

HIC  
✓  
157.2  
14793

**CONFIDENTIAL**

**STUDY OF FOREIGN POLITICAL  
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES**

**A NEW FIELD OF  
POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE**

**Report by the Chief of the Foreign Nationalities Branch  
to the Director of Strategic Services on the organization  
of the Branch and its operation to 31 December 1944**

**C O P Y  
N U M B E R  
94**

~~13.3~~  
~~.463~~

HIC  
151.2  
11793

CONFIDENTIAL

# THE STUDY OF FOREIGN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

## A NEW FIELD OF POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

*U.S. Office of Strategic Services*

Report by the Chief of the Foreign Nationalities Branch to the Director of Strategic Services on the organization of the Branch and its operation to 31 December 1944

---

### TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED.....	2
II. THE SITUATION OUT OF WHICH NEED FOR THE WORK AROSE.....	11
III. SKETCH OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPED.....	16
IV. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FUTURE.....	22

CONFIDENTIAL

## REPORT

**D**URING the past three years, under the impact of the war, a new field of political study and reporting has been organized. For the first time in American foreign relations systematic attention has been given to foreign political manifestations inside of the United States itself. Contact has been organized with those important groups in the American citizenry which are of recent foreign extraction and retain therefore a special interest in the problems of their "old countries" and Europe generally, and also with political refugees, and the activities and opinions of both have been currently reported. The resulting flow of intelligence has proved to be useful; it might be said indispensable.

The work has been done by the Foreign Nationalities Branch of the Office of Strategic Services. At the end of three years it seems appropriate to submit to the Director of Strategic Services (1) a summary of what has been accomplished, (2) an examination of the situation out of which need for the work arose, (3) a sketch of the continuing organization which has been effected, and (4) some observations on the future.

CONFIDENTIAL

## I. WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

First steps toward the organization of the Foreign Nationalities Branch were taken in November 1941 following an intimation by officers of the Department of State to General William J. Donovan, then Coordinator of Information, that a systematic reading, from the diplomatic viewpoint, of the foreign-language press in the United States would be helpful in the conduct of our foreign relations. Coupled naturally with that assignment were (1) some broader contact with the foreign nationality groups for whose use the foreign-language press is published; (2) day-to-day study of the agitations which were afoot among them on foreign political issues; and (3) friendly contact with those foreign publicists and political leaders who, arriving here as refugees, still hoped to promote their causes from American shores and to enlist therefor the sympathy of their American cousins and the support of American official influence.

There was no precedent for the undertaking. The Bureau of the Budget had to be convinced and numerous interdepartmental adjustments effected. So it was early 1942 before the Branch began to take on reality and to circulate its memoranda and reports.

During the three years which have ensued—that is, up to 31 December 1944—more than one thousand releases, mostly classified confidential or secret, have been put out. They have gone to the Director of Strategic Services and other officers and branches of OSS and to OSS theater offices abroad; to the Secretary of State and other officers and divisions of the Department of State and to American diplomatic missions abroad; to the Executive Office of the President; to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Army and Navy intelligence services; to the office of the Attorney General and the Federal Bureau of Investigation; to Censorship; and also on appropriate occasion to the Office of War Information, the Federal Communications Commission, and others.

The output of the three years adds up in all to 7,000 pages, something like a million and a half words, and is now being bound in sixteen volumes. There have been 225 reports, or larger scale studies, 296 bulletins, 271 reports of public meetings, 152 news notes (a series begun only recently), and 126 special memoranda addressed jointly to the Director of Strategic Services and the Secretary of State. In addition the Chief of the Branch has sent some 300 informal letters to various

CONFIDENTIAL

officers of the State Department conveying specialized bits of information.

A *Handbook* of foreign nationality groups in the United States has also been published. It brings together in 185 pages information respecting the composition and location of the thirty-odd groups, lists their newspapers and organizations, and summarizes their attitudes and activities in relation to the current issues of foreign politics. Nothing of the sort was previously available.

The volume of the Branch's output during three years has surprised even the writer of the present report, because he remembers that 1942 and early 1943 were still pioneering times. Only 1944 can be accounted a year of fully ordered going and production. Also, it can be said in all conscience that quantity has not been striven for. On the contrary, the unrelenting effort has been toward selection and brevity. The 3-year total of 7,000 pages truly reflects, therefore, the bountiful yield of newly cultivated ground.

#### NATURE OF THE OUTPUT

The nature of this yield of political intelligence may be indicated under three headings:

- (1) *Reflection in the United States of situations abroad and foreshadowing here of possible developments abroad.*
- (2) *Diplomatically unrecognized movements and dissident agitations.*
- (3) *The American democratic process: pressures at Washington touching points in international relations.*

(1) During these first three years of the Branch's operation (1941-44) nearly all of Europe was closed to any sort of free political life. The "governments-in-exile" kept as close to their homes as possible, but in most cases their largest free constituencies—indeed, their only large constituencies—were here in the United States. These American constituencies are removed from "old country" problems not in space alone but more particularly in time, and there are distortions also in the numerical relations between different national and political elements here and there, but the old mentalities are in some degree preserved and communications have never been wholly severed despite the political embargoes. Though the American mirror is for these reasons not perfect, it has been proven possible to obtain through the study of newspaper and other utterances in the United States some idea, in certain cases a very good idea, of what was to be expected on the European scene as the process of liberation went forward.

The Carpatho-Russians (Carpatho-Ruthenians) offer a good example. There are approximately as many of this ethnic group in the

CONFIDENTIAL

United States as in the homeland, which was part of Hungary before the First World War and after that became the eastern tip of Czechoslovakia. The decision in 1919 to join Czechoslovakia was based partly on the outcome of a plebiscite then conducted among Carpatho-Russian-Americans in the United States. That the Tartar Pass, an age-old sally-port through the Carpathians from east to west, lies in their territory and their valleys debouch on to the plain of Hungary, imparts to the poor and rugged Carpatho-Russian homeland a disproportionate importance.

An American Carpatho-Russian Congress convening at Pittsburgh during July 1942 denounced Czechoslovakia for having (allegedly) treated its Carpatho-Russian minority ill and recorded a conviction that the destiny of the Carpatho-Russians in Europe was linked with that of "Mother Russia." Moscow gave no sign of encouragement. Yet the agitation of the Carpatho-Russian-Americans for union of the "old country" with the USSR has grown rather than abated. Very recently the problem has begun to transpire in the general American press, receiving one of its earliest spot-news treatments in a special dispatch from a *New York Times* correspondent in London published in that paper 22 January 1945. Through contact with the rather obscure Carpatho-Russian community in the United States this Branch had been enabled to delineate the situation as early as 11 October 1943 in a report entitled "Carpatho-Russia, Clue to Soviet Policy?" A half-dozen subsequent releases carried the story to the present; the latest was a bulletin of 5 February 1945 entitled "A Carpatho-Russian Soviet Republic?"

