Notes to Preface


Notes to Chapter 1


Notes to Chapter 1


7. See, for example, John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the End of the Cold War: Implications, Reconsiderations, Provocations* (New York, 1992), 18, 155–56.


20. Ibid., 100–101.


22. For a sample, see the essays in Hogan and Paterson, eds., *Explaining*.

Notes to Chapter 1

Stephan, Americanism and Anti-Americanism: The German Encounter with American Culture after 1945 (New York, 2005).

24. This concept of hegemonic blocs adapts the “historic bloc” construct proposed by the Italian political philosopher Antonio Gramsci to explain domestic power relationships. For Gramsci’s own formulation of the concept, see Antonio Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, ed. and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York, 1971), 137, 360, 366, 418. For an interpretation of Gramsci’s thought on this subject, see Anne Showstack Sassoon, Gramsci’s Politics, 2nd ed. (Minneapolis, 1987), 119–25.


32. James N. Giglio, The Presidency of John F. Kennedy (Lawrence, 1991), 168; Carl
Notes to Chapter 1


33. For a discussion related to the Cold War era, see John Fousek, *To Lead the Free World: American Nationalism and the Cultural Roots of the Cold War* (Chapel Hill, 2000), esp. 130–61, 187–91.


37. Ibid., 22.

38. Ibid., 134, 242–43.


43. On the power and persistence of the liberal tradition in America, see Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955).


48. For a related theoretical discussion, see Gill, *American Hegemony*, 47.


53. Giles Scott-Smith states that “from the point of view of American internationalism, freedom had to be created and, literally, institutionalized, in post-war Western Europe. Nothing should be left to chance.” Scott-Smith, *Politics*, 66.


56. In the words of G. John Ikenberry and Charles A. Kupchan, “Hegemonic control emerges when foreign elites buy into the hegemon’s vision of international order and accept it as their own—that is, when they internalize the norms and value orientations espoused by the hegemon and accept its normative claims about the nature of the international system” and “therefore pursue policies consistent with the hegemon’s


60. Murphy, Diplomat, 2.


62. Grose, Gentleman Spy, 125.


65. Pijl, Making, 45.


67. Pijl, Making, 144–47.


69. Robert Dallek, Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945 (New York, 1979), 78–79.


71. Quoted in Eisenberg, Drawing, 38.

72. Ibid., 39–51.


74. Quoted in Eisenberg, Drawing, 246.
Notes to Chapter 1


77. Brinkley, End of Reform, 31–34.


84. Pijl, Making, xiii, 272. President George W. Bush’s director of policy planning at the State Department, Richard Haas, summed up the newer U.S. policy outlook with the phrase “à la carte multilateralism.” Quoted in Joseph S. Nye, Jr., The Paradox of American Power: Why the World’s Only Superpower Can’t Go It Alone (New York, 2002), 159.


86. The history and character of the Left are also much more complex than the seemingly simple designations of “socialism” and “communism” would suggest. See, for example, the treatments in The Encyclopedia of the American Left, 2nd ed., eds. Mari Jo Buhle et al. (New York, 1998) and in Geoff Eley, Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850–2000 (New York, 2000).

87. For example, Hans Rogger and Eugen Weber, eds., The European Right: A Historical Profile (Berkeley, 1966), 5.


97. Ibid., 46.

98. But normalization of military and economic relations with communist Yugoslavia between 1948 and 1951 and with the People’s Republic of China during the 1970s and after showed that U.S. anticommunism was not completely unbending. In both cases, efforts to contain Soviet power led the United States to compromise its commitment to communist containment in general. Lorraine M. Lees, Keeping Tito Afloat: The United States, Yugoslavia, and the Cold War (University Park, 1997); James H. Mann, About Face: A History of America’s Curious Relationship with China, from Nixon to Clinton (New York, 1999).


101. John D. Montgomery argued that Americans imposed an artificial, democratic revolution on Germans, in Forced to Be Free (Chicago, 1957).

102. For a survey of views, see Paterson and Hogan, eds., Explaining.

103. Kennedy, Rise and Fall, 514–40. For the competing view that the United States’
Notes to Chapter 2

postwar empire was “different” from that of traditional imperial powers because the United States’ “general mission was to promote democracy” abroad, see Lundestad, “‘Empire’ by Integration: The United States and European Integration, 1945–1996,” in Kathleen Burk and Melvyn Stokes, eds., The United States and the European Alliance since 1945 (New York, 1999), 17–41; Tony Smith, America’s Mission: The United States and the Worldwide Struggle for Democracy in the Twentieth Century (Princeton, 1994), 3; and John Lewis Gaddis, We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History (New York, 1997), 33–53.


Notes to Chapter 2


10. The term hegemonic bloc adapts Gramsci’s notion of the “historic bloc.” See chapter 1 for a fuller treatment.


Notes to Chapter 2


20. Ibid., 121–22, 142.


25. Eisenberg, Drawing, 336.

26. Ibid., 341.


30. Quoted in Hartwich, ibid., 69.
33. Theodore White quoted in Schwarz, Konrad Adenauer, vol. 1: From the German Empire to the Federal Republic, 1876–1952 (Providence, 1995), 413; also 46–47, 70.
36. Schwarz, Konrad Adenauer, 1:130.
39. Lewis Edinger’s biography of Kurt Schumacher remains the best comprehensive work in English (Lewis Edinger, Kurt Schumacher: A Study in Personality and Political Behavior [Stanford, 1965]). In German, consult Günther Scholz, Kurt Schumacher
Notes to Chapter 2


40. Quoted in Schwartz, America’s Germany, 53–54.
41. Ibid., 54.
42. Edinger, Kurt Schumacher, 156–57.
43. Ibid., 159–67.
44. Ibid.; quotation from Schwartz, America’s Germany, 55.
45. For an exhaustively detailed chronicle and analysis of the making of the Basic Law, consult Edmund Spevack, Allied Control and German Freedom: American Political and Ideological Influences on the Framing of the West German Basic Law (Grundgesetz) (Münster, 2001).
49. Granieri, Ambivalent, 16; also ix, 14–15.
51. Ibid., 294–312; Van der Pjil, Making, 140, 162–63, 172–75.
54. Grabbe, Unionsparteien, 163. Ronald J. Granieri explores the “ambivalence” of some members of the CDU/CSU toward Atlanticism, and Adenauer’s efforts to balance among competing Atlanticist and Gaullist strains of Christian democracy, in Granieri, Ambivalent, 13–22.
55. Wilhelm Hoegner, Der schwierige Aussenseiter: Erinnerungen eines Abgeordneten, Emigranten und Ministerpräsidenten (Munich, 1959), 165–66, 169, 172–73, 185–201; Badstübner, Restauration, 82.
56. Edinger, Kurt Schumacher, 135–36; Grabbe, Unionsparteien, 74.
57. Grabbe, Unionsparteien, 75.
58. Eisenberg, Drawing, 151–64.


