of remarkable quality: 34 Austrian Zone Reports of up to 24 pages length, and 19 Vienna R&A Field Reports of up to 12 typewritten pages. In addition, R&A Austria was responsible for dozens of spot studies in the LA- (Salzburg) and LS- (Vienna) series of reports.<sup>(32)</sup>

Early in October the decision was made in Washington to continue OSS-like operations only in Germany, Austria, Egypt, China and, SEAC (South East Asia Command). In central Europe these missions were to provide a substantial part of the intelligence

required by the American occupational authorities, with a clear emphasis on clandestine strategic intelligence. For Austria the maximum size of this Strategic Services Unit (SSU) was at first set at 80 persons and the duration of activities was expected to be "as long as the period of military occupation." SSU-Austria, like OSS-Austria attached to Headquarters, USFA, was to be maintained as an integral unit subject to the direct supervision of SSU headquarters in the War Department in Washington. <sup>(33)</sup>

*From SSU/CIG to CIA: Controlling Austria and Surveillance in Central Europe, 1945-1947.* The central motif behind the creation of the Strategic Services Unit was to "maintain a nuclear intelligence organization to serve the interests of the United States until some more permanent organization is established." <sup>(34)</sup> With the takeover of the OSS-branches SI and X-2, SSU-Austria continued to perform essential intelligence tasks which soon, however, shifted from mainly Austrian matters to monitoring developments and events in neighboring countries to the southeast. SSU-Austria, under the leadership of Lt. Cmdr. Alfred C. Ulmer, quickly turned into a major instrument of the emerging Cold War in Austria. <sup>(35)</sup>

By mid-December 1945 SSU-Austria consisted of a sharply reduced but still vigorous SI unit of no more than 25 members and a small X-2 branch of 12 persons as well as a tiny war crimes unit and a minimum number of service and clerical personnel of altogether about 60 people, less than a third of OSS-Austria in August 1945. <sup>(36)</sup> It was not surprising therefore, that November 1945 showed a clear drop in the number of reports originating from Austria, from 140 in October to 104, two thirds of which dealt with Austrian issues and one third with other countries. Close to 20 percent of these reports covered tactical intelligence on the Soviets, one project using a chain of gendarmerie officers in Lower Austria, run and controlled by Captain Rudolph von Ripper, an Austrian émigré. <sup>(37)</sup>

By then Vienna had become the center of SI-activities into the Soviet zone and into neighboring countries to the southeast, while the rest of Austria was handled by a sharply reduced Salzburg unit. For security reasons, however, Salzburg remained the headquarters of X-2 Austria. It conducted penetration schemes against other intelligence services operating in Austria <sup>(38)</sup> as well as agent operations into the Balkans. Increased importance was given to the Hungarian Intelligence Unit and especially to the Trieste-Yugoslav Unit. Special Projects now also reached into western Romania and southern Poland. SI also tried to cover the South Tyrol and Venezia Giulia.

Despite a very serious shortage of personnel and an uncertain perspective for the future, Alfred Ulmer, who by mid-January 1946 succeeded Charles Thayer as chief of the SSU-Mission in Austria, reported to Washington that "morale continues to be excellent." <sup>(39)</sup> However, SI-Austria clearly recognized its handicap with Slavic languages and intermittently requested new, linguistically trained operators. Ulmer put the budget necessities for SSU-Austria for fiscal 1946 at about \$150,000, the majority for salaries, "since we are fast becoming 100% civilian." <sup>(40)</sup>

The SSU-chief assured headquarters in Washington: " We receive a world of cooperation from the Army, and the State Department officials unbend as much as is within their nature to work along with us." This claim is later substantiated in a letter to the American Embassy in Moscow in which Ulmer points out that "our mission is in daily contact with the Office of the Political Adviser in Austria (i.e. John Erhardt) on intelligence problems . . . and also works closely with the Legation in Budapest and the Embassy in Belgrade."<sup>(41)</sup>

