

NOTA  
Van: KA-R.A.  
Aan: Hoofd C  
No. E. 892.

*Cm of of Bork en co heeft  
in PD 1593*

ONDERWERP: Communistische activiteit in andere delen  
der wereld.

U gelieve hierbij aan te treffen een aantal rapporten  
betreffend bovengenoemd onderwerp, die SARDINE ons  
deed toekomen.

U kunt ze behouden.

29-11-50, H

BIJLAGE: 9 rapporten. (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L)

~~HA~~  
~~DBE~~  
~~B~~  
~~B~~ 17/11/51

~~HC~~  
~~C~~  
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~~CVVI~~

*th*  
*47-11-50*  
Gesamen KARRA  
account. *14/6*  
*KARRA*  
Het zal bij B een op prijs gesteld  
worden wanneer dergelijke rapporten  
i.s.m. de actualiteit en de mogelijkheden  
van verlichting met de C.M. voortaan met  
welken aan B ter kennisgeving konden  
worden worden.  
*19.5.51*

B t. k m. ~~19/11/51~~

KPD Members in Western Zones excluding Schleswig Holstein.

The following information is based on documentary evidence. No figures were obtained for Schleswig Holstein, but the strength there was estimated to be about 8,000 members in July 1950, of whom some 6,000 were "paid members".\*

	<u>July 1949</u>		<u>July 1950</u>	
	<u>Members</u>	<u>Paid Members</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Paid Members</u>
NRW	83,314	58,024	69,668	58,163+
Niedersachsen	18,000	10,253	15,071	11,076+
Hamburg	14,494	12,553	12,533	9,448-
Bavaria	21,433	15,645	19,824	16,116+
Wurttemberg	15,867	10,426	14,273	10,053-
Hessen	17,400	13,515	14,899	8,628-
Bremen	3,119	2,776	2,894	2,163-
Wurttemberg-Hohenzollern	2,500	1,166	2,084	1,410+
Süd-Baden	3,861	2,703	2,974	1,945-
Rheinl.-Pfalz	11,843	9,358	9,249	5,978-
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	191,831	136,419	163,469	124,980

Losses: Members 28,362      Paid Members 11,439

\*Paid Members: i.e. members who have paid their subscriptions up to date.

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K.P.D. MEASURES TO PRESERVE ITS AGITATION AND  
PROPAGANDA MACHINE

(Summary of information to 13th October, 1950)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Since the 14th Tagung of the KPD Parteivorstand in Dec 49, at which the machinery to transform the Party from a Massen- into a Kader-partei was set in motion thus officially recognising the fact that it must henceforth abandon hope of attaining power by parliamentary means - the KPD has pursued its aim of converting the West German masses to a communist point of view by methods which were bound to bring the Party into increasing conflict with the Allied and West German authorities. The KPD has always borne in mind the possibility that, as a consequence, the Party would be declared illegal. This point of view was at one time so widely held that the Party found it necessary to condemn it as 'Fatalism'. Nevertheless the Party has done nothing to restrain the utterances of its spokesmen - which have often bordered on sedition - and, until recently, had done little to curb those activities of its own members and of the members of its associated organisations which might be calculated to provoke counter-measures. On the contrary, in Jul 50 the KPD accepted from the SED the policy of 'National Resistance' which in their appreciation of the situation appeared to render unavoidable the proscription of the Party. Formulated at (we believe) the KPD FV secret 16th Tagung in BERLIN on or about 2-6 Jul 50, 'National Resistance' was conceived as a mass campaign of opposition to the Allied and West German authorities by 'West German patriots' under the leadership of the National Front movement and the KPD.

2. The manner in which the policy of 'National Resistance' has been countered by the authorities before it became really effective, appears to have nonplussed the KPD. It is possible that Max REIMANN's speech at the KPD FV 17th Tagung in REMSCHEID on 14 Sep 50 which, moderate in tone, paid less attention to 'National Resistance' and more to co-operation in Aktions-einheit with Social Democratic workers, may imply that the Party does not intend to pursue this policy to the conclusion it must ultimately involve, - the banning of the KPD.

3. The fact remains that for the KPD the policy of 'National Resistance' implied a welcome switch to clandestine activity which has helped to (a) restore the morale of the Party and rouse it from the lethargy into which the unfounded optimism of the Party press on the spread of communism influence in Western Germany had lulled it, and (b) provide much needed training in the use of clandestine techniques. A KPD functionary in Land NORDRHEIN/WESTFALEN gave expression to general Party feelings when he said on hearing of certain security arrangements being introduced into Party work, "Good, now we can get on with the illegal work", and despite later statements which suggest that the KPD is greatly concerned to preserve the legal status of itself and its mass organisations at all costs, a great deal of secret activity is currently being pursued.