Likewise, it has been possible to deduce from agitation among Slovak groups in the United States against "Benes centralism" in the Czechoslovakia of 1919-38 that the new Czechoslovakia would have to be reorganized on a basis of much wider local autonomy. In October 1944, after protracted hesitation, President Benes publicly announced that such would be the case. The Branch's current reporting on this matter was amplified from 1941 on by informal contact with Milan Hodza, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia 1935-38 and Benes' chief political opponent, until Hodza's death at Clearwater, Florida, March 1944.

As Yugoslavia, not less thoroughly than Czechoslovakia, was sealed off by the German armies from the world and any sort of normal political development, the mirror created by the presence of Croat, Slovene, and Serbian elements in the United States has proved serviceable also. Reports by this Branch based on its contacts among these groups have contributed, reliably it has proved, to an understanding of political potentials in Yugoslavia itself.

Cases could be multiplied, but those of Carpatho-Russia, Czecho-

CONFIDENTIAL

slovakia, and Yugoslavia will serve to illustrate how situations abroad can be reflected in the United States and possible developments foreshadowed. The opportunity thus created for useful political intelligence has been still further enlarged by the presence here as political refugees of a good number of European practitioners of the art of politics, whose intimate knowledge of situations and trained acumen were found to be worth consulting in selected instances. The State Department and other executive agencies can hardly cultivate contacts of this sort very freely without putting an official cachet on the individuals in question and inviting criticism from politically hostile quarters. It has been feasible for the Foreign Nationalities Branch, however, to talk intimately and as frequently as needed with such men. When the information or opinions elicited seemed worth it, and after the necessary correctives had been applied for partisanship, it has circulated summaries to interested quarters.

The following names may be mentioned as illustrative in this connection:

Don Luigi Sturzo, Count Carlo Sforza, Alberto Tarchiani, Alberto Cianca, Colonel Randolph Pacciardi, Ambrogio Donini, Giuseppe Berti, Heinrich Bruening, Gottfried Treviranus, Thomas Mann, Karl Spiecker, Paul Tillich, Paul Hagen, Siegfried Aufhaeuser, Julius Deutsch, Friedrich Adler, Ferdinand Czernin, Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Archduke Otto of Habsburg, Bishop Athenagoras, Emmanuel Tsouderos, Sophocles Venizelos, Basil Vlavianos, Constantine Chekrezi, Bishop Fan Noli, Ivan Subasich, Sava Kosanovich, Franc Snoj, Bishop Dionisije, Tibor Eckhardt, Rustem Vambery, Alexander Kerensky, Victor Chernov, Theodore Dan, Raphael Abramovitch, Charles A. Davila, Feliks Gross, Stefan de Ropp, Wacław Bitner, Oscar Halecki, General Kazimierz Sosnkowski, Ignacy Matuszewski, Antanas Smetona, Milan Hodza, Jan Papanek, Adrien Tixier, Alexis Leger, Jacques Maritain, Henri de Kerillis, Henry Torres, Paul Vignaux, Frans van Cauwelaert, Jose Antonio de Aguirre, Julio Alvarez del Vayo, Diego Martinez Barrio, Fernando de los Rios.

(2) UNRECOGNIZED MOVEMENTS

The experience of the last three years in the Foreign Nationalities Branch, following twenty years with the State Department at an earlier period, has much impressed this writer with the importance of some systematic and discreet contact on the part of the United States Government with unrecognized movements and dissident agitations. Something apart from the ordinary diplomatic machinery is needed,

CONFIDENTIAL

because even when discretion does not estop the regular diplomatic staff from contacts of this type, simple geography frequently does so. More often than not movements of the kind in question, ranging from outright revolutionary plotting to the milder forms of political opposition, base themselves of necessity outside of the country to which they relate.

Consider, for example, the Spanish Republicans at the present time. Mexico City is the principal center of their planning and agitation against the Government of Franco. New York City is important also. The Foreign Nationalities Branch has regularly reported on the course of this political activity. It has maintained informal contact with the chief personalities, including the leaders of the Catalan and Basque autonomy movements.

More dissident agitations fail in the end than succeed, and it may be years before success comes to the ultimately successful. They are political realities meantime, however. Successful and unsuccessful alike are affecting the general course of political events in some degree.

The stupid consequences which can flow from neglect to keep in touch with every possibility in the realm of politics have been made clear to this writer through personal experience. Leon Trotsky lived in New York during 1916-17, and went from New York fairly directly to Petrograd. Some prior informal contact with this dark horse would have been entirely feasible. Yet when the Bolshevik outbreak of November 1917 surprisingly succeeded, no one among the American diplomatic and consular staff in Russia really knew anything about Trotsky, and least of all had any footing been created for friendly informal contact with this decisively emergent figure. It may be added that even the more experienced British were so ludicrously unready for the November coup that Bruce Lockhart, then a lowly vice consul, got the jump on all his colleagues and started toward an eventual knighthood, because he remembered that Trotsky had figured in the revolutionary disturbances of 1905, and also because he, almost alone, had some idea what Lenin and Bolshevism were all about.

To understand how dissident agitations taking form in the United States may subsequently figure on the international scene, it is necessary only to recall the coming of the Irish Free State into being in the years before 1921. The human energy, the money and the political leverage on Great Britain were all found among us here. The burning of Czechoslovakia during World War I occurred in good part in the United States, as is so well known.

It is not to be doubted that like experiences are destined to recur. In addition to the Spanish Republicans, already mentioned, the United States is at this very moment the locus of several agitations against foreign governments with which we are in normal diplomatic rela-



CONFIDENTIAL

tions. Meeting in New York September 1944 representatives of the dominant Ukrainian organizations of the United States and Canada agreed to pool their efforts to keep alive the fires of Ukrainian nationalism. This was reported fully in the Branch's B-282 of 21 November 1944. The conference appeared to owe some of its initiative to Ukrainians in the Argentine, and the movement was well publicized by Ukrainian nationalist papers throughout the Western Hemisphere. Communist quarters denounced it as a German-inspired attempt to whip up an anti-Soviet crusade among the nationalities now being liberated by the Red Army.

