

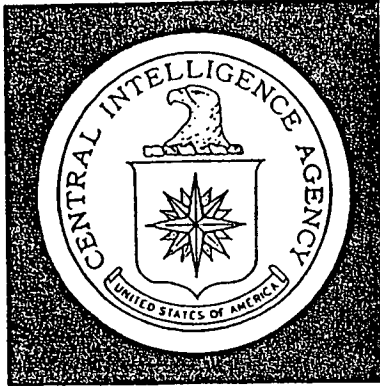
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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Directorate of Plans
October 1971

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE BRIEF*

THE HUNT FOR "GESTAPO MUELLER"

*Counterintelligence Briefs analyse significant espionage and counterespionage cases in the context of other clandestine and political events affecting -- and affected by -- these cases.

Note: This study was produced by CIA. Aside from normal substantive exchange with appropriate elements of this Agency, it has not been coordinated inside or outside CIA. This study was prepared by the Counterintelligence Staff of the Clandestine Service.

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Heinrich "Gestapo" MUELLER,
wearing his knight's cross
in 1944.

Foreword

Heinrich ~~MUELLER~~ MUELLER, SS Gruppenfuehrer and Lt. General of Police, last chief of the Nazi Gestapo, knew -- and could remember -- more about the skeletons in the closets of important Germans than any other person alive in 1945. As a source of information, either as a defector in place or a prisoner willing to cooperate, MUELLER would have been immensely valuable to Soviet counterintelligence.

Rumours that MUELLER survived the German collapse and either escaped or defected to the Russians never seem to die down. Did Heinrich MUELLER perish in the ruins of Berlin, or did he defect to the Russians in 1945? Was he perhaps already a Soviet agent? Was he simply used and later executed? Is he still hidden in some remote Soviet dungeon? Have the Russians merely been spreading rumours about a man long since dead, -- or escaped elsewhere -- to make the world believe they had custody of MUELLER, so that they could more easily blackmail their German targets? Twenty five years after the event, these are still fascinating and important questions.

(201-047132)

Most great counterintelligence feats, such as the apprehension of Adolf EICHMANN, MUELLER's specialist for Jewish matters who was finally run down in 1960, are the result of dedicated and endless investigation. Such searches cost a great deal. They also tend to generate vested interests and psychological phenomena -- even delusions -- which can cause an operation to continue long after it should have been terminated. Officers confronted with the decision as to whether and how far to follow a given trail tend to be torn between the fear of missing a big opportunity and the fear they may be pursuing a mirage or wasting time. Others become obsessed with a search. Publicity hounds, amateur sleuths, writers, fabricators, and provocateurs in the employ of interested parties, spread rumours and confuse matters still further. Moreover, as

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events recede into the background of history what was (or seemed to be) self-evident to contemporaries becomes mysterious and confusing. Records disappear, memories change, and those who study the events tend to evaluate them in the modern instead of contemporary context. The search for MUELLER provides a good illustration of these phenomena.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Foreword	v
Background and Historical Summary	1
Principal Personalities	5
Walter SCHELLENBERG's Suspicions	8
The Faithful Mistress	11
The Views of Heinz PANNWITZ	14
The Investigation of 1961	16
Walter LUEDERS: "I buried MUELLER"	19
Funerals in Berlin	21
MUELLER's Documents and Decorations	25a
Willy HOETTL and the Fox Lair Theory	27
WAST Confuses the Issues	32
(GOLENIEWSKI and EICHMANN Blame the Soviets	33
The Exhumation	34
Czech and Soviet Deception Gambits	37
The Israeli Burglary	39
Conclusions	39

Background and Historical Summary*

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Henrich MUELLER was born in Munich, Germany on 28 April 1900 and fought in World War I as an airplane pilot. After that war he entered the Munich Police Department and specialized in anti-communist operations. He early exhibited a fanatical hatred of communists. This allegedly developed as a result of his investigation of the communist murder of hostages during the brief Red Republic period in Bavaria. In the course of his career in the Munich police, he developed a high degree of professionalism and a very detailed knowledge of German communism. He also displayed a ruthless persistence in performing his duties. He attained the rank of Inspector of Police about the time that Adolf HITLER achieved power in Germany, as the leader of the National Socialist Worker's (Nazi) Party.

Meanwhile, two other men who were to play decisive roles in MUELLER's life had been making rapid progress. By April 1934 these men, Heinrich HIMMLER and Reinhard HEYDRICH, leaders in HITLER's rapidly growing new private elite army, the Schutzstaffel (Protective Group - SS) who had already become predominant in Bavaria, took control of the Prussian political police away from Hermann GOERING. The Prussian political police, then known as the Gestapa, formed the nucleus from which the Gestapo was evolved.

In the bloody purge of the Nazi Party Sturmabteilung (Storm Division - SA)** organization of Ernst ROEHM, masterminded by HIMMLER and HEYDRICH, which followed in June 1934,

* Those who need a detailed account of the activities of MUELLER and his associates are referred to: "THE ORDER OF THE DEATH'S HEAD", by Heinz HOEHNE, Coward McCann, 1969.

** The original storm trooper organization which supported HITLER consisted of riff-raff, homosexuals, and "roast beef Nazis" ("brown outside, but red inside") and got in HITLER's way after he attained power.

HIMMLER's SS and HEYDRICH attained great power. HEYDRICH became chief of the secret service of the SS and of the German political police. He desperately needed competent professional help and accordingly drafted Heinrich MUELLER into the Gestapo, immediately giving him important national security assignments which MUELLER carried out with his customary ruthless efficiency.

By 1937 MUELLER was ready to assume control of the rapidly expanding Gestapo, and HEYDRICH undertook to improve MUELLER's Nazi Party status. This effort proved unexpectedly difficult, because Bavarian Nazi Party members who knew MUELLER insisted MUELLER was not and never had been a National Socialist, was apolitical and would just as soon have jailed nazis as communists. HEYDRICH and HIMMLER rode roughshod over the objections of the party bureaucracy, and MUELLER was installed as chief of the Gestapo, technically RSHA Department IV.

MUELLER occupied himself first of all with the "Jewish Problem". At that time the nazis did not explicitly plan to exterminate the Jews. They were far more interested in the very profitable business of robbing them and deporting them from Germany. MUELLER and his new assistant Adolf EICHMANN, however, experienced great difficulties in achieving the desired rate of deportation of Jews, largely because of the unwillingness of most potential countries of refuge to admit them. With the outbreak of World War II, this effort ceased and was replaced with the now well-known extermination program initiated in 1941.

MUELLER played an important role in the preliminaries to the German invasion of Poland in 1939, providing the corpses for the fake Polish attack upon the German radio complex at Gleiwitz, which was the pretext for the German invasion of Poland. MUELLER not only supplied the corpses but also later pretended to investigate the incident, and reported that the bodies of the attackers were those of Polish soldiers in uniform.

MUELLER's simple wife could not keep up with his rapid rise in nazidom, and the couple became alienated but not

INSUF BIO DATA

divorced. About 1940 MUELLER acquired a mistress, One Anna SCHMID. She had been a friend of the MUELLER family and continued to be a friend of both his wife and his children.

In 1942 MUELLER played a very important role in the counterintelligence operations of the Gestapo, rounding up the SCHULZE-BOYSEN and other Soviet agent networks. In that year his main sponsor, HEYDRICH, was assassinated by Czech underground agents of the British intelligence service. MUELLER did not get on well with HIMMLER, but he continued to prosper in his career.

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In 1943 MUELLER proved the existence of an anti-HITLER conspiracy in the Abwehr (the German military intelligence service) and was able to eliminate one of his important Chief of ABWEHR rivals, its chief, Admiral CANARIS, thus becoming one of the most feared officials in Germany. In 1944 HIMMLER's SS took over the military intelligence and counterintelligence functions, practically liquidating the Abwehr. Only the counterintelligence function was given to MUELLER. The foreign intelligence function was transferred to Walter SCHELLENBERG, chief of RSHA/VI, (Foreign Intelligence), who set up the remnants of the Abwehr as his Military Office (Mil. Amt). As luck would have it, he put in charge of it a Colonel HANSEN who later turned out to be one of the main conspirators in the 20th July 1944 assassination attempt on HITLER. SCHELLENBERG was MUELLER's rival, but also collaborated with him in a few operations.

When the 20th July attempt by STAUFFENBERG to kill HITLER caught the Gestapo flatfooted, MUELLER reacted with a good deal less than his usual speed and efficiency. SS Chief HIMMLER and RSHA Chief KALTENBRUNNER provided the main energy for the drive to round up and annihilate the plotters, even though -- or perhaps because -- they had been exploring various schemes to get rid of HITLER themselves.

The Gestapo had been keeping various circles of anti-HITLER plotters under close observation, neutralizing them with timely arrests, and should have known about the

STAUFFENBERG group, because the security of that group was poor. No one censured MUELLER on that account, however. In fact, RSHA reports to HITLER about this assassination cabal depicted the conspirators as sheer geniuses and very well concealed.