70. Bird, Chairman, 320–21.


72. Schwartz, America’s Germany, 42.


Notes to Chapter 2

79. James Riddleberger (acting U.S. political adviser for Germany) to Acheson, Frankfurt, 14 September 1949, FRUS 1949, 3:597.
80. Schwartz, America's Germany, 71.
82. Ibid., 595–96.
83. Riddleberger to Acheson, 14 September 1949, FRUS 1949, 3:598.
86. McCloy, ibid.; Bird, Chairman, 321–22.
87. Adenauer, Memoirs, 183.
88. Ibid., 184.
89. Quoted in Schwartz, America's Germany, 60.
90. Ibid., 63.
91. Adenauer, Memoirs, 184.
92. Schwartz, America's Germany, 75.
94. Ibid.; Dean Acheson, Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department (New York, 1969), 341.
96. Acheson, Present at the Creation, 341.
98. Acheson, Present at the Creation, 342.
106. Adenauer to Schuman, Bonn, 8 May 1950, in Adenauer Briefe 1949–51, 208–9;


116. Quoted in Large, *Germans to the Front*, 103.

117. Quoted in ibid., 151.


128. For a full treatment of the Strasser affair, see chapter 4.

129. McCloy to Acheson, Frankfurt, 28 October 1949, FRUS 1949, 3:293; Dohse, Dritte Weg, 45–46.


133. McCloy to Acheson, Frankfurt, 28 October 1949, FRUS 1949, 3:293.


137. Adenauer, Memoirs, 419.


142. For a fuller treatment of the Federal Constitutional Court’s founding and organization, see Large, Germans, 155, and Bundesverfassungsgericht, ed., Das Bundesverfassungsgericht (Karlsruhe, 1963).

143. The German federal government kept close watch on the SRP, monitoring its electoral program, goals, and organization, and tracking international responses. See the records in B104 (Records of the Sozialistische Reichspartei), Band 7, BA; also: Aufzeichnung, Hans Schlange-Schönigen (German ambassador to England): “Der niedersächsische Wahlerfolg der SRP im Spiegel der britischen Presse,” London, 15 May 1951, Abteilung 2, Band 200, Aktenzeichen 201–10 (1951–52), Auswärtiges Amt Archiv, Bonn Germany (now Berlin).


147. For German documents related to the affair and its deleterious effects on the unity and viability of the FPD, see the report of Leo Frhr. Gehr von Schweppenburg to Hans Globke (State Secretary of the Federal Chancellor’s Office), Munich, 28 October 1953, in Nachlaß Otto Lenz, I-172–73, KIII/5, Archiv für Christlich-Demokratische Politik, Sankt Augustin, Germany; the report of Franz Blücher (Vice Chancellor) to Thomas Dehler (Minister of Justice), Bad Godesberg, 28 May 1953, Band 811; plus related documents in Bänder, 812, 815, 822, 823, and 824, in Nachlaß Thomas Dehler, Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung Archiv des Deutschen Liberalismus, Gummersbach, Germany. For copious British documentation of the affair, consult FO 371/103896–103912.


152. Quoted in Schwartz, America’s Germany, 235.


156. Ibid., 1454.
157. Quoted in Schwartz, America’s Germany, 277. For the path to the Contractual Agreements, see pp. 235–78.
158. See the treatment in Gimbel, American Occupation, 57, 167, passim.
162. See chapter 4.
163. Quoted in Schwarz, Konrad Adenauer, 1:597. See also McCloy to Acheson, Bonn, 1 December 1950, FRUS 1950, 4:348; Acheson to the Embassy in the United Kingdom, Washington, 12 January 1951, FRUS 1951, 3:1447–49.
164. Large, Germans, 65; quote from Ninkovich, Germany and the United States, 97.
167. Quoted in Ninkovich, Germany and the United States, 95.
174. Quoted in Ninkovich, Germany and the United States, 94.
175. Ibid.
177. Large, Germans, 169.
Notes to Chapter 2


182. Minutes, Chiefs of Mission Meeting, 18 September 1953, 672; ibid.


184. Minutes, Chiefs of Mission Meeting, 18 September 1953, 672.


188. Ibid., 129.


192. Quoted in ibid.


Notes to Chapter 3


4. Müller, Gladio, 81.

Notes to Chapter 3

Jugend, 3:5 (May 1952):110, B106/15584, BA.
8. Ibid.
9. Bund Deutscher Jugend, Denkschrift über die systematische Vorbereitung des Krieges durch die sowjetische Besatzungsmacht in der "Freien Deutschen Jugend" (FDJ) (n.d., probably Frankfurt am Main, 1952). The BDJ also claimed to have infiltrated the FDJ in Emden, near Hannover. See Memorandum, BDJ to Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution (Bundesverfassungsschutzamt, BfV), Subject: “Gruppe des Bundes Deutscher Jugend in Emden,” 28 June 1952, B106/15584, BA.
11. Müller, Gladio, 78 and 94.
16. Whether Soviet Premier Josef Stalin gave North Korea’s Kim Il Sung the “green light” to invade South Korea remains a subject of intense scholarly debate, especially as Western scholars have gained widening access to Chinese, Korean, and former Soviet archival sources. See the exchanges between Kathryn Weathersby, Bruce Cumings, and others, plus related documents, in Cold War International History Project, ed., “New Evidence on the Korean War,” at <http://wwics.si.edu/index.cfm?topic_id=1409&fuse-action=topics.home> (10 July 2004).


19. Statement of Otto to the Frankfurt Police, 9 September 1952, B106/15587, BA.


23. “Mission of the Apparat” (English translation), 4 April 1951, B106/15587, BA. For the German version, see “Ausgaben des Apparates,” 4 April 1951, “Documents Concerning the Technischer Dienst,” 15–18. The German version of the document was uncovered during the Frankfurt police raid on BDJ headquarters, while the English copy was found during the police search of Garwood’s private residence in Steinbach im Odenwald. Wiechmann concluded that the English-language plan “originated in the American military,” that the “authenticity of this document is scarcely beyond doubt,” and that “numerous German participants, to whom Garwood’s writing is familiar, agreed that the handwritten changes” in the margins were Garwood’s (Wiechmann to Dehler, 14–15). But Leo Müller, in his short history of the “partisan affair,” identifies the “staff” of the Technical Service itself as the document’s author (Müller, Gladio, 119). This explanation appears more plausible, given that numerous spelling and grammatical errors throughout the English translation do not appear in the German text. Probably Peters or Lüth authored this document, and Peters, who by his own account had worked as a translator for Allied occupiers after the war (Statement of Peters to the Frankfurt police, 4 October 1952), translated it into English for Garwood.


