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DEPARTMENT OF STATE
INTERIM RESEARCH AND INTELLIGENCE SERVICE
Research and Analysis Branch

FIELD MEMORANDUM NO. 1010

29 December 1945

Germany, 24 October 1945

DARMSTADT:

A Survey of Political, Economic
And Social Conditions in a
Medium-Sized German City

Note: This memorandum was prepared in collaboration with the Information Control Division, United States Forces, European Theater. It has been reproduced in the form in which it was received from the field.

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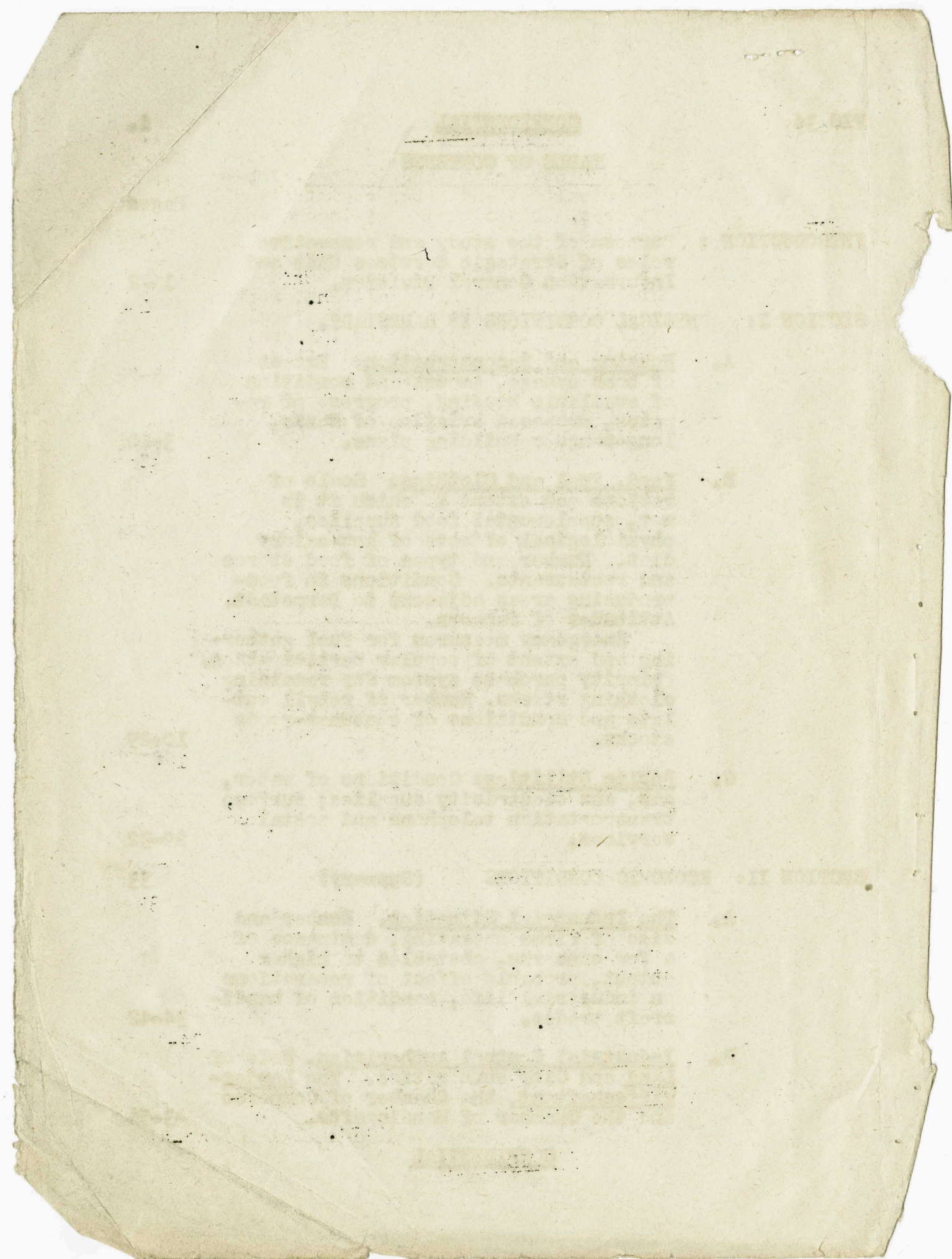
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2. The results of the investigation are summarized in the following paragraphs:

3. The investigation has shown that the company has a strong financial position and is well equipped to meet the demands of the future.

4. The company has a strong management team and a well organized system of control.

5. The company has a strong reputation in the market and is well known to the public.

6. The company has a strong record of growth and expansion.

7. The company has a strong record of profitability.

8. The company has a strong record of dividend payments.

9. The company has a strong record of employee satisfaction.

10. The company has a strong record of community service.

11. The company has a strong record of environmental protection.

12. The company has a strong record of social responsibility.

13. The company has a strong record of ethical behavior.

14. The company has a strong record of transparency.

15. The company has a strong record of accountability.

16. The company has a strong record of integrity.

17. The company has a strong record of honesty.

18. The company has a strong record of fairness.

19. The company has a strong record of respect for human rights.

20. The company has a strong record of respect for the environment.

21. The company has a strong record of respect for the community.

22. The company has a strong record of respect for the law.

23. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of justice.

24. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of democracy.

25. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of freedom.

26. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of equality.

27. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of peace.

28. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of cooperation.

29. The company has a strong record of respect for the principles of solidarity.

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Office of the
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Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

MEMORANDUM

TO : The President
FROM : The Director
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

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INTRODUCTION

In 1939 Darmstadt was a city of 115,000 persons, seat of the Land Hessen government. It had doubled in population since the turn of the century, and although primarily an administrative center, was steadily expanding its industrial base and was rapidly absorbing a number of towns formerly on its outskirts. It was a three to one Protestant, middle-class, family city; only 4000 persons are listed in 1939 as single-person households. Comfortably housed except for the picturesque but slum-like dwellings in the Altstadt, the population was overwhelmingly white-collar; 17 per cent of its gainfully employed, for example, were civil servants. It possessed a greater-than-average collection of cultural and historical monuments.

After a series of minor air raids a full scale explosive and incendiary attack on the night of 11 September 1944, wiped out about three-fourths of the city. The following pages are an attempt to describe the conditions under which the Darmstadters who survived the raid and the war are living in what remains of their city, and to outline their psychological reactions to these conditions and to the future.

For about six weeks, beginning in mid-August, a team of OSS and ICD investigators interviewed Darmstadt's Military Government and German civilian leaders, sampled and questioned the population at large, consulted whatever records were salvaged

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¹ For details of the sampling procedure, see appendix.

from the wreckage, and prodded overworked city officials to put together what statistics they had collected since occupation. There are gaps in the picture which has emerged from this prying, some of them due to the limitations of time and manpower; but most of the things which we do not know are unknowable after five years of war and the September raid.

In addition to frequent consultations with OSS in the period when the study was being formulated, ICD undertook the following specific tasks:

- 1) Individual interrogations of a sample of 200 Darmstadtters..
- 2) A questionnaire study of youth attitudes.
- 3) A companion questionnaire study of adult attitudes.
- 4) A special interrogation of 30 Nazis who had been dismissed by MG.
- 5) A short survey of the patterns of behavior of youth not attending school.

Compiling and editing the report was done by OSS, which assumes final responsibility for interpretations made from the statistical material, although these were in general checked and approved by ICD analysts. Some of the ICD material has already been published in their weekly reports in essentially the same form as it appears here. This applies particularly to the sections on denazification, on religion, and on group differences in attitudes.

1. PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

As in nearly every German community, the primary factor conditioning all life in present-day Darmstadt is the physical destruction left by the war. This destruction has produced a critical housing shortage; it greatly complicates the production and distribution of essential commodities like food, fuel and clothing; to a somewhat lesser extent, it affects the functioning of public utilities. Beyond actual physical damage, the war and its aftermath are vividly reflected in the physical and mental health of the population, in the structure of home and family, and in the condition and activity of industrial concerns, trade unions, churches, schools and political organizations. All economic, social and political phenomena in Darmstadt today are directly related to the ceaseless and universal pre-occupation with prevailing physical conditions.