Agitations against the Soviet Union more important than the Ukrainian are now making use of, and will continue to make use of, the freedom of agitation proffered by America. Protests against Soviet Russian policy toward Poland are heard most loudly here, of course, and here in America such agitation finds its most sensitive political response. During the last three years the Foreign Nationalities Branch has kept the appropriate American authorities currently advised on the Polish-American situation, and on analogous activities among the Lithuanian-Americans. Releases in the Polish field, many confidential or secret, add up to 154 for the three years, and in the Lithuanian field to 46. Even if the bulk of Polish-Americans and Lithuanian-Americans in due course reconcile themselves to actual solutions respecting Poland and Lithuania, it will be necessary still to count on important Polish and Lithuanian irredentist agitations going on here for an indefinite time to come.

The Foreign Nationalities Branch has reported some incipient agitation in Portuguese-American circles against the Government of Salazar, and still other reporting during the last three years could be cited under the present general heading. Reference will be made, however, to only one case further.

It is the Zionist movement. This activity, having its chief center in the United States, impinges on our relations with Great Britain comparably to the pre-1921 movement for Irish freedom. It affects the position of the United States vis-a-vis peoples and rulers in the Middle East, and toward Soviet Russia too. Now more than ever the United States has become leading spokesman in the councils of nations for Jewish causes. Study of the course of the Zionist movement in the United States from the viewpoint of foreign politics has been an important activity of this Branch. In the course of 1942 to 1944 thirty-five papers have been put out, adding up to some 200 pages.

### (3) THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the new field of political intelligence which the Branch has been working into shape is its rela-

**CONFIDENTIAL**

tion to the American democratic process. The so-called foreign nationality groups are parts of the electorate. Their aroused concern over foreign issues acquires its telling effect from their influence as voters. In that quality they command the attention of those who shape American policy at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. For that reason these new parts of the American population—which were mostly of humble origin in the old homelands and as often politically neglected there, and are still working forward in the American social-economic scale—have now become through the American metamorphosis the recipients of frequent and respectful attention from foreign governments and from leaders seeking to change or replace those governments. The utterances of foreign-language newspapers, which singly are with few exceptions pretty weak enterprises, are listened to, and seem worth listening to, because they make up a part of that broad chorus of opinion with which democratic leaders harmonize their more particular arias.

All of this is right and proper. It is how American democracy works. The assigned task of the Foreign Nationalities Branch is that of the simple intelligence officer. In fulfilling that function, however, the Branch has become, quite automatically, a mechanism for conveying to those charged with the formulation of foreign policy the thoughts on particular points of foreign policy which are currently astir among those sections of the electorate which in many ways are the most directly concerned. The right of petition is a well cultivated habit in the United States, and it is exercised by the foreign nationality groups as much as by any. The State Department and the White House are never without direct submissions from these quarters. But it is believed that never before in our history have all the multifarious indications of various opinion been so carefully gathered together at one point as they have been during the past three years by the Foreign Nationalities Branch in respect of the foreign nationality groups, and analyzed and equitably reported.

The Branch has come to be conscious of a particularly grave responsibility in this regard. In the preparation of memoranda and reports the staff has striven to impart to the raw data of opinion and activity coming over its desks an understanding interpretation. No field of political study could be more highly charged with drama. The "raw data" just referred to issue from the loves and hopes, the frustrations and hates, of some tens of millions who, directly or indirectly, have been ground out of the European turmoil at its more unpleasant end and are still making their footing in a new milieu. It is a grave and moving task to attempt to be interpreters for such.

From the democratic viewpoint the case of the Italian-Americans has seemed foremost during the last three years. Italian-Americans of

CONFIDENTIAL

the first and second generation total five million, and of course their political influence has been increasing as they moved forward economically and socially. Attitudes among them can now have decisive political effects in New York State, for example. They constitute a first-rate factor in the trade-union world. It seems plain that United States policy toward Italy since the capitulation has differed from the British, for example, correlatively with the weight of Italian-American elements in the domestic political scales.

Sensitive and generous by temperament, the Italian-Americans have suffered a peculiarly painful emotional sequence with the constructive phase of Fascism, the hero-worship of Mussolini, the Ethiopian and Greek wars, the Italian declaration of war on the United States, the American invasion, the debunking of Mussolini and Fascism, the physical destruction among the villages they remember, and the suffering that continues. At the end of 1944 the Branch had circulated a total of 111 releases on foreign-political activity in the United States touching Italy primarily.

These releases have elicited a particularly lively response. In November 1944 a request was received from the OSS Reports Section in Rome to be supplied with ten additional copies each of FN memoranda and reports on Italy. OSS and State Department agencies in Italy had been receiving them for some time past. The additional copies were wanted to meet requests which had come in from various Allied organs in Italy, and United States military and naval authorities.

It seems appropriate to mention also at this point the value which the Honorable Anthony J. Drexel Biddle found in all the FN output during the time he was American Ambassador, collectively, to the exiled governments in London. When back in the United States during December 1943 he stated to the OSS Planning Group that FN reports, notably on the Polish situation, had been of "inexpressible benefit" to him. They were "the finest pieces of work that could be imagined on this subject." Having subsequently been commissioned in the Army and attached to General Eisenhower's staff, early in 1945 Colonel Biddle asked to be supplied with the FN releases for use at his new post.

There has already been occasion to refer to the Polish field. Plainly the concern felt by the 3,000,000 or so Polish-Americans for their unhappy homeland has become a lively factor in recent American politics. Up to the end of 1944 the Branch had issued 154 papers in the Polish area. This was the top figure in any one area. Acknowledgment of the value of these releases had come from a number of important quarters in addition to Mr. Biddle.

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Reference may be made finally to a number of over-all studies of topics which range broadly across the whole field of the foreign nationalities. Such have been FN Number 176 of 8 March 1944, a 25-page study of "The Eastern Orthodox Church in the United States"; Number 129 of 24 May 1943 on "Federation in Central and Eastern Europe"; Number 209 of 26 August 1944, "American Peace Organizations and Foreign Influence"; and Numbers 170 and 215 of 28 January 1944 and 25 October 1944 on "Soviet Russia and the Peoples of Europe," Parts I and II.

CONFIDENTIAL

## II. THE SITUATION OUT OF WHICH NEED FOR THE WORK AROSE

The broad aspect of American life out of which the foregoing matters issue continued to be comprehended no more than vaguely by most American officials. Truth is that those who undertook the organization of the Foreign Nationalities Branch were at the time innocent enough and had to labor through a deal of exploration before they began to obtain anything like a clear-cut view of the operational terrain. The findings of the first eighteen months were reduced to form in the 185-page *Handbook*, mentioned above, which was published under date of June 1943 but was actually in hand only in September of that year.