“Mission of the Apparat,” 4 April 1951. This document states that “all prospective members of the Apparat must be cleared by the chief [Peters] and assistant chief [Otto].” Completed questionnaires of prospective members were in turn passed on to “Staley for CIC, EUCOM [European Command], U.S. clearance.” I have not been able to ascertain the full name, rank, or title of “Staley.”


Statement of Rudolf Pintscher (TD leader in Lower Saxony) to the Federal Prosecution, 17 October 1952, B106/4430, BA.

Ibid.

Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9 October 1952; Statement of Otto to the Frankfurt Police, 9 September 1952.


Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9 October 1952; Statement of Otto to Güde.

Statement of Otto to Güde.

Ibid.


Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9 October 1952.

Statement of Otto to the Frankfurt Police, 9 September 1952.

Statement of Otto to Güde, n.d.

Ibid.

“Ibid.”


Statement of Otto to Güde, n.d.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9 October 1952. Otto relays a briefer version of these events in his Statement to Güde (n.d.), wherein the character in question is identified as “Sallaba.” I use the spelling of the earlier document in my account (“Sallawa”) although Breitkopf, in his testimony, identified this figure as “Salaba” [sic]. I have been unable to verify any spelling.
52. Ibid; Statement of Otto to Güde, n.d.
53. See the sampling of press opinion compiled in Dudek and Jaschke, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 1:384–85.
54. Quoted in Wiechmann to Dehler, 3.
56. Wiechmann to Dehler, 8.
57. Statement of Peters to the Frankfurt Police, 4 October 1952.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Letter, Lüth to the Commissioner of the Frankfurt Criminal Police, Laufach/Ufr., 7 October 1952, “Documents Concerning the Technischer Dienst,” 148. Wiechmann, in his report, stated that the federal government had questioned Lüth (Wiechmann to Dehler, 13), but I found no record of the testimony. According to the investigative journalist Daniele Ganser, Lüth was a top “CIA contact man” who, after the TD was discovered, “was hidden by the Americans, could not be arrested, and disappeared without a trace.” Daniele Ganser, NATO’s Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe (London, 2005), 197.
63. Ibid.
65. Statement of Breitkopf, 18 October 1952.
66. Statement of Rietdorf, 30 October 1952; Rietdorf quoted in Wiechmann to Dehler, 32–34.
67. Statement of Breitkopf, 18 October 1952.
68. Rietdorf quoted in Wiechmann to Dehler, 32–34.
69. Statement of Rietdorf, 30 October 1952.
70. Statement of Peters, 4 October 1952; Wiechmann to Dehler, 33.
72. Statement of Radermacher, 29 October 1952.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9
Notes to Chapter 3

October 1952.

76. Ibid.
77. Statement of Otto to the Frankfurt Police, 1 October 1952; Statement of Peters to the Frankfurt Police, 4 October 1952.
78. Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9 October 1952.
79. Ibid.; Müller, *Gladio*, 118.
80. Statement of Rietdorf, 30 October 1952.
81. Ibid.
82. Statement of Breitkopf, 18 October 1952.
83. Ibid.
84. Wiechmann to Dehler, 34, 37.
85. Ibid., 29.
86. Statement of Otto to the German-American Investigatory Commission, 9 October 1952.
87. Wiechmann to Dehler, 27.
88. Ibid., 35–36.
89. “BDJ in Hessen Verboten: Geteilte Aufnahme in Bonn,” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 11 January 1953, clipping in B106/15586, BA; Memorandum, Lehr to Dr. Walter Menzel (Bundestag representative), Subject: “Bund Deutscher Jugend,” Bonn, 18 February 1953, B106/15585, BA; Memorandum, Franz Thedieck (federal minister for All-German Questions) to Otto Lenz (state secretary for the Federal Chancellor’s Office), Bonn, 29 September 1955, B136/4430, BA.
90. Memorandum, Otto John (president, Office for the Protection of the Constitution) to Lehr and Hans Globke (ministerial director, Federal Chancellor’s Office), Subject: “Verbot des Bundes Deutscher Jugend durch den Hessischen Minister des Innern,” Bonn, 10 January 1953, B136/4430, BA; “Kurzprotokoll der 38. Sitzung des Ausschusses (Nr. 5) zum Schutze der Verfassung,” 5 February 1953, B106/15585, BA. For additional documentation on the prohibition of the BDJ and TD at the state level, see B106/15585, BA. For speculation about the stay-behind net’s possible reconfiguration and absorption into the Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND) and NATO after 1955, see Ganser, *NATO’s Secret Armies*, 202–11.
92. The memorandum, “Economic and Political Trends in France, Italy, and West Germany in the Next Years,” is unsigned, but it originated in the Office of European Regional Affairs, is directed to Richard M. Bissell, Jr., assistant administrator of the European Cooperation Administration, and later CIA spymaster, and is dated 30 March 1950. Miriam Camp Files, Lot 55D105, “Records of the Office of European Regional Affairs, 1946–53” folder, NARA.
Notes to Chapter 3


112. Hersh, Old Boys, 109, 127.


114. Ibid., 65.

115. Quoted in Hersh, Old Boys, 360–61.

117. Forrestal to Lovett, ibid.; Document 310, Memorandum, Frank Wisner (assistant director for policy coordination, Central Intelligence Agency) to Members of His Staff, Washington, 1 June 1949, in ibid., at <www.state.gov/www/about_state/history/intel/310.html>.

118. Wisner, Staff Memorandum, 1 June 1949; Paddock, U.S. Army Special Warfare, 8–9.

119. Wisner, Staff Memorandum, 1 June 1949.


121. Ibid., 345–52.


129. Herbert Blankenhorn, “Memorandum,” Bonn, 17 July 1950, Nachlaß Herbert Blankenhorn, Band 5, Fiche 1, BA.
Notes to Chapter 3

130. Ibid. German leaders also considered related proposals on their own. See the letter of Blankenhorn to Dr. Ing. Hans-Christoph Seebohm (minister of transportation), Bonn, 21 May 1951, and of Seebohm to Adenauer, Bonn, 4 May 1951, in Ref: Abteilung 2, Band 201, Aktenzeichen: 201–18 (1951–54), Archives of the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt), Berlin, Germany.


