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The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945

EDITED BY OTTO DOV KULKA & EBERHARD JÄCKEL
TRANSLATED BY WILLIAM TEMPLER

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Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945

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in Germany, 1933–1945**

Edited by Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel
Translated from the German by William Templer
English edition prepared with the assistance of
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Preface

What were the attitudes of the German population to the persecution of the Jews under the Nazi regime and what part did they have in it?

What did they know about the annihilation of the Jews and how did they view it?

What were the everyday life and organized activities of the Jews like in Germany during this period and how were they reflected in reports to the regime?

The unique source material represented by the secret Nazi reports on popular opinion makes it possible to investigate these open questions. A joint research project of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Stuttgart in Germany was able to amass the still extant and widely scattered source materials from archives in Germany and other countries, working over several years to complete this demanding and difficult task. In 2004 these materials were published in book form with an accompanying supplementary CD-ROM as *Die Juden in den geheimen NS-Stimmungsberichten 1933–1945*, edited by Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 2004, Schriften des Bundesarchivs 62). The book is henceforth referred to as *Stimmungsberichte*. This German edition was already amply enriched by explanations in the form of copious notes and an array of auxiliary scholarly tools, and was thus made accessible to a wider readership beyond the circle of professional historians. In preparing this English edition, the editors carefully revised and reworked the entire book with an eye to creating an edition for an English-speaking international public.

As for the German edition of the book, the editors selected and translated 752 documents and arranged them in fourteen thematically and chronologically structured chapters that allow the reader to follow the multifaceted and disastrous course of events as they unfolded. The complete digitalized corpus of 3,744 documents on CD-ROM affords researchers almost unlimited possibilities for further investigation thanks to its sophisticated search engine. The CD-ROM, in the original German language, with an optional English menu, accompanies the book. The new extended introduction to the book presents in its first part an updated overview covering source editions and the research literature; its second part is completely new and provides, in an exemplary form, various findings arrived at on the basis of this special corpus of source materials. In addition, all

the footnotes were carefully checked, and wherever possible works cited in German were replaced by reference to their English-language editions. This is also reflected in the new, revised Bibliography. To make the edition more accessible to an English-speaking readership, new footnotes were added, the Historical Glossary was supplemented by a number of new entries, and existing entries were revised. The Chronology was also reworked along similar lines.

The list of documents was supplemented by a Concordance for each document in this English edition that gives the corresponding document in the far more extensive CD-ROM edition in German. This was considered to be helpful because in research literature the reader will often find references to document numbers of the CD-ROM and not the book. The connection between these two modes of presentation is explained in detail in the Notes to the Reader.

Such an extensive translation project is demanding and represents a substantial challenge for both the translator and the editors. The reports in the documents were written by many individuals who came from very different backgrounds. They included members of the SD, some of whom had a high level of academic and ideological training, as well as village police officers, who did not always have perfect command of standard written German. An attempt has been made here to retain the individual character of these reports to the extent that this seems appropriate in a translation of this type. A seemingly “clumsy” text is thus not the sign of a poor translation, but rather the contrary. At the same time, great effort was made to ensure strict terminological uniformity throughout the entire text corpus in English translation, while utilizing terms and concepts familiar to an English-speaking readership. In some cases, it was decided to retain the original German term. That was done, for example, for the central concept in Nazi ideology of the *Volk* and its derivatives, such as the *Volksgemeinschaft* (racial community) or the adjective *völkisch*, for which there are no readily accepted English equivalents.

These terms and concepts, marked in **boldface** in the document texts, are explained in the Historical Glossary. Likewise, the names for certain organizations were also retained in the German original (such as Gestapo, SS, SD). In the case of abbreviations, such as SS or SD, they are given in full in the List of Abbreviations. In addition, when marked **boldface**, they are explained in the Historical Glossary along with a description of their organizational structure. In a few instances, a translation was used that may initially strike the English-speaking reader as somewhat unexpected. One such example is the term Jewish *Gemeinde* (*community*). Since the German-Jewish *Gemeinden* are not comparable to the British, Canadian, or American Jewish congregations in their

organizational form and self-conception, the term Jewish Community was intentionally chosen as the best equivalent. In such cases as well, the glossary explains the concept and refers to relevant literature.

The translator, William Templer, played a key role in this endeavor. An experienced expert on translating texts dealing with German-Jewish history and the history of National Socialism, he also gave valuable suggestions for the English-language Bibliography and for expanding a number of the entries in the Glossary, especially those connected with the American-Jewish context. Our cooperative endeavors extended at times over three continents, and yet were always marked by excellence and precision. We owe him a special expression of lasting gratitude.

The holdings of the Federal German Archives (Bundesarchiv) served as the point of departure for gathering the materials. Consequently, the German edition was published as a part of its publication series *Schriften des Bundesarchivs*. We are thankful for the continuing support of the archive's president, Hartmut Weber, and the editor of the series, Tilman Koops.

The editors and their research team also searched in all state archives in Germany and in the archives of the former German territories in Poland. In this way, large holdings in more than thirty archives were systematically checked. Individual documents were requested by mail from fifteen additional archives. Inquiries were also directed to a number of municipal archives. Unfortunately, however, in several archives in cities that once had important Jewish communities, there are today only a small number of extant relevant reports.

At the beginning of the 1990s, further important documents from the Jewish Affairs Departments of the security services of the SS, the SD, and the Gestapo, which supplement the material from the Federal Archives, were discovered in the Moscow Special Archive (Osobyi Arkhiv Moskva). Of special significance for the scientific analysis of the SD reports are the instructions and critical comments on the reporting of the subordinate levels written by personnel in the Jewish Affairs Department of the SD Main Office. The Yad Vashem Archives provided us with copies of these documents, likewise stored in the Moscow Special Archive. We also received valuable Gestapo reports on Jews in the Communist resistance from the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine in Paris and regional SD reports from the first years of the war provided by the Imperial War Museum in London.

The scholarly apparatus for this source edition is based on three auxiliary tools: a Historical Glossary, a Chronology, and an extensive Bibliography. Technical suggestions on their use are contained in Notes to the Reader.

The Historical Glossary presents compact background information on the persons, organizations, and concepts recurring in the documents, especially from the Jewish sphere. It concentrates on the aspects specific to the topic and its period; these are often lacking in the existing reference works. In addition to a time line of anti-Jewish legislation and events, the Chronology also contains short descriptions of the historical context in order to help explain the significance of the event for future developments.

The German edition of the *Stimmungsberichte*, which forms the basis for this English-language edition, was only possible due to financial support for research provided by various institutions. We remain extremely grateful for their assistance over the years. These include the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development (GIF), the Thyssen Foundation, the Charles Wolfson Research Fund, and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Stuttgart.

The work on translation and the meticulous editing of the present English-language edition, which extended over some three years, was funded by the Posen Foundation, without whose generous grant we would not have dared to embark on a project of such magnitude. The final revisions to the scholarly apparatus and the supplementary materials for an English-speaking public were possible thanks to the much-appreciated support of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

The German edition of the *Stimmungsberichte* profited from helpful suggestions by, and discussion with, numerous colleagues and scholars around the world, whose names cannot all be mentioned here, but to whom we owe a great debt of gratitude. We would like to thank Ian Kershaw and Saul Friedländer for their especially valuable suggestions that assisted us in preparing the English-language edition.

Finally, a large-scale project such as this is always the product of extensive teamwork. The German edition involved the cooperative effort of an indefatigable team including Anne Birkenhauer, Andrea Fiedermutz, Georgia Hauber, Louise Hecht, Stefan Kley, Silvia Noll, Noa Mkyaton (Nussbaum), and Dorthe Seifert from The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Stuttgart. Their contributions laid the primary foundation for this English-language edition, and we would like to take this opportunity to thank them once again for a job well done. Our German publisher, Droste Verlag, Dusseldorf, and its staff did outstanding work by making an exemplary scientific source edition from our complicated manuscript. The director, Felix Droste, and production

manager, Petra Schneider, were also very helpful during the preparation of the English edition.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to the programmer of the CD-ROM, Aryeh Segal, for dealing imaginatively and patiently with the texts and study aids of the full edition, which in many respects was a complicated and demanding task. It would have been impossible to complete this work without the dedicated assistance of our co-workers Alice Krück and Barbara Obele, to whom we are likewise very grateful.

The English-language edition in its present form would have been unthinkable without the outstanding cooperative efforts and great assistance of postdoctoral student Corinna Kaiser of The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who assisted in the detailed scholarly preparation and language editing of this edition from its inception, and doctoral student Irene Aue, who provided indispensable assistance in the final preparation of the manuscript for publication.

Above all, we are indebted to Yale University Press, and in particular its then-Editorial Director, Jonathan Brent, for his bold foresight in agreeing to accept this enormous project for publication in English, as well as his wise decision-making through all phases of its preparation; to Yale University Press Associate Editor Sarah Miller, for her extraordinary help and guidance throughout the entire process; and to Noreen O'Connor-Abel for her painstaking and insightful copyediting of the entire manuscript.

It is our sincere hope that the English edition of this book will open new perspectives on this still unfathomable period in human history.