Three principal factors, it was found, gave to the phenomenon of foreign politics in the United States its special vigor and importance. These were (1) the cosmopolitan character of our electorate, (2) the towering influence of the United States in the world's affairs, and (3) the freedom of political discussion and activity accorded here to all and sundry.

It was noted in the Foreword to the *Handbook* that —

The United States is a nation formed by 135,000,000 people who are related to each other, not in the racial sense, but in being democratically minded. Ideas, rather than race or nationalism, have guided American history. Quite in the logic of history and the American tradition therefore the present war, which is primarily a struggle of ideas, gives emphasis anew to our unity in basic principle and at the same time to the wide variety of race and nationality which still exists in the United States and helps to shape our political life.

More than one-fourth (35,000,000) of the present inhabitants of the United States either were born abroad or were born in the United States of foreign or mixed parentage. If we subtract those (mostly from the British Isles and Ireland) who, though born abroad or born here of foreign parentage, have English as their mother tongue, 25,000,000 still remain, or nearly one-fifth of the population. One-fifth of our countrymen, that is, are very recently derived from Continental Europe or the Near East and are disposed by sentiment to concern themselves—often actively, sometimes passionately—with the fate of the lands whose culture they still share in some degree.

CONFIDENTIAL

Twenty million or nearly one-sixth of our people are recently derived from the 19 countries of Central and Eastern Europe, namely—Germany, Italy, Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. It is precisely in this Central and Eastern part of Europe that the most intricate and highly charged political problems of the coming peace arise.

Against this demographic background, and interplaying with it politically, was the eminence of power to which the United States had risen in the world. The hopes of the outcast transport them always to the seats of power. The gravitation must be redoubled by the presence there of sympathetic hosts. The experience of the first year and a half had convinced the Foreign Nationalities Branch that "our American citizens are American citizens first of all"—but, it was written in the *Handbook*, "the so-called foreign-nationality groups—that large portion of our citizens which retains concurrently a lively concern for the fate of their 'old countries' overseas—have been stirred into a new self-consciousness and life. A political situation results, a political experience has begun, which is likely to make increasing demands on our attention as the war progresses, as the peacemaking approaches, and as we begin the work of relief and rehabilitation." How richly that prognosis has been fulfilled is attested by the still mounting curve of FN output.

The almost untrammelled freedom which the American people accord to political discussion, organization, and activity of all kinds has been a third fundament. Compared with World War I, controls have been less strict during the present more drastic experience. Whereas 25 years ago foreign-language papers had to run English translations in parallel columns, this time the foreign-language papers have been allowed the same almost abusive freedom as the standard English-language press. Only two or three sheets have been closed down. In Brazil President Vargas simply blotted out the foreign-language press. What has happened here testifies to the strength of our democracy, and it has greatly facilitated the work of the Foreign Nationalities Branch by keeping its clientele fully vocal.

Outside of the field of criminality, which has been so well taken care of by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, only one restrictive statute has been widely felt. That is the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Designed not to stop, but simply to label by source publicly and truthfully, all special pleading in the United States from foreign sources, it seems beyond question a wise and necessary measure. But a statute of that kind is difficult to draft and perplexing to enforce; and the situation has been complicated by the disposition of a good

CONFIDENTIAL

many honest foreigners here to regard registration under the Act as something like the registration of prostitutes and so to resist what is not in fact intended to be derogatory. The section in the Attorney General's office which has had the enforcement of the statute in hand has shown moderation and good sense.

The atmosphere of freedom and the practical attributes of freedom were thus preserved in the United States during the years under consideration, and one among numerous happy results was to let the policy-making authorities of the United States be made aware at all times, and always by fair and open means, of the currents of thought and action on foreign political issues which were running through that very large segment of our population composed by the thirty-odd foreign nationality groups. The foreign-language press was the great megaphone but a complicated instrument and not easy to listen to, as will be made clear in the section following.

The other main source of intelligence has been direct contact with people in the foreign nationality groups. Personal contact of this kind is facilitated in the case of most of the more recently come groups, notably those of Slavic race, because these people are in greatest part city dwellers. Their life heads up in relatively few great urban centers such as New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, Boston, and perhaps a dozen other points. Especially in the case of the Slavic groups large numbers of them, and particularly the leaders, are mobilized, moreover, in "fraternal organizations" or mutual insurance societies. According to the December 1944 issue of the *Slavonic Monthly*, the Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Carpatho-Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Lusatian, and Macedonian "fraternals" have close to 13,000 lodges in the United States with approximately 2,000,000 members. Their total assets were reported as of the order of \$250,000,000 and insurance carried as more than a billion.

This social structuring has facilitated personal contact for the gathering of political intelligence, but one has to look out. Leaders and committees pretend to speak for precise and large numbers of constituents. Many of those who have been more or less honestly counted are in fact, however, no more than policy-holders who have their minds on eventual sickness and burial rather than European politics.

So far as they are politically minded the politics which interest them may be primarily those of the "fraternal." A good number of the "fraternals" pay their officers sizable salaries and the posts are much sought after. Then there are the editorial chairs in the foreign-language newspapers, a good many of which are fraternal organs. The occupants of both types of jobs must justify their existence.

CONFIDENTIAL

American domestic politics (where the foreign nationality pattern is an old familiar and was very specifically worked by both sides in the 1944 elections) provides another venue still. The issues of European politics are thus brought into the life of the foreign-language groups in more ways than one. Those who are concerned primarily with Europe or American policy toward Europe agitate these issues with an eye to moral support in the United States. At the same time other individuals, who have become Americanized beyond any deep emotional concern for European affairs, seize nevertheless upon the emotional appeal of European issues as means for advancing their personal interests on the American scene — election to a public or “fraternal” office, gaining subscribers for a newspaper, or whatever else.

Other correctives have had to be kept in mind. The following was written in the Foreword to the *Handbook*:

From the beginning the United States has been peopled by those, speaking broadly, who were dissatisfied with economic, religious, or political conditions in their original homelands; and in the successive waves of migration peasants and artisans have been represented in much greater proportion than in the societies from which they came. A high proportion have stemmed from ethnic minorities. We are, in sum, a Nation of dissidents retaining, often for a long time after becoming good Americans absorbed in American life, the resentments which moved us hither.

The one-sixth of our population who have come most recently, and from the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, are not different in these respects. They tend predominantly to represent minorities and dissidents. When, therefore, one views the politics of Europe reflected here in their thoughts and activities, it is necessary to allow for some distortions—first, of numerical distribution. For example, in Yugoslavia Serbs outnumber Croats and Croats outnumber Slovenes. In the United States these proportions are reversed. In Czechoslovakia Czechs are more numerous than Slovaks. In the United States the numerical discrepancy is not so great. The Arabic-speaking people of the Near East are mostly Moslem in religion, but those who have migrated to the United States derive from the Christian minority with the result that nearly all the Arabic-speaking element here is Christian in its religious affiliation.