A. HOUSING AND RECONSTRUCTION

Of all the formidable problems facing the city of Darmstadt, probably none is more urgent than that of housing. Fifty-five per cent of the city's pre-war dwelling units are totally destroyed or beyond repair. Of the remainder, only 38 per cent will be habitable during the winter months without emergency repairs.

The housing shortage has already resulted in serious civilian over-crowding. Fifty-seven per cent of the city's

pre-war population is living in 41 per cent of the city's pre-war dwelling space. This averages out to 4.7 persons per dwelling unit now, compared with 3.3 in 1939, and to 1.5 persons per room now, compared with 1.1 in 1939.

There can be little doubt that Darmstadt's housing problem will get worse before it gets better. The emergency repair program, hampered by shortages of materials, of transport and to some extent of skilled labor, is proceeding slowly, and certainly will be far from finished when cold weather sets in. There seems little prospect of quick relief through evacuation of American troops, displaced persons and ex-prisoners of war now occupying considerable dwelling space. Meanwhile, returning German refugees and PWs are swelling the city's population by 1,000 to 2,000 per month. The outlook for the coming winter is certainly one of acute housing hardship, which could develop into a public health and perhaps also into a public safety problem.

The Statistics

The real implications of widespread housing destruction such as exists in Darmstadt can be expressed most accurately, if somewhat undramatically, in terms of figures. Here is the statistical framework of Darmstadt's housing problem:

Population, August 1945	65,644
Population, 1939-40	115,653
Population increase, July-August 1945	1,144

Number of dwelling units habitable or repairable, August 1945	15,184
Number of dwelling units, 1939-40	34,692
Number of rooms habitable or repairable, August 1945	47,000
Number of rooms, 1939-40	104,076
Number of dwelling units totally destroyed	19,208
Number of rooms totally destroyed	58,000
Dwelling units occupied, repairs necessary for winter use	8,021
Room occupied, repairs necessary for winter use ...	24,257
Dwelling units occupied, repairs unnecessary	5,979
Rooms occupied, repairs unnecessary	18,243
Dwelling units unoccupied but repairable	1,484
Rooms unoccupied but repairable	4,500

Requisitioned Dwelling Space

A considerable drain on Darmstadt's remaining housing is represented by American troops billeted in and around the city. As of mid-September, these were estimated to number 8,700 in the Stadtkreis and Landkreis combined. Army authorities had no exact data on the amount of dwelling space that had been requisitioned for these troops. However, it is certain that occupying troops are not so crowded as the average civilian family, and it seems likely that the space now set aside for military use would be sufficient to shelter at least 10,000 civilians. It may be assumed, moreover, that none of this housing is in need of repair.

Military requisitioning has been a problem not only because of the actual amount of space consumed, but also because of the rather haphazard way in which the process was carried out.

Unit commanders, naturally anxious to secure good shelter for their men, frequently requisitioned considerable numbers of dwelling units and evicted the civilian occupants on a unilateral basis and without notifying anyone. This tendency has been a constant problem for the local MG detachment, which has no authority to prevent tactical units from requisitioning space, but simply tries to cope with the situation as best it can to keep essential persons -- government officials, doctors, key industrial workers, etc. -- adequately housed.

Still other demands on Darmstadt's limited dwelling space come from approximately 5,000 displaced persons and prisoners of war rescued from German hands when the American troops took over. The bulk of these -- about 2,060 Polish and Yugoslav ex-PWs and about 2,100 Polish DPs -- are housed in two large camps on the outskirts of the city; the remainder, all Polish DPs, are scattered through the city in small groups. Roughly half of the Polish DPs are willing to be returned to their homeland; the rest of the group resists transfer to territory now in Russian hands. However, prospects of housing relief for Darmstadt civilians through evacuation of DPs and ex-PWs are extremely small; barracks at the two camps are badly overcrowded, and half the space now occupied by Polish DPs will be unfit for winter habitation.

Emergency Repairs

As may be seen from these figures, the potential housing

relief from any emergency repair program in Darmstadt, however efficient or successful, is sharply limited. If every presently unoccupied but repairable dwelling unit in the city were made habitable for winter, shelter would be provided, at the current overcrowded rate of 1.5 persons per room, for only some 6,750 persons, or about as many returning refugees and PWs as may be expected to arrive between now and next spring. In point of fact, Darmstadt's emergency repair program is proceeding so slowly that overcrowding appears likely to increase rather than diminish during the next six months; the number of persons forced to move from quarters they now occupy, but which will be uninhabitable in winter, probably will exceed the number of those whose dwellings will be repaired in time for cold weather, plus those who can be moved into presently uninhabited but repairable units. No exact figures on repair progress could be obtained; the most accurate estimate appeared to be that of an official of the Wohnungsamt who said that at the outside 50 to 100 dwelling units were being repaired each month.

Darmstadt's repair program got off to a slow start because the immense amount of essential clearing-up pre-empted most of the available labor and transport facilities for several months during the summer, so that housing repair hardly began in earnest more than a few weeks before the approach of cold weather. Since then, the primary limiting factor has been scarcity of building materials. Virtually all such supplies have been

frozen under control of the U.S. Army, and the competing demands of military units and other badly hit German cities, plus slow-moving Army administrative machine, have made it extremely difficult for the authorities in Darmstadt to acquire even a portion of the materials needed for minimum emergency repairs.

An estimate of supplies needed for this program drawn up by the German civil authorities shortly after the occupation, though probably somewhat padded in relation to real minimum requirements, gives an idea of the size and complexity of the building materials problem:

- 6,256 cubic meters of lumber
- 6,266 tons of iron
- 2,052 tons of cement
- 24,830 sacks of calcium
- 3,313,900 bricks
- 1,371 cubic meters of gravel
- 318,820 square meters of asphalt cork board
- 1,434,300 tiles
- 16,500 square meters of roofing slates
- 5,165 square meters of zinc
- 64,250 square meters of light building plates
- 37,100 pumice roof plates
- 123,680 square meters of glass
- 15,240 kilograms of putty

According to the same estimate, these emergency repairs would consume 1,146,907 man-days of labor and would cost a total of RM 23,846,289 -- RM 20,246,289 for wages and RM 3,600,000 for materials.

Proposed Eviction of Nazis

The German government of Hessen has adopted and submitted to MG a law under which "all rooms as well as household furnish-

ings" still in the hands of members of NSDAP, the SS, the SD, of members of the SA before 1 April 1933, and of officials of NSDAP organizations could immediately be confiscated. Discretion would rest largely with the Oberbuergermeister or Landrat, but the Land civil administration could compel the eviction of certain categories of Nazis -- Party or SA members before 1 April 1933, persons decorated with the Golden Party Badge or the Blutorden, Party officials from Blockleiter up, SS or SD members, and officials of Party organizations.

Property seized under this law would presumably be distributed among non-Nazi citizens; no provision is made for housing the evicted Nazis. No estimate was available of how much dwelling space might be secured in this way. In any case, it is doubtful whether the scheme will receive the necessary approval.

Long-Range Rebuilding

Beyond the emergency repair program, German officials have drawn up ambitious plans for the complete rebuilding of Darmstadt largely as it existed before the war, and the MG Stadt detachment announced late in September that work had started on this project.

The first step in this job will have to be that of clearing away the rubble. It is estimated that 1,000,000 cubic meters of rubble remain in the city, of which about 100,000 cubic meters are salvageable for repairs and rebuilding.

To remove the remainder will take 300,000 man-days and will cost RM 7,500,000.

Total reconstruction of Darmstadt will require repair or replacement of 10,573 buildings, in the following categories:

	<u>Destroyed</u>	<u>Heavy Damage</u>	<u>Medium Damage</u>	<u>Light Damage</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Houses	4,178	549	637	3,559	8,293
Commercial and Industrial Establishments	791	171	113	450	1,525
Public Buildings	58	23	21	23	125
TOTALS	5,027	743	771	4,032	10,573

Cost of the total reconstruction program is set at RM 700,000,000, broken down as follows:

Housing replacements	RM 358,000,000
Housing repairs	85,000,000
Industrial reconstruction	210,000,000
Public building replacements	47,000,000

B. FOOD, FUEL, AND CLOTHING

In addition to shelter, keeping fed, warm and clothed will be constant and critical problems for the vast majority of Darmstadt's population throughout the coming winter. Even in mid-summer, the low quantity and quality of food rations was having an effect on the health of the population, and cold weather will aggravate the problem of adequate nourishment. By early autumn, less than one-fifth of the city's estimated minimum requirements of fuel wood had been cut. Clothing

stocks on hand were far below normal demand for a community of 65,000 persons. Although a rather large number of stores existed in the city, the extreme scarcity of consumer goods made retail trade virtually non-existent; food was the only commodity in which there was regular day-to-day commerce, and which was covered by a complete rationing system.