General Abbreviations

AJC	American Jewish Committee/American Jewish Congress
AJY	<i>American Jewish Yearbook</i>
ALDJR	American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights
Altreu	Allgemeine Treuhandstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung (General Trustee Office for Jewish Emigration)
BA	Bezirksamt (district office)
BDJJ	Bund deutsch-jüdischer Jugend (League of German-Jewish Youth)
BDM	Bund Deutscher Mädel (League of German Girls)
CJR	Contemporary Jewish Record
CV	Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith)
DGFP	<i>Documents on German Foreign Policy</i>
DJJG	Deutsch-jüdische Jugendgemeinschaft (German-Jewish Youth Society)
DP	Displaced persons
EH	<i>Encyclopedia of the Holocaust</i> (English edition, 1990)
EHd	<i>Enzyklopädie des Holocaust</i> (German edition, 1993)
EJ	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> (English edition, 1972)
EJL	<i>Encyclopedia of Jewish Life Before and After the Holocaust</i>
ENS	<i>Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus</i>
ETR	<i>Encyclopedia of the Third Reich</i>
FJGV	<i>Führer durch die jüdische Gemeindeverwaltung und Wohlfahrtspflege in Deutschland 1932–1933</i> (Guide to Jewish Communal Administration and Welfare in Germany 1932–1933)
Gestapa	Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt ([Central] Secret State Police Office)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GPU	Gosudarstvennoje Polititscheskoje Upravlenije (Political secret police of the Soviet Union)

HIAS	Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society
HJ	Hitlerjugend (Hitler Youth)
HQ	Headquarter
ICA/JCA	Jewish Colonization Association
IMT	International Military Tribunal (Internationaler Militärgerichtshof)
IRG	Israelitische Religionsgemeinde (Israeliic Community)
JCB	Jewish Correspondence Bureau
JL	<i>Jüdisches Lexikon</i>
JNBl	<i>Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt</i> (Berlin)
JPD	Jüdischer Pfadfinderbund Deutschlands (Jewish League of Scouts of Germany)
JR	<i>Jüdische Rundschau</i>
JSS	<i>Jewish Social Studies</i>
JTA	Jewish Telegraphic Agency
JVP	Jüdische Volkspartei (Jewish People's Party)
JWH	Jüdisches Winterhilfswerk (Jewish Winter Relief)
KKL	Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael (Jewish National Fund)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist Party of Germany)
KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute
LBIY	<i>Leo Baeck Institute Year Book</i>
NS	Nationalsozialismus, nationalsozialistisch (National Socialism, National Socialist)
NSBO	Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation (National Socialist Shop Cell Organization)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party)
NSF	Nationalsozialistischer Frauenbund (National Socialist Women's League)
NS-	Nationalsozialistische Handwerks-, Handels-, und
Hago	Gewerbeorganisation (National Socialist Crafts, Commercial, and Trade Organization)

NSV	Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist People's Welfare)
NZO	Neue Zionistische Organisation (New Zionist Organization)
OA	Oberabschnitt (Upper Division)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Wehrmacht High Command)
ORT	Obshestvo Remeslenogo zemledelcheskogo Truda (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor)
Paltreu	Palästina Treuhandstelle (Palestine Trustee Office)
PhL	<i>Philo Lexikon</i>
PO	Politische Organisation (of NSDAP) or Parteiorganisation (Political organization [of the NSDAP] or Party organization)
Rassco	Rural and Urban Settlement Ltd.
RD	Reichsdeutscher (Reich German)
Reg.	Regierung (government)
RGBI	<i>Reichsgesetzblatt</i> (Reich Law Gazette)
RjF	Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans)
RLB	Reichsluftschutzbund (Reich Aerial Defense League)
RM	Reichsmark (unit of German currency)
RM(d)I	Reichsminister(ium) des Innern (Reich Interior Minister, Reich Interior Ministry)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office)
RV	Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden (Reich Representation of the German Jews); from 1939: Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of the Jews in Germany)
RVe	Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Association of the Jews in Germany)
RVt	Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden/RVt der Juden in Deutschland (Reich Representation of the German Jews / RVt of the Jews in Germany)
SA	Sturmabteilung der NSDAP (Storm Battalion of the NSDAP)
SAP	Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei (Socialist Workers' Party)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführer SS (Security Service of the

	Reichsführer-SS) SF Schwarze Front (Black Front)
Sopade	Exilorganisation der SPD (exile organization of the Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party)
SS	Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP (Shield Squadron of the NSDAP)
UJE	<i>Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia</i>
UOBB	Unabhängiger Orden Bne Briss (Independent Order of the B'nai B'rith)
VfZ	<i>Viertel]Jahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte (Quarterly for Contemporary History)</i>
VO	Verordnung (ordinance, decree)
VUOD	Vertretung der Unabhängigen Jüdischen Orthodoxie Deutschlands (Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany)
WHW	Winterhilfswerk (Winter Relief of the German People)
WIZO	Women's International Zionist Organization
WJC	World Jewish Congress
WVHA	Wirtschafts-und Verwaltungsamt der SS (Economic and Administrative Main Office of the SS)
WZO	World Zionist Organization
YIVO	Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute)
YV	Yad Vashem
YVS	<i>Yad Vashem Studies</i>
ZAHA	Zentralausschuß der deutschen Juden für Hilfe und Aufbau (Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction)
ZV	Zentralverein = Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens (CV) (Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith)
ZVfD	Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland (Zionist Association of Germany)

Abbreviations of Archives and Source Editions

Archives

AP Op	Archiwum Panstwowe w Opolne (Oppeln)
AP Stet	Archiwum Panstwowe w Szczecinie (Stettin)
BA Ms	Bistumsarchiv Münster
BArch	Bundesarchiv Berlin
BArch/MA	Militärarchiv Freiburg
BayHStA	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich
BDC	Berlin Document Center
CAHJP	Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CDJC	Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Paris
CZA	Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem
FfZ Hbg.	Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg
GLA Ka	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe
GStA	Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
HStA Dü	Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf
HStA Ha	Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover
HStA Wei	Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar
HStA Wi	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich
IWM	Imperial War Museum, London
JNUL	Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
LA Me	Landesarchiv Merseburg
LA Sch	Landesarchiv Schleswig
LA Sp	Landesarchiv Rheinland-Pfalz, Speyer
LHA Ko	Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz
LHA Ma	Landeshauptarchiv Magdeburg
LHA Schw	Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin

OA Mos	Osobyi Archiv Moskva (Special Archive Moscow)
PA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Berlin
SKH	Sammlung Kulka Hildesheimer, Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem
StA Abg	Staatsarchiv Augsburg
StA Am	Staatsarchiv Amberg
StA Au	Staatsarchiv Aurich
StA Ba	Staatsarchiv Bamberg
StA Br	Staatsarchiv Bremen
StA Bü	Staatsarchiv Bückeburg
StA Da	Staatsarchiv Darmstadt
StA Det	Staatsarchiv Detmold
StA Go	Staatsarchiv Gotha
StA Ha	Staatsarchiv Hamburg
StA L	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg
StA La	Staatsarchiv Landshut
StA Lei	Staatsarchiv Leipzig
StA Ms	Staatsarchiv Münster
StA Mü	Staatsarchiv Munich
StA Nü	Staatsarchiv Nuremberg
StA O	Staatsarchiv Oldenburg
StA Os	Staatsarchiv Osnabrück
StA Sig	Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen
StA Wü	Staatsarchiv Würzburg
StdA Bay	Stadtarchiv Bayreuth
StdA Kiss	Stadtarchiv Kissingen
StdA Ma	Stadtarchiv Mannheim
StdA Ms	Stadtarchiv Münster
StdA Wo	Stadtarchiv Worms
YVA Yad	Vashem Archives, Jerusalem

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- Mlynek** Mlynek, Klaus, ed. *Gestapo Hannover meldet... Polizei- und Regierungsberichte für das mittlere und südliche Niedersachsen zwischen 1933 und 1937*. Hildesheim: Lax, 1986.
- Ribbe** Ribbe, Wolfgang, ed. *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Brandenburg und die Reichshauptstadt Berlin 1933 bis 1936*, vol. 1, Der Regierungsbezirk Potsdam, ed. Sibylle Hinze. Cologne: Böhlau, 1998.
- Sauer** Sauer, Paul, ed. *Dokumente über die Verfolgung der jüdischen Bürger in Baden-Württemberg durch das nationalsozialistische Regime: 1933–1945*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1966.
- Schadt** Schadt, Jörg, ed. *Verfolgung und Widerstand unter dem Nationalsozialismus in Baden*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1976.
- Steinwascher** Steinwascher, Gerd, ed. *Gestapo Osnabrück meldet... Polizei- und Regierungsberichte aus dem Regierungsbezirk Osnabrück aus den Jahren 1933 bis 1936*. Osnabrück, 1995.
- Thévoz,
Quellen** Thévoz, Robert, Hans Branig, and Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, eds. *Die Geheime Staatspolizei in den preussischen Ostprovinzen 1934–1936. Pommern 1934/35 im Spiegel von Gestapo-Lageberichten und Sachakten*, 2 vols. Cologne: Grote, 1974.
- Wildt** Wildt, Michael, ed. *Die Judenpolitik des SD 1935 bis 1938: Eine Dokumentation*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995.

Notes to the Reader

Selection Criteria

This edition consists of two parts: a selection of 752 documents in English translation, printed in this volume, and an expanded version containing 3,744 documents in the German original, contained on the accompanying CD-ROM. It is useful to understand the selection criteria that were employed here, and the special features associated with this edition, in two media and two languages. It should also be mentioned that the complete menu and the help files of the CD-ROM, including the search and filter function, are available in both German and English, so that the documents on CD-ROM are accessible to a user who is not fully comfortable with German. From the Start menu, choose Options and indicate English as the preferred language, then save your settings.

All extant reports were taken into consideration for compiling the two media that make up this edition. From these many thousands of documents, we chose to include all those texts that deal either in their totality or in part with the situation of the Jews in Germany under the Nazi regime. All these reports were reproduced in their entirety in the CD-ROM version, and either the complete report or the most important passages were included in the book version, depending on the document's length and relevance. Thus, the CD-ROM is an expanded version in two senses: it contains more documents *in toto* in the original German, and provides in many cases a fuller text version for the translated documents that are included in the book in a shorter form.

In putting the book edition together, the guiding concept was to crystallize a representative picture of history in documents from the great bulk of source material contained on the CD-ROM. The attempt was made to put together a balanced corpus from the mass of reports that differ considerably in scope and depth in the various time periods. To this end, we chose from the complete edition on CD-ROM the documents or portions of documents that were most characteristic for the respective chapter, and most appropriate in terms of content, placing them in their context. In addition, the English edition also contains some important segments of documents which in the German edition are only on the CD-ROM.