Finally, allowance must be made in nearly every case for a political time lag. The American foreign-language group is likely to be thinking in a frame of factual and sentimental reference which has become in some degree outdated in the homeland by the passage of later events.



CONFIDENTIAL

This phenomenon, natural whenever groups of people are transplanted, has become especially marked in the United States since free immigration ceased about 1920.

Then there have been the political refugees who began to come with Hitler's advent to power and increased in number after the fall of France in 1940. While the full count of all those who might be called political refugees, arriving from Europe since 1933, may run to half a million, the individuals among them of real political consequence in relation to particular situations abroad are to be counted by tens or hundreds at the most. In the case of Poland the count of politically consequential figures, according to the experience of this Branch, would not go beyond 200; France and Italy, each about the same; Czechoslovakia 100; Germany 50; Yugoslavia 40; Russians, taking flight again from Paris in 1940, 30; Austria, Hungary and Spain, each 20; and so on.

The emphasis in the case of the refugees has, therefore, not been on quantity but on individual interest, careful selection, and personal cultivation. Those who were found to possess the greatest interest have already been named on page 5 above.

New York City is naturally the chief center. The number residing in Washington has been very few. Those living elsewhere found Washington a difficult city to visit, especially with slim purses. Consideration was given at one point to moving FN to New York, but it was deemed better to keep the main operation in direct contact with other branches of the Government in Washington and to have a small but very carefully equipped office in New York. This will be spoken of further in the next section, which deals with the development of the FN organization since 1941.

CONFIDENTIAL

### III. SKETCH OF THE ORGANIZATION WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPED

To cope with the task of (1) extracting from the social and political situation outlined in the preceding section an adequate, balanced stream of raw intelligence data and (2) working this material into correct and succinct reports, the Foreign Nationalities Branch was organized in two divisions. The Field Study Division was charged with the first task primarily, the Chancery Division with the second; but the Branch was to remain a small organization, a team rather than a system, and everyone helped out where he could.

How to cover the foreign-language press was the first problem. Not less than 1,500 periodicals (dailies, semiweeklies, weeklies, monthlies) could be counted in all. The total number of different languages was said to be 53. Until September 1943 the Department of Justice was having much of this formidable array of matter regularly scanned by a staff numbering 125 or more. The summaries produced were helpful but they were required to serve a number of different interests and the State Department had found the foreign-political viewpoint not to be sufficiently segregated and developed to meet its particular requirements.

Language-equipped personnel could hardly have been recruited for another staff such as that already existing in the Department of Justice, even if the Bureau of the Budget had not stood in the way of such a duplication. So recourse was had to volunteer help and a ready response was found among university faculties preeminently. Within a surprisingly short time 100 to 150 scholars at 20 or so universities, commanding among them the necessary languages, were doing a good part of the needed press scanning as a contribution to the war effort. They translated and summarized from the particular viewpoint of American foreign relations. It was by no means necessary to exhaust the whole range of 1,500 items, but some 200 of the more considerable papers were taken care of in this way, 25 to 30 languages coming into play; and the work still goes on. During the twelve months ended December 1944 press readings received numbered 9,879.

As inevitably with volunteers the results are spotty, but done as they are by scholars, many of the reports possess an intellectual quality which could never be had from ordinary workers at Government rates. In addition a working tie has been established between the Branch

CONFIDENTIAL

and the academic world which has proved helpful in various ways; and the system has enabled a good number of citizens to hold to their necessary normal tasks and still give to the war effort in a specifically personal way. Supplementary readings have been provided through contract with a newspaper-translating bureau in New York and it has remained necessary for the regular staff in Washington to scan without delay some of the most important foreign-language papers. But the system of volunteer readers went some distance towards solving a difficult problem in an extraordinarily satisfactory manner.

From 1943 to the beginning of 1945 the volunteer reading system was headed up at Princeton, where the Institute for Advanced Study generously contributed—for the Princeton Office of Volunteer Readings, as it was called—office space and incidental services.

PERSONAL CONTACTS

The second task for the Division of Field Study was to arrange means of personal contact with leaders in the foreign nationality groups and with the more important political refugees. A field representative was established at San Francisco in January 1943 and another at Pittsburgh in March of that year. An office was set going in New York in April. At the end of 1944 the Branch had in addition representatives in Chicago, Madison-Milwaukee, Cleveland-Detroit, and Boston.

The yield of information from Pittsburgh has been particularly rich. Pittsburgh is a remarkable place from the viewpoint of the work of this Branch. More than one-third of the city's total population of 672,000 are foreign-born or the children of foreign-born. More than 75,000 first- and second-generation Slavs live there; 49,000 of equally direct Italian extraction; 47,000 German. Pittsburgh is an important center as well for Polish-American elements, Carpatho-Russian, Czechoslovak (predominantly Slovak), Yugoslav, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Hungarian. Fifteen among the largest foreign-language "fraternals" have their headquarters there. There are a dozen important foreign-language newspapers. Agitation on foreign political issues is incessant and various.

The unusually able officer who took on the Pittsburgh assignment in the spring of 1943, and has continued with it since, had to make contact with local leaders of the several groups, overcome their natural disposition to regard him as one more "Government spy," assuage their partisan and racial jealousies, and seem to give them something in return for the information they gave him. At the end of 1944 the list of his "going" contacts ran to 100, and he had forwarded no less than 900 memoranda and reports to Washington.

CONFIDENTIAL

New York proved a different sort of problem. There the proportion of first- and second-generation Americans is higher than in Pittsburgh, but organizational heading-up of the American type does not occur in New York on the scale characteristic of Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Chicago. New York is nearer to Europe. It is in New York that nearly all the foreign political refugees, or those of continuing political importance, reside. During 1943, for example, no less than six Yugoslav ministers of state were living there.

The Branch gave special attention to the location and physical surroundings of its New York headquarters. After a season in conventional office space, the small staff was established in an apartment house at 54th Street and Park Avenue. Here foreigners, frequently men of highest distinction in their own countries, could come without the sense of being bureaucratically summoned, and could talk with a freedom and intimacy hardly attainable elsewhere.

One or two regular officers of the Branch, together with administrative and clerical aids, have kept in continuing touch with the New York milieu. In addition, the Chief of the Branch has spent on the average two days of each week in New York, and "desk" heads have made irregular but frequent visits to extend their contacts or to work on particular problems. Finally a certain number of observers and field workers have been dependent from the New York Office, helping to cover the variety of meetings and organizational developments in this area. Since 1942 the number of reports and memoranda which have been sent from the New York Office to the desks in Washington have totaled nearly 2,700.

