

NOTES

NOTE ON SOURCES

Although oral testimonies are subject to fallible human memories, they have nonetheless proven invaluable in explaining several documents collected for this study. Documents never before seen by historians, found in people's closets, basements, and desk drawers, created a much fuller and complex history, especially when their owners supplied the background and history of the documents as well. These sources helped re-create the unique and tragic history of the *Mischlinge*, which is still so little understood over half a century later. The thousands of pages of documents and oral testimonies (on 8 mm video and VHS video) in this study are now part of the permanent collection at the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg, Germany, as the Bryan Mark Rigg Collection. Although interviews need to be treated with some skepticism, they have repeatedly shown that oral history often enriches rather than contradicts historical documents. All too often, history is written without the human element, that is, without knowing what these people thought, felt, and believed. Oral history helps reconstruct many of these people's thoughts, feelings, and beliefs through their diaries, letters, interviews, and photographs. In this way, a healthy combination of hard documents or primary sources and secondary sources and testimonies expands our sense of this history. Often one reads about men and women but feels no human connection with them. The interviews were done to try to bridge this gap and to provide readers with the means to enter these men's and women's thoughts and feelings to understand them better and to deepen readers' knowledge of this history.

INTRODUCTION

1. Some loose translations of *Mischlinge* are "half-breeds," "hybrids (*Zwischenrasse*)," or "partial Jews."
2. Wehrmacht was the German word for the German armed forces from 1935 to 1945.
3. See chapter 3 on German-Jewish assimilation.
4. Since Austria was united with Germany under Hitler's rule, discussion of German-Jewish assimilation here often includes Austrian-Jewish assimilation.
5. See chapter 9, "What Did *Mischlinge* Know about the Holocaust?" The term "Holocaust" only came into general use in the 1960s as the full scope and impact of Nazi Jewish policy became clear. "Holocaust" is used throughout this section to mean the Nazi genocidal policy.
6. To read about the sources used in this book, see "Note on Sources."

CHAPTER I: WHO IS A JEW?

1. Asher Maoz, "Who Is a Convert?" *International Association of Jewish Lawyers and Jurists*, 15 (December 1997): 11.
2. B.C.E. (before the common era) is used where B.C. was used in the past. C.E. (common era) is used for A.D. Karen Armstrong, *A History of God: A Four-*

- thousand-Year Quest of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (New York, 1993), p. 12.
3. The *Ivrim*, or Hebrews, were members of any group of Semitic peoples who lived in ancient Palestine and claimed descent from the biblical patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The literal meaning of the word *Hebrew* is the people “who crossed over” or the people “from the other side of the river.” Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God, and History* (New York, 1994), pp. 30–31; Uri Kaploun, ed., *Likkutei Dibburim: An Anthology of Talks by Rabbi Yosef Yitzchak Schneersohn of Lubavitch*, vol. 3 (New York, 1990), pp. 46–47.
 4. Leo Trepp, *The Complete Book of Jewish Observance* (New York, 1980), p. 2.
 5. Dimont, p. 33; Armstrong, p. 72. Interestingly, *Ivri*, or Hebrew, from the root *avar*, meaning “cross over,” also connotes one who crosses over the bounds of propriety accepted by common culture. Abraham lived in a polytheistic world. By affirming his faith in one God, he crossed over the line. He became an iconoclast, an idol smasher. However, some believe that Abraham simply returned to the pure faith. Maimonides holds that monotheism was only reinitiated by Abraham, not discovered. See Baruch Frydman-Kohl, “Covenant, Conversion, and Chosenness: Maimonides and Halvei On ‘Who Is a Jew?’” *Judaism* 41, no. 1 (winter 1992): 69.
 6. Dimont, pp. 43–47; Matthew Black and H. H. Rowley, eds., *Peake’s Commentary on the Bible* (New York, 1963), p. 74. *Torah* (rendered “law”) literally means “direction” or “teaching.” The Torah is the five books of Moses, or Pentateuch.
 7. Dimont, p. 39; BA-MA, BMRS, File Dovid Gottlieb, Gottlieb to Rigg, 05.07.2001; Lecture given by Rabbi Cordoza at the *Yeshiva Ohr Somayach*, 27 December 1993; information given to the author by Henry Soussan (former president of Heidelberg’s Jewish community) in December 1997 and by Rabbi Avraham Laber, rabbi of Congregation Beth Tephilah, Orthodox Synagogue of Troy, New York, January 2001; Herman Wouk, *This Is My God: The Jewish Way of Life* (New York, 1959), p. 35. In academic circles, there is no historical validation of the revelation at Sinai.
 8. Trepp, p. 1.
 9. From the tribe of Dan, one of the twelve tribes of Israel.
 10. Leviticus 24:10–12 New International Version (NIV); Yisrael Isser Zvi Herczeg, ed., *The Torah: With Rashi’s Commentary* (Brooklyn, 1994), pp. 309–11; Black and Rowley, *Peake’s Commentary*, pp. 251–52. Another interpretation says that this Danite was rejected not because he had an Egyptian father but because he had rejected God. Still another interpretation says that he only wanted to belong to a certain tribe to inherit land. Thus, the tribes rejected him because of his motivation for trying to join them.
 11. Genesis 41:45 NIV; Nosson Scherman and Meir Zlotowitz, eds., *The Artscroll Series Torah with Rashi’s Commentary: Genesis* (Brooklyn, 1997), pp. 459–60; *Enger’s Dictionary*, p. 606; Jack Miles, *God: A Biography* (New York, 1995), p. 83. On was an ancient city in northern Egypt. The city was also known as Heliopolis.

12. Numbers 12:1 NIV; *The Artscroll Series with Rashi's Commentary*, pp. 135–36; Black and Rowley, *Peake's Commentary*, p. 259; Dimont, pp. 38, 42; Miles, p. 101. Interestingly, Moses' brother Aaron and sister Miriam disapproved of Moses' marriage to this Ethiopian. Numbers 12:1–2 NIV; Miles, p. 101; Trepp, p. 260.
13. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rabbi Dovid Gottlieb, Gottlieb to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
14. The Tanach according to Christians is the Old Testament.
15. The Talmud is the rabbinic codification of the oral tradition. It was codified around 500 C.E.
16. Halakah is the body of Jewish scriptural law. Jacob Immanuel Schochet, *Who Is a Jew? Thirty Questions and Answers about This Controversial and Divisive Issue* (Brooklyn, 1987), p. 32. Often, the term *Din Torah* is interpreted as being tantamount to Halakah. See Maoz, "Who Is a Convert?" p. 12.
17. Hayim Halevy Donin, *To Be a Jew* (New York, 1991), p. 8; Howard M. Sachar, *A History of Israel*, vol. 2, *From the Aftermath of the Yom Kippur War* (Oxford, 1987), p. 139; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Who Was a Jew? Rabbinic and Halakhic Perspectives on the Jewish-Christian Schism* (New Jersey, 1985), pp. 9–11; Trepp, pp. 247–54, 299; Dimont, p. 272; Schochet, *Who Is a Jew?* pp. 18, 28; Norman Lamm, "Who Is a Jew? The Supreme Court and The Supreme Judge," in *Who Is a Jew?* pp. 83–84; Nissim Rejwan, "Who's a Jew? Two Famous Non-Questions Answered," in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 95; Asher Cohen and Bernard Susser, *Israel and the Politics of Jewish Identity: The Secular-Religious Impasse* (London, 2000), p. 33; Federal Research Division, ed., *Israel: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C., 1990), p. 107.
18. Schochet, p. 18.
19. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rabbi Dovid Gottlieb, Gottlieb to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
20. Alfred Kolatch, *The Jewish Book of Why* (New York, 1981), pp. 13–14.
21. *Israel: A Country Study*, p. 107; Rejwan, "Who's a Jew?" in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 97; Donin, p. 9.
22. Nissim Rejwan, "Who's a Jew?" in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 97.
23. Lecture given by Rabbi Gottlieb at the *Yeshiva Ohr Somayach* on 24 December 1993.
24. See Wouk, p. 35.
25. BA-MA, Bryan Mark Rigg Sammlung (BMRS), interview Shlomo Perel, 10.09.1994, T-16; Sally Perel, *Ich war Hitlerjunge Salomon* (Berlin, 1992), p. 82.
26. Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, vol. 1, *The Years of Persecution, 1933–1939* (New York, 1997), p. 172.
27. Nicholas De Lange, *Judaism* (New York, 1986), p. 4.
28. Rabbis N. Scherman and M. Zlotowitz, eds., *The Complete Artscroll Siddur* (Brooklyn, 1984), pp. 90–91. The Shema is the Jewish profession of faith. Armstrong, p. 52.
29. De Lange, p. 20.
30. H. G. Adler, *The Jews in Germany* (London, 1969), p. 100.
31. There is really no race besides the human race. There are different ethnicities, but race is almost impossible to define scientifically. See Schochet, p. 15.

32. This is a derogatory term by which Ethiopian Jews do not like to be called. A literal meaning of *Falashas* is “outsiders,” depicting how the Ethiopians treated their Jewish minority. Sachar, p. 108.
33. Sachar, p. 108; David Kessler, *The Falashas: A Short History of the Ethiopian Jews* (London, 1996), p. 154.
34. The Hebrew term *giyur* is used for conversion to Judaism. The Hebrew word *lechumra* means that if there are two views, one stringent and one lenient, then the stringent one must be followed. Rejwan, “Who’s a Jew?” in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 93.
35. Maoz, “Who Is a Convert?” p. 12.
36. Sachar, p. 108. See also Kessler, pp. 154–57.
37. Sachar, pp. 109–10, 139.
38. Cohen and Susser, 34–36; Schochet, p. 32; Sachar, pp. 137–39. Many religious Jews want this secular definition changed to read “has converted to Judaism Halakically,” meaning they have gone through an Orthodox conversion. Philip S. Alexander, *Textual Sources for the Study of Judaism* (Manchester, 1984), pp. 166–67; David Bleich, “The Proposal for a ‘Neutral’ Beis Din,” in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 101; *Israel: A Country Study*, pp. 109, 389.
39. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Major Yoav Delarea, 05.07.1998. See also Sachar, pp. 109, 139.
40. Within all these movements, there are different denominations. For example, within the Orthodox movement, there are the Modern, Mizrachi, Sefards, Shas, Traditional, and Hasidic Orthodox.
41. Sometimes this definition can be difficult to enforce. For example, when Oswald Rufeisen (also known as Brother Daniel), a Holocaust survivor and convert to Christianity, applied to the Israeli government to be defined as a Jew in his papers, he was denied. Although he was born of a Jewish mother, the Israeli court did not recognize him as a Jew because he had changed his religion. Israel recognizes a Jew only as a Jew if he or she is not a member of another religion. Maoz, “Who Is a Convert?” p. 13; Alexander, pp. 168–71; *Israel: A Country Study*, p. 108.
42. *Israel: A Country Study*, p. 110.
43. See Maoz, “Who Is a Convert?” pp. 11–19; Schochet, pp. 31, 73–75; Lamm, “Who is a Jew? The Supreme Court and the Supreme Judge,” in *Who Is a Jew?* p. 87; Israel Religious Action Center, “Assaults against Reform Continue” (www.iraac.org) 10 September 1997.
44. Sachar, pp. 139–40.
45. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rabbi Dovid Gottlieb, Gottlieb to Rigg, 05.07.2001. See also Frydman-Kohl, p. 64.
46. Maoz, “Who Is a Convert?” p. 17.
47. Schochet, p. 14.
48. *Ibid.*
49. As Raul Hilberg notes, the term “Aryan” “is not even a race designation. At best, it is a term for a linguistic-ethnic group.” Raul Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews* (New York, 1961), p. 45, n. 6. The Nazis used the term to describe a people they believed were Germanic, blond, and blue-eyed.

50. A local Party leader of the Nazi Party.
51. *Die Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) was the name of the Nazi Party.
52. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Krüger, 27, 31.08.1994, T-13; Helmut Krüger, *Der Halbe Stern. Leben als deutsch-jüdischer Mischlinge im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1992), p. 88.
53. *Jeckes* is a derogatory Yiddish term meaning “jackets” and was used to describe German Jews who usually wore nice-fitting suits—hence, the term “jackets.” This term was most commonly used for German Jews who lived in Palestine, but now has come into popular use among many Israeli and American Jews.
54. Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923* (Wisconsin, 1982), p. 3; BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Noa, Bl. 9.
55. Aschheim, pp. 3–5, 13–14.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
57. Wouk, p. 240.
58. Erwin A. Schmidl, *Juden in der K.(u.) K. Armee, 1788–1918, Studia Judaica Austriaca, Band XI* (Eisenstadt, 1989), p. 145.
59. Friedländer, pp. 27, 39; Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York, 1982), p. 101; Hilberg, p. 19.
60. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945: Nemesis* (New York, 2000), p. 136; Wolfgang Benz, *The Holocaust: A German Historian Examines the Genocide* (New York, 1999), p. 28; Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship* (New York, 1985), p. 93; Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1998), p. 121; Norbert Frei, “Die Juden im NS-Staat,” in *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick*, ed. Martin Broszat and Norbert Frei (Munich, 1989), p. 125. See also Nathan Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart: Inter-marriage and the Rosenstrasse Protest in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1996), p. 62; BA-MA, interview Werner Goldberg, 17.10.1994, T-42.
61. Wolf Zuelzer, “Keine Zukunft als ‘Nicht-Arier’ im Dritten Reich,” in *Der Judenpogrom 1938: Von der >Reichskristallnacht< zum Völkermord*, Walter H. Pehle (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), pp. 147–48.
62. Ruth Gay, *The Jews of Germany* (New Haven, 1992), p. 234.
63. Aschheim, pp. 31, 221–24.
64. Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust* (Tel Aviv, 1987), p. 79.
65. *Weltanschauung* means “worldview.” Naumann’s group was dissolved by the Gestapo in 1935. He died in 1939 of cancer.
66. David Vital, *A People Apart: The Jews in Europe, 1789–1939* (Oxford, 1999), p. 814; Karl A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: Nazi Policy toward German-Jews, 1933–1939* (Illinois, 1970), pp. 188–89.
67. Vital, p. 815. Schoeps would leave Germany for Scandinavia. He would survive the war.
68. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, pp. 107–8.
69. Schleunes, p. 101.
70. See Sarah Gordon, *Hitler, Germans, and the “Jewish Question”* (Princeton, 1984), p. 8; Aschheim, p. 231; Peter Wyden, *Stella: One Woman’s True Tale*

- of Evil, Betrayal, and Survival in Hitler's Germany* (New York, 1993), p. 22; Yahil, p. 23.
71. Aschheim, p. 15.
 72. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Robert Braun, 10-14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Robert Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190.
 73. Manfred Messerschmidt, "Juden im preußisch-deutschen Heer," in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, ed. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Bonn, 1984), p. 127; Messerschmidt, p. 42.
 74. Aryan Paragraph.
 75. For more information on the Aryan Paragraph, see chapters 4–6. Readers must keep in mind always that for the Nazis, the Aryans were a race.
 76. The phrase *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil) should not be confused with the way the Nazis used it to depict agrarian romanticism (after Walter Darré, "the *Blut und Boden* guru" [Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 374]). Benary used this phrase before it had Nazi connotations attached to it, to show how German he thought he and his family had become.
 77. BA-MA, RW 6/ v.73, Oberstlt. a.D. Benary an Reichsleitung der NSDAP, 25.09.1933.
 78. The Maccabees was the name of a priestly Jewish family who ruled Judea during the first and second centuries B.C.E. The books Maccabees 1 and Maccabees 2, describing the history of the Maccabees, are part of the Apocrypha. It is also the name of the Jews "who engaged in a seemingly hopeless yet successful struggle against Greek rule in 168 B.C." (Kaplan, p. 56).
 79. BA-MA, RW 6/ v.73, Oberstlt. a.D. Benary an Reichsleitung der NSDAP, 16.10.1933.
 80. The Reichswehr was the name of the German armed forces until March 1935. Afterward, with the introduction of the draft with the new law, *Gesetz für den Aufbau der Wehrmacht*, from 16 March 1935, the name of Reichswehr was replaced by Wehrmacht to denote German armed forces. The Reichswehr was a small armed forces made up of 100,000 soldiers, 4,000 army officers, 15,000 sailors and navy officers, and 3,040 civil servants with officer rank. James S. Corum, *The Luftwaffe: Creating the Operational Air War, 1918–1940* (Kansas, 1997), p. 85.
 81. BA-MA, RW 6/v.73, Schreiben v. 20.11.1933.
 82. Sebastian Haffner, *The Meaning of Hitler* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 9. Ironically, the man who coined the word "anti-Semitism," Wilhelm Marr, and who established the League of Anti-Semites in 1879, had a Jewish father, the famous artist Heinrich Marr of Hamburg. Yahil, p. 36; Marvin Lowenthal, *The Jews of Germany: A History of Sixteen Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 295–96; Dimont, p. 321.
 83. Werner Maser, *Adolf Hitler. Legende Mythos Wirklichkeit* (München, 1971), pp. 95, 268; Fritz Redlich, *Hitler: Diagnosis of a Destructive Prophet* (Oxford, 1998), p. 259; George Victor, *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil* (Dulles, 1998), pp. 124–25.
 84. Brigitte Hamann, *Hitlers Wien. Lehrjahre eines Diktators* (München, 1997).

85. Victor, pp. 124–25, 187. See also Henry Picker, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1942*, ed. Percy Ernst Schramm (Stuttgart, 1976), p. 340; *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, vol. 1, pp. 733–35; John Keegan, *The Mask of Command* (New York, 1987), p. 255.
86. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston, 1971), p. 556.
87. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936: Hubris* (New York, 1999), pp. 109, 112–13; Gordon A. Craig, *The Politics of the Prussian Army, 1640–1945* (New York, 1955), p. 344.
88. Enzo Traverso, *The Jews and Germany* (Nebraska, 1995), p. 30.
89. Richard M. Watt, *The Kinds Depart. The Tragedy of Germany: Versailles and the German Revolution* (New York, 1968), pp. 325–28. It seems that Arco-Valley’s motivation for killing Eisner was to prove to a local racist group called the Thule Society, who had rejected his application for membership because of his Jewish mother, that he was “braver than they were.” Watt, pp. 292–93; Bernt Engelmann, *Deutschland ohne Juden* (Köln, 1988), p. 352.
90. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 207.
91. An official Parteikanzlei document from 1944 stated that “5/8-Jews” would be considered only half-Jewish because they only had two full Jewish grandparents. See *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00389, Reichsführer-SS/Persönlicher Stab an SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt, Hauptsturmführer Dr. Volk, 26.07.1944. This study has indeed found some “five-eighths Jews” who were handled like half-Jews; however, many were classified as full Jews. It seems that the Nazi civil servants were very confused about what to do with this small group of partial Jews.
92. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 300. This translation of *Mein Kampf* used for this book follows the first version that came out in 1925.
93. Jonathan Steinberg, “Croats, Serbs, and Jews, 1941–5,” in *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, ed. David Cesarani (New York, 1994), p. 190. See also Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War against the Jews, 1933–1945* (New York, 1988), p. 21.
94. Hamann, *Hitlers Wien*, p. 239.
95. Hamann, p. 95; Redlich, pp. 27, 259; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 23, 616 n. 110; Maser, p. 268; Werner Jochmann, ed., *Adolf Hitler Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944* (Hamburg, 1980), p. 294. Mahler converted to Catholicism in the same year in which he became director of the Wiener Hofoper. He never could have obtained this post without conversion.
96. Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler* (New York, 1973), p. 71.
97. Dawidowicz, p. 21. For an in-depth look at Hitler’s anti-Semitic development, see Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*.
98. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 325. Hitler was probably influenced by Theodor Fritsch in his beliefs about Jews abusing Aryan women. See Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936*, p. 151.
99. Yahil, p. 43. See also Redlich, p. 324.
100. Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, p. 18; Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 232.

101. Jeremy Noakes, "The Development of Nazi Policy towards the German-Jewish 'Mischlinge,' 1933-1945," *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 34 (1989): 298.
102. G. Warburg, *Six Years of Hitler: The Jews under the Nazi Regime* (London, 1939), p. 41.
103. BA-B, R 40, Bl. 280, SS-Standartenführer Prof. Dr. B. K. Schultz, Chef des Rassenamtes /Rasse-u.Siedlungs-Hauptamt-SS, Gutachten zur Frage weit zurückreichenden fremden (jüdischen) Rasseneinschlags, 12.11.1943.
104. BA-B, R 15.06/ 64-65, Bl. 8-9, Oberstes Parteigericht der NSDAP an Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung, 24.11.1936.
105. SA stands for Sturmabteilung (storm detachment), a Nazi Party paramilitary formation. By 1933-1934, the SA membership numbered 1.5 million, which was fifteen times larger than the German army. Craig, *Prussian Army, 1640-1945*, p. 474.
106. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rudolf Sachs, 20.11.1995, T-168.
107. The Gestapo dealt "with all political opponents and 'enemies'" of the Third Reich. Benz, p. 53.
108. Friedländer, *Nazi Germany*, p. 138. See also Kaplan, p. 34.
109. *Deutsche Juristen-Zeitung*, Heft 1, Jahrgang 39, 01.01.1934, Dr. Wilhelm Frick, "Die Rassenfrage in der deutschen Gesetzgebung," p. 3.
110. After 1871, Germans had to register themselves (birth, weddings, and deaths) throughout Germany with the city or county register's office (Standesamt). During this registration, the religion was noted. The hundreds of documents collected for this study indicated that a person was registered as Jewish if *mosaisch*, *hebräisch*, or *israelitisch* was written next to the religion line.
111. Hitler claimed that Jewry was not a religion but a race. Maser, p. 176; Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, introduction by Telford Taylor (New York, 1961), p. 212. However, almost all racial policies relied on religious documents to prove a person's "race."
112. Hilberg, p. 19; George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York, 1964), p. 308.
113. Hilberg, p. 52; Stoltzfus, p. 273. This study documents a few cases of individuals who converted to Judaism, but who were not treated as full Jews. Half-Jew Peter Schliesser remembered that there were two Aryans who had converted to Judaism who were handled like half-Jews in his forced labor camp. BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Schliesser.
114. A *Geltungsjude* was the Nazi term for a *Mischling* who had been raised Jewish or had converted to Judaism or a half-Jew who was married to a Jew. See *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00393; Stoltzfus, p. 102; Kaplan, p. 75.
115. The Nazis used the word *Volk* to mean "folk and folkdom." In the Nazi philosophy, it embodied the "totality of the German people and the German race." Peter Adam, *Art of the Third Reich* (New York, 1992), p. 9.
116. *Akten der Parteikanzlei der NSDAP: Rekonstruktion eines verlorengegangenen Bestandes*, Bundesarchiv (Akten-NSDAP), Microfiches, hrsg. v. Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Munich, 1983), 101-28808, Der Reichsminister der Justiz, Führerinformation 1942 NR. 59. See also Friedländer, p. 152. However, some-

times the Nazis would turn a blind eye to those who adhered to Judaism but could claim non-Semitic ancestors. General Ernst Köstring and Field Marshal Ewald von Kleist were able to prevent the Jewish Mountaineers in the Caucasus, called the Tats, from being exterminated because they convinced the authorities that the Tats were only of the Jewish religion but free of Jewish “blood.” The SD was “forced to desist” and spared the Tats. The SS spared the Crimean Karaites, who practiced Judaism but were not “racially” Jewish. These two groups were the only exemptions found for this study where the Nazis made allowances for those who practiced Judaism but were not of Jewish descent. See Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945* (New York, 1957), p. 247; BA-MA, BMRS, File Jackobschwilli, Bl. 10. See also Hans von Herwarth, *Zwischen Hitler und Stalin. Erlebte Zeitgeschichte, 1931–1945* (Frankfurt, 1982); BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans von Herwarth, 12.09.1994, T-17; Karl Dietrich Bracher, *The German Dictatorship* (New York, 1970), p. 424.

117. Reichsleiter was the highest rank in the Nazi Party under Hitler, the Parteichef (chief of the Party).
118. BA-B, NS 6/342, Bl. 64, Rundschreiben Nr. 124/43 von Bormann v. 02.09.1943. For more information about Hitler’s relationship to Islam, see Albert Speer’s *Inside the Third Reich* (New York, 1970), pp. 114–15. Also, Hitler seemed not to mind organizing military units with Muslims in them. See *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, *The Attack on the Soviet Union*, ed. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Oxford, 1998); Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-space,’” p. 1,223; Dallin, pp. 244–46, 267–70, 600–601; Joachim Hoffmann, *Kaukasien 1942/43. Das deutsche Heer und die Orientvölker der Sowjetunion* (=Einzelschriften zur Militärgeschichte, 35; hersg. V. Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamt) (Freiburg, 1991); George Lepre, *Himmler’s Bosnian Division: The Waffen-SS Handschar Division, 1943–1945* (New York, 2000).
119. Geoffrey Hartman, ed., *Holocaust Remembrance: The Shapes of Memory* (New York, 1994); David Tracy, “Christian Witness and the Shoah,” in *Holocaust Remembrance*, p. 83; Martin Gilbert, *The Second World War* (New York, 1989), p. 351; Engelmann, p. 197; Aleksandar-Saša Vuletić, *Christen Jüdischer Herkunft im Dritten Reich. Verfolgung und Organisierte Selbsthilfe, 1933–1939* (Mainz, 1999), p. 6. In 1934, Edith Stein entered the Carmelite convent at Köln and took the religious name Teresa Benedicta of the Cross. On 9 August 1942, she and her sister died in Auschwitz. On 1 May 1987, Pope John Paul II beatified her.
120. Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 351.
121. A convenient sample collected from this study found that out of 459 half-Jews documented, 267 had Jewish mothers and 192 had Jewish fathers. Out of 160 quarter-Jews documented, only 51 were Halakically Jewish.

CHAPTER 2: WHO IS A MISCHLING?

1. Special thanks to Christa Brunner for information on this event recorded on 29 February 1998.

2. *HarperCollins German Dictionary* (New York, 1990), p. 201; *Pocket Oxford German Dictionary* (Oxford, 1975), p. 229.
3. Joachim C. Fest, *The Face of the Third Reich* (Vermont, 1970), p. 98.
4. Walter Laqueur, ed., *The Holocaust Encyclopedia* (New Haven, 2001), p. 420; Wolfgang Eckart, “Biopolitical Seizure of Power and Medical Science in Germany, 1933–1945. Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring of July 14, 1933” (University of Heidelberg, 2000). The “Rehoboth Bastards” were originally called “colored” or “bastards.” They got their name from the hot-water spring at Rehoboth, Namibia, in Africa where many of them lived.
5. According to one study from 1927, France had three hundred thousand “colored soldiers under arms” in the Rhineland. Hermann Stegemann, *The Struggle for the Rhine* (London, 1927), p. 425.
6. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 624; Maser, p. 226. See also Hitler, *Hitler’s Secret Book*, p. 163.
7. Victor, pp. 134, 140, 175; Reiner Pommerin, *Sterilisierung der Rheinlandbastarde. Das Schicksal einer farbigen deutschen Minderheit, 1918–1937* (Düsseldorf, 1979); Friedländer, pp. 207–8; Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy* (Oxford, 1990), p. 215.
8. BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmut Wilberg, Heft II, Tagebuch, 26.09.1933.
9. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hermann Lange, “Jüdische Mischlinge: Als die Nationalsozialisten eine neue Rasse erfanden,” Bl. 2.
10. Bruno Blau writes that 80 percent of half-Jews and 90 percent of quarter-Jews in his study were Christians. Bruno Blau, “Die Christen jüdischer und gemischter Abkunft in Deutschland und Österreich im Jahr 1939,” *Judaica, Yearbook 5* (1949), p. 276.
11. Hans Globke and Wilhelm Stuckart, *Kommentare zur Deutschen Rassen-gesetzgebung* (München, 1936), p. 18.
12. For example, see *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00398, 107-00407-408; Stoltzfus, p. 54; Vuletić, p. 21.
13. Hilberg, p. 49; Stoltzfus, p. 54; Vuletić, p. 21; BA-MA, BMRS, H. Lange. For example, three men had to leave the SS because they were 1/256 Jewish. See BA-B, NS 19/453; BA-B, NS 19/3857; BA-B, NS 19/1194.
14. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Veranstaltung zum 08.05.1945 im Bergischen Kolleg, Wuppertal, 10.05.1995, Bl. 55. See also Friedländer, p. 167.
15. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 248–49.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 400–402.
17. Hilberg claims that these records were often quite difficult to get. See Hilberg, p. 49. Stoltzfus maintains the opposite, saying that churches made “their records freely available.” See Stoltzfus, p. 10.
18. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 120.
19. Joseph Walk, ed., *Sonderrecht für den Juden im NS-Staat. Eine Sammlung der gesetzlichen Maßnahmen und Richtlinien. Inhalt und Bedeutung* (Heidelberg, 1981), Gesetz v. 04.10.1936.
20. SS lieutenant colonel.

21. Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York, 1984), p. 159; Robert Wistrich, *Who's Who in Nazi Germany* (New York, 1982), p. 62.
22. Interestingly, Göring's ancestry had Jews in it a few centuries back. See Wolfgang Paul, *Wer war Hermann Göring* (Esslingen, 1983), p. 33; W. R. Staehelin, ed., *Wappenbuch der Stadt Basel. 1 Teil. 1 Folge* (Basel, 1934), Familie Eberler gennant Grünenzweig.
23. Karl-Heinz Janßen, 30 Januar. *Der Tag der die Welt veränderte* (Hamburg, 1983), p. 24; Karl Demeter, *The German Officer Corps, 1650–1945* (New York, 1965), p. 228; *Der Judenpogrom 1938*, Beitrag von Zuelzer, p. 147; Bracher, p. 254; Hamann, pp. 416–17. This phrase originally came from Dr. Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna from 1897 to 1910. He would say, “*Wer a Jud ist, bestimm i!*” See also Willi Frischauer, *The Rise and Fall of Hermann Goering* (Boston, 1951), p. 151.
24. BA-MA, BMRS, from database of documented Wehrmacht soldiers of Jewish descent, “50 percent Jew” Field Marshal Erhard Milch, “50 percent Jew” General Günther Sachs, and “50 percent Jew” General Helmut Wilberg.
25. Jobst Frhr. von Cornberg, and John M. Steiner, “Willkür in der Willkür. Hitler und die Befreiungen von den antisemitischen Nürnberger Gesetzen,” *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Heft 2 (1998), p. 161.
26. Das Reichsbürgergesetz vom 15.09.1935, RGBl. 1935, Teil I, Nr. 100, p. 1146; Gesetz zum Schutz des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom 15.09.1935, RGBl. 1935, Teil I, Nr. 100, p. 1146; Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz 14.11.1935, RGBl., Teil I, 1935, Nr. 125, pp. 1,333–34. See also *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00387-388.
27. After the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, *Rassenschande* was declared a crime. Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, p. 160.
28. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Eduard Hesse, 30.10.1998, T-430; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Susi Byk, 23.11.1995, T-176.
29. Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews of Europe During the Second World War* (New York, 1985), p. 50.
30. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dieter Bergmann, 19.09.1996, T-218.
31. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Margot Braun, 07.01.1996, T-191; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190; Bracher, p. 253. For example, after the authorities found out that an SS man had fallen in love and had relations with a Jewish woman, both were immediately executed. Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 681. A more extreme handling of a *Rassenschande* case happened to Lehmann Katzenberger, president of the Jewish community in Nuremberg, who was sentenced to death for kissing the Aryan Irene Seile. Hilberg, p. 111. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Bl. 72.
32. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rudolf and Traute Sachs, 20.11.1995, T-168. See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Lüderitz, 28.03.1997, T-334.
33. Noncommissioned officers.
34. Unteroffizier is a corporal. Often Obergefreiter and Unteroffizier are translated as corporal; however, Unteroffizier was a higher rank and was given more responsibility than Obergefreiter (acting corporal).

35. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhard Fecht, Fecht an Professor Dr. Lev Kopelev, 31.01.1986 Bl. 3.
36. “Gesetz-und Verordnungsblatt der Evangelischen Landeskirche, 1942,” p. 4 Zit[iert]. nach Amelis von Mettenheim, *Die zwölf langen Jahre, 1933–1945*; BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Bl. 29. See also Kaplan, pp. 160, 225.
37. Institut für Zeitgeschichte (IfZ), München, N 71–73, Vermerk an Herrn Minister, Anwendung der Arierbestimmung auf Abkömmlinge aus Mischehen, 30.10.1933; Bernhard Lösener, “Als Rassereferent im Reichsministerium des Innern” (in: *Das Reichsministerium des Innern und die Judengesetzgebung, Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, Heft 6 [1961]), p. 269; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” pp. 304–5.
38. BA-MA, RW 6/v. 73, “Dennoch treudeutsch”—Ansprache des Vorsitzenden der Bezirksgruppe Stuttgart im Reichsverband der Christlicher Nichtarier [Erwin Goldmann] am 19.11.1934 (p. 6).
39. IfZ, N 71–73, Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern, Abt. I Referent: Ministerialrat Dr. Lösener, 11.10.1935; Lösener, *Vierteljahrshefte*, p. 280.
40. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935.
41. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935; Lösener, p. 280.
42. Half-Jew Hans Leipelt was part of the White Rose resistance group. Quarter-Jews Hans von Dohnanyi, Helmut von Gottberg, and General Fritz Lindemann were members of the 20 July 1944 plot to kill Hitler.
43. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erik Blumenfeld. Blumenfeld would later be sent to Buchenwald; remarkably, he survived the war. After the war, he played an active role in the German political party CDU and was president of the German-Israeli Society (Deutsch-Israelische Gesellschaft).
44. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935; BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 30–31.
45. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Pollak, 07.12.1994, T-72.
46. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hofrat Hans Herder, 05.01.1996, T-186. *Mensch* is German or Yiddish for “human being.”
47. Unterarzt (equivalent of a Sanitätsoffizier-Anwärter or medical officer-cadet).
48. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994. This phenomenon has happened among other groups with children of mixed marriages. For example, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Haiti, mulattoes quickly came to bitterly despise “Negroes.” As the historian of this period, C. L. R. James commented, “[I]t all reads like a cross between a nightmare and a bad joke.” C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins* (New York, 1989), pp. 38–43.
49. BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Gaehde, Bl. 18.
50. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; Dieter Bergmann, *Between Two Benches* (California, 1995), p. 99.
51. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Felix Bruck, 18.04.1998, T-422.
52. Marine-Oberbaurat was the engineer rank equivalent to a commander (Fregattenkapitän) in the Kriegsmarine.
53. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Barz-Mendelssohn, 17.03.1995, T-120.
54. Rolf von Sydow, *Angst zu atmen* (Berlin, 1986), p. 63.
55. Hauptgefreiter was an administrative corporal.

56. The literal translation of *Genehmigung* is “approval” or “authorization.” The *Genehmigung* was a form of clemency that allowed one to continue serving in the Wehrmacht. Most *Genehmigung* award letters stated that Hitler would decide after the war whether the *Genehmigung*’s recipient had proved himself sufficiently in battle to be declared *deutschblütig*.
57. Kriegsmarine was the official name of the German navy during the Third Reich.
58. The Kanzlei des Führers (Führer’s chancellery) was set up in 1934 to handle written correspondence from Party members to Hitler. It was designed to keep Hitler in touch with “the concerns of his people.” These letters dealt with complaints, grievances, and personal squabbles. By the late 1930s, around a quarter of a million letters for Hitler poured into the KdF. Kershaw, *Hitler 1936–1945*, p. 257. Bouhler’s Führer’s chancellery was also in charge of clemency petitions and from 1939 to 1941 was in charge of the euthanasia program.
59. BA-MA, BMRS, File Herbert Lefèvre, Bl. 15, 61, 80.
60. Rust was thought an idiot by many in the Nazi government. According to Lochner, Rust had been an inmate in an insane asylum as a young man. *The Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, ed. and trans. by Louis P. Lochner (New York, 1948), p. 378 (Goebbels’s diaries must be looked at critically, since he wrote them in the hope of publishing them as an “official Nazi document” in the future). Dr. Georg Meyer of the *Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt* (Military Research Center) Potsdam/Freiburg claims that Rust’s wife was Jewish.
61. BA-B, R 21/10875, Heinz Gerlach an Rust, 11.05.1941, Bl. 45–46.
62. On 24 September 1940, this anti-Semitic film appeared in theaters around Germany and in occupied Europe. Goebbels had been very involved in its production. The film depicted the Jews as being extremely dangerous. Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 128.
63. Sydow, *Angst zu atmen*, p. 74.
64. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Teil V, Tagebuch, 30.07.40, Bl. 50.
65. Viktor Klemperer, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten, 1933–1945* (Aufbau Verlag, 1996), Buch I, 10.01.1939, p. 457.
66. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
67. BA-MA, BMRS, interview H.A., 18.11.1997.
68. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dr. Dieter Bergmann, Tagebuch, 14.08.1940, Heft II, Bl. 25.
69. *Ibid.*, 31.05.1941, Heft II.
70. Klemperer, Buch II, 30.05.1942, p. 105.
71. Moses Mendelssohn, *Jerusalem: Or on Religious Power and Judaism* (London, 1983), p. 44.
72. An interesting side note here is that this study has documented one Jew, eleven half-Jews, six 37.5 percent Jews, fifteen quarter-Jews, and six 12.5 percent Jews who served in the Wehrmacht who were all descendents of Moses Mendelssohn.
73. Sachverständiger für Rassenforschung im Reichsinnenministerium. After 5 March 1935, this office was called Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung. Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band III, 3. August 1934 bis 4.*

- Februar 1938, "(=Schriften des Bundesarchivs 16/III) (Boppard, 1975), p. 104, n. 452.
74. BA-B, R 15.09/52, Bl. 45, p. 5, "Die Lösung der Judenfrage" (Grundsätzliches zur Mischlingsfrage) von Dr. Achim Gercke. See also BA-B, R 15.09/58, Bl. 27–28; Alison Owings, *Frauen: German Women Recall the Third Reich* (New Brunswick, 1995), pp. 111–12.
75. SS captain.
76. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00404. See also Hilberg, pp. 49–50; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Herbert Frank, 27.06.1995, T-152; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Bamberger, Bl. 25; Stoltzfus, p. 122. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File August Oestreicher, Bl. 2.
77. Alfred, Richard, and Oskar were names of Anton Milch's cousins. Anton Milch was Erhard Milch's Jewish father. These names came from the Wehlau family, sons of Sigmund and Fanny Wehlau née Milch (sister of Anton Milch).
78. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erhard Milch, Heft III, Heinz Fahrenberg (ex-major in the Generalstab der Luftwaffe) an Bryan Rigg, 18.04.1997 and 22.06.1997, and Walter Frank to Rigg, 18.04.1997, and proof of Walter Frank's duties on Generalfeldmarschall Milch's stationery, 24.07.1945, and Dr. Ludwig Spangenthal (distant relative of Milch) an Rigg, 04.07.1997; BA-MA, File Erhard Milch, Heft II, Prof. Klaus Herrmann to Rigg, 14.10.1994, and 30.03.1995; BA-MA, N 179, Bl. 46, Milch's Tagebuch, 01.11.1933. See also John Wheeler-Bennett, *The Nemesis of Power* (New York, 1980), p. 342; Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmacht im NS-Staat* (Hamburg, 1969), p. 46; Klemperer, Buch I, 18.10.1936, p. 317; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; BA-MA, Pers 6/11, Bl. 4, "Milchs Vater Anton Milch, Marine-Oberstabsapotheker"; BA-MA, Pers 8-385; Ronald Smelser and Enrico Syring, eds., *Die Militärelite des Dritten Reiches* (Berlin, 1995), Horst Boog, "Erhard Milch"; Gerhard L. Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler, and World War II* (New York, 1996), p. 66; *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Notiz von Picker, p. 277; Friedländer, p. 153.
79. *Leiter der Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung*.
80. BA-B, R 15.09/90, Bl. 2, Göring an Meyer, 07.08.1935.
81. Conversation with the Honorable John E. Dolibois on 22 July 2001. BA-MA, BMRS, File John E. Dolibois, Dolibois to Rigg, 23.07.2001. Dolibois was part of the Ashcan program (Ashcan was the military code word for CCPWE32). CCPWE32 was the Central Continental Prisoners of War Enclosure 32, where Göring and many other Nazi officials were incarcerated from May to August 1945. Dolibois was working for the Nazi War Crimes Commission, headed by Justice Robert H. Jackson.
82. Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power* (London, 1967), p. 500.
83. Wistrich, p. 210. In a letter to the author, Professor Wistrich mentioned that he did his research on Milch twenty years ago in the Wiener Library in London. Wistrich to Rigg, 18.06.2001. In author's private collection. Louis L. Snyder also claims that Milch's mother was Jewish, but he, like Wistrich, does not provide evidence to prove this. Louis L. Snyder, *Encyclopedia of the Third Reich* (New York, 1989), pp. 229, 378.

84. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erhard Milch, Dr. James Corum an Michael Briggs, March 2001.
85. Matthew Cooper, *The German Air-Force, 1933–1945* (New York, 1981), p. 13.
86. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erhard Milch, Prof. Klaus Herrmann an David Irving, 26.10.1997; BA-MA, ZA 3/648, Personal-Nachweis über Erhard Alfred Richard Oskar Milch; BA-MA, RL 3/3271, Personal-Nachweis über Erhard Milch; Gilbert, *Second World War*, pp. 11–12, 20, 32, 70, 105; Michael Burleigh, *The Third Reich: A New History* (New York, 2000), p. 383.
87. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus Menge, Bl. 3–7, Martin Bier, “Klaus Hugo Menge. Zum Gedenken an unseren Klassen-Kameraden,” 26.09.1995, and Bl. 8, Vortisch an Rigg, 09.04.1997, and Bl. 10–12. Vortisch an Ursula, 04.12.1995, and Bl. 13–14; DDS, Bescheinigung über Klaus Menge, 07.08.1996, and Bl. 15–16, Vortisch an Jorge Volberg, 10.10.1996.
88. *Rassenbiologisches Institut der Hansischen Universität Hamburg*. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Spier.
89. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Spier, 06.12.1994, T-70.
90. For examples, see BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Hollaender, Bl. 8, 19; BA-MA, BMRS, File Alfred Marian, Bl. 4–5; BA-MA, BMRS, File Horst Geiger, Bl. 4; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. L., 09.11.1994; Hilberg, p. 50; Jobst Frhr von Cornberg and John M. Steiner, “Willkür in der Willkür,” pp. 163–66.
91. Not his real name—the interviewee requests that he remain anonymous.
92. Waffen-SS sergeant.
93. BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. L.
94. Beate Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge. Rassenpolitik und Verfolgungserfahrung, 1933–1945* (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 114–15.
95. Meyer, p. 114. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Anton Paul Rengers, Bl. 2–3.
96. Meyer, pp. 113–17. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Spier; BA-MA, BMRS File Helmuth Jacobsen, Bl. 3–5.
97. Not his real name—the interviewee requests that he remain anonymous.
98. BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. G., 05.01.1995. Grün would later be deported to an OT forced labor camp. He would survive the war.
99. AWA (I)= *Allgemeines Wehrmachtsamt (Inland)*.
100. BA-B, DZA (Potsdam) 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 96.
101. *Ibid.*, Bl. 96–96b.
102. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bernhard Rogge, Heft III, Bl. 123, “Die Antwort der Geschichte.”
103. Hitler started declaring *Mischlinge deutschblütig* (of German blood), giving them an official *Deutschblütigkeitserklärung* sometime after the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. This form of clemency was given to those whom Hitler judged to look and act like persons of “German blood.” Such a declaration freed a *Mischling* from most racial laws and allowed him to call himself *deutschblütig* in identification papers.
104. Perhaps they did so not because of religious reasons but because parents of these sons did not want them to be different from their fathers. See BA-MA,

- BMRS, interview Rolf Gottschalk, 01.12.1994, T-67; See also Stoltzfus, p. 104.
105. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Behrendt, 21.11.1994, T-58.
106. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reiner Wiehl, 17.05.1996, T-205; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Voelsen, 20.02.1997, T-308; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Dröscher, 27.10.1997, T-405; BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Puppe; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Spier; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl-Arnd Techel, 29.05.1997, T-355; Bergmann, pp. 225–26; BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhart von Gierke; Bergmann, pp. 225–26; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Goldberg; Stoltzfus, p. 62; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun; Kaplan, p. 83.
107. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Dröscher, Tagebuch, 7.05.1938.
108. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dröscher.
109. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hamburger; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hellmut Arndt, 25.05.1997, T-351; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Walter Brück, 12.07.1997, T-371; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Arno Spitz, 17.06.1996, T-211.
110. *Privilegierte Mischehe* gave the Jews in the marriage special rights not allowed to Jews who were not married to Aryans. These couples were protected if they had not raised their children as Jews and if their marriage had happened before the Nuremberg Laws. For example, they did not have to wear the star and were not deported. One must remember, though, that if an Aryan married a Jew after 1935, he or she usually did so outside of Germany, since the Nuremberg Laws prohibited mixed marriages. Meyer, pp. 20–21, 92; Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, pp. 190–91; H. G. Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch. Studien zur Deportation der Juden aus Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1974), pp. 280–81; Vuletić, p. 8; Kaplan, pp. 148–49.
111. See Stoltzfus, pp. xxvi, 85, 92–93.
112. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10. See also Stoltzfus, pp. 106–7; Kaplan, pp. 190, 231.
113. Ursula Büttner, “The Persecution of Christian-Jewish Families in the Third Reich,” *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 34 (1989): 279; Stoltzfus, p. 12.
114. Kaplan, pp. 90–91, 182.
115. For example, Julius Scholz took his ex-wife to court and explained to the authorities that he did not have to pay alimony to a Jew. The court ruled that Julius did have to continue the alimony, but they reduced it from 1,500 Reichsmarks to 110 Reichsmarks per month.
116. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Scholz, 07.01.1995, T-85.
117. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl Heinz Scheffler, 09.03.1995, T-113; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl Heinz Scheffler, 19.05.1996, T-208; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Scheffler, 10.03.1995, T-115; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Scheffler, 14.12.1996, T-273; BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Heinz Scheffler; BA-MA, BMRS, File Günther Scheffler.
118. Iron Cross Second and First Classes are like Bronze and Silver Stars in the U.S. armed forces.
119. BA-MA, BMRS, interview G. Scheffler, 10.03.1995; BA-MA, BMRS, interview G. Scheffler, 14.12.1996; BA-MA, BMRS, File G. Scheffler. Interestingly, after

- the war, Max Scheffler saw the advantage of having a Jewish wife. Helena took him back and they were remarried after the war. Their son, Karl Heinz Scheffler, said, “[W]hat a load of crap (*Solch ein Scheiß*).” BA-MA, BMRS, interview K. H. Scheffler, 09.03.1995; BA-MA, BMRS, interview K. H. Scheffler, 19.05.1996.
120. Kaplan, p. 87.
121. *Goy* is Yiddish for “gentile.”
122. A Bris is a Jewish ritual circumcision. It is a sign of the covenant all Jews have with God. This mark displays that a Jew is linked to every other Jew and stands with them in primordial relation to God. Trepp, p. 2.
123. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Kopp, 27.09.1994, T-20.
124. Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Auszug aus 040 G, Alfred Bütow. Special thanks to Beate Meyer for her help in obtaining these files for the Bryan Mark Rigg *Sammlung* (collection) (BMRS). See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Hiefner, Bl. 16; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Döppes.
125. Friedländer, p. 167; Primo Levi, *Moments of Reprieve: A Memoir of Auschwitz* (New York, 1986), p. 91; BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from interviewees.
126. *Shiksa* (sometimes spelled *schikse* or *shikse*) is a derogative Yiddish word to denote a non-Jewish young woman.
127. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hanns Rehfeld, Rehfeld an Rigg, 07.12.1996, Bl. 2–3.
128. Today, Breslau is Wrocław, Poland.
129. In Breslau, the Gestapo offices adjoined the Breslau prison.
130. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hanns Rehfeld, Rehfeld an Rigg, 07.12.1996, Bl. 2. See also Hans J. Auman, *Mein Leben als Mischmosch* (München, 1977), p. 23.
131. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935. See also Kaplan, pp. 112–113.
132. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hanns Rehfeld, 16.11.1996, T-239.
133. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935.
134. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, “1941–1945. Im Zeitalter der Gestapo,” *Erinnerungen von Olga Mühlbacher*, Teil II, Bl. 16.
135. See Kerstin Meiring, *Die Christlich-jüdische Mischebe in Deutschland, 1840–1933* (Hamburg, 1998), pp. 120–25, for a discussion on this subject; BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study.
136. *Reichskristallnacht* was the name given to the Nazi pogrom of 9–10 November 1938. Its literal meaning is “Reich Crystal Night,” or as it was later termed in English, the “Night of Broken Glass.” Benz, p. 31. Around one hundred Jews were murdered, hundreds of synagogues were burned, and some thirty thousand male Jews were deported to concentration camps. Ian Kershaw, *Profiles in Power: Hitler* (London, 1991), p. 149.
137. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hannah Leopold, 11.11.1996, T-232. Eugen Klewansky had been a Stabsarzt during World War I. For another example of extreme abuse of power, see Kaplan, p. 20.
138. Bergmann, pp. 179–80.
139. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Bl. 59.
140. Beate Meyer, *Mischlinge*, p. 18.
141. BA-MA, BMRS, File Achim von Bredow, Heft III, Bl. 37.

142. Dr. Hans Globke was a Ministerialrat in the RMI who headed its international law section. He, along with state secretary Dr. Wilhelm Stuckart, wrote a commentary on the racial laws in 1936. After the war, he worked in the Bundeskanzleramt under Adenauer.
143. BA-MA, BMRS, Heinz Puppe to Rigg, Bl. 1.
144. Ursula Büttner also talks about this dilemma in her essay in the 1988 *Leo Baeck Yearbook*. See Büttner, “Persecution,” pp. 274–75.
145. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Veranstaltung zum 08.05.1945 im Bergischen Kolleg, Wuppertal, 10.05.1995, Heft I, Bl. 55. Falkenberg puts the sentence, “I’ve not lost this drive to be the best even until now” at the beginning of this quote. The author thinks it reads better at the end of this section. Falkenberg has been shown this change.
146. Sydow, p. 66.
147. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rolf von Sydow, 17.12.1994, T-82.
148. Helmut Krüger, *Der Halbe Stern. Leben als deutsch-jüdischer Mischlinge im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1992), p. 67.
149. Jürgen Krackow, *Die Genehmigung* (München, 1991), p. 213.
150. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Jürgen Krackow, 14.11.1994, T-50; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow 18.11.1994, T-56; Krackow, p. 145.
151. BA-MA, BMRS, File Jürgen Krackow, Bl.1, Photo 1, and Genehmigung Hitlers an Jürgen Krackow, 28.01.1943, and II./Panzer-Regiment 23: Beurteilung über Lt. Jürgen Krackow, 20.02.1945. The Gold Wound Badge was issued to a soldier who was wounded at least five times. In Krackow’s case, he was wounded nine times, so his Wound Badge would be the equivalent of earning nine Purple Hearts in the U.S. armed forces. He still has a metal splinter in his head and has been classified as 100 percent disabled. His Iron Crosses were for such actions as destroying sixteen enemy tanks and disabling several others. BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow.
152. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard Krackow.
153. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Dröscher, Tagebuch, 16.11.1940. One could compare the German-Cross in Gold with the Navy Cross in the U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps.
154. BA-MA, BMRS, information gathered from the database of the collection. By early 1944, over half a million Iron Crosses First Class, and three million Iron Crosses Second Class had been awarded. BA-K, R 22/4003.
155. Nine hundred men were awarded this medal during the war. “50 percent Jew”: Gen.-Arzt Dr. Helmuth Richter.
156. Apparently, 16,876 men were awarded this medal during the Third Reich. Horst Scheibert, ed., *Die Träger des Deutschen Kreuzes in Gold* (Friedberg/H.), 1981, p. 15. “Jew”: (1) Lt. Heinz Dieckmann; “50 percent Jew”: (1) Lt. Harder, (2) Oberst Robert Colli, (3) Oberst Walter Hollaender, (4) Generallt. Wilhelm Behrens, (5) Gen. Maj. Günther Sachs, (6) Major Robert Borchardt, (7) Kapt. Georg Langheld; “25 percent Jew”: (1) Oblt. Wilhelm Dröscher, (2) Korv.Kapt. Walter Jacobson, (3) Hptm. Heinz Rohr, (4) Hptm. Joachim Rohr,

- (5) Oberstlt. Alfred von Rosenberg-Lipinsky, (6) Waffen-SS-Obersturmbannführer (SS Lt. Colonel) Peter Sommer, (7) Oberst Hans Viebig, (8) Kapt.z. See Edward Wegener, (9) Gen. d. Pi. Karl Sachs, (10) Hptm. Wilhelm von Gottberg.
157. About 7,300 men were awarded the Knight's Cross during the war; Angolia, *For Führer and Fatherland: Military Awards of the Third Reich* (New York, 1976), pp. 351-57. One could compare this medal with the Medal of Honor in the U.S. armed forces. "25 percent Jew": (1) Uffz. Arthur Becker, (2) Major Wilhelm Goriany, (3) Oberstlt. Walter Lehweß-Litzmann, (4) Vizeadmiral Bernhard Rogge, (5) Gen. Hans-Heinrich Sixt von Armin, (6) Oberst Hans Viebig; "50 percent Jew": (1) Oblt. Gerhard Simon, (2) Major Robert Borchardt, (3) Oberst Robert Colli, (4) Oberst Gustav Hertz, (5) Oberst Walter Hollaender, (6) Oberstlt. Hans von Schlebrügge, (7) Gen. Lt. Wilhelm Behrens, (8) Gen. Maj. Günther Sachs, (9) Generalfeldmarschall Erhard Milch.
158. Interviews conducted by Colin Heaton with General Johannes Steinhoff from 26-28 January 1984.
159. Walter Hollaender was a nephew of Frederick Hollaender, the famous composer of *Falling in Love Again*, a song immortalized by Marlene Dietrich in the 1930 movie *The Blue Angel* (*Der Blaue Engel*).
160. BA-A, Pers 63210 Walter Hollaender, Fernschreiben von Model, 14.07.1943; BA-A, Pers 63210 Walter Hollaender, Beurteilung zum 01.03.1944.
161. Six hundred received this award during the war. Angolia, pp. 351-57. "25 percent Jew": (1) Vizeadmiral Bernhard Rogge.
162. Ulrich Mohr and A. V. Sellwood, *Ship 16: The Story of the Secret German Raider Atlantis* (New York, 1956), pp. 152-58; Wolfgang Frank and Bernhard Rogge, *The German Raider Atlantis* (New York, 1956), p. 117.
163. Karl August Muggenthaler, *German Raiders of World War II* (London, 1977), p. 55; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bernhard Rogge; Mohr and Sellwood, p. 158.
164. BA-B, R 21/10875, Gerlach an Rust, 11.05.1941, Bl. 47.
165. BA-MA, BMRS, information gathered from the database of the BMR Collection. Party members: "25 percent Jew": (1) Herr Bergbohn, (2) Marine-Oberbaurat Franz Mendelssohn, (3) Hptm. Hans Joachim Nischelsky, (4) Lt. Hans Sander, (5) Oblt. Karl Weigel, (6) Eberhard Rogge, (7) Dr. Leo Killy; "50 percent Jew": (1) Lt. Kurt Erdmann, (2) Matr. Herbert Lefèvre, (3) Hptm. Iva Lissner, (4) GFM Erhard Milch, (5) Dr. Heinz Neumann, (6) Obgfr. Werner Pollak, (7) Gefr. Karl Reinschmidt, (8) von Ribbentrop's Adjutant, (9) Obgfr. Herbert Schlögl, (10) Gefr. Günther Treptow, (11) Martin Wronsky, (12) Frau Reichshandwerkmeister Schmidt, (13) Rittmeister a.D. Wickel. This study was unable to identify the names of the last two. "Jew": (1) Matr. Werner Kohn, (2) SS-Obersturmführer (SS First Lt.) Fritz Scherwitz, (3) SS-Obersturmbannführer Vivian Stranders, (4) Grandfather Föppel. See also Beate Meyer, *Mischlinge*, pp. 252-59.
166. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Alfred Catharin, 04.01.1996, T-185; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst. G. (Reinhard).
167. BA-MA, BMRS, lecture given at Yale by Shlomo Perel, 22.04.1994, T-2.
168. Bergmann, pp. xvi-xvii; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.

169. Dieckmann did not know about his ancestry until after the war.
170. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz-Dieckmann, 19.09.1994, T-24.
171. BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Schliesser.
172. OT camps were forced labor camps. Organization Todt (OT) was named after Dr.-Ing. Fritz Todt (1891-1942), Hitler's minister of armaments and munitions. OT was the German public construction agency.
173. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Schliesser, 28.04.1996, T-200. Tragically, after the war when Peter Schliesser returned to Czechoslovakia, he narrowly escaped being sent to a Czech forced labor camp. Unfortunately, his father was caught and put in a Czech concentration camp. Their "crime" was that they were German. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schliesser. Schliesser's situation was not unique. Half-Jew and ex-soldier Franz Margold's mother experienced problems from the Czech authorities after the war because she had had two sons in the Wehrmacht. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Franz Margold, 18.05.1996, T-206.
174. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Mühlbacher to Rigg, 03.03.2001.
175. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Teil V, Tagebuch, 30.07.40, Bl. 50; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Mühlbacher to Rigg, 03.03.2001.
176. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Meissinger, Meissinger an Rigg, 08.11.1996, Bl. 10.
177. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Ludwig, Ludwig an Rigg, 05.02.1997, Bl. 22.
178. BA-MA, BRS, interview Lüderitz.
179. Ibid.
180. Bergmann, p. 113.
181. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hugo Freund., 30.11.1994, T-66. See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; Krüger p. 72.
182. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz-Günther Löwy, Bl. 7.
183. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Binder, Bl. 80, Binder an Rigg, 01.10.1994; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fritz Binder, 02.10.1994, T-34.
184. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Joachim Körner, Brief Frau Ilse Körner-Völker, 29.03.1997, Bl. 1.
185. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Richard Riess, 15.10.1994, T-39. Riess's father, Ernst, had to perform three years of forced labor in Vienna.
186. See BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow.
187. BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Meissinger an Rigg, 08.11.1996, Bl. 10.
188. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
189. *Kindheit und Jugend unter Hitler*. Mit Beiträgen von Helmut Schmidt u.a., Berlin, 1992, hier: Helmut Schmidt, *Politischer Rückblick auf eine unpolitische Jugend*, p. 188 ff; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Schmidt, 22.11.1995, T-174; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Schmidt, 15.10.1996, T-225.
190. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Koref, 06.01.1996, T-189.
191. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
192. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz-Karl Scheffler, 09.03.1995, T-113; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz-Karl Scheffler, 19.05.1996, T-208; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Sachs.

193. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dieckmann. Interestingly, Dieckmann's stepfather, who was a Party member and had adopted Dieckmann, protected him throughout the entire Third Reich.
194. POWs are prisoners of war.
195. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gaehde, Bl. 13.
196. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Egon Bossart, 05.12.1994, T-69.
197. Forschungsstelle für die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Hamburg, Auszug aus 040 G, Alfred Bütow. Special thanks to Beate Meyer for her help in attaining these files for the Bryan Mark Rigg Collection; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bütow, Bl. 4.
198. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hermann Lange, 01.10.1994, T-33.
199. BA-MA, BMRS, File Du Bois Reymond, Bl. 5.
200. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Kallauch, 06.08.1994, T-9; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günther Kallauch, T-35.
201. A *Selbstfabrlafette* was a self-propelled artillery piece mounted on a tracked chassis. It was a modified version of the *Sturmgeschütz* (assault gun). Kopp and his comrades destroyed over twenty Soviet tanks with their *Selbstfabrlafette*.
202. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kopp.
203. Such views were expressed in the Wehrmachtausstellung that toured Germany a few years ago. The Wehrmachtausstellung's information is documented in Hannes Heer and J. P. Reemtsma, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht* (Hamburg, 1995). See also Ben Hecht, *Perfidy* (New York, 1961), p. 94.
204. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bütow, Bl. 5.
205. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
206. *Bayerisches Landesamt für Wiedergutmachung*.
207. They would receive certificates that they were either racially, religiously, or political persecuted (*Amtlicher Ausweis für rassistisch, religiös und politisch Verfolgte*).
208. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Dietmar Brücher; BA-MA, BMRS, File Eugen Frank; BA-MA, BMRS, File Alfred Catharin; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Eder; BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Effenberg.
209. BA-MA, BMRS, Heinz Puppe to Rigg, Bl. 1.
210. A menorah is a nine-branched candelabrum used during the Jewish festival of Hanukkah.
211. For examples, see BA-MA, BMRS, interview Emil Lux, 30.05.1997, T-356; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerhard Fecht, 18.11.1997, T-410; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hansotto Goebel, 07.12.1996, T-254.
212. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bruck; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Binder; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl Partsch, 14.12.1994, T-81; BA-MA, BMRS; interview Walter Schönwald, 06.01.1996, T-188; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
213. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Scholz.
214. Landgericht München I, Akten Werner Eisner, Heft IV, Report given by Dr. Jose Maria Alvarado, 3 June 1965, La Paz, Bolivia, Bl. 455.
215. *Ibid.*, Protokoll aufgenommen in öffentlicher Sitzung des Einzelrichters des 17. Zivilsenats des Oberlandesgerichts München, Bericht von Zeuge Walter

- Julius Eisner, 3 July 1968, Heft IV, Bl. 649, and Zeuge Frau Emma Hummel, Heft IV, 11 November 1968, Bl. 684.
216. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Richard Ohm, 11.02.1995, T-91; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bruck; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ettheimer.
217. BA-MA, BMRS, data list: Schlomo Perel, Karl-Heinz Maier, Bob Winter, Siegfried Behrendt, Ephraim Glaser, Nachemia Wurman, and Günter Kallauch.
218. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Kopp, 3-4.09.1994, T-15, and 29.09.1994, T-31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Kopp, 06.02.1997, T-299. For a similar case, see BA-MA, BMRS, interview Sachs.
219. Sturmman is a Waffen-SS private. Löwy was stationed with the Sixth SS Mountain Division in Salzburg.
220. Through Löwy's experiences in World War II, he became religious. When he dies, he plans on being buried in a Jewish cemetery and having Kaddish said for him.
221. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl-Heinz Löwy, 12.01.1996, T-195.
222. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Partsch.
223. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Michael Hauck, 24.11.1994, T-61.
224. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Adolf Blum, 22.04.1995, T-147; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lenni Blum, 22.04.1995, T-148.
225. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schönewald. See V. D. Segre, *Israel: A Society in Transition* (New York, 1971), p. 196; De Lange, p. 144.
226. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Binder.
227. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann. This saying comes from the traditional liturgy: "Blessed are You *Hashem*, our God, King of the universe, for not having made me a gentile." *The Complete Artscroll Siddur*, p. 19. The blessing is one of three that reflect that a Jewish male has more commandments from God (a privileged status) than a female Jew, a gentile, or a slave.
228. Christoph Fischer and Renate Schein, eds., *O ewich is so lanck. Die Historischen Friedhöfe in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Ein Werkstattbericht* (Berlin, 1987).
229. Colonel Count Claus von Stauffenberg was one of the leading members of the conspiracy to kill Hitler that culminated in the 20 July 1944 bomb plot.
230. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst von Oppenfeld, 05.01.1995, T-84.
231. *Webfehler* literally means "weaving flaw." It means that someone has abnormal ancestry.
232. *Falscher Makel* literally means that one is stained or polluted. During the Third Reich, these words were used to describe the "racial problem" of *Mischlinge*.
233. *Mampe* was the name of a well-known brand of brandy (*Kräuterlikör*), which was half sweet and half bitter.
234. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Günzel, Bl. 3.
235. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard Krackow, 20.05.1996, T-209.
236. BA-MA, BMRS, R. Zelter; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Joachim Zelter, 27.10.1997, T-166. Joachim Zelter's great-great-grandfather was Karl-Frederick Zelter, who was a distinguished man of letters and a friend of Goethe.
237. Not his real name.
238. Many *Mischlinge* documented in this study still meet with their comrades or have

contact with old comrades. For a few examples, see BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Gaupp; BA-MA, BMRS, interview A. Spitz; BA-MA, File Werner Maltzahn; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmut Schmoeckel. Even the Jew Shlomo Perel went to a large meeting of veterans from his division in 1987. See Perel, p. 63.

CHAPTER 3: ASSIMILATION AND THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE IN
THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES

To make sure this chapter would be statistically and mathematically sound, it was reviewed by Dr. Stan Stephenson, professor of business statistics in the Department of CIS and QMST at Southwest Texas State University; Dr. Monnie McGee, assistant professor of statistics at Hunter College in New York City; Sybille Clayton, instructor of mathematics at Louisiana State University (LSU); and (USMC) Lt. Edmund Clayton, Ph.D. in physics from LSU.

1. Because Austria was united with Germany under Hitler, this study includes data on Austrian assimilation.
2. Gay, *Jews of Germany*, pp. 165, 182-84; Haffner, *Meaning of Hitler*, pp. 92, 103. See also Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936*, pp. 32, 78.
3. Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, p. 108.
4. Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World* (London, 1934), p. 329; Gay, p. 139; Michael A. Meyer, ed., *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte in der Neuzeit. 1871-1918: Band III* (München, 1997), p. 20.
5. Gay, p. 165.
6. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 98.
7. Haffner, p. 93.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
9. Meyer, *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte: Band III*, pp. 20-21; Ruppin, *Modern World*, p. 330; Stephan Behr, *Der Bevölkerungsrückgang der deutschen Juden* (Frankfurt, 1932), p. 105; Gay, p. 202.
10. Arthur Ruppin, also called the "father of Jewish sociology," was the most noted Jewish statistician and demographer of his time. He was a Zionist and the "first professor of Jewish sociology at the newly established Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the twenties." Alex Bein, "Arthur Ruppin: The Man and His Work," *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 17 (1972): 117.
11. Ruppin, *Modern World*, p. 332.
12. Avraham Barkai, "Population Decline and Economic Stagnation," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 4, ed. Michael A. Meyer (New York, 1998), pp. 32-33; Meyer, *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte: Band III*, pp. 21-22; Behr, *Der Bevölkerungsrückgang*, pp. 100-107; Marsha L. Rozenblit, "Jewish Assimilation in Habsburg Vienna," in *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 237.
13. Gay, p. 198; Meyer, *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte: Band III*, p. 20; Felix A. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang der deutschen Juden* (München, 1911), pp. 95-96; BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Noah, Bl. 12; Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 30-31, 57-58, 71; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Goldberg.

14. The word *dissidents* is used in this study to describe those Jews who separated themselves from the Jewish community without conversion. They simply became *konfessionslos* (without confession).
15. Meyer, *Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte: Band III*, p. 21.
16. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang*, p. 93. See also Lowenthal, p. 270; Engelmann, p. 54; Kaplan, p. 12.
17. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang*, pp. 94, 160.
18. Haffner, p. 91. See also Edward Crankshaw, *Bismarck* (New York, 1981), p. 380; Bracher, pp. 25, 36; Marsha Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914* (New York, 1983), p. 127; Heinrich Walle, “Deutsche jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945. Ein Rundgang durch die Ausstellung,” in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, ed. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Bonn, 1984), p. 19. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rolf Zelter, 14.05.1996, T-201.
19. Behr, p. 102.
20. Vuletic, p. 15; Gay, p. 141; Lowenthal, p. 234. Of course there were some Jews, like Edith Stein, mentioned earlier, who earnestly believed in the Christian message, but they were a minority.
21. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hauck.
22. Dietz Bering, *Stigma of Names* (Michigan, 1992), p. 14. See also Friedländer, p. 80.
23. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang*, pp. 116–17, 148.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
25. Robert E. Dickinson, *Germany* (New York, 1953), p. 100. From 1815 to 1925, Germany’s population grew from twenty-eight million to eighty million. Dickinson, p. 104.
26. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 107. See also Ritchie Robertson, *The “Jewish Question” in German Literature, 1749–1939: Emancipation and Its Discontents* (Oxford, 1999), p. 286; Lowenthal, p. 270. By 1933, over 44 percent of German Jews who married, married non-Jews. Blau, “Die Mischehe im Nazireich,” *Judaica: Beiträge zum Verständnis des jüdischen Schicksals in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Bd. 4 (1948), p. 46; Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. xxvi; Gordon, p. 17.
27. Meiring, p. 91; Louis A. Berman, *Jews and Inter-marriage: A Study in Personality and Culture* (New York, 1968), p. 123; F. R. Bienenfeld, *The Germans and the Jews* (London, 1939), p. 99; Blau, “Die Mischehe im Nazireich,” pp. 46–57; Ernst Kahn, “Die Mischehen bei den deutschen Juden,” *Der Jude, Eine Monatsschrift, Erster Jahrgang, Berlin (1916–1917)*, pp. 855–56; Behr, p. 112. See also Fritz Lenz, *Menschliche Auslese und Rassenhygiene (Eugenik)* (München, 1932), pp. 228–29; BA-B, 15.09/36, C. V. Zeitung, 16.05.1935, Bl. 28; Theilhaber, *Der Untergang*, p. 104; Uriah Zevi Engelman, “Inter-marriage,” *Jewish Social Studies* 2 (1940): 157–67; Werner Cohn, “Bearers of a Common Fate? The ‘Non-Aryan’ Christian ‘Fate-Comrades’ of the Paulus-Bund, 1933–1939,” in *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 33 (1988): 327–68; Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews of Today* (New York, 1913).
28. At the time, 201,513 of Austria’s 220,000 Jews lived in Vienna. Chajim Bloch and Löbel Taubes, eds., *Jüdisches Jahrbuch für Österreich* (Wien, 1932), p. 8.

29. The remaining areas of Austria would have added a few thousand to the seventeen thousand possible mixed marriages from Vienna.
30. Avraham Barkai, "Population Decline and Economic Stagnation," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 4, pp. 32–33; Robertson, "Jewish Question," p. 386. Austria prohibited marriages between Jews and Christians. If a Jew and a Christian wanted to marry, one of the partners had to convert so that both would be of the same religion. If one became *kofessionslos* (without religious affiliation), then he or she could marry a Jew or a Christian under Austrian law, unlike in Germany where couples could, since 1875, have a civil ceremony regardless of their religions (Israel Cohen, *Jewish Life in Modern Times* [New York, 1914], p. 305). Although Barkai estimates that these seventeen thousand dissidents probably did so to marry, these mixed marriage figures are low because only those Jews who married people who were *kofessionslos* were recorded. Marsha Rozenblit wrote that accurate figures cannot be recorded because "all those Jews who converted to Christianity or became *kofessionslos* prior to their marriage with gentiles elude statistical discovery" (Rozenblit, *The Jews of Vienna, 1867–1914*, p. 129). See also Ruppin, *Jews of Today*, pp. 166–67; Bloch and Taubes, p. 10.
31. The number derived from Ruppin's sources for the possible average of mixed marriages occurring in Vienna from 1921 to 1924 is 979 per year (Ruppin's records indicate that dissidents were numerous because "marriages with non-Jews contribute[d] to them considerably" [Ruppin, *Modern World*, p. 332]). If one assumes that the majority of dissidents Behr lists between 1912 and 1923 in Vienna (10,429) did so to marry non-Jews, then that would yield an average of 869 mixed marriages per year in Vienna (Behr, p. 98). The number stated in this study (895) is between Ruppin's and Behr's averages.
32. Barkai, "Population Decline and Economic Stagnation," in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, pp. 32–33; Ruppin, *Modern World*, pp. 331–32. Ruppin gives the figures of dissidents in Vienna as 2,900 from 1901 to 1905, 3,914 from 1921 to 1924, and 2,692 from 1927 to 1929. If the average from 1901 to 1905 (580) is applied to 1906–1920, there could have been 8,700 who left Judaism in Vienna during this period. If the average between 1921–1924 (979) is applied to 1925–1926, there could have been 1,958 who left Judaism during this period. According to these calculations, around 16,644 Jews "seceded" (Ruppin's word) from Judaism from 1901 to 1929. Since most did so to marry non-Jews according to Ruppin, then one can assume that at least 16,000 mixed marriages occurred during this time in Vienna. However, since people of Jewish descent who were Christians were not recorded when they married, the number of mixed marriages must have been much higher than this estimate of 16,000.
33. Statistics about the number of children in each family come from Ruppin, Behr, Theilhaber, Lenz, a U.S. Naval Intelligence study done on Germany in 1944, and the average number of siblings of the hundreds of people interviewed for this study. Ruppin, Behr, and Theilhaber had political agendas to prove. They believed that assimilation of Jews with non-Jews was not healthy for the Jewish people. As a result, one must look at their findings carefully, because it was in their interest to show that mixed marriages did not produce the same num-

- ber of children as Jewish or non-Jewish unions. Moreover, it seems that their data focus only on marriages where the Jewish partner remained religiously Jewish and not those unions where the Jewish partner had converted to Christianity. Marriages where one of the partners remained religiously Jewish did indeed produce fewer children according to the national average. Lenz also must be looked at carefully because being a Nazi, he naturally wanted to present the data in such a way as to show the danger that Jewish assimilation had for German society. As a result, the data heavily relied on come from *Germany*, vol. 3, *Economic Geography*, ed. Naval Intelligence Division (Washington, D.C., 1944), pp. 67–78, and this study documenting *Mischlinge* in the offspring generation. Since many of the Jewish parents of the *Mischlinge* documented in this study did not remain Jewish, they would have not been included in the statistics given by Theilhaber and Ruppin, but rather included in the birth-rates of couples who were either Protestant or Catholic. Given that the average number of children per Catholic family was 4.33 and per Protestant family was 3.06 (Meiring, p. 91), the numbers found in this study are more accurate for children of mixed marriages. See also *Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1936/37*, ed. League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service (Geneva, 1937), pp. 35, 41.
34. Military age ranged from eighteen to forty-five years of age. IfZ, N 71–73, Pfundtner an Hoßbach, 03.04.1935.
 35. Meyer, Avraham Barkai, “Jewish Life under Persecution,” in *German-Jewish History, in Modern Times*, p. 252; Behr, p. 112; Berman, p. 123; Bienenfeld, p. 99. Most sources put mixed marriages from 1900 to 1930 at just over 30,000. Barkai estimates that between 1870 and 1930, 50,000 mixed marriages occurred. From this figure, roughly 30,000 has been subtracted for the years of 1900 to 1930 to yield an estimate of 20,000 between 1870 and 1900.
 36. Behr, p. 112 (Behr writes that between 1876 and 1900, 8,316 mixed marriages occurred); Meiring, p. 91 (Meiring writes that between 1874 and 1900, 8,091 mixed marriages occurred). The number of 8,000 does not take into account the mixed marriages happening between 1870 and 1875, as well as those in other German states such as Saxony, Baden, Württemberg, Hessen, and so on.
 37. Ruppin, *Jews of Today*, p. 166. Ruppin states that 2,488 mixed marriages occurred in Austria between 1881 and 1906 (an average of 99.52 mixed marriages per year). Taking this average and applying it to the years 1870 to 1900 gives one a total of 2,985.6 mixed marriages. Since only mixed marriages where a Jew married someone who was *konfessionslos* (without religious affiliation) were recorded, the numbers Ruppin gives are very low. However, this is the only source found that indicates how many mixed marriages were occurring during this time. For more data on mixed marriages in Austria, see Max Grunwald, *History of Jews in Vienna* (Philadelphia, 1936), p. 527; Bloch and Taubes, p. 10; Cohen, p. 304.
 38. These figures do not take into consideration the children who were born out of wedlock. They would have added to the numbers presented here.