132. Dudek and Jaschke, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 1:358.

133. See Glahn and Nuding, Patriot und Partisan, 11–14; also, Statement of Rietdorf, 30 October 1952.

134. Dudek and Jaschke, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 1:358.

135. Statement of Pintscher, 17 October 1951. At a 1951 exchange rate of 4.2 DM to the American dollar, county leaders like Pintscher, who claims to have earned 250 DM per month in service to the Americans, would have netted the equivalent of $720 per year—not enough to live off, and certainly not enough to become rich.

136. See the related discussion in Lockenour, Soldiers as Citizens, 181–87.

137. Dudek and Jaschke, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 1:381.


140. Ibid.


142. See the discussion of the SPD-CDU conflict over the BDJ affair, and of the resultant SPD-sponsored investigations, in Dudek and Jaschke, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 1:381–83. For documents relating to these investigations, consult the files in B106/15585, B106/15588, and B136/4430, BA.

143. Office of Public Affairs, Reactions Analysis Staff (U.S. High Commission for Germany), “The Impact of the BDJ Affair upon American Prestige in Germany,” 161:2 (30 October 1952), RG 466 (Records of the U.S. High Commissioner for Germany), Box 10, “Special Reports” folder, NARA. This report was one of the few documents related to the affair to have attained declassification status on the U.S. side.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. “Strasser Leaves Canada,” Montreal Star, 17 February 1955, RG 18 (Records of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police [RCMP]), “Otto Strasser Newspaper Clippings” file, box 3317, folder 3 (hereafter RG 18, followed by box and folder number), National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Canada (hereafter NAC); R.O. Jones (inspector, RCMP) to George S. Southam (Defense Liaison Division, Department of External Affairs), Ottawa, 16 February 1955, RG 25 (Department of External Affairs), 44-GK-40 file, box 8007, folder 11.2 (hereafter RG 25 followed by file, box, and folder number), NAC.


Notes to Chapter 4

the present chapter is indebted. Otto Strasser voluminously recounted his own political struggles in Strasser, *Hitler and I*, trans. Gwenda David and Eric Mosbacher (Boston, 1940); *History in My Time* (London, 1941); *Flight from Terror* (New York, 1943); *Dr. Otto Strasser, der unbeugsame Kämpfer für ein freies Deutschland* (Frankfurt, 1955); *Exil* (Munich, 1958); and *Mein Kampf: Eine politische Autobiographie* (Frankfurt am Main, 1969).


7. Tauber, *Eagle and Swastika*, 1:15. Kissenkoetter maintains that Gregor Strasser, by contrast, never “wanted to split the party . . . or separate himself from Hitler, to whom he was attached by a remarkable personal devotion” (Kissenkoetter, “Gregor Strasser,” 232). But Stachura maintains that if Gregor himself was no revolutionary, he differed with Hitler on key points. Stachura, *Gregor Strasser*, 45–47.


13. For Strasser’s claims that he tried but failed twice during the 1930s to murder Hitler—once by sending a proxy to assassinate the Nazi leader (Hitler’s chauffeur took the bullet instead), and once by arranging for his train to be bombed (the wrong train was destroyed)—see Ian Sclanders, “The Last Survivor of the Hitler Gang,” *Macleans*, 4 January 1952, 28.


18. Letter, H.H. Wrong (special economic advisor, Canadian High Commission) to H.R. Hoyer Millar (British Embassy at Washington), London, 9 July 1941, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/1, NAC.


20. Berle quoted in Thomas A. Stone (first secretary for external affairs), Memorandum of a Conversation in the State Department, Subject: “Otto Strasser,” 7
Notes to Chapter 4

October 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/3, NAC. See also “Otto Strasser Is Denounced: Leadership Declared Unwelcome to Liberal Democratic Germans,” Montreal Star, 14 January 1942, RG 18, 3317/1, NAC.


22. Telegram 1512, Skelton to Vincent Massey (high commissioner to Britain), Ottawa, 27 September 1940; Letter, F. C. Blair (director of immigration) to Skelton, Ottawa, 27 October 1940; Letter, Hankinson to Skelton, Ottawa, 21 December 1940; Letter, Norman A. Robertson (acting secretary of state) to Blair, Ottawa, 5 April 1941; Letter, Robertson to Blair, Ottawa, 14 April 1941; all in RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/1, NAC.

23. “Strasser Sees Hun Invasion Attempt Soon,” Montreal Star, 14 May 1941, RG 18, 3317/1, NAC; Letter, Blair to Robertson, Ottawa, 22 April 1941, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/1, NAC.


26. Telegram 1512, MacKenzie King (secretary of state) to Massey, Ottawa, 27 September 1940; Letter, F. E. Jolliffe (chief postal censor) to Robertson, Ottawa, 26 April 1941; both in RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/1, NAC.

27. Letter, Robertson (undersecretary of state) to Charles A. Ritchie (first secretary, Canadian High Commission in Britain), Ottawa, 26 April 1942; Letter, Robertson to Lester B. Pearson (minister-counselor, Canadian Legation in the United States), Ottawa, 30 September 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/3, NAC; Despatch 1473, Robertson to Massey, Ottawa, 16 November 1944, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC.

28. “Would Organize German Prisoners against Hitler,” Toronto Daily Star, 22 April 1941; “Strasser Sees Argentine Tension Close to a Break with Germany,” Montreal Gazette, 23 September 1941; both in RG 18, 3317/1, NAC.

29. Letter, S. T. Wood (commissioner, RCMP) to Robertson (acting undersecretary of state), Ottawa, 3 May 1941, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/1, NAC.

30. Draft letter, Robertson to Wrong (assistant undersecretary of state), Ottawa, 2 February 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2, NAC.


32. Quoted in “This Doesn’t Seem Helpful,” editorial of the Ottawa Journal, 17 February 1942, RG 18, 3317/1, NAC.

33. Ibid; Strasser, Exil, 162.

34. Letter, Malcolm MacDonald (high commissioner for Britain in Canada) to Robertson, Ottawa, 20 November 1941, RG 25, 44-GK/40/2705/2, NAC; Thomas A. Stone (first secretary), “Memorandum of Conversation in the State Department,” Washington, 7 October 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/3, NAC. For a summary of U.S. views of and policy toward Strasser from 1941 through 1949, see Enclosure to Memorandum, Mr. Wendelin (Office of the U.S. Political Adviser for Germany) to
Notes to Chapter 4


35. Both Strasser and his chief defender, the British journalist Douglas Reed, discussed H.G. Wells with venom. See Strasser, Exil, 152–53, and Reed, Prisoner of Ottawa, 198–206.