The following selection criteria were employed:

- a. On the one hand, the selected documents should trace the long-term processes of development in Jewish society and the attitudes and activities of the non-Jewish population, while also reflecting the individual phases of development in National Socialist policy on the Jews, the regime's

Judenpolitik, how the population reacted, and its consequences.

- b. On the other hand, the documents were also selected based on topic and grouped in chapters which highlight the dominant tendencies or crucial events in the anti-Jewish persecution policy.
- c. A further criterion was to contrast and compare the documents at local, regional, and national level, and to achieve as broad a geographical spread as possible.
- d. A key aim was to present prevailing attitudes in various segments and circles of the German population toward the Jews and policy on the Jews. Thus, the reports selected often stress the quite different attitudes among the urban and rural population, among Party members and activists, the liberal middle class, the working class, and, significantly, the ambivalent attitude of the churches and the “religiously active segments in the population.”
- e. A small portion of the texts in the book comprise the rare examples of texts that make mention of more critical material: illegal handbills and leaflets, political jokes, and even Jewish plans for an assassination attempt on Hitler, as well as instances of repeated criticism or even open condemnation by the German population of the regime’s persecution and murder of the Jews. However, these did not reflect any kind of general tendency, but rather were rare and singular occurrences.

Structure of the Documents Section

While the documents in the complete edition on CD-ROM are ordered in a strict chronology month by month, and are divided into five groups depending on the particular authority reporting, we have chosen a completely different structure for the book edition. Still fundamentally adhering to the chronological sequence, the fourteen individual chapters are ordered according to thematic criteria. The periodization reflects the historical sequencing of events in the history of the Jews in the National Socialist era, with its general political and internal Jewish developments. It also takes into account the change in the various systems of reporting. This is most clearly manifest in the headings to Chapters 2, 3, and 10.

The notes to the documents presented in the book are in some ways more extensive than the battery of notes for the CD-ROM edition. Each document is treated as an independent unit and provided with its own notes and references, even if these already appear in documents which directly precede the given document. This allows the reader to better examine an individual document on its own.

Numbering and Citation Form of the Documents

The documents in this book are numbered consecutively (No.). Consequently, their numbering differs from that in the CD-ROM. To indicate this difference, the number in the CD-ROM edition is given in angle brackets (<No.>) at the end of each document in the book so that a reader can find the portion of the document relating to the Jews in its entirety on the CD-ROM.

Cross-references to other documents may refer either to the numbering of the book with the selected texts (No.) or to texts in the complete German edition on the CD-ROM (No.).

The following manner of citation should be used: When citing from documents in the book or the CD-ROM, or in references to them, insert the word “book,” with page number, or “CD-ROM” before the corresponding document number. Thus:

Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945*, book, Doc. No. 33, p. 20.

Kulka and Jäckel, eds., *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933–1945*, CD-ROM, Doc. No. 139.

Document Headings

The document heading provides in systematic form information on the reporting authority, time period covered, place, date of composition, and source.

The number of the document in sequence in the book edition (►No.►) is followed by the authority or office reporting. Next appears the designation of the report. For reports without a title, the editors have chosen a descriptive one, gleaned from, for example, the report itself or an accompanying letter that describes the period of time covered by the report. The place and date appear next, then the archival record number. Thus, for example, in the book edition, the annual report from the SD Upper Division Elbe for 1938 appears as follows:

►412►

SD Upper Division Elbe II 112

Annual Report for 1938

Chemnitz, 18 January 1939

FfZ Hbg., 93121

If a document was already published in its entirety elsewhere (for example, Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich* [1984]), then the citation is not from the archive but from the published source, in order to facilitate the reader's access to portions of the document not pertaining to the Jews. In these cases, the versions published elsewhere were compared with the archival sources and were corrected if necessary. These errors are explained in an accompanying footnote (see ►414► fn. 217).

Citation Form of the Text Portions

In order to better illuminate the broader context of the reproduced passages on the topic of the Jews, the section headings in the document where the portion of text appears were as a rule also included, as in the following example (►101►):
Economic and Agrarian Policy

[...]

Industry

[...] The following is reported from Bocholt: “The prohibition on hoisting of the national Reich flag by Jews has generated great reluctance to accept this among the workers’ crews in the Jewish textile factories here. These crews of workers, up to 99 percent of Aryan extraction, cannot understand that they are not allowed to hoist the Reich flag. [...]”

All material omitted by the editors is marked by [...].

All emphases in the original are rendered in italics.

Evident typographical errors in the reports were corrected here without mention, or if they have some stylistic or other import, have been noted by [sic].

Data relating to individuals was rendered anonymous if protection of privacy made this necessary. We proceeded here on the principle that the identity of the victim requires more protection than that of the perpetrators. If in a report several persons are mentioned whose identity it was deemed necessary to keep anonymous in accordance with our criteria, then this is indicated as follows: [name withheld a], [name withheld b], [name withheld c], etc., as in ►391►, for example.

As a rule, the name of the author(s) and signatures were not included, nor were initials, marginalia, and the like. Appendices were reproduced only if they seemed essential for understanding context or as illustration of a situation. Likewise, the numbering of chapters and subsections within the original by the report authors was generally not included.

On the Scholarly Annotations

Words in **boldface** are listed in the Historical Glossary, which provides information on concepts and organizations as well as brief biographies, primarily from the sphere of Jewish affairs and culture. The boldface style always appears with the first mention of a concept or term in a document.

The documents and Historical Glossary also contain references to the Chronology of Anti-Jewish Legislation and Events.

All documents are listed in the List of Documents in keeping with their order in the present volume.

Also included is a Concordance of the document numbers in the book ▲No.► and their numbers in the complete edition on the CD-ROM ▲No.►. Thus, when a document number from the CD-ROM is cited, the reader can see whether the document was included in the book and the number that it was given.

The list of general Abbreviations includes organizations and widely cited reference works and the more important of them are also explained in the Historical Glossary. The list of abbreviations of archives and source editions provides the complete details of the archive names or source editions cited only in a short form in the documents and appear in their full titles in the Bibliography.

The Bibliography in this book contains the sources cited in the footnotes. An extensive “Bibliography on the local and regional history of the Jews in Germany under the National Socialism” by Silvia Noll, is included on the CD-ROM only.

Introduction

The following few examples from the secret Nazi reports represent three significant stages in the history of the Jews in Nazi Germany.

September 1935, two weeks after the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws:

On 28 September 1935, the Jew (merchant) Julius Weinmann, a resident of Altenmuhr, died at the age of 72. After his death, his relatives went to the two cabinetmakers in Altenmuhr in order to have them make a coffin. One of the men, a Party member, declined the requested job. The other cabinetmaker as well, as a nonmember of the NSDAP, inquired at the mayor's office about how to go about making a coffin. The local police told them they were free to engage in the business deal with the Jews as described. The owner of the carriage who drives the hearse in Altenmuhr also contacted the local police. It was suggested to him that he demand good money for transporting the body. The driver refused to consider this, based on his own moral convictions. Finally, the coffin was made by a coach builder resident in Altenmuhr, and the deceased was transported in a hearse from Nuremberg to Gunzenhausen. Earlier on, it was quite common in Altenmuhr for a sizable number of Aryan mourners to attend a Jewish funeral. But since the takeover of power, that fact has changed fundamentally. Today in Altenmuhr it is inconceivable that Germans should participate in a funeral cortege for a Jew.

[Document ▶217▶]

Gendarmerie Gunzenhausen

September 1938, the brink of war tension preceding the Munich Agreement

The mood of the Jews in the Reich was determined in the past reporting period almost exclusively by the crisis situation in foreign policy,¹ which gave rise to all kinds of rumors about how Jews might be dealt with should war break out. There is a general fear among the Jews that they may be placed in concentration camps or disposed of [*unschädlich gemacht*] in some other way. [...]

The “Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany” issued a call pointing out the necessity of employing all available strength and energy to the task

of constructing the new Jewish homeland. The call peaked in the statement: “We Jews are the tribe which is certain of eternity. As we are with God, so he will be with us.”

[Document 347]

SD Main Office II 112

October 1938, one month before the Kristallnacht Pogrom:

The general situation in October lay under the powerful shadow of the Munich Agreement. [...] The intensified anti-Jewish attitude in the population, engendered primarily by the provocative and insolent behavior on the part of some Jews during the period of the crisis in foreign policy, had its most powerful expression in actions against the Jewish population. In the south and southwest of the Reich, this violence at times took on the character of a pogrom. In a number of towns and localities, the synagogues were destroyed or set on fire, and the windows of Jewish shops and homes were destroyed. In the Gau Franconia and in Württemberg, the Jews in a few localities were in some instances forced by the population to leave their residences immediately, taking along only the barest essentials. [...] It was possible to note that the Catholic population generally disapproved of these actions.

[Document 353]

SD Main Office II 112

February 1942, following the introduction of the yellow badge and the beginning of mass deportations from Germany:

According to reports now available from all parts of the Reich [...], the issuance of the ordinance on the marking of the Jews has in general had a favorable impact in the population. It is emphasized everywhere that this ordinance is in keeping with a wish long present among broad circles of the population, especially in localities where there are still a relatively large number of Jews.

But reports also agree that the special treatment accorded Jews married to pure-blooded Germans has led to astonishment and reluctance among the population. The exceptions stipulated in the ordinance have even been criticized by Volksgenossen as a “halfway measure.” In particular, it is evident from everywhere that among the general public, there is more understanding

for a radical solution of the Jewish Problem than any compromise, and in the broadest circles, people want a clear external distinction to be made between Jewry and the German Volksgenossen. It is significant that many regard the ordinance on marking not as a final measure of some sort, but rather only as the prelude to further, more drastic ordinances, with the goal of a final resolution of the Jewish Question. [...]