During February 1946, new instructions arrived from Washington: still greater emphasis was to be placed on Yugoslavia and Hungary and there was to be reporting only on high level Austrian politics. This trend was already reflected in the distribution of reports during the month of February: of a total of 72 reports, merely 27 covered Austrian affairs. In the course of the next months Yugoslavia was to become the uncontested number one target, with SSU-contacts in Zagreb and Belgrade and plans for penetration into even northern Montenegro and Albania. The intelligence directive on Yugoslavia ran to 11 typewritten pages of specific target requests.<sup>(42)</sup>

By March 1946, SSU had reached a major crisis point as the new Director of Central Intelligence took stock of its entire operations and the decision was made to liquidate SSU no later than 30 June 1947.<sup>(43)</sup> SSU-Austria was given a new organizational ceiling for personnel by the end of April 1946. As the political and economic situation in central Europe deteriorated, the maximum personnel roster was set at 37.<sup>(44)</sup> Ulmer perceived the potential damage on the morale of his mission and demanded from the new Central European Section chief in Washington, Richard Helms, to clarify "whether we may have six months stability in which to go under cover . . . or to tell us frankly that you plan to replace our SI personnel." As the chief of SSU-Austria saw it, the intelligence leadership in Washington had to answer a straightforward question: "Do you or do you not want us to hold the six or eight highly skilled intelligence operators now doing the job in Austria, Hungary and Yugoslavia?"<sup>(45)</sup> When Ulmer was given the demanded "six-months-stability," he proceeded to streamline his operations in Austria. He requested all desk heads as well as other field representatives to become less prolific and concentrate either on intelligence of long range importance or on priority tactical information.<sup>(46)</sup>

By May 1946, the Austrian SSU-Mission was decentralized and put under totally new cover arrangements. Only a small administrative unit remained under G-2 at Headquarters, USFA. The Trieste Unit remained under cover of Military Government, while the Salzburg station was to operate partly under Military Government cover and partly under cover of USDIC, the U.S. Detailed Interrogation Center.<sup>(47)</sup> In August 1946, Ulmer asked for the adoption of a new cover designation: Field Operations Branch in the Executive Division of the Allied Commission for Austria (ACA), by then rapidly becoming a mostly civilian organization.<sup>(48)</sup>

The new target priorities of SSU-Austria are convincingly reflected in the following report tabulation for September 1946: 43 reports on Yugoslavia, 17 reports on Hungary, 13 reports on the Russian zone in Austria and only 4 reports on the U.S. zone. The same survey lists 21 different sources or chains of informants.<sup>(49)</sup>

By October 1946, SSU-Austria was liquidated in name but its tasks were simultaneously taken over by CIG. It was renamed Office of Special Operations (OSO) and as such almost certainly became the nucleus around which CIA-Austria was later organized.<sup>(50)</sup> Certainly by 1946/47 Vienna and the allied occupational zones in Austria, the crossroads of allied interaction, had become a major center of information-gathering and clandestine activity in the crucial early phase of the Cold War period. For the several different postwar U.S. intelligence organizations-- OSS, SSU, CIC, G-2, and even A-2 (air intelligence)--Austria served as an arena in which American secret and covert operational activism of the kind practiced during OSS-years in the various military theaters of operation was continued. However, by early 1946 it was already primarily directed against the Soviet Union and its emerging communist satellites in central and southeastern Europe.<sup>(51)</sup>