39. This number has been left according to a pure mathematical model. Although some of these half-Jews did not marry or married other *Mischlinge* and Jews, the Naval Intelligence figures from 1944 show that the net reproduction rate from 1880 to 1929 (with a few gaps) would have produced at least 92,000 children. See *Germany*, vol. 3, *Economic Geography*, p. 73.
40. Michael R. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 42.
41. Schleunes, pp. 4-5; Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, pp. 100, 212-14.
42. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 562.
43. Ruppin, *Modern World*, p. 4. Ruppin even traveled to Germany during the Third Reich and talked with the Nazi race theoretician, Dr. Hans Günther (Friedländer, p. 64), where apparently he collected some of the data he used to write his above-mentioned book.
44. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, S. Prager to Rigg, 05.07.2001. See also Kaplan, p. 78.
45. Yahil, p. 80; Schleunes, pp. 193-94.
46. When Prussia regained its autonomy in 1812 from Napoleon, it emancipated the Jews under the leadership of Hardenberg and Stein. However, this did not mean that Jews enjoyed equal rights. Although they received more rights than before, they were still excluded from some professions and had difficulty becoming officers in the armed forces. The partial emancipation of 1812 was rescinded after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Unconverted Jews could not hold elective office and by law could not become officers according to the 1812 law. See Vital, p. 62.
47. In 1871, Bismarck followed in the footsteps of Hardenberg and Stein, and emancipated the Jews in all of the newly unified German Reich (Gay p. 161). However, this emancipation was still imperfect (e.g., baptized Jews could not be judges). Only with the Weimar Republic would full civil and political rights be granted to the Jews. See Kaplan, p. 67.
48. Most of these six hundred thousand "declared themselves Jews and viewed themselves as a religious minority." Benz, p. 14. Had the people who declared themselves Christians who were of Jewish descent been included, this number would have been significantly larger.
49. Hilberg, p. 115.
50. IfZ, N 71-73, Die Juden und jüdischen Mischlinge im Deutschen Reich, Vorläufiges Ergebnis der Volkszählung vom 17.05.1939.
51. Martin van Creveld, *Fighting Power* (New York, 1982), p. 65. By 1942, the population of Greater Germany would be 112 million people. Naval Intelligence Division *Germany*, vol. 3, p. 341; *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Einführung v. Picker, p. 9.
52. *Anschluß* means "annexation."
53. Federal Research Division, ed. *Austria: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C., 1994), p. 46; Karl Renner, *Österreich von der Ersten zur Zweiten Republik, II. Band* (Wien, 1953), pp. 94-95; IfZ, N 71-73, Westdeutscher Beobachter, No. 159, 29.05.1940; Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, ed., *Das Deutsche*

- Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg. Kriegsverwaltung, Wirtschaft und Personelle Ressourcen, 1939–1941*, vol. 5/1, (Stuttgart, 1988), Rolf-Dieter Müller, “Die Mobilisierung der Deutschen Wirtschaft für Hitlers Kriegführung,” p. 283; Bloch and Taubes, p. 5.
54. According to his figures, E. H. Buschbeck estimates that there were 300,000 people of Jewish descent in addition to the 190,000 adherents of the Jewish faith in Austria in 1938. E. H. Buschbeck, *Austria* (London, 1949), pp. 16, 149. Barkai puts the number of *Mischlinge* in Austria at 24,400, which is very low looking at the data on birthrates (*German-Jewish History in Modern Times*, vol. 4, Barkai, p. 252) (see also table 2). Blau puts the *Mischlinge* figures for Austria at 16,938 half-Jews and 7,391 quarter-Jews in 1939 (Blau, “Die Christen jüdischer,” p. 273). Many of the Austrian *Mischlinge* documented in this study were filed as *Mischlinge* only when they were discharged from the Wehrmacht in 1940.
55. George F. Kennan, *From Prague after Munich: Diplomatic Papers, 1938–1940* (Princeton, 1968), pp. 42–43; *Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. 5/1, Rolf-Dieter Müller, p. 284.
56. The Protectorate was the Czech lands of Bohemia and Moravia.
57. Hilberg, p. 268, n. 43. See also Picker, ed., *Hitlers Tischgespräche im*, p. 70, n. 16; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 281.
58. Present-day Gdansk in Poland.
59. Known also as Elsass and Lothringen in Germany. These provinces had a long history of being under different sovereigns and countries.
60. Kaiserliches Statistisches Amt, ed., *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (Berlin, 1903), p. 7; Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany* (Oxford, 2001), p. 31.
61. For example, this study has documented eleven *Mischlinge* from Czechoslovakia, six from Danzig, and six from Alsace-Lorraine who served in the Wehrmacht.
62. Christopher R. Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 10–12.
63. BA-B, 15.09.1952, “Die Lösung der Judenfrage,” von Dr. Achim Gercke, Sachverständiger für Rassenforschung beim Reichsministerium des Innern, Bl. 48.
64. In 1806, when Napoleon took over German lands, he gave Jews living there equal rights and ordered them to take on last names. See Gay, pp. 125–27.
65. BA-MA, 15.09/52, Bl. 47, pp. 9–10.
66. Yahil, p. 73.
67. Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der Deutschen* (Berlin, 1947), p. 691; George E. Sokolsky, *We Jews* (London, 1935), pp. 35, 118; Victor, p. 181.
68. Lösener, p. 269.
69. BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 3, 29; IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935; Edward Peterson, *The Limits of Hitler’s Power* (New Jersey, 1969), p. 140.
70. BA-B, 15.09/43, Bl. 53–55; BA-B, 25.09/39, Bl. 13; IfZ, N 71–73, Pfundtner an Hoßbach, 03.04.1935. Bruno Blau disputes this figure of 750,000 *Mischlinge*, saying it was an exaggeration. Blau, “Die Christen jüdischer,” p. 272.
71. Cohn, *Jewish Life*, pp. 327, 330.

72. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 83–84.
73. *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens*. In 1893, some German Jews banded together to fight for their rights “in the face of anti-Semitic attacks.” Kaplan, p. 13.
74. BA-B, R 15.09/36, Bl. 28; BA-B, R 18/ 520; Lösener, p. 300. Ursula Büttner recognizes this problem and believes that the number of quarter-Jews the Nazis gave in their census of 1939 should have been larger because some quarter-Jews were able to conceal their ancestry. Büttner, “Persecution,” p. 271.
75. Some people have suggested that many *Mischlinge* may have emigrated. Although this study has documented a few who did emigrate during the 1930s (see BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Schmitt), the vast majority of *Mischlinge* remained in Germany.
76. Blau, “Die Christen jüdischer,” p. 273.
77. Lösener, p. 282; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 281. Theilhaber had already encountered some of the problems the Nazis now faced when recording statistics about German-Jewish assimilation. He admitted the numbers he compiled were smaller than in reality because people moved, did not report their new faith, or had never officially changed their religion. Theilhaber, *Der Untergang*, pp. 95–96.
78. From this study’s data collected, half of the half-Jews were still serving in the Wehrmacht one year after this decree.
79. A field marshal is the U.S. equivalent of a five-star general (general of the army).
80. This study has done its best to record the accurate rank and Nazi “racial percentage” of every soldier, but because of the uncertainty of some of the data, there may be a few discrepancies whether one was “50 percent” or “25 percent Jewish.”
81. Actually, according to Dr. Monnie McGee, for every one hundred babies, an average of 49 percent of them are female. Consequently, the number of possible *Mischling* Wehrmacht personnel would be slightly higher. For the sake of simplicity, however, the numbers have been split evenly.
82. This study has documented a couple of female *Mischlinge* who served in the Wehrmacht, but their number remains unknown. For example, quarter-Jew Bettina Fehr worked in a munitions factory in Dippach bei Berka. She was employed by the armed forces and worked for a captain. Her station was 12 Hülsenkart. D.I.F.H.18. (BA-MA, BMRS, File Bettina Fehr, Bl. 3–5). The total number of female *Mischling* Wehrmacht personnel was probably around a few hundred, but this study has found no documentation to help give a clear picture about this facet of the history.
83. Oberkommando des Heeres.
84. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolters. See also Krüger, p. 75, n. 30.
85. Rolf-Dieter Müller and Hans-Erich Volkmann, eds., *Die Wehrmacht. Mythos und Realität* (Stuttgart, 1999). Wilhelm Deist, “Einführende Bemerkungen,” in *Die Wehrmacht. Mythos und Realität*, p. 39; Jürgen Förster, “Wehrmacht, Krieg und Holocaust,” in *Die Wehrmacht. Mythos und Realität*, p. 948; Friedrich Hoßbach, *Zwischen Wehrmacht und Hitler, 1934–1938* (Göttingen, 1965),

- p. 125; Angolia, *For Führer and Fatherland*, p. 366; data from the Deutsche Dienststelle, Berlin; information from Dr. Georg Meyer of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Military Research Center) Potsdam/Freiburg, March 1998; Englemann, p. 202; Creveld, p. 65.
86. Since Austria was united with Germany during Hitler's rule, the history of Jews in the Austrian armies is also included. Also, before Bismarck united all the German states in 1871 as the Deutsches Reich (German Empire), there were separate states (e.g., Prussia, Bavaria). As a result, these states will be named as they were, but readers must keep in mind that also under Hitler, all these states were united as Germany.
87. Bauer, p. 39.
88. Charles Edward White, *The Enlightened Soldier: Scharnhorst and the Militärische Gesellschaft in Berlin, 1801–1805* (New York, 1989), p. 133.
89. Walle, pp. 75, 86, n. 85a, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*.
90. Schmidl, p. 97.
91. *Schutzjuden* were “protected Jews” during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They paid a yearly tax to live and trade in a particular town or city. Some became court Jews, but the majority remained *Schutzjuden*.
92. Gay, p. 96.
93. Eda Sagarra, *A Social History of Germany, 1648–1914* (New York, 1977), p. 161.
94. Gay, pp. 99–102; Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred* (London, 1986), p. 87; *The Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 18 (Danbury, 1984), p. 690.
95. Jonathan Steinberg, *All or Nothing* (New York, 1991), p. 230.
96. Manfred Messerschmidt, “Juden im preußisch-deutschen Heer,” in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 109; Rolf Vogel, *Ein Stück von uns* (Bonn, 1973), pp. 28–30; Bering, p. 9.
97. White, pp. 133, 148. Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 48. Besides wanting to have an army with loyal Prussian subjects, Scharnhorst probably wanted to get away from an army of foreigners. By 1804, mercenaries accounted for 50 percent of the army's manpower. Craig, *Prussian Army*, pp. 22–23.
98. The Jewish population in Prussia at the time was 123,938.
99. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 110; Vogel, pp. 27–28, 31; Bering, p. 85.
100. Vogel, p. 29.
101. Wachtmeister is the U.S. equivalent of a staff sergeant.
102. Vogel, p. 51.
103. Vogel, p. 52; Nachum T. Gidal, *Die Juden in Deutschland von der Römerzeit bis zur Weimarer Republik* (Könemann, 1997), p. 146.
104. Pour le Mérite is the U.S. equivalent of the Medal of Honor. It was created in 1740 by Frederick the Great. During World War I, it was associated with German fighter-aces. The British gave the medal the popular name “Blue Max,” which referred to the color of the medal and to Max Immelmann, the first German ace to receive the award. By 1918, a soldier had to have shot down eight planes to receive this medal. Until 1918, this was the highest medal given for bravery for the German armed forces.

105. Vogel, pp. 31, 52; Gidal, p. 146.
106. The painting is called *The Return of the Jewish Volunteer from the Wars of Liberation to His Family Still Living in Accord with Old Customs*. It was painted between 1833 and 1834.
107. Kartine Lauer, *Schicksale: Leben des Nathan Mendelssohn*, p. 1; *Studien: Beiträge zur neueren deutschen Kultur- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Band 8* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 59–84; Ilse Rabien, “Nathan Mendelssohn als preußischer Offizier im Befreiungskrieg 1813,” in Lauer, *Schicksale*, pp. 59–84.
108. Vogel, pp. 31, 52; Gidal, p. 146; Sidney Osborne, *Germany and Her Jews* (London, 1939), pp. 71–72; Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, ed., *Handbuch zur deutschen Militärgeschichte, 1648–1939 Bd. IV, 2: Militärgeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert, 1814–1890* (München, 1976), pp. 202–4; Werner T. Angress, “Prussia’s Army and the Jewish Reserve Officer Controversy before World War I,” *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 17 (1972): 20–21.
109. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, pp. 109–10; Gidal, p. 146; Joachim Schoeps, *Bereit für Deutschland* (Berlin, 1970), pp. 213–15; Vogel, pp. 32–33; Engelmann, p. 207.
110. Vogel, p. 32.
111. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, pp. 112–13; Horst Fischer, *Judentum, Staat und Heer in Preußen im frühen 19. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1968), pp. 135–40.
112. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 20.
113. Prussian aristocrat who owned land.
114. *Weimarer historisch-genealogisches Taschenbuch des gesamten Adels jehudäischen Ursprunges* (München, 1912); *Semigothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch aristokratisch-jüdischer Heiraten* (München, 1914). (Both these books were brought out by the anti-Semitic Kyffhäuser Publishing House. Although much of the data within these books is accurate concerning the genealogy of certain families, they need to be used with caution.) BA-B, 15.09/52, Bl. 46; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hornstein; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schmidt-Pauli; Kitchen, p. 47; Günther Martin, *Die bürgerlichen Excellenzen* (Düsseldorf, 1976), pp. 58–59; Engelmann, pp. 136–38; Lamar Cecil, *Albert Ballin: Business and Politics in Imperial Germany, 1888–1918* (Princeton, 1967), p. 102; Holgar H. Herwig, *The German Naval Officer Corps* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 80–81. According to Herwig, young, single Jewish ladies placed advertisements in some newspapers. See also William Godsey, “The Nobility, Jewish Assimilation, and the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Service on the Eve of the First World War,” *Austrian History Yearbook*, vol. 27 (1996): 155–80.
115. Schmidl, *Juden*, p. 134.
116. Hitler, *Hitler’s Secret Book*, p. 26. See also *Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, vol 1, p. 27.
117. Emil Ludwig, *Bismarck* (Boston, 1927), p. 320; Vital, p. 177. Interestingly, Bismarck’s son, Herbert, married a half-Jew, Marguerite Gräfin Hoyos. Engelmann, p. 171.
118. Martin, p. 59.

119. James J. Sheehan, *German History, 1770–1866* (Oxford, 1989), p. 51; Schmidl, p. 98.
120. Grunwald, pp. 177–81; George E. Berkley, *Vienna and its Jews* (Maryland, 1988), pp. 30–31.
121. Grunwald, p. 178; Berkley, p. 32; Schmidl, p. 112. If the number of Jews is included from Hungary, the total was 36,200.
122. Grunwald, p. 179.
123. Osborne, p. 72. See also BA-MA, BMRS File Klaus Florey. Florey's grandfather, Franz Pick, born in 1863 in Theresienstadt, was a reserve officer in an exclusive Austrian cavalry regiment. He was already an officer when he converted to Christianity in 1894.
124. Schmidl, p. 184.
125. Jakob Wilhelm Mossner was baptized on 16 April 1836.
126. Karl Demeter, *The German Officer Corps, 1650–1945* (New York, 1965), p. 398, n. 1; Engelmann, p. 208; Günther Martin, *Die bürgerlichen Excellenzen*, pp. 12–13.
127. Vogel, p. 34; Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116.
128. István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (New York, 1990), p. 174.
129. In the English-speaking world, this war has been called the Franco-Prussian War, but in Germany it is called the German-French War (*Deutsch-französischer Krieg*). Although Prussia's government and military conducted the war, all the German states, except Hannover and Kurhessen, participated in the conflict.
130. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116; Vogel, pp. 35–37; Militärgeschichtliches Forschungamt, *Handbuch IV*, 2, p. 210; Gidal, p. 230; Gay, p. 161; Bering, p. 85. Angress, p. 21, n. 13; Osborne writes that “no less than 411 [Jews] were decorated for conspicuous gallantry.” Osborne, p. 71.
131. Osborne, p. 71; Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116.
132. Yom Kippur is the Jewish holiday called the “Day of Atonement.” On this day, those who observe it fast all day and ask forgiveness for all their sins committed during the past year.
133. Gidal, p. 231.
134. Walter Goerlitz, *The German General Staff, 1657–1945* (New York, 1971), p. 96.
135. Vogel, p. 25.
136. Herwig, p. 43.
137. Martin Kitchen, *German Officer Corps, 1890–1914* (Oxford, 1968), p. 44.
138. Demeter, pp. 224–25; Vogel, p. 43. See also Kitchen, *German Officer Corps*, pp. 40–44.
139. Deák, pp. 174–75. See also Angress, pp. 32–33; Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116; Volker Rolf Berghahn, *Germany and the Approach of War in 1914* (New York, 1993), p. 18.
140. Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, p. 116; Vogel, p. 38; Bering, p. 28; Angress, p. 33, n. 57.
141. Berkley, p. 38.

142. John Keegan, *The Second World War* (New York, 1989), p. 20.
143. The Jews were underrepresented among active officers, but overrepresented among reserve officers. The Jews represented 18.3 percent of the reserve officer corps in 1900. Deák, p. 133. During this time, it was still difficult for Jews to get augmented and become active officers in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. See Schmidl, pp. 183–89.
144. Berkley, p. 38.
145. Vogel, pp. 22–23. During this time, being a *Mischling* was not even an issue in the armed forces. For example, the commander and chief of the military mission in Turkey who masterminded the Allied defeat at Gallipoli in 1916, General Otto Liman von Sanders (1855–1929), was a half-Jew. He was not alone during World War I. Admiral Felix von Bendemann, a half-Jew, was the commanding officer of the navy station on the North Sea, and General Johannes von Hahn, a quarter-Jew, commanded the Thirty-fifth Infantry Division in 1914. Engelmann, pp. 208–9; Martin, p. 59.
146. Herwig, p. 95.
147. Kitchen, p. 43; Max J. Loewenthal, *Das jüdische Bekenntnis als Hinderungsgrund bei der Beförderung zum preussischen Reserveoffizier* (Berlin, 1911), p. 31.
148. Jonathan Steinberg, “The Kaiser’s Navy,” *Past and Present* 28 (24 July 1964): 106; Engelmann, pp. 231–32; Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 113; Cecil, *Ballin*: Engelmann, pp. 44, 231. His skills enabled him to form the first transatlantic shipping conference. In 1918, when the kaiser fled Germany, Ballin killed himself.
149. Vogel, p. 40; Angress, p. 34.
150. Vogel, p. 61; Angress, opp. p. 24.
151. Vogel, p. 70.
152. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 117.
153. Interestingly, the number of Jews who died fighting in the German army during World War I—twelve thousand—is more than all Jews who died in Israel’s wars of 1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, and 1982. Vogel, p. 139; statistics compiled during *Marva* training in the Israeli army.
154. Osborne, pp. 71–72; Adler, *Jews in Germany*, pp. 114–15; Bauer, p. 54; Demeter, p. 227; Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 21; Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, pp. 23, 38–39, 65; Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, pp. 119–20; Gidal, p. 312; BA-MA, RW 6/v. 73, BA-B, R 43 II/1273; Julius H. Schoeps, “Mußte die Emanzipation mißlingen?” in *Juden in Deutschland*, ed. Ludger Heid and Julius H. Schoeps (München, 1994), p. 15; Engelmann, pp. 206–8. According to Ian Kershaw, after the 1916 *Judenählung*, the Prussian army stopped promoting Jews as officers. Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936*, p. 100.
155. Vogel, pp. 169, 345.
156. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 49.
157. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 114.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
159. Vogel, p. 75.
160. *Ibid.*

161. Ibid.
162. Beckhardt probably displayed this symbol because he was a patriotic German and believed the swastika to exemplify his German loyalty, not because he had anti-Semitic tendencies. Only when the Nazis took over power in Germany in 1933 did this symbol universally become equated with anti-Semitism. However, many anti-Semitic associations had used the swastika long before 1933 to symbolize their belief in German superiority.
163. Felix A. Theilhaber, *Juedische Flieger im Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1924), p. 49.
164. Vogel, p. 9.
165. He was responsible for developing ammonia synthesis (method of manufacturing synthetic ammonia gas), which made Germany independent from outside sources in making fertilizers and high explosives. Without his inventions, some claim, the war would not have lasted as long as it did.
166. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 30; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Rise and Destiny of the German Jew* (Cincinnati, 1934), p. 82; Goerlitz, pp. 169–70; Fritz Klein, *Verlorene Größe* (München, 1996), pp. 216, 241; Vital, p. 649. Fritz Haber was a reserve NCO when World War I started. He also was a member of the Volunteer Automobile Service, which was made up of wealthy individuals who put themselves and their automobiles at the service of the army. After a few weeks of the war, he was given a commission as an active duty captain. This was a very high honor. Bismarck was made a reserve major for his role in creating the German Empire. When the Nazis came into power, Haber fled to Switzerland. He would die there as a refugee.
167. Friedländer, p. 74; Bauer, p. 78; Christhard Hoffmann, “Between Integration and Rejection: The Jewish Community in Germany, 1914–1918,” in *State, Society, and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, ed. John Horne (Cambridge, 1997), p. 95; Marcus, p. 82; Goerlitz, p. 169.
168. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, pp. 113–14; Speer, *Third Reich*, p. 249; Engelmann, p. 231; Jehuda L. Wallach, *The Dogma of the Battle of Annihilation: The Theories of Clausewitz and Schlieffen and Their Impact on the German Conduct of Two World Wars* (London, 1986), p. 193. Ludendorff was chief of operations for the army after 1916. According to Ian Kershaw, Ludendorff was “in effect Germany’s dictator during the last two war years.” Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 186.
169. Martin Senekowitsch, “Ich hatt’ einen Kameraden,” *Der Soldat* 12 July 1995, p. 6; Nathaniel Katzburg, *Hungary and the Jews: Policy and Legislation, 1920–1943* (Bar-Ilan Univ.), 1981, p. 203; Martin Senekowitsch, *Gleichberechtigte in einer grossen Armee: Zur Geschichte des Bundes Jüdischer Frontsoldaten Österreichs, 1932–1938* (Wien, 1994), p. 1; Schmidl, pp. 5, 144; In 1910, the Austro-Hungarian Empire’s Jewish population numbered 2,258,013. Deák, p. 13.
170. Deák, p. 196. See also Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Reconstructing a National Identity: The Jews of Habsburg Austria during World War I* (Oxford, 2001).
171. Osborne, p. 71.
172. Schmidl, pp. 140–41.

173. Deák, p. 196. Some of the Jewish generals remained Jewish while others had converted to Christianity.
174. Until 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire awarded the Gold Medals for bravery (*goldene Tapferkeitsmedaille*) to NCOs during times of war. In 1917, it was also awarded to officers.
175. Deák, p. 196. Until 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Empire awarded the Orders of the Iron Crown Third Class (*Orden der Eisernen Krone 3. Klasse*) to officers and government ministers during times of war and peace.
176. Schmidl, p. 128.
177. Data gathered from statistical sheets compiled by Walter Pagler, director of *Oder Shalom* of the Central Jewish graveyard in Vienna.
178. Schmidl, p. 130.
179. BA-B, R 21 (76)/874, Bl. 284–85.
180. BA-B, R 21 (76)/874, Bl. 139; for information on the Freikorps, see Keegan, *The Second World War*, pp. 27–30; Albert Seaton, *The German Army, 1933–45* (New York, 1982), p. 2.
181. Adler, *Jews in Germany*, p. 114.
182. Gay, p. 221.
183. During World War I, those Germans serving in the Bavarian, Württemberg, and Saxony army swore an oath to their *Landesherren* (kings). Those from Baden swore an oath to the *Groß Herzog* (grand duke) from Baden. Those men from Prussia swore an oath to King Wilhelm II, who was also the German kaiser (emperor). However, those in the navy (Kaiserliche Marine) and the colonial troops (Kaiserliche Schutztruppe) swore an oath only to the emperor, even though they may have come from Bavaria or Baden or other states. See also Cecil, *Ballin*, p. 100; Michael Balfour, *The Kaiser and His Times* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 386; Lamar Cecil, *Wilhelm II: Prince and Emperor, 1859–1900* (Chapel Hill, 1989), pp. 141–42, 226; John C. G. Röhl, *The Kaiser and His Court: Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany* (New York, 1994), pp. 190–212.
184. Vogel, p. 46.
185. Prussian war minister, Adolf Wild von Hohenborn, ordered on 11 October 1916 that all military commands conduct a census of Jews serving in the armed forces on active duty, those not drafted yet, and those found temporarily or permanently unfit for active service. The intent behind the order was to find out whether their participation in battle was commensurate with their numbers in society. This decree showed that the long tradition of anti-Semitism within the Prussian army, especially within the officer corps, was still very real. Hoffmann in *State, Society, and Mobilization*, p. 98.
186. Friedländer, pp. 73–74; Jürgen Förster, “Wehrmacht, Krieg und Holocaust,” in *Die Wehrmacht. Mythos und Realität*, p. 949; Bauer, p. 54.
187. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 100.
188. David Welch, *Germany, Propaganda and Total War, 1914–1918: The Sins of Omission* (New Brunswick, 2000), p. 200.
189. Hoffmann in *State, Society and Mobilization*, pp. 99–101; Ruth Pierson, *German Jewish Identity in the Weimar Republic* (New Haven, 1970), pp. 248–50.

CHAPTER 4: RACIAL POLICY AND THE NUREMBERG LAWS,
1933–1939

1. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hugo Fuchs, 08.07.1995, T-159.
2. Bauer, pp. 114–15; Dieter Rebentisch, *Führerstaat und Verwaltung im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Verfassungsentwicklung und Verwaltungspolitik, 1939–1945* (Stuttgart, 1989), p. 434.
3. Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, p. 102.
4. Kaplan, p. 21.
5. BA-MA, N 656/27, Hindenburg an Hitler, 04.04.1933, Bl. 10–17; Schleunes, p. 95. For an example of the type of letters Hindenburg received, see Friedländer, p. 16.
6. BA-MA, N 656/27, Hitler an Hindenburg, 05.04.1933, Bl. 10–17; Schleunes, p. 96. It is the author's opinion that Hitler was lying to Hindenburg about the law already being prepared to appease Hindenburg.
7. Gordon A. Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945* (New York, 1978), p. 578; Henry Ashby Turner, *Hitler's Thirty Days to Power: January 1933* (London, 1996), p. 164; Bracher, pp. 48–49; Victor, p. 78; Ian Kershaw, *Profiles in Power: Hitler* (London, 1991), pp. 68–69, 71–72; Friedländer, p. 17; Heinz Guderian, *Panzer Leader* (California, 1988), p. 30. For more details about Hitler's relationship with Hindenburg, see Speer, pp. 64–65; Haffner, p. 17.
8. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 500.
9. Friedländer, p. 35.
10. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 362, 371–75, 391, 437; Redlich, pp. 88–89, 262, 307.
11. Hans Umbreit in *Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. 5/1, p. 283. Umbreit wrote, "Nach den im Reich ab 1933 angewandten Kriterien war jeder ein Jude, der mindestens einen Eltern- oder Großelternteil jüdischen Glaubens besaß."; Friedländer, p. 27. Saul Friedländer wrote, "The first of them [April 1933 laws]—the most fundamental one because of its definition of the Jew—was the April 7 Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service." This study concurs with Kershaw when he writes that in the Aryan Paragraph, "there was no definition of a Jew." Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 474.
12. BA-MA, W 01–5/173, Erste und Dritte Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums, Erste Verordnung v. 11.04.1933; Friedländer, p. 36.
13. *Ibid.*, Erste Verordnung zur Durchführung des Gesetzes zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums, 11.04.1933; Hilde Kammer and Elisabet Bartsch, eds., *Nationalsozialismus: Begriffe aus der Zeit der Gewaltherrschaft, 1933–1945* (Hamburg, 1992), p. 18; *Reichsgesetzblatt* (RGBl.), I, 11 April–6 Mai 1933, pp. 135, 175, 195.
14. According to Ascher's grandson, Peter Gaupp, Sammy Ascher was an Oberstabsarzt (equivalent to an army major) during World War I.
15. Although the *Arierparagraph* only addressed civil servants in its legal language, several Jews, regardless of their professions, were forced to retire or leave their work. This was especially the case with those doctors who worked in hospitals.

16. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87. Tragically, Dr. Ascher felt so patriotically committed to Germany that when war fever was high in 1938, he declared to his family that he would have to serve again if his country called on him. His family laughed at him, but he was serious. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ursula Gaupp, 08.07.1995, T-158. Ascher was not alone in his desire to serve Germany once again. Half-Jew Gert Beschütz's father, Max, reported to the army in 1938, was rejected, and a few weeks later was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. BA-MA, BMRS, File Beschütz, Bl. 3.
17. Bracher, p. 253; Kaplan, p. 24.
18. Viktor Klemperer, *Ich will Zeugnis ablegen bis zum letzten, 1933–1945* (Aufbau Verlag, 1996), Buch I, p. 25.
19. BA-B, R 41/581, Partisch an Göring, 07.08.1933, Bl. 199–200.
20. Friedländer, p. 70.
21. BA-B, R 43 II/ 418a. As translated in Noakes, p. 298. See also Friedländer, p. 119.
22. Heeres-Verordnungsblatt (HVBl.), Nr. 73, 1933, p. 73; Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band I-II, 30.1.1933 bis 02.08.1934* (Boppard, 1983); *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften. Heft I (1963)-Heft 22 (1984)*. Bearbeitet v. Rudolf Absolon, Bundesarchiv-Zentralnachweisstelle, Aachen-Kornelimünster, 1985, Heft 9, p. 4; Vogel, p. 200.
23. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, ed., *Handbuch zur deutschen Militärgeschichte, 1648–1939 VII. Wehrmacht und Nationalsozialismus, 1933–1939* (München, 1978), p. 57.
24. Craig, *Prussian Army*, pp. 373–466; Wallach, pp. 236, 303.
25. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, p. 145; Frei, *National Socialist Rule*, pp. 50, 74; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 104. Although Germany was rearming at an alarming rate, it still had a long way to go. Hitler had originally planned to start war in 1943 or thereafter, but starting the war in 1939 as he did, the Kriegsmarine was still weak compared with Britain, the Luftwaffe was still growing and developing long-range bombers, and the army, besides the Panzer divisions, was still largely a “foot-slogging infantry” dependent on horses and *panje* wagons.
26. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Paul Hirschfeld, 15–16.08.1994, T-12.
27. Crevelde, p. 18; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 436, 446; Bracher, p. 72; David Thomson, *Europe Since Napoleon* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 684.
28. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Bl. 29.
29. BA-MA, N 656/27, Hitler an Hindenburg, 05.04.1933, Bl. 15. Hitler had cynically written in his second book that if an officer's rank could be bought, then such a profession would be “comprehensible” to the Jews. Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, p. 26.
30. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 96; Fritz Stern, *The Politics of Cultural Despair* (London, 1974), pp. 161–62.
31. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler, 1938–1943. Aufzeichnungen des Majors Gerhard Engel*. Hrsg. u. kommentiert v. Hildegard von Kotze. (=Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte Nr. 29) (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 31–32. Engel

- altered his diary after the war. As Jeremy Noakes writes, “[T]his is not in fact a diary but more like a memoir” (Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 333, n. 133). However, there is no reason to doubt the events surrounding the *Mischlinge* described in Engel’s diary even if he had added them after the war. Documents in the archives and this study support Engel’s activities regarding *Mischlinge*.
32. BA-MA, RW 6/73 a, Antwortentwurf v. 12. 10. 1933 an “Fridericus—Die deutsche Wochenschrift” von Friedrich C. Holtz.
 33. Ibid., Pressestelle des Reichsbundes der Höheren Beamten an Reichswehrministerium, 17.01.1934.
 34. *Handbuch VII*, pp. 57–59; BA-MA, N 656/27; Manfred Messerschmidt, *Die Wehrmacht im NS-Staat* (Hamburg, 1969), p. 47.
 35. Messerschmidt, p. 46; BA-MA, N 328/45, Admiral a.D. Ehrhardt an Admiral a.D. Förste, 14.11.1956.
 36. Matthew Cooper, *German Army* (New York, 1978), p. 28; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 44.
 37. Wilhelm Deist, “The Rearmament of the Wehrmacht,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 1, *The Build-up of German Aggression*, ed. Militär-geschichtliches Forschungsamt (Oxford, 1998), p. 522.
 38. *Hoheitsabzeichen*.
 39. Robert J. O’Neill, *The German Army and the Nazi Party, 1933–1939* (London, 1966), p. 38; Wheeler-Bennett, *Nemesis of Power*, p. 678; Creveld, p. 84; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 504; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 44; Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 476.
 40. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 504. See also O’Neill, p. 38; Craig, *Politics of the Prussian Army*, p. 476.
 41. Norman H. Baynes, ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, vol 2 (Oxford, 1942), p. 1,349.
 42. *Handbuch VII*, p. 57; Berliner Morgenpost, 22.04.1934; Rudolf Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst, 1935–1945. Das Personalwesen in der Wehrmacht* (Boppard, 1960), p. 117; Messerschmidt, pp. 45–46; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 504; O’Neill, p. 39; Jürgen Förster, “Wehrmacht, Krieg und Holocaust,” in *Die Wehrmacht*, ed. Müller and Volkmann, p. 950.
 43. O’Neill, pp. 38–39, 76.
 44. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from data collected for this study; Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 117, n. 20.
 45. Messerschmidt, pp. 45–46. See also Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 117, n. 20.
 46. *Handbuch VII*, p. 57.
 47. The commander was Captain von Schrader. He explained to Lebram that the *Arierparagraph* was necessary for the Reichswehr. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 24.
 48. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 9.
 49. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Friedrich-Christian Stahl, 12.11.1997, T-406.
 50. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 12.
 51. BA-MA, N 656/2, Raeder an Lebram, 19.04.1934, Bl. 8.

52. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste; Ludovic Kennedy, *Pursuit: Battleship Bismarck* (London, 1993), p. 35; BA-MA, N 379/109a, 12.09.1956; BA-MA, Pers 6/2236, Personalbogen, Frau: Margarete Backenköhler geb. 09.05.1903, Bl. 2; BA-MA, 656/2, Bl. 13; discussion with Dr. G. Granier on 12.11.1997 in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv about Backenköhler's Jewish past. Interestingly, as the *Bismarck* was in its death throes, Lütjens sent a radiogram to Hitler praising the Führer and the war. Perhaps Lütjens did so because he firmly believed in Hitler, or perhaps he was scared for his *Mischling* wife and children and wanted to ensure their protection by displaying his devotion. It was probably a mixture of both. Burkard Frhr. von Müllenheim-Rechberg, *Schlachtschiff Bismarck, 1940–1941* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 168–69; Jörg Duppler, ed., *Germania auf dem Meere* (Hamburg, 1998), p. 127.
53. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 12; BA-MA, BMRS, File Admiral Conrad Patzig, Bl. 62.
54. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 12–13.
55. *Ibid.*, Dok., Kommando der Marinestation der Ostsee an Oberleutnant z. S. Lebram, 08.05.1934.
56. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dietrich Beelitz 16.11.1997, T-401; BA-MA, N 656. Lebram disputes the fact that his brother committed suicide. Nonetheless, from eyewitnesses' testimonies and reports, it appears that Lebram's brother, Walter, killed himself. Walter Lebram, a pilot in the army air force, flew his plane into the ground.
57. Charles S. Thomas, *The German Navy in the Nazi Era* (London, 1990), pp. 86–87, 238; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Georg von Friedeburg; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ludwig von Friedeburg, 01.12.1997, T-415. Perhaps Raeder helped General Admiral Hans Georg von Friedeburg or perhaps it was Himmler, with whom Friedeburg was on good terms. Friedeburg remained at his post throughout the entire war without any problems. He and General Jodl signed the formal surrender documents at General Dwight D. Eisenhower's headquarters in May of 1945. Friedeburg's grandmother was Adelheid Kuh, a half-Jew, perhaps a full Jew. Information gained from the *Mitteilung des Instituts für Personengeschichtliche Forschung*, Bensheim, Germany, and from Baron Niklas Schrenck von Notzing at his personal archive dedicated to genealogies of the German aristocracy in Charlottesville, Virginia. The founder of this Institut in Bensheim was Wilfried Euler, who was a "Mischling expert" during the Third Reich. He worked in the Reichinstitut für Geschichte des Neuen Deutschland (Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany). He worked closely with Achim Gercke. His sources need to be used with caution. Thanks to Dr. Patricia von Papen-Bodek for this information.
58. Thomas, p. 94; BA-MA, BMRS, interview von Friedeburg.
59. Many have previously assumed that Friedeburg was a quarter-Jew. Apparently, they have based this solely on his grandmother's last name (rather than her heritage from both sides). Also, the ignorance and sloppiness of certain officials and historians have created much confusion about Friedeburg's ancestry. Although it has been proven that his grandmother was a half-Jew, it has

- not been proven or disproven that both her parents were Jews according to the Nazi racial laws.
60. Hans Breithaupt, *Zwischen Front und Widerstand. Ein Beitrag zur Diskussion um den Feldmarschall Erich von Manstein* (München, 1994), p. 123; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ursula Freifrau von Knigge, 26.07.1997, T-392.
 61. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus von Schmeling-Diringshofen, Bl. 5–6.
 62. Much speculation has surrounded Manstein’s possible Jewish ancestry. The fact that he was born von Lewinski and adopted by the von Mansteins has led some to believe that he descended from Jews. They state that Lewinski could be a variant of Levy with a Polish patronymic suffix. However, only one source has surfaced during this study that might lead one to believe that Manstein had Jewish ancestry. In a December 1994 interview, his adjutant, Alexander Stahlberg, who has Jewish ancestry himself, stated that Manstein claimed that the Lewinskis were Jews. Nonetheless, Stahlberg could not provide any documents to prove that this conversation had taken place or that Manstein in fact had Jewish ancestors. Manstein’s son, Rüdiger, claimed that his family could possibly have Jews in their past, but that there is no evidence to prove it either way. The SS investigated Manstein’s (they actually called him Lewinski) ancestry in April 1944, after his dismissal. However, the file is incomplete, and it remains unknown what the SS discovered. Alexander Stahlberg, *Die verdamnte Pflicht* (Berlin, 1987); BA-MA, BMRS, interview Alexander Stahlberg, 3–4.12.1994, T-68; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rüdiger von Manstein, 17.11.1994, T-54; BA-B, NS 19/2177.
 63. Military district.
 64. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.
 65. Breithaupt, p. 123.
 66. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schmeling-Diringshofen, Bl. 5–6; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.
 67. Retired (1926) Generaloberst Hans von Seeckt (1866–1936) was the chief of the army leadership (*Chef der Heeresleitung*) of the Reichswehr from 1920 to 1926. Later, he was an important military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek from 1934 to 1935, and some believe that he also helped non-Aryan soldiers get appointments to China. Interestingly, Seeckt’s wife, Frau Dorothee von Seeckt née Fabian, was adopted by Jews. It is unclear whether she herself was Jewish, although most assume that this was the case. See Martin, p. 60; Snyder, p. 319.
 68. O’Neill, p. 76; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 46; Friedländer, pp. 117–18; Wistrich, p. 14; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.
 69. General Hans Oster and Colonel von Mellentin also helped Borchardt to get to China. BA-MA, BMRS, File Robert Borchardt, Bl. 22–31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Elisabeth Borchardt, 18.02.1995, T-101; Vogel, pp. 305–6. Borchardt was later posted with the Sonderverband (Special Unit) 288 in Africa under Rommel. He commanded the Fifth Panzerjäger Company. He had been one of the few German officers who had been trained with mechanized units during the Weimar Republic. He was later taken prisoner by the British and survived the war in POW camps in England and Canada.