Food: Since the establishment of MG in Darmstadt, practically every type of food except fresh vegetables and fruit has been subject to strict rationing. Daily rations for normal consumers since that time have varied between 900 and 1,250 calories. In the four week ration period ending on 19 August, the ration provided for an average daily consumption amounting to 1,030 calories for adult normal consumers, who include 45,256 of the 68,372 German civilians holding food cards issued by the Darmstadt authorities. Somewhat smaller rations were allowed for the smallest children, and for persons providing a portion of their requirements by keeping small animals; supplemental rations for growing children, pregnant and nursing mothers, heavy workers (who numbered 4,441) and very heavy workers (who numbered only 41). The calory value of all foods rationed, calculated on an average daily intake basis, was as follows for these groups:

Pregnant and nursing mothers	1,195 calories
Heavy workers	1,295 calories
Very heavy workers	1,520 calories

The exceedingly slim diet provided by the ration is poorly balanced; approximately three-fourths of the calories are provided by bread and potatoes. The approximate amounts of food available daily for consumption by the normal consumers¹ in the ration period under consideration were as follows:

Potatoes	357 grams
Bread	215 grams
Meat (all kinds)	25 grams
Fat (butter, margarin, lard and oils)	11 grams
Cheese and kurds	9 grams
Artificial honey	36 grams

Plus very small amounts of skimmed milk, noodles or beans, ersatz coffee and cocoa powder.

Small quantities of marmelade, sugar and eggs were issued during previous ration periods, but a deteriorating supply position forced their deletion from the list. Whole milk was reserved for children under six and pregnant and nursing mothers.

In general, according to the Darmstadt authorities, food supplies, while uncertain and uneven in their arrival in the city, have been sufficient to meet the ration scales set. The policy of the provincial food authorities has been to fix ration levels at scales that could be met. Some difficulties were encountered in supplying the full potato ration earlier in the summer, and receipts of meat have been uncertain. It

¹

about 28 1/3 grams are equal to 1 ounce; about 453 1/2 equal one pound.

has been necessary to provide horse meat in order to fill all ration requirements; as an inducement to accept horse meat, double the ration-weight is provided to those who will take it.

As in most German cities, the queues in front of Darmstadt food shops are an accepted part of daily life; official awareness of this has resulted in the issuance of special queue-priority cards for pregnant women. In addition, it is usually necessary to make a tour of a number of small stores before the complete ration has been acquired. Of the persons in the sample who were responsible for shopping, 37 per cent said that they spent 2 or more hours daily in the search for food and other necessities, and 20 per cent spent 3 or more hours daily in this pursuit.

Supplemental food supplies

Diets in Darmstadt have been supplemented since the occupation from accumulated household reserves, unrationed food, home production and the black market. Taken all together, it is estimated that food from all of these sources may at present increase the average per capita consumption by as much as 200 to 300 calories per day. Qualitatively, the contribution of unrationed foods to the diet has been of the greatest significance, since it has been made up in large measure of fresh fruits and vegetables, poultry and dairy products, and limited amounts of meat.

Data are not at hand to indicate the importance of

accumulated household reserves of food. Immediately following bombings, and at the time of occupation, there was a certain amount of looting of warehouses and freight cars, and it is probable that substantial quantities of food changed hands in this fashion. These, together with supplies carried forward from pre-occupation times, probably permitted a relatively high level of consumption in the first two or three months of the occupation, but are by now generally depleted.

Throughout the summer, limited quantities of fresh fruit and vegetables reached the city. Some supplies were obtained by the municipal food authorities and were distributed through established retail outlets to special categories of consumers entitled to extra rations. Other supplies were obtained by green-grocers for general sale, while there was also a considerable amount of sale by hucksters. A very important source of fresh vegetables has been from the home gardens kept within the city of Darmstadt itself. No less than 15,600 vegetable gardens, ranging in size up to 1/2 hectare, were kept in 1945, as compared with 22,750 tabulated in the census of 1939. Considering the extent of bomb damage to residential areas, this constitutes a remarkable achievement: roughly three out of every four families in Darmstadt had a garden in 1945, a higher proportion than was the case in pre-war times. Less than one-tenth as many households keep rabbits, chickens or goats. In the last year or two, the number of chickens kept

has declined because of the difficulty of obtaining feed; on the other hand, there has been a marked increase in the raising of rabbits, and in the fattening of a hog or two by city families. Among the latter, it has been the practice to buy a piglet in February or March, feed it at first with goat's milk, and then try to fatten it for slaughter in late fall or early winter.

The black market thus far has made a comparatively unimportant contribution to the food supply of the city, and is less in evidence than in most cities of comparable or greater size in the western occupied zones. Local officials have suggested that the destruction of residential property has been so great in Darmstadt that most of the local population have no goods to barter in return for food, and that farmers, in general, are not interested in selling for cash on the black market. Whatever the cause, there is no open, organized black market. Persons with relatives or friends in the country are able to bring in food from time to time, and a limited amount of direct barter between citizens of the city and farmers in the vicinity is taking place.

Differentiation in Consumption Levels

Differentiations in consumption, other than those established in the official ration scales, are, on the whole, much less marked than would be the case in a typical American city of comparable size. Prices are rigidly controlled, and no one is

unable to afford what he is permitted to buy on his ration card. On the other hand, those with plenty of money find it difficult to purchase extra goods with it. The really wealthy man in present-day Darmstadt is the one who, for one reason or another, has access to one or more good sources of supplemental food supply. The aristocrats, perhaps, are those employed by the various Army units in the city and furnished one or more meals daily as part of their pay. Next in the scale, are those with friends or relatives close by in the country, from whom a small but steady flow of food comes in. Next are those who keep a few chickens, rabbits and perhaps a goat or cow, and who have a home garden as well. Those with gardens only would be lower on the scale, while at the bottom of the ladder would be those whose only chance to obtain food comes with the occasional opportunity to barter some household possessions, or work for a farmer in return for food.

Physiological effects

The most noticeable effect thus far of the restricted consumption of food in Darmstadt has been a significant and general loss of body weight among the population. Otherwise, clinical manifestations of malnutrition, notably oedema and other deficiency diseases, have not thus far appeared in significant degree. The disruption of normal economic life has made it impossible to obtain data on which to compare present as compared with previous capacity to perform various

kinds of work; however, public health officials are convinced that, in general, normal strength and vitality have been considerably weakened, and that the population is not as fit, as alert, and as capable of sustained effort today as it was six months ago. The only counter-agent to the decline in nourishment, according to leading physicians, is the tremendous decrease in nervous tension owing to the end of the war and especially the air raids, resulting in many cases in an actual improvement in health, despite the low-calory diet.

With the normal seasonal decline in the availability of fresh fruits, vegetables and dairy products in prospect, and with less favorable weather, the population faces a serious situation if the ration remains at present levels, or is raised only enough to maintain the present level of consumption of rationed and unrationed food.

The Market

Retail food establishments, while reduced in number and in volume of business handled, are operating on a more normal basis than any other important type of retail business establishment. In August 1945, 352 retail food stores of various kinds were open for business, as compared with 842 in 1940. These figures relate to separate stores rather than to business concerns; one large consumer co-operative, which was taken over by the DAF after 1933 and is now under a trusteeship, is currently operating some 20 retail food stores of various types.

Broken down on the basis of the kind of product handled, the number of stores at the two periods were as follows:

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>
Grocery stores	360	176
Bakeries	143	43
Bakeries with a side-line of groceries	3	3
Confectioners	44	7
Butcher shops	162	52
Fruit and vegetable markets	60	29
Dairies	70	42

The stores now present a very different appearance than in 1940. Perhaps the most striking feature of all of them is the lack of variety in the goods for sale. This is particularly noticeable in the still immaculate butcher shops and in the bakeries. Butcher shops visited in August generally had not more than 50 to 100 kilos of all types of meat on hand, no mutton, lamb or pork -- only beef or horsemeat, some ground meat, and various kinds of sausage, liverwurst, blutwurst, bologna and salami. Bakeries lacked the cookies, cakes and tarts of former times -- only Schwarzbrot and rolls, both made from flour milled at a ratio of about 95 per cent, and hence dark and containing a high per centage of bran. Fruit and vegetable stores had potatoes in quantity, cabbages, and (depending on the energy of the proprietor) small quantities of other vegetables, and perhaps a few sacks of poorly graded

apples.