MUELLER's operations against the Soviets were crowned with a good deal of real success. Through close cooperation with Hermann GOERING's so-called Research Office (The Forschungsamt), a wireless intercept and wire-tapping organization, MUELLER and ~~Heinz PANNWITZ~~ were able to run a number of skillfully orchestrated radio-play-back deception operations against them, using captured and doubled Soviet agents. The officer who handled a part of these operations for MUELLER was Christian SCHOLZ, who was also a close personal friend of MUELLER and lived in his quarters toward the end of the war.

Asst To Heinrich Mueller (201-742896)

In 1944 MUELLER was awarded the knight's cross (with crossed swords but not diamonds) in part for his general success and in part for his extermination of those who had sought to kill HITLER.

To all appearances, MUELLER continued faithful to his tasks to the end. He and SCHOLZ remained behind in the Chancellery after HITLER had killed himself and all others left to try to break out through the Russian encirclement. It would have been relatively easy for MUELLER and SCHOLZ to have surrendered or defected to the Russians. (However, they could hardly have foreseen how easy it would be when they allowed themselves to be caught in the Berlin trap.)

The pertinent activities of MUELLER, his associates, and the course of the subsequent investigations, as far as we have been able to trace them out, are recorded in detail in the chronology below:

Principal Personalities

2R ✓ []
ABAKUMOV, Viktor Semeonovich, commanded the enormous military and civilian counterintelligence task force of the NKVD/00 popularly called "Smersh" ("Death to Spies") and reported directly to STALIN. He was very successful in his operations against the Germans during the war and launched a major effort to round up and recruit important Germans; particularly intelligence and Gestapo personnel, for post-war secret operations in Germany. In 1946 he was made chief of the MGB. In 1951 he was arrested by STALIN and BERIYA, but he was apparently not executed until 1954-- by their successors.

V2R ✓ []
HOETTL, Willy, alias Walter HAGEN, born 19 March 1915, a former Abwehr officer who plotted against the nazis, testified at the Nuremberg Trials, and then wrote books. He has obdurately pushed the thesis that MUELLER and EICHMANN escaped. The apprehension of EICHMANN lent new weight to his words about MUELLER, but HOETTL's reliability and political loyalties are open to question.

V2R ✓ [] AKA
KASSNER, Johannes, born 5 October 1902 as KASUBOWSKI, was an RSHA officer in World War II, also a Soviet agent, associated with Hans LOELLGEN, q.v., and MUELLER.

H ✓ []
LURULD, Fritz, born 29 April 1880, allegedly died about 1951 in East Berlin. He was on duty at the Berlin Morgue in 1945 as deputy chief of the police detachment. He authenticated the MUELLER remains later found to be fraudulent. He was suspected of war crimes and irregularities and was eventually relieved of his job and his pension, reasons unknown.

V2R ✓ []
LESCRINIER, Bernard, born 21 January 1901, a German legman of UPI (United Press International) who had good access to the Soviet diplomat KUDRYAVTSEV in Bonn from whom he constantly gleaned items the Soviets wanted to feed into the western press. According to the questionable journalist, Peter STAEHLE, LESCRINIER put out a Soviet version which

controverted STAEHLE's story that MUELLER was alive and in Albania, but which did not deny that the Soviets once had MUELLER. LESCRINIER is now dead.

Sample ^{2R} LOELLGEN, Jakob, born 17 March 1897, was Chief of the Gestapo in Danzig in 1943. According to the defector GOLENIEWSKI, LOELLGEN helped ABAKUMOV subvert MUELLER. LOELLGEN was an associate of KASSNER, q.v., who was allegedly also involved in the MUELLER affair. Both these men made their way to West Germany after the war and set up a detective agency. They were superficially investigated by the West German intelligence service (the BND) in 1961 and, although suspicious evidence was developed, as far as is known the investigation was dropped. (Note: It would appear probable that, if LOELLGEN actually played the role ascribed to him by GOLENIEWSKI, he must have very important information on what the Soviets did with MUELLER. Why the Soviets would permit LOELLGEN to return to the West in that case becomes a minor mystery on its own.)

LUEDERS, Walter, born 20 September 1892, came forward almost 20 years after the war and described the finding and disposal of a body bearing documentation identifying it as MUELLER's.

^{2R} PANNWITZ, Heinz, born 28 July 1911, was the Gestapo officer immediately in charge of the "Red Orchestra" radio playback operation the Gestapo ran against the Soviet intelligence service for two and a half years, using doubled Soviet agents. He claims that, toward the end of World War II Heinrich MUELLER authorized them to implement SCHELLENBERG's "Operation PHOENIX" to foment distrust between the Soviet and Allied Governments. PANNWITZ claims that he went to the USSR with this mission in June 1945, posing as having been defected by the Soviet agent "KENT", who had in fact been doubled by the Gestapo. Whether and how far ABAKUMOV, who interrogated PANNWITZ personally, bought this story is not certain. At all events PANNWITZ served a long term in a Soviet prison before he returned to West Germany. Although many West German intelligence officials professed to believe that PANNWITZ had returned on

a mission for Soviet intelligence, they interposed no effective obstacle to his full re-habilitation as an official entitled to a pension. PANNWITZ reported the Soviet account of the demise of MUELLER which is quoted in this study at the appropriate point below.

RATTENHUBER, SS General Hans, born 30 April 1897, HITLER's bodyguard and a friend of Heinrich MUELLER. Emil BRUGGER in the book "Ein Schweitzer erlebt die Soviet Union", claims he saw RATTENHUBER, whom he did not personally know, in the USSR after the War. RATTENHUBER bore a superficial resemblance to MUELLER and wore a similar uniform. The West German intelligence service made efforts to find out what had happened to him, but the results are unknown and his fate remains a mystery.

^H SCHELLENBERG, Walter, ^{POB: Germany CIT: GERMANY} Chief of the RSHA Foreign Intelligence Service, who formed strong suspicions of MUELLER's loyalty.

SCHMID, Anna, born 9 December 1913, MUELLER's mistress.

^{H ✓ No. 201} SCHOLZ, Christian, ^{CIT: Germany POB: Germany} born 2 September 1908, specialist in radio-monitoring and deception operations for MUELLER (201-742896). SCHULZ, who appears to have been innocent of war crimes, remained in Berlin when he knew it was a trap and stayed with MUELLER to the end. He disappeared without a trace. ^{Berlin, 1945}

WIESENTHAL, Simon, born 31 December 1908, well-known Chief of the Jewish Documentation Center in Vienna, Austria, and given much public, but not official, credit for the apprehension of EICHMANN. WIESENTHAL maintained connections with every authority, East or West, likely to be of use in finding war criminals, but was afraid to enter the East. WIESENTHAL has lost no opportunity to stimulate the search for MUELLER.

Walter SCHELLENBERG's Suspicions

In 1951 Walter SCHELLENBERG, who had previously made similar statements under interrogation, commented as follows in his book THE LABYRINTH:

"My first serious suspicions about the sincerity of Mueller's work against Russia were roused by a long conversation I had with him the spring of 1943, after a conference of foreign-based police attaches. Mueller, with whom I stood more and more on a footing of open enmity, had been especially correct and courteous that evening. I imagined, because it was so late, that he had been drinking when he said he wanted to have a talk with me.

"He began talking about ROTE KAPELLE. He had occupied himself a great deal with the motives for these treason cases and with the intellectual background from which they stemmed.

" 'You will agree with me, I suppose, that from your own experience, the Soviet influence in Western Europe does not exist among the working classes alone--that it's also gained a hold among educated people. I see in this an inevitable historical development of our era, particularly when you consider the spiritual 'anarchy' of our Western culture, by which I mean to include the ideology of the Third Reich. National Socialism is nothing more than a sort of dung on this spiritual desert. In contrast to this, one sees that in Russia a unified and really uncompromising spiritual and biological force is developing. The Communists' global aim of spiritual and material world revolution offers a sort of positive electrical charge to Western negativism'.

"I sat opposite Mueller that night deep in thought. Here was the man who had conducted the most ruthless and brutal struggle against Communism in all its various forms, the man who, in his investigation of ROTE KAPELLE, had left no stone unturned to uncover the last ramifications of that conspiracy. What a change was here! Presently he said, 'You know, Schellenberg, it's really too stupid, this thing between us. In the beginning I thought we would hit it off very well in our personal and our professional relationship,

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but it didn't work out. You have many advantages over me. My parents were poor, I'm self-made; I was a police detective; I began on the beat and I learned in the hard school of ordinary police work. Now, you're an educated man; you're a lawyer, you've got a cultural background, and you've traveled. In other words, you're stuck fast in the petrified system of a conservative tradition. Take, for instance; men like those you know from the ROTE KAPELLE--Schulze-Boysen or Harnack--You know, they were intellectuals too, but of an entirely different kind. They were pure intellectuals, progressive revolutionaries, always looking for a final solution; they never got bogged down in half measures. And they died still believing in that solution. There are too many compromises in National Socialism for it to offer a faith like that; but spiritual Communism can. It's got a consistent attitude toward life which is lacking among most of our Western intellectuals, excepting perhaps some of the SS. I am not speaking now of the mass of the German people--they're steady and tough and courageous--nor of the heroism of our front-line soldiers: I am speaking of the intellectual elite and wishy-washy forms of their muddled spiritual attitude. National Socialism has never really possessed their kind or transformed them. If we lose this war, it won't be because of any deficiencies in our war potential; it will be because of the spiritual incapacity of our leaders. We haven't got any real leaders--we do have a Leader, the Fuehrer--but that is the beginning and the end of it. Take the mob immediately below him, and what have you got? You've got them all squabbling among themselves night and day, either for the Fuehrer's favors or about their own authority. He must have seen this long ago, and for some reason that's incomprehensible to me he seems to be exploiting this state of affairs in order to rule. That's where his greatest failure lies. His statemanship shows a grave lack of wisdom there. I can't help it, but I am forced more and more to the conclusion that Stalin does these things better. Just think what his organization has stood up to during the last two years, and the assurance that he's asserted himself with before his people. I see Stalin today in quite a different light. He's immeasurably superior to the leaders of the Western nations, and if I had anything to say in the matter