The population also wishes to mark the apartments of the Jews in an appropriate manner. But most of all, they say, a deportation in the near future of all Jews from Germany would be warmly welcomed.

[Document 618]

RSHA, Office III (SD)

These extracts from the documents provide in a nutshell a look at developments that run like a red thread through the entire period of National Socialist rule in Germany: the exclusion of the Jews from all spheres of life, a process that was intensified to the point of their final physical “removal,” and the concomitant attitudes and active participation of the German population in this. These quotations also serve to point up two further aspects: criticism from the population and—an aspect of especial importance for this edition—the perceptions and reactions of the Jews themselves.

The National Socialist regime, as we now know, did not accept at face value the monolithic image of state and society that it portrayed in the mass media and projected to the world. The authorities established secret internal reporting systems to provide reliable information about the prevailing popular mood and about activity among the different sectors of the population. This domestic intelligence, the reports on the opinions among the German populace on the Nazi regime and its policies, were intended to provide as authentic a picture as possible that could among other things be utilized in formulating regime policy on the Jews.

Such internal reporting was not an invention of the Nazi regime. After the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, conservative authoritarian regimes in various German states such as Prussia and Bavaria had set up a system for the surveillance of their subjects. In various forms, those systems remained operative down into the Kaiserreich and the Weimar Republic. Under the Nazi regime, these existing institutions together with a substantial number of new independent reporting systems were combined and elaborated into a totalitarian instrument that penetrated nearly all spheres of life.

Even though a multitude of reports were preserved in various archives, for a

long period, they were completely neglected by historians. Only at a relatively late point in time did scholars acknowledge the importance of this material as a fruitful source for research on the mutual relations between regime and society in the Third Reich. It also provided insight into the attitudes of the German population toward the Jews and the anti-Jewish policies of the regime, and gave a broad canvas of developments within Jewish society.

One of the basic findings that has emerged from these sources is that beneath the cover of totalitarian uniformity (*Gleichschaltung*), social and religious structures and even political orientations of the previous period were preserved to a certain extent, revealing the population's heterogeneous views on the government's ideology and policy. That helps to explain the lack of uniformity in the attitudes among the population regarding National Socialist ideology and policy on the Jews. Thus, reports continue to speak about the liberals, the left, the conservatives, and of course that segment of the population that was National Socialist in orientation.

The “ideological adversaries” (*weltanschauliche Gegner*) were under especially close surveillance. This included the Jews, Marxists, Liberals, “political churches,” the “right-wing movement,” and “conservative opposition.” No less important in these reports on the situation and popular mood are references to the Jewish population, its internal activities, self-perception, and changes within its politicalideological currents and religious orientation under the Nazi regime. The reports all served to better evaluate what was deemed the “enemy.” The most important category of reports, generally called *Lageberichte* (situation reports) or *Stimmungsberichte* (reports on the popular mood) were provided by a Reich-wide network of 30,000 agents and reporters who were in the employ of the SD alone,² i.e., the security service of the SS, along with reports by the secret political police (Gestapo), the district governors (*Regierungspräsidenten*), and the local police. Additional reporting was done by the National Socialist Party (NSDAP) headquarters in Munich and by a variety of national-socialist organizations, such as the SA and organizations for women (NS-Frauenschaft) and for teachers (NS-Lehrerbund). In all reporting systems, the documents were written at different levels—local, district, regional—and compiled at the national level.³ The reporting institutions were repeatedly given precise instructions on how information should be gathered and passed on to the super-ordinate agencies.

On the one hand, they were told not to airbrush the picture they pieced together. According to a directive by the Chief of the **Gestapo** and **SD** Reinhard Heydrich in 1937, the purpose of the SD reports written “for the political

leadership of the Reich” was “to fight the enemy with passion but to be cold as ice and objective in the assessment of the situation and its presentation.”⁴ Similarly, the Gestapo and the district governors had already been told in 1934 that “in the interest of unembellished information for the Reich government, all personal and other considerations should be eliminated, and that there should be no reserve in reporting fully on all events and conditions in the country of importance politically and reflective of the prevailing mood.”⁵

On the other hand, the sometimes “pronounced pessimistic” picture the regime received in the wake of this frank reporting prompted Hermann Göring and other leaders to complain about the reports. Their concern was that the often too realistic picture that the reports painted would lead “to a deterioration of the mood” among the Nazi leadership. Subsequently, as early as 1936, Göring, in his function as the Prussian prime minister, ordered the discontinuation of the reports by the Gestapo and the district governors in Prussia.⁶

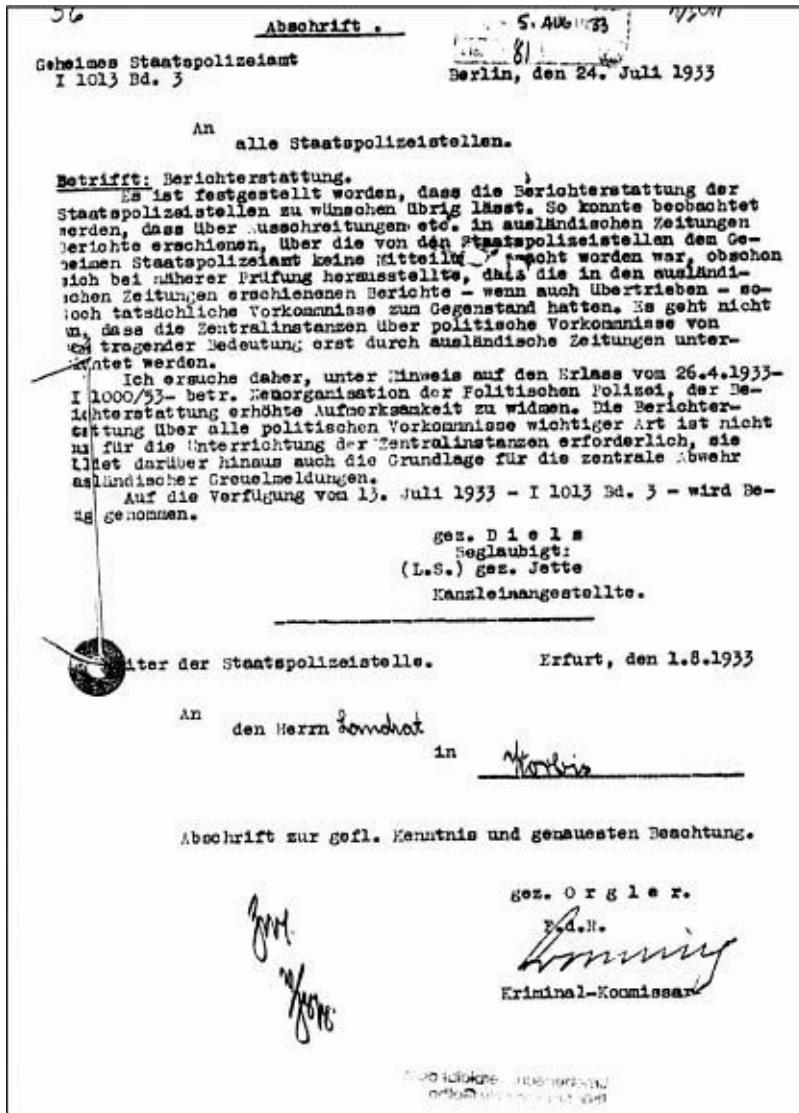


Figure 1. Reminder from the Gestapo (Berlin) to all its district offices (Staatspolizeistellen) calling on them to provide detailed and truthful factual reporting; July 1933. Translation: “It was possible to observe that reports were being published in the foreign press on violent incidents, etc., which the Staatspolizeistellen had not reported on to the Gestapo—even though, on closer examination, it was found that these reports in the foreign papers dealt, though in an exaggerated manner, with actual events which had occurred. [...] Reporting on all political incidents of importance is not only necessary for the central authorities. In addition, it also offers the basis for the central counterintelligence against foreign reports about atrocities.” Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Landratsamt Worbis Nr. 56, Bl. 1.

The independent reports by the SD continued to be provided down to the very end of the war—as did some other local and regional reporting systems—although they were constantly subjected to severe criticism and attempts to suspend them by state and party leaders, particularly Joseph Goebbels.⁷ Goebbels's dissatisfaction was sparked by the strict objectivity of the reports, which was due to a guideline that was repeatedly stressed in instructions, even during the war years: “As a matter of principle, it is expected that the mood in the population will be described without reserve or embellishment or propagandistic packaging, i.e., objectively, clearly, responsibly, as it actually is—not as it could or should be.”⁸

The large number of reports available, their various and diverse genres and the continuity of reporting throughout the entire twelve years of the Third Reich allow us to undertake various kinds of critical investigations and assessments. One vantage point is a comparative examination of reports from across the Reich on a specific phenomenon or event. Similarly, the formation of certain tendencies during a limited time frame can be explored in different regions by means of surveillance reports compiled by various agencies.⁹ Finally, a comparison of the quality of reporting can help in determining the degree of reliability of the various reporting systems.

Given the present-day state of the sources, the SD reports can probably be regarded as the most critical and realistic. By contrast, the reports by the NSDAP were largely in keeping with the views and expectations of the regime. The accounts filed by the district governors and the Gestapo contain the most fruitful description at the middle level of the administrative districts, while the subordinate local agencies provide the most detailed information at their level. Nonetheless, certain aspects of life and persecution are not reflected in these reports, and even the most reliable descriptions can only be evaluated after a critical weighing and sifting of their contents.

Ultimately, whatever the final assessment on the degree of the reliability of the reports may be, one conclusion can be drawn with great certainty: they present the picture of the prevailing popular mood that was indeed available to the regime in its deliberations and decisions. This secret intelligence about feelings, activities, and attitudes prevalent among the Jews, and especially how the German population viewed and behaved toward the Jews and the anti-Jewish measures of the government, influenced or could have influenced the implementation of the regime’s anti-Jewish policy in its various stages.