Except for vegetables, all commodities are sold on the basis of a rigid system of ration controls, the mechanical basis for which is a complicated coupon system, the numbered and lettered coupons each being exchangeable only for a specified amount of a specially designated commodity. The coupons surrendered to retailers are forwarded periodically to wholesale outlets, which release commodities to retailers on the basis of the number of coupons forwarded; the whole coupon accounting system being under the ultimate supervision and control of the municipal Ernaehrungsamt.

Restaurants

Of some 60 or 70 restaurants which existed before the war, 21 are left in the city of Darmstadt, 4 in Darmstadt-Eberstadt, and 2 in Darmstadt-Arheilgen. Of the 21 restaurants which now deal through the Ernaehrungsamt, only two were slightly or not at all damaged by the war by the war. These are the "Zur Krone" and "Ratskeller" restaurants. All others have either been moved to the cellar, next door to their original location, or to some other temporary quarters.

All restaurants demand that the customers surrender food stamps for the food they consume. Until a short time ago, they had what they called "free meals", which consisted of soup, potatoes, perhaps cooked apples, and a glass of beer. However, at the present time no meal is served without either

meat, fat or potatoes, all of which cost points. Germans may, if they so desire, exchange a certain amount of their food stamps from the original ration book into travel and restaurant coupons at the Ernaehrungsamt, for the purpose of obtaining stamps with smaller denominations.

There are no chain restaurants in Darmstadt. The only restaurants now in existence are privately owned and operated. There is no help problem in Darmstadt restaurants, since most of them are small enough to be handled by the owner and his family.

Nearly all restaurants serve lunch only, though most, in addition, sell beer at off hours. The Hotel Bender, the only hotel now available to civilians, serves three meals a day. It and another restaurant cater to Americans who bring their own rations with them. A few serve dinners only. Altogether, from 1,500 to 2,000 meals are served daily in Darmstadt restaurants. Menus are generally severely restricted to a simple table d'hôte serving. Fancy food is not available, nor are good wines, so that all restaurants are pretty much on a level, though divided into three classes according to the prices charged for meals. One black market restaurant is reported which offers excellent meals at very stiff prices.

Town and Country.

A partial explanation for the lack of variety in the food available in Darmstadt lies in the tremendous decline

in the long distance movement of food supplies all over Germany, from areas of specialized production to centers of consumption everywhere. This has meant that all cities have had to draw their supplies, to a greater extent than before, from their peripheral areas, and to compensate for the shortage or lack of products previously obtained from more distant areas, by consuming more of the locally grown products which in normal times were surplus and grown for shipment to the outside. For example, the difficulty that Darmstadt experienced early in the summer of 1945 in obtaining sufficient potatoes to meet the ration scale arose from the fact that in previous years, potatoes in the early season had been obtained from the part of Hessen to the west of the Rhine, the local production of early potatoes being slight. This year, with the city's normal source of supply under French occupation, no potatoes moved east of the river. Similarly with fish -- of which none has been available in Darmstadt since the occupation. In August negotiations were opened with certain fishing interests operating out of North Sea ports, which offered to supply the city with fish, but only in return for pharmaceuticals or kitchen utensils, which the authorities have been unable to produce thus far. Much the same story is true with other products.

The low calory value of the Darmstadt diet springs mainly from two other factors. First, Germany as a whole is not self-sufficient in food and long has relied on imports for

15 per cent or more of her food consumption. The other and more significant factor is that the rigid system of food production and delivery controls developed by the Nazis has broken down; farmers no longer feel compelled to meet their delivery quotas, and are even shifting their production away from high-calory foods suitable for direct human consumption (grain, potatoes, sugar, oil seeds) and toward fodder crops, in order to build up their livestock capital.

In Landkreis Darmstadt, and for that matter, throughout Hessen, the effect of these conditions is apparent in lagging grain deliveries as compared with last year, a 30 to 35 per cent decline in milk deliveries, an increase in home (illegal) butter churning, more farm slaughter of livestock, black market deals and private barter, and a sharp falling off of livestock receipts at the Darmstadt municipal slaughter house. For the 13 week period, 28 May to 26 August, weekly receipts of hogs were 50 per cent of last year's average weekly receipts, and only 8 per cent of average weekly receipts in 1939. Furthermore, hogs were marketed at lighter weights this year. On cattle receipts, the situation was somewhat better: less than eight per cent off as compared with last year, and about a third as much as in 1939.

The denazification of the Food Administration has already proceeded to a considerable extent. All Kreis and Ortsbauernführern have been dismissed, and the vetting of subordinate personnel is in progress. Following the surrender and the

consequent general disruption, the vetting of agricultural personnel has weakened the authority as well as the administrative efficiency of the Administration. An attempt has been made to reestablish essentially the same control system used by the Nazis. But evasions have gone on undetected and unpunished, and now the ability of the Kreis food offices to maintain the elaborate checking system for setting farm quotas and recording deliveries against them has deteriorated. A committee from Gross Gerau, for instance, undertook a spot check of livestock numbers in one village, ostensibly for the purpose of allocating feed, and counted 430 milk cows, whereas only 280 had been declared in the March census. In this Kreis, the record of milk deliveries has been particularly bad -- 50 per cent and in some villages 70 per cent below 1944 up through August.

The shortage of commercial fertilizer has resulted in a depletion of soil fertility that alarms the farmers. Their reaction to this situation is to decrease the acreage in crops which heavily deplete the soil, such as sugar beets, potatoes and oil seeds, and to increase acreage in fodder grains, root crops for feed, and alfalfa. With such shifts, livestock numbers can be increased and soil fertility improved. This is fully in accord with traditional German farming practice, and with the teachings and recommendations of agricultural schools and other authorities in Hessen today. Economic

conditions encourage this tendency. Whether the farmers fear inflation or not -- some are reported to fear it -- money is of little value to farmers when there is so little to buy as at present; moreover, confidence in the future of the currency is declining. Under these conditions, building up livestock herds and soil fertility seems the surest and best form of investment, especially when milk, butter, cheese, eggs and an occasional pig or calf can be bartered to some city person or petty trader for shoes, cloth, soap or other things the farmer needs. The hunger of the cities does not strike the farmers. The strain to produce and the compulsion to adhere to delivery quotas that characterized the Nazi period are over. The Americans are rapidly cleaning out those Nazis still in the Ernaehrungsamt Abteilung A; some Germans hope they will bring food from overseas to feed the cities next winter.

The effects of this line of thinking are evident in the plans that a sample of farmers interviewed in Landkreis Darmstadt are making for next year's operations. Their cattle herds have suffered surprisingly little during the war, though pig numbers have been seriously cut as a result of Nazi wartime food policies, particularly during the previous fall and winter. All now plan to build up -- this one to increase his dairy herd, that one to get another horse for fall and spring plowing -- most to increase hog production, either for home slaughter or for sale. And nearly all will

cut their acreage of the high value, intensive crops, and increase fodder acreage. In one way or another, nearly all today are evading official production plans and delivery regulations. Thus far, in the absence of effective compulsion, the Food Administration has been able to offer nothing by way of inducement to do otherwise. If this trend continues, dependence on and need for imported food will increase in the months and years ahead.

Individual Plans for Winter

Darmstadters interrogated in the sample study gave the following answers to the question of what preparations they were making to supplement their food rations for the winter:

Canning garden stuffs	22 %
Have stored food	16 %
Canning fruits and vegetables purchased from farmers	12 %
Can lay nothing aside, despite attempts	10 %
Making no efforts to store food	35 %
Miscellaneous	5 %

This indicates that about half the sample either could not or was not trying to set aside food for winter, and that the other half was either canning and preserving food, or had accumulated stores. It is probable that a fair proportion of those who said they were "doing nothing" also had food reserves which they chose not to mention.

Fuel:

Another critically short essential commodity in Darmstadt during the coming winter will be, without any question, fuel.