The field which the Field Study Division has had to cover by personal contacts, in parallel with the reading of the foreign-language press, was not only dispersed geographically but varied in character, demanding sharply different types of approach in different places. By means, however, of the small, but flexible and apt, field service which it was possible in time to build up, the Branch had come to feel, well before the end of 1944, in sufficient touch with the important movements of foreign-political feeling and activity. Parallel with the press readings, a constant stream of memoranda of conversations, meeting reports, and the like flowed into Washington headquarters. By letter, long-distance phone, and telegram the field workers were kept advised of lines of inquiry needing attention. In the same way reports could be quickly checked and verified.

Confidential lists have been completed from time to time of personal contacts active at date. At the end of 1944 the total count approached 2,500.

CONFIDENTIAL

## CHANCERY DIVISION

The two incoming streams of "raw data"—(1) press readings and (2) memoranda of conversations, meeting reports, and the like—are taken in hand upon receipt in Washington by the Analysis and Index Section of the Chancery Division. This Section is the Branch's intellectual larder. It is rich and well kept. The number of incoming reports, analyzed, briefed, and indexed, stood, at the beginning of 1945, at 14,590. Data had been abstracted and indexed on 20,170 individuals active in their respective ethnic groups in connection with foreign politics. Three thousand five hundred and forty-three organizations and 2,053 publications had been catalogued.

The Section has accumulated a small, carefully selected reference library.

As the work of the Branch developed, it became plain with respect to most of the ethnic groups that a balanced picture of their foreign-political life could not be had without reference to Canada and the countries of Latin America in addition to the United States. It chances, for instance, that the newspaper organ for North America of the Croat Peasant Party is published in Winnipeg. The diocese of the Serbian Orthodox Church, with its See in Chicago, embraces Canada as well as the United States. The diocese of the Greek Orthodox Church extends to South as well as North America. Italian immigrants are relatively as numerous in South America as in the United States; Spanish, German, Greek, Yugoslav, Arabic, and other areas of politics-abroad can be understood only in the larger framework of the Western Hemisphere.

The matter was discussed at the State Department early in 1944. The State Department has subsequently placed at the Branch's disposal reports from American diplomatic missions in Latin America touching the foreign nationality field. British and Canadian authorities have been equally kind in cooperating with respect to Canada. It became possible in consequence to enlarge a second edition of the *Handbook*, which was in preparation at the end of 1944, to include data on Latin America and Canada. Reports have been issued on "The Poles in Latin America," "Ukrainians in Latin America," "Second Conference of Italia Libre in Santiago (Chile)," "Election of French Deputies in the Western Hemisphere," "The International Garibaldi Alliance," the last heading up in Mexico City; and several reports on Spanish Republican activities have turned on Mexico City.

## THE "DESKS"

Producing units are the "ethnic desks" in the Chancery Division. There are in all some 30 ethnic groups to be covered. Of these 20

CONFIDENTIAL

are of first-rate importance. At the end of 1944 the number of analysts in charge of the several desks was ten. This meant that each principal analyst was responsible for at least two major desks (i. e., nationality groups) and one or two minor desks in addition. The total staff in Washington, counting clerical and all, was 47.

The analysts have been drawn in large part from the academic world. It is interesting to note that through the combined talent of the Washington staff we had at the end of 1944 working command of 25 languages in addition to English. That comprised all but 3 of the considerable languages of Europe and the Near East.<sup>1</sup>

A difficult combination of qualities is needed to make a good analyst in the foreign nationality field. He must be steeped in American and European history and politics. He must be intimate, or able rapidly to become intimate, with two or more national fields and possess the language equipment appropriate to them. He must be gifted with political insight and balance. He must be able to write succinct and lucid English. It is particularly hard to find capable workers who can truly understand particular national fields and still are not unbalanced by sentiment and prejudice.

The analyst reads and digests the flow of raw information which comes over his desk daily from the field sources. He himself, or an assistant, scans some of the more important foreign-language newspapers. He has personal contacts of his own in the ethnic groups which he is covering (American citizens and refugees) and also with colleagues elsewhere in the Government. It is pleasant to note at this point, with gratitude, the help which the FN staff has at all times had from R&A, SI, and other branches of OSS, from the geographical divisions in the State Department, the Foreign Agents Registration Section in the Department of Justice, the Federal Communications Commission, Censorship, FBI, OWI, and other agencies.

The papers prepared at the "desks" include long-term studies, detailed reports on the foreign-language press, current summaries and estimates, and spot news. At staff meetings twice a week and by informal consultation at all times among the "desks," the Editorial Section and the executive officers, timely lines of inquiry are fixed upon and projects scheduled.

Statistics of Branch output during the first three years have been noted above. At the end of 1944 the Branch was putting out 4 or 5 full-length reports a month, 10 to 20 bulletins, 30 or more news notes, and 10 or 12 meeting reports, along with occasional special memoranda to

---

<sup>1</sup> The languages commanded were Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, Ukrainian, Yiddish. Those lacking were Arabic, Estonian, Latvian.

CONFIDENTIAL

the Director of Strategic Services and the Secretary of State, and some informal letters to other officers of the State Department.

EDITORIAL SECTION

Early in its career the Branch developed an Editorial Section and it has profited much thereby. Papers are required from the desks in draft form, triple-spaced. Then they go through the wringer. The same holds for contributions from the Branch Chief or any one else.

The editorial workers take the drafts in hand, re-check facts—particularly names, dates, public events—using the resources of the Analysis and Index Section and their own retentive memories. The orthography of proper names, for example, creates a never-ending copy-reading chore.<sup>2</sup> The Editorial Section has gone far beyond copy-reading, however. It was seen from the beginning that the Branch had not only to issue reports but to get them read. It was competing for the attention of busy men. Format and type were carefully studied. Headpieces were offered the reader summarizing each longer paper. Above all, the effort to improve English style and readability has been tireless. Comments by readers of the Branch's output have abundantly affirmed the high practical usefulness of such constructive editorial effort.

Three years' experience with the Editorial Section has greatly strengthened a conviction which was already in the writer's mind. It is this, that not a few who are otherwise good intelligence officers still miss the mark by failing to write a story which will be read by those higher up, and attended to. It is easy to feel that the job is done with the gathering and organization of the facts and the segregation, so far as can be, of truth from untruth; but in developing the Editorial Section we have proceeded in the belief that there is need still for concise, crystal-clear, and convincing presentation. Without that the intelligence officer does not, as it were, drive through to the kill.