In Germany, several systematic editions were published with materials from the secret reports put together at the national and regional level that also

included the Jewish aspect in their purview. But all these editions are limited either geographically or in terms of the period of time covered. In his seventeen-volume edition *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, Heinz Boberach reproduced the SD reports at the national level from the years of the war almost in their entirety.¹⁰ However, this edition contains only relatively limited information on the situation of the Jews, because the previous practice of including separate chapters on the Jews was halted after structural changes in September 1939, and the topic was no longer systematically mentioned in later SD reports.¹¹ Boberach expanded his published print edition by issuing a microfiche edition; its first part now included national reports from the SD central office and the Berlin Gestapo central office (the so-called Gestapa) from the prewar years.¹² In his study on the Jewish policy of the SD down to 1939, Michael Wildt published the most extensive selection to date of Reich-wide reports from the Jewish Affairs Department (*Judenreferat*) of the SD for the years 1935–1938.¹³

On the other hand, Martin Broszat and associates concentrated in their “Bavaria Project,” at the time an innovative and path-breaking study, on a great variety of local and regional reports from Bavaria from 1933 to 1945. These reports describe the multifarious aspects of everyday life under National Socialism. However, when it came to the sections dealing with the Jews, the editors selected only those passages which commented on popular attitudes toward the Jews, while the highly informative texts on internal aspects of everyday Jewish life were excluded.¹⁴ Source editions of another type, such as that by Klaus Mlynek on the Gestapo in Hanover or Thomas Klein’s work on the province Hesse-Nassau and the Government District Kassel, were limited to the years 1933–1936 and 1933–1937, respectively. Yet they reproduced the documents for this time frame in their entirety, including the chapters on the Jews.¹⁵

Extensive surveys, with commentary, on the state of research were published in and at various phases. Along with older survey essays,¹⁶ of particular importance here are the introduction in Peter Longerich’s “*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*” *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945*¹⁷ and the introduction to Ian Kershaw’s collection of essays *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*,¹⁸ which cover the time period down to the publication of the German edition of the *Stimmungsberichte* and beyond.¹⁹ Here, the discussion will be limited to a brief overview of the relevant literature up to the present.

Systematic studies on the behavior and attitudes of the German people toward the Jews, as based on the secret Nazi reports, have been appearing since the mid-1970s. The first comprehensive work on “public opinion” regarding the

“Jewish Question” in National Socialist Germany was published in 1975, initially in Hebrew with an English summary and an appendix of selected documents in German.²⁰ The British historian Ian Kershaw published further systematic work on popular opinion and the Jews in 1979 and 1983.²¹ In 1983, David Bankier presented a doctoral dissertation at The Hebrew University in Jerusalem entitled “German Society and National Socialist Anti-Semitism 1933–1938.” His dissertation was published in revised and expanded form in English and German in the early 1990s.²² In Germany itself, the topic initially was only dealt with indirectly and without regard to the *Stimmungsberichte* in studies by Hans Mommsen, Ursula Büttner, and Eberhard Jäckel.²³ The introductions to several of the editions mentioned above (Boberach, Mlynek, and especially Wildt) also contained important insights regarding the importance of the reports about the Jews.

In most of this intensive research, both on the local and national level, a pattern of threefold reaction is described: the “dynamic hatred” of a considerable minority, a marginal appearance of critical voices, and the overwhelming “silent majority” that was characterized by its presumable indifference.

Since the publication of our German edition of the *Stimmungsberichte* in 2004, a number of studies have appeared in Germany that reflect growing interest in this cluster of issues. They implement what was then assumed in our foreword to the German edition,²⁴ namely that the material presented there permits researchers to formulate more precise questions and to arrive at answers better supported by documentation. The monographs by Peter Longerich,²⁵ Michael Wildt,²⁶ and Bern-ward Dörner,²⁷ and two important essays by Frank Bajohr, are to be mentioned here.²⁸ All these investigations are characterized by their renewed examination, based on broad source materials, of the active participation by the German population in the removal of the Jews from all spheres of society, the knowledge in the population concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews, and their attitudes toward these events. All the studies arrived at new findings. In comparison with older research, they come to a far more critical judgment regarding the knowledge among the population and their evident participation in the intensification of anti-Jewish policy in all its phases.

Staatspolizeistelle
für den Regierungsbezirk Erfurt
I 1430

Erfurt, den 23. Juli 1934 5

Landrat Worbis
26 JUL 1934
Da 7/1934

An
den Herrn Landrat
in Worbis

Betr.: Lagebericht.

Die bisherige Art der politischen Berichterstattung (monatliche Lageberichte) durch die Kreispolizeibehörden gibt mir zu folgenden Bemerkungen Veranlassung:

1. Die politischen Lageberichte verschiedener Kreispolizeibehörden des Bezirks entsprechen nicht den Anforderungen, die an die Unterrichtung der Aufsichts- und Zentralinstanzen gestellt werden müssen. Ein Bericht wie z.B.:

"Politische Lage im Kreise unverändert ruhig"

ist nicht ausreichend. Derartige Berichte lassen den Blick dafür vermissen, was mit der Berichterstattung gewollt ist. Ohne große Weitschweifigkeit soll die politische Lage im Kreise eingehend erörtert werden. Die Berichterstattung soll sich nicht nur auf öffentlich wahrnehmbare politische Vorgänge beziehen, sondern sich auch auf die meist nicht öffentlich wahrzunehmende Beziehung von staatsfeindlichen und sonstigen Organisationen erstrecken. Besonderer Wert ist darauf zu legen, in Erfahrung zu bringen, wie sich das gesamte Jenseitsleben der einzelnen Bevölkerungskreise abspielt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Hinstellung zum nationalsozialistischen Staat.

2. Die Lageberichte sind in Zukunft nach folgenden Grundsätzen zu erstatten:

 - a) Gegner des Staates und der Bewegung/
 - b) Die Bewegung und ihre Organisationen (SA., SS., HJ., BDM. usw.)
 - c) Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik (Arbeitsmarkt, Arbeitslosenfrage, Landwirtschaft und Industrie usw.)
 - d) Judenfrage, Logenwesen
 - e) Presse und Vereinswesen
 - f) Kirchliche Fragen
 - g) Verschiedenes.

Da ich dem Herrn Minister-Präsidenten täglich einen Bericht über besondere politische Vorkommnisse im Bezirk der Staatspolizeistelle Erfurt zu erstatten habe, bitte ich, mich über derartige politische Ereignisse wie Festnahme aus politischen Motiven, Schutzhaft, illegale Druckschriftenverteilung, Waffen- und Sprengstoff-Funde und Diebstähle und sonstige besondere wichtige politische Ereignisse (Vorgänge innerhalb der Kirche) fernmündlich bis spätestens 16 Uhr an Tage des eingetretenen Ereignisses zu unterrichten. Die schriftliche Berichterstattung wird durch diese Anordnung nicht berührt.

ges. Dr. Fischer.
J.L. 651/34

Begläubigt:
Brehmann


96a

Facing Page: *Figure 2. Instructions from the Gestapo Erfurt to the county commissioners in the district regarding the proper preparation of situation reports, and expressing dissatisfaction with their previous form; July 1934.*

Translation: "1. [...] Reporting should deal not only with publicly perceptible political events, but rather should also extend to the activities of organizations hostile to the state and various other organizations, generally not perceptible in the public arena. Special emphasis should be put on gathering information about the course of the entire internal life of the various circles in the population, with particular consideration given to their attitudes toward and views on the National Socialist state. [...] 2. In future, the situation reports are to be prepared according

to the following basic categories: a) opponents of the state and the movement; b) the movement and its organizations (SA, SS, HJ, BDM, etc.); c) economic and social policy (labor markets, question of the jobless, agriculture and industry, etc.; d) lewisch Question, lodges; e) press and associations; f) church questions; g) various other matters.” *Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Landratsamt Worbis Nr. 56, Bl. 5.*

Although our German edition of the reports, and in part even previous publications of these sources, all provide material relevant to an array of important questions, research to date has neglected one significant subject: how was Jewish society in Nazi Germany, its activities, reactions, and sense of identity, reported on? And how is the historical picture of Jewish life during National Socialism supplemented and modified by that information?

In contrast to the source editions mentioned above, all limited either geographically or temporally, the present edition includes for the first time all still extant reports composed during the entire period of National Socialism at the national, regional, and local levels. It pursues a broader conceptual frame in approach, since it reproduces more than just those texts that report on the mood in the population vis-à-vis the Jews and their persecution. By including all relevant sections on Jews, it has been possible to integrate information on the multifaceted life and activity within the Jewish community along with information on Jewish attitudes toward their social environment and the policies of the regime. In order to locate this material, we combed through dozens of archives, as mentioned in the foreword, starting with the Federal German Archives in Koblenz and Berlin and the various national, state, and municipal archives. We also examined the archives in the former German territories in Poland. Recently we were able to gain access to the German documents that fell into Soviet hands at the end of the war and are now stored in the Special Archive Moscow (Osobyi-Arkhiv).

The search for available documents extended to all relevant texts on the topic regardless of whether it was a complete report, a section, or even just a single line. Although the various systems of reporting underwent formal changes during the twelve years of Nazi rule, and most of the types of reporting arose only during limited time periods, reports were continually compiled on the “Jewish Question.”