As in other German cities, no coal whatever will be available for domestic space heating or cooking; all coal and briquettes available will go to essential industries, such as food processors, and only wood will be available to householders. As of early September, officials of the city's civil administration estimated the stocks of cut household wood on hand at approximately 12,000 cubic metres. Supplementary stocks of 40,000 cubic metres, or roughly two cubic metres per family, were estimated as necessary to meet minimum winter requirements. Each family is entitled to a permit to cut one cubic metre in designated woods around the city. By mid-September, only about 1,000 of these permits had been issued; but city officials said it was common knowledge that many persons were cutting or collecting wood without permits. In late September it was estimated by MG that 18 per cent of Darmstadt's minimum requirements had been cut.

The sample questionnaire produced the following information about individual efforts to prepare a winter fuel supply:

Have enough wood or coal, or will have enough	14 %
Will be all right if gas or electricity available to supplement wood supply	4 %
Gathering and saving wood	40 %
Gathering wood, but unable to save any	5 %
Too old or too sick to gather wood	3 %
Get wood ration from coal dealer	7 %
Doing nothing	24 %
Miscellaneous	3 %

Clothing:

The average citizen of Darmstadt this winter will have to get along with whatever he already possesses in the way of clothing and footwear. Available stocks of clothing and shoes (as well as of virtually all other essential commodities) are so sharply limited that there is not even any regular ration for the normal consumer. Such clothing as is on hand will be distributed by giving priority purchase permits to persons who can furnish records of persecution under the Nazis or proof of acute need.

The Wirtschaftsamt conducts for MG every two months an exhaustive census of all essential consumer goods, excepting food and fuel, available in Darmstadt. A few figures excerpted from the report of 31 July may give some indication of the clothing supply situation in this community of 65,000 persons. Many of the articles listed are on hand in stores or warehouses because they are out-sizes difficult or impossible to adapt to ordinary use.

Winter coats for women	125
Winter coats for children	849
Winter coats for men	1030
Womens' dresses (woolen and cotton)	908
Womens' skirts	99
Womens' shirtwaists	5810
Mens' suits	438
Mens' trousers	663
Mens' shirts	3920

Womens' underwear (sets)	3587
Childrens' underwear (sets)	957
Mens' underwear (sets)	1353
Womens' shoes	2392
Childrens' shoes	3152
Mens' shoes	629
Blankets	111

Retail Trade and Rationing:

The basic machinery for retail trade still exists in Darmstadt, despite the fact that there are virtually no goods to sell. In August, there were no less than 437 retail outlets in the city and 446 in the surrounding countryside either in operation or prepared to resume business if and when the necessary stocks could be secured. While these figures are well below those of the pre-war period (778 retail stores in the city and 652 in the surrounding countryside as of 1939), the retail capacity of existing establishments is far greater than the volume of consumer goods available, and the present machinery will be more than able to handle the city's needs for a considerable time to come. In fact, even after something like a regular flow of consumer goods into retail channels is restored, the problem will not be rehabilitation of retail outlets, but proper regulation of competition and distribution.

Darmstadt stores have already organized into a Retail Trade Association (Verainigung des Einzelhandels). This organization, which has a small office in the Rathaus, has laid

plans to supervise such matters as trade practices, pricing, etc., when the opportunity occurs. Meanwhile, its activity is necessarily confined largely to cooperating with the Wirtschaftsamt in the distribution of the few consumer goods that are available.

So far there is no regular ration system governing the distribution of consumer goods other than food and fuel. A comprehensive ration system based on the Reich law of 1939 is, however, currently in preparation. Meantime, distribution of consumer goods in Darmstadt resembles welfare work more than normal retail trade. On the basis of individual application and investigation of need, commodities are distributed by the Wirtschaftsamt to three categories of needy persons under a priority schedule laid down by Military Government. These are, in the order of their priority, concentration camp victims and Jews, released Wehrmacht PWs, and pregnant women.

C. PUBLIC UTILITIES

Among German cities, Darmstadt is peculiarly fortunate in the present condition of its public utilities. W

The water supply, which comes from artesian wells in the vicinity, is adequate and so pure that the Germans complain that the Americans insist on chlorinating it more than is necessary. Most of the mains have been repaired.

The electricity supply, which comes from the south and the Ruhr, is adequate to meet present requirements. Consumption

in July 1945 was 2,062,978 kilowatt-hours, compared with 3,402,692 in July 1944; of the July 1945 consumption, 809,000 kilowatt-hours were used by wholesale customers. A small stand-by plant in the city would be able to produce current for emergencies if coal were available, and the city government has requested an allotment of 2,400 tons for October for this purpose.

The gasworks is in working order except for the large gasholder, which was wrecked. It has been possible to overcome this difficulty to some extent by using for storage a stretch of high-pressure pipeline between Russelsheim and Lanpertheim, which can store 10,000 cubic meters, compared with a previous gasholder capacity of 40,000 cubic meters. Coal supply has been sufficient to permit unrationed part-time distribution of gas, at first on three days of each week and more recently every day from 0600 to 0800, from 1100 to 1300, and from 1800 to 2000. The director of the gasworks estimated that at least 80 per cent of the population was actually supplied with gas. The gasworks had been receiving about 2,000 tons of coal per month, recently entirely from the Ruhr. For October the director requested 6500 tons.

Street-car service has been resumed on several of the most important municipal routes, and there is one bus route in operation. The resumption of service on the tram lines between Darmstadt and Arheiligen and Eberstadt has greatly

relieved the transport situation, since many of the city's workers and civil servants live in these relatively undamaged suburbs. Additional service from outlying districts is available on the railroad which feeds into the city's virtually undamaged main railroad station.

Motor transport is extremely scarce in the city, with driving permits issued only to what are considered essential civilian users (food distributors, doctors, key officials, etc.). The shortage is not due to the absence of vehicles, but primarily to the scarcity of fuel, lubricants, tires and batteries. A large number of army trucks recently turned over to the German authorities ^{German} is immobilised for lack of fuel, and requisitioning of civilian cars has been discontinued, with some of the vehicles already on hand being returned to their owners for storage.

Phone service is available for the military and for a few essential civilian subscribers. The installation of public toll phones for essential local and long-distance calls is in progress but is seriously impeded by a shortage of trained technicians. MG reports that denazification is an important factor in this shortage.

Frankfurt, seat of the postal headquarters for the newly organized Greater Hessen area, is preparing plans for the unification and extension of postal services throughout the area, and arrangements have already been made to enable

civilians to correspond between the Eastern and Western Military Districts in the American zone. Local mail service has been resumed in Darmstadt as well as parcel post and a limited small-parcel service using the gradually expanding rail network in the district.

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II. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Darmstadt's industrial structure consists largely of chemical (principally Merck), metal, and machinery firms, and it is dominated by a group of five or six large companies. In general, industrial activity is no more than 25 per cent of the pre-occupation level, with raw material shortages, transportation bottlenecks and bomb damage presenting the main obstacles to higher output. Unemployment amounts to about 15 per cent among workers, while about one-third of the white collar employees are out of work. Among the gainfully employed only one-third are workers, the rest being professional, white collar and self-employed. In 1939 nearly 50 per cent of the gainfully employed were workers. The scarcity of jobs is illustrated by the fact that only one-third of those who registered at the Labor Office in August were placed in jobs during that month.

The principal authority in control of economic life in Darmstadt is the Landeswirtschaftsamt for Land Hessen, but considerable authority has been exercised by the city Chamber of Commerce. The Chamber is dominated by conservative big-business interests, and there is some indication that it is not exercising its functions with full justice towards smaller business.

Trade union organisation in Darmstadt is headed by five older men, all former the SPD and petty functionaries in the union movement.. These leaders have organised a single big union, divided into six functional subdivisions, which will be closely controlled from the top. The leadership, wary of Communists "penetration", is taking steps to keep itself at the helm once elections are held. In terms of program, however, the union leaders are vague; they have not advanced any concrete proposals for labor's role in the city's reconstruction. The city finances are in no more happy condition than its industry, with a deficit running at an annual rate of more than RM 7 million; municipal cash resources are virtually exhausted.

Banking conditions are closer to normal, with seven banks in operation and adequate supplies of currency on hand. Satisfactory operation of the banks has been maintained in spite of very thorough denazification.

A. THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION IN DAMSTADT.

As of early autumn there are approximately 180 industrial firms in Land- and Stadtkreis Darmstadt, 47 per cent of which are concentrated within the Stadtkreis. Metals and machinery account for the largest number of firms (27 in the Stadtkreis and 16 in the Landkreis), but food processing, cellulose and wood, and printing are also important. The largest firm, however, is in the chemical field Merck, which really dominates the industrial picture in Darmstadt.

On the basis of reports covering about two-thirds of the operating plants in the Stadtkreis and 90 per cent of those in the Landkreis (all important firms are covered in these reports), the present industrial structure may be compared with the pre-war structure in terms of employment statistics:

Table 1
Distribution of Industrial Employment

Branch of Industry	1939	June 1945 ^a
Metals and machinery	31 %	31 %
Printing	2	2
Paper manufacture	2	2
Textiles, leather, and clothing	5	9
Wood, celluloid, and cellulose	4	4
Food processing	1	3
Building and building materials	6	3
Chemicals	38	36
Electric industry	6	7
Miscellaneous	5	3
	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

a - Workers engaged in cleaning up and repairs omitted

b - Merck accounts for 28 per cent of the total in 1939 and 30 per cent in 1945

These figures indicate that no important shifts occurred in the industrial structure during the war. They also show the preponderance of the metals and machinery industry and of the Merck chemical company in the Darmstadt industrial picture. The table may be somewhat distorted by two factors: (a) a number of firms, particularly in food processing are omitted, and (b) the data are rather old. Despite these factors, the picture shown is probably sufficiently accurate, since all important firms are included and since it is unlikely that very significant shifts in employment have occurred since June.

Although Merck's leading position is unchallenged, it is only one of a small number of relatively large companies which have dominated the industrial structure in Darmstadt and whose domination has increased since 1939. This can be shown from the same employment reports:

Table 2
Dominant Industrial Firms in Darmstadt

Name of Firm	Type	Employment			
		1939	% of	June 1945	% of
		Number	total	Number	total
Goebel	Machinery	467	3	242	6
Roeder	Stoves and ovens	800	5	250	6
Nohl ^a	Machinery	300	2	106	3
Koch	Textiles	208	1	176	4
Miag ^a	Electric	567	4	200	5
Roehm u. Haas	Plexiglass	1462	9	192	5
Merck	Pharmaceuticals	4400	28	1244	30
		8204	52	2410	59

a - Located in the Landkreis; all others in the Stadtkreis

Table 2 includes all companies which in June 1945 employed more than 100 workers, except those employed for repair and cleaning up. Although the data are several months old and somewhat incomplete, the concentration indicated is so great that small deviations would not be significant. The seven firms shown in

Table 2 are taken from a total of 95 firms reporting from the entire Kreis, including all important firms.

Level of Industrial Activity

No accurate estimate can be made of the level of industrial activity in Darmstadt at the present time, but several informed guesses are possible on the basis of isolated data which are available.

2 The employment data used above give one clue. These data indicate that employment in the 95 firms reporting had fallen by about 75 per cent between 1939 and June 1945. The decline in employment has been unevenly distributed among the various industries, however, with building and building materials sustaining a drop of 90 per cent, and textiles, leather, and clothing and food processing falling by less than 50 per cent. The other branches of industry have fallen between 50 per cent and 90 per cent. The seven major firms in Table 2 employed 70 per cent fewer workers in June 1945 than in 1939. These data compare with the estimate of the Chamber of Commerce that industrial activity as of September is about 25 per cent of what it was prior to occupation.

Another measurement of industrial activity may be found in coal requirements. The industrial requirement for hard coal in September 1945 - which will probably not be fulfilled - is estimated by the Chamber of Commerce at 46 per cent of the maximum amount which could be consumed monthly within the Stadtkreis alone at the present time. Merck accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total coal consumption; if Merck is excluded from the data, consumption would be at a level of 55 per cent compared to maximum. This figure is not too satisfactory as an indicator, however, since many firms do not use any

coal at all.

If the number of firms open or authorized to operate as of 1 September 1945 is taken as a criterion, it appears that 70 firms out of 84 in the Stadtkreis (or 83 per cent) and 55 firms out of 98 (or 56 per cent) in the Landkreis have been authorized to open^a. This figure is also an unsatisfactory measure of activity, however, since many firms are only engaging in cleaning up and repair, or operating at very low levels.

a. For details on authorizations to open, see below, Industrial Controls.

Not all the firms are producing their usual line of output; some are engaged instead in repairing various types of articles or in making things to assist in the reconstruction of the city. The Merck company is working on Allied account. A small amount of new machinery is being made out of stocks of materials, construction materials are being turned out in small quantities, and repair of items like trams, railroad equipment, generators, pumps, and dredges is under way. One of the most important manufactured items in Darmstadt at present is the little wagons which are used by the population to haul personal belongings, wood, manure for gardens, and so on.

Obstacles to Higher Output Levels

The problems to be overcome in Darmstadt before industrial activity can revive are fairly typical of what is to be found in the rest of Germany in the fall of 1945. Raw materials and transportation are the most serious bottlenecks. Prior to the occupation, Darmstadt carried on a considerable amount of trade with that part of Germany which is now occupied by the French, and the current restrictions on interzonal commerce, as well as

blocked transportation lines between Darmstadt and the West, are holding back production. Coal, iron, and steel, of course, are seriously short due to transportation and interzonal problems, and to exports of these items to Allied nations. The coal figure cited above at 46 per cent of the maximum possible consumption was an estimate of the coal requirement, i.e., what could be consumed, other things being equal, if it were available. Actual coal consumption however is believed to be well below this level. Some iron and steel could be obtained from the Bruderus Huetttenbetrieb in Wetzlar, if that concern were able to obtain sufficient coal to send supplies to Darmstadt; to date that has not been the case. Another difficulty which has been mentioned is the delay in restoring adequate postal communication throughout Germany as a whole or throughout the American zone.

① Denazification of business and industry is still another factor which is cited by the economic authorities as an obstacle to higher production levels. Party membership seems to have been very common among Darmstadt business leaders, particularly in the more important firms. The really active phase of denazification in this field is only just being started, but it is claimed that, in addition to the difficulty of losing trained personnel through denazification, the current uncertainty as to who is to go and who is to stay is a disturbing factor to men who have many problems to solve.

Bomb damage to industry, estimated at over RM 200 million in the Stadtkreis, is less of a limiting factor than one might expect, in view of the extensive destruction visible in Darmstadt. Even firms which turned in Production Control reports of 100 per cent destruction to both buildings and machinery also show small numbers of workers engaged in productive pursuits. About 90 per cent of all industrial plants within the Stadtkreis were damaged to some extent, but on the outskirts of

town and in the Landkreis, damage was considerably more limited and probably did not affect much more than 40 per cent of the plants and most of these are relatively small.

Damage estimates for the entire Kreis, based on reports supplied by the industrial firms, indicate about 33 per cent destruction to buildings and 22 per cent destruction of machinery and equipment; the difference between these two figures is significant in terms of continuing production. Again, there are important variations as among different industries. Damage on the order of 40-50 per cent to Merck and Roehm u. Haas puts the chemical industry almost at the top of the list, surpassed by a slight amount by the printing industry. Least damage occurred in the electric industry, in building and building materials, and in miscellaneous plants. Metals and machinery suffered 35 per cent damage to buildings and 21 per cent to equipment. These variations appear to be influenced more by different concentrations in the Stadtkreis and in the Landkreis than they are by other factors.

Effect of Reparations on Darmstadt

On the basis of the provisions concerning reparations in the Potsdam Agreement, and of preliminary estimates of the industries to be affected by reparations, Darmstadt's industrial structure will probably not be significantly altered by removals of capital equipment. The metals and machinery industry, the Miag Electro Works, Merck, and Roehm u. Haas contain the only plants which might come up for consideration, and even these should not be too seriously disturbed by removals.

Most of the firms are too small to be of much importance. Furthermore, in the metal and machinery industry not very many firms are intimately related to war production. The most important metal and machinery firms make industrial testing ma-

chines, stoves, paper cutting machines, railroad equipment, and automobile bodies. The Demag Motorenwerke, which make Diesel engines and could employ up to 600 workers at full production, might be a candidate for total or partial removal. Although Merck might be an attractive plant for removals, the fact that its production is concerned with pharmaceuticals will probably invalidate it for reparations purposes. Roehm u. Haas, manufacturer of plexiglass (maximum potential employment: 1,500), will certainly have its patents removed and may also lose some of its capital equipment.