---

<sup>2</sup> The Branch is faced with no less than six different alphabets, viz., the Latin, Cyrillic, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Arabic.

CONFIDENTIAL

#### IV. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FUTURE

The Foreign Nationalities Branch was brought into being under the stimulus of the war effort, but at the end of three years a need seems to have been demonstrated for the indefinite continuance of its essential work in some appropriate form.

In 1941-42 three other governmental agencies were active in the foreign nationalities field. They were the Department of State, which did not at first relinquish its original activity; the Department of Justice, which was then feeling out broadly the extent of its responsibility under the Foreign Agents Registration Act; and the Foreign Language Division of OWI, which at that time went beyond its basic function of distributing information to the foreign-language press and sought to organize and influence positively the political forces running in the foreign-language groups.

By the middle of 1944 the Department of State had accepted the Foreign Nationalities Branch fully as its working arm in the foreign nationalities field, and the Department of Justice and the OWI had so drastically curtailed their earlier activities that the Foreign Nationalities Branch had become the single agency to which the Government looked for interpretative reports on political trends and activities among the foreign nationality groups in the United States and foreign political refugees here. It is believed that the narrowing-down ensued naturally from the inherent unity of the task, and presumably the several branches of the Government had found themselves to be satisfactorily served by the Foreign Nationalities Branch so far as political intelligence was their need.

As for the future, reference is made again to the three headings under which an account was given (beginning at page 3) of the development of the Branch's intelligence function to date, and to these "psychological warfare" is added, making the list to be as follows:

- (1) *Reflection in the United States of situations abroad and foreshadowing here of possible developments abroad.*
- (2) *Diplomatically unrecognized movements and dissident agitations.*
- (3) *The American democratic process: pressures at Washington touching points in international relations.*
- (4) *"Psychological warfare."*



CONFIDENTIAL

(1) With Europe and other parts of the world being restored to freedom, more or less, it is likely that the secondary type of political intelligence which has been obtainable these past three years by study of the reflections of foreign situations in the United States will recede in importance. If this were the sole aspect of the work of the Foreign Nationalities Branch we might look forward to the termination of the Branch as war conditions gave way to peace.

(2) There are other aspects, however. That relating to diplomatically unrecognized movements and dissident agitations will not fade but will almost certainly prove to be of increasing importance in the conduct of American foreign relations. The heart of the case has already been stated, page 5 ff. In keeping with our fundamental concept of liberty the United States has from the beginning played host to political underdogs. With the power of the United States now so greatly enhanced it is inescapable that this side of our foreign political life should grow still more multifarious and turbulent.

There is an international aspect as well. The approaching conference at San Francisco will attract many unofficial claimants in addition to the official delegations. Information will be needed regarding these. An informal, understanding contact with them can turn the edge of their insistence and relieve the pressures on the American delegates; it can help toward a fair hearing for just claims.

It is essential at all times to have regular contact, other than crass police surveillance, with movements-in-opposition which may some day be governments. The instance of the Russian Bolsheviks has already been cited. Recall how the Cuban insurrection was prepared in the United States. Apart from the possibility of their ultimate success, these movements are currently affecting our relations with other Powers. Consider the bearing of the Zionist movement on our relations with Great Britain and the influence, certain to be very perceptible in times ahead, of irredentist Polish and Lithuanian agitations on our relations with the USSR.

It is pertinent to remark also that political refugees, even when they seem wholly ineffective, may still be exerting, or preparing to exert, an influence which will in time come to be of importance. It is said that the Polish refugees of 1831 in France helped very noticeably to mold the political thinking of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Poland. The ultimate effects of the flight of the refugees from Europe to the United States since 1933 are still incalculable.

The State Department needs, therefore, to be kept informed currently about unrecognized movements and dissident agitations, and to have contact, but contact of a suitable kind. The Department can hardly have an accredited ambassador and some leader of the revolutionary opposition to that ambassador's government pass each other

**CONFIDENTIAL**

in its corridors. A unit such as the Foreign Nationalities Branch, operating as a part of the OSS, or some successor thereof, but in consultation with the State Department, meets the need.

So placed the Foreign Nationalities Branch, or its successor, could render a cognate service. It could keep the State Department apprised also of "unofficial" activities here by recognized governments. The revisionist agitations which can be counted upon to spring up after the new peace has been made will, among other things, impinge directly on the new international security system. In some cases they will be quietly encouraged, in others directly supported, by governments with which we are in regular diplomatic intercourse. Often they will "break surface," first of all perhaps, among the foreign nationality groups in the United States. There will be comings and goings and communications of various sorts to be watched, quietly and from a diplomatic viewpoint, and correlated with current utterances in the foreign-language press and other manifestations on the American domestic scene. To illustrate: Between wars a good number of Hungarian-Americans, active in "fraternal" and journalistic enterprises in the United States, were invited by the Horthy Government to visit the "old country." On returning these men played a significant role in shaping attitudes among the Hungarian-American population. American democracy must forever remain a court of appeal for the discontented. We shall have to look alive to avoid embarrassments. If we are acute, we can derive advantages.

(3) How to accommodate democratic government and the conduct of foreign relations in a world of sovereign states is one of the problems of the age. The United States has gone far in the molding of its foreign policy through the democratic process, and it is likely to go further. The foreign nationalities groups present a special problem in this connection.

The general trend toward Americanization since the last war has been unmistakable; but recently, in consequence of the second war and the presence here of dynamic personalities among the political refugees, a distinct increase of foreign-political awareness has been noticeable in the nationality groups. Following the wider American policy signaled at Yalta and the organization presently of a general system of security, Americans of recent foreign extraction may experience a sustained new interest in the politics of their former homelands. How intimately, already, the unfolding of new developments abroad is impinging on foreign nationalities here, may be illustrated by the cross-currents of political agitation relating to relief and rehabilitation. The Branch had issued no less than 23 papers in 1944 dealing directly with this subject.

CONFIDENTIAL

In any case the nationality groups are continuing to climb economically and socially and so in domestic political significance, and their pressures will be increasingly felt at the State Department and the White House as well as in the halls of Congress. It has come to be indispensable that those in authority should know in connection with these pressures who is who, what they want, and why—the petitioners themselves sometimes not knowing the real why of their action. The Department of Justice has an important contribution to make through the Foreign Agents Registration Section in the Attorney General's office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. An indispensable requirement still remains for political contact and appraisal. It is believed that the Foreign Nationalities Branch has developed in the course of the last three years a sound method of operation in this regard and that it should be continued.