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we'd reach an agreement with him as quickly as possible. That would be a blow which the West, with their damned hypocrisy, would never be able to recover from. You see, with the Russians one always knows where one is: either they chop your head off right away, or they hug you. In this Western rubbish heap they're always talking about God and all sorts of other lofty things, but if it seems to their advantage they'll let a whole people die of starvation. Germany would have been much further ahead if the Fuehrer had really got down to it. But with us everything is only half attempted and half done, and if we are not careful it'll finish us. Himmler is only tough when he knows that the Fuehrer stands behind him. Otherwise he wouldn't make up his mind one way or another. Heydrich was far superior to him in that way; the Fuehrer was right when he called him 'the man with the iron heart.' Bormann is a man who knows what he wants, but he's much too small to think in a statesmanlike way. And look at him and Himmler--like a couple of snakes fighting. Himmler will have a tough job to come out on top.'

"I was amazed to hear Mueller express such opinions. He had always said that Bormann was nothing but a criminal, and now suddenly there was this change of attitude. I grew more and more nervous: what was he driving at? Was he trying to trap me? He was knocking back one brandy after another and in gutter Bavarian he began to revile the decadent West and the leaders--Goering, Goebbels, Ribbentrop, and Ley--till their ears must have burned. But as Mueller was a walking filing system and knew all the most intimate details about every one of them, this had its amusing moments, though for me they were overshadowed by a most uncomfortable feeling of apprehension. What did he want, this man who was so full of bitterness and hatred, suddenly talking like a book? It was something no one had ever heard Mueller do before. Once, to steer the conversation onto a lighter and more jocular course, I said, 'All right, Comrade Mueller, let's all start saying 'Heil Stalin!' right now--and our little father Mueller will become head of the NKVD.'

"He looked at me with a malevolent glint in his eyes. 'That would be fine,' he said contemptuously in his heaviest Bavarian accent, 'and you'd really be for the high jump, you and your die-hard bourgeois friends.'

"At the end of this strange conversation I still could not work out what Mueller was driving at--but I was enlightened several months later. The conversation had taken place just at the time when Mueller was making his intellectual somersault. He no longer believed in a German victory and thought peace with Russia the only solution. This was completely in accordance with his methods. His conception of the relationship of the state to the individual, as far as this was shown by his actions, had from the beginning been neither German nor National Socialist, but in truth Communist. Who knows how many people he influenced at this time and pulled over into the Eastern camp?

"Mueller knew quite well that he had made no impression on me, that the truce which we had made for this one evening was over. His enmity was to cost me dear in nerves and energy--it was a sort of duel in the dark, in which most of the advantages lay on his side, especially after I discovered toward the end of 1943 that he had established contact with the Russian Secret Service, so that quite apart from his personal antagonism I had to reckon with the objective enmity of a fanatic.

"In 1945 he joined the Communists, and in 1950 a German officer who had been a prisoner of war in Russia told me that he had seen Mueller in Moscow in 1948 and that he had died shortly afterward."

The Faithful Mistress

The next detailed insight into MUELLER's thoughts and activities is derived from the testimony of his mistress Anna SCHMID whom the police finally interrogated in 1961:

"MUELLER had been alone in Berlin for some years before his wife came to stay with him for a time. He always impressed me as a good father to his children. He was very modest and a nature-lover. I once learned about an intimate relationship MUELLER had had with his private secretary (Barbara) HELLMUTH, but no longer remember how

I learned this. I discussed the matter with Mrs. MUELLER, and she was of the opinion that HELLMUTH had a good deal of influence over her husband. I do not believe I discussed the matter with MUELLER. MUELLER was extremely conscientious, but not power-mad. He seldom discussed official matters with me. He once told me that having the Jews wear "Jewish Stars" was his idea. I was not aware that the Jews were being exterminated, but I did have the impression that MUELLER was very close-mouthed about the treatment of the Jews.

"I never had the feeling that MUELLER was a real National Socialist, but I do know that he was an absolute opponent of the communists. We often talked about that.

"MUELLER did not have a good relationship with HIMMLER, but his relations with HEYDRICH had been excellent.

"MUELLER wrote me many letters and postcards of a private character, some of which I have exhibited to you (i.e. to the police). About 1947 the British and the Americans searched my home twice and likewise accused me of knowing where MUELLER was...they took away most of my photographs of him...I advised the British and Americans to go look in the mass graves for MUELLER...because at that time I was convinced that MUELLER had either committed suicide or had been killed when the Russians took Berlin.

"Early in 1945 MUELLER's office was no longer in the Prinz Albrecht Strasse (the bombed-out Gestapo Headquarters, which had been abandoned) but in the Tiergarten, Kurfuerstenstrasse. I no longer recall the number. I remember distinctly that on the 20th of April 1945 I visited MUELLER at his apartment in Berlin/Lankwitz, Corneliusstrasse. I talked with him there. With him were Christian SCHOLZ and his driver DEUTSCHER. MUELLER told me that he had just come from a strategic conference in Wannsee, and that the military situation was utterly hopeless.

"MUELLER, SCHOLZ and DEUTSCHER were burning passes and other documents. I believe MUELLER offered me an identity document in another name...but I refused it and said

I did not need it. What identity documents and passes MUELLER himself carried, I cannot say. He may have had false documents, but I know nothing about that...

"On the 24th of April 1945, I rode my bicycle to MUELLER's office in the Kurfuerstenstrasse. I found him there arrayed in his full uniform with the Knight's Cross around his neck. The conversation lasted about fifteen minutes. First of all he scolded me for having come at all. Then he said this would probably be the last time we would ever see each other. He was very official and calm. He gave me an ampule of poison in case the worst should befall. He remarked that he was at the end of his rope and had little interest in going on. He went on to say that he had seen much of the world and had gotten to know one (wonderful) person, namely me. These words were spoken with feeling and I had the impression they were absolutely sincere. I recall that I had already begged MUELLER literally on my knees to fly out of Berlin when there was yet time, but he had refused to do this. I remember one thing more about our conversation of the 20th. MUELLER at one point said, 'Yes, the best people are winning.' When I remarked that he could not mean to imply the Russians were better, he replied, 'Exactly, they are the better ones.' At that time I was amazed at this statement. Only now can I see this remark in its correct relationship to those times. (Sic)

"Soon after (the capitulation) 8 May, 1945, I made efforts to find out what had happened to MUELLER... The office in which I had seen him last was pockmarked with bullet holes. The building was empty. I found no blood stains or bodies or anything that had belonged to MUELLER, who used to carry a small suitcase with him in those days. Around the 14th of May I tried to enter the ruined RSHA building in the Prinz Albrecht Strasse, but it was too dangerous.

"In the Fall of 1946 I looked up the former private secretary of Adolf HITLER, Mrs. Traudel JUNGE...she told

me that MUELLER had been at the Reichs Chancellery until the 28th of April and that thereafter she had seen him no more.

"About 1958 MUELLER's father wrote me to tell me that he had been informed by some office that his son lay buried in the Lielienthalstrasse Cemetery in Berlin. I went to this cemetery and found a grave with a tin marker with the name 'Heinrich MUELLER' and the notation 'Section 6-1-1'. The cemetery authorities told me this body had been found in the Prinz Albrecht Strasse area. Later I saw the documents that had been found on the body at the home of MUELLER's father in Munich.

"I find it impossible to believe that MUELLER is alive. Our relationship was such that I am sure I would have heard from him. I have never heard from MUELLER, but I have to admit that, if I had heard from him, I would not betray him.

"MUELLER's son once told me that he had heard on the radio during the final battle that his father had been captured by the Russians. (Note: After the War the son told SS General STAUDINGER, his trusted personal friend and former commanding officer, that his father had been in touch with the Russians in 1944.) I would like to add that, in the meantime, I have been taking care of the grave and placed a gravestone that his children paid for."

The Views of Heinz PANNWITZ

Heinz PANNWITZ had the following to say about MUELLER's last days in office:

"MUELLER was not directly concerned with double-agent and radio play-back operations. He supervised the whole activity but as a chief he could not possibly have had the time to direct individual operations. The actual control and guidance was in the hands of Referat IV A 2, which was headed by Horst von KOPKOW. Necessity forced MUELLER to agree to the

use of radio play-back operations. There were only two thousand officials (German military and security officials) in France where the population was forty-two million. As a specialist in Communist activity, MUELLER realized that he had insufficient strength to cope with the new Communist nets which would always replace the ones the Germans eliminated. The ranks of the French Communist Party were endless. It was a different matter with the radio play-backs against England, because the British could not draw on a large reservoir of agents such as the French Communist Party. Consequently when MUELLER ordered me to head the Sonderkommando Rote Kapelle, he outlined the problem we faced in trying to handle the constantly renewed Soviet and Communist nets. The ultimate pattern of the play-back operations against the Soviet espionage nets were my own doing rather than MUELLER's. We both realized that, in order to gain and retain control, the operations had to be as realistic and factual as possible.