Thus while Darmstadt's industry will not be completely unaffected by reparations, there is little evidence to indicate that the volume of removals will cause any severe disruption in economic life.

The Situation in the Handicrafts Trades

According to information supplied by the Chamber of Handicrafts, there were 1,048 handicraft or artisans establishments in existence in Darmstadt Stadtkreis as of 1 September 1945, and 1,453 such establishments in the Landkreis. These figures compare with estimates of 2,179 and 1,182, respectively, in 1939. Thus it appears that while the number of establishments in the city area declined by about 45 per cent over six years, there was a 23 per cent increase in the Landkreis. This increase was doubtless partially a result of a movement of artisans from the Stadtkreis area.

The figures as of 1 September 1945 are not to be considered as final by any means. During the Nazi period, the handicrafts branch of industry was severely disrupted by comb-outs, rationalization, and call-ups into the Wehrmacht and war industry and now that the war is over, former artisans are returning in

comparable numbers to reopen their shops, if possible. The field is also being swelled by industrial workers who believe that they can do better for themselves in an independent establishment of their own, or who are unable to find jobs in larger concerns.

The number of handicraft establishments in existence does not necessarily signify the number which is actually in operation. Many of these shops have no materials to work, or they have so little that they are barely operating. The Chamber of Handicrafts also believes that there may be small establishments open which have not yet registered with the Chamber and are therefore not included in the figures cited.

It is interesting to see what has happened to the types of establishments which were most numerous in 1939. The following table shows the eight types in which there were more than 100 in the Stadtkreis establishments in 1939, out of a total of 58 types then in existence.

Table 3
Number of Important Handicrafts Establishments

Type	1939		Sept. 1945	
	Stadtkreis	Landkreis	Stadtkreis	Landkreis
Bakers	175	155	52	147
Ladies' tailors	205	67	85	115
Butchers	174	88	65	109
Haidressers	164	66	69	87
Men's tailors	164	67	71	84
Painters	112	71	66	94
Shoemakers	205	105	83	134
Carpenters	117	84	60	106
TOTAL	1316	703	551	876
Percent of total estabs.	60%	60%	52%	60%

Table 3 shows that in every case but the bakers declines in the Stadtkreis have been partially offset by increases in the surrounding towns. Despite this, the reduction in establishments within the Stadtkreis has been so great that the total

number of establishments in existence in both areas in September 1945 does not significantly exceed the number in existence in the Stadtkreis alone six years ago. This disparity may disappear as more artisans return or more industrial workers become artisans.

Revival of activity among the handicrafts is limited by the same factors as those affecting industry itself, namely, raw materials, transportation, and interzonal trade. Although there may be some shortage of skilled labor for the handicrafts trades, there is still a supply, which is growing, of apprentices. The Chamber of Handicrafts does not believe that the artisans are being discriminated against in raw material allocations; the situation is desperately hard for industry and handicrafts alike.

The denazification of the handicrafts trades is only just beginning, with a distribution of Fragebogen. It is to be expected that this will have rather widespread effects on the artisans, if present directives result in the exclusion from Business of those in the mandatory or discretionary removal categories. The Chamber of Handicrafts believes that as many as 50 per cent of the artisans were members of the Nazi Party, and that they joined at early dates.

B. - INDUSTRIAL CONTROL AUTHORITIES IN DARMSTADT

Under recent MG directives, the highest German industrial control agency for Darmstadt is the Landeswirtschaftsamt (Provincial Economic Office, abbreviated: LWiA) for Land Hessen, which is in the process of organization and taking over its responsibilities. Between the occupation of Darmstadt and the establishment of the LWiA, these controls were exercised on a local level and on a rather ad hoc basis by the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the city Economic Office, the Chamber of Handicrafts, and the Oberbuergermeister himself. In addition, the MG authorities have been exercising more responsibility and a wider function in this connection than they will in the future under the LWiA.

Between April and August 1945, firms were licensed to reopen and were allocated raw materials by the following process: applications for reopening or for raw materials were submitted to the Chamber of Commerce, processed by them, and submitted to the MG authorities with recommendations for approval or disapproval. To an unspecified extent, the Oberbuergermeister also participated in the processing of applications for reopening of industrial firms. The handicrafts trades were serviced in similar manner by the Chamber of Handicrafts. This procedure operated somewhat haphazardly and inefficiently, with a considerable burden of work being placed on the shoulders of MG officers. The situation was complicated by the fact that Land Hessen was not fully constituted as an economic administrative unit.

Under the new arrangement, these disadvantages have been overcome. The German authorities, under the direction of the LWiA, will have full responsibility for industrial controls. The LWiA will be the final authority to decide which firms shall be allowed to reopen, and thus it will shape the industrial structure of the province in accordance with general MG

directives. It will, furthermore, present MG authorities with requirements for raw materials, and, to the extent that those requirements are fulfilled, it will allocate the supplies to the various Kreise in the Land, which will, in turn, reallocate the supplies to industrial firms. The LWIA is, in addition, charged with the responsibility for denazification of business and industry in Land Hessen.

In order to understand the relationships between the different control organizations and to point up the various political and economic forces which are being brought to bear on the question of industrial control, it is necessary to analyze each organization in some detail.

The Landwirtschaftsamt

The LWIA is part of the Land Economics Ministry, the chief of which is Dr. Walk. Walk is an engineer from Brown-Boveri in Mannheim; he was never a member of the Nazi Party and claims to have voted KPD in 1932 and SPD in 1933. He has also made some unverified claims to active anti-Nazi activities during the war. Walk speaks rather fluent English and is on good terms with MG authorities.

The chief of the LWIA is Dr. Dang. Dang is a Catholic, a former member of the SPD, who taught school prior to 1933 in Kaiserslautern. He was unable to obtain employment as a result of his political record until 1937, when he worked as tax advisor to Merck until 1941. After two years in the Army, he worked for the Mannheim Chamber of Commerce, but was again called to the Wehrmacht in 1944.

The mission of the LWIA as an industrial control agency is, in addition to denazification, to prevent the manufacture of prohibited and war items, to restrict production to essential

items (including any necessary exports), and to collect and evaluate information on industrial production and requirement for raw, semi-finished, and finished materials.

The office is organized along functional lines, each section having a chief, an assistant, and a secretary; these branches are:

- Chemicals (including soap and leather)
- Coal and power
- Metals and machinery
- Textiles
- Tobacco and paper
- Food industries

The Office of Building and Building Materials and the Road Traffic Office (that part concerned with motor fuel) of the Land government are affiliated with the LWIA.

The personnel for these sections, who have been appointed by Dr. Dang, are largely technical men, but it is interesting to note that none of them comes from governmental service - all of them come from private industry. Dr. Loer, chief of the chemicals section, for example was formerly an employe of I.G. Farben.

Each section will direct the production of the various industries under its control; will presumably set output schedules for the more important items, and will allocate material supplies to each locality, or, in important cases, directly to firms requiring them. Each industrial area in Land Hessen will have a local Wirtschaftsamt to perform the same functions on a lower level. These offices will be constituted in roughly the same form as the Landeswirtschaftsamt, although they will probably be less elaborate.

Two groups of advisory bodies will be used by the Landeswirtschaftsamt. One of these groups will be the four chambers of commerce in Land Hessen - Darmstadt, Giessen, Friedberg, and Offenbach, of which the leading and most influential chamber is the one at Darmstadt. The second group of advisory bo-

dies will consist of committees of leading businessmen from each industry section of the LWIA. These businessmen are to be selected by the chief of each industry section, and although the industry section chiefs are under no obligation to take any advice proffered by the industrialists' committee, it is to be expected that considerable use will be made of these committees.

The Chamber of Commerce

The Darmstadt Chamber of Industry and Commerce represents industrial and commercial interests for that part of Lower Hessen which is known as Starkenburg, but within Starkenburg, Darmstadt is of such relatively great importance that most of the control of the Chamber rests with Darmstadt business interests. The Chamber was dissolved by the Nazis in 1942, and a branch office (Nebenstelle) of the Gauwirtschaftskammer in Frankfurt was set up to take its place. The Gauwirtschaftskammer was more than a representative of business in the area; it was a quasi-public institution with important powers of material allocation and industrial rationalization, and was dominated by party and big business interests.