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- (b) the Party's efforts to continue its propaganda campaign by other means, replacing its suspended newspapers by clandestine publications prepared under conditions resembling those which the KPD might expect to experience if it were declared illegal.

## II. KPD SECURITY PRECAUTIONS

### General

6. On 20-24 Jul 50 the SED 3rd Congress had issued a direct challenge to the West German authorities under the slogan 'National Resistance' which the KPD could reasonably assume would be met by Allied and West German counter-measures. Furthermore the question of the parliamentary immunity of Max REIMANN (Chairman of the KPD) was about to be debated in the Bundestag in connection with the case of Kurt MUELLER (former 2nd Chairman of the KPD whose arrest and detention in the ROZ REIMANN was alleged to have arranged). The KPD therefore alerted its membership, first ordering that the Party should consider itself to be in a 'State of emergency' (Alarmbereitschaft) and then, on orders from BERLIN, cancelling all leave "in view of the present situation and the necessity for the immediate implementation (of the resolutions) of the SED 3rd Congress which must lead to the mobilisation of the entire Party", a measure which permitted of no exceptions. It was essential according to Party speakers that the KPD be at full strength.

7. Since the issue of these instructions, which may be said to mark the point at which the KPD's speculations about the possibility of being declared illegal gave way in their minds to certainty, events have moved rapidly. REIMANN's parliamentary immunity was lifted entirely and his immunity as Landtagsabgeordneter NRW partially. He immediately went into hiding from which he has not yet officially emerged although secret sources indicate that he has been present at various meetings in the Western Zones, including the FV 17th Tagung at REMSCHEID. The simultaneous poster campaign throughout Western Germany on the night of 31 Jul/1 Aug 50 and the subsequent propaganda campaign on which it lifted the curtain were countered by arrests and confiscations. KPD newspapers in Western Germany were closed down and printing presses sealed. A series of raids on Party headquarters, including those of the FV itself in DUESSELDORF, have led to the discovery of quantities of propaganda material which was held to be inimical to Allied interests and was confiscated, as well as the uncovering of many more printing firms which were accepting KPD contracts for propaganda material and have in their turn been closed down. The series of counter-blows may be said to have reached a climax in the present phase with the requisitioning of the newly-built Party offices in DUESSELDORF in Sep 50 (a little more than a month after the Parteivorstand's move from FRANKFURT a.M.) to provide accommodation for a British military unit.

8. It is against this background and the KPD's fears that these measures are the precursors of a second phase in which the Party will be totally suppressed that the material in following paragraphs needs to be considered.

### Security of material and property.

9. The KPD has been particularly concerned that the Party should not be vulnerable to surprise raids on its premises and has taken steps to ensure by destruction, dispersal or concealment that its material should not fall into the hands of the Allied or West German authorities. Specifically:

- (a) Records: of primary importance are the KPD's card-indices, confidential files, etc. In the early part of August, particularly in Land NRW which the KPD rightly

consider the vital area both from their own and the authorities' point of view, Party records which could be considered non-essential were destroyed. Dead files were packed up and given into the custody of Kaderabteilungen which made themselves responsible for safe disposal of the material to addresses which were thought unlikely to receive Police attention. Particular care was to be taken that no material giving the private addresses of Party members should be left in Party offices. Material needed for current work has to be regarded as the personal responsibility of each Abteilungsleiter and taken home with him at the end of the day; analogous instructions exist for the secretaries of key officials.

- (b) Office equipment, etc. Items of office machinery, typewriters, furniture and removable fittings were to be made over to individual Party members so that should the Party be declared illegal the items could be claimed as personal property and so withdrawn from requisitioning or confiscation. The preservation of typewriters and duplicating machines has especial importance for the KPD as emerges in Part III.
- (c) Propaganda material. Precautions to protect material (posters, brochures, etc.) from confiscation seem to have been introduced before the general state of emergency, probably soon after the 16th Tagung at which it seems likely that the present intensified propaganda campaign was planned. Extraordinary precautions were taken, for instance, to ensure the safety of the 'Korea for the Koreans' posters used in the 31 Jul/1 Aug 50 operation. As soon as they had been printed, itself an operation conducted under conditions of unusual secrecy in Party printing works in FRANKFURT, the posters were distributed by the KPD PV Kaderabteilung to Landesvorstände with orders that they should be passed as quickly as possible to the ground units who in turn were to house them at secure addresses and to destroy immediately any copies unused at the end of the operation. The KPD's security-mindedness in this respect has not extended to its associated printing firms and large quantities of propaganda material have been confiscated in raids made by the West German police.
- (d) Premises. With experience gained from the raid on the PV offices the KPD made immediate arrangements to have put into operation a warning system by which the door-keeper could alert the whole building by pressing a single switch and afford the functionaries time to destroy or secrete their material. Stronger doors were also to be built (a result of the comparatively easy access gained by the German police who broke down the main doors at the PV building). This warning system has unfortunately for the Party been spoiled by the requisitioning of the PV building but it is to be expected that a similar system will be introduced in all Party offices henceforth.