"In August or September 1944, I showed MUELLER for the first time the Moscow Director's plan that KENT and two close German co-workers he pretended to be running allow themselves to be captured by the Allies, who would turn them over to the Soviets. He discussed the plan with HIMMLER who said, 'I cannot allow one of our men to go over to the Soviets because the Bolshevist concept of world domination would be too fascinating.' Circa November 1944, I approached MUELLER again but he turned down the proposal (that I go with KENT to the Soviets). He explained later that he was hoping that the Ardennes offensive of December 1944 would be successful and the German army would re-enter Paris. The third time I discussed Moscow's and my proposal with him, the Red Army was only 50 kilometers from Berlin. The situation was so hopeless at that time that all previous arguments against the proposal were meaningless. An Allied bombing force of 3,500 planes had attacked Berlin on 3 February 1945. The city was in flames. There were no telephones, teletapes, only a radio set for communication. MUELLER's office had had an entire wall destroyed and he was sitting in a room filled with rubble. The attack of the 3,500 bombers and the presence of the Red Army 50 kilometers from Berlin had been an impressive lesson in the unity of the Allied operations and the hope of avoiding

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an unconditional surrender was gone. MUELLER said, 'The only line of action and the sensible thing to do, is what you propose, which is to upset the East-West alliance and accelerate the dissolution of their pact.' He was not concerned with how the Alliance was to be disturbed, only that it should be disturbed. His thoughts during those final days were most likely concerned with his obligation to the Fuehrer. He was too sensible to be a fanatical follower of HITLER but, because of his position, he had no alternative."

The Investigation of 1961

In 1961 the German police made an effort to find out what had happened in the final hours in Berlin relative to MUELLER and reviewed testimony and interrogation reports prepared years before by various German authorities striving to get a clear picture of the Nazis' last stand. They supplemented this research with reinterrogations, etc. The essential results are outlined below:

On 28 April 1945 MUELLER conducted his last interrogation. The victim was the hapless Otto Hermann FEGELEIN, brother-in-law to HITLER's mistress Eva BRAUN and special emissary of HIMMLER. When HITLER had learned that HIMMLER was trying to make a deal with the Allies, he went berserk. He demanded that a search be made for FEGELEIN. The latter was caught in civilian clothing and suspected of preparing to desert. HITLER had him shot. On the 30th of April HITLER and his immediate retinue committed suicide. All German resistance in Berlin ended during the first night in May.

An officer named WIESMAYER told the police that when he reported to his commander MOHNKE, he saw SCHOLZ and MUELLER coming out of the Chancellery. They wore SS uniforms. One had a gray leather coat. WIESMEYER greeted them. The two were calm and even made jokes. When

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WIESMAYER asked what was going to happen to the surrounded forces, MUELLER replied, "Wait, wait, wait."

According to the witness Horst KITTLER, MUELLER awarded him the Iron Cross Second Class in the Chancellery bunker on the afternoon of 1 May. KITTLER said that MUELLER appeared to him to be very depressed, in contrast to his usual cocky attitude. Much later, when KITTLER left with a break-out unit, he saw both MUELLER and SCHOLZ waving goodbye.

A German officer named GAEDA testified that on the evening of 1 May, he had seen MUELLER standing in the balcony on the ground floor of a building called the "RSHA Building." Whether he meant the old bombed out RSHA Headquarters or some structure assigned to the RSHA in or near the Chancellery is not clear. GAEDA said that MUELLER was dressed in a white uniform jacket and had on field grey trousers. He had his cap on and was highly visible. Russian fire in the area was so severe that GAEDA took cover. He did not observe whether MUELLER had been hit.

HITLER's pilot Hans BAUER testified that he had talked to MUELLER about 7 pm on the evening of 1 May in the Chancellery area and tried to persuade him to come along with a group that planned to try to break out of the Russian encirclement. He claims that MUELLER replied, "We know the Russian methods exactly. I haven't the faintest intention of exposing myself to the danger of being taken prisoner by the Russians." BAUER said that SCHOLZ was with MUELLER and likewise declared he would prefer death with MUELLER to capture. BAUER was an old friend of MUELLER. Both had trained together as pilots during World War I.

The last German attempt to break out of Russian encirclement took place late in the night of 1 May. An RSHA officer named HENSCHERL claims he saw MUELLER standing before the entrance of his quarters at the Chancellery, and that MUELLER bade farewell to those who were departing.

ERHARD, another RSHA officer who was present, saw MUELLER about 11 pm standing in the basement alley of the

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Chancellery. MUELLER did not have either a cap or a belt. When ERHARD asked him whether he was leaving, he said he was not. ERHARD claims he heard later while a Russian prisoner of war, that MUELLER had shot himself.

An officer named KOELZ stated that he was in a group under the leadership of MOHNKE assembled in the basement of the Chancellery and that he overheard SS General Hans RATTENHUBER say to MUELLER: "Heinrich, what's up? We have to go, it's absolutely the last minute!" MUELLER is alleged to have replied, "No, Hans, the regime has fallen and there-with I fall also." KOELZ added that MUELLER had a pistol in his right hand as he said this. MOHNKE testified emphatically that MUELLER was not with his group when it left the Chancellery.

One Rochus MISCH, who was with this group, said his Russian captors spent many days grilling him about the whereabouts of HITLER, but never asked one question about MUELLER.

HITLER's driver Erich KEMPKA, who had helped burn HITLER's remains, testified that, as far as he knew, the only high personages who remained behind with MUELLER were two generals, KREBS and BURGDORF, who he heard later had killed themselves. (Their bodies were found.) KEMPKA said he tried to escape with a small group that included Martin BORMANN and followed a tank which was hit and exploded. KEMPKA reported that when the tank exploded he saw BORMANN throw his hands in the air and collapse. Eventually KEMPKA managed to exfiltrate from Berlin and make his way home to Bavaria. KEMPKA was one of the few who evaded Russian capture, allegedly because he knew his way around Berlin very well.

The police were able to find plenty of witnesses who had seen MUELLER and SCHOLZ alive at a late hour in the Chancellery on 1 May 1945, but could find no one who had seen either man dead.

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The story of Christian SCHOLZ ends here. It is difficult to believe that in an area where all late casualties resulted from small arms fire and where such a careful effort was made to identify the dead, no one identified and recorded the remains of such a fully documented high RSHA officer. No further record of him has ever been found, and the police had to list him as disappeared.

Walter LUEDERS: "I buried MUELLER"

The next item of hard evidence concerning MUELLER's fate came to light by accident in 1963. After there had been a great deal of publicity about the MUELLER mystery and the discoveries made at his grave site in West Berlin, an aged German, Walter LUEDERS, contacted the police in his area and offered them information about MUELLER. The local police told him to tell the newspapers, because they had no authority in the matter (sic) and so LUEDERS turned to the BILD ZEITUNG, which has always displayed a consuming interest in MUELLER's fate and thereupon had a real scoop. When LUEDER's story hit the front pages, the Berlin police requested the Duësseldorf police to interrogate LUEDERS who testified as follows:

"I had read about Gestapo MUELLER in various papers before. Because I had some direct experience with the corpse of MUELLER shortly after the end of the war, I went to the police in my area, and they told me to tell the newspapers.

"I did not fight in the last war but became a member of the "Volksturm" (a kind of home guard) in January 1945 and was put to work fortifying Berlin. Shortly after HITLER's birthday on April 20 my unit was smashed in combat. I went home, and the Russians took over the city on May 2nd. As a former medical orderly, I was then employed in a field

- 19 -

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hospital. A few days later I was commandeered to form a burial detail by the Labor Office and eventually headed a unit of about 28 people for this work. It was our mission to get the corpses off the streets. At first we transported the bodies to the military cemetery, where other details had dug large mass graves. Before we put the corpses into these graves we made substantial efforts to identify them. Their clothing was always searched and their belongings, such as watches and rings, etc. were listed and bagged. These items were then transferred to the Burial Office, Berlin-Mitte (now in the Soviet Sector).

"When the military cemetery was full, we began burying people in the old Jewish cemetery and followed the same procedures.

"Early in June, 1945, I was ordered to open the unmarked temporary graves in the gardens of the Reichs Chancellery and the Air Ministry. Most of these graves were huge bomb craters into which the corpses had been thrown and lightly covered with earth. In the Chancellery grounds there was a ditch which had been used to store water for fighting fires. It had been about three feet deep, twelve feet wide and 30 feet long. This contained about twenty corpses. In the area of the Air Ministry there was a huge mass grave but also about forty or fifty single graves. I am pretty certain that it was here that we found the body of the general.

"I will provide details of this below, but would like to say first that I worked transferring corpses until October 1945 and during this entire time we found only one corpse in a general's uniform. I always attended personally to each of the exhumations and made precise notes of everything that was found on the body. We also checked the clothing for any special indicators, but we did not undress the dead. We paid close attention to all decorations and other insignia also. In all cases I made sure that my people undertook no actions with regard to the bodies, beyond uncovering them, until I had viewed the corpse and decided what was to be done next.