70. Dal McGuirk, *Rommel's Army in Africa* (Osceola, 1993), p. 45; BA-MA, BMRS, File Robert Borchardt, Bl. 22–31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Elisabeth Borchardt, 18.02.1995.
71. This phrase should not be confused with the way the Nazis used it to depict agrarian romanticism (after Walter Darré, “the *Blut und Boden* guru” [Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 374]). His friends nicknamed Schmeling-Diringshofen this before the Nazis were in power because of his love of the land and of hunting.
72. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.
73. In 1938, as Germany was strengthening its alliance with Japan, Hitler decided that Germany “dismantle all the links” with China. See Wilhelm Keitel, *The Memoirs of Field-Marshal Keitel*, ed. Walter Görlitz (London, 1961), p. 41. It was probably at that time that most *Mischling* soldiers in China returned to Germany. On their returns, Hitler granted most of them clemency. BA-MA, BMRS, File Robert Borchardt, “Vorlesung von Robert Borchardt.”
74. Löwenstein had “perfected the technique of sound measurement which made possible more accurate and effective artillery fire” during World War I. Marcus, p. 82. From 2 February 1942 until 1 April 1943, the Nazis made him perform forced labor. On 1 July 1943, the Nazis deported him and his wife to Theresienstadt. They both would survive the Holocaust. He died in 1956 while vacationing in Israel, where he was also buried. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 32.
75. Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (RjF). This organization had thirty thousand members. Walle, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten, 1914–1945*, p. 32.
76. BA-MA, RW 6/73, Löwenstein (Reichsbund Jüdischer Frontsoldaten) an Hindenburg, 23.03.1934.
77. Ibid., Löwenstein an Abteilungsleiter im Reichswehrministerium, 24.03.1934.
78. Bundeswehr is the armed forces of the Federal Republic of Germany founded in 1955.
79. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bernhard Rogge, Heft I, Generaladmiral a.D. Boehm an Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 05.04.1961, Bl. 2.
80. Cooper, *German Army*, p. 29; Breithaupt, pp. 123–27.
81. Breithaupt, pp. 123–24, 126; BA-MA, BMRS, interview von Knigge.
82. Breithaupt, p. 124.
83. Ibid., p. 124.
84. Klaus-Jürgen Müller, *Das Heer und Hitler* (Stuttgart, 1969), p. 594; Breithaupt, p. 125.
85. Müller, *Das Heer*, p. 594.
86. Breithaupt, p. 125.
87. Klaus-Jürgen Müller, “Witzleben, Stülpnagel and Speidel,” in *Hitler's Generals*, ed. Correlli Barnett (London, 1989), p. 46.
88. O'Neill, p. 39.
89. Wilhelm Deist, in *Die Wehrmacht*, p. 43; Hans-Ulrich Thamer, “Die Erosion einer Säule. Wehrmacht und NSDAP,” in *Die Wehrmacht*, p. 426; Jürgen Förster, “Hitler's Decision in Favor of War against the Soviet Union,” in *Ger-*

- many and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 36–37; Messerschmidt, in *Deutsche Jüdische Soldaten*, pp. 124–25.
90. O'Neill, p. 28; William L. Shirer, *The Nightmare Years* (New York, 1984), pp. 189, 214; Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 491; Geoffrey P. Megargee, *Inside Hitler's High Command* (Kansas, 2000), p. 22; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 24.
91. BA-MA, BMRS, File R. von Manstein, Manstein to Rigg, 21.07.2001; BA-MA, BMRS, interview R. von Manstein. The nephews were children of his niece Frau von Preuschen née Lewinski.
92. Emmy Göring, *An der Seite meines Mannes* (Göttingen, 1967). Emmy Göring should be used with caution. She wrote this book as an apology for her husband, and many events are misrepresented. See Richard Overy, *Goering* (London, 1984), p. 18. Reichsmarschall Göring's attitude may have been influenced by his contact with Jews as a child. Göring's godfather, namesake, and mother's lover, Ritter Hermann von Eppenstein, was a Jew and probably the father of his youngest brother, Albert, who looked just like Eppenstein. Heinrich Fraenkel, *Göring* (New York, 1972), pp. 9–15; Ewan Butler and Gordon Young, *Marshal without Glory* (London, 1951), pp. 20–30; Paul, p. 33; Asher Lee, *Goering: Air Leader* (New York, 1972), pp. 12–13.
93. See Overy, pp. 15–17.
94. Speer, p. 291.
95. Yahil, pp. 59–60; Carl Hans Hermann, *Deutsche Militärgeschichte* (Frankfurt, 1966), pp. 452–53, 456; Kershaw, *ProFiles in Power*, pp. 72–73; Georg Franz-Willing, *Die Reichskanzlei, 1933–1945* (Tübingen, 1984), p. 54. Although the SA continued to exist as an organization, it never exercised any real power during the Third Reich.
96. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 72–74. See also O'Neill, p. 50.
97. O'Neill, p. 54; Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 479; Megargee, p. 29.
98. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 437. See also Redlich, p. 100.
99. Kershaw writes that Reichenau was “one of the most thoroughly nazified generals.” Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 70.
100. Nicolaus von Below, *Als Hitlers Adjutant, 1937–1945* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 72–73; Megargee, p. 27.
101. O'Neill, p. 54; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 30; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 524–25; Wistrich, p. 19; Messerschmidt, p. 51; Megargee, p. 29.
102. Cooper, *German Army*, p. 30; Franz-Willing, p. 61; Messerschmidt, p. 51.
103. Craig, *Prussian Army*, pp. xviii, 363; Messerschmidt, p. 32; Goerlitz, p. 55.
104. Christoph von L'Estocq, *Soldat in drei Epochen* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 112–13.
105. Goerlitz, p. 290; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 525; O'Neill, p. 55; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 53; Messerschmidt, p. 52; Megargee, p. 29.
106. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Falk, Bl. 4. Falk would later be promoted to Gefreiter.
107. See BA-MA, BMRS, interview Spitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Mühlbacher, 18.09.1994, T-22; BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhard Bier, Bier an Rigg, 26.03.2001.
108. Fest, *Face*, p. 144.
109. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 436.

110. Hoßbach, pp. 10–12; O'Neill, p. 58; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 52.
111. Hermann, p. 455; Messerschmidt, p. 52. See also Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, pp. 585–86; Kitchen, *Military History*, p. 293; Megargee, p. 29.
112. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 74.
113. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 497, 521.
114. Yahil, p. 60; Haffner, pp. 27–31; Guderian, pp. 59–60.
115. RGBl., I, 1935, Nr. 28, p. 375 (Gesetz für den Aufbau der Wehrmacht) bzw. Nr. 52, p. 602 ff. v. 22.05.1935 (Wehrgesetz v. 21.05.1935).
116. Frei, Manfred Funke, "Großmachtpolitik und Weltmachtstreben," in *Das Dritte Reich*, eds. Broszat and Frei, p. 140; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 130; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 551; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 121; Friedländer, p. 115; Kitchen, *Military History*, p. 295; Wallach, p. 219; Megargee, p. 32.
117. Friedländer, p. 115. By 1939, the army would be fifty-two active divisions strong. Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 482.
118. BA-MA, BMRS, data collected throughout this study; Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, pp. 117–18.
119. BA-B, R 43 II/1273; Walk, *Sonderrecht für den Juden*, pp. 114–16; RGBl. I, 1935, p. 1,047.
120. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lauinger, Bl. 23; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz.
121. For a discussion of the total number of eligible *Mischlinge* for military service, see chapter 3 on assimilation.
122. Friedländer, p. 144.
123. BA-B, R 43 II/1273, Akten betreffend Wehrgesetz, Bl. 112, Löwenstein an Lammers, 23.03.1935.
124. *Ibid.*, Akten betreffend Wehrgesetz, Bl. 116–18, Löwenstein an Hitler, 05.10.1935.
125. BA-B, R 43 II/1273, Verband Nationaldeutscher Juden E. V. Geschäftsstelle Berlin, Verbandsführer Dr. Naumann an Hitler, 20.03.1935, Bl. 110–12.
126. Vital, pp. 814–15. See Schoeps, *Deutschland*, p. 25.
127. Schleunes, p. 117.
128. Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, the armed forces high command.
129. *Sonderrecht für den Juden im NS-Staat*, p. 318, Gesetz von 04.03.1940. Between 1940 and 1942, over thirty Jews tried to obtain special permission to enter the Wehrmacht. All were rejected. BA-B, DZA, Bl. 29. See also Klemperer, Buch II, 05.07.1942, p. 157.
130. BA-MA, Pers 6/ 7363, Bl. 9, Bericht über Major der L[andes] P[olizei] Karl Helwig.
131. O'Neill, p. 76.
132. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 564.
133. O'Neill, p. 77; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 564; Messerschmidt, p. 76; Vogel, p. 239.
134. Vogel, pp. 233–34.
135. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Vogel, p. 230. One could not become an officer, marry, and so on, without showing his *Abstammungsnachweis* (certificate of descent). Sometimes it was called

Ariernachweis (certificate of Aryanhood). In addition, one had an *Abnenpaß* (ancestral passport), which was a small booklet with the certificate of descent and a detailed family tree. This document replaced previously required birth, baptismal, and marriage certificates. After the Nuremberg Laws, every German had to show he or she was an Aryan. A document without any gaps was requirement for full citizenship rights. Ironically, since Hitler could not prove who his grandfather was, he could not fulfill this law he had sanctioned for Germany. See chapters 7 and 8 on exemptions.

136. BA-MA, BMRS, File Richard Cohn, Bl. 7, Arische Erklärung, 09.02.1939.
137. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Joachim Körner, Beglaubigte Abschrift, 26.11.1954, Bl. 2–3, 4–6, Körner an Generalstaatsanwalt bei dem Kammergericht. Körner lost fifteen relatives in the concentration camps. Throughout 1942, it looked like the *Gau-* and *Kreisleitungen* found many *Mischling* soldiers and were reporting them to the proper authorities. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 122.
138. BA-MA, W 01–6/359, Kröner an Wehrmeldamt, 13.06.1941.
139. BA-MA, BMRS, File Edgar Jacoby; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Jacoby, 11.01.1994, T-45; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Edgar Jacoby, 19.11.1996, T-243; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Barbara Jacoby, 17.11.1994, T-52; BA-MA, W 01–6/359. Remarkably, Jacoby was later released and survived the war at his home because his brave Aryan wife (Marianne née Günther) refused to divorce him. Käthe Himmelheber was later sent to Theresienstadt. She would survive the war.
140. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rolf von Sydow; BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf von Sydow.
141. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf von Sydow, Bl. 44, Sydow an seine Eltern, 15.01.1944.
142. *Ibid.*, Sydow an seine Eltern, 22.03.1944, Bl. 35–36.
143. Obergefreiter was an acting corporal.
144. Colonel Seegers, in the Army Personnel Office P2 (Department for Personnel Matters of High-Ranking Officers and Education and Welfare), seemed to help several *Mischlinge* present their cases to the authorities. He probably worked closely with Major Klug (P2 Gruppe I: Deutschblütigkeit, Heirat) and Major Werneyer (P2 Gruppe I-Ic: Deutschblütigkeit) on these cases. Wolf Keilig, *Das Deutsche Heer, 1939–1945: Gliederung, Einsatz, Stellenbesetzung* (Bad Nauheim, 1956), p. 7. See also BA-MA, Pers 6/10046 or BA-A, Pers 14492 to read how Seegers went about helping a *Mischling*. See also *Der Prozess gegen die Hauptkriegsverbrecher vor dem Internationalen Militärgerichtshof*, Nürnberg 14. November 1945–1. Oktober 1946, Nürnberg, 1948, p. 421.
145. BA-MA, Pers 6/11122, Bl. 3, General-Kommando XVII. Armeekorps (Wehrkreis-Kommando XVII) an OKH-H.P.A, 19.08.1939, Bl. 9, 11, Deutschblütigkeitserklärung für Robert Colli, 24.06.1941; *Die Ritterkreuz Träger; Die Träger des Deutschen Kreuzes in Gold*, p. 68; *Die Träger des Eisernen Kreuzes, 1939–1945*, p. 154; Archiv der Republik Österreich, Wien, Pers. Akt. Robert Colli.
146. DDS, Pers Marine-Oberbaurat Franz Mendelssohn; BA-MA, BMRS, File Franz Mendelssohn, Abschrift des Stammbaums von Moses Mendelssohn von

- Professor Dr. Peter Witt, *Moses Mendelssohn und Fromet Guggenheim und ihre Nachkommen*, p. 43, A.) II. Franz Viktor Mendelssohn; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Mendelssohn-Eder, 26.02.1995, T-108; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Mendelssohn-Barz, 17.03.1995, T-120.
147. *Nachr. Tr. U. Pion.* Fricke was in charge of this section from 15.11.1942 until 01.10.1944. Keilig, p. 6.
148. Amtsgruppen.
149. Department for Personnel Matters of Officers and Their Offspring (not including General Staff Officers). Keilig, p. 1.
150. BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl-Heinrich Fricke, *Erinnerungen aus 70 Lebensjahren von 1914-1984* (Köln, 1984), p. 182.
151. He registered himself as *gottgläubig* (a believer in God) but without any particular confession (*konfessionslos*).
152. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hirschfeld, 15-16.08.1994, T-12; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hirschfeld, 22.11.1996, T-247.
153. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hirschfeld, Hirschfeld an Rigg 18.09.1994, Bl. 17-18; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hirschfeld, 15-16.08.1994, T-12; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hirschfeld, 22.11.1996, T-247.
154. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hirschfeld, Hirschfeld an Rigg, 18.09.1994, Bl. 17. Hirschfeld named three other Jews who served in the Wehrmacht.
155. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hirschfeld, 15-16.08.1994, T-12.
156. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rabbi Chaskel Besser, 15.01.1995, T-86.
157. Deborah Hertz, "The Genealogy Bureaucracy in the Third Reich," *Jewish History*, Haifa (fall 1997): 28.
158. Hertz, p. 28. Observant Jews do not allow non-Jews to be buried in Jewish cemeteries.
159. A literal translation of *Judenbengel* is "Jewish rascal" or "rogue."
160. Krackow, pp. 309-10.
161. Krackow, p. 98; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow, 14.11.1994, T-50; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow, 18.11.1994, T-56; BA-MA, BMRS, interview R. Krackow.
162. See Bracher, p. 197.
163. BA-MA, RH 53-7/468, Bl. 8, Wehrmachtamt/Keitel an V.A. (V1), 09.01.1936; BA-MA, RW 6/73.
164. BA-MA, RH 53-7/468, Bl. 9, Generalkommando VII. Armeekorps an Chef des Heerespersonalamts.
165. *Der deutsche Verwaltungsbeamte*, 17.10.1937; See also Friedländer, p. 32; Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, pp. 132-58.
166. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936*, p. 530; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936-1945*, pp. 233-34; Friedländer, p. 161; Victor, p. 164.
167. Vogel, pp. 234-38; Das Reichsbürgergesetz vom 15.09.1935 (RGBl. 1935, Teil I, Nr. 100, p. 1,146); Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre vom 15.09.1935 (RGBl. 1935, Teil I, p. 1,146); Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14.11.1935 (RGBl., Teil I, 1935, Nr. 125, pp. 1,333-36).
168. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889-1936*, p. 567.
169. Lösener, p. 273; Bracher, p. 253.

170. BA-B, *Bestände aus der Zeit von 1867 bis 1945: Zivile Behörden und Einrichtungen des Deutschen Reiches*, p. 56; BA-K, File 8/ RP 39, Kurt Meyer an Gustav Scholten, 03.10.1942; Hertz, p. 44.
171. Yahil, p. 43.
172. Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*, p. 236; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 570; Baynes, *Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, vol 1, p. 732.
173. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 570.
174. Benz, p. 62.
175. Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*, p. 236; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 570; Bauer, p. 110.
176. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 150.
177. Lösener, p. 281.
178. BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 28, Schreiben Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern, Abteilung I. Gegenüberstellung der Fassung Dr. Wagner, betrifft: Ausführungsverordnungen zum Reichsbürgergesetz und zum Blutschutzgesetz, 02.11.1935, Bl. 28; Lösener, pp. 274–76; Schleunes, p. 127; Redlich, p. 155; Friedländer, p. 148; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 571; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 256.
179. BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 28, Schreiben Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern, Abteilung I, I. Gegenüberstellung der Fassung Dr. Wagner, betrifft: Ausführungsverordnungen zum Reichsbürgergesetz und zum Blutschutzgesetz, 02.11.1935, Bl. 29; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 341.
180. BA-B, 15.09/52, Bl. 46–48. The Nazis used Mendel’s name as a verb to describe genetic expression between mixed breeds. Johann Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) was an Austrian monk and was the first scientist to formulate the principles of heredity. *Encyclopedia Americana*, vol. 18 (Danbury, 1984), p. 686.
181. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 101.
182. IfZ, N-71–73, Diktat Stuckart im Verbindungsstab am 06.11.1935.
183. Lösener, pp. 277–78; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 564; Victor, p. 139; Burleigh, p. 291. The unintelligent Streicher probably took this idea from Arthur Dinter’s book *The Sin Against the Blood*, a work of fiction. See also Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. xxviii.
184. Lösener, p. 278.
185. IfZ, N 71–73, Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern, Abt. I Referent: Lösener, 11.10.1935.
186. IfZ, N 71–73, 11.10.1935; BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 30–31.
187. BA-B, R 18/5514, Bl. 29, Schreiben Reichs- und Preußisches Ministerium des Innern Abteilung I, I. Gegenüberstellung der Fassung Dr. Wagner, 02.11.1935; Hilberg, p. 47.
188. Lösener, pp. 278–79; “Authentische Äußerungen zu den Nürnberger Gesetzen,” CV Ztg., 05.12.1935, Supplement 2; Yahil, p. 78.
189. Lösener, pp. 268, 273. As translated by Noakes. Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 353.
190. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 572; Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, eds., *Nazism 1919–1945*, vol. 4 (Exeter, 1983), p. 1; Hilberg, p. 47.
191. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. 65.

192. Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz 14.11.1935 (RGGBl., Teil I, 1935, Nr. 135), pp. 1,333–36; Hilberg, p. 48; *The Holocaust: 1*, p. 31.
193. Hilberg, p. 48; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 280; If a Jewish woman had a child out of wedlock and the father's identity was not able to be determined, then the Nazis classified the child as a full Jew. See *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00404.
194. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 32.
195. If a person was "three-eighths-Jewish," he or she was most often classified as quarter-Jewish. Countless men and women documented in this study were actually 37.5 percent Jewish, and the majority were classified as quarter-Jews by the Nazis. See *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00389-390. When a person was more than 37.5 percent Jewish but not 50 percent Jewish, he or she was then usually classified as a half-Jew. Likewise, when a person was more than 12.5 percent Jewish, for example, 18.75 percent Jewish, then he or she was usually classified as a quarter-Jew.
196. *Nationalsozialismus. Begriffe aus der Zeit der Gewaltherrschaft, 1933–1945*, pp. 39–40; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 572; Norman Rich, *Hitler's War Aims* (New York, 1974), pp. 1–2.
197. BA-MA, RH 53-7/627, Bl. 12, Auszug aus RGGBl. 1935 Teil I, Seite 1334, § 5 (Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz).
198. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. xxv; Kaplan, p. 191.
199. It seems that one reason why the term "non-Aryan" was not used in these new racial laws was to appease Nazi Germany's allies, such as Japan, who took offense at being labeled "non-Aryans." Pommerin, pp. 53–56, 67–69, 102–4; Yahil, p. 71.
200. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 31–32.
201. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87.
202. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Gaupp, 27.04.1996, T-198.
203. Redlich, pp. 116, 320; Bauer, pp. 104, 121, 133.
204. Ian Kershaw, "Popular Opinion in the Third Reich," in *Government, Party, and People in Nazi Germany*, ed. Jeremy Noakes (Exeter, 1980), p. 70.
205. Ibid.
206. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from data collected; Avraham Barkai, "Volksgemeinschaft, 'Aryanization' and the Holocaust," in *Final Solution*, p. 37.
207. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Koref, 06.01.1996, T-189.
208. *Kommentare zur Deutschen Rassengesetzgebung*, p. 15. This refers to Ezra, chapter 9 in the Bible, in which the prophet Ezra ordered mixed marriages broken up and all foreign women and children of mixed descent sent away. Some people, like Stuckart, believed that Ezra was racially minded by excluding non-Jews from the nation of Israel. However, Ezra seemed more motivated by a desire to keep the Jewish faith pure. He wanted to maintain the religion. That non-Jews like Ruth and Rahab could become a part of the Jewish community proved the point that Jews were accepting non-Jews when they embraced the Jewish religion (Ezra 8–10, NIV). Nonetheless, Ezra's policy was possibly one of religious discrimination.
209. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Ranke, 09.12.1994, T-75.

210. Yahil, p. 6; *The Holocaust*, vol. 1, *Legalizing the Holocaust—The Early Phase, 1933–1939*, introduction by John Mendelsohn (New York, 1982), pp. 23–25.
211. *Akten der Parteikanzlei der NSDAP: Rekonstruktion eines verlorengegangenen Bestandes: Bundesarchiv, Microfiches*, ed. Institut für Zeitgeschichte, München, 1983, 101–28519, Bl. 90.
212. When historians refer to the Nuremberg Laws, they usually mean both the September laws and the supplementary decree from November 1935. This study follows this convention. See Bauer, p. 102.
213. BA-MA, Pers 6/2304 Admiral Conrad Patzig, Bl. 19. See O’Neill, chapter 5.
214. BA-MA, RW 6/56, Bl. 97.
215. Vogel, pp. 241–42.
216. *Handbuch VIII*, p. 58, “In einer Durchführungsverordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14.11.1935”; Messerschmidt, p. 140.
217. BA-MA, RW 6/73, v. Mackensen an Hitler, 03.12.1935.
218. *Ibid.*, v. Mackensen an Blomberg, 11.01.1936.
219. Wheeler-Bennett, p. 342; Dr. James Corum is of the same opinion as Wheeler-Bennett. Discussion with the author on 28 February 2001.
220. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from data collected; O’Neill, pp. 75–77.
221. DDS, Pers Franz Mendelsohn.
222. BA-A, Pers 53059 Oberst Peter Sommer, Bl. 22, Generalkommando X. Armeekorps (Wehrkreiskommando X) an OKH, 10.08.1936.
223. BA-MA, RL 14/49.
224. Victor, p. 9.
225. Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” pp. 323, 328.
226. BA-B, R 43 II/1275, Blomberg an Frick, 03.04.1936, Bl. 27, Blomberg an den Reichs- und Preußischen Minister des Innern, 03.04.1936; *Akten-NSDAP*, 101–22302, Blomberg an Lammers, 27.03.1936; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 329.
227. BA-B, R 43 II/1275, Blomberg an Lammers, 19.05.1936, Bl. 39, Blomberg an Lammers, 19.05.1936; *Akten-NSDAP* 101–22313, Blomberg an Lammers (countersigned by Keitel); BA-B, R 43 II/1275, Bl. 39; Vogel, p. 254.
228. BA-MA, RH 53–7/ 627, Bl. 25; O’Neill, p. 77. As translated in O’Neill.
229. BA-MA, RH 53–7/ 627, Bl. 25; Messerschmidt, p. 75.
230. Jürgen Förster, “Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 513–14; Deist in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1998), p. 522; O’Neill, pp. 44–45, 64–66, 70–71; Martin Kitchen, *Military History*, p. 285.
231. *Akten NSDAP*, 101–22299, Bl. 13; *Wehrgesetz* 05.03.1936; *Akten-NSDAP*, 101–22304, Bl. 44, Frick an Lammers 30.03.1936; BA-B, R 43 II/ 1275, Bl. 39, Keitel an Lammers, 18.05.1936, Bl. 37; Walk, pp. 115–16; Vogel, pp. 254–55.
232. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the data collected; Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 118; Vogel, p. 255.
233. Hertz, pp. 48–49.

234. Hertz, p. 24. At the official exchange rate at the time, eighty million Reichsmarks would equal twenty million dollars. Hilberg, p. 24, n. 22.
235. See chapter 3 on assimilation.
236. Kreisleiter was a district leader of the NSDAP.
237. Gauleiter was a regional leader of the NSDAP. Gauleiter was the second highest rank in the Party. The highest was the Reichsleiter. Benz, p. 90.
238. BA-MA, RH 53-7/514, Gauleitung Baden, Kreisleitung Mannheim an Wagner, 08.01.1936.
239. Ibid., Kommandierender General und Befehlshaber im Wehrkreis VII an Gauleiter der NSDAP, Gauleitung Baden, 20.03.1936.
240. Ibid., Stellv. Gauleiter, Gauleitung Baden an Reichenau, 13.07.1936.
241. BA-A, Pers 48220, Oberst Hans von Schlebrügge, Bl. 2, Dienstlaufbahn, and Bl. 68, Deutscher Verbindungsstab zum Kgl. Ung. AOK 1, Beurteilung über Oberst Hans v. Schlebrügge, 24.06.1944; Walther-Peer Fellgiebel, ed., *Die Träger des Ritterkreuzes des Eisernen Kreuzes, 1939–1945* (Friedberg, 1986).
242. BA-A, Pers 48220, Bl. 14.
243. The German Abwehr was the military intelligence service.
244. BA-MA, RW 6/56, Bl. 122–23.
245. Messerschmidt, pp. 75–76; O’Neill, p. 77.
246. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz-Jürgen Kühl, Bl. 1, Hans-Henning Zabel an Rigg, 25.06.1997; *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, ed. Historische Kommission der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Band 18, Familie Morgenstern, p. 110; Karl Friedrich Hildebrand, ed., *Die Generale der deutschen Luftwaffe, 1935–1945*, (Osnabrück, 1992), p. 265.
247. DDS, Pers Kapitän Arnold Techel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel. See also Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 48–49.
248. BA-MA, RH 53-7/627, Bl. 2, Der Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres, vom 15.01.1936; O’Neill, pp. 76–77.
249. Walk, Gesetz vom 11.10.1936.
250. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Felix Bruck, 18.04.1998, T-422.
251. Oberschütze was a private. In practice, a *Mischlinge* was usually allowed to be promoted to Gefreiter.
252. Vogel, pp. 254–55.
253. Gefreiter was a private first class.
254. Klemperer, Buch I, 08.01.1939, p. 456.
255. BA-MA, RH 53-7/627.
256. BA-MA, RW 19/550; Walk, p. 231.
257. BA-MA, RH 53-7/627, Bl. 16, Generalkommando VII. Armeekorps (Wehrkreiskommando VII) an Kriegsschule München, 24.01.1938. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Sander.
258. BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Henle, Harald Henle to Rigg, 17.07.2001; BA-MA, BMRS, interview August Sohn, 17.05.1996, T-204; BA-MA, BMRS, File Franz Henle, Bl. 11, Sohn an Rigg, 05.04.1995, Bl. 30, Sohn an Rigg, 05.11.1995, Bl. 20, Sohn an Rigg, 30.06.1996. Henle came from a strong military back-

ground. His father, Franz, was a captain in the Bavarian army and received the EKII for his bravery in World War I. His uncle, Ernst, was also a captain in the Bavarian army and received the EKII and EKI for his bravery in World War I. His grandfather, Carl Henle, was an active officer in the Bavarian army. He served as a first lieutenant in the Königlich Bayrischen Infanterie Leibregiment. Henle's father, Franz, fearing the worst, committed suicide in 1944.

259. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 52. There seems to be some confusion about Blomberg's wife's name. In Cooper's book on the German army, it is spelled Erna Grünh (the umlaut is false). In *Handbuch zur deutschen Militärgeschichte*, cited earlier, she is listed as Eva, which is wrong. In the *Gothaisches Genealogisches Taschenbuch der Adligen Häuser* from 1939, she is cited as Elsbeth Grunow. In the *Genealogisches Handbuch des Adels Bd. XVI* from 1985, she is listed as Margarethe (Elsbeth) Gruhn. In this section, Kershaw's version is used. Hitler's Luftwaffe adjutant, Nicolaus von Below, also mentions this problem about Frau Gruhn's name. Below, p. 62.
260. Hitler also felt embarrassed because he had been a witness at Blomberg's wedding. As Hitler said to his adjutant Fritz Wiedemann, "If a German Field-Marshal marries a whore, anything in the world is possible." Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 52–53. See also Megargee, pp. 39–40.
261. Goerlitz, p. 319; Speer, p. 128; Keegan, *Second World War*, p. 38; Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, p. 700; Bracher, p. 308; Guderian, pp. 48–49, 436; O'Neill, p. 136; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 129, 133.
262. Alan Clark, *Barbarossa: The Russian-German Conflict, 1941–1945* (New York, 1965), p. 14; Craig, *Prussian Army, 1640–1945*, p. 495; RGBL,II, 04.02.1938.
263. Wilhelm Deist, in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1998), p. 521.
264. Ibid. See also O'Neill, p. 72.
265. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 57.
266. Ibid., p. 188.
267. BA-MA, RW 6/56, Bl. 397–415, Vortrag von Admiral Canaris bei der Ic-Besprechung im OKW am 03.03.1938, Bl. 400–402. Some have suggested that maybe Canaris said this because he knew Nazi informers would report back on his activities if they felt he did not support Hitler. Those who believe that Canaris really did not believe what he said here cite his later actions against Hitler. No one really knows what Canaris really believed about Hitler and the Third Reich.
268. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 78–86; Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 89–93.
269. BA-MA, RH 15/419, Bl. 21, OKW (Keitel) an OKH, OKM, OKL, 03.11.1938; BA-MA, RH 53–7/627, Bl. 14.
270. Vienna, according to the historian Ian Kershaw, was "one of the most virulently anti-Jewish cities in Europe." Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 65. See also Friedländer, p. 241; Bauer, pp. 105–6; Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era* (North Carolina, 2000).

271. BA-MA, BMRS, Dokumente Heft 8, Erwin Mairamhof an Martin Senekowitsch, 14.09.1995, Matzling, Ruhestandsversetzungen am 15. März 1938; Schmidl, p. 149; Deák, p. 210.
272. Ibid., Oberstlt. Georg Bartl: KZ Dachau, KZ Mauthausen, Freitod; Oberstlt. Ferdinand Celar: Haft; Oberstlt. Mathias Gruber: Haft; Oberstlt. Franz Heckenast: KZ Buchenwald, gest. 1939; Hauptmann Franz Kaiser: Haft; Gen. Maj. Karl Kotik: in Haft verstorben; Major Marioncovich: in Haft gestorben; und Gen. der. Inf. Wilhelm Zehner: 1938 angeblich ermordet.
273. Schmidl, p. 149.
274. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft II, Amelis von Mettenheim, *Die Zwölf Langen Jahre 1933–1945*, Bl. 9.
275. Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 60; Kaplan, p. 180.
276. BA-MA, BMRS, File Yosef Getreuer, Bl. 1, Yosef Getreuer to Rigg, 18.03.1997.
277. From now on, German means German and Austrian.
278. Navy high command.
279. Luftwaffe high command.
280. BA-MA, RH 15/421, Bl. 21–22, OKW-Keitel an OKH, OKM, OKL, 03.11.1938.
281. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190.
282. BA-MA, RH 15/421, Bl. 22, OKW (Keitel), “Vorstehender Erlaß wird bekanntgegeben” 23.11.1938.
283. BA-MA, Wi VIII/ 45, 18.10.1938.
284. BA-MA, RH 53–7/8, Bl. 88; IfZ, N 71–73; BA-MA, RH 39/222, Beauftragter für den Vierjahresplan—Schnellbrief an Reichsminister des Innern, Reichswirtschaftsminister, die übrigen Reichsminister, 28.12.1938. In practice, this study has found that both types of intermarriages experienced certain privileges during the Third Reich, especially when a son was in the Wehrmacht.
285. Redlich, p. 116; Kaplan, p. 80.
286. BA-MA, RH 53–7/627, Bl. 11–12, Hitler an OKH, OKM, OKL, 20.01.1939; BA-MA, RM 92/5173, Bl. 141.
287. Besondere Marine-Bestimmungen (B.M.B.), 5. Jahrg., Blatt 12 v. 20.09.1939, 138. “Jüdische Mischlinge in der Wehrwirtschaft” Ziff.2.), p. 159 f.
288. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 869; Messerschmidt, p. 78. Although it is true that people’s speech in public is often different from how they act in private, Raeder’s speech did not have to talk about the Jews as he did. He simply could have spoken about the German fallen and veterans of World War I.
289. Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 76.
290. Lucy Dawidowicz, ed., *A Holocaust Reader* (New Jersey, 1976), pp. 57, 72–74.
291. Aschheim, pp. 143–45, 150–51. Jürgen Matthäus, “German *Judenpolitik* in Lithuania during the First World War,” in *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 43 (1998): 162–64; Trude Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland, 1918–1933* (Hamburg, 1986), pp. 26–28.

292. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz Günter Angreß, 10.12.1994, T-78.
293. Ahasverus, Wandering Jew (*Ewiger Jude*), was a medieval invention. Supposedly, this tale describes the Jew Ahasverus's curse for jeering at Jesus on the way to his Crucifixion. Consequently, according to the myth, God cursed him with eternal wandering and an unhappy life until "death should finally redeem him at the Last Judgement." Paul Lawrence Rose, *German Question/Jewish Question: Revolutionary Anti-Semitism from Kant to Wagner* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 23–24; Friedländer, pp. 196–97. The Nazis used *Ewiger Jude* in their anti-Semitic propaganda films and literature to show the racial inferiority of Jewry. Ahasverus should not be confused with the biblical king of Persia and Media. Trepp, pp. 158–60; Miles, pp. 357, 359–62.
294. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, Bl. 52, Tagebuch, Teil V, 14.05.1941.
295. Landser was the ordinary German infantryman of World War II.
296. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Friedrich Schlesinger, 10.12.1994, T-77.
297. See BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Michael Günther, 19.02.1997, T-308; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans B. (Bernheim), 29.10.1998, T-428. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hermann Aub, 14.12. 1996, T-275. See also Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 90.
298. Not his real name.
299. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bernheim.
300. Krüger, p. 66; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
301. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from data collected; BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Leidloff, Teil II, Bl. 7a, Tagebucheintragung v. 17.09.1940 und 04.10.1940.
302. Ordinary soldier (artillery).
303. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Tagebuch, Bl. 17–18.
304. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Tagebuch, Bl. 18. One night while riding his motorcycle as the battery messenger, two Polish soldiers intercepted Florey. Shocked, Florey jumped up. At that moment, one of the soldiers shoved his bayonet into Florey. Fortunately for Florey, he was able to escape and only suffered a flesh wound. Florey received the Wound Badge. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus Florey, Florey to Rigg, 15.07.2001.
305. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Schlike to Brücher, 21.11.1939.
306. Stabsgefreiter (administrative private first class) is the equivalent of an E-4 in the U.S. Army. It was basically a consolation prize.
307. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Steinwasser, *Autobiographie*, p. 71; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fritz Steinwasser, 13.12.1994, T-79; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fritz Steinwasser, 07.02.1997, T-302.
308. In the case of the Günther family, Michael's grandmother, Gertrud Hensel née Hahn, was 100 percent Jewish. Her husband, Kurt Hensel, had three Jewish grandparents, but his grandfather, Wilhelm Hensel (a famous painter), was a non-Jew. Because of this Aryan grandparent, some civil servants classified Michael and his siblings as quarter-Jews. From the data collected for this study, they should have been classified as half-Jews. This is especially the case, since they had two grandparents who were racially Jewish.

309. BA-MA, BMRS, File Konrad Schenck, Heft I, Bl. 6.
310. Günther had passed his *Abitur*, or high school diploma, which was a requirement to become an officer.
311. BA-MA, BMRS, File Achim von Bredow, Heft I, Bl. 34, Achim an Ada, 25.08.1942.
312. *Ibid.*, Heft I, Bl. 34.
313. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 131; Bauer, p. 107; Benz, p. 26; Bering, p. 145.
314. BA-MA, BMRS, general impressions gained from interviewees.
315. From 1903 until 1918, Clara von Mettenheim was married to Lieutenant Colonel Erwin Fischer. Fischer was the chief of the General Staff of the army *Abteilung* (an *Abteilung* was a formation larger than a corps but smaller than an army) under General Strantz during World War I.
316. The crown prince had many Jewish friends—something that irritated Goebbels. See *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, pp. 47–48.
317. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 42.
318. She had to go to the *Judenstelle* of the Gestapo to get the large red *J* stamped in her identification papers and add Sara to her name as prescribed by Nazi law.
319. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 42.
320. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 41, OKH an Clara v. Mettenheim, 16.12.1939.
321. *Ibid.*, Heft I, Bl. 39–41, Keitel an Prof. v. Mettenheim, 24.12.1939.
322. The General Wehrmacht Office was the Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt (AWA).
323. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 41, Reinecke an Clara v. Mettenheim, 16.01.1940.
324. HVBl., Nr. 131, 1940, p. 42. This order seemed to be given to most units. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Georg Heymann, “Meldung des Flak-Ersatz-Depots,” Ende Februar 1940.
325. BA-B, DZA, Bl. 200, Aktennotiz, 14.02.1940.
326. Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V 1. September 1939 bis 18. Dezember 1941, (=Schriften des Bundesarchivs 16/V)* (Boppard, 1988), p. 148.
327. Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V*, p. 148; Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 118, n. 26; Messerschmidt, p. 358.
328. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 142–43.
329. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfram Günther, Bl. 22–23.
330. For more information on Willy Rohr, see Bruce I. Gudmundsson, *Stormtroop Tactics: Innovation in the German Army, 1914–1918* (London, 1995); Timothy T. Lufper, *The Dynamics of Doctrine: The Changes in German Tactical Doctrine during the First World War* (Fort Leavenworth, 1981), pp. 27–28.
331. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 200, Aktennotiz, Vorsprache beim OKW, 14.02.1940; Heinz Rohr, *Geschichte einer Lübecker Familie* (Hamburg, 1994), p. 86; IfZ, N 71–73, 27.05.1941, Anträge und positive Entscheidungen gemäß §7 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz.
332. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 200–200b.

CHAPTER 5: THE POLICY TOWARD *MISCHLINGE* TIGHTENS,
1940–1943

1. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Bl. 37. Grüber helped many converted and unconverted Jews and was eventually sent to a concentration camp for his activities. He survived the war. Bauer, p. 135.
2. Viktor Brack worked in the notorious T-4 office in the KdF that dealt with the euthanasia program. On 1 September 1939, Hitler signed a document that authorized Bouhler and Brandt in the KdF to murder those deemed unworthy to live. Brack was Bouhler's deputy.
3. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 198, "Akttennotiz für Reichsamtsleiter Brack."
4. Klemperer, Buch I, 11.08.1940, p. 546.
5. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 125–26, Blankenburg an Engel, 28.03.1940.
6. Ibid., Bl. 126, Blankenburg an Engel, 28.03.1940.
7. Ibid., Bl. 116, "Akttennotiz" von Brack, 10.07.1942.
8. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 192, OKW Az. 12 i 10–20 J (Jc) Nr. 524/40; BA-MA, RH 7/v. 23; Walk, p. 319; BA-MA, RW 19/853, Bl. 1–2. According to Rolf Vogel, Jesuit priests and members of former dynastic families of Germany were also discharged. Vogel, p. 256.
9. Vogel, p. 256.
10. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 155–56, Blankenburg an Engel, 23.05.1942, and Bl. 67, "Akttennotiz, IIB/Schr. Jüdische Mischlinge im Wehrdienst", 28.10.1943.
11. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 26; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 192, OKW Az. 12 i 10–20 J (Jc) Nr. 524/40; BA-MA, RH 7/ v. 23. See also Lösener, p. 310.
12. BA-MA, BMRS, File Du Bois-Reymond, Bl. 5, Lona Du Bois-Reymond to Rigg, 07.04.1997, and for a similar case, see BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmuth Baum.
13. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67, "Jüdische Mischlinge im Wehrdienst," Vf.: Blankenburg; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 89, Akttennotiz v. Parteikanzlei II B 4, 20.10.1942.
14. BA-MA, RH 7/v. 23, OKH, Nr. 2761/40 g PA 2 (Ic), 20.04.1940; Walk, p. 320; BA-MA, BMRS, general data collected on half-Jews.
15. This in fact would happen to Bamberger. On the night of 6 June 1940, Bamberger prevented a French attack from taking out his sleeping company. His officer, Lieutenant Schmidt, praised him and told him that had he not been a *Mischling*, he would have mentioned his name to the regiment and awarded him a medal for his bravery. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bamberger, Bl. 30; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinrich Bamberger, 08.11.1994, T-49.
16. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Bamberger, Bl. 22; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bamberger.
17. BA-MA, BMRS, File Horst Geitner, Bl. 3–4, 14–15; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst Geitner, 38.03.1997, T-337. Tragically, as Geitner served on the front lines, his sister, uncle, and aunt were all sent to Auschwitz. They did not survive the war. After the war, Geitner entered the Bundeswehr. He served as a first lieutenant and wanted to prove to others and himself that he was worthy of the rank. Others did the same. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf Vogel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Rolf Vogel, 18.03.1995, T-124.

18. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the interviewees.
19. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 84, Pfarrer Grüber an Clara von Mettenheim, 29.05.1940; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dieter Fischer, 12.12.1996, T-270.
20. This fact strongly contradicts the theory put out by the Wehrmachtsausstellung that all German officers were supportive of the Nazi regime and strong supporters of Hitler's. See Heer and Reemtsma, *Vernichtungskrieg*.
21. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
22. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz.
23. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerd zu Klampen, Bl. 1; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerd zu Klampen, 28.10.1998, T-427. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Bl. 3.
24. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Günzel, Bl. 4, Marion Freuh an Rigg, 05.04.1997; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Günzel, 23–24.07.1997, T-387.
25. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190.
26. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
27. Schütze was an ordinary soldier.
28. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Joachim Le Coutre, 25.01.1997, T-389; BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Le Coutre, Joachim Le Coutre an Rigg, 09.04.1997. For a similar case, see BA-MA, BMRS; File Heinz Günther Angreß.
29. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Behrendt, 21.11.1994, T-58; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Goldberg; BA-MA; BMRS, File Meissinger, Bl. 3; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Meissinger.
30. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Bl. 3.
31. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Spier, 06.12.1994, T-70.
32. Interestingly, one day while having an argument, a comrade called Gaupp a "*Saujud* (Jewish pig)" in front of many of their fellow soldiers. Gaupp reported this instance to his lieutenant, who then reported it to the captain, the company commander. The captain later met with Gaupp and asked him whether he wanted the man to make his apology privately or publicly. Gaupp asked that it be done privately. The captain then made this man do as he had promised Gaupp. Ironically, this comrade would become one of Gaupp's best friends. As Gaupp said, "[T]he whole time is full of puzzles." BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 27.04.1996, T-198.
33. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 17.01.1995, T-87; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 27.04.1996, T-198. According to Gaupp, the rejection letter was signed by Keitel.
34. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Christoph-Michael Salinger, 08.10.1998, T-424. Salinger takes the phrase at the end from the Bible where Jesus says, "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing." Jesus said this about those who crucified him. Luke 23:34 NIV.
35. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 11.03.1995, T-118; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Bl. 3.

36. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerd Grimm, 24.09.1994, C-26; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerd Grimm, 09.01.1996, T-194.
37. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schlesinger.
38. Unlike in the United States, it is quite common in Germany for organizations to write a recommendation when someone has fulfilled a certain task. Germans are obsessed with certificates.
39. BA-B, R 21 (76)/878, Bl. 141, “Bescheinigung von Oberleutnant und Kompaniechef Mertes”, 17.07.1941.
40. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hildegard von Gierke, 29.11.1997, T-413.
41. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Riess. *Mazel tov* means “good luck” in Hebrew. Riess witnessed the execution of French Senegalese soldiers at the Somme River from the fourth through the eighth of June 1940.
42. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl-Heinz Scheffler, 09.03.1995, T-113.
43. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wilhelmina Benasuli, 19.01.1997, T-284.
44. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Bleicher, “Wie ich den 8. Mai 1945 erlebte: Ein persönlicher Bericht eines Betroffenen.” See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Egon Bahr, 13.02.1995, T-95.
45. Funker is an ordinary soldier (signal).
46. BA-MA, BMRS, File Friedemann Lichtwitz, Heft I, Teil II, Bl. 11. See also Creveld, p. 163, n. 2.
47. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Heft II, 06.09.1940.
48. See chapters 7 and 8 on exemptions.
49. Over 60 percent of the half-Jews documented in this study fell after 1941.
50. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bahr. The rations allotted to German Jews were “considerably fewer” than what was given to Aryans. Benz, p. 41. Also these ration cards were stamped with the word *Jew*, making it difficult for them to shop at certain stores. Kaplan, p. 151.
51. Kaplan, pp. 150–52. Jews usually had only one hour a day in which to shop for food.
52. Regional Party Office.
53. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Hamburger, B. Hamburger an Rigg, 15.12.2000; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hamburger, Hamburger an Rigg, 25.11.2000. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Brück, Bl. 134; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger.
54. Krüger, p. 69.
55. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, Tagebuch, 01.09.1939, Bl. 2.
56. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Christian Lankes, Tagebuch, 1939, Bl. 41.
57. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Heft III, 09.06.1940.
58. Ibid., Heft II, Bl. 6–7, 02.08.1940.
59. Ibid., Bl. 77, 22.08.1940.
60. Kaplan, p. 160.
61. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lux.
62. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
63. BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl-Arnd Techel, Tagebuch, 23–30.04.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Sander, Teil II,

- Tagebuch, 1939, Bl. 16. See Schmidt, *Politischer Rückblick auf eine unpolitische Jugend*, in: *Kindheit und Jugend unter Hitler* (Berlin, 1994), p. 221.
64. BA-MA, BMRS, File Christian Rosenthal, Bl. 3; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Partsch.
65. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gert Ascher, 17.11.1997, T-408; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ursula Ascher, 17.11.1997, T-409; Kennedy, p. 30; Dudley Pope, *The Battle of the River Plate* (Maryland, 1987), pp. 9, 97, 185.
66. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Heft III, Bl. 9, 02.08.1940.
67. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
68. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Meissinger, 17.09.1996, T-216; BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Meissinger to Rigg, 29.10.2000.
69. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67, 116, “Aktennotiz in Blankenburgs Büro, nach Besprechung mit Engel,” 10.07.1942.
70. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 123, 190–91, Oberst Schmundt an Reichsleiter Bouhler, 02.10.1940.
71. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 184, Blankenburg an Lösener, 18.12.1940; BA-B, R 21/448, Bl. 18.
72. BA-B, R 21/448, Bl. 18. See also Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 349.
73. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters, 18.03.1995, T-123; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters, 06.12.1996, T-252; BA-B, NS 18/482.
74. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters. See also Krüger, pp. 94, 107.
75. Bernhard Kroener, “Die Personellen Ressourcen des Dritten Reiches im Spannungsfeld zwischen Wehrmacht, Bürokratie und Kriegswirtschaft, 1939–1942,” in *Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg. Kriegsverwaltung, Wirtschaft und personelle Ressourcen, 1939–1941*, vol. 5/1 (Stuttgart, 1988), Teil III, p. 834.
76. Bernhard Kroener, in *Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg. Kriegsverwaltung, Wirtschaft und Personelle Ressourcen, 1939–1941*, vol. 5/1, pp. 833–38; Seaton, *German Army*, pp. 145, 158; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 153; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, pp. 158–59; Megargee, p. 130; Keegan, *Mask of Command*, p. 261.
77. Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 161.
78. Clark, p. 20. See also O’Neill, p. 135.
79. Jürgen Förster, “Hitler’s Decision in Favor of War against the Soviet Union,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4 (Oxford, 1998), p. 13. See also Redlich, p. 158; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 311.
80. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 12—German Generals* (Nuremberg, 1949), p. 10, 120.
81. Luftgaukommando VI was the VI Luftwaffe regional office.
82. BA-MA, RL 14/49, Luftgaukommando VI, Betr.: Nachweis der deutschblütigen Abstammung und Beförderungen, 08.01.1941.
83. IfZ, N 71–73; Lösener.

84. IfZ, Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d’Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 1355, Bl. 1–2, Betrifft: Verbot der Eheschließung mit Juden—Der Generalkommissar für das Sicherheitswesen an den Reichskommissar v. 18.08.1941, 19.09.1941.
85. *Endlösung* (Final Solution) was the cover name for the systematic extermination of European Jews under Nazi control. See Gideon Hausner, *Justice in Jerusalem* (New York, 1966), p. 95.
86. IfZ, Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d’Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 1355, Bl. 1–2.
87. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 85–86, “Deutsches Ärzteblatt,” Nr. 14/71, 05.04.1941, Generaloberstabsarzt Prof. Dr. Anton Waldmann, “Wege zur Lösung der Judenfrage,” pp. 155–57.
88. Walter Groß, *Die rassenpolitischen Voraussetzungen zur Lösung der Judenfrage* (München, 1943), pp. 28–32; Uwe Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1972), pp. 319–20; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 282.
89. State of Israel Ministry of Justice, ed., *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann: Record of Proceedings in the District Court of Jerusalem*, vol. 5 (Jerusalem, 1992), Session 118–119, p. 2,170. See also Hausner, pp. 102–3.
90. IfZ, N 71–73, Aufzeichnung Dr. Lösener, 04.12.1941.
91. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 180 Lammers an Reichsminister des Innern, 04.03.1941; Walk, p. 336.
92. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Maria-Anna van Menxel, 22.04.1995, T-150.
93. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, 1941–1945. *Im Zeitalter der Gestapo*, Erinnerungen von Olga Mühlbacher, Teil II, Bl. 6.
94. Büttner, p. 287.
95. A translation of *Arisierung* is “Aryanization.” It seems this term for a *Befreiung* (exemption) happened most often between 1935 and 1938. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Ludwig Ganghofer. This term of *Arisierung* should not be confused with the other Aryanization the Nazis conducted, which forced Jewish business owners to sell their property to Aryans or forced Aryan businesses to rid themselves of any Jewish employees. See Hilberg, pp. 60–90.
96. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher, 1941–1945. *Im Zeitalter der Gestapo*, Erinnerungen von Olga Mühlbacher, Teil II, Bl. 16.
97. Yahil, p. 250; Dallin, p. 30, n. 2.
98. Seaton, *German Army*, pp. 129, 161, 200.
99. Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V*, p. 150.
100. The first sergeant was the Kompaniefeldwebel; among the soldiers he was known as the “Spieß”—a popular slang word for “sarge.”
101. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Voigt, 09.04.1995, T-137; BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Voigt.
102. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Felix Bruck, 18.04.1998, T-422.
103. BA-MA, N 656/27, Bl.2, Hans Dieter Henning an Lebram, 30.06.1977; BA-MA, N 379/87, speech from Vice Admiral Ruge, 11.11.60; BA-MA, File Bernhard Rogge, Heft III, Bl. 69; Raeder, p. 111.
104. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst von Oppenfeld, 05.01.1995, T-84; Klemperer, Buch II, p. 212; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Schlieper, Bl. 9; BA-MA, BMRS,

- interview Ruth Rilk, 05.02.1997, T-298; BA-MA, BMRS, File Borchardt; BA-MA, BMRS, File Otto Buchinger; BA-MA, BRMS, interview Robert Czempin, 09.02.1995, T-89; Klemperer, Buch II, 18.08.1942.
105. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst von Oppenfeld, 05.01.1995, T-84. According to Oppenfeld, the only time he had to concern himself with his ancestry was in 1938 when someone, probably in the Party, denounced him. He was required to go to a Wehrkreis officer in Stettin to examine his ancestry. When the official, a veteran of World War I, saw that his father and three uncles were World War I veterans and that two of them had died in action, the official said something like “*Unsinn* (nonsense),” closed his file, and dismissed him. Oppenfeld never heard about his ancestry again. He probably remained an officer either because he continued to fall under the Hindenburg exemptions of the *Arierparagraph* or because someone was protecting him. According to Manstein’s adjutant, Alexander Stahlberg, Stauffenberg was responsible for helping Oppenfeld. Also, Oppenfeld’s father, Rittmeister (captain in the cavalry) Moritz von Oppenfeld, was the adviser for agriculture and food security attached to headquarters staff of Hindenburg and Ludendorff during World War I. Oppenfeld feels that his father’s service under Hindenburg must have helped him tremendously.
106. Meyer, p. 236.
107. Wallach, p. 282.
108. BA-MA, BMRS, File Oppenfeld, Oppenfeld an Rigg, 16.12.2000. See also Seaton, *German Army*, p. 197.
109. Samuel W. Mitcham Jr., *Rommel’s Greatest Victory: The Desert Fox and the Fall of Tobruk, Spring of 1942* (Novato, 1998), pp. 114–15. See also Paul Carell, *The Foxes of the Desert* (New York, 1961), p. 181.
110. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Riess.
111. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Mühlbacher; BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Mühlbacher; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Meissinger. Meissinger worked for NASA after the war.
112. BA-MA, BMRS, File Mühlbacher; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Mühlbacher.
113. German Research Institute for Aviation.
114. BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, 19.07.2001.
115. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kurt Hohenemser, 28.11.1994, T-62. This Hohenemser is not to be confused with Kurt Heinrich Hohenemser, a quarter-Jew who during World War II helped design the first German combat helicopters. One of these helicopters, the F1 282 *Kolibri*, was used on reconnaissance and antisubmarine patrols from platforms on convoy escort vessels in the Aegean, Mediterranean, and Baltic Seas. BA-MA, BMRS, File Kurt Heinrich Hohenemser.
116. Krüger, pp. 81–83.
117. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dietmar Brücher, 17.02.1995, T-99; Dietmar Brücher’s personal archive, Photoalbum; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Heft I, Tagebuch, 28–29.09.1941.
118. *Ersatzreserve II* or *Landwehr II*. See BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 155, Blankenburg an Engel, 23.05.1942; BA-MA, RH 7/23.

119. BA-MA, BMRS, from the data collected on half-Jews. See Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und wehrdienst*, pp. 118–19; *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften*, Heft 20/21, p. 174; *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften*, Heft 4, p. 73; Vogel, p. 257.
120. Absent without leave.
121. Lang, “Writing Holocaust,” in *Holocaust Remembrance*. See also Vuletic, p. 33.
122. *The Holocaust: 2. Legalizing the Holocaust—The Later Phase, 1939–1943*, introduction by John Mendelsohn (New York, 1982), Bl. 249, Pfundtner an Stellvertreter des Führers, 07.05.1941. Apparently the Nuremberg Laws from 1935, which prohibited sexual relations between half-Jews and Aryans, were not being followed.
123. Hilberg, p. 262; Peterson, p. 30.
124. The SD (Sicherheitsdienst) was the security and intelligence service of the SS.
125. Yahil, p. 249; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 169; Jürgen Förster, “Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, p. 491; Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers, German Killers*, p. 3.
126. Jürgen Förster, “Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, p. 514. See also Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-space,’” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 1,193, 1,210–11; Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, p. 124; Omer Bartov, “Operation Barbarossa and the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution*, p. 120.
127. Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-space,’” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 1,227–29, 1,233; Jürgen Förster, “Operation Barbarossa in Historical Perspective,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, p. 1,249.
128. Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-space,’” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 1,225; Jürgen Förster, in *Die Wehrmacht*, p. 953; Dallin, pp. 30–34; Omer Bartov, *Hitler’s Army* (New York, 1991), pp. 84–88; Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, pp. 123–24; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 154–55; Weinberg, *Germany Hitler*, pp. 162–63; Messerschmidt, pp. 398–407; Wilhelm Deist, *Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft. Studien zur preußisch-deutschen Militärgeschichte* (München, 1991), pp. 380–84. Although no one protested this order, there are documented cases of officers simply not enforcing the decree once hostilities between Germany and the Soviet Union started. See Burleigh, p. 520.
129. *Barbarossa* (“Red Beard”) was the code name for the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. This battle plan was named after Frederick I (*von Staufen*) or Frederick Barbarossa (1123–1190), holy Roman emperor and German king.
130. Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, pp. 729–30.
131. Jürgen Förster, “Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, p. 483.
132. Wilhelm Deist, in *Die Wehrmacht*, p. 45; Burleigh, p. 520.
133. Wallach, p. 266; Megargee, pp. 73, 80.

134. Percy Ernst Schramm, *Hitler: The Man and the Military Leader* (Chicago, 1971), p. 198.
135. Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms* (New York, 1994), p. 170.
136. BA-MA, N 39/62, Bl. 47–49, v. Mackensen, “Wie ich zu Adolf Hitler gekommen bin,” v. 16.12.1939, abgeschlossen am 01.02.1942.
137. These SS units were special killing squads used to locate and exterminate Jews and commissars.
138. Paul Gordon Lauren, *Power and Prejudice* (London, 1988), pp. 129–30.
139. Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 207. In the first five weeks, the Germans murdered over thirty thousand Jews.
140. BA-MA, BMRS, File Franz and Thomas Haller, Bl. 19–22. Schmundt probably believed, as Hitler did, that the Soviet leadership was and had been controlled by Jews (i.e., Trotsky).
141. Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 175.
142. Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, p. 145.
143. *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 90.
144. Messerschmidt, p. 358.
145. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, Bl. 73.
146. Messerschmidt, p. 358; Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V*, p. 150.
147. Lifton, p. 24.
148. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 487; Redlich, p. 111; Friedländer, p. 40; Frei, p. 122; Victor, p. 175; Georg Denzler and Volker Fabricius, *Die Kirchen im Dritten Reich* (Frankfurt, 1984), p. 113.
149. *The Holocaust: 2. Legalizing the Holocaust*, p. 285, 13.10.1941. See also Hilberg, pp. 268–69.
150. A literal translation would be “frontline probation company.” This company was probably part of a Bewährungsbataillon (probation battalion). Probation battalions were punishment battalions of the German army that allowed one the possibility of rehabilitation—a grim possibility.
151. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Alfred Posselt, 04.01.1996, T-185; Martin Senekowitsch, *Feldmarschalleutnant Johann Friedländer, 1882–1945: Ein vergessener Offizier des Bundesheeres* (Wien, 1995).
152. Bewährungsbataillon is a probation battalion. To read about how one of these battalions operated, see Fritz Molden, *Fepolinski und Waschlapski* (München, 1991).
153. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz Schindler, 26.10.1997, T-404.
154. Meyer, p. 235.
155. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer, Fischer an Rigg, 01.12.2000; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fischer.
156. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Aktenvermerk für III A, III V, II, 19.12.1943; Keitel, pp. 13, 189.
157. Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d’Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 1355, Bl. 2, Generalkommissar für das Sicherheitswesen an den Reichskommissar, 18.08.1941, 19.09.1941.
158. Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, p. 124; Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 195.

159. Jürgen Förster, "Hitler's Decision in Favor of War against the Soviet Union," in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 25-27, 34; Jürgen Förster, "Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation," in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 481-84, 492; Jürgen Förster, "Operation Barbarossa in Historical Perspective," in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 1,245-46.
160. HVBl., Nr. 848, 05.09.1941, pp. 579-80.
161. Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992), p. 177.
162. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lankes.
163. BA-MA, BMRS, File Johannes Heckert, Bl. 1.
164. Jonathan Steinberg, "Types of Genocide: Croats, Serbs and Jews, 1941-5," in *The Final Solution* p. 190.
165. BA-MA, BMRS, File Konrad Schenck, Wolfram Günther an Schenck, 22.01.1943, Bl. 20.
166. BA-MA, BMRS, File Friedrich Schlesinger, Beurteilung, 13.07.1943.
167. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 5, sec. 115-118, p. 2,297.
168. IfZ, N 71-73, Aufzeichnung von Dr. Lösener betr. die Frage der Halbjuden und der privilegierten Mischehen, 04.12.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Stephan Prager.
169. Interviews conducted by Colin Heaton with General Johannes Steinhoff from 26-28 January 1984.
170. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lux.
171. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bernt von Helmolt, Bl. 2, Bernt von Helmolt an Bryan Rigg, 11.07.1997; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bernt von Helmolt, 22.07.1997, T-385.
172. Ibid. Helmolt had been decorated with the EKII and the Silver Wound Badge (he had lost a foot). His brother, Eiche, was promoted to lieutenant and died in action in 1944.
173. Krackow, pp. 221-28.
174. Ibid., pp. 333-34.
175. At the request of the family, Lt. Ruge's Christian name has been deleted.
176. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Jürgen Ruge, 15.04.1995, T-143.
177. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
178. Not his real name.
179. J. W. v. Oechelhaeuser, *Adelheit es ist soweit. Soldatisches Erleben* (München, 1981), pp. 67-71.
180. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 115-16; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Goldberg.
181. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Schlepegrell, Bl. 3, Hauptmann Ehrlich, P[an]z[er]. Art[illerie]. Rgt. 33, Kommandeur, Bestätigung für Ogfr. Schlepegrell, 29.12.1943.
182. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schlepegrell, Bl.1, Heinrich Schlepegrell an Rigg, 06.04.1997.
183. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ludwig Reinhard, 13.01.1996, T-196.
184. IfZ, N 71-73, Aufzeichnung von Dr. Lösener, 04.12.1941.
185. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 5, sec. 115-118, p. 2,297.

186. Adam, p. 320; Hilberg, pp. 268–69.
187. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 5, sec. 115–118, p. 2,298; see also Rich, p. 2.
188. Hilberg, pp. 268–69.
189. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained through documenting several quarter-Jewish cases; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 318.
190. Friedländer, p. 291.
191. See BA-MA, BMRS, interview Eva Heinrichs, 09.02.1997, T-305; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kurt Heinrichs, 09.02.1997, T-306.
192. BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Taraba; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rosa Taraba, 08.01.1996, T-193. Most couples who married during the Third Reich received a copy of *Mein Kampf*. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 242; Redlich, p. 69.
193. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 79; *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 148.
194. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 79; *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 148. For Hitler’s thoughts on Mendel’s theory of genetics, see Hitler, *Hitler’s Secret Book*, p. 101.
195. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 78.
196. A few quarter-Jews documented in this study had two quarter-Jewish parents.
197. IfZ, N71–73, Aufzeichnung von Dr. Lösener betr. die Frage der Halbjuden und der privilegierten Mischehen, 04.12.1941.
198. Ibid.
199. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11* (Nuremberg, 1949), pp. 28, 526–27; Lösener, pp. 311–12; Peterson, p. 147. See also Rebentisch, p. 113, n. 268; Klaus Oldenhage, Hermann Schreyer, and Wolfram Werner, eds., Wilhelm Lenz, “Die Handakten von Bernhard Lösener, ‘Rassereferent’ im Reichsministerium des Innern,” in *Archiv und Geschichte. Festschrift für Friedrich P. Kahlenberg (Schriften des Bundesarchivs; 57)* (Düsseldorf, 2000), pp. 686, 691–93, 696. Lösener was arrested on 11 November 1944 by the Gestapo for having hidden two people involved with the 20 July 1944 bomb plot against Hitler. The Nazis sent him to a prison in Berlin, where he remained for the duration of the war.
200. Lösener, p. 311.
201. Jochen von Lang, *The Secretary: Martin Bormann* (New York, 1979), pp. 235–38.
202. Wheeler-Bennett, p. 525; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 344; Creveld, p. 43; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 451–52.
203. Fest, *Face*, p. 246; Keegan, *Mask of Command*, p. 272.
204. Hermann, p. 495.
205. Gordon A. Craig, “The Political Leader as Strategist,” in *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age*, ed. Peter Paret (Princeton, 1986), p. 497.
206. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 459, 472–73; Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 285. What Hitler said here was in reference to his famous “prophecy” of 30 January 1939. Benz, p. 61; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 152–53.

207. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfgang Ebert, 13.07.1997, T-373; Wolfgang Ebert, *Das Porzellan war so nervös. Memoiren eines verwöhnten Kindes* (München, 1975), pp. 231–32.
208. *Die Wehrmacht. Mythos und Realität*, Wilhelm Deist, p. 39; *Die Wehrmacht. Mythos und Realität*, Jürgen Förster, p. 948; *Deutsche Dienststelle (WASt) [=Wehrmacht-Auskunft-Stelle] für die Benachrichtigung der nächsten Angehörigen von Gefallenen der ehemaligen deutschen Wehrmacht: Arbeitsbericht 1994–1996*, Berlin, 1996.
209. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 170.
210. SA-Gruppenführer is a General Major in the SA.
211. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 171, Blankenburg an Girgensohn, 12.02.1942.
212. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Walter Scheinberger, 02.07.1995, T-157.
213. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Seldis, Bl. 14, Dr. Werner Seldis an Rigg, Sept. 1996. See also Klemperer, Buch II, 21.09.1943, pp. 440, 443.
214. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Aktenvermerk, 19.12.1943.
215. BA-MA, BMRS, File Edgar Francken, p. 97, John Francken to Rigg, 08.03.1997.
216. When war broke out, Hermann told a Sippen-Gericht in Berlin what his mother, Julie Francken née Spier, had told him on her death bed; namely, that an Aryan man and not her husband, Max Francken, was the father of her son, Hermann Francken. Hermann's testimony was accepted by the Nazis. Hermann no longer had to wear the yellow star and could drive his car.
217. BA-MA, BMRS, John Francken to Rigg, 08.03.1997, p. 97.
218. *Akten-NSDAP*, 101-15518/13, Lammers an Bormann, 16.01.1942.
219. Benz, pp. 8–9, 12, 81–82; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 482.
220. Browning, *Ordinary Men*, pp. 14, 25, 58–70; Lifton, p. 159. Rudolf Höss, “Commandant of Auschwitz,” in *The Norton Book of Modern War*, ed. Paul Fussell (New York, 1991), p. 508.
221. Bauer, pp. 200–201; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, pp. 204, 224.
222. *The Holocaust*, vol. 11, *The Wannsee Protocol and a 1944 Report on Auschwitz by the Office of Strategic Services*, introduction by Robert Wolfe (New York, 1982), p. 87; Bauer, pp. 200–206; BA-MA, N 642/12. The address of the villa was Am Großen Wannsee 57.
223. Yehuda Bauer, “Conclusion: The Significance of the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution*, p. 302.
224. Hilberg, pp. 257–62; *The Final Solution*, introduction by David Cesarani, p. 5; Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-space,’” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, p. 1,237; *Nationalsozialismus*, p. 58.
225. Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 292.
226. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, pp. 10–12; *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11*, p. 28,306; IfZ, N 71–73; Benz, p. 11.
227. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, pp. 10–12; Adam, pp. 320–21; Benz, p. 11.
228. *Trials of German Major War Criminals*, vol. 14, *Nuremberg, 14–24 May 1946*, pp. 234–35; Adam, p. 321; Benz, p. 10.
229. Klemperer, Buch II, 18.08.1942; BA-MA, BMRS, File Henle; BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager; BA-MA, BMRS, File D. Fischer; BA-MA, BMRS, File

- Hamburger; BA-MA, BMRS, File Günther Mirauer; BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Rosenhaupt.
230. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 73, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, Betr. Deutschblütigkeitserklärung jüdischer *Mischlinge*, 16.09.1943. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg-Friedrich Müller, Bl. 52; BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller.
231. *U.S.A. Tribunals: Case No. 11*, p. 28,308; Adam, pp. 322–23; IfZ, N 71–73, Eichmanns Büro, Ergebnis der Besprechung im Hauptamt Sicherheitspolizei über die Lösung der europäischen Judenfrage, Notizen von Besprechungen von August und September 1941.
232. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11.2* (Nuremberg, 1949), p. 48,473.
233. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, pp. 129–31.
234. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, pp. 88–89, 99–103; *U.S.A. Tribunals: Case No. 11*, pp. 28,307, 28,315.
235. *Goebbels Diaries 1942–1943*, p. 116.
236. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, p. 217; Adam, p. 324; Meyer, p. 99.
237. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, pp. 215–17; Lösener, pp. 299–301; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 288.
238. *Holocaust*, vol. 11, p. 219.
239. Yehuda Bauer, “Conclusion: The Significance of the Final Solution,” in *The Final Solution*, p. 302.
240. Krüger, p. 11; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; BA-MA; BMRS, File Krüger, Bl. 29. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Florey, Bl. 1; BA-MA, BMRS, File Gaehde, Bl. 17; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bergmann, Tagebuch, 06.05.1942.
241. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Johannes Reich, Bl. 6, Dr. J. Reich to Rigg, 11.12.1995; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Johannes Reich, 28.12.1995, T-181; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kopp; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Scholz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Margold.
242. Paul Sauer, ed., *Dokumente über die Verfolgung der jüdischen Bürger in Baden-Württemberg durch das nationalsozialistische Regime, 1933–1945* (Stuttgart, 1966), Bd. II, p. 378; Laze, Teil II, Bl. 12.
243. See, for example, BA-MA, BMRS, interview Sachs; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lüderitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Angreif; BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Günther Angreif, Bl. 3.
244. HVBl., Nr. 202, 1942C, p. 165, Behandlung jüdischer Mischlinge in der Wehrmacht.
245. HVBl., Nr. 384, 1942C, pp. 315–16.
246. HVBl., Nr. 202, 1942C, pp. 315–16; BA-A, H 20/490.
247. *Trials of German Major War Criminals*, vol. 14, *Nuremberg, 14–24 May 1946*, p. 235.
248. Adam, p. 327; Broszat and Frei, pp. 156–57; Lösener, pp. 298–301; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” pp. 345–46.
249. For an example of the confusion, see *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00387, 107-00390.
250. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 113, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
251. Lang, pp. 204–7; Rebutisch, pp. 452–53.
252. *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, sec. 113, p. 2,039; *U.S.A. Tribunals: Case No. 11*,

- p. 28,528; Lang, p. 236; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 344. See also *The Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, sec. 115–118, p. 2,170; Hilberg, p. 606; Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 340; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 288.
253. Adam, p. 329.
254. *U.S.A. Tribunals: Case No. 11*, pp. 28,308, 28,314; Lösener, p. 300; *Trials of German Major War Criminals*, vol. 14, *Nuremberg, 14–24 May 1946*, pp. 235–36.
255. Charles Burdick, ed., *The Halder War Diary 1939–1942* (London, 1950), p. 678.
256. HVBl, Nr. 926, 25.09.1942, pp. 131, 501; Adam, p. 327; *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften*, Heft 20/21, p. 175.
257. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Eduard Hesse, 30.10.1998, T-430; Landgericht München I, Akten Werner Eisner, Protokoll aufgenommen in öffentlicher Sitzung des Einzelrichters des 17. Zivilsenats des Oberlandesgerichts München, Bericht von Zeuge Walter Julius Eisner, 3 Juli 1968, Heft IV, Bl. 648, Eduard Hesses Bericht über Werner Eisner, 20 Januar 1969, Heft IV, Bl. 693, Aktenzeichen 17EU 529/66, Heft I, Aktenzeichen: 7 EK 2316/60, Bl. 2–3, report about Eisner written by Dr. H. March on 16 May 1961, Bl. 2–3, report by Dr. Jose Alvarado, 3 June 1965, La Paz, Bolivia, Bl. 455; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Byk.
258. The next three cases (Schinek, Kohn, and Mayer) are also described in Professor Steven Welch’s Leo Baeck essay from 1999. Steven R. Welch, “Mischling Deserters from the Wehrmacht,” *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 44 (1999): 273–324.
259. Ordinary sailor.
260. BA-A, RW 55/15043, Bl. 69, Lt. Berlling, 1. Batterie Marineflakabt. 814 an Kommando M. Flak. A. 814, 14.10.1942, Einsatzort. Special thanks to Professor Steven Welch for finding this document.
261. *Ibid.*, Bl. 66, Thea Liebe an Gericht des Marinebefehlshabers Dänemark, 08.10.1942.
262. *Ibid.*, Bl. 74, Gericht des Marinebefehlshabers Dänemark, Verfügung v. 29.10.1942. During the Third Reich, military courts handed down fifty thousand death sentences. Manfred Messerschmidt and Fritz Wüllner, *Die Wehrmachtjustiz im Dienste des Nationalsozialismus. Zerstörung einer Legende* (Baden-Baden, 1987); Redlich, p. 107.
263. He apparently did not know his Jewish father, Otto Kohn.
264. BA-A, RW 55/1589, Bl. 25, Gericht der Wehrmachtkommandantur Berlin, 09.06.1942.
265. *Ibid.*, Bl. 25, 70–80.
266. BA-A, RM 123/335944, Gericht der Wehrmachtkommandantur Wien, Urteil gegen Anton Mayer, 13.03.1944.
267. *Ibid.*, Anton Mayer an Großadmiral Dönitz, 23.07.1944.
268. Allgemeines Marineamt was a branch of the navy supreme command.
269. BA-A, RM 123/335944, OKM an Gericht der Kriegsmarine Berlin, Betrifft: Strafsache gegen den M.A.Gefr. Anton Mayer, 23.04.1944; DDS, Pers Anton Mayer, Gericht der Kriegsmarine Berlin, 25.08.1944. Over fifty thousand death sentences were issued by the Wehrmacht throughout the Third Reich. Messerschmidt and Wüllner; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 309, n. 6. See also Manfred Messerschmidt, “German Military Law in the Second World War,” in *The German Military in the Age of Total War*, ed. Wilhelm Deist (Dover, 1985), pp. 323–35.

270. DDS, Pers Adm. Martin Baltzer, Bl. 3; BA-MA, BMRS, File Conrad Patzig, Dr. Günter Patzig über C. Patzig, p. 14.
271. Messerschmidt, p. 355.
272. *U.S.A. Tribunals: Case No. 11*, pp. 28,315; Hilberg, p. 273.
273. Adam, pp. 328–29.
274. *AWA (I)= Allgemeines Wehrmachtamt (Inland)*.
275. *Akten-NSDAP*, 103–22530, Engel an Frey, 02.11.1942.
276. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Rundschreiben der NSDAP, SS Abschnitt, 01.12.1942, Hamburg; BA-B. Reichskanzlei 4123, Bl. 74, Vermerk Lammers', RM Nr. 2566/43/A. Hitler enacted thirty restrictions on marriage according to how Jewish one was. Victor, p. 18.
277. Hertz, p. 35.

CHAPTER 6: TURNING POINT AND FORCED LABOR, 1943–1944

1. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107–00392–393.
2. The author feels that this was probably the number of half-Jews registered only in Berlin because the number is so low.
3. BA-B, NS 18/482, Gussmann an Hauptverbindungsamt, Pg. Spangenberg, 10.02.1943.
4. *Ibid.*, Der Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD Kaltenbrunner an OKW, Goebbels, Speer und Reichsminister für Bewaffnung und Munition, 03.03.1943.
5. Although the documents used that have Dietz's signature for this study do not contain his first name, it probably was none other than Heinrich Dietz, who had been a member of the Prussian army legal service since 1901. In 1933, he became the editor of the journal for military lawyers called the *Zeitschrift für Wehrrecht* "and subsequently was a high-ranking civil servant in the war ministry." Manfred Messerschmidt, "German Military Law in the Second World War," in *The German Military in the Age of Total War*, pp. 325–26. In 1938, the War Ministry was reorganized into OKW.
6. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 84, Aktennotiz, Anruf über Feldwebel Dr. Vogtherr, 03.06.1943.
7. BA-B, NS 18/482, Aktennotiz, Betrifft: Heranziehung der jüdischen Mischlinge und jüdisch Versippten zur Dienstleistung im Kriege, 17.07.1943.
8. *Akten-NSDAP*, 103–22534, Aktennotiz Bormann für Dr. Klopfer [Stellvertreter Bormanns als Leiter der Parteikanzlei], 14.10.1943.
9. Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," p. 351.
10. Dieter Maier, *Arbeitseinsatz und Deportation. Die Mitwirkung der Arbeitsverwaltung bei der nationalsozialistischen Judenverfolgung in den Jahren, 1938–1945* (Berlin, 1994), p. 217.
11. BA-MA, RH53–7/ 271, Bl. 51–53, Kommandeurbesprechung, 18.10.1943.
12. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerhard Wundermacher, 20.11.1995, T-167.
13. Meyer, p. 239.
14. BA-B, R 3/1583, Bl. 108, Speer an Himmler, 16.10.1944; Walk, p. 405; Adam, p. 381.
15. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Aktenvermerk, 19.12.1943; Keitel, p. 189. Keitel had abandoned not only his friend Bürkner but also his aunt Ottilie (Tilly)

- Cahn née Schulze, her Jewish husband, Max Ludwig, and their half-Jewish children, who were deported to OT camps. BA-MA, BMRS, File Peter Cahn, Bl. 6; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Cahn, 11.12.1996, T-269.
16. The Deutscher Volkssturm (German home guard, or literally “people’s militia”) was made up of young boys and old men between the ages of sixteen and sixty during the last months of the war. With the Führer’s decree of 25 September 1944, the Deutscher Volkssturm was founded. Bormann was in charge of its organization and political education. Himmler was in charge of arming the units. Most who fought in the Deutscher Volkssturm received poor training and were sent to the fronts in eastern and western Germany to try and stop the Allied offensives. Close to 175,000 Germans probably died while fighting in the Volkssturm. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 715.
 17. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 714.
 18. *Akten-NSDAP*, 101-12427, Deutscher Volkssturm, Anordnung 443/44, 09.12.1944; BA-B, NS 6/764, Bl. 133–34, Klopfer an Bormann, 30.10.1944; Speer, pp. 329, 391.
 19. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hermann Nast-Kolb, 22.11.1994, T-59.
 20. Bloch, under orders from Canaris, rescued the Lubavitcher Rebbe Schneersohn in 1939–1940. Schneersohn was later able to make it to the United States via the Baltic states, Sweden, and the Atlantic.
 21. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Bloch.
 22. Bruno Blau writes that in April 1944, half-Jews who did not have work or were not serving in the armed forces were sent to OT. Blau, “Die Mischehe im Nazireich,” p. 54. Interestingly, from the cases documented in this study, most of the Jewish wives of Aryan men deported to OT survived the war. They simply remained home and waited for the end of the war.
 23. In *Aktion Hasse*, half-Jews wore uniforms and performed mostly construction work. Some half-Jews claim that it was not nearly as bad as *Aktion Mitte*. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerhard Schiller, 11.02.1995, T-92.
 24. In *Aktion Mitte*, half-Jews performed forced labor and did not wear uniforms. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schiller.
 25. BA-MA, BMRS, general data collected; *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften*, Heft 2, p. 27. “B-men” stands for *Bewährungsmänner*. Some half-Jews may have been deported to OT camps in 1943, but most of them were deported to such camps only in 1944.
 26. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00394; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 351.
 27. BA-MA, BMRS, File Herbert Beyer, Bl. 3, 6, 50, *Lebensbeschreibung*.
 28. Maier, p. 219; Noakes, p. 351.
 29. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Angreß.
 30. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Friederich Schlesinger, 10.12.1994, T-77.
 31. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Salinger.
 32. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from interviewees; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 351.
 33. Maier, p. 219.
 34. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

35. For an example of a Gestapo notification for OT, see BA-MA, BMRS, File Bleicher, Gestapo Stuttgart an Bleicher, 13.10.1944; BA-MA, BMRS, File Carl Neubronner, Arbeitsamt Frankfurt an Neubronner, 01.03.1945. Others were arrested and deported, but they were a minority.
36. BA-MA, BMRS, File Brücher, “Amtliche Anzeigen,” des Leiter des Arbeitsamts Stuttgart; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Brücher.
37. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rehfeld. Helmut Rehfeld worked for the railroads between Liegnitz and Breslau as an engineer. During his work, he witnessed the transports with their human cargo on their way to Auschwitz and other extermination camps. One day, disgusted with the whole regime, he took down the Führer’s picture from his office wall, muttering that he could not work under his gaze. His boss denounced him to the Gestapo and after spending several weeks in a Breslau prison, the Nazis deported him to Buchenwald.
38. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhard Guttstadt, Bl. 1, Elisabeth Guttstadt an Rigg, 11.08.1997. See also Werner Schmidt, *Leben an Grenzen* (Zürich, 1989), pp. 159–60.
39. BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Beyer, Bl. 49, *Lebensbeschreibung*.
40. Schmidt, p. 173.
41. On 1 August 1944, *Sippenhaft[ung]* was imposed as a result of the 20 July bomb plot. See Seaton, *German Army*, pp. 232–33.
42. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hermann Steinthal, Hermann Steinthal an Rigg, Bl. 3, Steinthal an Rigg, 14.11.1996.
43. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the data collected; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Behrendt; Schmidt, pp. 170–73.
44. Krüger, pp. 100–101; Klaus Budzinski, *Der Riss durchs Ganze. Kolportage einer gestörten Deutschwerdung* (Berlin, 1993), pp. 226.
45. Adam, p. 332.
46. *Akten-NSDAP*, 101-07575-Bl. 3, Bormann an Lammers, Betrifft: “Beamte, die jüdische Mischlinge oder mit Juden oder jüdischen Mischlingen verheiratet sind.”; BA-B, R 43 II/599a, Bl. 71.
47. Neue Züricher Zeitung, Montag, 15.01.1945, Bl. 6.
48. BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Beyer, Bl. 51, *Lebensbeschreibung*; BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. Beyer.
49. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hanna Wollenberg, 19.06.1996, T-213.
50. BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Beyer, Bl. 52, *Lebensbeschreibung*; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans-Geert Falkenberg, 02.02.1997, T-289; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schliesser.
51. BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Beyer, Bl. 49, 52, *Lebensbeschreibung*.
52. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from data collected; Meyer, p. 241.
53. U.S. Holocaust Museum researcher Dr. Geoffrey Megargee, who is working on the numbers of Nazi camps, claims that the Nazis probably constructed over ten thousand camps; *Nationalsozialismus*, p. 17.
54. *Trials of German Major War Criminals, Part 17, Nuremberg 20 June–1 July 1946*, p. 52.
55. *Ibid.*

56. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Radványi, 07.01.1996, T-192; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reiner Wiehl, 17.05.1996, T-205.
57. BA-MA, BMRS, File Kurt Einstein, Bl. 2, Kurt Einstein an Rigg, 10.12.1996.
58. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Brücher.
59. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Behrendt; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Werner Gramsch, 16.11.1996, T-238; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Kurt Zeunert, 06.02.1997, T-300.
60. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Ludwig, Bl.12, Ernst Ludwig, Anlage zu meiner Erklärung, meine Verfolgung in den Jahren 1941–45 betreffend, 11.06.1949; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ernst Ludwig, 22.01.1997, T-286. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Rudolf Löwenfeld, Bl. 2.
61. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
62. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz Neumaier, 21.04.1995, T-145; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Klaus Budzinski, 15.11.1994, T-51.
63. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rath.
64. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schliesser.
65. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wiehl.
66. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Zeunert.
67. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Radványi; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wiehl. Beate Meyer has drawn the same conclusion. See Meyer, p. 247.
68. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Salinger. See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schliesser.
69. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wiehl; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Cahn, 17.03.1995, T-121; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Cahn, 11.12.1996, T-268; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Cahn 11.12.1996, T-269; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Walter Scheinberger, 18.03.1995, T-121a; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Karl Neubronner, 09.04.1995, T-136; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Homberger, 08.04.1995, T-132.
70. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lichtwitz.
71. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Falkenberg. Ironically, after the war, the Allies put Falkenberg in prison because they thought he really was an OT officer.
72. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Harald Ettheimer, 02.09.1995, T-164.
73. Vogel, p. 262.
74. Frontführer or Bauführer in the OT was a second lieutenant.
75. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst Schmechel, 29.11.1994, T-65. Schmechel was in several OT camps. They were Hazebrouk, Watten, Vizernes, and Boulogne Sur-Mer in France.
76. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Budzinski.
77. Niedersächsischer Verband Deutscher Sinti, ed., *“Es war unmenschenmöglich.” Sinti aus Niedersachsen erzählen—Verfolgung und Vernichtung im Nationalsozialismus und Diskriminierung bis heute* (Hannover, 1995), pp. 50, 87. This unit was named after SS Oberführer Oskar Dirlewanger, who was a sadist and necrophiliac. Clark, p. 391, n.3; Keegan, *Second World War*, p. 482; Guderian, p. 356.
78. BA-MA, H 6/172, Schreiben Chef des Heeres-Personalamts Burgdorf, 03.01.1945; BA-MA, Pers 7786.