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### Endnotes

1. Mention can only be made of a few outstanding contributions: Christopher Andrew and David Dilks, eds., *The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1984); Ernest R. May, ed., *Knowing One's Enemies: Intelligence Assessment before the Two World Wars* (Princeton, N.J., 1984) and Walter T. Hitchcock, ed., *The Intelligence Revolution: A Historical Perspective* (Washington, D.C., 1991).
2. Their most spectacular findings probably relate to the availability of "Ultra" and "Magic" for the Allies but the scope of secret warfare went far beyond signals intelligence. A few examples of this type of literature include: Richard Langhorne, ed., *Diplomacy and Intelligence during the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1985); Robin W. Winks, *Cloak and Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961* (New York, 1991); Bradley F. Smith, *The Ultra-Magic Deals and the Most Secret Relationship, 1940-46* (Novato, Calif., 1993); Ralph Bennett, *Behind the Battle: Intelligence in the War with Germany, 1939-1945* (London, 1994); and John H. Waller, *The Unseen War in Europe: Espionage and Conspiracy in the Second World War* (New York, 1996).
3. Cf. Trevor Barnes, "The Secret Cold War: The CIA and American Foreign Policy in Europe, 1946-1956," parts 1 and 2, *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981): 399-415; 25 (1982): 649-70; John L. Gaddis, "Intelligence, Espionage and Cold War Origins," *Diplomatic History* 13 (1989): 191-212; and most recently, Wolfgang Krieger and Jürgen Weber, eds., *Spionage für den Frieden? Nachrichtendienste in Deutschland während des Kalten Krieges* (Munich, 1997).
4. Cf. Lawrence H. MacDonald, "OSS Records at the National Archives," *Newsletter. American Committee on the History of the Second World War* 39 (Spring 1988): 14-49; and Wesley K. Wark, "In Never-Never Land: The British Archives on Intelligence," *The Historical Journal* 35 (1992): 195-203.

5. See Amy Knight, "The Fate of the KGB Archives," *Slavic Review* 52 (Fall 1993): 582-86. Three examples of books based on newly accessible intelligence sources include: Stefan Karner, ed., *Geheime Akten des KGB. "Margarita Ottlinger"* (Graz, 1992); John Costello and Oleg Tsarev, *Deadly Illusions* (New York, 1993); and most recently Aleksandr Fursenko and Timothy Naftali, *"One Hell of a Gamble": Krushchev, Castro, and Kennedy, 1958-1964* (New York, 1997).

6. So far this has resulted in two major developments: the British Government's "Waldegrave Initiative" of 1992, which brought about the release of a comparatively large archive of intelligence files for the years 1940 to 1945, and already in 1991 the creation of the "CIA Taskforce on Openness," which has subsequently recommended the release of selected CIA records on several major covert CIA operations up to the 1960s. Cf. Louise Atherton, *Top Secret: An Interim Guide to Recent Releases of Intelligence Records at the Public Record Office* (London, 1993); David D. Gries, "Opening Up Secret Intelligence," *Orbis* 37 (Summer 1993): 365-72; and Zachary Karabell and Timothy Naftali, "History Declassified: The Perils and Promise of CIA Documents," *Diplomatic History* 18 (1994): 615-26.

7. The author's continuous research in these intelligence archives dates back to 1984 and has necessitated working through over 600 boxes of relevant documents.

8. See Robert G. Angevine, "Gentlemen Do Read Each Other's Mail: American Intelligence in the Interwar Era," *Intelligence and National Security* 7, no. 2 (1992): 1-29. Surveys of the history of U.S. intelligence in the twentieth century have become myriad. Three reliable studies are: Charles D. Ameringer, *U.S. Foreign Intelligence: The Secret Side of American History* (Lexington, Mass., 1990); G. J. A. O'Toole, *Honorable Treachery: A History of U.S. Intelligence, Espionage, and Covert Action from the American Revolution to the CIA* (New York, 1991); and Mark M. Lowenthal, *U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy* (Westport, Conn., 1992).

9. Its official history, started during and finished right after the war, was finally published in the mid-70s: Kermit Roosevelt, ed., *War Report of the OSS*, 2 vols. (New York, 1976).

10. Among several comprehensive works on COI and OSS, the following stand out as authoritative: Bradley F. Smith, *The Shadow Warriors: OSS and the Origins of the CIA* (New York, 1983); Barry M. Katz, *Foreign Intelligence: Research and Analysis in the Office of Strategic Services, 1942-1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989); and George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Offices of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington, D.C., 1992).

11. The U.S. zone of occupation included the province of Salzburg, southern Upper Austria, and a sector in Vienna.

12. Cf. Georg Schmid, "Die Coolidge-Mission in Österreich 1919. Zur Österreichpolitik der USA während der Pariser Friedenskonferenz," *MOESTA* 24 (1971): 433-67; and Siegfried Beer and Eduard G. Staudinger, "Grenzziehung per Analogie. Die Miles-

Mission in der Steiermark im Jänner 1919. Eine Dokumentation," in *Als Mitteleuropa zerbrach*, ed. Stefan Karner and Gerald Schöpfer (Graz, 1990), 133-52.