The first year of National Socialist rule saw no centralized systematic *Lage- und Stimmungsberichte*. Nonetheless, it is evident that there was a constant flow of information of this kind at the local and district levels. In April and June

1934, the first Reich-wide reports were compiled by the Gestapo Main Office (Gestapa) and the SD Main Office. However, the extant material suggests that at this juncture they were probably not continued.²⁹

For the time frame July 1934 to March 1936, the most important sources are the systematic reports of the Gestapo offices and the district governors filed on a monthly basis from every district. These were submitted to the Gestapa in Berlin or the Ministry of the Interior. When this procedure was halted by Goring in 1936, a well-developed system of SD reporting was already operational. These reports drew their information on all spheres of German and Jewish society across the Reich at all levels, integrating them into what they considered to be a representative picture.³⁰ Among other things, the material from the Special Archive Moscow provided us with a number of critical comments, along with ever more detailed guidelines from the Jewish Affairs Department in the SD Main Office for reports from subordinate offices and agencies for the years 1936–1939. The central instructions and reports constitute the conceptual frame and prove that the authors had substantial familiarity with Jewish society and its various religious and political currents and organizations as well as the spheres of the economy, preparation for emigration, and cultural life.³¹

A b s c h r i f t .

Geheim!

42

Preußische Ministerpräsident. St. M. I. 3490.

Berlin, den 2. April 1936.

Die terminmäßig zu erstattenden Lageberichte haben mir schon früher Anlaß zur Kritik gegeben. Ich erinnere an die entsprechenden Ausführungen, die ich in der Konferenz der Ober- und Regierungspräsidenten vor Weihnachten 1935 gemacht habe. Die weitere Beobachtung der Entwicklung hat ergaben, daß ein Eingreifen nicht länger vermeidbar ist.

Mit der Einreichung terminmäßig zu erstattender Berichte über die allgemeine politische Lage ist vor allem die Gefahr verbunden, daß das Verantwortungsgefühl der örtlich zuständigen Stellen geschwächt und ihre Entschluß- und Tatkraft gehemmt wird. In der Tat habe ich immer mehr den Eindruck gewonnen, daß sich die Behörden im Lande darauf beschränken, Überstände, die sie feststellen, weiter nach oben zu berichten, statt zunächst einmal selbst einzugreifen und alles zu tun, was möglich und notwendig ist, um eine Besserung herbeizuführen. Hierin liegt eine Gefährdung der Schlagkraft der Verwaltung, der unbedingt Einhalt geboten werden muß.

Eins kommt, daß in der Berichterstattung vielfach vereinzelt Unzuträglichkeiten oder örtliche Schwierigkeiten unnötig in den Vordergrund gestellt oder auch örtlich begrenzte Ercheinungen verallgemeinert werden. Hieraus wird den berichterstattenden Dienststellen, die nur ein begrenztes Gebiet überschauen, nicht einmal immer ein Vorwurf gemacht werden können. Da aber schon die Herstellung und die Bearbeitung der Lageberichte es mit sich bringt, daß diese einem größeren Kreis von Personen bekannt werden, entsteht so die Gefahr, daß die Lageberichte selbst zur Verschlechterung der Stimmung beitragen. Was es schließlich bedeuten würde, wenn botont pessimistische Lageberichte, wie ich sie in der letzten Zeit öfter gesehen habe, in falsche Hände, insbesondere in den uns gegenüber noch feindlich eingestellten Ausländer, geraten sollten, braucht nicht näher dargelegt zu werden.

Hiernach

7093/C/Offizielles Dokument
Dienstliche Verwendung

Hier nach erscheint mir die Erstattung von Lageberichten nicht länger möglich. Die weitere Erstattung ausführlicher schriftlicher Berichte über die allgemeine Stimmung im Lande erscheint mir einstweilen aber auch nicht mehr erforderlich. Die von mir in dem soeben durchgeföhrten Wahlkampf gesammelten Erfahrungen haben mich die Stimmung der Bevölkerung klar erkennen lassen. Alle hierbei gemachten Einzelbeobachtungen, vor allem aber auch das grandiose Wahlergebnis selbst, beweisen, daß das deutsche Volk die Grundgedanken der Politik des Führers und Reichskanzlers durchaus erfaßt hat, sie restlos bejaht und in keiner Weise genoigt ist, sich durch die großenteils unvermeidbaren Unannehmlichkeiten des täglichen Lebens in seinem Vertrauen zum Führer erschüttern zu lassen. Hinzu kommt, daß die Partei die Stimmung im Volke weit besser kennt und beurteilen kann, als dies der Bürokratie der Behörden möglich ist. Es muß daher Sache der Partei sein, für die Unterrichtung der Führer zu sorgen.

Ich ersuche daher, Lageberichte in Zukunft nicht mehr zu erstatten. Die für die Zentralstellen erforderliche Unterrichtung über die Entwicklung der Verhältnisse im Lande wird darunter nicht leiden, zumal ich in Aussicht nehme, auf regelmäßig wiederkehrenden Konferenzen der Ober- und Regierungspräsidenten Gelegenheit zu geben, eine vollständige und ungeschminkte Unterrichtung der in Betracht kommenden Dienststellen künftig in Wege einer offenen und rückhaltlosen Aussprache stattfinden zu lassen.

Es ist dafür Sorge zu tragen, daß auch innerhalb der Provinz die entsprechende Berichterstattung in Zukunft fortfällt.

ganz / G r i n g .

An die Herren Ober- und Regierungspräsidenten pp. - Eigentlich -.

File: 1945/04/17/1936
Author: Hitler, Adolf

Following Pages: *Figures 3a, 3b. Instruction from Goring to immediately halt systematic reporting "on the general popular mood in the country"; April 1936.*
Translation: "Since the very process of preparing and evaluating the situation reports creates a situation where they become known to a larger circle of persons, the danger may arise that the situation reports can themselves contribute to a worsening of the popular mood. It is not necessary to spell out in further detail what that ultimately would mean were emphatically pessimistic situation reports, such as I have often seen recently, perchance to fall into the wrong hands, particularly in countries abroad still hostile to us. [...] I do not think it any longer necessary to continue to prepare detailed written reports on the

general popular mood in the country.” *Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Landratsamt Worbis Nr. 56, Bl. 42.*

As briefly alluded to above, the schematic organization of the Reich-wide SD reports from the war years, the *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, no longer contain a regular separate section on Jews. Nevertheless, in special situations the reports deal in great detail with the public reactions to measures like the marking of the Jews with the yellow star in September 1941, the imminent final solution of the Jewish Question, and the mass murder of the Jews.³² The latter became a general topic of conversation indirectly only until after the defeat at Stalingrad and the discovery of the mass graves in Katyn in 1943.³³

The extant reports from this period compiled by subordinate offices, especially the SD branches in Westphalia and the district governors in Bavaria, also describe the precise course of the systematic deportations of the Jews from towns and villages after their initiation in the autumn of 1941 down to the virtually total *Entjudung Deutschlands* (Dejudification of Germany) in the summer of 1943. In addition, the same SD branches report on how surprisingly well-informed the German population was and their reactions to the fate of the deported Jews and the mass murder in the territories in Eastern Europe under German occupation.

We will show below, through three exemplary short studies, some of the new insights that can be gained from the study of the source materials that have been gathered here. The three thematic focus points are (1) everyday life in the Jewish community in Germany under the National Socialist regime as reflected in the reports; (2) the participation by the German population in radicalizing an anti-Jewish atmosphere in the period leading up to the Nuremberg Laws and in the period prior to the pogrom of the Reichskristallnacht (based on a computer-aided quantitative analysis which supplements traditional forms of analyzing historical sources); (3) reevaluation of the documents from the war years regarding their alleged “silence” on the attitudes of the German population toward the persecution and annihilation of the Jews.

Jewish Society as Reflected in the Reports

The larger proportion of the documents reproduced in this edition deal with the activity, moods, and self-perceptions of the Jews in Germany under the National Socialist regime, and not solely with the attitudes and actions of the German population toward the Jews and the policy of the regime toward the Jews. It is all the more astonishing that there has been to date virtually no research whatsoever on the statements in the reports from this sphere. Viewed in the context of the earlier phase of historical research on the Third Reich, the reasons for this were quite understandable. Yet given the demands and possibilities of contemporary historiography, it can no longer be justified.

The initial phase was focused on the examination of the ideology and policies of the Nazi regime that ultimately led to the Final Solution, only much later followed by research on how German society viewed these policies, and on the extent to which it accepted and actively supported them. By contrast, the reactions of the Jews and the multifaceted history of Jewish society were seen as irrelevant and bracketed off, since Jews were perceived solely as a passive object of the policy of persecution and destruction. The result was a one-dimensional picture of persecution, forced emigration, expulsion, and destruction.

By contrast, some idea of the surprising, perhaps paradoxical picture that the *Stimmungsberichte* edition provides can already be obtained from two of the first systematic, Reich-wide reports on the Jews in Germany compiled in the second year of the National Socialist rule. They were written independently of one another by the two principal surveillance and reporting agencies, the Gestapo and the Security Service of the SS, the SD.

In the Reich-wide survey report “Die Juden in Deutschland” by the Berlin Central Gestapo Office (the *Gestapo*) of April 1934, it is noted that the Jewish organizations, which already before were quite well developed, now had been given new, strong stimulus as a result of the comprehensive exclusion of the Jews, and that the membership figures were steadily on the rise. That prompted the author of the report to the following lament: “The result is a very vigorous and lively associational activity that, due to the need for requisite surveillance and control, represents a considerable burden on the organs of the Secret State Police.³⁴ [...] If an openly adversarial stance on the part of German Jewry toward the new state is not in evidence, this should not blind us to the fact that the Jew, in keeping with his inner attitude, will always be an enemy of the National Socialist state. There can be no conciliation between his liberalistic-international world view and the conceptual world of National Socialism” (32).