79. B. H. Liddell Hart, *The German Generals Talk* (New York, 1979), p. 178. General Heinrici's wife was half-Jewish.
80. Adam, pp. 332–33.
81. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 165; Redlich, pp. 232–34, 275; Maser, pp. 376, 394, 402; Keegan, *Mask of Command*, p. 309.
82. Schleunes, pp. 3–4; Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitler's Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart, 1981), p. 78; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 30.
83. Büttner, "Persecution," p. 288.
84. *Holocaust, vol. 1, Legalizing the Holocaust*, p. 31.
85. Globke and Stuckart, p. 17.
86. A. Rüter-Ehlermann and C. F. Rüter, eds., *Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen* (Amsterdam 1968–1981), Bd. VI, p. 406.
87. Schleunes, p. 130.
88. *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11.2*, p. 125.
89. SS colonel.
90. BA-B, NS 19/1047, Bl. 2–3, Hildebrandt an Himmler, 17.03.1943. See also Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," pp. 339–40.
91. BA-MA, NS 19/1047, Bl. 10; Adam, p. 328.
92. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. 57.
93. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00409-410.
94. Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d'Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 1102, Der Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Schmitz), 30.01.1942; IfZ Hefte N-71-73, Dr. Feldscher, betr. "Verschärfung des Judenbegriffs," 13.08.1941; BA-B, NS 19/1772, Bl. 2; *Holocaust, vol. 2, Legalizing the Holocaust*, Bl. 103; Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," pp. 344–45.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Hilberg, p. 309.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 152
98. Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," p. 338; Kurt Pätzold, ed., *Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Vernichtung. Dokumente des faschistischen Antisemitismus 1933 bis 1942* (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 249, 264–65.
99. Rüter-Ehlermann and Rüter, p. 15.
100. Klemperer, Buch II, 12.05.1943, p. 377, 23.01.1944, p. 475.
101. Arendt, p. 174. One half-Jew who escaped from Denmark was the famous scientist Niels Bohr, who later found his way to the United States and worked on the atomic bomb project.
102. *Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 7, session 42, p. 752, Witness Charlotte Salzburger née Wreschner; and Lösener, pp. 299–302; Eichmann Prosecution Document, Police d'Israel Quartier General 6-ème Bureau No. 1102, Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete (Schmitz), 30.01.1942, Aufzeichnung, pp. 2–3; BA-B, NS 19/1772, Bl. 2, Reichsminister für die besetzten Ostgebiete, 02.05.1942; Bauer, p. 229; IfZ, N 71–73, Der Judenbegriff in den besetzten Gebieten; Hausner, p. 256; Meyer, p. 9; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, pp. 283–84.
103. See Stoltzfus, *Resistance*; Kaplan, pp. 149, 193.
104. Maier, p. 203; Rebutisch, p. 439.

105. Lifton, p. 56.
106. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 486; Arendt, p. 96.
107. Hilberg, p. 296, n. 164. Müller became head of the Gestapo in 1939 under Himmler. Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, p. 55.
108. David Roskies, ed., *The Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (New York, 1989); Chaim A. Kaplan, “Scribes of the Warsaw Ghetto: Scroll of Agony,” p. 446.
109. This was an SS Captain.
110. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 184–86.
111. Ernst Klee, *Euthanasie im NS-Staat: Die Vernichtung lebensunwerten Lebens* (Frankfurt, 1985), p. 419; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 348; Victor, p. 172; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 240; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 16.
112. *Der Stürmer*, 09.11.1944.
113. Bauer, pp. 190–91, 206; Büttner, “Persecution,” p. 289.
114. *Trial of Adolf Eichmann*, vol. 2, sec. 42, p. 755; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hanns-Heinz Bauer. BA-MA, interview Hanns-Heinz Bauer, 29.03.1998, T-421.
115. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Kirchholtes, Bl. 4.
116. Wolf Zuelzer, “Keine Zukunft als ‘Nicht-Arier’ im Dritten Reich,” in *Der Judenpogrom*, p. 154.
117. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Döppes, 19.05.1996, T-207; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bauer; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Friedemann Lichtwitz, 18.07.1997; BA-MA, BMRS, interview R. Schenk, 23.05.1997, T-349; BA-MA, BMRS, File Herbert Simon, Bl. 11; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erik Blumenfeld; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmuth Rosenbaum, Bl. 9; BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Eisner. See also Meyer, pp. 236, 251, 469; Hans A. Schmitt, *Quakers and Nazis: Inner Light in Outer Darkness* (Missouri, 1997), pp. 174–75; Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 320; Owings, p. 48.
118. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 487; Redlich, p. 111; Frei, p. 122; Lifton, p. 27; Denzler and Fabricus, pp. 112–13.
119. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans-Oskar Löwenstein de Witt, 06.12.1994, T-71. See also Alfred Posselt, *Soldat des Feindes* (Wien, 1993), pp. 18–19.
120. BA-MA, BMRS, File G. Bier, Bier an Rigg, 26.03.2001.
121. Bauer, p. 206.
122. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser.
123. Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*, pp. 238–40, 250–51; Gilbert, *Holocaust*, pp. 73–75; William Sheridan Allen, “Die deutsche Öffentlichkeit und die ‘Reichskristallnacht’—Konflikte zwischen Werthierarchie und Propaganda im Dritten Reich,” in *Die Reihen fest geschlossen. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alltags unterm Nationalsozialismus* (Wuppertal, 1981), pp. 397–411; Hilberg, p. 29; Kaplan, p. 148.
124. Redlich, p. 156; Bormann Lang, p. 221; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 354; *Nazism 1919–1945*, vol. 3, pp. 1,031–43; Denzler and Fabricus, pp. 98, 116–32; Rebentisch, p. 431; Victor, pp. 93, 172. Over seventy thousand mentally ill and deformed patients were murdered because of this program. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 141; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 261, 427–30; Redlich, p. 154; Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 15, 145; Gellately, *Consent and*

- Coercion*, p. 103. Gellately notes that Hitler might have also felt that it was a good time to stop the euthanasia program because the expertise of the personnel who had been working in the euthanasia centers was needed for the extermination now going on in the East.
125. In February 1943, Goebbels ordered around two thousand Jews living with Aryan spouses arrested. The government planned to deport these Jews. However, wives, children, family, and friends in Berlin protested day and night for one week. Sometimes almost six thousand people protested. Amazingly, under such pressure, the Nazi regime relented and freed the Jews in March. *Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Historische Sozialwissenschaft* 21. Jahrgang/Heft 2 April–Juni 1995, *Protest und Widerstand* (Göttingen, 1995), Nathan Stoltzfus, “Widerstand des Herzens,” pp. 218–47; Stoltzfus, pp. xvi–xxii; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 354; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 231; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Goldberg; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Elisabeth Behrend, 03.03.1997, T-321; Meyer, p. 57; Schmitt, p. 175; Richard J. Evans, *Lying About Hitler: History, Holocaust, and the David Irving Trial* (New York, 2001), p. 84; Owings, p. 462; *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, pp. 276, 288, 294.
126. Arendt, p. 159; see also Schmitt, p. 174.
127. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wiehl.
128. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190.
129. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Dröscher.

CHAPTER 7: EXEMPTIONS FROM THE RACIAL LAWS
GRANTED BY HITLER

1. Many interviewees, fellow students, and academics have expressed this view.
2. Ibid.
3. Hamann, pp. 71–77; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p.19; Redlich, pp. 11–13; Victor, pp. 9, 13, 16, 123.
4. Discussion with Dr. Fritz Redlich at his home in Connecticut on 23 September 2000. See also *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 357.
5. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. xxv.
6. Hamann, pp. 8, 73–76; Redlich, pp. 6–8, 11, 223–224, 255; Robert G. L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God Adolf Hitler* (New York, 1977), p. 131.
7. Victor, p. 8; Redlich, pp. 34, 43, 46, 82, 99; Bormann Lang, p. 119.
8. Hamann, p. 76; Maser, p. 21; Bormann Lang, pp. 129–30. For more about Patrick Hitler, see Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 8–9, 604 n. 28.
9. Redlich, pp. 11, 224, 255.
10. Maser, pp. 15, 36–38; Redlich, p. 6.
11. Redlich, pp. 7–8; Maser, p. 17; Victor, p. 20; Heiden, p. 43.
12. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 351–53; Redlich, pp. 79–80, 285–86; Victor, p. 154.
13. Redlich, pp. 9, 257; Maser, p. 61; Heiden, p. 43.
14. Maser, pp. 315, 598–622. Maser is convinced that Hitler fathered an illegitimate son, Jean Marie Loret, during World War I.

15. Waite, pp. 33, 127–37.
16. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 11; Redlich, pp. 10, 255–56; Victor, p. 22.
17. Maser, pp. 36–37.
18. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 13; Hamann, p. 16; Redlich, p. 258; Maser, p. 329; Victor, pp. 19–20, 23, 29.
19. Victor, pp. 20, 22.
20. Redlich, pp. 7–8, 223, 256, 281; Victor, p. 20.
21. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 19; Redlich, pp. 6, 11–13, 256; Ralph Giordano, *Wenn Hitler den Krieg gewonnen hätte* (Hamburg, 1989), p. 103; Victor, pp. 20; Waite, pp. 33, 127–37.
22. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 7; Hamann, p. 268; Maser, p. 14.
23. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 7.
24. Victor, p. 17; Hansjürgen Koehler, *Inside Information* (London, 1940); Hans Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens* (Schliersee, 1955).
25. Victor, pp. 17, 155.
26. Koehler, pp. 145–49. Koehler claims that while he worked under Heydrich, he came across a file created by the chancellors of the Austrian Republic, Engelbert Dollfuß and Kurt von Schuschnigg, both political enemies of Hitler, that claimed that Hitler’s grandmother had worked in the Rothschilds’ mansion in Vienna, where she became pregnant.
27. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Niklas Frank, 16.10.1996, T-227. See also Maser, pp. 46–47, 269. Frank had even claimed after the war that he was part Jewish. Joseph E. Persico, *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial* (New York, 1994), p. 22. Frank’s son, Niklas, states that no documents have been found to prove that his family has Jewish ancestry. BA-MA, BMRS, interview N. Frank.
28. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 9.
29. Waite, p. 127.
30. Supposedly, no records are available to confirm or disprove whether there was a Jewish family by the name of Frankenberger in Graz during this time. According to Kershaw, there were no Jews called Frankenberger in Graz during the 1830s. Moreover, Jews were not allowed in the whole of Styria (Steiermark) because they were not allowed to live in that part of Austria until the 1860s. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 8. See also Redlich, p. 12; Maser, p. 27.
31. Victor, p. 17.
32. Hamann, pp. 72–74; Redlich, pp. 11, 257; Waite, pp. 130–31; Speer, p. 117; Bracher, pp. 58, 64. There has been much speculation that the town was destroyed by the Russians after the war. The sources are unclear on this point. It is possible that both the Russians and Hitler did their fair share of destruction for their own reasons. Most likely, as mentioned earlier, Hitler had documents from Döllersheim removed and destroyed. Hitler may have known that the parish priest of Döllersheim had altered Hitler’s father’s birth register by marking out the name Schicklgruber, “replacing ‘out of wedlock’ by ‘within wedlock,’ and entering ‘Georg Hitler’ in the hitherto empty box for the father’s name.” Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 5; Redlich, pp. 7–8. See also Maser, pp. 23–24.
33. Redlich, p. 11.

34. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 86. Hitler’s evasion of the Austrian draft does not mean he was a coward. His war record as a dispatch runner in the German army during World War I, where he was wounded three times and awarded both the EKII and EKI (unusual for a corporal), was proof that he was indeed a brave soldier. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 91–97; Redlich, pp. 40, 259; O’Neill, p. 5; Keegan, *Mask of Command*, p. 236.
35. Bormann Lang, p. 119.
36. Victor, pp. 13–14, 17, 147.
37. Redlich, p. 320. See also *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 310.
38. Waite, p. 129. See also *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 293.
39. Secretary of Treasury (Reichsfinanzminister) Matthias Erzberger was the leader of the Catholic Zentrum party and was perhaps one of the most hated members of the Middle by the Right in Germany. He had advocated peace at the end of World War I and had attacked the military leadership in the Reichstag during the war. He was assassinated in August 1921. Bauer, p. 78. Craig, *Prussian Army*, pp. 325, 368.
40. Persico, pp. 327–29; Redlich, pp. 13, 320; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 569; Friedländer, p. 150; Victor, pp. 18, 125.
41. Redlich, pp. 320, 116, n. 72.
42. BA-B, NS 6/ 487, Bl. 4. See also Maser, p. 388.
43. Redlich, pp. 3, 223–24.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 11.
45. Redlich, pp. 11–12, 72; Giordano, p. 103.
46. Maser, p. 323; Redlich, pp. 78, 284.
47. Hamann, pp. 53–57; Redlich, pp. 22, 115, 323; Victor, p. 41.
48. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 31–32.
49. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 96; Bauer, p. 81; Stern, pp. 161–62; Maser, p. 144; Joachim C. Fest, *Hitler* (Frankfurt, 1987), p. 103.
50. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 348; Cooper, *German Army*, p. 20; Frei, p. 14; Victor, p. 78. Hitler not only knew about the homosexuality of the commander of the SA, Ernst Röhm, but also knew that several of Röhm’s lieutenants (e.g., SA leader Edmund Heines) were also “notorious” homosexuals. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 514; Redlich, pp. 98–99, 273; Friedländer, p. 208.
51. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 348; Bormann Lang, p. 65.
52. The name Izzy or Isi, derived from the Jewish name Itzig, may have achieved its popular usage as denoting a “dirty Jew” from books such as Gustav Freytag’s *Debit and Credit (Soll und Haben)*, published in 1855. Freytag’s widely read book portrayed the Jewish merchant Veital Itzig as everything a Nazi would view a Jew as being: dirty, dishonest, and evil. Course on German literature taken with Professor Liselotte Davis at Yale University, spring 1994.
53. Günther Deschner, *Reinhard Heydrich* (Berlin, 1987), p. 67; Victor, p. 146. Another biography on Heydrich, which thoroughly deals with Heydrich’s supposed Jewish ancestry, was written by Shlomo Aronson: *Reinhard Heydrich und die Frühgeschichte von Gestapo und SD* (Stuttgart, 1971). This book is often referred to in order to refute the claim that Heydrich may have been Jewish. See Aronson, pp. 12–17. Historian and professor Hugh Trevor-Roper

- of Oxford believed that Heydrich did have Jewish ancestry. See G. S. Graber, *The Life and Times of Reinhard Heydrich* (New York, 1980), p. 81. See also Cornberg and Steiner, p. 161.
54. BA-MA, N 656/9, Bl. 9, p. 3.
 55. Callum MacDonald, *The Killing of SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich* (New York, 1989), p. 11.
 56. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Joachim Schaper, 25.05.1997, T-351. This seemed to be the general belief in Halle. See Edouard Calic, *Reinhard Heydrich: The Chilling Story of the Man Who Masterminded the Nazi Death Camps* (New York), 1985, p. 21.
 57. Calic, p. 22. The Gauleiter of Halle, Rudolf Jordan, believed that Heydrich's father was Jewish. He cited *Riemanns Musik Lexikon* from 1916 for proof. He stated that next to Bruno Heydrich's name was the statement that his last name should actually be "Süss." BA-B, NS 22/1051.
 58. Felix Kersten, *The Kersten Memoirs, 1940–1945* (New York, 1957), pp. 96–97. Joachim Fest believes that Kersten's memoirs have "so far stood up to all checks." Fest believes that they prove that Himmler definitely believed that Heydrich was of Jewish descent. Fest, *Face*, pp. 335–37, n. 11. Professor Richard Evans of Cambridge University believes Kersten's memoirs are full of errors and need to be used with caution. Calic believes that Kersten only "tried to exonerate the SS by claiming that" Heydrich was responsible for the mass murder of Jews and that his murderous lust to kill Jews resulted from "an inferiority complex produced" by his knowledge that he was partially Jewish (Calic, p. 52). This study believes that the memoirs can be used to show that there were many around Heydrich, among them Hitler and Himmler, who may have believed he was Jewish, which must have had a severe effect on Heydrich.
 59. Speer, p. 146.
 60. Fest, *Face*, p. 101.
 61. Helmut Maurer, *Von Mensch zu Mensch. In Canaris' Abwehr* (Berlin, 1975), p. 125; Snyder, p. 145.
 62. Maurer, pp. 124–26; Charles Wighton, *Heydrich: Hitler's Most Evil Henchman* (London, 1962), p. 25; Fest, *Face*, p. 105 n. 26; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Alexander Stahlberg, 3–4.12.1994, T-68; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Theodor Oberländer, 19.09.1994, T-23; Engelmann, pp. 210–11; Walter Schellenberg, *The Schellenberg Memoirs* (London, 1956), p. 207. Schellenberg's memoirs need to be looked at with caution, since he was fighting for his life when he wrote them and was doing everything he could to cover up his past. Another dubious work that mentions Heydrich's possible Jewish past is that of SS officer Wilhelm Hoettl. See Wilhelm Hoettl, *The Secret Front: The Story of Nazi Political Espionage* (New York, 1954), pp. 20–30. See Hilberg, p. 677, about Hoettl.
 63. BA-MA, N 179, Milchs Tagebücher, Notiz vom 31.01.1933.
 64. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 1–2, Nuremberg Trials* (Nuremberg, 1949), p. 1776.

65. BA-MA, N 179, Milchs Tagebücher, Notiz vom 01.11.1933, Bl. 46; BA-B, R 15.09/90, Bl. 2, Göring an den Leiter der Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung, 07.08.1935; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erhard Milch, Heft III; BA-MA, Pers 8-385 Horst Boog über Erhard Milch, *Die Militärelite*, p. 351; Wistrich, p. 210; Heiden, p. 500.
66. Williamson Murray, *Luftwaffe* (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 6–7.
67. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, pp. 161–62. See also Murray, p. 9.
68. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, p. 181.
69. Cooper, *German Air-Force*, p. 13.
70. Adam R. A. Claasen, *Hitler's Northern War: The Luftwaffe's Ill-Fated Campaign, 1940–1945* (Kansas, 2001), pp. 99–100.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 140.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
73. Joel S. A. Hayward, *Stopped at Stalingrad: The Luftwaffe and Hitler's Defeat in the East, 1942–1943* (Kansas, 1998), p. 286.
74. Hayward, pp. 286–310; Murray, p. 148.
75. Heiden, p. 352.
76. Hajo Herrmann, *Eagle's Wings* (England, 1991), pp. 38–43; James S. Corum, *The Roots of Blitzkrieg* (Kansas, 1992), pp. 144–68; Corum, *Luftwaffe*, pp. 30, 34, 52, 59–61, 125–27, 142–46, 180; James S. Corum, “The Old Eagle as Phoenix: The Luftstreitkräfte Creates an Operational Air War Doctrine, 1919–1920,” *Air Power History*, (1992): 13–21; Cooper, *German Air-Force*, pp. 39, 379–89; Dr. A. Bäumker, *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Führung der deutschen Luftfahrttechnik im ersten halben Jahrhundert 1900–1945*, Heft XXXIV der Schriftenreihe “Langfristiges Planen der Forschung und Entwicklung” (Juli 1971); Helmut Wilberg, *Abschließender flieger=Erfahrungsbericht über die Schlacht in Flandern* (Gedruckt in der Buch- und Steindruckerei der Artillerie-fliegerschule Ost I); Hildebrand, pp. 513–14.
77. Corum, *Roots of Blitzkrieg*, p. 152.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 151.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 162. Wilberg was instrumental in making arrangements with the Soviets to allow German pilots to train at the Russian air base of Lipetsk.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 167. The manual was called *Luftwaffe Regulation 16, The Conduct of Air Operations (Luftkriegsführung)*.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
83. The Condor Legion “comprised of four fighter-bomber, four fighter, one reconnaissance, and two seaplane squadrons detached from the *Luftwaffe*.” Craig, *Prussian Army*, p. 487.
84. BA-MA, N 761/7, Bl. 2, Bericht General Erwin Jaenecke; Herbert Molly Mason Jr., *The Rise of the Luftwaffe* (New York, 1973), pp. 168–71, 218–21; Corum, *Luftwaffe*, pp. 147, 183–84, 219–21. The office in Berlin that conducted the operations for the Condor Legion was called Sonderstab W (Special Office W; the W is for Wilberg).
85. BA-MA, N 761/7, Bl.1–3, Bericht General Erwin Jaenecke.

86. BA-MA, BMRS, File Achim von Bredow, Heft II, Bl. 55, Bredow an seine Mutter, 24.10.1941.
87. General Studnitz commanded the Eighty-seventh Infantry Division that invaded Russia in 1941 with Field Marshal Ritter von Leeb's Army Group North.
88. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wilhelm von Gwinner, 17.11.1994, T-53; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wilhelm von Gwinner, 16.12.1996, T-280.
89. BA-MA, N 379/ 260, Lebram an Ruge, 10.04.1976.
90. BA-MA, N 379/ 260, Lebram an Ruge, 10.04.1976; BA-MA, N 328/32, Förste an Ehrhardt, 12.12.56.
91. Cajus Bekker, *Hitler's Naval War* (New York, 1977), p. 70; M. J. Whitley, *Destroyer! German Destroyers in World War II* (Maryland, 1983), pp. 118, 130; BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg Langheld. For example, from 10 October 1942 until 9 April 1943, Langheld was fleet commander of the Fourth Destroyer Flotilla. From January 1944 until April 1944, he was fleet commander of the Eighth Destroyer Flotilla, and from 20 April 1944 until 10 May 1945, he was fleet commander of the Fifth Destroyer Flotilla.
92. Kurt Pritzkolet, *Die Neuen Herren* (München, 1955), pp. 96–97; Meyer, p. 152; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 156.
93. Friedländer, pp. 52–53, 153; Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. viii; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 159.
94. BA-B, R 21/874–878, Bl. 103.
95. Lörzer and Göring had served together during World War I as pilots and were good friends.
96. BA-MA, BMRS, File Lt. Fränzel, Bl. 2.
97. Meyer, p. 152; Gerhard Bracke, *Melitta Gräfin Stauffenberg. Das Leben einer Fliegerin* (München, 1990); BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Lange. She flew over twenty-five hundred *Sturzflüge* with the Stuka dive-bombers *Ju 87* and *Ju 88*. Göring also awarded her the Gold Military Flyer Medal with diamonds and rubies. In 1945, she was shot down by an American fighter.
98. *Nazism, 1919–1945*, vol. 4, p. 31.
99. Oberfüsilier is a private.
100. General von Briesen and Keitel were good friends, which must have also played a role in helping Rüdiger von Briesen to get the *Genehmigung*. This especially could have been the case, since Hitler thought highly of General von Briesen. See Keitel, p. 95.
101. BA-A, Sammlung Jüdische Soldaten, Oberst v. Briesen, Kommandant von Prag, an einen ungenannten Regimentskommandeur, 07.11.1940; BA-MA, BMRS, File v. Briesen.
102. Thomas, p. 103, n. 39. Nevertheless, Raeder's son-in-law found it advisable to live abroad during the Third Reich.
103. Erich Raeder, *Mein Leben. Von 1935 bis Spandau 1955* (Tübingen, 1957), p. 112.
104. BA-B, NS 6/78, Bl. 13–14, Der Stellvertreter des Führers an Gauleiter des Gaues Schleswig-Holstein der NSDAP, Pg. Hinrich Lohse, 03.09.1938, Abschrift von Schreiben Hitlers über Konteradmiral a.D. Karl Kühlenthal, 06.07.1938.
105. BA-MA, N 328/20, Kühlenthal an Förste, 28.10.1950.

106. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerhart von Gierke, 05.04.1997, T-344; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rolf von Gierke, 29.11.1997, T-414.
107. Information gained from Dr. Georg Meyer of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Military Research Center), Potsdam/Freiburg, March 1998, “Glückliche Mischung aus preußischem Charme und jüdischer Bescheidenheit.”
108. Bernd Gericke, ed., *Die Inhaber des Deutschen Kreuzes in Gold, des Deutschen Kreuzes in Silber der Kriegsmarine* (Osnabrück, 1993), p. 201.
109. BA-MA, N 328/32, Raeder an Katz, 06.01.1940.
110. Ibid., Bestätigung für Katz, 06.01.1940.
111. Lieutenant field marshal (Feldmarschalleutnant) is a general’s rank. It is the equivalent to the British rank of lieutenant general (Generalleutnant in the Wehrmacht) and was used in the Habsburg monarchy until 1918. From 1918 until 1920, it was used in the Volkswehr of Austria. Afterward, the rank was not used throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1933, the Austrian military (Österreichisches Bundesheer) reinstated the rank until its incorporation into the Wehrmacht in March of 1938. See *1918–1968 Die Streitkräfte der Republik Österreich. Katalog zur Sonderausstellung im Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum Wien 1968* (hrsg.), Heeresgeschichtlichen Museum/Militärwissenschaftlichen Institut Wien (Wien, 1968), pp. 149–57.
112. Johann Friedländer distinguished himself on the General Staff before and during World War I. After 1928, he “headed the defense ministry’s department of training, equipment and education.” In 1936, he was transferred to the inspector general’s office. He retired in 1937. Schmidl, p. 148.
113. As the Russians invaded Poland, where many of the death camps were located, the Nazis evacuated the camps and forced the inmates to walk long distances to concentration camps in the West. During these forced marches, called “death marches,” many of the inmates died of exhaustion and disease. Many also were executed on the side of the road.
114. Senekowitsch, *Feldmarschalleutnant Johann Friedländer*, pp. 20–28; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Posselt.
115. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, Supplement B* (Washington, D.C.), 1946, p. 1,246. This man was probably Ribbentrop’s personal physician, Dr. Oscar Bosch. According to family friends, Bosch’s contact with Ribbentrop saved Bosch’s mother. BA-MA, BMRS, File Oscar Bosch, Bl. 4–5. If it was not Bosch, then it might have been SS Captain Thorner. He was Ribbentrop’s secretary in London and a “12.5 percent Jew.” Ribbentrop had helped Thorner by taking his case personally to Hitler. John Weitz, *Hitler’s Diplomat: The Life and Times of Joachim von Ribbentrop* (New York, 1992), p. 132.
116. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression: Supplement B*, p. 1,246.
117. Kesselring: BA-MA, N 431/1154, Beglaubigte Abschrift von Irmgard Horn, 18.03.1947; Sauckel: BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Sander; Lammers: BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager and BA-B, Reichskanzlei 7.01 4112, Bl. 363–65; Canaris: BA-MA, BMRS, File Robert Borchardt, BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Bloch; Bormann/Heydrich: BA-MA, WF-01/10230; Dönitz: Messerschmidt, p. 356, BA-MA, BMRS, File di Simoni; Ribbentrop: BA-MA, BMRS, File

- Joachim von Ribbentrop, BA-MA, BMRS, File Bosch; v. Manstein, Schmudt v. Gottberg and Raeder: documented throughout this book; v. Schirach: Krackow, p. 98; BA-MA, BMRS, interviews J. Krackow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview R. Krackow; Kaltenbrunner: BA-MA, BMRS, interview Koref.
118. Meyer, p. 152; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 148.
119. Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 615; Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, p. 750.
120. Clark, pp. 339–40. Pringsheim was a well-known professor for Roman and German civil rights in Freiburg and Göttingen, and then in Oxford from 1939 to 1946.
121. Even Adolf Eichmann helped save a half-Jewish cousin and a Jewish couple in Vienna; in addition, he had a Jewish stepmother. While working in Vienna in the late 1930s, Eichmann had a Jewish mistress, an old flame from his youth. Arendt, pp. 30, 88, 137. Eichmann was not alone in committing *Rassenschande* among the Nazi elite. The famous Stuka pilot and fanatic Nazi, Luftwaffe Colonel Hans-Ulrich Rudel, had a half-Jewish lover, Frau Erika Leykam, during the war. Personal interview conducted with Leykam by Günter Czernetzky, director of the film project *ZeitZeugen Video* in Munich; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erika Leykam. Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi racial theorist and Reich minister of eastern regions, also had a Jewish mistress. Wighton, p. 126.
122. Hitler renamed Lodz Litzmannstadt in honor of General Litzmann. Benz, p. 49. General Litzmann had become famous in 1914 during World War I for breaking through the Russian front near Lodz. He conquered the fortress Brest-Litovsk.
123. They actually were “18.75” Jewish and thus, according to Nazi practice with racial policy, regarded as quarter-Jews.
124. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Lehweß-Litzmann, Bl. 7, Stammbaum Lehweß-Litzmann, Bl. 11, and Bl. 37, Der Kommandierende General des VIII. Fliegerkorps an Frau Dr. med. Lehweß-Litzmann, 01.11.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Jörn Lehweß-Litzmann, 27.05.1997, T-354.
125. *Die Träger des Ritterkreuzes des Eisernen Kreuzes, 1939–1945. Die Inhaber der höchsten Auszeichnung des Zweiten Weltkrieges aller Wehrmachtteile* (Osnabrück, 1993), p. 166. Walter Lehweß-Litzmann became a General Staff officer and a squadron commander.
126. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Friedrich Rubien, 27.07.1997, T-394.
127. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rubien. According to Rubien, the family member Senator Fritz Beindorff paid this amount.
128. *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, p. 285.
129. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Bujakowsky, Bl. 16.
130. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ludwig Mayer, Bl. 23, Telegram M. Steinhardt to Mayer 27.09.1935, Bl. 25, H. Mayer an ihre Mutter, 06.10.1935 and Bl.30, H. Mayer to v. Tschammer, October 1935.
131. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ludwig Mayer, Bl. 31, H. Mayer to Mr. Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Committee, 26.10.1935, Bl. 35, H. Mayer to Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, 10.12.1935.
132. Klemperer, Buch I, 12.08.1936, pp. 292–93.

133. BA-MA, BMRS, File Mayer, Bl. 31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Erika Mayer; Shirer, *Nightmare Years*, pp. 230–33. See also Friedländer, p. 181.
134. BA-MA, BMRS, File Mayer, Bl. 35; Yahil, p. 71.
135. Apparently, after the women's fencing event was over, Hitler refused to congratulate Mayer; Iona Elek, the gold medalist from Hungary; and Ellen Preis, the bronze medalist from Austria, because they were all of Jewish descent. Engelmann, opp. p. 353.
136. Friedländer, p. 181. Several reports state that Ball was half-Jewish (Cornberg and Steiner, p. 160). Since Friedländer is an authority on German Jews, his data has been taken for Ball's case.
137. *BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Fürstner; Richard D. Mandell, The Nazi Olympics* (New York, 1971), pp. 88, 93. He committed suicide in 1936 because of the persecution he experienced as a half-Jew.
138. Lutz Graf Schwerin von Krosigk, *Persönliche Erinnerungen: II. Teil, 25 Jahre Berlin, 1930–1945* (Essen, 1973), p. 173; Cornberg and Steiner, pp. 159–60; Vuletić, p. 22, n. 37. Lewald was the man who introduced the tradition of carrying the torch from Olympia in Greece to the host city.
139. Mandell, pp. 71–77. Gretel Bergmann, a German athlete of Jewish descent, was not as lucky as Mayer or Ball. Two weeks before the Games, the Nazis informed her that she could not participate because of her Jewish ancestry. She was predicted to win the gold in the high jump, had she been allowed to compete. See also Friedländer, p. 181.
140. Keegan, *Second World War*, p. 486; Keegan, *Mask of Command*, p. 281.
141. Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, pp. 290–91. See also *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 310.
142. Speer, p. 145. See also *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, pp. 51, 60; John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York, 1986), p. 207.
143. Hilberg, p. 45; Lauren, p. 124, Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. 42; Dower, pp. 207, 269; Yahil, p. 71.
144. Snyder, p. 170; Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, p. 696.
145. Snyder, p. 170; see also H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler* (New York, 1947), pp. 21–22; Otto Klineberg, "Racialism in Nazi Germany," in *The Third Reich*, ed. Maurice Baumont, John H. E. Fried and Edmond Vermeil (New York, 1955), p. 859; Dower, p. 269; *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, pp. 77, 79, 86, 91. Hitler called the Japanese the "Prussians of the East." *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 398, n. 388.
146. *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, p. 138; Redlich, p. 149; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 504.
147. Otto Klineberg, "Racialism in Nazi Germany," in *The Third Reich*, p. 859.
148. The mufti left Beirut in 1939, took up residence in Baghdad, and put himself at the pro-Axis political effort there, which culminated in a "pro-Axis coup" in 1941. The mufti proclaimed over the airways a jihad (holy war) against the British, who were occupying Iraq at the time. Although the Germans promised support, it did not arrive in time, and the mufti and his forces were

- defeated. After the defeat, the mufti left for Berlin in September 1941. The mufti stayed in Germany until the end of the war. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *The Siege: The Saga of Israel and Zionism* (New York, 1986), pp. 250-52.
149. Lepre, p. 31.
150. Hitler had promised Hajj Amin el-Husseini that he would slaughter the Jewish community in Palestine once German forces had taken over that area. Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 220; Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers*, pp. 49-50.
151. Bauer, p. 44.
152. O'Brien, pp. 251-52. Hitler felt that Arab men with blond hair and blue eyes were descendants of the Vandals who had occupied northern Africa. *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1941-1944*, p. 124.
153. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 403. As translated in O'Brien, pp. 251-52. Hitler even claimed that Turkey's leader Atatürk could not have descended from the Turks because he had blue eyes. *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941-1944*, p. 217.
154. Hilberg, p. 7; BA-B, NS 19/3134, Bl. 1-2; Maser, p. 282; *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Einführung von Picker, p. 45; Bormann Lang, p. 156; Dimont, pp. 331-32.
155. Horst von McGraw, *The Evolution of Hitler's Germany* (New York, 1973), p. 56; *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941-1944*, pp. 96-99, 412-13; Redlich, p. 309; Friedländer, pp. 102, 177; *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, vol 1, p. 19.
156. *Institut zur Erforschung und Beseitigung des jüdischen Einflusses auf das deutsche kirchliche Leben*. See Friedländer, pp. 326-27.
157. Bauer, p. 133; Redlich, p. 302; Burleigh, pp. 13-14, 259-60.
158. Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army* (New York, 1991), pp. 14, 39; see also Megargee, p. 174.
159. Rüdiger Overmans, *Deutsche militärische Verluste im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (München, 1999), pp. 266, 278.
160. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gert Beschütz, Bl. 3.
161. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956; *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 32; Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," pp. 316, 333.
162. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956.
163. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 121-22, n. 375; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 140, Engel an Blankenburg, 17.06.1942.
164. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gert Ascher, 17.11.1997, T-408; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ursula Ascher, 17.11.1997, T-409.
165. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrici, Heft I, Bl. 21, Dr. Heinrici an Rigg, 05.12.1995; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dr. Heinrici, 16.05.1996, T-203.
166. Ibid.
167. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 140, Engel an Blankenburg, 17.06.1942.
168. BA-MA, WF01/10230, Bl. 1-2, Engel an Kåpitan z.S. a.D. Vanselow, 19.11.1940.
169. BA-MA, N 118/4.
170. Deutsche Arbeitsfront (DAF) (German Labor Front).

171. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 93, Engel an die Kanzlei des Führers der NSDAP, 26.09.1941.
172. *Stufe* means “level.” For example, *Stufe* III wounded soldiers had lost either an arm, a leg, or both feet—to name just a few of the wounds that qualified a soldier for this classification. These soldiers also received fifty Reichsmarks a month. BA-MA, RH 12-23/ 834, p. 93.
173. Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 120; See also BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 91–92, Parteikanzlei, Beförderung von Schwerstbeschädigten, 11.10.1941.
174. This number was probably small because only those who applied were considered for the exemption. In other words, once a *Mischlinge* was injured, he did not get an exemption de facto. He, like any other *Mischlinge* attempting to receive an exemption, had to apply for it.
175. BA-B, R 21/448, Bl. 34, Der Reichsminister des Innern (Schönfeldt) an Rust, 20.02.1942.
176. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 72.
177. Ibid., Bl. 73, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, 16.09.1943.
178. Ibid., Bl. 67b, “Jüdische Mischlinge im Wehrdienst,” von Blankenburg.
179. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bamberger, Bl. 2, Lammers und Keitel an Bamberger, 17.08.1943 and Bl. 35–36, *Autobiographie*.
180. See BA-B, R 21-448, Bl. 35, von Schönfeldt an Rust, 20.2.1942.
181. BA-MA, BMRS, File Emil Lux, Heft IV, Bl. 8. Knoll/Hochschule für Welthandel an Regierungsdirektor Dr. Kock, 20.07.1944, and Bl. 12, OKW an Rust, 08.10.1943; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lux. While Lux served in Russia, his mother, Jenny née Schultz, was persecuted at home and forced to wear the Jewish star. When he returned home from the front and his hospitalization, he found that his mother was gone. The Gestapo had forced her to enter the Jewish Hospital in Berlin at Iranische Straße.
182. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67b–68.
183. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 82.
184. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 73, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, 16.09.1943; BA-MA, BMRS, File G. F. Müller, Bl. 52; BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller.
185. Two men in this study received Hitler’s declarations this way. However, it is difficult to document men who received this award because of the problems of finding their families or military files.
186. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 72.
187. *Kampfzeit* (time of struggle) was between 1920 and 1933 when the Nazis struggled for power.
188. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 31–32.
189. BA-MA, RH 53-7/ 1120.
190. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolter; *Das Deutsche Reich und der zweite Weltkrieg*, vol. 5/1, Kroener, pp. 709–12.
191. IfZ, N 71–73, Anträge und positive Entscheidungen gemäß §7 der Ersten Verordnung zum Reichsbürger-gesetz, 22.05.1941; Lösener, pp. 284–85.
192. Meyer, p. 157.
193. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 136–39.
194. Ibid., Bl. 147–48.

195. IfZ, N 71–73, Bl. 106, Zahl der Gnadenentscheidungen nach dem Reichsbürgergesetz, 10.09.1942; Lösener, p. 310.
196. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 29–45.
197. Ibid., Bl. 43.
198. Rebentisch, p. 435, n. 200. H. G. Adler also said that exemptions probably ran into the thousands. Adler, *Der Verwaltete Mensch*, p. 302.
199. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 117, “Aktennotiz” von Brack, 10.07.1942.
200. BA-MA, BMRS, interview W. v. Gwinner.
201. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hamburger; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hamburger, Hamburger an Rigg, 25.11.2000.
202. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager.
203. BA-MA, WF01–20740, Koken an Engel, 15.10.1942.
204. Ibid., Engel an Koken, 19.10.1942.
205. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Arnim Leidoff, 02.12.1995, T-93.
206. Königsberg is now Kaliningrad, Russia.
207. Actually, Göring said this phrase. Hitler was never recorded as saying anything like the above.
208. BA-A, Pers 36790 Georg Meyer, Beurteilung vom 01.03.1944. Margot Meyer von Rühle maintains that this military report was only written as it was because it was a necessary condition for promotion. In other words, it was a formality. BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg Meyer, Meyer von Rühle an Rigg, 11.01.2001.
209. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Margot Meyer von Rühle 02.09.1995, T-163; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Meyer-Krahmer, 27.07.1997, T-393; BA-A, Pers 36848 Helmut Meyer-Krahmer. According to Margot Meyer von Rühle, Georg was only “12.5 percent or 18.75 percent” Jewish. However, Georg Meyer’s cousin, Helmut Meyer-Krahmer, says that this is incorrect. He and his four cousins were all quarter-Jews. According to Meyer-Krahmer, Georg must have obtained false documents to prove that their grandmother was not a full Jew but a half-Jew. He naturally did so to mitigate his situation. Since Meyer-Krahmer knows his family’s personal history better than most, his version has been used.
210. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager.
211. Vogel, p. 313. Philipp Borchardt was later released, and he and his daughter left for England, where they spent the rest of the war.
212. BA-MA, BMRS, interview E. Borchardt; McGuirk, p. 45.
213. BA-A, Pers 4393, Beurteilung, 13.05.1942.
214. BA-MA, BMRS, File Borchardt, Bl. 46, E.M. Heard to Rigg, 02.12.1996. Borchardt defended himself after the war, claiming that he fought for Germany and that his family had a long history of military service and cultural accomplishments. Two brothers of his great-grandfather fought in the War of Independence of 1813–1815. One died in Leipzig. During the Franco-Prussian War, two brothers of his grandfather served in the Prussian army. One was terribly wounded in the Battle of Sedan. One of his father’s brothers, Rudolf, was a poet and translator and was friends with Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Rudolf Alexander Schröder. During World War I, Rudolf Borchardt served four years in the German army. Another uncle, Ernst Borchardt, served as a lieutenant

- and died soon after the war because of his battle injuries. Another uncle, Robert Borchardt, served as an Unteroffizier and died in battle in 1916. Borchardt's father would have served in the army, had he not been born with a deformed left leg. Robert Borchardt claimed that serving Germany as he did was no different from what his Jewish ancestors had done before him.
215. BA-MA, BMRS, File Eike Schweitzer, Bl. 24, Eike Schweitzer an Tante Dorle, 11.01.1942.
216. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schweitzer, Bl. 13.
217. Although Wilberg was in charge of the operations of the Condor Legion, was in charge of the officer school, and was responsible for developing Luftwaffe air doctrine, he still did not become chief of staff, probably because of his ancestry.
218. See Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 105–6, 289, 386, 417; *Nazism 1919–1945*, vol. 4, pp. 8–13; Keitel, p. 105; Megargee, p. 65.
219. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerd Schneider, Bl. 77, Frey an Schiller, 10.02.1943 and Bl. 82, Wehrmachtfürsorge, Bescheid—Rente, 26.03.1943.
220. *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, M. Messerschmidt, p. 8; Seaton, *German Army*, p. 80; Speer, p. 157; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 576–77. See also Wallach, pp. 306–7; Keegan, *Mask of Command*, pp. 295–98.

CHAPTER 8: THE PROCESS OF OBTAINING AN EXEMPTION

1. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Lösener, p. 310; Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," p. 318; BA-MA, N 328/32, Förste an Ehrhardt, 12.12.56.
2. BA-MA, BMRS, N 328/32, Förste an Ehrhardt, 12.12.1956; Gericke, p. 128.
3. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager.
4. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 328; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 93–94.
5. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 344.
6. Bauer, p. 100; Yahil, p. 66.
7. BA-B, R 43 II/1273, Bl. 70–84.
8. Vogel, pp. 233–34.
9. BA-MA, BMRS, File Sander, Bl. 3, Hitler an Sander, 30.07.1935 and Bl. 62–64, Major a.D. Sander an Hans Sander, 27.02.1935; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Stefan Sander, 10.07.1997, T-366.
10. BA-MA, RH 39/154, Schreiben von Frick, 19.08.1937. An exception in the Party did not automatically allow one to become an officer. In January 1938, the Wehrmacht announced that although a *Mischling* may have received Hitler's approval to remain in the Party and enter the Wehrmacht, he could not become an officer without an additional approval. BA-MA, RH 53-7/627, Bl. 8, General-Kommando VII. Armee-Korps an Kriegsschule München, 24.01.1938. For example, Hitler declared Sander *deutschblütig* in 1940, and only then could he become an officer. BA-MA, BMRS, File Sander, Bl. 2, Lammers an Sander, 29.08.1940.
11. It was probably at this time that the clemency forms of *Deutschblütigkeitserklärung* and *Genehmigung* came into being.
12. *Holocaust, vol. 1, Legalizing the Holocaust*, p. 31; Erste Verordnung zum Reichsbürgergesetz vom 14.11.1935 (RGBl., Teil I, 1935, Nr. 125, pp. 1,333–36); Vogel, p. 238.

13. Schleunes, p. 257.
14. Friedländer, p. 188.
15. Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band III*, p. 353.
16. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Lösener, p. 284.
17. Lösener, pp. 270–85.
18. For more about Keitel's and Lammers's roles in implementing policy, see Speer, pp. 300–301.
19. BA-MA, BMRS, general data collected; BA-MA, N 328/45, Eherhardt an Förste, 18.12.1956. Noakes in his essay claims that the certificates were bright blue (Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," p. 319; see also Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. 117; Cornberg and Steiner, p. 154). The several certificates signed by Meyer and obtained during this study show that they were green, not blue.
20. No one could be a farmer (*Bauer*) who had a Jewish ancestor after 1800. Cohn, "Bearers of a Common Fate," p. 330. According to Büttner, non-Aryans were allowed to work in agriculture, but could not own a farm that their heirs could inherit (*Erbhofstellen*). Büttner, "Persecution," p. 272. See also *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00390-391; RGBl. 1933, Teil I, Nr. 108, p. 686.
21. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00392, p. 7. See also BA-B, NS 19/1614, Bl. 3, Lammers an Himmler, 31.08.1942.
22. BA-B, NS 19/1614, Bl. 3, Lammers an Himmler, 31.08.1942; BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Hollaender, see also BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Helwig; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erich Mußgnug.
23. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Hertha-Barbara Hollaender, 21.11.1995, T-171; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Hertha-Barbara Hollaender, 12.11.1996, T-234; *Die Träger des Deutschen Kreuzes in Gold*, p. 162; BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Hollaender, Bl. 113, Ritterkreuz-Urkunde, 18.07.1943; BA-A, Pers Walter Hollaender, Beurteilung vom 11.01.1943; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Jochen Hollaender, 14.12.1996, T-276; BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm Hollaender.
24. BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, Reichskommissar für die Festigung des deutschen Volkstums/ Stabshauptamt: Mitteilung Nr. 3, 29.09.1942.
25. Lösener, p. 310; *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 120–22; *Dictionary of Nazi Terms*, David Bankier *Mischlinge*; BA-MA, N 328/45, Ebhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956.
26. BA-MA, RW 19/550, Lammers an Reichsminister, Preußischen Ministerpräsidenten und Finanzminister, Staatssekretär und Chef der Präsidialkanzlei, Chef der Kanzlei, und Adj. des Führers, 25.10.1937; BA-MA, Wi/ VIII 45; Noakes, "Development of Nazi Policy," p. 319; Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, p. 592; for more information about Lammers, see Georg Franz-Willing's book, *Die Reichskanzlei, 1933–1945*.
27. Robert Koehl, "Feudal Aspects of National Socialism," *American Political Science Review* 54 (1960). See also Redlich, p. 104.
28. At this time, Lammers had the power to decide whether an application was worthy of Hitler's time. Applications not good enough for an exemption according to Lammers's initial review were rejected without being seen by Hitler. See also Rebentisch, p. 434; *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00392.

29. *Gleichschaltung* means “coordination.”
30. *Nazism, 1919–1945*, vol. 4, p. 1.
31. Lammers had lost an eye during World War I and wore a glass eye, which gave him a cross-eyed appearance. Rebutisch, p. 49.
32. Rebutisch, pp. 425–26.
33. BA-B, R 43 II/1036, 15.12.1936; Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 113; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, pp. 485, 533; Hilberg, p. 264; Jochen Lang, p. 180.
34. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 313.
35. *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11.2*, Heinrich Lammers, p. 161. *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, p. 141.
36. Friedemann Bedürftig and Christian Zentner, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*, vol. 1 (New York, 1991), p. 524.
37. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 73, 120, 246–47. Most *Schutzjuden* escaped deportation. See Stoltzfus, p. 120 n. 14. See also Cornberg and Steiner, pp. 149–51.
38. BA-MA, N 39/62, Lammers an v. Mackensen, 03.02.1939. See also Friedländer, pp. 270–71.
39. The Spanish Blue Division (250th Infantry Division, “División Azul”) was made up of Spanish volunteers commanded by General Esteban Infantes and sent by Franco to the eastern front to fight with the army against Russia. Over forty-seven thousand men fought in this division, forty-five hundred were killed in action, and the Wehrmacht estimated that these Spaniards inflicted over forty-nine thousand casualties on the Soviets. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, p. 219.
40. BA-MA, BMRS, File Erich Rose, Schnez an Rigg, 30.01.2001.
41. BA-MA, Pers 6/ 10046, Alfred Simon, Bl. 49, Generalkommando V. Armeekorps an OKH-P[ersonal] A[mt], 06.09.1937.
42. *Ibid.*, Bl. 45, v. Reichenau an Chef des Heerespersonalamts, 03.08.1937.
43. *Ibid.*, Bl. 50, OKH an Reichs- und Preußischen Minister des Innern, 11.09.1937.
44. *Ibid.*, Bl. 96, Keitel an Generalkommando VII. Armeekorps, 17.06.1938.
45. BA-MA, Pers 6/ 10046, Pionier-Kommandeur 1, Beurteilung über Alfred Simon, 01.03.1944.
46. Kriegsschule is a military academy.
47. Rohr, pp. 42–46, 84–85.
48. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge.
49. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 10–11, 33, 94, 103
50. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
51. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 53, 80; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz. Hitler’s Luftwaffe adjutant, Nicolaus von Below, wrote that the military adjutants often took walks with Hitler. Below, p. 29.
52. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 20, 30–32, 76, 78, 94, 141–42.
53. BA-MA, N 118; BA-MA, BMRS, interview von Knigge; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview v. Helmolt.
54. Schmundt took over Hoßbach’s position after the Blomberg-Fritsch crisis in 1938. He was above the other military adjutants (“Chefadjutant der Wehrmacht”). Luftwaffe adjutant Nicolaus von Below dubbed him “*Primus inter pares*.” Below, p. 90.

55. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67b, “Jüdische Mischlinge im Wehrdienst,” von Blankenburg; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 167, Engel an Blankenburg, 28.04.1942; *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 32–33, 126–29, 138, 143.
56. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 70, 75, 79–80, 127; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.
57. Below, p. 27.
58. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from the files on Engel and v. Puttkamer; Below, p. 32.
59. Below, p. 35.
60. BA-MA, BMRS, general data gathered on *Mischling* soldiers; BA-MA, N 328/58, Puttkamer an Förste, 15.04.1957; BA-MA, N 328/58, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.56; see also Meyer, p. 231; BA-MA, BMRS, File Bernhard Rogge; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Schmoeckel, 25.11.1994, T-63; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmut Schmoeckel.
61. BA-MA, Pers 6/2094, OKH Betr.: Deutschblütigkeitserklärung von Offizieren, 02.09.1939.
62. Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band V*, p. 148. Their number is unknown.
63. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956; BA-MA, BMRS, File Schmoeckel. It seems that the one navy officer not taken back was Lebram, which made the young man furious. Lebram tried four times to return to the navy (1934, 1935, 1939, and 1941). BA-MA, N 656/27, Lebram an Ruge, 08.04.1976; BA-MA, N 656/2. Eventually, Canaris helped Lebram get a job with Siemens as a Marinebaurat. BA-MA, N 656/2, Bl. 43.
64. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956.
65. BA-MA, N 328/32, Förste an Ehrhardt, 12.12.1956.
66. Rogge notes that the Party official that attacked him was the Kreisleiter of Eutin, but it is clear from the document that Rogge was unsure of the spelling of that name.
67. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rogge, Vertraulich, Betr. Absetzung Landrat Bernhard Rogge, Schleswig, Persönliche Ausführungen zur Sache, 06.11.1945, Heft I. Special thanks to Peter Tamm, director of the Institut für Schifffahrts- und Marinegeschichte in Hamburg, for access to Rogge’s file. Special thanks for information gained about this incident during a discussion with Dr. Georg Meyer of the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Military Research Center), Potsdam/Freiburg, March 1998; Karl-Friedrich Merten, *Nach Kompass* (Cloppenburg, 1994), p. 274.
68. Muggenthaler, p. 136; BA-MA, BMRS, File Friedrich-Karl Rogge, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Amorbach, 1993), p. 36; Gilbert, *Second World War*, pp. 35, 51; Edward P. von der Porten, *The German Navy in World War II* (New York, 1969), p. 134.
69. Charles W. Koburger Jr., *Steel Ships, Iron Crosses, and Refugees: The German Navy in the Baltic, 1939–1945* (New York, 1989), pp. 45, 49. An interesting side note about Rogge’s military career. At the war’s end, he had several men executed for desertion. After the war, he was brought up on charges but was found innocent. Rogge had received so much help from others because of

- his Jewish past, but did not show much mercy on those who no longer wanted to fight for Nazi Germany. The information gathered on Rogge indicates that he simply claimed that he was following orders. As Georg Meyer said of Rogge in respect to this event, “[H]e was hard as steel.”
70. Muggenthaler, p. 140. Without Rogge’s support of the army in the Baltic, the Kurland pocket would have never continued its resistance, which tied down thousands of Russian soldiers in 1944. He also allowed twenty-nine divisions and much of their equipment to escape Russian encirclement in 1944 by keeping a thirty-mile choke point open at Riga. He also used his ships to cover the millions of refugees leaving Prussia under the savage advance of the Soviet army in 1944 and 1945. Koburger, pp. 47–48.
 71. Fähnrich is an officer candidate.
 72. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut Schmoeckel, 25.11.1994, T-63; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmut Schmoeckel. Before Schmoeckel became a U-boat captain, he was the first adjutant on the heavy cruiser *Admiral Hipper*. As a U-boat captain, he sank one ship for a total of 1.621 tons.
 73. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Thilo Bode, 24.02.1995, T-104.
 74. Rohr, p. 108.
 75. Rohr, pp. 91, 103; BA-A, Pers 45573, Joachim Rohr an OKH, 03.12.1939.
 76. BA-A, Pers 45570, Heinz Rohr an Panzerabwehrabteilung 30, 07.03.1940; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rohr.
 77. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Rohr, Heft II, Teil III, Bl. 25, Rohr an Rigg, 09.02.1997.
 78. BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Rohr, Bl. 44, Sterbeurkunde.
 79. *Die Träger des Deutschen Kreuzes in Gold*, p. 304; BA-A, Pers 45573, Grenadier Regiment 6: Beurteilung zum 1. April 1943 über Hptm. Joachim Rohr; BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Rohr, Wehrpaß, pp. 22–23, Beförderungen und Ernennungen; BA-A, Pers 45570, Major Heinz Rohr, Panzerregiment 11, Beurteilung über Heinz Rohr, 08.02.1941.
 80. BA-A, Pers 45570, Beurteilung vom 11.04.1944; BA-A, Pers 45573, Beurteilung vom 01.03.1943.
 81. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Knigge; BA-MA, N 118/4. Captain von Schmeling-Diringhofen took over the First Company in the Seventy-third Infantry Regiment in Celle.
 82. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.
 83. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Ulrich de Maizière, 24.03.1997, T-323; Ulrich de Maizière, *In der Pflicht* (Bonn, 1989), p. 31; *Gedenkschrift. Der Jahrgang 30. 10. Offizier Ergänzungsjahrgang des Reichsheeres 1930–1. April 1980*, p. 85.
 84. Ursula von Knigge, *Meine liebste Mamma. Briefe an Clara Freifrau Knigge, geschrieben von Sohn und Schwiegertochter in den Jahren, 1928–1945* (Grünwald, 1981), [Privatdruck], p. 170.
 85. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Beelitz.
 86. General Hans-Heinrich Sixt von Armin was the son of the famous World War I Fourth Army Commander Friedrich Sixt von Armin. General Hans-Heinrich Sixt von Armin led the 113th Infantry Division during the battle for

- Stalingrad, and when Field Marshal von Paulus surrendered, Armin also surrendered. He went into Russian captivity and would die on 1 April 1952 as a POW in the Soviet Union.
87. BA-MA, N 431/ 803, Günther Blumentritts Eidesstattliche Erklärung, 10.06.1946; BA-MA, BMRS, File Sixt von Armin; *Die Träger des Ritterkreuzes*, pp. 399–402; *Die Träger des Deutschen Kreuzes in Gold*, p. 353; BA-MA, Pers 6/1808, Günter Sachs, Luftflottenkommando 6 Gen. Kdo. II. Flakkorps an OKL, 10.09.1944; ed. Karl Friedrich Hildebrand, ed., *Die Generale der deutschen Luftwaffe, 1935–1945: Band 3* (Osnabrück 1992), pp. 158–59; BA-MA, Pers 6/871, Hans-Heinrich Sixt von Armin, Personal-Nachweis; Goerlitz, p. 454.
 88. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 200, “Akttenotiz, Vorsprache beim OKW”, 14.02.1940; Rohr, p. 86; IfZ, N 71–73, 27.05.1941; *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 11.2*, Heinrich Lammers, p. 161.
 89. BA-MA, BMRS, interview W. Günther; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; see also BA-A, RW 55/3843, Bl. 58.
 90. Oberkanonier was a private (artillery).
 91. BA-MA, BMRS, File W. Günther, Bl. 24–31, Gnadengensuch durch Rechtsanwältin Dr. Alfred Holl and Dr. Fritz Hamann für Wolfram Günther an Hitler, 17.05.1939.
 92. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Wolfram Günther.
 93. BA-MA, BMRS, interview W. Günther.
 94. Reichsstelle für Sippenforschung.
 95. BA-MA, BMRS, File Martin Bier, Bl. 56; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Martin Bier, 25.09.1994, T-28.
 96. Bier had courageously defended a defensive position while being heavily attacked by Polish forces. Although his comrade was shot through the head and died, Bier did not give up the position and held it against the enemy. Bier served with the Thirteenth Company of One Hundredth Mountain Regiment.
 97. BA-MA, BMRS, File Martin Bier, Bl. 56; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Martin Bier, 25.09.1994, T-28.
 98. Ibid.
 99. BA-MA, File M. Bier, Bl. 4.
 100. Ibid., Bl. 57.
 101. Ibid., Bl. 56.
 102. BA-MA, WF01/20740, Schoch an Engel, 10.11.1942.
 103. Ibid., Beurteilung des Uffz. Cadek durch Oberst Schoch, 10.11.1942.
 104. BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg Struzyna, Bl. 1–2. Many thanks to Dr. Georg Meyer for this File.
 105. IfZ, N71–73, “Herrn Minister auf dem Dienstwege,” Zu I e Ei 1 IV/40-5017a, 22.05.1940; Lösener, p. 285.
 106. Ibid.
 107. His name has been kept anonymous.
 108. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hermann Lange, Teil II, Bl. 7.
 109. Offiziersanwärter was an officer candidate.
 110. BA-MA, BMRS, File Walther Hofmann, Bl. 22–24, Maier an Hitler, 19.06.1940.
 111. Ibid., Bl. 20–21, Hofmann an OKW, 07.06.1940.

112. Oberfähnrich was a rank between Stabsoberfeldwebel and Oberfeldwebel. It was a senior officer candidate.
113. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm von Gottberg, Heft I, Teil I, Bl. 41.
114. SS General von Gottberg led anti-partisan units in White Russia. While there, he reported throughout 1942 and 1943 that his men had executed thousands of Jews. Hilberg, pp. 251–52; Burleigh, p. 562.
115. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm von Gottberg, Heft I, Teil II, Band C: “Geschichte der Familie von Gottberg im Zwanzigsten Jahrhundert” (1984), Bl. 25–27; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Helmut von Gottberg, 09–10.11.1996, T-229–230.
116. BA-A, Pers 45573, Bl. 14–15, Elisabeth Rohr an Brauchitsch, 14.01.1940.
117. Ibid., Bl. 19, Chef P[ersonal] A[mt] an Elisabeth Rohr, 29.01.1940.
118. BA-MA, N 118/3, Engel an Elisabeth Rohr, 26.11.1940. Apparently, her brother Joachim had a contact with a high-ranking officer in the General Staff, who got his sister’s case seen by Hitler. As a result of her *Deutschblütigkeitserklärung*, she was able to marry in 1943. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz Rohr, Rohr an Rigg, 22.11.2000.
119. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 167, Engel an Blankenburg, 28.04.1942. See also BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 110–11, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.06.1942.
120. See BA-MA, BMRS, File Fischer; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fischer; BA-MA, BMRS, interview A. von Mettenheim; BA-MA, BMRS, File Krackow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview R. Krackow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gwinner.
121. BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Bl. 4.
122. BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Schmundt an Haller, 13.05.1942, Bl. 2.
123. BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Frey an Schmundt, 25.05.1942, Bl. 2–3.
124. More precisely, the report stated that OKH wanted proof that the *Mischlinge* in question had played an important role during an engagement with the enemy.
125. Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich*. Band V, p. 149; *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften*, Heft 4, p. 73; *Sammlung wehrrechtlicher Gutachten und Vorschriften*, Heft 20/21, p. 175.
126. This study was unable to document whether some of the 967 half-Jews documented received an EKII and EKI. The numbers presented here are lower than in reality.
127. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 122.
128. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinrich Levin, Bl. 11.
129. Kanonier was an ordinary soldier in the artillery.
130. BA-MA, BMRS, File Viktor Mendel.
131. Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich*. Band V, pp. 149–50.
132. BA-MA, Pers 6/2094, Beurteilung über K. Zukertort, 21.04.1939.
133. Ibid., Schell to Heeres-personal-Amt, 10.07.1939.
134. Ibid., Beurteilung v. 03.07.1941.
135. Ibid., Der Chef des Heereswaffenamtes to Zukertort, 30.07.1941.
136. BA-MA, Pers 6/2094, Brauchitsch to PA 2, 14.08.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl Zukertort.
137. BA-MA, File Karl Zukertort, Bl. 1.

138. Information gathered during a personal discussion with Kurt-Dagobert Zukertort, 24.07.2001.
139. BA-MA, BMRS, File Johann Zukertort.
140. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Walter Hamburger, 5–6.11.1994, T-47; BA-MA, BMRS, File Walter Hamburger, B. Hamburger an Rigg, 15.12.2000; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hamburger, Hamburger an Rigg, 25.11.2000.
141. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hamburger, Perfall zum Abschied an Fräulein Hamburger, 31.05.1941.
142. Zossen is located south of Berlin and was where the OKH was located.
143. General Bodewin Keitel was head of the Army Personnel Office (Heerespersonalamt) from 26 August 1939 until 2 October 1942. Keilig, p. 4.
144. BA-MA, RH 20-18/71, Kriegstagebuch [Nr.] 3 b der Abt. Ia des AOK 18, Bl. 97. See also Steven R. Welch, “Mischling *Deserters from the Wehrmacht*,” *Leo Baeck Yearbook* 44 (1999): 281.
145. BA-MA, RH 21-3/v. 46 (=Panzergruppe 3/I a; Anlagen zum Kriegstagebuch, Bd. IV, 25.5.–22.7.41, Bl. 34.
146. BA-MA, RH 20-18/71, Kriegstagebuch [Nr.] 3 b der Abt. Ia des AOK 18, Bl. 97.
147. Such as the Iron Cross or the Wound Badge.
148. BA-MA, RH 7/23, OKH Nr. 6840/41 g. P[ersonal] A[mt] 2 (Ic), 16.07.1941; BA-MA, RH 7/11, Bl. 7; Vogel, p. 256.
149. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 277. This is a play on words, based on the name of scientist Gregor Mendel. He was a nineteenth-century geneticist, known to many as the father of genetics.
150. One of the criteria Hitler used to measure a person’s worth was whether or not he or she looked Jewish. For instance, Hitler only “reluctantly” presented the fighter-ace Adolf Galland with his Ritterkreuz because he looked Jewish (Keegan, *Second World War*, p. 96). One can be sure that Hitler had his bureaucrats look into Galland’s ancestry, just as he had them do with Liebig.
151. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, pp. 277, 398–99; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” pp. 333–34.
152. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 155–59, Blankenburg an Engel, 23.05.1942; Wistrich, p. 26; Fred Mielke and Alexander Mitscherlich, *Doctors of Infamy* (New York, 1949), pp. 94, 135.
153. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 121–22.
154. *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32, 42, 70, 79, 103, 105, 108, 120–22.
155. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 79, 109.
156. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 31–32. Many documents and a few books have claimed that “hiding” soldiers of Jewish descent happened often. See O’Neill, pp. 77–78; BA-MA, BMRS, File Karl-Heinrich Fricke, *Erinnerungen aus 70 Lebensjahren von 1914–1984* (Köln, 1984).
157. Regional Party offices.
158. District Party offices.
159. Lösener in the RMI supposedly also helped people falsify their ancestry. See Lösener, p. 309.
160. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 31–32.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
162. See Speer, p. 328; *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 121–22.
163. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, pp. 121–22.
164. Guderian, p. 449. Guderian's postwar account must be looked at critically. Although it contains valuable information, Guderian wrote it primarily to glorify his role in the development of the Wehrmacht and gives the impression that Guderian could have won the war for Germany had Hitler only allowed him to conduct operations during the 1940s. Guderian also wrote this to present himself as an anti-Nazi. Guderian was anything but anti-Nazi, as Megargee proves in his book *Inside Hitler's High Command*. See Megargee, p. 213; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 414.
165. *Mogeleiversuchen* literally means "attempts to cheat."
166. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 122. See also *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, Notiz von Picker, p. 399.
167. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 114–15.
168. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 117, "Akttenotiz" von Brack, 10.07.1942.
169. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 137; Speer, p. 302; Jochen Lang, pp. 187, 267–69.
170. Jochen Lang, p. 7.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 208.
172. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 137. See also Speer, pp. 300–301; Engelmann, p. 212; Bracher, p. 346.
173. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 136.
174. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
175. *The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich*, vol. 1, p. 102. This is a play on what Jesus told his disciples, quoted in John 14:6, NIV.
176. *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression: Supplement B*, p. 1093; see also Speer, pp. 104–5, for more insight into the relationship Bormann had with Hitler.
177. Rebentisch, p. 400. See also Below, p. 31.
178. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 425; Messerschmidt, p. 358.
179. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 136, Bormann an Bouhler, 02.06.1942; Rebentisch, p. 435.
180. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 138; Rebentisch, p. 411; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 378, 421.
181. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, pp. 399–400.
182. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 26, Reichsverfügungsblatt Anordnung A 34/42, 23.06.1942; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 131–32.
183. Sir Stafford Cripps (1899–1952) became the executive head of the Labor Party from 1937 to 1940, and then was the British ambassador to the USSR from 1940 to 1942.
184. When Hitler met with the German military attaché to Washington in February 1939, he only wanted to discuss with him Roosevelt's alleged Jewish ancestry. This belief that Roosevelt had Jewish ancestry was shared by many high-ranking Nazi officials. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, p. 87; Keegan, *Second World War*, p. 537; Jochen Lang, p. 235; *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier*, p. 399; Victor, p. 18. It was common for Hitler to believe that

- the leaders of countries who opposed him were Jews. For example, he believed the majority of the Soviet and American leaders were Jews. Kershaw, *Hitler Myth*, pp. 237–38; Friedländer, pp. 103, 185; Below, p. 39; Victor, p. 18. See also Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, p. xxii.
185. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 131–32, Bormann an Bouhler, 02.07.1942.
186. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 115, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942, BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 128, Reichsverfügungsblatt, Ausgabe A Folge 27/42, 04.07.1942.
187. The Reich's ordinance bulletin (the official gazette of the Parteikanzlei).
188. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 128, Reichsverfügungsblatt, Ausgabe A Folge 27/42, 04.07.1942; BA-B, R 58/276; BA-B, R 21/488, Bl. 41; Adams, p. 326; BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher.
189. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 111.
190. Ibid., Bl. 112, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
191. Reichsamtseleiter Dr. Kurt Blome in the Parteikanzlei.
192. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 112–13, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
193. Ibid., Bl. 113, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
194. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 114, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942; BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 147, "Akttennotiz" von Blankenburg, 09.07.1942.
195. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 114, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942.
196. *Judenfrage* was a Nazi catchword used to justify the expulsion of the Jews.
197. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 115, Bouhler an Bormann, 10.07.1942. Although Bouhler said to Bormann, "*Lösung der Judenfrage*," it was clear that he meant the extermination of the Jews that was taking place at that time. See Hilberg, p. 562; Peter Padfield, *Himmler: Reichsführer-SS* (New York, 1990), p. 303.
198. The Führer's private chancellery dealt mainly with the flood of mail addressed to Hitler. Interestingly enough, although Albert and Martin Bormann worked near to each other and were brothers, they grew to detest each other. Jochen Lang, pp. 60, 140; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, p. 32. According to Hitler's Luftwaffe adjutant, Nicolaus von Below, these brothers hardly ever spoke to one another although they often were in the same room together during meetings and other functions. According to Below, this hatred started with a dispute over whom Albert had married. Below, p. 30.
199. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 103, Bouhler an A. Bormann, 13.07.1942.
200. Ibid., Bl. 117, "Akttennotiz" von Brack, 10.07.1942.
201. Ibid., Bl. 116a, "Akttennotiz" von Brack, 10.07.1942.
202. Ibid., Bl. 100.
203. Ibid., Bl. 116, "Akttennotiz" aus der Kanzlei des Führers, 10.07.1942.
204. Adam, p. 319.
205. Hilberg, pp. 272–73.
206. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 28, Rundschreiben 164/42, 24.10.1942; BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher, SS-Abschnitt XV Abt. I Ao AZ. 1 qu W/Wo.
207. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf Schenk, Frey an R. Schenk, 09.09.1942.
208. Below, p. 348. Below puts the date for Engel's dismissal at the end of September 1943. However, according to Hildegard von Kotze's commen-

- tary on Engel's diary, Engel left his position as Hitler's adjutant in March 1943. See *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 145, Notiz von Hildegard von Kotze.
209. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 46–48, A. Bormann an Blankenburg, 13.03.1943.
210. Ibid., Bl. 48, Blankenburg an A. Bormann, 17.02.1942.
211. Ibid., Bl. 129–129b.
212. *Rundschreiben* is a circular.
213. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 28, 46–48.
214. Lifton, p. 452; Hilberg, p. 601.
215. Wachtmeister is a staff sergeant.
216. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 87–88.
217. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 77, OKW an Blankenburg, 03.08.1943.
218. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 48b.
219. Rudolf Absolon, *Die Wehrmacht im Dritten Reich. Band VI*, p. 315.
220. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 25–25a, Bormann an Bouhler, 27.09.1943.
221. Ibid.
222. Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 335.
223. Guderian, p. 362.
224. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 70, Aktennotiz, IIBDi/Schr., Betrifft: Politische Beurteilung von jüdischen Mischlingen, 12.10.1943.
225. Ibid., Bl. 71, “Aktennotiz für Herrn Blankenburg,” Betrifft: Bearbeitung der Mischlingssachen, 19.10.1943.
226. BA-MA, BMRS, File Haller, Bl. 37–38, Schmudt an Irmgard Böhrne, 03.11.1943.
227. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 67–68, IIa/Schr., Jüdische Mischlinge im Wehrdienst, 28.10.1943. See also BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 84b.
228. Ibid., Bl. 68.
229. In addition to Schmudt's responsibility as Hitler's Wehrmacht adjutant, he was head of the Army Personnel Office from 2 October 1942 until 20 July 1944. Keilig, p. 4.
230. D. Bradley and R. Schulze-Kossens, eds., *Tätigkeitsbericht des Chefs des Heerespersonalamtes General der Infanterie Rudolf Schmudt: 1.10.1942–29.10.1944. Fortgef. v. Wilhelm Burgdorf* (Osnabrück, 1984), p. 128 (cited from now on as: *Schmudt, Tätigkeitsbericht*).
231. Department for Personnel Matters of Officers and Their Offspring (not including General Staff officers). Keilig, p. 5.
232. Department for Personnel Matters of High-Ranking Officers and Education and Welfare. Keilig, p. 7.
233. *Schmudt, Tätigkeitsbericht*, p. 128.
234. Group IV (*Gruppe IV*) in P2 was responsible for officers, officer cadets, and Sonderführer. Keilig, p. 8.
235. Department for Awards. Keilig, p. 12.
236. BA-B, NS 19/87, Bl. 2, Brandt an Klopfer, betr. Liste der Berufsoffiziere, die teils vor Kriegsbeginn, teils auch erst im Kriege Deutschblütigen gleichgestellt wurden, 05.09.1944; BA-A, Sammlung Jüdische Mischlinge.
237. Joachim von Schmeling-Diringshofen was recalled to active duty in 1939 from China. He died in battle during the summer of 1942.