13. See G. J. A. O'Toole, *The Encyclopedia of American Intelligence and Espionage* (New York, 1988), 301.

14. On Earle cf. Barry Rubin, *Istanbul Intrigues: A True-Life Casablanca* (New York, 1989); and on Wiley cf. Siegfried Beer, "Exil und Emigration als Information. Zur Tätigkeit der Foreign Nationalities Branch innerhalb des amerikanischen Kriegsgeheimdienstes COI bzw. OSS, 1941-1945," in *Jahrbuch 1989. Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes* (Vienna, 1989), 133, 136.

15. Final report of the U.S. consul Harry E. Carlson and of the vice-consuls Theodore J. Hohenthal and Joseph M. Roland: Conditions in the Vienna Consular District (COI-Report 6040), 16 Aug. 1941, in National Archives (NA), Record Group (RG) 226, Entry (E) 16. On the role of Austria and Austrians within the intelligence community see Siegfried Beer, "Von Alfred Redl zum 'Dritten Mann'. Österreich und Österreicherinnen im internationalen Geheimdienstwesen 1918-1947," *Geschichte und Gegenwart* 16 (Mar. 1997): 3-25.

16. Strangely enough, most of these outstanding R&A studies have hitherto been more or less ignored in secondary literature on Nazi Austria. For a thorough treatment of Germany (virtually excluding Austria) cf. Petra Marquardt-Bigman, *Amerikanische Geheimdienstanalysen über Deutschland 1942-1949*, Studien zur Zeitgeschichte, no. 45 (Munich, 1995).

17. See Siegfried Beer, "Exil und Emigration als Information," 132-43; and idem, "Exile Between Assimilation and Re-Identification: The Austrian Political Emigration to the United States, 1938-1945," in *The European Emigrant Experience in the United States*, ed. Walter Hölbling and Reinhold Wagnleitner (Tübingen, 1992), 39-50.

18. See Siegfried Beer, "Die Widerstandsgruppe Maier-Messner und der amerikanische Kriegsgeheimdienst OSS in Bern, Istanbul und Algier 1943/44," in *Jahrbuch 1993. Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes* (Vienna, 1993), 75-100.

19. Cf. Aaron Bank, *From OSS to Green Berets* (New York, 1986) particularly chap. 5; William Casey, *The Secret War against Hitler* (New York, 1988); and B. Nelson MacPherson, "Inspired Improvisation: William Casey and the Penetration of Germany," *Intelligence and National Security* 9 (October 1994): 695-722.

20. Most of these secret missions are mentioned by code name and date of operation in Siegfried Beer and Stefan Karner, *Der Krieg aus der Luft* (Graz, 1992), 76. Some of the more spectacular successes and failures on Austrian territory are described in Joseph E. Persico, *Piercing the Reich: The Penetration of Nazi Germany by American Secret Agents During World War II* (New York, 1979).

21. See Maj. Hans Tofte to Chief, SI: OSS/SI Activities in the Redoubt, 26 April 1945, NA, RG 226, E 190, Box (B) 300, Folder (F) 90. See also Timothy Naftali, "Creating the Myth of the Alpenfestung: Allied Intelligence and the Collapse of the Nazi Police-State," in *Contemporary Austrian Studies* 5 (1996): 203-46.

22. He has told his story well and quite accurately in: *Exploding Star: A Young Austrian Against Hitler* (London, 1978). Shortly after the war Allen Dulles's only daughter Joan became Molden's first wife. On Allen Dulles during World War II cf. Peter Grose, *Gentleman Spy: The Life of Allen Dulles* (Boston, 1994), 171-256.