Despite this situation, it remained the political decision of the Gestapo to consciously exclude the numerous and divergent Jewish organizations from the general *Gleichschaltung*, the totalitarian coordination of German society. The report then presents eighteen pages of detailed description of the innumerable Jewish organizations, their political and religious orientations and activities, and Jewish associational activity.³⁵

Similarly, the first Reich-wide report for May to June 1934 by the SD contains a systematic description. The author first details the most important currents among the German Jews: the Zionists; the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (Centralverein) and the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans (RjFj as a middle grouping; and the National German Jews and the Orthodox as marginal minorities. He then reports on the newly established Reich Representation of the German Jews and the Kulturbund of the German Jews, and goes on to describe the Jewish press. Here the author notes a very similar phenomenon, namely that the Jewish press had experienced an “almost undreamt-of spurt in development.” Both the number of readers and size and scope of the papers had increased, as the author illustrates exemplified in the *C[entra]l V[erein]-Zeitung*, which had not only expanded its section on politics, but also had added new sections dealing with justice, the economy, youth, and women and a supplement for children. This expansion of the paper had been made possible by substantial growth in the advertisements and want ads which the paper carried. The first page normally was devoted to articles on Jewish intellectual life and disputes with other groups. All relevant official announcements and speeches are published without any commentary. The report author concludes: “It is not surprising that the editors generally refrain from any commentary of their own since in any case, the Jews know what is meant” (33).

Following the Nazi takeover, and in light of their persecution and progressive exclusion from all spheres of German society, there were three alternatives open to the Jews.

The first alternative was the disintegration and atomization of Jewish society and the paralysis of all its institutions and organizations under the impact of the anti-Jewish waves of terror. In the lives of individuals, this was manifested in a hurried mass flight from the country, the desperate return of some, and in extreme cases, in the final act of suicide.³⁶

The second alternative, advocated by a small minority of so-called Nationalist-German Jews, was diametrically opposed to the first. It was the temptation to draw the ostensibly inevitable conclusions from the crisis and

failure of the democratic system of Weimar, and by the same token from the failure of the internal democratic principles of the Jewish society, and introduce in their place for all of German Jewry a regime of authoritarian leadership based on the *Führerprinzip*.³⁷

However, as already evident from the two reports discussed above, most Jewish organizations opted for a third alternative: the continued existence of the democratic-pluralistic institutions of the Jewish society from the post-Emancipation period and the establishment of a new all-inclusive central organization based on the principle of voluntary affiliation of each body and free activity within the organization. But the continued existence of all the autonomous elements, as well as the banding together in common central representative organizations, like the Reich Representation, the Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction, and the Kulturbund of the German Jews, also marked a significant new development: in the pre-1933 period, the social and cultural integration of the Jews in their environment was dominant and the role of Jewish organizations and the issue of Jewish identity were increasingly marginalized, whereas after 1933 they became central, taking on existential significance.

Here we will sketch how this third alternative was manifested, as exemplified in various reports. As a Gestapo report from Hanover in February 1935 shows, the continuity of pluralism was not tainted by an intensification of internal Jewish ideological controversies. The report author describes the diversity and differences, primarily using the example of activities directed to youth and the youth organizations, which included such diametrically opposed groups as the Nationalist-German League of German-Jewish Youth and the Youth Group of the Orthodox Agudas Jisroel. But the Zionist Association, the Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten (RjF), the Jewish Women's Organization (Israelitischer Frauenverein), the Jewish Kulturbund, und the socialist Werkleute also met so frequently that to observe and keep tabs on them became for the Gestapo a logistical problem. According to the report, the population perceived the activities and voiced criticism of them: "The very lively and diverse associational activity of the Jews and their ever bolder and more impudent conduct is the object of pointed public criticism."

In the very center of internal political differences lay the relation to Zionism. As the author of the report noted: "The antagonisms among the Jewish associations continue unabated in their severity. Especially pronounced are the antagonisms between the Zionist Association and the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans (RjF). [—] [94] Both organizations are making increased

efforts to woo Jewish youth. This is probably the principal reason behind the sharp controversies between them. The Zionists wish to bring Jewish youth together and prepare them for Palestine, regarding Palestine as their future national state. By contrast, the RjF wishes to school young people in the spirit of the combat soldier, and fights under the motto ‘German and Jewish!’ ”³⁸

One could note the presence of pluralism in form and substance extending from the local up to the national level. One example from Jewish life in its organizations, which had “never been as active as they are at present,” is given in the local report of the Gestapo in 1935 from Bielefeld, Westphalia. There the reporter not only lists an astounding number of cultural and political activities, but also comes to a conclusion which probably could not have been better formulated even from within the Jewish community: “These gatherings provide the Jews with an inner strength to endure in this period. By presenting historical facts to them from the past, their basis of support in the present is strengthened. Thus, the Jews are called on again and again to be real Jews in their whole attitude. Judaism stands above blood, soil, and nation [*Blut, Boden und Nation*], said a Jewish speaker recently in a gathering” (¶96). Democratic principles, such as elections and electoral campaigns that were held in the communities,³⁹ also continued to be maintained within the central Jewish organization, the Reich Representation—a remarkable phenomenon under a totalitarian regime. An SD report of September 1938 comments in derogatory terms on the restructuring of the Reich Representation: “At the moment, consultations and negotiations are still being conducted on the basis of the law of 28 March 1938⁴⁰ with the aim of unifying the regional associations and the Jewish Communities in one organization. [...] The disputes that have arisen in this connection and have been dragging on since April of this year are clear proof for the slow pace of a democratic principle of administration and the total failure of the Jews in the area of administration—even in those crucial moments when questions of their own existence are at stake” (¶340).⁴¹

The growing awareness of the precariousness of future Jewish existence in Germany is reflected in an SD report from the same time that describes the existential threat of imminent war which the Jews sensed during the Sudeten crisis between May and October 1938: “The mood of the Jews in the Reich was determined in the past reporting period almost exclusively by the crisis situation in foreign policy, which gave rise to all kinds of rumors about how Jews might be dealt with should war break out. There is a general fear among the Jews that they may be placed in concentration camps or disposed of [*unschädlich gemacht*] in some other way”(¶347).

Even after the immediate fear in the wake of the Kristallnacht pogrom had abated, a feeling predominated among the Jews that the regime was heading toward an “ultimate solution of the Jewish Question,” as shown by a Reich-wide SD report written about two months before the outbreak of the war: “Even those Jews on whom the events of November and the subsequent total exclusion of Jews from all areas of public life had no genuine lasting effect due to the time now lapsed have been forced by the most recent government measures to recognize that the National Socialist government is determined to press on relentlessly with the ultimate solution [*endgültige Lösung*] of the Jewish problem in Germany.”⁴²

The passages chosen here represent only a cross-section of the life of the Jews under the Nazi regime. The National Socialist reports also contain descriptions of the harsh reality of daily discrimination, humiliation, anti-Jewish violence, and anti-Jewish legislation. But these phenomena were all amply familiar from other sources and research, and it was only expected that they would be described in detail in the reports. By contrast, what is surprising are the detailed descriptions of an intensive, constantly reinvigorated Jewish organizational life, marked by a broad pluralism and an astounding degree of vitality. These descriptions give a vivid picture of the spirit and means with which the Jews confronted their new situation in Germany after January 1933. Initially, that astounding reaction was not at all self-evident or a matter of course.

For the Nazi regime, this turn of events was not self-evident either. The regime did not impose the continued existence of the variety of political and religious currents and organizations, and certainly not the existence of their central, parliamentary-like organization, the Reich Representation. However, because of the racist ideological character of the totalitarian *Gleichschaltung* of the German state and society, the Jews were *a priori* excluded from this process, which was intended to encompass only the members of the German racial *Volksgemeinschaft*. Thus the paradox was engendered that was initially alluded to: the existence of a democratic, pluralistic society, a kind of enclave in a totalitarian racist state. In this way, Germany’s Jews obtained relative freedom in many spheres as compared with the surrounding society. But it was a freedom of outcasts, the banished, and, in retrospect, of the doomed.

We know from other sources, especially the preserved archives of the Reich Association (Reichsvereinigung), since 1939 the successor of the central organization Reich Representation,⁴³ that it continued its activities in almost all areas in an effort to support the remaining Jews in Germany in material and moral terms. Until the autumn of 1941, repeated efforts were made to use the

final possibilities still available for emigration. The Kulturbund also continued to function down to September 1941. Jewish educational work remained active into the summer of 1942, when mass deportations were already in full swing. Until its official disbanding on 10 June 1943, the Reich Association concentrated on the provision of welfare and social relief. This allowed the aging Jewish population to survive with some modicum of dignity, and was of invaluable assistance.

In this period, only isolated local reports make any mention of those aspects of Jewish existence.⁴⁴ Some of the sporadic reports from this time illuminate everyday life, as a characteristic September 1941 local police report from Urspringen in Lower Franconia shows:

In recent months, the Jewish inhabitants of Urspringen have shown great piety, to the annoyance of some of the local residents. Thus, the resident male Jews proceed every Saturday morning about 9 a.m. to the homes of Rudolf Dillenberger and David Rothfeld, where they recite their Hebrew prayers. At 10 a.m. they return home, dressed in their Sunday [*sic*] best. In this way they keep their Sabbath; some also go out for a walk before dusk.

The population wonders how it is that Jews today still have a right to gather together for such Talmudic [*sic*] prayers. In so doing, the Jew gives those of other faiths an example of piety, awakening pity in the population. They are induced to think that he is after all just a poor, harmless person and does not wish to do anything wrongful or improper. Recently, it was even remarked that the Jews are gathering together every morning to pray. In any event, [they pray] for the victory of the Bolsheviks. (579►)

The reports, however, contain details not only on everyday life of the Jews but also on their everyday death in its two dimensions: deportations and suicides. Such accounts begin appearing in regional and local reports already in the autumn of 1940,⁴⁵ becoming almost routine from the autumn of 1941.⁴⁶ The District Governor of Upper and Central Franconia reported in November 1941: “In the course of the Jews’ evacuation, a special train transporting 1,001 and nine children left Nuremberg for Riga on 29 November. Presumably out of fear for their imminent evacuation, three Jewesses committed suicide” (599►). Half a year later, the same official reported: “On March 24 [1942], 781 Jews were evacuated to the East, on April 25, 105 Jews were deported. There were no disturbances aside from several suicides and attempted suicides” (631►).