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Funerals in Berlin

"One day, I believe in August 1945, one of my men called me to a single grave. I saw a body in the uniform of a general lying in it. I had the body pulled from the grave by means of a rope around the feet. I would like to add that I had one man who specialized in searching the corpses. I always stood by and made exact notes on what was found. We made a special effort to locate identity tags. We did not pay attention to physical peculiarities and I do not believe the corpses were ever examined from this point of view before reinterment.

Question: "Can you describe the uniform?" "Yes. The uniform was well preserved. The jacket was grey, but different from the grey of the regular army uniform. It had black tabs on each of which there was a skull. It had general's epaulettes. I am certain there were no decorations or medals on the uniform. The corpse had riding type trousers (Stiefelhosen) with red general's stripes and jack boots. I do not recall the color of the trousers. I personally explored this body and noted that the jacket was ripped up the back. The damage was about the size of a saucer, and I assumed at that time that the general had been killed by a shell fragment which hit him in the back.

"The corpse was still well preserved. The features were recognizable. What I am trying to say is that the flesh and skin had not yet disintegrated and were intact. The skin was very dark, however. The soil in which the body lay was sandy gravel.

"In the inner left breast pocket of the jacket we found an SS identity document. Whether there were other items in the uniform, I am no longer able to say. But I am absolutely positive that the mentioned identity document was found as I have described. I am also still certain today that the document bore the name of the SS General Heinrich MUELLER. I am so positive about this because we only ever found the body of one general. I saw the document with my own eyes.

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"I believe, but am not absolutely certain, that this document listed the residence of the General as in the vicinity of the Halle Gate, but I do not recall the street address. I sent one of my men to this address to find out whether there were relatives of this general who might wish to bury him. The man returned and told me that he had run into an elderly lady at this address but that she was not interested in the matter. I cannot say whether the lady was related to the dead man or not.

"On the identity document there was a photograph. I compared the photograph with the face of the corpse, and it appeared to be identical with it. The photograph was full face.

Question: "If we showed you a photograph of the man, do you think you could identify it?" "I do not know, I saw the face only once and that was when transferring the body. Upon examination of the picture now shown to me I can say the features mean nothing to me."

"Present during the exhumation of this body was Robert LANGMANN, a widower, who, however, died in East Berlin in 1950 or 1951. I can no longer recall the names of others that worked for me at that time, but I did make up pay-lists and the pay was provided by the Berlin-Mitte Office of Records, by a Mr. GROTHE. (There is no indication that the Berlin police tried to get any of the pay rolls LUEDERS had submitted reviewed in order to get leads to other potential witnesses to this interment. There is a card of unknown origin on file in WAST (Wehrmachtsaufkunftsstelle -- Armed Forces Information Office) which definitely records this body as having been found in the Chancellery grounds.)

"Finally, I had the body moved to the old Jewish Cemetery in the Grosse Hamburgerstrasse and put into the mass grave in the center. There were three mass graves in this cemetery next to each other."

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This is the only LUEDERS' testimony available in the police file. For reasons not explained this important witness seems to have been interviewed just once. No one appears to have thought to ask him such interesting questions as:

- a. Why he waited twenty years to come forward.
- b. Whether the well-preserved condition of the body was unusual.
- c. Whether and what he knew of Fritz LEOPOLD.
- d. How he explained the fact that valuable medals not found on the body were later among the dead man's effects at WAST.

About a month after the burial described by LUEDERS took place, a second interment occurred. A collection of bones purporting to be the remains of Heinrich MJELLER was buried in the municipal cemetery, Berlin-Neukoelln, Lilienstrasse 3-5, under number 6-1-1. These bones had been transported by a private undertaking firm which was exhuming, identifying and re-interring the bodies of some 197 persons found in the ruins of the abandoned RSHA headquarters at Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8. This had been one of the strong points of the last ditch defense of Berlin and the carnage had been terrific there. The abandoned headquarters was about 2000 feet away from the Chancellery, where MJELLER was last seen.

The initial burial notation on the cemetery record at Lilienstrasse simply listed the interred person as "Heinrich MJELLER" without any rank or other identifying data, but clearly states the remains were found at Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8. (The police questioned the burial firms involved, but found out nothing pertinent.) The card shows that one Fritz LEOPOLD reported this death to the Berlin-Mitte Registry Office under number 11706/45, three months after the actual interment, i.e., on 15 December 1945. LEOPOLD at that time identified the corpse as that of Heinrich

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MUELLER, giving MUELLER's date of birth. Later other items of information were added to the card, apparently on the basis of documents held at the Registry Office. It is not known how LEOPOLD arrived at the conclusion that the collection of bones he sponsored belonged to Gestapo MUELLER. In view of the LUEDERS' affidavit, he can hardly have found documentation on these bones. Whether and how he acquired documentation to back up his identification is unknown. Where the medals later held by WAST came from is also unknown.

At that time LEOPOLD was Deputy Chief of the police office at the Berlin Morgue (likewise in the Soviet Sector).

Fritz LEOPOLD turned out to be a rather mysterious figure. He had been suspected of complicity in the execution of some twenty prisoners who had been held until almost the end of the war as conspirators in the 20th July plot against HITLER. LEOPOLD claimed he had not been around when this happened, but it was determined later that he had written off some of these people as "killed in action" and had committed other graveyard boners. No police file on him could be found, although he had held a fairly high rank, and in spite of the fact that he had been fired by the Mayor of Berlin shortly afterward and deprived of his pension. LEOPOLD died in the Soviet Sector about 1950.

A third version of the death of MUELLER was conveyed to West German intelligence (the BND) about 1957 by the returned Soviet prisoner Heinz PANNWITZ, whose account of his relations with MUELLER has already been recounted. (This report was not furnished to the German police.) PANNWITZ claimed he had been interrogated intensively by ABAKUMOV, who had found it impossible to believe that his agents had been played back against him by the Germans. PANNWITZ reported the Soviet version of the fate of MUELLER as follows:

"During the initial phase of my interrogation in Moscow, June 1945, ABAKUMOV's Jewish interpreter, whose name I do not know, told me that he had just come from Berlin. He showed

me some stationary with the letterheads of 'Der Fuehrer' and Reichskanzler, which he said he had taken from the ruins of the Reich's Chancellery. In addition to telling me that everything lay in ruins, he said 'Your chief is dead. He shot himself in the head.' I didn't understand to whom he was referring and asked whom he meant by 'my chief'. He answered, 'Gruppenfuehrer MUELLER', and went on to say that they, the Russians, had found his body in a subway shaft of the Kaiserhof subway station and it was undoubtedly suicide. I asked if he were certain it was MUELLER and he said that the body had all of MUELLER's identity documents on it. In addition, the Soviets had found witnesses who knew MUELLER to confirm the identification. The Soviets did not doubt that MUELLER was dead. During my interrogation, I frequently answered a question from the Soviet interrogator by saying that MUELLER would know much more than I on the matter. The Soviets would ignore my suggestion with the statement, 'MUELLER is dead'. Based on all evidence I have known, I have never doubted that MUELLER was dead."

The Kaiserhof subway station in Berlin was a few blocks East of the site of the Chancellery, and it is conceivable that MUELLER might have made his way there. It is difficult to believe, however, that the souvenir-hungry Soviets would have handed MUELLER's decorations or, for that matter his documentation, which would have been required by Moscow as evidence of his fate, over to the German authorities. If in fact PANNWITZ' account is true, it is even more difficult to imagine why skilled interrogators intent on squeezing PANNWITZ would go out of their way to let him know his chief was dead. Normally they would have suggested that his chief was "talking freely" and he had better do the same.

2R ✓ no 201 [] Discusses his knowledge of Heinrich
The reliable Soviet intelligence officer-defector, Peter DERIABIN, has the following to say concerning the fate of MUELLER: [] MUELLER(201-742896) in summer of

"The first time I heard about Heinrich MUELLER...was in 1952 the summer of 1952, when I was working in the Austro-German Department of the First Chief Directorate of the MGB, where I

ED I Please repeat blurb below for BULDA, ORLIK, and
LITOVKIN Also all are: CIT USSR POB USSR Δ USSR
and ORLIK is: SEX: FEMALE

was responsible for carrying out counterintelligence work against the (West German) GEHLEN organization. I remember that I read a few excerpts of the debriefing and interrogation of MUELLER. At that time he was held in Vladimir MGB Prison. At that prison there was a special wing where most of the Nazi German Gestapo and intelligence officers were kept. Most of those people had at first been sentenced to death by a Soviet military tribunal, but then, because of their value to the Soviet intelligence, their sentences were commuted to 25 years in prison.