37. “Asks How Strasser Entered Canada,” Ottawa Morning Journal, 2 February 1942; “Strasser Not Raising Armed Forces in Canada,” Ottawa Evening Citizen, 2 February 1942; “Honest German is Anti-Nazi,” Globe and Mail, 6 May 1942; all in RG 18, 3317/1, NAC.

38. Letter, Strasser to Robertson, Montreal, 21 April 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/2, NAC.


40. Letter, Wood to Robertson, Ottawa, 24 April 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/2, NAC.


42. Among Strasser’s correspondents was the exiled German Fritz Ermarch, who after 1933 worked in the United States to promote public awareness of and sympathy for the German resistance. Letter, Strasser to Ermarch, 12 May 1941, and letter, Strasser to Ermarch, Toronto, 10 February 1942. I thank Michael Ermarch for kindly sharing with me these letters of his father and for providing thoughtful feedback on this chapter.


44. Letter, Robertson to MacDonald, Ottawa, 28 November 1941; Robertson to L. D. Wilgress (deputy minister of trade and commerce), Ottawa, 27 November 1941; both in RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/2, NAC.

45. Keyserlingk, “Deutsche Komponente,” 637–38. On the weakness of the Free German Movement in South America, see Bartsch, Zwischen drei Stühlen, 152, 156.

46. Draft letter, Robertson to Wrong, Ottawa, 2 February 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/2, NAC; Letter, R. H. Tarr (secretary, Foreign Exchange Control Board) to Robertson, Ottawa, 25 August 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/3, NAC.


49. “Memorandum on Otto Strasser,” Wood to Robertson, Ottawa, 19 January 1943,
Notes to Chapter 4

RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/4, NAC; Letter, Robertson to Strasser, Ottawa, 24 September 1943, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/5, NAC.

50. Memorandum, Marjorie McKenzie (personal secretary and aide to the under-secretary of state) to Robertson, 3 October 1944, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC.

51. Intercepted letter, Richard Schleissner (Czech refugee in Canada) to Otto Strasser, Ontario, 14 March 1943. Wood confessed that he found this fleshy packaging “most objectionable.” Letter, Wood to Robertson, Ottawa, 31 March 1943; both in RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/4, NAC.

52. Letter, Strasser to Jolliffe, Paradise, Nova Scotia, 5 January 1944, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/6, NAC.

53. Strasser, letters to Bruno Fricke (13 January 1943, 28 January 1943, and 5 February 1943), cited in “SY Summary of Data on Strasser” (Enclosure 1 to Memorandum, Wendelin to James Riddleberger [chief, Division of Central European Affairs, U.S. State Department], Frankfurt, 3 February 1949), RG 84, box 271, “350.1–Political Parties, General, 1949” folder, NARA.


55. Memorandum, Office of European Regional Affairs to Richard M. Bissell, Jr. (assistant administrator of the European Cooperation Administration), 30 March 1950, Subject: “Economic and Political Trends in France, Italy, and West Germany in the Next Years,” Miriam Camp Files, Lot 55D105, “Records of the Office of European Regional Affairs, 1946–53” folder, NARA.

56. Strasser, “Conference Baruch-Stalin in Moscow,” *Der Kurier*, 13 July 1949, RG 18, 3317/2, NAC.


59. Telegram 1693, Robertson to Massey, Ottawa, 23 July 1945, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC; Telegram 1447, Pearson (undersecretary of state) to Robertson (high commissioner of Canada in Britain), Ottawa, 12 August 1949 and Telegram 419, T.W.L. MacDermot (head, Personnel Division) to Canadian Embassy in Paris, Ottawa, 26 August 1949, both RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC; Telegram 236, Jean A. Chapdelaine (chief, European Division) to T.C. Davis (Canadian ambassador to Germany), Ottawa, 5 November 1953, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8007/10.2, NAC.

60. Draft Memorandum, A. D. Wilson (Foreign Office) to J. W. Holmes (second secretary, Office of the High Commission for Canada in Britain), London, July 1945 [no day given], FO 371/55819, PRO; Despatch A745, Holmes to Pearson, Ottawa, 6 September 1946, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC.

61. Letter, B. A. B. Burrows (Foreign Office) to F. C. Bates, Esq. (Colonial Office), Foreign Office Memorandum, 30 May 1946, CO (Records of the Colonial Office,
Notes to Chapter 4

537/1326, PRO.
62. Letter, Strasser to Robertson (and marginalia by McKenzie), Nova Scotia, 15 September 1945, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC.
63. John Hilliker and Donald Barry, Canada’s Department of External Affairs (Montreal, 1990), 3–43; Denis Smith, Diplomacy of Fear: Canada and the Cold War, 1941–1948 (Buffalo, 1988).
64. Letter, Escott Reid (head, Second Political Division) to Leslie Chance (chief, Consular Division), Ottawa, 28 July 1947, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC.
65. Memorandum, MacDermot for A. J. Andrew (European Division), Ottawa, 4 October 1949, RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC.
66. Reed, Prisoner of Ottawa, 5.
67. See, for example, Despatch 1351, Lt. General Maurice Pope (head, Canadian Military Mission to Berlin) to Pearson, Berlin, 4 November 1947, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC.
70. Ibid., 23.
71. Letter, Strasser to Robertson, Paradise, 15 September 1945, and Letter, G. G. Crean (chief, Interdepartmental Security Panel) to Pearson, Ottawa, 2 December 1947, both in RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC; Letter, Strasser to Pearson, Bridgetown, NS, 25 November 1947, and Memorandum, Crean for Pearson, 2 December 1947, RG 25, 44-GK-40, both in RG 25, 44-GK-40–2706/7, NAC; “Otto Strasser Chronology,” no author or date, RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC; Letter, Strasser to Chance, Bridgetown, 19 November 1948 and Letter, Strasser to Léon Mayrand (chief, American and Far Eastern Division), Bridgetown, 23 November 1948, both in RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC; Memorandum, Mayrand to S. F. Rae (first secretary, Canadian High Commission in Britain), Ottawa, 10 January 1949, and Letter, Strasser to Pearson, Regina, Saskatchewan, 1 July 1949, both in RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC.
73. Memorandum, Patrick H. Dean (head, Foreign Office) to Ivone Kirkpatrick (U.K. high commissioner for Germany), 23 December 1948, and Letter, Dean to Jules Léger (External Affairs liaison to the prime minister), London, 13 January 1949; both in FO 371/76516, PRO; Letter, Strasser to Chance, Bridgetown, 19 November 1948, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7, NAC; Telegram 2312, Robertson (Canadian high commissioner to Britain) to Pearson (secretary of state), London, 28 December 1948, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2706/7; Letter, Howard Trivers (assistant chief, Division of Central European Affairs, Department of State) to R.L. Rogers (third secretary, Canadian Embassy at Washington), Washington, 30 December 1948, RG 84, Box 721, “350.1–Political Parties, General, 1949” folder, NARA.
75. Foreign Office Minute on Otto Strasser, Patrick H. Dean (head, German Department) to Ernest Bevin (minister of foreign affairs), 9 March 1949, FO 371/76518, PRO.