238. BA-A, Mischlinge in der Wehrmacht, Schreiben Amtsgruppe P2/ 3 Abt. an P5, 11.01.1944.
239. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters, 18.03.1995, T-123; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Otto Wolters, 06.12.1996, T-252.
240. *Akten-NSDAP*, 101-07569-07588; BA-B, R 43 II/599.
241. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 53, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers der NSDAP, 18.02.1944.
242. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 52, Blankenburg an OKW, 11.03.1944.
243. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00401/402, 4. Die Führerverfügung 48/44; BA-B, Sammlung Schumacher; BA-B, NS 6/347, Bl. 162; Martin Moll, ed., *Führererlasse, 1939–1945* (Stuttgart, 1997), pp. 395–96.
244. Jochen Lang, pp. 236–37.
245. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
246. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
247. BA-B, DZA 62 Ka. 1 83, Bl. 54, OKW an Kanzlei des Führers, betr. Ausnahmebehandlung jüdischer Mischlinge, 03.03.1944.
248. Adam, p. 331.
249. Unterarzt Erich Rauchfuß. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Erich Rauchfuß, 02.04.1995, T-127.
250. Adam, pp. 331–32; Meyer, pp. 100, 108, 153.
251. BA-MA, N 179, Telegramm Milchs an Hitler, 21.07.1944.
252. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00386, I. Derzeitiger Stand des Mischlingsproblems.
253. *Ibid.*, 107-00399, 2. Ausnahmen vom Gesetz der Blutrreinheit, a) Jüdische Mischlinge.
254. *Ibid.*, 107-00392.
255. *Ibid.*, 107-00405, 4. Die Rangfolge bei der Ausnahmebehandlung von Mischlingen.
256. *Ibid.*, 107-00406-407, 6. Die Tarnung der jüdischen Mischlinge durch die Gleichstellung mit Deutschblütigen.
257. *Ibid.*, 107-00406-414.
258. *Ibid.*, 107-00415, III. Richtlinien für die künftige Sachbearbeitung.
259. *Ibid.*, 107-00417-00418, 3. Die Stellungnahme der NSDAP zu Ausnahmeanträgen im Bereich des Staates und der Wehrmacht.
260. *Ibid.*
261. *Stufe IV wounded soldiers lost*, for example, either both hands, both legs, or their eyesight, to name just a few of the wounds that qualified one for this classification. Such soldiers also received eighty Reichsmarks a month. BA-MA, RH 12-23/ 834, p. 93.
262. *Akten-NSDAP*, 107-00417-00418, 3. Die Stellungnahme der NSDAP zu Ausnahmeanträgen im Bereich des Staates und der Wehrmacht.
263. *Schmundt, Tätigkeitsbericht*, p. 186. For reports on Sachs's 257th Infantry Division in Russia, see BA-MA, RH 26/257. For example, from June 1941 until April 1942, Sachs's division had killed 12,500 Russians, destroyed thirty tanks, shot down six planes, and taken 2,626 prisoners.
264. *Schmundt, Tätigkeitsbericht*, p. 186.

265. BA-MA, RH 26/257, Schreiben Sachs an 257. Div., 19.08.1941.
266. BA-B, NS 19/87, Bl. 1, Vermerk für Dr. Brandt, 30.08.1944, and Bl. 2, Dr. Brandt an Klopfer, 05.09.1944.
267. *Schmundt, Tätigkeitsbericht*, p. 247.
268. BA-B, R 43 II/599, Bormann an Lammers, 02.11.1944; BA-B, 43II/603b.
269. Absolon, *Wehrgesetz und Wehrdienst*, p. 119.
270. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 163–64.
271. This study has documented two soldiers not on the list who were possibly discharged because of this order—Obergefreiter Dieter Fischer and Unterarzt Erich Rauchfuß. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft II, Amelis von Mettenheim, *Die Zwölf Langen Jahre, 1933–1945*, Bl. 38; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Erich Rauchfuß, 02.04.1995, T-127.
272. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Maltzahn.
273. BA-MA, Pers 6/7363, Major Friedrich Gebhard, Gebhard an Generalkommando XI. A.K., Hannover, 21.10.1944.
274. Waffen-SS/SS lieutenant colonel.
275. BA-MA, Pers 6/9887, Bl. 41, Suchanek an Burgdorf, 15.09.1944.
276. *Ibid.*, Bl. 41, Burgdorf an Suchanek, 26.09.1944.
277. *Ibid.*, Bl. 25, Beurteilung vom 27.11.1943.
278. *Ibid.*, Burgdorf an Bloch, 15.02.1945.
279. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bloch, Walther Brockhoff an Sabine Bloch, 31.10.1945; BA-MA, BMRS, interview M. Bloch.
280. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bloch, Brockhoff an Sabine Bloch, 31.10.1945.
281. BA-MA, 6/7363, Friedrich Gebhard, Ag 1/1. (Zentral-) Abt. (IIc) an Stellv. Generalkommando XI. A.K. Hannover, 30.09.1944; BA-MA, Pers. Karl Helwig, Ag 1/1. (Zentral-) Abt. (IIc) an Stellv. Generalkommando VII.A.K. München, 30.09.1944.
282. BA-MA, BMRS, File Binder, Bl. 68, 81; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Binder. Binder was told in February 1945 that Hitler had declared him an *Ehrenarier* (honorable Aryan) and promoted him to first lieutenant.
283. BA-A, Pers 14492, Hans-Günther von Gersdorff, Dienstlaufbahn, Bl. 4.
284. *Ibid.*, Bl. 5–6, 4. Artillerieregiment Aktz. 22a/34II vom 08.05.1934 (“Einschreiben”). This description of Aryan ancestry most probably comes from Minister Frick’s description of it. See BA-B, R 43 II/ 418a.
285. Supposedly this woman was a rather famous horseback rider in her youth.
286. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 5–6.
287. *Ibid.*, Bl. 23, v. Schwedler an Frau Marie Fritsch (frühere v. Gersdorff), 30.08.1935.
288. *Ibid.*, Bl. 25, Fritsch an v. Schwedler, 02.09.1935.
289. *Ibid.*, Bl. 28–31, Fritsch an v. Blomberg, 05.09.1935.
290. *Ibid.*, v. Blomberg an Fritsch, 18.09.1935.
291. *Ibid.*, Bl. 34–37, Fritsch an v. Blomberg, 02.10.1935.
292. *Ibid.*, Bl. 46–50, Fritsch an v. Schwedler, 28. 10.1935, Bl. 58–61, Fritsch an Adolf Hitler 17.12.1935, Bl. 66–67, Fritsch an v. Schwedler, 07.01.1936, and Bl. 68, v. Schwedler an Fritsch, 17.01.1936.

293. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 82, Engel an OKW, 05.04.1940; MA-A, Pers 15499, Wilhelm von Gottberg, Bl. 2, Dienstlaufbahn, 27.08.1939; BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. von Gottberg.
294. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wilhelm von Gottberg, Bl. 41, Brauchitsch an Brockhusen, 29.02.1940.
295. Ibid., Bl. 42, Meissner an Irmgard von Brockhusen, 29.02.1940.
296. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 100–105, 109, Gericht der Division Nr. 154, Dresden, Feldurteil unterzeichnet von Dr. Schirmer, 16.02.1942.
297. BA-A, Pers 14492, Bl. 75–82.
298. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft III, Bl. 1, Polizeipräsident in Berlin, Abt. II, Justrowski an Prager, 01.04.1937; Ibid., Bl. 60–61, Prager an Stephan Prager, 07.04.1937.
299. Ibid., Bl. 8, Prager an Stephan Prager, 19.07.1937.
300. Ibid., Bl. 9, Prager an Stephan Prager, 27.08.1937.
301. Haehnelt was the commander of the Second Army's Air Group during World War I and had been a strong proponent of air defense. Corum, *Luftwaffe*, p. 78.
302. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft III, Bl. 9, Prager an Stephan Prager, 27.08.1937, & Bl. 132, Bestätigung von Heinrich Prager, Vater Ernst Pragers, 20.11.1945.
303. Ibid., Bl. 11, Prager an Stephan Prager, 22.12.1937.
304. Ibid., Bl. 14, Prager an Stephan Prager, 14.02.1938.
305. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft II, Bl. 27–30, Prager an OKW, Betrifft: Anlage 1 zum Gesuch um Wiederverwendung, 24.05.1941.
306. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Stephan Prager, 11.10.1997, T-402.
307. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 50, Prager an Stephan Prager, 15.06.1941.
308. BA-MA, BMRS, interview S. Prager.
309. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 50, Prager an Stephan Prager, 15.06.1941.
310. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 57–58, Prager an Stephan Prager, 06.07.1941. Lösener reported that after the war, no more than a dozen mixed marriages were approved, which was a very small number compared with the large number of applications they received. Lösener, pp. 284–85.
311. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 57–58, Prager an Stephan Prager, 06.07.1941.
312. Ibid., Bl. 57–58, Prager an Stephan Prager, 06.07.1941.
313. Ibid., Bl. 54–55, Prager an Stephan Prager, 26.06.1941.
314. Ibid., Bl. 133, Heinrich Prager an Gericht in Kulmbach, 20.11.1941.
315. Ibid., Bl. 17, Prager an Stephan Prager, 17.11.1941.
316. Ibid., S. Prager to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
317. Ibid., Bl. 16.
318. Jews could not travel as of 10 October 1941 without special permission. Maser, p. 266.
319. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 17.
320. Ibid., Bl. 16, Prager an Stephan Prager, 17.11.1941.

321. Ibid.
322. Prager had described half-Jew Robert Borchardt.
323. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 21, Prager an Stephan Prager, 26.11.1941.
324. *Amt für Rassenforschung*.
325. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft III, Bl. 17, Prager an Stephan Prager, 17.11.1941.
326. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft II, Bl. 53, Prager an Fräulein Kürschner, 21.12.1941.
327. Ibid., Bl. 65–73, 168, Abschiedsansprache für Hella Prager von Stephan Prager, 10.06.1996.
328. BA-B, R 7.01 Reichskanzlei 4112, Bl. 292, Haehnel an Lammers, 02.04.1943.
329. Ibid., Bl. 294, Lammers an Haehnel, 08.04.1943.
330. Messerschmidt, p. 355.
331. Prager's aunt and uncle, Mathilde and Stefan Blanck, both died in Theresienstadt. Another aunt, Elisabeth Schmitt née Prager, died in Bergen-Belsen sometime in 1942. See also BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft II, Bl. 167.
332. An interesting side note to Prager's case happened a few days before the U.S. Army captured Beyreuth when he had four Luftwaffe deserters executed. He claimed after the war that had he not executed these men, who had tried to escape before and had planned to murder their guard, he might have been shot himself and discipline among the 1,000 men he commanded might have broken down. Regardless of Prager's reasons, this act caused him some problems after 1945. Although it was known that he and his family were victims of the Nazis, he was denounced as a Nazi sympathizer. As a result, he had to go through a denazification process. Despite humiliating deliberations, Prager was eventually found innocent of all charges of being a Nazi. BA-MA, BMRS, File Prager, Heft II, Bl. 133–140; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Prager. Another interesting note to the Prager story happened several years after the war when the German government awarded him the rank of colonel. This happened after Prager had taken his case to court arguing that without the racial laws, he would have attained this rank. He was proud to receive what he termed "his rightful place in the army." BA-MA, BMRS, interview Prager.
333. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rainer Gärtner, Heft IV, Bl. 8–9; Ibid., Bl. 11–14, Gärtner an seine Eltern, 02.02.1942.
334. Ibid., Bl. 9, Gärtner an seine Eltern, 05.01.1942, Gärtner an seine Mutter, 02.02.1942.
335. BA-MA, BMRS, File Gärtner, Heft III, Bl. 63–65, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Emil Gärtner, 20.03.1942.
336. Ibid., Bl. 65.
337. Ibid.
338. Ibid., Bl. 64, Dr. Biermann an Dr. Robert Gärtner, (o.D.).
339. Ibid., Bl. 42–44, Gärtner an seinen Vater, 12.02.1942.
340. Ibid, Heft IV, Bl. 9, Gärtner an seine Eltern, 05.01.1942; Ibid., Heft IV, Bl. 9, Gärtner an seinen Vater, 05.01.1942.
341. Ibid., Heft IV, Bl. 1, Gärtner an seinen Vater, 07.03.1942.
342. Ibid., Heft III, Bl. 40, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Rainer Gärtner, 15.03.1942.

343. Ibid., Bl. 38, Notiz auf Schreiben Dr. Biermann-Ratjen an Dr. Robert Gärtner, 17.03.1942.
344. Ibid., Bl. 63, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Emil Gärtner, 26.03.1942.
345. Ibid., Bl. 45–55.
346. Ibid., Heft III, Bl. 55, Dr. Robert Gärtner an Rainer Gärtner, 27.03.1942.
347. Ibid., Bl. 42, Bestätigung von Schwenn Lindemann, 30.03.1942.
348. Ibid., Heft II, Bl. 7–8, Hannerle an Rainer Gärtner, 20.08.1942.
349. Ibid., Bl. 42, Hauptmann Giese an Eltern Gärtner, 14.01.1945.
350. Ibid., Heft IV, Bl. 115, Gärtner an Giese, 10.02.1945.
351. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 80–81, Mettenheim an OKW, 09.09.1941.
352. Ibid., Frey an Mettenheim, 13.09.1941.
353. Ibid., Bl. 77, Frey an Mettenheim, 21.10.1941.
354. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 64, Mettenheim an OKW, 04.11.1943.
355. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft II, *Die Zwölf Langen Jahre 1933–1945*, von Amelis von Mettenheim, Bl. 18–23.
356. Ibid., Bl. 19.
357. BA-MA, BMRS, File Dieter Fischer, Heft I, Bl. 63, OKW an v. Mettenheim, 22.11.1943.

CHAPTER 9: WHAT DID *MISCHLINGE* KNOW ABOUT
THE HOLOCAUST?

1. Stephen G. Fritz, *Frontsoldaten: The German Soldier in World War II* (Lexington, 1995), p. 3.
2. A literal translation of *Judenlummel* is “Jewish lout” or “jerk.”
3. Krackow, pp. 69–79; BA-MA, BMRS, interview J. Krackow.
4. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Reinhard.
5. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Scholz.
6. Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” p. 305.
7. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Pollak, 07.12.1995, T-72. Pollak was wounded five times during the war.
8. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Günzel, Bl. 43; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rosemarie Mirauer, 24.02.1997, T-315; BA-MA, BMRS, File Günther Mirauer, Bl. 56; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Czempin; BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Heft I, Bl. 34–42; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans-Geert Falkenberg, 02.02.1997, T-289; BA-MA, BMRS, Hans Günzel, Bl. 43.
9. BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Heft I, Bl. 34–42, 56; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans-Geert Falkenberg, 02.02.1997, T-289. Richard Albert Falkenberg (Mountfalcon) served as a private from January 1940 to 1943. In 1943, he was promoted to sergeant and remained at this rank until his honorable discharge in 1945.
10. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Heinz-Georg Heymann, 09.04.1995, T-138.
11. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dietrich Moll, 04.03.1995, T-111.
12. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hamburger.
13. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; Bergmann, pp. 6–7.
14. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Bl. 56–57.

15. Ibid., File Hans-Geert Falkenberg, Bl. 60–61, Klein an Falkenberg, 08.07.1940.
16. Ibid., Bl. 60–61.
17. Ibid., Bl. 57, Klein an Falkenberg, 05.04.1942.
18. Ibid., Bl. 58, Klein an Falkenberg, 10.05.1942.
19. Owings, p. 460.
20. BA-MA, BMRS, File Werner Maltzahn, Bl. 2–4.
21. BA-MA, Msg 1/1364, Bl. 59–60.
22. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lennert, Bl. 18, Lennert an seine Mutter, 17.01.1941; BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lennert, Bl. 17, Lennert an seine Mutter, 13.01.1941.
23. Ibid., Bl. 1.
24. BA-MA, BMRS, Bl. 20, Lennert an seine Mutter, 28.07.1942; Freie Universität Berlin: Zentralinstitut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung, ed., *Gedenkbuch Berlins der jüdischer Opfer des Nationalsozialismus* (Berlin, 1995).
25. BA-MA, BMRS, File Wolfgang Lennert, Lennert an seine Mutter, 12.10.1942.
26. *Gedenkbuch jüdischen Opfer*.
27. Feldwebel is a staff sergeant.
28. BA-MA, BMRS, File Georg-Friedrich Müller, Bl. 48; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Georg-Friedrich Müller, 04.02.1997, T-293.
29. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Peter Cahn, 17.03.1995, T-121 and 11.12.1996, T-268. See also Bergmann, pp. 136, 147.
30. Bergmann, pp. 208–9; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
31. Posselt, p. 42.
32. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Posselt; Posselt, pp. 42–44.
33. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Posselt.
34. BA-MA, BMRS, File Angreß, Bl. 3, 16; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Angreß.
35. BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. Pollak.
36. BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. S., 16.11.1995, C-52.
37. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hermann Schucht, Bl. 3, Abschiedsbrief seiner Mutter an Hermann Schucht, 15.10.1942.
38. BA-MA, BMRS, File Richard Czempin, Bl. 62.
39. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Czempin. Czempin's Jewish father had also committed suicide to prevent his deportation.
40. BA-MA, BMRS, File Joachim Gaehde, Bl. 38.
41. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 134–35, 320, 321–24, 349–52, 383, 470, 521; Hilberg, pp. 3, 128, 138, 141, 258, 260–61; Lösener, p. 296; Burleigh, p. 592; Gordon, p. 97; BA-MA, BMRS, File H. Rehfeld.
42. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst Schmechel; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Schmechel.
43. Not his real name.
44. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Horst G. (Reinhard), 20.11.1994, T-57.
45. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser.
46. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser; BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Steinwasser, Bl. 102.
47. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Steinwasser; BA-MA, BMRS, File Steinwasser, Bl. 102.

48. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Hertha-Barbara Hollaender, 21.11.1995, T-171; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Frau Hertha-Barbara Hollaender, 12.11.1996, T-234.
49. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190.
50. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 10–14.08.1994, T-10; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Braun, 07.01.1996, T-190; BA-MA, BMRS, File Braun, Braun an Rigg, 22.12.2000.
51. Bergmann, p. 238.
52. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
53. BA-MA, BMRS, File Klaus Florey.
54. Ibid., Florey to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
55. BA-MA, BMRS, File Bleicher, “Wie ich den 8. Mai 1945 erlebte: Ein persönlicher Bericht eines Betroffenen”: BA-MA, interview Heinz Bleicher, 10.02.1995, T-90.
56. See also Kaplan, p. 195.
57. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hanns Rehfeld.
58. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Löwy.
59. Although some Waffen-SS personnel did serve in the concentration camps, Dr. Josef Mengele being one of the most famous examples, most Waffen-SS did not serve in the concentration camps. Lifton, p. 340.
60. BA-MA, BMRS, File Heinz-Günther Löwy, Bl. 2, Löwy an Rigg, 16.03.1996; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Löwy.
61. BA-MA, BMRS, File Florey.
62. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Catharin; BA-MA, BMRS, File Catharin, Bl. 7, Catharin an Rigg.
63. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hans Döppes, 19.05.1996, T-207; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Hanns Bauer, 29.03.1998, T-421; BA-MA, interview Friedemann Lichtwitz, 18.07.1997; BA-MA, BMRS, File Friedemann Lichtwitz; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rolf Schenk, 23.05.1997, T-349; BA-MA, BMRS, File Rolf Schenk; BA-MA, BMRS, File Herbert Simon., Bl. 11; BA-MA, BMRS, File Erik Blumenfeld; BA-MA, BMRS, File Eisner; BA-MA, BMRS, File Helmuth Rosenbaum, Bl. 9.
64. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Lichtwitz.
65. BA-MA, BMRS, File R. Schenk; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schenk.
66. *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 1–2, Nuremberg Trials*, p. 2,524.
67. Lifton, p. 286; Persico, p. 370.
68. Office of the United States Chief Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, ed., *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1946), p. 445.
69. Ibid., p. 446.
70. Hilberg, p. 599.
71. *U.S.A. Military Tribunals: Case No. 12*, p. 10,261.
72. Discussion with the author on 28 October 1998.
73. Senior civil servant. Killy was responsible for finance, budget, labor, audit and civil service matters in the Reichskanzlei. Hilberg, p. 44.

74. Rebutisch, pp. 59–60; Hilberg, p. 53; Meyer, p. 153; Cornberg and Steiner, pp. 155–56.
75. Hilberg, p. 53. Rebutisch disputes Hilberg’s claim about Killy. See Rebutisch, p. 437, n. 207. Since Killy was a high-ranking official in the Reichskanzlei, he could not have avoided taking part in the Holocaust, actively or passively. However, Lösener writes that Killy was a good friend of his and helped him with *Mischlinge*. Lösener, p. 272.
76. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Eppinger. He is credited with formulating many significant concepts in hepatology. He identified what is now called viral hepatitis as a hepatocellular disorder and even developed the classification of jaundice.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid., Bl. 1. Eppinger was not only distraught about his upcoming trial, but also apparently grieving his son’s death, which had happened on the Russian front.
79. For a complete biography on Stella Goldschlag see Peter Wyden, *Stella: One Woman’s True Tale of Evil, Betrayal, and Survival in Hitler’s Germany*; see also Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, p. 222; Beate Meyer and Hermann Simon, *Juden in Berlin, 1938–1945* (Berlin, 2000), pp. 237–52.
80. Wyden, pp. 300–301.
81. Ibid., p. 17.
82. Ibid., p. 231.
83. Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 166, 184, 279–81. There were other “catchers” who worked with Stella and Abrahamsohn—Bruno Goldstein, Ruth Danziger, Ralf Isaaksohn, and a man named Friedlaender, to name just a few. See Wyden, pp. 139–42, 240, 274–76.
84. Kaplan, p. 210.
85. SS first lieutenant.
86. This camp operated from 18 August 1943 until 29 July 1944. The inmates worked at the Factory Lenta (S.D. Werkstätten). *Internationaler Suchdienst, Verzeichnis der Haftstätten unter dem Reichsführer-SS, Comité International Genève* (Red Cross), 1979, p. 251.
87. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Scherwitz, Bl. 13.
88. BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Scherwitz, Bl. 22. Others have claimed that he helped people in the camp (see BA-MA, BMRS, File Scherwitz, Bl. 25–31). Anita Kugler, however, disputes the accuracy of these sources, which originally came from the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Israel, in her forthcoming biography of Scherwitz, *Der jüdische SS-Offizier* (personal communication from Kugler, 21 March 2002).
89. The rabbi who said this wishes to remain unknown.
90. BA-MA, BMRS, interview H. Pollak.
91. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gaupp, 27.04.1996, T-198.
92. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schliesser.
93. They had just been pulled out of the combat zone west of Moscow, where they had been in constant combat for eleven months. BA-MA, BMRS, File Horst von Oppenfeld, Oppenfeld to Rigg, 12.02.2001.

94. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Oppenfeld.
95. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Rudolf Sachs, 20.11.1995, T-168.
96. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fritz Kassowitz, 04.01.1996, T-183; BA-MA, BMRS, File Fritz Kassowitz.
97. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft I, Bl. 144; BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, S. Prager to Rigg, 05.07.2001.
98. Ibid.; BA-MA, BMRS, interview S. Prager.
99. BA-MA, BMRS, File Ernst Prager, Heft III, Bl. 121.
100. BA-MA, N 379/v. 226, Bl. 39, Langheld an Ruge, 12.05.1956.
101. BA-MA, N 328/45, Ehrhardt an Förste, 14.11.1956. This intervention must have happened sometime between 1940 and 1941 because it was stated that Heß secured her protection. After Bormann took over Heß's duties in May 1941, it is not known what happened to Frau Langheld née Gerson. However, in the letters Langheld wrote after the war, he mentioned that only his aunts and not his mother died, so one might conclude that she made it safely through the war.
102. Klemperer, Buch II, p. 477, 32.01.1944.
103. SS major.
104. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Krüger; Krüger, pp. 92–94.
105. Krüger, p. 94.
106. Rose had fought on the side of Franco's forces during the Spanish Civil War.
107. Rose's father, Siegbert Emil Rose, had been a medical officer (Oberstabsarzt) in the army during World War I.
108. The literal translation for *Schwein* is "pig," but here it means "jerk."
109. BA-MA, BMRS, File Rose, Schnez an Rigg, 30.01.2001. Rose's parents were killed in Auschwitz soon after their arrival.
110. de Maizière, p. 31; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Albert Schnez, 24.03.1997, T-323.
111. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schliesser; BA-MA, BMRS, Effenberg, Bl. 9 pp. 1–6.
112. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Techel.
113. Bergmann, p. 257.
114. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bergmann.
115. BA-MA, BMRS, File Schliesser.
116. BA-MA, BMRS, File Hans Schmitt, Schmitt to Rigg, 30.03.2001.
117. Captain Sternberg would later go down with his U-boat.
118. BA-MA, BMRS, File Martin Bier, Bl. 33.
119. BA-MA, BMRS, File M. Bier, Bl. 17; BA-MA, BMRS, File Gerhard Bier, Bl. 13; BA-MA, BMRS, interview M. Bier; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Gerhard Bier, 25.09.1995, T-27; BA-MA, BMRS, interview Schlesinger.
120. BA-MA, BMRS, File Meissinger, Meissinger to Rigg, 21.07.2001.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid., Meissinger to Rigg, 27.01.2001.
123. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Günzel; BA-MA, BMRS, File Günzel, Bl. 3. Hans Günzel received the Wound Badge and the EKII. Peter Günzel received the EKII and the EK1.
124. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Herder.

125. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Dieckmann.
126. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Sydow, 17.12.1994.
127. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Max Mannheimer, 18.11.1994, T-55.
128. Johannes Steinhoff, Peter Pechel, and Dennis Showalter, eds., *Deutsche im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Zeitzeugen Sprechen* (München, 1989), pp. 218, 452.
129. Schmidt, “Politischer Rückblick auf eine unpolitische Jugend,” in *Kindheit unter Hitler*, p. 236.
130. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Fuchs.
131. BA-MA, BMRS, interview Harald Etheimer, 02.09.1995, T-164. See also BA-MA, BMRS, interview Bleicher.
132. Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, pp. 349–50. See also Bauer, p. 247.
133. Steinberg, *All or Nothing*, pp. 50–51. See also Kaplan, pp. 184, 227.
134. Yahil, p. 99. See also Langer, *Holocaust Testimonies*, p. 138; Kaplan, p. 172.
135. Kaplan, p. 194.
136. Ian Kershaw, “Popular Opinion in the Third Reich,” in *Government, Party, and People in Nazi Germany*, p. 71.
137. Dawidowicz, *War against Jews*, p. 306.

CONCLUSION

1. Charles Kelly Barrow, R. B. Rosenberg, and J. H. Segars, eds., *Forgotten Confederates: An Anthology about Black Southerners* (Atlanta, 1995); Richard Rollins, *Black Southerners in Gray: Essays on Afro-Americans in Confederate Armies* (California, 1994); Patricia W. Romero and Charles H. Wesley, *International Library of Negro Life and History* (New York, 1969), pp. 27, 56–58, 112–14, 143–44; James I. Robertson, *Soldiers Blue and Gray* (South Carolina, 1998), pp. 30–35; Richard Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William Stil, *The Elements of Confederate Defeat: Nationalism, War Aims, and Religion* (London, 1988), p. 177.
2. Ervin L. Jordan Jr., “Different Drummers,” in *Black Southerners in Gray*, p. 67.
3. Romero and Wesley, p. 39. See also Richard Rollins, “Black Southerners in Gray,” in *Black Southerners in Gray*, pp. 7–8, 17; Arthur W. Bergeron Jr., “Louisiana’s Free Men of Color,” in *Black Southerners in Gray*, pp. 37–38.
4. Rudolph Young, “Black Confederates in Lincoln County, North Carolina,” in *Black Southerners in Gray*; p. 121; James H. Brewer, *The Confederate Negro* (Durham, 1969), p. 3. Brewer puts the number of African-Americans who served in the Confederate military between fifty thousand and sixty thousand.
5. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, vol. 2, (Oxford, 1958), pp. 785–87; Charles B. MacDonald, *The Mighty Endeavor: American Armed Forces in the European Theater in World War II* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 248, 263, 498–500; Lauren, pp. 72–75, 188; Allen Millett and Peter Maslowski, *For the Common Defense* (New York, 1984), p. 349; Omar N. Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General’s Life: An Autobiography by General of the Army Omar N. Bradley* (New York, 1981), pp. 484–86, 543.

6. Robert B. Edgerton, *Warriors of the Rising Sun* (New York, 1997), p. 226; William Manchester, *Goodbye Darkness* (New York, 1979), pp. 166, 183; Robert T. Oliver, *A History of the Korean People in Modern Times: 1800 to the Present* (Newark, 1993), pp. 110–24. Many Koreans were conscripted by the Japanese armed forces and sent to battle in Manchuria and the Pacific Islands. Several kamikaze pilots were in fact brainwashed Korean high school students. Although Koreans were severely discriminated against in the army, several reached high ranks. For example, Lieutenant General Sa-ick Hong, the commandant of the infamous Manila POW camp, was a Korean and was later executed by the Americans as a war criminal (Japan deliberately transferred him to the prison post near the end of the war). Former Korean president Chung-hee Park was a graduate of the Japanese Military Academy and fought for Japan in Manchuria as an officer. Many thanks to Dr. Kwan-sa You for translating this information from Kap-jae Cho: “Spit on my Grave—The Life of Park Chung-hee,” *Chosun Ilbo*, Seoul, Korea, article no. 104-116, 1998.
7. It seems that only Japanese living in the coastal areas of California, Oregon, and Washington had to leave for the internment camps. Those Japanese who lived in Hawaii, for example, were not put into camps.
8. Morison and Commager, p. 788; Lauren, pp. 132–33. Not until 21 June 2000 were twenty-two Japanese Americans awarded the Medal of Honor for actions performed during World War II. They had been denied these honors because of their ancestry. These Japanese Americans served in the 442nd Army Regiment, the most decorated regiment of the war. Some people claim that this was a political move on President Clinton’s part during election year to secure the American Asian vote for Gore. For example, every World War II army regiment averaged around one Medal of Honor, but the fact that twenty-two men received this medal from one regiment is quite remarkable if not impossible. As historian and army colonel James Corum says, “It smells of politics.”
9. See Stoltzfus, *Resistance*, pp. 85, 248.
10. Turner, p. 36.
11. Walter Görlitz, “Reichenau,” in *Hitler’s Generals*, p. 215.
12. *Heeresadjutant bei Hitler*, p. 70. See also Guderian, p. 86.
13. Bartov, pp. 129–30; Jürgen Förster, in *The Final Solution*, p. 97; Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-Space,’” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 1,209–14.
14. Jürgen Förster, “Securing ‘Living-Space,’” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, p. 1,213.
15. Bartov, p. 130; Breithaupt, pp. 135–37; Jürgen Förster, *The Final Solution*, p. 97; Jürgen Förster, *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 1213–16.
16. Jürgen Förster, “Hitler’s Decision in Favor of War against the Soviet Union,” in *Germany and the Second World War*, vol. 4, pp. 36–37.
17. See Yahil, pp. 257–58, 272–74; Gilbert, *Holocaust*, p. 210.
18. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 406, 709.
19. Hitler quite often let his ideological beliefs get in the way of military necessity. For example, during the war with Russia, Hitler could have mobilized five mil-

- lion women to work in the factories, thereby freeing up to three million men for military service. However, he did not use these women because of “both the physical and moral harm upon German women and damage to their psychic and emotional life and possibly their potential as mothers” if they worked. Craig, *Germany, 1866–1945*, pp. 735–36, 745–46. See also Rebentisch, p. 403 n. 93; Stephan Salter, “Class Harmony or Class Conflict? The Industrial Working Class and the National Socialist Regime,” in *Government, Party, and People in Nazi Germany*, pp. 89–91; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 563, 567–68.
20. BA-MA, BMRS, general impression gained from this study; Rebentisch, p. 435, n. 200; Adler, *Der Verwaltungsmensch*, p. 302.
 21. Victor, p. 197.
 22. Bracher, p. 404.
 23. Lösener, pp. 281, 311. *Judenfreund* was described by Robert Gellately as a “term of abuse and a catch-all accusation that could be levelled at persons who had uttered a mild disagreement with some aspect of the racial policies, or had otherwise given reason for suspicion that they did not accept the letter or spirit of Nazi anti-Semitism.” Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*, p. 160.
 24. Lösener, p. 311; see also Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy,” pp. 313, 353–54.
 25. For evidence of Hitler’s direct handling of the Holocaust, see Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 82, 115, 157, 178; Kershaw, *Nazi Dictatorship*, pp. 80–107; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 147, 152, 461–64, 468–69, 487, 520–21, 583–84, 636; Richard Breitman “Himmler, The Architect of Genocide,” in *Final Solution*, p. 73; Christopher R. Browning, “Hitler and the Euphoria of Victory: The Path to the Final Solution,” in *Final Solution*, pp. 137, 143–45; *Goebbels Diaries, 1942–1943*, pp. 86, 92, 148, 244, 300; Redlich, pp. 54–55, 104–5, 170–76, 264, 316; *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944*, pp. 90, 99, 130, 195, 229; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 223; Friedländer, p. 3; Maser, pp. 256, 384; Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers*, pp. 1–3; Browning, *Ordinary Men*, p. 49; Evans, pp. 85, 213–15, 220.
 26. Helmut Krausnick and Hildegard von Kotze, eds., *Es spricht der Führer: Sieben exemplarische Hitler-Reden* (Gütersloh, 1966), p. 147. As translated by Friedländer, p. 187.
 27. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 110. See also Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 532; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 93, 421.
 28. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, p. 157; Redlich, pp. 170, 321; Evans, pp. 11, 78, 82, 89–90.
 29. Kershaw, *Profiles in Power*, pp. 157, 178; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936*, p. 345; Kershaw, *Hitler, 1936–1945*, pp. 244, 248, 349, 352–58, 461–69, 479, 488, 492, 520–22, 589; Kershaw, *Nazi Dictatorship*, p. 105; *Die Wehrmacht*, Jürgen Förster, pp. 953, 960; Bauer, pp. 155, 194–95; Martin Broszat, *German National Socialism, 1919–1945* (California, 1966), p. 52; Weinberg, *Germany, Hitler*, p. 226; Rebentisch, p. 429; Benz, p. 1; Redlich, pp. 154, 173–75, 177, 321–22, 327–28; Browning, *Nazi Policy, Jewish Workers*, pp. 3, 14–15, 33, 39; Browning, *Ordinary Men*, p. 10; Evans, pp. 57, 81.
 30. Redlich, p. 170.

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File Kurt Einstein	File Helmut Jacobsen	File Heino Nave
File Werner Eisner	File Edgar Jacoby	File Carl Neubronner
File Hans Eppinger	File Georg-Wilhelm Jäger	File Helmut Niemann
File Walter Falk	File Hans Kirchholtes	File Peter Noah
File Hans-Geert Falkenberg	File Gerd zu Klampen	File Horst von Oppenfeld
File Bettina Fehr		File August Oestreicher
File Dieter Fischer		File Conrad Patzig
File Klaus Florey		
File Eugen Frank		

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| File Hanns Rehfeld | File Fritz Scherwitz | File Fritz Steinwasser |
| File Johannes Reich | File Heinrich | File Georg Struzyna |
| File Anton Paul Rengers | Schlepegrell. | File Rolf von Sydow |
| File Joachim von | File Friedrich Schlesinger | File Karl Taraba |
| Ribbentrop | File Heinz Schlieper | File Karl-Arnd Techel |
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| File Fritz Rosenhaupt | File Gerd Schneider | Lecture given at Yale |
| File Christian Rosenthal | File Hermann Schucht | by Shlomo Perel, |
| File Hans Sander | File Eike Schweitzer | 22 April 1994 |
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| File Karl Heinz Scheffler | File Herbert Simon | Offizieren |
| File Konrad Schenck | File Wolfgang Spier | |

INTERVIEWS

- BA-MA, BMRS, interview
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|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| H. A., 18.11.1997 | Dietmar Brücher, 17.02.1995 |
| Heinz Günter Angreß, 10.12.1994 | Klaus Budzinski, 15.11.1994 |
| Gert Ascher, 17.11.1997 | Susi Byk, 23.11.1995 |
| Ursula Ascher, 17.11.1997 | Hans Cahn, 11.12.1996 |
| Hermann Aub, 14.12.1996 | Peter Cahn, 17.03.1995 |
| Egon Bahr, 13.02.1995 | Peter Cahn, 11.12.1996 |
| Heinrich Bamberger, 08.11.1994 | Alfred Catharin, 04.01.1996 |
| Fritz Baruch, 31.07.1997 | Richard Czempin, 09.02.1995 |
| Hanns-Heinz Bauer, 29.03.1998 | Ulrich de Maizière, 24.03.1997 |
| Dietrich Beelitz, 16.11.1997 | Hans-Oskar Löwenstein de Witt, |
| Elisabeth Behrend, 03.03.1997 | 06.12.1994 |
| Wolfgang Behrendt, 21.11.1994 | Yoav Delarea, 05.07.1998 |
| Wilhelmina Benasuli, 19.01.1997 | Hans Döppes, 19.05.1996 |
| Hans B. (Bernheim), 29.10.1998 | Wolfgang Ebert, 13.07.1997 |
| Rabbi Chaskel Besser, 15.01.1995 | Harald Etheimer, 02.09.1995 |
| Gerhard Bier, 25.09.1994 | Hans-Geert Falkenberg, 02.02.1997 |
| Martin Bier, 25.09.1994 | Gerhard Fecht, 18.11.1997 |
| Heinz Bleicher, 10.02.1995 | Dieter Fischer, 12.12.1996 |
| Martin Bloch, 13.10.1996 | Herbert Frank, 27.06.1995 |
| Martin Bloch, 04.12.1996 | Niklas Frank, 16.10.1996 |
| Adolf Blum, 22.04.1995 | Hugo Freund., 30.11.1994 |
| Lenni Blum, 22.04.1995 | Ludwig von Friedeburg, 01.12.1997 |
| Thilo Bode, 24.02.1995 | Hugo Fuchs, 08.07.1995 |
| Elisabeth Borchardt, 18.02.1995 | Peter Gaupp, 17.01.1995 |
| Margot Braun, 07.01.1996 | Peter Gaupp, 27.04.1996 |
| Robert Braun, 10-14.08.1994 | Ursula Gaupp, 08.07.1995 |
| Robert Braun, 11.03.1995 | Ursula Gaupp, 27.04.1996 |
| Robert Braun, 07.01.1996 | Horst Geitner, 38.03.1997 |
| Felix Bruck, 18.04.1997 | Gerhart von Gierke, 05.04.1997 |
| Walter Brück, 12.07.1997 | Hildegard von Gierke, 29.11.1997 |

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 Hansotto Goebel, 07.12.1996
 Werner Goldberg, 17.10.1994
 Horst G. (Reinhard), 20.11.1994
 J. G., 05.01.1995
 Harald von Gottberg, 09.07.1997
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 Eva Heinrichs, 09.02.1997
 Kurt Heinrichs, 09.02.1997
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 Hermann Rath, 08.04.1995
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| Peter Schliesser, 28.04.1996 | Fritz Steinwasser, 07.02.1997 |
| Horst Schmechel, 29.11.1994 | Rolf von Sydow, 17.12.1994 |
| Helmut Schmidt, 22.11.1995 | Rosa Taraba, 08.01.1996 |
| Helmut Schmidt, 15.10.1996 | Karl-Arnd Techel, 29.05.1997 |
| Egbert von Schmidt-Pauli, 13.09.1994 | Maria-Anna van Menxel, 22.04.1995 |
| Hans Schmoeckel, 08.12.1994 | Frau Rolf Vogel, 18.03.1995 |
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