Name mentioned by Petr Deryabin []

while discussing
Heinrich
MUELLER
(201-742896)

As far as I remember MUELLER and other Germans were interrogated by SMERSH in the 1945-46 period. When ABAKUMOV became MGB Minister in 1946 they were fully debriefed by the German Department. As far as I remember, MUELLER was debriefed by Col. Vasily BULDA and Capt. Georgy LITOVKIN. At one time my subordinate Valentina ORLIK went to Vladimir as interpreter when MUELLER was further debriefed. That debriefing was concerned with GEHLEN and his officers and ways to approach and recruit them. I do not remember any specific information provided by MUELLER. No 201

"I would never believe that, if the Soviets had found MUELLER's body complete with documents and medals they would have turned these things over to the German graves registration people, unless they wanted to mislead the Western Allies and make them believe MUELLER was dead....It is possible (but hard to believe) that MUELLER killed himself in a Soviet jail. It is more likely that he died later in Soviet hands.

"ABAKUMOV's secretary and assistant was Lt. Col. BROVERMAN, a Russian Jew who knew perfect German. He was arrested with ABAKUMOV in August 1951, but was shot while STALIN was still alive."

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MUELLER's Documents and Decorations

The earliest evidence found concerning MUELLER's effects is a record to the effect that on 4 May 1946 the Registry

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Office of Berlin-Mitte transferred MUELLER's effects to a Central Information Office known as the ZACK. This office was later taken over by the still-active German Armed Forces Information Office, the so-called WAST, which is administered by the French contingent in Berlin. In this manner WAST came into the possession of the following items belonging to MUELLER:

SS Leader Pass
Service Pass of the Security Police
Special Pass for the use of Installations
and Passage of Barriers
The Knight's Cross
An addendum to the Iron Cross Class II
Iron Cross Class I, 1914-1918

It was not, however, until 31 March 1948 that the WAST set up a regular file, file number 156, on the MUELLER case.

It is clear that some sort of search for MUELLER was under way in the early post-war period. The only record we have been able to locate, however, is a statement by the Bavarian police that they issued an arrest order for MUELLER in 1950. Anna SCHMID's report that British and American officers questioned her and ransacked her apartment for clues as to the whereabouts of MUELLER in 1947, led the German police to make inquiries among allied sources in 1963, but without avail. A recurrent allegation that the grave at Berlin-Neukoelln had been opened and the body identified by allied intelligence officers could not be substantiated by the police. On the contrary, old employees of the cemetery were found who asserted convincingly that the grave had never been opened and that the records would also have showed this fact had such an event ever occurred. (As a matter of fact, the body could not have been identified in the course of an exhumation for reasons which will become clear later in this account.)

Willy HOETTL and the Fox Lair Theory

The U.S. Army Counterintelligence Corps had designated MJELLER as an automatic arrest target and received information supplied by Willy HOETTL at the Nuremberg War Crimes trials in 1945. It has proved impossible to find any record of these investigations. The pertinent details of HOETTL's testimony are quoted below from his 1953 book THE SECRET FRONT:

"What became of the Gestapo Chief, S.S. General Heinrich Mueller? There is little doubt that Mueller succeeded in making good his escape from Berlin and that he is still alive. The story of the carefully prepared escape of this redoubtable man reads like a thriller, but it seems nevertheless to be true.

"After the death of Hitler and the execution of the principal war criminals condemned at Nuremberg, the resources of the Allied Intelligence Services were concentrated on the finding of three men, who were most intimately connected with the major war criminals. In the opinion of many experienced members of the Allied secret services, these three were more important than any of the men who had been executed. These were the Head of the Chancellery, Reichsleiter Bormann, the Head of Section IV of the Security Services, Heinrich Mueller, and Mueller's subordinate in charge of his Jewish section, Adolf Eichmann.

"So much has already been written about Bormann's fate that unless new facts could be quoted, comment is superfluous here. Except for the activities of a small group of Secret Service experts, the hunt for the other two has died down. For some reason neither the public nor the illustrated press, which seldom if ever misses the chance of so sensational a story, has shown the slightest interest in them. Yet one was the Chief of the Gestapo, the man who during the period of Germany's greatest expansion exercised powers of life and death over practically the whole of the continent of Europe.

The other was the man who with gruesome efficiency put into practice the terrible plan for the extermination of the Jewish people....

"Eichmann's anxiety became acute in 1944 when he heard through the German monitoring service that the allied radio programmes constantly mentioned his name as one of the principal war criminals. He realized that he would have no chance of survival, and from that moment he started to make preparations for escape. He could have fled straightway to some neutral country, but he had no intention of doing that. He was determined to stick to his post to the last possible moment and then dive into oblivion.

"After The Gestapo Headquarters in the Prinz Albrecht Strasse had been destroyed by bombs, he set up his Berlin office in the Kurfuersten Strasse. When air-raid shelters were being constructed beneath his new offices, he took the opportunity of organizing what he called his 'fox-lair'. Underground rooms were built and stocked with food, water, medicine and first aid appliances. Lighting and plumbing were installed for a prolonged stay. These shelters were not built under the offices but some way off and were connected to them by a labyrinth of passages which could be sealed by a variety of devices. The exits and air shafts debouching into various bomb-damaged sites, were camouflaged to harmonize with their surroundings. The longest of the passages was said to be more than a mile long.

"This fox-lair was no mere phantasy. Eichmann showed it to Kaltenbrunner, who was greatly impressed. He had no intention of using it for the purpose for which it had been constructed. Kaltenbrunner's idea was to go south to some Alpine stronghold which had yet to be built. When the time came, Eichmann too was unable to use the place. He was kept for some weeks on official business in Prague and Vienna during March 1945 and when he was ready to return to Berlin in April, he could no longer get through. The end of the war found him at Alt-Aussee among the Austrian lakes at the foot of the Dead Mountains. Someone else however, moved

most gratefully into the underground hide-out--Heinrich Mueller, Chief of the Gestapo and his henchman, Scholz.

"Mueller had been left in Berlin by Kaltenbrunner as his Liaison Officer with Hitler. As Chief of the Gestapo he could easily have found a reason for leaving the beleaguered city to which even Hitler could have taken no exception. Apparently he made no attempt to do so. He reported daily to the bunker in the Chancellery and then disappeared, presumably to his office on the Kurfuersten Strasse. Nobody visited him there. With the country tottering to its final collapse no one had any particular reason to contact the Chief of the Gestapo. On the contrary most people preferred to keep well out of the way of this detestable official. As far as can be ascertained he visited the Chancellery for the last time on 29th April. All survivors are unanimous in saying that he certainly was not there when Hitler died and the last attempt was made to break out of Berlin. From that moment MUELLER disappeared, and what happened to him is pure conjecture. The most interesting theory is that of Schellenberg.

"Since 1944 Schellenberg had suspected that Mueller had exploited certain wireless intelligence links used for deception of the enemy to establish genuine contact with the Russians. He claimed to have obtained proof of the fact, when he set a watch on a number of these wireless sections. At any rate he told Kaltenbrunner that he was prepared to bring proofs of his accusation. Kaltenbrunner did not take the matter seriously and attributed Schellenberg's accusations to professional jealousy. Schellenberg nevertheless insisted, and declared that if Kaltenbrunner would do nothing, he himself would keep his evidence and in years to come would show that the Chief of the German Gestapo had worked for the Russians. He asserted that after Mueller had taken up his residence in the Kurfuersten Strasse fox-lair, he had continued his wireless communications with the Russians.

"If Mueller indeed continued his wireless operations from the fox-hole, that fact itself would go a long way.