#### Security of operations and information.

10. From the KPD's point of view two problems arise in connection with the security of their operations, firstly to ensure that no leakages occur to the authorities and secondly that the Party should be warned of

- (a) "Neuner-Gruppen": the KPD is reported to be forming in HAMBURG (we have no traces from other areas) '9-er Gruppen' of young active members of good physique. The original condition that they should be capable of taking part in political discussion has lately been allowed to drop if the members are sufficiently young and active. The formation of this org dates back to Jun 50 and has been described by a HAMBURG functionary as 'a Parteischutz as in the pre-1933 days'. In June 362 recruits were said to have been gained towards a target of 1000 men; recent reports put the figure at 800. The groups are organised on a Kreis (Stadtteil) basis.
- (b) "Helfer-Aktive": these have come to notice only in HAMBURG in Aug 50 as an org similar in content and purpose to the previous groups. Recruited by the FDJ mainly from the unemployed and requiring politically reliable and physically fit FDJ members, these groups were reported to have the task of guarding FDJ property and protecting FDJ meetings; they are also reported to mount guard on the FDJ offices in HAMBURG each night. The FDJ Landesvorstand HAMBURG includes a member specifically responsible for the "Helfer-Aktive".
- (c) "Ordner-und Schutzdienst": the plans drawn up for the RUHR Peace Rally in its original form of a mass demonstration in DORTMUND on 30 Sep/1 Oct 50 included instructions that a strong corps of stewards is to be established for the protection of meetings (zur Sicherung der Veranstaltungen ist ein starker Ordnerdienst einzurichten) and further that appropriate defense measures are to be taken to protect processions (zur Sicherung marschierender Gruppen und Kolonnen sind geeignete Schutzmassnahmen zu gewahrleisten). The nature of the proposed organisations has not been determined but it would seem to be similar to (b) above and to the 'Saal-Ordnungsmaenner' referred to by an FDJ functionary as having been present in strength in WILHELMSHAVEN at a FDJ meeting.

### III. KPD PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES

14. The counter-measures by the Allied and West German authorities against the KPD's present intensified propaganda campaign have resulted in the silencing of the KPD's newspapers and the Party has devoted considerable energy in the past months to reaching its reading-public with some sort of news-sheet. The suppression of its press has not come as an unmitigated calamity to the Party since it affords the ground units an opportunity of working under conditions approximating to those which might obtain were the KPD declared illegal and gives them the stimulus to their morale which they badly need. The KPD has not, however, relied entirely upon locally produced news-sheets for its internal propaganda. We may list the various approaches to the problem explored by the KPD as :

- (a) the printing of substitute newspapers by firms as yet not suspended or not hitherto connected or known to be connected with the KPD;
- (b) the printing of KPD newspapers under conditions of 'privilege';
- (c) the use of space in other newspapers;

- (d) the preparation of local duplicated news-sheets;
- (e) the importation of papers from the Soviet Zone.

15. Substitute newspapers. The first reaction of the KPD to the ban on its newspapers was to attempt to persuade printing firms not hitherto connected with them or not known to be connected with them to print their papers. We have had as yet no evidence that the Party has been successful in any of these attempts. The printing firms approached have either lacked the necessary resources or have been reluctant to accept a commitment which could lead to their suspension for a considerable period were the communist newspaper to be considered offensive to the authorities. Arising out of this the KPD considered the possibility of printing newspapers illegally but decided against this proposal at a conference of newspaper staffs in mid-August. At this conference Josef LEDWOHN (Chairman of the KPD Land NRW) declared that although the ban on newspapers was a development viewed with optimism by the SED and KPD since conditions had been created which the Party needed, it had been decided that nothing must be done which might impair the Party's legal status.