23. See A. E. Jolis, Report on K-28 and Mission HOFER, 17 March 1945, NA, RG 226, E 124, B 27. A recently published edition of high grade intelligence emanating from OSS Bern contains several dozen reports on Austria: Neal H. Petersen, ed., *From Hitler's Doorstep: The Wartime Reports of Allen Dulles 1942-1945*, (University Park, Pa., 1996). Cf. Franz Goldner, *Flucht in die Schweiz. Die neutrale Schweiz und die österreichische Emigration 1938 bis 1945* (Vienna, 1983); and Hans J. Thalberg, *Von der Kunst, Österreicher zu sein. Erinnerungen und Tagebuchnotizen* (Vienna, 1984), 123-45.

24. Höttl has dealt with them in both of his memoirs: *The Secret Front: The Story of Nazi Political Espionage* (New York, 1954) and *Einsatz für das Reich. Im Auslandsgeheimdienst des Dritten Reiches* (Koblenz, 1997), while Glaise-Horstenau has not mentioned them in his fragmentary diaries: *Ein General im Zwielficht. Die Erinnerungen Edmund Glaises von Horstenau*, Bd. 3, ed. Peter Broucek (Vienna, 1988).

25. On OSS in Austria generally cf. Siegfried Beer, "Alliierte Planung, Propaganda und Penetration 1943-1945," in *Burgenland 1945*, ed. Stefan Karner (Eisenstadt, 1985), 82-88.

26. Cf. his memoirs: Charles W. Thayer, *Hands Across the Caviar* (Philadelphia, 1952), 177-224; and Siegfried Beer and Eduard G. Staudinger, "Die 'Vienna-Mission' der Westalliierten im Juni 1945. Eine Dokumentation," in *Studien zur Wiener Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 50 (1994): 317-412.

27. Some of the more relevant R&A analyses and SI reports of the early occupation period have already been published in: Oliver Rathkolb, ed., *Gesellschaft und Politik am Beginn der Zweiten Republik. Vertrauliche Berichte der US-Militäradministration aus Österreich 1945 in englischer Originalfassung* (Vienna, 1985) and in several documentary articles on Carinthia, Styria, Tyrol, and Vienna by the author. For a selection on Upper Austria cf. Siegfried Beer, "Oberösterreich nach dem Krieg. Vertrauliche Berichte des amerikanischen Geheimdienstes OSS aus dem Jahre 1945. Eine exemplarische Dokumentation," in *Oberösterreich April bis Dezember 1945. Ein Dokumentarbericht* (Linz, 1991), 177-232. On major aspects of R&A work during the war cf. Oliver Rathkolb, "Professorenpläne für Österreichs Zukunft. Nachkriegsfragen im Diskurs der Forschungsabteilung Research and Analysis," in *Geheimdienstkrieg gegen Deutschland*, ed. Jürgen Heideking and Christof Mauch (Göttingen, 1993), 166-81. The author intends to edit a selective collection of intelligence documents, particularly R&A

studies, in a documentary volume to be titled: *Evaluating, Penetrating, and Administering Austria. Reports and Analyses of the American Intelligence Services on the Austrian Condition, 1941-1946.*

28. On the record of CIC-Austria cf. *Occupation of Austria and Italy*, History of the Counter Intelligence Corps XXV (Baltimore, Md., 1959).

29. See Siegfried Beer, "Monitoring Helmer. Zur Tätigkeit des amerikanischen Armeegeheimdienstes CIC in Österreich 1945-1950. Eine exemplarische Dokumentation," in *Geschichte zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung. Gerald Stourzh zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Emil Brix et al. (Vienna, 1991), 229-59, and *Geheime Akten des KGB*, 9-21.

30. See Siegfried Beer, "Die US-amerikanische Besatzungspolitik in Österreich bis Herbst 1945," in *Österreich 1945. Ein Ende und viele Anfänge*, ed. Wolfgang Etschmann and Manfred Rauchensteiner (Vienna, 1996), 214.

31. Source GOOSE, formerly UTO, "has easy access to all important bank and industrial officials in Vienna and Bratislava." OSS Austria, Progress Report, Sept. 1945, 2 October 1945, NA, RG 226, E 99, B 26, F 126.