77. Foreign Office Minute on "Otto Strasser," Dean to Bevin, London, 9 March 1949, FO 371/76518, PRO.

78. Telegram 2075, Sir Alexander Cadogan (U.K. ambassador to the UN) to the Foreign Office, New York, 7 October 1949, FO 371/76524, PRO; Telegram 4, James Webb (undersecretary of state) to John J. McCloy (U.S. high commissioner for Germany), New York, 7 October 1949, RG 466, box 39, "350.2" folder, NARA; Letter, Gilchrist to Christopher Steel (political adviser to the U.K. High Commission), London, 1 December 1949, FO 371/76525, PRO.


80. Letter, Duncan Wilson (Political Division, Berlin) to A. J. Gilchrist (German Political Department, Foreign Office), Berlin, 26 August 1949, FO 371/176523, PRO; Trivers to Rogers, 30 December 1948, op. cit.

81. Letter, Gilchrist to Steel, London, 1 December 1949, FO371/76525; Memorandum on Otto Strasser, A. D. P. Heeney (clerk, Privy Council) to Pearson, 31 October 1949, RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC; Attachment to Gilchrist, Foreign Office Minute, 20 September 1949: Office of the U.K. High Commissioner for Canada, Aide Memoire, FO 371/76524, PRO.

82. Heeney to Pearson, ibid.


84. Pearson to Harris, ibid.

85. Circular Airgram, Acheson to Certain American Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Washington, 19 December 1949, RG 466, Box 39, "350.2" folder, NARA. For a


89. Gilchrist to Steel, London, 1 December 1949, op. cit.; Airgram, Acheson to Certain American Diplomatic and Consular Offices, op. cit.; Foreign Office Minute on “Otto Strasser” by Gilchrist, 28 December 1949, FO 371/76526, PRO; Letter, Steel to Gilchrist, Wahnnerheide, Germany, 28 December 1949, FO 371/84995, PRO; Telegram 3 (Saving), Foreign Office to Belgrade, Berne, Brussels, Lisbon, Luxembourg, Rome, Stockholm, The Hague, Copenhagen and Vienna, 9 January 1950, FO 371/84995, PRO; W. D. Allen (German Political Department, Foreign Office) to Steel, London, 10 January 1950, FO 371/84995, PRO; Despatch 424, Rae to Pearson, 27 February 1950, RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC.

90. Despatch 489, Davis to Pearson, Bonn, 28 September 1950, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8006/9, NAC.

91. Letter, C. O’Neil (head, Chancery of the U.K. High Commissioner for Germany) to Allen, Wahnnerheide, 12 April 1950, FO 371/84995, PRO.

92. Gilchrist to Steel, 1 December 1949, op.cit.


94. Quoted in C. L. S. Cope (Office of the U.K. High Commissioner for Canada) to R. Ross (Commonwealth Relations Office), London, 29 February 1952, FO 371/98229, PRO.

95. Ibid.


98. O’Neil to Allen, 12 April 1950, op. cit.

99. Dr. jur. G. A. Jacoby (attorney for Otto Strasser) to the Federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe, Frankfurt am Main, 12 January 1952, Subject: “Verfassungsbeschwerde des Schriftstellers, Dr. Otto Strasser,” B136/1746, fiche 1, BA. See also Bartsch, Zwischen drei Stühlen, 169–70.

100. Letter, Waldemar Wadsack (chair, Bund für Deutschlands Erneuerung [BDE]) and Eugen Grotz (secretary, BDE) to Konrad Adenauer (federal chancellor of Germany), Munich, 30 July 1951, Subject: “Dr. Otto Strasser’s Einreise nach Westdeutschland,” B136/1746, BA.

101. See Jacoby to the Federal Constitutional Court at Karlsruhe, 12 January 1952, op. cit.

102. Ibid.

103. Letter, A. D. P. Heeney (undersecretary of state) to Nowlan, Ottawa, 22 March 1951; Letter, Nowlan to Heeney, Ottawa, 10 April 1951; Memorandum, R. E. Collins (European Division) to Chance, Ottawa, 4 December 1951; all RG 25, 44-GK-40/8006/9, NAC.


110. Telegram 469, Ward to the Foreign Office, Wahnerheide, 14 May 1953, DO 35/7043, PRO. See also Telegram 361 (Saving), Kirkpatrick to the Foreign Office, Wahnerheide, 12 May 1953, DO 35/7043, PRO; Telegram 4943, James Conant (U.S. high commissioner for Germany) to Department of State, Bonn, 15 May 1953, RG 466, box 181, “350.1 Strasser Party, 1953–1955” folder, NARA.

111. Conant to Department of State, Bonn, 15 May 1953, ibid.

112. Minutes by Ritchie (deputy undersecretary of state) and J. B. C. Watkins (European Division) on cover sheet of Memorandum, Watkins to Heeney, Ottawa, 22 October 1951, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8006/9, NAC.
Notes to Chapter 4

113. Hancock, “Memorandum on Otto Strasser,” London, 9 November 1953, DO 35/7043, PRO; “Memorandum on Dr. Otto Strasser,” Wrong (Canadian ambassador to the United States) to St. Laurent, Washington, 3 November 1953, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8007/10.2, NAC.


115. Roger Dow (Office of Intelligence, Reports and Analysis Division), “The Strasser Movement,” “350.2” folder, Box 39, RG 466, NARA.

116. Steel to Gilchrist, 28 December 1949, op. cit.; Letter, E. J. W. Barnes (Chancery, Office of the U.K. High Commissioner) to Hancock, Bonn, 31 December 1953, DO 35/7043, PRO.