16. 'Privileged' newspapers. Seeking a legitimate method of continuing to issue some form of news-sheet the KPD has made use of the immunity enjoyed by its parliamentary representatives and has attempted to exploit the claimed immunity of members of local Councils. The Bundestagfraktion has published a Mitteilungsblatt in an edition, it is said, of some 30,000 copies (14,000 of which are intended for Land NRW) called "Der deutsche Waehler". The personnel of the various suspended KPD newspapers have been called upon to provide an editorial staff at BONN for the Burdestagfraktion's venture and these employees have been made members of the Fraktion's staff in an attempt to extend to them the immunity enjoyed by the Bundestagsabgeordnete. To reduce the possibility that the authorities will forbid this news-sheet instructions have been given that the paper must be written in a 'friendly and conservative style'. In a further attempt to divert attention from this news-sheet the initial copies were numbered "67" of the "2. Jahrgang". Duplicated news-sheets have been issued by the various Landtagsabgeordnete in order to take advantage of their immunity and even the local sheets considered in (d) below claim to be the news-bulletins of the local KPD member of the Stadtrat or Kreistag.

17. 'Borrowed space'. The KPD has not overlooked the possibility of using newspapers under the control of communist-sponsored organisations as well as availing itself of the space offered to it in Russian Zone newspapers. There seems good reason to believe that the newspaper of the "Sozialdemokratische Aktion" (SDA) 'Unsere Aktion' is regarded as a stand-by. Less well authenticated is a report that exploratory negotiations have been started between the KPD and the UAF (Unabhaengige Arbeiterpartei) formed by the ex-KPD editor Josef SCHAPPE for space in his "Freie Tribuene" on the ground, according to an untried source, that today when a common danger threatens all working-class parties, such leftwing parties as the KPD and UAF should join forces.

18. Local news-sheets. The gap created by the suppression of the KPD press has, however, largely been filled by duplicated news-sheets ranging from the LV "Informationsdienst" to two or three-page bulletins issued by Kreis groups under such titles as "Die Wahrheit", "Die Lupe", "Fuer den Frieden", drawing upon the Informationsdienst for material. In mid-August the KPD informed the KV that 'they were regularly receiving LV-Informationsdienst which should help them in the preparation of news-sheets and (should be regarded as) the political line along which the local sheets should be developed'. From the practical point of view the KPD has attempted to avail itself of the right assumed to be enjoyed by KPD

representatives on municipal bodies to express their own opinions and many of the papers profess to be 'Mitteilungsblätter der Stadtvertreter'. The work of preparation actually falls on the local correspondents of the suspended newspapers who are unemployed and at the disposal of the KV. Each KV has been ordered to obtain typewriters and duplicators which are to be held in the houses of less conspicuous Party members. Care is to be taken that the content of the news-sheets is strictly factual. Large numbers of these local sheets have now come to notice and there is good reason to believe that the ground units have reacted as the Party leadership has desired under the stimulus of clandestine operation; certainly the morale of the KVs appears to have improved in the past weeks.

19. Imported newspapers. Efforts are being made to bring larger numbers of Soviet Zone newspapers into the Western Zones to replace the suspended newspapers but there is no evidence to show that they circulate widely or that in any areas can be considered as substitutes for the locally-prepared news-sheets.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS.

20. One is tempted to conclude that today the KPD is in the happy position of being able to enjoy martyrdom without the attendant torments. Although KPD functionaries have declared that they can now get down to the serious business of illegal activity, there is no real evidence as yet that the Party wishes to press its aggressive policy to the point at which the KPD will inescapably be suppressed. LEDWOHN's insistence that the Party's legal status must be preserved, a statement recently echoed by FDJ speakers of their organisation, is not without significance. There is no indication that the KPD is ready for or is planning for secret activity of a more serious nature than its rather mild attempts to protect its property and personnel. The single exception known to us, an incident in BREMEN when a few FDJ youths plotted a very inept derailment of a US train, appears to be attributable to the inflammatory effect of anti-Western propaganda on unstable youths rather than to FDJ/KPD premeditation.

21. Although 'secret' activity within the KPD may be intensified should the Party's political situation continue to deteriorate, our appreciation at present is that the KPD is mainly concerned with holding its organisation together under adverse circumstances. Its present activities are therefore a means of training its membership in clandestine techniques so that with heightened morale and improved discipline it may continue to preserve its corporate existence, fulfil its agitation and propaganda tasks and be less likely to crumble under the attacks which the Party is convinced will be made upon it.