32. See R&A Progress report, 16 October-1 November 1945, 6 1945, NA, RG 226, E 136, B 18. Among the R&A specialists and military/civil administrators responsible for Austrian matters both during the war in Washington, London, Paris, and Rome as well as in Washington and Austria after the war the following experts, most of them academics, deserve mentioning: Franz Neumann, Eugene N. Anderson, Carl A. Schorske, Hajo Holborn, Felix Gilbert, Leonard Krieger, Frederick Burkhardt, Robert Neumann, Henry J. Kellermann, Francis T. Williamson, David F. Strong, Walter C. Langsam, Paul R. Sweet, Edgar N. Johnson, Lorenz Eitner, and Jacob J. Kaplan.

33. Staff Study: SSU Missions, 7 November 1945, NA, Microform (M) 1642, Roll (R) 73, Frame (Fr) 681f.

34. SSU-Austria, Monthly Progress Report, October 1945, 8 Nov. 1945, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 76, F 625.

35. Grateful acknowledgment is made for a memorable interview granted to the author by Mr. Ulmer on 9 August 1993, in Washington, D.C.

36. By 1 December 1945 overall SSU strength was to be reduced from over 9,000 as of the day of activation (1 October 1945) to less than 2,000. OSS had reached its maximum strength in the summer of 1944 with a personnel of over 13,000 employees worldwide. See memo by Director of SSU (John Magruder), 25 Oct. 1945, in *Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1945-1950: Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment* (Washington, D.C., 1996), 243.

37. SSU-Austria, Progress Report, Nov. 1945, 3 Dec. 1945, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 76, F 625.

38. Of which there seems to have been a significant number from the early days of allied occupation. Just a few years later the American career diplomat Coburn Kidd will find the "intelligence saturation of Austria fantastic" claiming that "spying was Austria's main invisible export." Cf. Letter Kidd to Francis Williamson, 7 Oct. 1950, cited by Günter Bischof in his introduction to *Memory and National Identity*, Contemporary Austrian Studies, vol. 5 (1997), 19.

39. Office Memo, Ulmer to Thayer: Suggested Topics for Decision in Washington, 14 Jan. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 75, F 616.

40. Ulmer hastened to add that "there is no lessening of our effectiveness as we civilianize." Ulmer to Stephen B. L. Penrose: Progress Report--Central Europe and Balkan Areas, 23 Jan. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 76, F 625.

41. Letter Ulmer to John Davis Jr., Moscow, 12 Jun. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 75, F 619.

42. SSU-Austria, Progress Report for February 1946, 3 Mar. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 76, F 625 and Intelligence Directive on Yugoslavia, undated, *ibid.* F 627.

43. Memo (Acting Secretary of War Petersen) to the Director of SSU (William Quinn), 3 Apr. 1946, in *FRUS, 1945-1950*, 273.

44. Cable #2189, HQ SSU to SSU Vienna, 20 Mar. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 90, B 2.

45. Ulmer to Helms: Informal Status Report--SI Austria, 3 Apr. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 75, F 616.

46. There were five desks, headed by: Mr. Charles B. Friediger (Austrian Desk), Mr. Martin Himler (Hungarian Desk), Major Burton B. Lifschultz (Polish Desk), Mr. John Richardson (Yugoslav Desk), and Major Homer Hall (Romanian Desk).

47. Helms to Chief, SI: Monthly Activities Report, Central Europe--Scandinavian Section, May 1946, 14 Jun. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 92, B 81, F 16.

48. Ulmer to SSU, Executive Division, 29 Aug. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 75, F 614.

49. The Austrian Mission, 23 Sept. 1946, NA, RG 226, E 108B, B 75, F 619.

50. Memo from the Director of Central Intelligence (Vandenberg) to Secretary of State Byrnes, 12 Sept. 1946, *FRUS, 1945-1950*, 302f. On CIA-Austria cf. Siegfried Beer, "Early CIA Reports on Austria," *Contemporary Austrian Studies* 5 (1996): 247-88.

51. See Bradley F. Smith, "An Idiosyncratic View of Where We Stand on the History of American Intelligence in the Early post-1945 Era," *Intelligence and National Security* 3 (1988): 111-23.