If the Branch be placed organizationally apart from the State Department, the State Department may wish to consider the need for establishing in its own structure a sort of public relations office dedicated specifically to the foreign nationality groups. Such an office would receive petitions, speak for the Department and thus relieve the rest of the Department so far as possible. Between such an office and the Foreign Nationalities Branch, or its successor, the most intimate relationship would obviously be necessary.

(4) The matter of "psychological warfare" was not mentioned in the earlier parts of this report, because the Foreign Nationalities Branch has not so far taken a direct part in any such program. The bearing in this regard of the intelligence reports it has furnished is evident, however. The fact is that during this war the foreign nationalities were put to less constructive use than during the First World War. Any one particularly interested would find it worth while to read FN Number 147 of 1 September 1943, "The Foreign Nationality Groups and Psychological Warfare." There have been possibilities these past three years, though none perhaps at the moment politically sound. If, for instance, in dealing with the German problem the United States had decided to form a Free Austrian Committee, or a Bavarian Committee, along lines illustrated by the Russians with the Paulus-Seydlitz committee, the information at the disposal of the Branch and its personal contacts would have been indispensable factors. It is something to be kept in mind for the future. Psychological warfare so-called can become appropriate in situations which are not at all warlike in the ordinary sense.

\* \* \*

CONFIDENTIAL

At many points the writer of this report has repressed an impulse to name names and assign individual credit. To have done so would have been to clutter the text beyond the limits of easy reading or to have risked unfairness; and, more cogently still, it would have missed the truth. The truth is that the positive results which have been obtained are traceable one way or another to every one who has had a part these three years past in the Branch's development, and above all the results have been attributable to team work founded on a general devotion to the public interest. Individual acknowledgment is made therefore simply by listing on the pages following those who at one time or another have filled the posts of special responsibility.

I should like to note also how helpful it has been to the Branch, both practically and morally, to be part of the Office of Strategic Services, and to record the gratitude of all in the Branch for pleasant associations and many favors. It is a pleasure also to acknowledge our debt to officers of the State Department for encouragement and friendly counsel.

*Respectfully submitted,*

DEWITT C. POOLE  
*Chief, Foreign Nationalities Branch*

15 FEBRUARY 1945

CONFIDENTIAL

## THE FOREIGN NATIONALITIES BRANCH

The Honorable John C. Wiley, *exercising supervision*, Nov. 1941-  
Nov. 1943

### OFFICE OF THE CHIEF

Chief:	
DeWitt C. Poole	Nov. 41—
Deputy (Associate) Chief:	
Benjamin D. Meritt	Sept. 42—Jan. 43
Bjarne Braatoy	Sept. 44—
Assistant to the Chief:	
Francis F. Bowman, Jr.	Feb. 42—July 42
Liaison Officer:	
E. Bright Wilson	Nov. 41—June 43 Oct. 44—
Administrative Officer:	
Robert L. Reynolds	Sept. 42—June 43
Marcella F. Kennedy	May 44—
Administrative Assistant:	
Billie Jenkins	Feb. 42—Feb. 43
Corinne M. Poole	Dec. 42—Mar. 43
Marcella F. Kennedy	May 43—May 44
Mary B. Mooney	June 44—

### NEW YORK OFFICE

Field Representatives:	
T/3 Charles B. Friediger (Enl)	Nov. 43—
August Heckscher	Nov. 44—
Helen Crosby	Feb. 43—Oct. 43
Cornelia McCook	June 44—
Manager:	
Margaret I. Wheeler	Nov. 42—April 44
Wanda G. Slasko	April 44—

### FIELD STUDY DIVISION

Chief:	
Weston Howland	Feb. 42—July 42
Moses W. Beckelman	July 42—June 43
Malcolm W. Davis	July 43—Nov. 43
John P. O'Keeffe	Aug. 44—

CONFIDENTIAL

Field Representatives:

Arnold Margolin	Feb. 42–Nov. 42
William Kubalek	Mar. 42–Nov. 44
Carl F. Butts	Mar. 43—
Henry H. Balos	Nov. 43—
John Norman	Oct. 44—

PRINCETON OFFICE OF VOLUNTEER READINGS

In Charge:

Benjamin D. Meritt	Jan. 43–Aug. 43
Richard V. Lindabury	Aug. 43—

CHANCERY DIVISION

Chief:

Benjamin D. Meritt	April 42–Sept. 42
Robert L. Reynolds	Sept. 42–June 43
Carl W. Blegen	June 43—

Assistant Chief:

1st Lt. James S. Kronthal, AUS	Oct. 43–Sept. 44
--------------------------------	------------------

Analysts on Ethnic "Desks":

Robert L. Reynolds	Feb. 42–June 43
Benjamin D. Meritt	April 42–Jan. 43
Carl W. Blegen	Jan. 43—
Wm. Jay Gold	Mar. 42–Sept. 42
Lily Ross Taylor	July 43–Aug. 44
Oliver J. Frederiksen	Sept. 43–Dec. 44
Sanford Schwarz	Jan. 44—
Arthur M. Wilson	May 44—
Vincenzo Petrullo	Jan. 42–July 42
August Heckscher	Feb. 42–Aug. 43
Peter P. Klassen	Mar. 42–Sept. 43
Philip C. Horton	May 42–June 43
Richard V. Lindabury	Oct. 42–Aug. 43
Sgt. Spencer Taggart (Enl)	Feb. 44—
Marcel Grilli	Nov. 44—
Alex Dragnich	Nov. 44—
M. Alison Frantz	July 42—
Leon Shoob	Dec. 42—
Eleanor Clark	May 43—
Julian Towster	Mar. 44—
Sgt. Abraham G. Duker (Enl)	Nov. 44—
Flora L. Phelps	Feb. 42–June 44
Carl F. Butts	May 42–Mar. 43

CONFIDENTIAL

Irene A. Venit	Oct. 43—
Elizabeth McFadden	Nov. 43—
Karl W. Kalassay	Mar. 44—
Lauri A. Williams	Oct. 43—
Ria Braatoy	July 44—
Adelaide V. Sweetser	Mar. 43—Sept. 44
Mary Augustine	Sept. 44—
Analysis and Index Section:	
Chief:	
Courtlandt Canby	April 42—Sept. 42
1st Lt. James S. Kronthal, AUS	Oct. 42—Oct. 43
Marion L. Woodburn	Oct. 43—
Editorial Section:	
Chief:	
Wm. Jay Gold	Sept. 42—May 44
M/Sgt. Selden Rodman (Enl)	May 44—
Editors:	
Elise E. Thompson	Oct. 42—
Corinne M. Poole	Mar. 43—
Jane C. Klieforth	June 44—