119. Barnes to Hancock, 31 December 1953, op. cit.

120. Letter, Davis to the Allied High Commission, Bonn, 19 November 1953, Moore to Swain, 19 November 1953, op. cit., and Telegram 296, Davis to St. Laurent, Bonn, 27 November 1953, all in RG 25, 44-GK-40/8007/10.2, NAC.


122. Note Verbale, ibid.

123. R. A. MacKay (deputy undersecretary of state), “Memorandum for the File on Otto Strasser,” Ottawa, 9 February 1954; Draft Despatch, Chapdelaine (chief, European Division) to Davis, Ottawa, 13 January 1954, drafted by P. C. Dobell (European Division), edited by Chapdelaine and N. F. H. Berlis (European Division); cover Memorandum, Dobell to Chapdelaine, Ottawa, 13 January 1954; and final despatch, Chapdelaine (acting undersecretary of state) to Davis, Ottawa, 18 January 1954; all in RG 25, 44-GK-40/8007/11.1, NAC.

124. Translation, Note Verbale, German Foreign Office to Canadian Embassy, Bonn, 5 March 1954, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8007/11.1, NAC.

125. Telegram 642 (Saving), Sir F. Hoyer Miller (Private Office of the U.K. High Commissioner) to the Foreign Office, Bonn, 20 November 1954, FO 371/109706, PRO.

126. Quoted from Time magazine in Numbered Letter 1203, Starnes to Heeney, Bonn, 9 December 1954, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8007/11.1, NAC.


128. On Strasser’s return, see Letter, Dr. Kanter (adviser to the justice minister) to
Notes to Chapter 5

129. Duncan Wilson to Gilchrist, 26 August 1949, op. cit.
130. Ibid.
136. Ibid.
137. Quoted in Starnes to Pearson, 23 August 1955, op. cit. On Strasser’s failed post-war political career in Germany, see Tauber, Eagle and Swastika, 1:218–20 and photo inset following p. 392.
139. Letter, Wrong to Robertson, Washington, 30 January 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/2, NAC.
140. “Strasser Leaves Canada,” Montreal Star, 17 February 1955, RG 18, 44-GK-40/3317/3, NAC.
141. Letter, A.W. Parsons (inspector, RCMP) to George T. Glazebrook (chief, Defense Liaison Division), Ottawa, 18 November 1950, RG 25, 44-GK-40/8006/9, NAC; Robertson to Ritchie, Ottawa, 26 April 1942, RG 25, 44-GK-40/2705/2, NAC; Memorandum, MacDermot to Heeney, Ottawa, 13 January 1950, RG 25, 44-GK-40/3369/8, NAC.
143. “Strasser Here: Ex-Nazi Allowed to Land,” Montreal Star, 24 September 1957, RG 18, 3317/3, NAC.
144. Schwartz, America’s Germany, 295, 308–09; David Clay Large, Germans to the Front: West German Rearmament in the Adenauer Era (Chapel Hill, 1996), 233.

Notes to Chapter 5

2. Wolfram F. Hanrieder, Germany, America, Europe: Forty Years of German Foreign Policy (New Haven, 1989), 343.
3. Ibid.


22. Clark, Modern Italy, 408–19.

23. For a fuller treatment of the two leaders’ similarities and differences, see Umberto Corsini and Konrad Repgen, Konrad Adenauer e Alcide de Gasperi: Due esperienze di rifondazione della democrazia (Bologna, 1984).


Notes to Chapter 5


35. Ibid.


39. James E. Miller, “Ambivalent about America: Giorgio La Pira and the Catholic Left in Italy from NATO Ratification to the Vietnam War,” in The United States and the European Alliance since 1945, eds. Kathleen Burk and Melvyn Stokes (New York, 1999), 137–44.

41. Miller, "Ambivalent," 144.


44. The Pike Committee Report was published in full, including supporting documents but minus censored deletions, in “The CIA Report the President Doesn’t Want You to Read: The Select Committee’s Record,” The Village Voice, 21:7, 16 February 1976, 69–92. For the figures on Italy, see pp. 71 and 85.


46. NSC Staff Study: NSC 5411 (draft), 12 March 1954, White House Office Files (hereafter WHO), NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, box 10, “NSC 5411/2—US Policy toward Italy” folder, DDEL.


49. Telegram 543, Dunn to Marshall, Rome, 8 February 1948, SD 865.00/2–748, reel 9.

50. See, for example, the enclosure ("Evaluation of the Italian Government by a Military Intelligence Agency") to Despatch 4352, David McK. Key (chargé d’affaires ad interim) to Byrnes, Rome, 22 November 1946, SD 865.00/11–2246, reel 8.

51. Telegram 1500, Dunn to Marshall, Rome, 11 June 1947, SD 865.00/6–1147, reel 8; Telegram 1534, Dunn to Marshall, Rome, 13 June 1947, SD 865.00/6–1347, reel 9; Central Intelligence Group, “Probable Soviet Reactions to a U.S. Aid Program for Italy” (ORE 21/1), 5 August 1947, in CIA Research Reports, reel 3/4. Americans also pressured the French and British to support the PSDI (Telegram 78, George H. Butler [Policy Planning Staff] to George Kennan [director, Policy Planning Staff], Washington, 5 March 1948, SD 865.00/3–548, reel 10).


53. On the American Federation of Labor’s efforts to weaken Communist control of German labor unions, see Ted Morgan, A Covert Life: Jay Lovestone—Communist, Anticommunist, and Spymaster (New York, 1999), 153–73.
Notes to Chapter 5


58. Enclosure to letter, Clare Boothe Luce (ambassador to Italy) to Eisenhower, Rome, 3 December 1953: “Estimate of the Italian Situation (as of 1 November 1953),” Eisenhower Papers: Papers as President, Administrative Series, box 25, “Luce, Clare Boothe (2)” folder, DDEL; NSC Staff Study: NSC 5411 (draft), 12 March 1954, WHO Files, NSC Series, Policy Papers Subseries, box 10, “NSC 5411/2—US Policy toward Italy” folder, DDEL.


64. Miller, “Ambivalent,” 133–34.


66. This is the conclusion of Richard Drake in his exhaustively researched *The Aldo Moro Murder Case* (Cambridge, 1995), 249–64.


68. Unsigned memorandum to Richard M. Bissell, Jr. (assistant administrator of the European Cooperation Administration), Subject: “Economic and Political Trends in France, Italy, and West Germany in the Next Years,” 30 March 1950, Miriam Camp Files, Lot 55D105, “Records of the Office of European Regional Affairs, 1946–1953” folder, NARA.