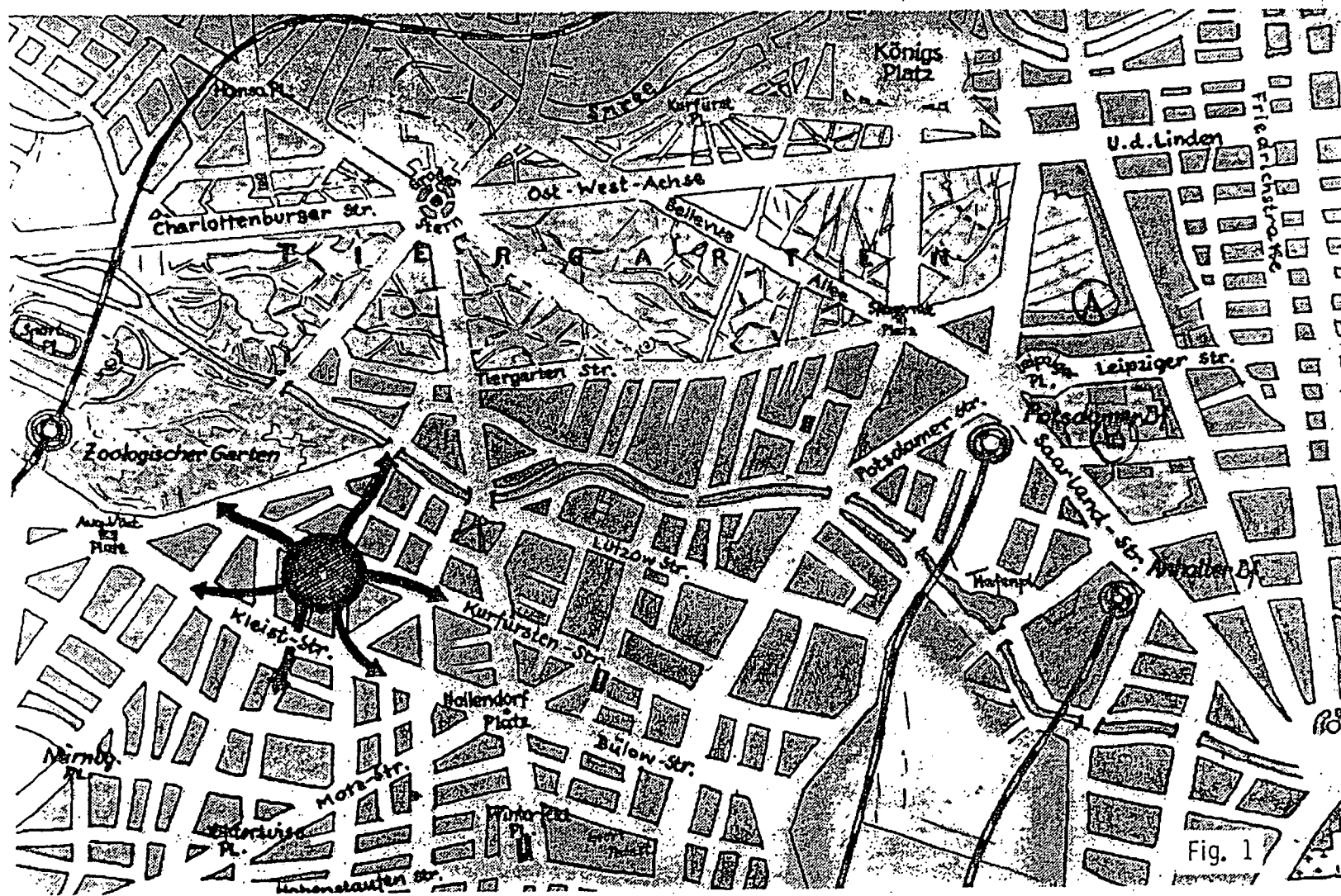
towards substantiating Schellenberg's statement. For what man in his senses--and Mueller was a cold enough realist--would continue in the last days before a final collapse to operate a complicated system designed to mislead the enemy, when that same advancing enemy was already only a mile or so away? So if Mueller were really using his wireless, he was most probably doing so, as Schellenberg claims, in genuine contact with the Russian Secret Service. Nobody knows how Mueller and Scholz eventually got out of Berlin. Statements from senior German officers who took part in the final battle for the city prove that on 29th April the locality in which Mueller had his office was still free of the enemy. He would therefore have had no difficulty in getting back there from the Chancellery, and he could then have made his escape through one of the numerous passages which debouched behind the advancing Russians. Civilian clothes, false papers of every kind were always available for the Gestapo Chief and his henchmen. Once in rear of the Russians, he might bide his time. If the suspicions of Schellenberg were founded and he was working for the Russians Mueller probably awaited their arrival quietly in his fox-hole.

"Since 1945 there have been certain indications that Mueller is still working for the Russians. That the Russians should have no scruples about using a man who had done them so much harm is nothing new. There are any number of examples of ex-Gestapo officials and senior officers of the Military Security Services--General Bamler for one--working for the State Security Service of the east zone, in spite of previous service against the Russians...."

Note to FIGURE 1: In his 8 December 1945 testimony at the war crimes trials in Nuremberg and later in his book, Wilhelm HOETTL maintained that MUELLER had made his escape from the safety of the last Gestapo headquarters, indicated on this sketch by the octopus-dot. We have marked in A and B on this drawing to show respectively the location of the Reichschancellery, where MUELLER was last seen and the abandoned Gestapo headquarters, where, according to LEOPOLD,

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NO FOREIGN DISSEM

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FIGURE 1. MUELLER's foxhole and escape route according to Wilhelm HOETTL's sketch in "THE SECRET FRONT NOW", 1953.

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the body later proved spurious, was found. Both these locations are over a mile away from the last Gestapo headquarters. It would have been a practical impossibility for MUELLER to have made his way back to the last Gestapo headquarters. No reports of the examination of this building have been found.

WAST Confuses the Issues

Although HOETTL's book enjoyed a considerable vogue in Germany, we find no evidence of any further official interest in MUELLER's fate until 11 January 1955 when a memorandum of inquiry was addressed by WAST to the Mitte District in the Soviet Sector of Berlin. The inquiry promptly evoked the following reply from Berlin-Mitte:

"27 January 1955

Subject: Location of the Grave of Lt. General of Protective Police (sic) Heinrich MUELLER -- Your memorandum of 11 January 1955.

"Our investigations at the Berlin-Mitte Registry Office confirm that the former Lt. General and SS Gruppenfuehrer Heinrich MUELLER was buried at the Grosse Hamburger Strasse Cemetery in 1945. The site of the grave cannot be stated, because there is no interment record."

(Note: That is to say, LUEDER's story of having buried a body he identified as the Gestapo chief in the old Jewish Cemetery was confirmed, and it would have been impossible for anyone to have disinterred this body from the mass grave, since it bore no identification, and there was no interment record.)

Over two years went by and then someone at WAST on 23 November 1957 wrote a memorandum to the Berlin Mitte authorities that must have struck them as very strange. It suggested to the Berlin Mitte authorities that they should cancel their entries concerning MUELLER because:

"The remains have been transferred from Prinz Albrecht Strasse 8 to the Municipal Cemetery, Berlin-Neukoelln grave number 6-1-1".

Meanwhile, interest in MUELLER developed in another quarter. The district court of Berlin-Lichterfelde, where Anna SCHMID's brother had been an official for many years, inquired of WAST as to the fate of MUELLER. It is not clear what stimulated this inquiry, but it had the effect of WAST bestirring itself with regard to these records. In some fashion, perhaps through this inquiry, WAST learned of the address of MUELLER's bereaved father and finally, in 1958, 13 years after the War ended, notified him that it had MUELLER's personal effects. The widow was informed that the last resting place of her husband was in Neu-Koelln.

Anna SCHMID and the MUELLER survivors then collaborated in the erection of a suitable gravestone. The WAST routinely turned over MUELLER's effects to his father. Quite a few people appear to have viewed these documents but no one seems to have commented on their condition or examined them technically to ascertain their authenticity. Simon WIESENTHAL told the press the documents were brand new, but WIESENTHAL had many axes to grind.

GOLENIEWSKI and EICHMANN Blame the Soviets

In 1960 and early 1961 two events occurred which stimulated a sudden and powerful revival of interest in MUELLER. A Polish intelligence officer-defector, Michael GOLENIEWSKI, stated that he had learned while in the Polish

service and in intimate contact with Soviet officers that MJELLER had defected to the Soviets. He had allegedly been reached through a contact established via one Jakob LOELLEN, a friend of MUELLER's who had been chief of the Gestapo in Danzig and also an RIS agent. According to GOLENIEWSKI, MUELLER had worked with the RIS leader ABAKUMOV and had helped him in his efforts to gain control of the new Nazi underground. At about the same time this was going on, the Israeli intelligence service was interrogating its prize catch Adolf EICHMANN who declared that MUELLER was to blame for everything, that he had survived the war, and was probably in Russian hands.

The EICHMANN affair generated spectacular press repercussions. Simon WIESENTHAL, Chief of the Jewish Documentation Center in Vienna, who had been claiming apparently unmerited credit for the apprehension of EICHMANN and other war criminals and enjoyed an excellent press, rushed into print with assertions that he knew MUELLER was alive and working for the Russians, etc. The German Special Commission for finding and punishing war criminals at Ludwigsburg, Baden-Wuerttemberg, was galvanized into belated action and began sending out investigative requests to Berlin and Bavarian police authorities. The Bavarian police conducted an intensive investigation, including technical coverage of the MUELLER family, Barbara HELLMUTH (MUELLER's former secretary) et al. The results were all negative. The Berlin police investigation was more productive, and uncovered most of the material upon which this report is based.

The Exhumation

The police suspected that MUELLER, or some other interested party, had arranged to plant documentation on some other corpse to make it look as if MUELLER had been killed in 1945. At the start of the 1963 investigation, they still assumed that the remains originally buried in the

Jewish Cemetery at Grosse Hamburgerstrasse had been moved to Berlin Neukoelln. They finally did some careful analysis and concluded that the body which had been buried in the Grosse Hamburgerstrasse cemetery could not have been transferred to Berlin-Neukoelln because:

- a. The cemetery records of the Gross Hamburgerstrasse carried no entry of the disinterment and transfer of this corpse.
- b. The records at Neukoelln indicated that the body buried there came directly from another location, the Prinz Albrecht Strasse.
- c. The remains buried at the Grosse Hamburgerstrasse bore no identification and could not have been found again.

It also became apparent that such a transfer would have made no sense, for it would have meant that within only a few weeks after interment in a mass grave the harassed Berlin authorities dug up a corpse in which no one was interested and which could not be identified and put it in another cemetery miles away. The police accordingly concluded that whoever LUEDERS buried in the old Jewish Cemetery was still there and that at least one of the graves contained an imposter. Inasmuch as the police had no means to meddle with the grave in the Soviet Sector, the West Berlin States Attorney decided to open the grave in Neu-Koelln and try to determine at least who or what was buried there under the number 6-1-1.