The leader (Leiter) of the Darmstadt office was first Opel of the large automobile company; he was later succeeded by Merck of the Merck chemical company. The Vice-Leader was a man named Kruse from the Deutsche Bank, and the manager was Dr. Schaeffer, who presumably was a Party man. These men were all appointed from above.

Following the American occupation, the Gauwirtschaftskammer was dissolved and its funds frozen. At the time, the erstwhile Chamber of Industry and Commerce was reconstituted through the efforts of two officials of the Gauwirtschaftskammer,

Dr. Seyfried (who had been assistant manager) and Dr. Sonnen (who had been a section chief, following a career in the Berlin Economics Ministry working on Ukrainian sugar supplies). Dr. Seyfried contacted the governmental and MG authorities, while Dr. Sonnen canvassed businessmen in the area. Within a short time, the Chamber was set up, and Dr. Schenk of the Carl Schenk company for the manufacture of industrial testing machines (this is the largest machinery manufacturing company in Darmstadt) was appointed President by Dr. Bergstraesser, head of the Land Hessen government. Dr. Koehler President of Goebel AG, manufacture of paper cutting machines and the third largest industrial company in Darmstadt, was appointed Vice-President.

A short time later, Dr. Schenk resigned his position, both because of age and because he was unable to work with Dr. Koeler. The latter succeeded to the presidency of the Chamber, and two Vice Presidents have been appointed, Ansbach and Bosselmann, both from large commercial companies in Darmstadt.

The Chamber has been organized more or less along the same lines as in 1942. Membership is still compulsory for all industrial and commercial firms, excluding handicrafts. The organization is on two levels: the direct representatives of industry and commerce, whose services are not paid for and who give only part of their time to the Chamber, and the full-time, paid employes of the Chamber.

The representatives of industry and commerce number 12, two each (one for industry and one for commerce) from each Kreis in Starkenburg. Darmstadt has four representatives altogether, two from the Landkreis and two from the Stadtkreis, the latter including Dr. Koehler. These representatives have been selected by the local governments of each Kreis, in consultation with Dr. Koehler, the MG authorities, and businessmen. These representatives, not all of whom have been appointed to

date, make up the Advisory Board for the Chamber and really are the policy-making body. Without exception, the present Advisory Board is made up of representatives of the largest concerns; smaller businesses have no voice on this board at the present time.

The full-time employees of the Chamber, excluding secretaries, are eight in number, and are headed by a Syndic and Vice Syndic. The Syndic is Dr. Seyfried, from the Gauwirtschafts kammer, who is chief of management for the Chamber and also handles question of interest to wholesalers and retailers as well as allocation of coal to industry. The Vice-Syndic, formerly Dr. Sonnen, is Dr. Wagner, a Frankfurt lawyer, who deals with all questions of industry. Five of the remaining employees deal with legal questions, statistics, apprentices, information, and office administration and bookkeeping.

One of the full-time employees deserves special mention. This is Dr. Schlick, who, in addition to dealing with general economic, financial, and tax questions, has the responsibility of nominating trustees for firms who have been deprived of their presidents or managers as a result of denazification. Dr. Schlick was formerly connected with an industrialists' association in Land Hessen and was employed during the war by the Demag machinery company in the Ruhr. He maintains a file of people who submit their names and qualifications to the Chamber, and when the Chamber's advice is asked on a trustee, he attempts to find one from this file. In an interview, Dr. Schlick stressed the fact that the Chamber does not solicit the names and qualifications of people who wish to be trustees, nor does it suggest a candidate unless requested. No men who joined the Nazi Party at any date are ever nominated by Dr. Schlick, although he does not carry on any political investigation of the candidates and relies completely on the material which they submit to him.

The functions of the Darmstadt Chamber of Commerce are in a process of changing as a result of the organization of the Landwirtschaftsamt, and the passing to the latter office of several important functions which have been carried on by the Chamber of Commerce. Prior to this development, the chamber processed all applications for firms to reopen or to obtain materials, and then passed these applications with recommendations for approval or disapproval to the MG detachments for final decision. The Chamber will now be limited to an advisory capacity in this connection. The Chamber has also been used by the MG authorities to distribute and collect the G-5 Industry Division forms for industrial information, and many of the statistics have been collated and analyzed by Dr. Huefner, the Chamber's statistician.

The Chamber is expected to continue its advisory function in the field of denazification of business and industry, where it has been making some investigations leading to removals in addition to making nomination for trustees.

In addition to these special functions, the Chamber carries on the usual activities of a German chamber of commerce, such as keeping its members informed of governmental measures, representing business before the governmental authorities, and dealing with problems of interest to business on a regional level. The chambers of the entire Land, Darmstadt, Friedberg, Giessen, and Offenbach, meet every two weeks in Frankfurt to discuss common problems. These meetings are usually chaired by the Darmstadt Chamber, and Darmstadt is also normally employed by the MG detachment for Land Hessen as liaison with the other chambers.

Dr. Koehler is one of the most powerful and influential men in Darmstadt today, and as such he is a subject for controversy from several sides. He is a man of 48 years, with a strong, dominating, and persuasive personality. Soon after

completing a medical education, he became owner-manager of Goebel AG, then manufacturing only machines to cut railroad tickets, but he subsequently built up and expanded the firm to the point where it ranks among the top three machinery concerns in Darmstadt. His intelligence and business acumen are recognized generally. Although his integrity has been questioned, he gives an impression of being honest, of meaning what he says and of supporting his arguments forcefully. He was never a Nazi Party member, but most of his statements reveal a generally conservative approach to political, business, and labor problems. His annual income after 1933 varied between RM 110,000 and 156,000.

His activities during the Nazi regime are of interest. While he did not join the Party, he asked a man who joined the Party in 1933 to come into the Goebel firm as a "front man" to deal with the Party; in this way he was able to hold off any pressure on himself to join. This story is common knowledge in Darmstadt, and Dr. Koehler admits his motives in employing this director, although at the same time he defends the man. According to Dr. Koehler, this man was a functionary in the retailers' association and was asked by the Jewish retailers to join the Party in order to protect them, which he succeeded in doing up to the time he entered Goebel AG.

However, it has been reported by Georg Wink, SPD Landrat of Nieder Ramstadt, that under the Nazis the Goebel firm was run in the best Nazi manner and that foreign workers received very rough treatment. Koehler, while not joining the Party, was nevertheless a member of the DAF, NSV, NS Bund der Deutschen Technik, NS Reichskriegerbund, and DRK.

Koehler's apparently dominating - even dictatorial - manner in the Chamber of Commerce forced both Dr. Schenk, the President, and Dr. Sonnen, one of the post-occupation founders and then Syndic for industry questions, to resign. Dr. Sonnen

feels extremely bitter about Dr. Koehler and states that the Chamber of Commerce is being run in a reactionary manner which results in definite favoritism toward big business and even toward Nazi businessmen. To substantiate this claim, he offers the following statements about Koehler's activities while he (Sonnen) was still in the Chamber:

a. Dr. Sonnen suggested to Koehler that the raw material supplies of small Nazi business be redistributed to workers and artisans so that they could set themselves up independently. Koehler refused to accede to this suggestion and made efforts to get these supplies for the big firms.

b. A large Nazi airframe manufacturer, Jakobs u. Schweyer, was left without managers, because both Jakobs and Schweyer had fled. The firm had large stocks of lumber and other materials on hand. Sonnen suggested that these stocks be divided up, with one third going to small firms, one third to the five or six largest firms, and one third remaining at Jakobs u. Schweyer, and that, furthermore, a trustee be appointed to run the Jakobs u. Schweyer plant to make furniture. Koehler, he claims, demurred entirely, until Jakobs returned and started the firm up again, in full possession of the raw materials.

c. The Chamber is now allowed by Me to finance itself partially from the frozen funds of the Gauwirtschaftskammer. Sonnen claims that Koehler attempted to swell the bill presented for monthly withdrawals from the Gauwirtschaftskammer account. He also claims that, when the Chamber was set up, Koehler had it make its offices in the Goebel administrative building at a high rent, and employ all the Goebel office staff, while competent secretaries were still available from the Gauwirtschaftskammer.

d. Dr. Sonnen states that the trade union representatives in Darmstadt conferred with him and Dr. Koehler prior to the Potsdam Conference, and that, following the conference with