Notes to Chapter 5


73. Dunn to Robert A. Lovett (under secretary of state), Rome, 11 October 1948, SD 865.00/10–1148, reel 11.

74. Enclosure to ibid., Edward Page, Jr. (assistant to the CIA representative in Italy, James J. Angleton) to George F. Kennan (head, Policy Planning Staff), Rome, 11 October 1948.


78. See the marginalia of William E. Knight (Office of West European Affairs) on the transcript of an interview of John Barth, roving correspondent in Europe for the Chicago Daily News, with Borghese, 30 April 1952, Records of the Office of Italian and Austrian Affairs, 1949–53, Lot 54D541, box 9, “Italy 220.05: MSI and Neofascism” folder, NARA.

79. Quoted from a transcript of the Court of Assize in Rome, Sentence #49/75, 14 July 1978, in Franco Ferraresi, Threats to Democracy: The Radical Right in Italy after the War (Princeton, 1990), 117.

80. Ibid., 118.


83. Despatch 180: “Pace e Libertà Organization in Milan,” E. Paul Tenney (consul general) to Department of State, Milan, 9 December 1953, SD 765.00/12–953, Italy 1950–54, Part 1, reel 4; Ferraresi, Threats, 136; Gatti, Rimanga, 36–37.

84. Despatch 180, ibid.

85. Passage from the Violante Tribunal’s “Declaration of Jurisdictional Incompetence for Reasons of Territory” (1976), quoted in Ferraresi, Threats, 136.

86. Ibid., 137.


89. Pike Committee Report, 71, 85.


95. Ibid.


98. Wall, *United States*, 3


101. Ibid., 93.

102. For a comparison of the two cases, see Simon Serfaty, “An International Anomaly: The United States and the Communist Parties in France and Italy,
112. Irwin Wall, France, the United States, and the Algerian War (Berkeley, 2001), ix; Costigliola, France, 118–59; Hitchcock, France Restored, 169–202, esp. 201–2. On the troubled U.S.-French relationship under de Gaulle’s leadership of the Fifth Republic,
Notes to Chapter 5

see Frédéric Bozo, *Two Strategies for Europe: De Gaulle, the United States, and the Atlantic Alliance* (Lanham, 2001).

113. For detailed treatments of de Gaulle’s strained wartime relations with Franklin D. Roosevelt, see Raoul Aglion, *Roosevelt and de Gaulle: Allies in Conflict* (New York, 1988); Robert Dallek, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy, 1932–1945* (New York, 1979); William Langer, *Our Vichy Gamble* (New York, 1947). On de Gaulle’s policies as provisional president, see Anton W. DePorte, *De Gaulle’s Foreign Policy, 1944–1946* (Cambridge, 1968). Hoover’s allegations of French spy networks in the Western Hemisphere are found in: Enclosure to Memorandum from Franklin D. Roosevelt (president) to Stettinius and Brigadier General William J. Donovan (director, Office of Strategic Services[OSS]), Washington, 16 January 1945: Memorandum from John Edgar Hoover (director, Federal Bureau of Investigation) to Francis Biddle (attorney general), Subject—“Colonel André de Wavrin, alias Colonel André Passy,” 13 December 1944, President’s Secretary’s Files (hereafter cited as PSF), Diplomatic Correspondence, box 30, “France: August 1944–45” folder, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (hereafter cited as FDRL); Enclosure to Memorandum from Charles S. Cheston (acting director, OSS) to Roosevelt, Washington, 1 February 1945: Memorandum from Biddle to Roosevelt, Subject—“Colonel André de Wavrin, alias Colonel André Passy,” Washington, 15 December 1944, PSF, Diplomatic Correspondence, box 30, “France: August 1944–45” folder, FDRL. See also the attachment to Donovan to Grace Tully (personal secretary to the president), Washington, 6 April 1945: Memorandum, Donovan to Roosevelt, 6 April 1945, PSF Subject File, box 153, “Office of Strategic Services: Report: Donovan, William, October 9, 1944–April 1,” 1945 folder, FDRL.

114. De Gaulle’s apparently authoritarian domestic vision is discussed in Despatch 2192, Jefferson Caffery (U.S. ambassador to France) to Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. (secretary of state), Subject: “Constituent Assembly versus National Assembly,” Paris, 7 June 1945, SD 851.00/6–745, reel 1, in U.S. State Department, *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files: France, Internal Affairs, 1945–49. Part 1: Political, Governmental, and National Defense Affairs, Decimal Numbers 851.0–851.3* (Frederick, 1986); also Despatch 2347, Caffery to Stettinius, Subject: “Constituent Assembly versus National Assembly—Further Developments,” Paris, 22 June 1945, SD 851.00/6–2245, reel 2.


121. Wall, United States, 81ff.


123. Daniele Ganser pieces together numerous journalistic accounts and memoirs dealing with the “secret war in France” in Ganser, NATO’s Secret Armies, 84–102.


126. ALUSNA to SANA, Joint WEEKA Report 38, Paris, 22 September 1950, SD2 751.00 (W)/9–2250, reel 5.

127. Romero, United States, 16.

128. Del Pero, “United States,” 1313, 1324; William A. Crawford (aide to the U.S. ambassador to France, David K.E. Bruce), Memorandum: “Measures to Counter the Communist Parties of France and Italy,” Truman Papers, Psychological Strategy Board Files, Box 11, “091.4 Europe—File #1 [1 of 2]” folder, HSTL.

Notes to Chapter 5


131. According to Willems, many French, Belgian, and Italian Peace and Liberty members also participated in Operation Glaive or Gladio programs, highlighting the internecine links among these groups. Willems, Gladio, 35–52, esp. 35 and 52.


133. Daniele Ganser, drawing on journalistic accounts memoirs, identifies the French External Documentation and Countererespionage Service (Service de Documentation Extérieure de Contre-Espionage, SDECE) as having primary responsibility, alongside the CIA, for operating the French program during the 1950s. Ganser, NATO’s Secret Armies, 90–93.

134. Joint WEEKA 39, op. cit.

135. Ganser, NATO’s Secret Armies, 91.


141. Ganser alleges a connection between the CIA-backed French stay-behind net and violence in the Fourth Republic in 1958–61, but, as he acknowledges, the evidence is sketchy. Ganser, NATO’s Secret Armies, 93–98.

142. Gabriel Kolko, Confronting the Third World: United States Foreign Policy,
Notes to Chapter 5


145. The classic elucidation of the realist paradigm is George F. Kennan, American Diplomacy, 1900–1950 (Chicago, 1951).


149. Schmitz, Thank God, 5.