A new comedy of errors now began. Having obtained a court order, the Berlin authorities requested Frau Hertha GOETSCH, the woman in charge of the Neu-Koelln Cemetery, to arrange for an opening of the grave. When the police specialists arrived at 0630 on the morning of 25 September 1963 for this event, they discovered that diggers had already opened and reclosed the grave and that an assemblage of skeletal remains were awaiting them on a blanket. Frau

GOETSCH stoutly defended her action on the ground that she had to get matters put right before the cemetery opened and visitors appeared. She claimed she had only been trying to be helpful. (Apparently no one thought to ask her whether she was trying to avoid the exposure of a skeleton of her own, namely that many of the graves so tirelessly tended by the mourners might not contain the bones thought to be in them.)

The police took the bones they had recovered to Professor ROMMENEY of the Institute of Forensic Medicine, and he pointed out that the remains were incomplete. The grave accordingly was re-opened and some more bones were found. Dr. ROMMENEY then determined that the remains could not possibly have belonged to MJELLER -- or at least hardly any of them, since the bones had belonged to three different persons and the skull itself belonged to a man ten years younger than MJELLER.

The MUELLER-conscious BILD ZEITUNG and other publications got the story almost immediately and spread it, together with photographs of the grave, far and wide. All writers fostered the conclusion, especially the SPIEGEL of 16 October 1963, that, if MUELLER was not buried in Neu-Koellen, he was not buried anywhere, hence must have escaped alive and might well have landed in Russian hands.

Curiously enough the communist press, according to the BILD ZEITUNG, had nothing whatever to say about the MUELLER excitement. It was at this point that the witness LUEDERS came forward to pour some cold water on the idea that MJELLER had escaped and told his story of the 1945 interment, as already recounted above.

Although there was a continuing reverberation in the press, official interest in Berlin declined, largely because the police had exhausted all sources readily available to them and did not undertake to approach witnesses in the Soviet sector. They made one more effort to get information on Fritz LEOPOLD. They interviewed three former colleagues of his who

all maintained that, if there were records of what had actually gone on with regard to the emergency burials undertaken by LEOPOLD, they would be in Berlin-Mitte - to which the West Berlin police had no access. (A fourth colleague of LEOPOLD had been dragged East by the Russians in 1947 and had never been heard from again.)

Czech and Soviet Deception Gambits

On 12 January 1964 an article appeared in the sensational and widely read German periodical STERN under the title "Gestapo MUELLER lives in Albania". This had been written by one Peter STAEHLE, a journalist of dubious connections and aims who had some Soviet sources. The article alleged that MUELLER was using the name Abedin Bekir NAKOSHIRI and was employed as an officer in the Albanian Security Service. (There was such a person, but he was not MUELLER.)

This article stimulated the interest of western intelligence services, especially the German Federal Intelligence Service, which soon established that STAEHLE had first tried to get a more conservative publication, DIE ZEIT, to print this article, alleging that a man in the West German Federal Intelligence Service was his source. When STAEHLE was confronted with the denial that this was so, he changed his story and told DIE ZEIT that he had received the information from the Federal Criminal Police. STAEHLE wrote another article for STERN six months later, claiming that MUELLER had gone to South America.

On the off chance that STAEHLE might have some usable information, he was interviewed by a CIA officer. During this interview STAEHLE refused to identify his sources on the ground that he did not want to imperil them and produced nothing that was not long ago well known or frequently circulated as a rumour. STAEHLE claimed that the Soviet Embassy

in Bonn was trying to discredit his story by planting information on one Bernard LESCRINIER, a German journalist who was widely known to be a Soviet propaganda outlet. Although the Soviets claimed MUELLER was dead, according to STAEHLE, they made no effort to deny the reports that MUELLER had been in Moscow after the end of the war. LESCRINIER has since died, and we have been unable to find any record of what he actually circulated on this subject.

In 1970 an apparently reliable Czechoslovak defector became available and stated that he had been told by a Major Frantisek BENES that the CSR Foreign Intelligence Directorate had initiated an "active measures" operation arranging for the circulation of the story that MUELLER was living in an asylum in Albania. This was allegedly done to neutralize rumours that were circulating that the Czechs held a mysterious German prisoner who had been a high functionary of the RSHA and might even be the missing Heinrich MUELLER. West German specialist Guenther WOLLAU expressed the opinion that the STAEHLE article and other rumours concerning MUELLER's escape abroad were repeatedly fed into the western press by Soviet sources.

A tragi-comic side-show developed in 1967, when a man by the name of Frances KEITH was arrested in Panama on suspicion of being Heinrich MUELLER. His photograph was exhibited to MUELLER's widow, who unhesitatingly identified it as that of her long lost husband and then collapsed. KEITH was soon exonerated, however, on the basis of his U.S. fingerprints and other records -- but not before the incident had created reams of newspaper copy. Many other items have cropped up in the press in the past two decades which push the line that MUELLER escaped to the West. These are naturally newsworthy, since his assistant EICHMANN did, in fact, make his getaway there.

The Israeli Burglary

On 2 November 1967 two Israelis, Baruch SHUR and Daniel GORDON, were caught trying to break into the apartment of MJELLER's widow in Munich. On 12 November 1967 Berlin Police commissar SPELTZER gave the following press release to the newspaper DIE WELT:

"For us the uncertainty concerning MJELLER's fate is unchanged. We can neither say he is alive nor prove that he met his end in the ruins* of the Fuehrer's bunker in 1945. My journey to Munich and the interrogations (of the Israelis) have not produced anything new. In Israel they are apparently actually of the opinion that MJELLER is still alive, or at least one is not so uncertain as we are."

The DIE WELT article ended with the statement that Berlin authorities planned to collaborate much more closely with the Israeli authorities and keep an eye on the Munich area where many relatives of MJELLER live.

And there the matter rests.

Conclusions

No one appears to have tried very hard to find MJELLER immediately after the War while the trail was still hot, either in the West or the East. Some efforts were obviously

* It is noteworthy that the idea that the shelters of the Reichs Chancellery were "ruined" has taken firm root in Germany. In fact they were not ruined and provided quite adequate shelter until the Russians walked in. The shelters were blown up years later.

made in the West, but the record has not been found. The presumption is that Allied officials searching for MUELLER soon stumbled over the ZACK/WAST holdings of his effects and the Berlin/Mitte burial record and considered these sufficient proof that he was dead. Whether Soviet investigators were deterred by the same factor or had some other reason for their lack of interest in MUELLER is unknown.

Later searches for MUELLER have been sporadic. Only the Israelis have persisted in the hunt. Whether they have some special reason for thinking he escaped to the West or have other objectives in mind has not been determined. The West German police investigations faltered at the Zonal Border and were feeble in West Germany. To all appearances the police got little help from the West German Intelligence Service, which never told them about the key witnesses LOELLGEN and KASSNER, or the PANNWITZ testimony.

Overtly the Soviet Bloc has displayed no interest in MUELLER's fate. There is little room for doubt, however, that the Soviet and Czech services circulated rumours to the effect that MUELLER had escaped to the West. These rumours were apparently floated to offset charges that the Soviets had sheltered this criminal.

There are strong indications but no proof that MUELLER collaborated with ABAKUMOV. There are also strong indications but no proof that MUELLER died in the Berlin holocaust, or some time thereafter, perhaps after collaborating with the Soviets.

One thing appears certain. MUELLER and SCHOLZ had some special reason for entering the Berlin death trap and remaining behind in the Chancellery. If their object was to carry out a memorable and convincing suicide, they really bungled the job.

9 December 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR: Addressees

SUBJECT : Exploitation of CSCI 316/03035-71;
"The Hunt for 'Gestapo MUELLER'"

1. Our principal original objective in preparing the attached study of the MUELLER case was to produce a training aid illustrating the vagaries and pitfalls of protracted investigations. In the past MUELLER had been viewed mainly as a missing war criminal. As the material was collated, however, we became aware of another important possibility: that MUELLER had defected to World War II Soviet counterintelligence (SMERSH) and had taken with him a large assortment of files. (The central files of the German National Security Service (RSHA), of which MUELLER was de facto chief in Berlin in the last weeks of the war, were never recovered by the Western Allies. It was generally assumed (or hoped) -- but not established -- that these valuable records had perished in the bombing of the RSHA headquarters. No one knows whether the RSHA, which was well aware of the danger of annihilation from the air for years, had had a vital documents program or had taken other reasonable measures to establish a cache of at least the most vital documents.) If SMERSH actually seized MUELLER and the best part of the RSHA records, Soviet capabilities to control important Germans and some other Europeans would far exceed those heretofore attributed to them.

2. Consequently, we widened our file investigations and were able to secure the West German (Berlin) police records on the case.

3. If it is desired to probe the MUELLER mystery further at this late date, considerable field action would have to be undertaken. The leads to LOELLEN, KASSNER, PANNWITZ, and LUEDERS would have to be followed. The assistance of several other intelligence services might well be required.

4. We submit herewith a Counterintelligence Brief reflecting the results of the initial collation and analysis of the information on the case.

5. In order to determine the dissemination of the attached brief, we need to know to whom you want it sent, and in what quantities. We have had 50 copies printed. A version suitable for field dissemination can easily be prepared. A version for presentation to liaison could conceivably be prepared also.

6. Your recommendations on distribution, and any comments you care to make on the brief itself, are solicited.

[]
CI/TRCO

Attachment: CSCI 316/03035-71

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