The District Governor in Swabia reported on a further stage of the removal

of Jews from Germany in August 1942: “As a result of further resettlement measures, several Swabian cities and localities have been rendered ‘judenfrei,’ such as Ichhausen, Nördlingen, Fischach. In Oberstdorf, an elderly Jewess poisoned herself out of fear of the impending transport” (655►). A year later, in April 1943, he reports on the final phase: “The few Jews still present in cities have now been deported, or at least removed from the cities. In Augsburg, during the implementation of the last measure, a number of Jews avoided removal by committing suicide” (671►).

In this connection, there are also reports on attempts to avoid being deported by escaping. Thus, the governor of Upper and Central Franconia wrote from Ansbach on 7 September 1943: “The Jew by race and religion Dr. Daniel Leopold Israel, single, a medical practitioner (*Krankenbehandler*) in Fürth in Bavaria, was arrested for having attempted, on 18 June 1943, to flee so as to avoid evacuation to the East. He was incarcerated in the Fürth court jail as a police prisoner, where he then hung himself on 30 August 1943” (702►).

The decision to commit suicide was perhaps the most extreme conclusion inferred from the paradoxical “relative freedom of the outcast and banished” that still existed in the 1930s. In the face of the reality of the Final Solution, it became a last, irreversible act of free will, an act of absolute freedom.

The Prehistory of the Nuremberg Laws

One of the questions mentioned at the beginning involves the degree of participation by the German population in the radicalizing of the anti-Jewish mood and political decisions. In contrast with the long predominant view in the research literature that the Nuremberg Laws were solely Hitler's chance improvised initiative,⁴⁷ it can be demonstrated through the documents that the laws proclaimed in September 1935 at the National Party Convention had a pre-history of a growing radicalization in the mood of the population and the "pressure from below" that can be traced back to November 1934.

"Pressure from below" is understood as all forms of radical initiatives from the population that internalized the ideological messages from above and aimed at an increasing radicalization of the policies against the Jews. Even though most of the violent actions were instigated by local party activists, they were able to influence the nonorganized individuals and parts of the population to join in, and thus created a radical anti-Jewish atmosphere all over the Reich. To analyze the relation between the "pressure from below" and its effects on the regime's policies, a textual analysis will here be combined with a quantitative one.⁴⁸

Already in November 1934, the District Office of Alzenau in Bavaria reported that "in a good many SA circles there is talk that after the Saar plebiscite,⁴⁹ harsh steps should be taken more generally against the Jews. In this connection, there were quite open threats of murder expressed. [...] These statements should not be taken lightly, since rash actions in this area could result in extremely serious consequences for the economy and foreign policy" (53>). A report of December 1934 from the Rhine Palatinate also expresses the assumption that a harder line will be followed against the Jews after the Saar plebiscite (84>).

These expectations were in fact realized during the following months, until the introduction of the laws in September 1935, as the Gestapo situation report (*Lagebericht*) from the Government District Münster for May 1935 shows: "As in most other places in the Reich, locally here in the district in recent weeks the Jewish Problem has once again become a focus of general concern. [...] In broad segments of the population, and especially in the ranks of the SA, the dominant view is that the time has now come to finally solve the Jewish Question once and for all. As they put it, they wish to come to grips from below with the Jewish Problem, and believe that the government authorities will then have to take action, following suit" (A 122>).

The "new anti-Semitic wave" of 1935 was unleashed by the party press in

April,⁵⁰ and by September 1935 hundreds of violent actions against Jews were initiated and carried out independently by local activists, with broader elements of the population swept up in this current. The violence assumed a wide variety of forms and affected all aspects of everyday life. The most frequent and most violent public expressions were anti-Jewish excesses (*Einzelaktionen*) and mass rallies, a boycott against Jewish shops and enterprises, and a variety of actions against so-called race defilement (*Rassenschande*). Remarkably, between January and September 1935, more than half of the extant reports (389 out of 667) carried a description of these radicalized expressions of popular opinion—a number that gives a first overall impression of the scope of this eruption of anti-Jewish violence.

Among the most violent mass demonstrations were those in Munich in May (◀121▶), the so-called *Kurfürstendamm-Krawalle* in Berlin in July (◀139▶), and a rally with 25,000 in Osnabrück in August (A 151>). The mood of the early summer 1935 is pointedly summed up in a report by the Gestapo Berlin for June: “German *Volksgenossen* apparently regard them [the Jews] to be fair game in every respect.⁵¹ For that reason, in the past month as well, there have been a large number of outrageous incidents. The positive aspect of those events, however, is that the population is clearly having its eyes opened ever wider, and that opposition to the Jews is on the constant rise. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the population should on occasion express its indignation and take the law into its hands” (◀129▶).

The wave reached its crest in July and August, as the Gestapo report for July 1935 shows in exemplary fashion (◀139▶). The report gives a detailed description of the *Kurfürstendamm-Krawalle* with its violent boycott and destruction of Jewish ice-cream parlors and shops, and the manhandling of patrons and cinemagoers, among them foreign visitors. During these events, the accusation of *Judenknechte* (Jews’ lackeys) was hurled at the police by the public, and the report finally concludes with the topic of “race defilement”: “In connection with these incidents, it must be noted that the police, forced to intervene in these cases, found itself in an extremely difficult situation, since the most of the public had little understanding for its actions. The officials were greeted by the demonstrators and the rest of the public with shouts of ‘Jews’ lackeys’ [...]. In several cases, the population has taken steps to publicly expose the Jewish race-defilers and their Aryan girlfriends by means of posters” (◀139▶).⁵²

While the general tendency in the “anti-Semitic movement” did not change in the following month, the tension between radical parts of the population and authorities intensified as a result of the lack of a unified line on the Jewish

Question by the Party and government. Fears were expressed that the force of the police was no longer sufficient to prevent excesses of violence that might erupt from the mounting tensions, as reported by the Gestapo for Berlin (►146►).

A characteristic picture of mass rallies against and pillorying of “race-defilers” is given in the Gestapo report for July 1935 from Breslau: “After race defilement of Aryan women by Jews has finally been presented to the public in a very clear and unambiguous light, the bitter feeling against these criminals has assumed huge proportions, beyond any limit. There was not any abatement until a total of 20 Jews and 20 Aryan ‘females’ were taken into protective custody. The public reacted with great applause to the internment of these race deniers in the concentration camp. Thus, on 30 July 1935, thousands of *Volksgenossen* who wished to witness the dispatching of these race deniers to the camp gathered in the streets” (►141►).

The extent of scenes like this, which spread throughout the Reich, prompted even a Gestapo reporter from Bielefeld to speak of a “certain kind of race defilement psychosis. [...] In these circles of the population, people likewise fail to understand why all those persons whom they named as guilty of race defilement were not sent immediately for a long period of detention to a concentration camp” (►150►).

The Gestapo also reported about the impact of the mass rallies on the Jewish population, as can be seen in an August report from Osnabrück on a demonstration attended by 25,000 people: “This anxiety psychosis [of the Jews] is so powerful that during a rally of the NSDAP at the Ledenhof in Osnabrück, some of the Jews suddenly decided to leave town and did not return until the following day” (►151►).

In smaller cities and towns as well, thousands participated in demonstrations and anti-Jewish violence, as described in special reports by the Gestapo from Aurich (East Frisia) on 27 and 30 July about “demonstrations in the North against Jews” (►140►). The county commissioner of the small town of Hünfeld (Hessen) did not hesitate to label what happened in provincial towns “terror” (►138►).

In many places, the demonstrations turned into pogroms and the Jews under attack had to be evacuated if they did not first flee, as was seen above in Osnabrück: “In Diez a. d. Lahn, a crowd gathered out in front of a Jewish orphanage and, using ladders, attempted to enter the building. It was successful in causing the police to intervene and come to the aid of those inside, some 50 persons, mainly children, and deport them to Frankfurt am Main. Popular indignation was especially violent in Gladbach, where three houses inhabited

by Jews were ransacked. People forced their way into the houses and then turned on the water taps, or ripped out the pipes, so that the houses were totally destroyed by the water” (¶154).

Across the Reich, the crowds accompanied the violent actions and mass demonstrations by hanging banners and painting slogans on the windows of Jewish shops, carrying ideological as well as practical messages such as “don’t buy from jews” or “no salvation of the German people without a solution of the jewish question” (CD ¶627).

A quantitative analysis of documents from the period preceding the Nuremberg Laws in 1935 as compared with the same period in 1934 allows more concrete conclusions to be drawn about the developments.⁵³ For this analysis, the most widespread anti-Jewish phenomena have been chosen: *Einzelaktionen* (individual actions)⁵⁴ and *Rassenschande* (race defilement), *Boykott* (boycott), *Kundgebung* (rally), and *Demonstration* (demonstration). From 1 January to 15 September 1934, 63 of 228 documents (27 percent) mentioned the key words relating to anti-Jewish violence. For the period 1 January to 15 September 1935, 389 of 667 documents (58 percent), or more than twice the previous year’s percentage, contained these terms.

Total number of documents	Number of documents with: <i>Boykott*</i> OR <i>Rassenschande*</i> OR <i>Einzelaktion*</i> OR <i>Kundgebung*</i> OR <i>Demonstration*</i> ⁵⁵
1 Jan. 1934–15 Sept. 1934	228 63 (27 percent)
1 Jan. 1935–15 Sept. 1935	667 389 (58 percent)

The numbers of documents that mention anti-Jewish actions during the first three quarters of 1935 unequivocally show the trend toward the radicalization of hostility in popular opinion—a kind of pressure from below—which had not yet been institutionalized by law.

In addition to the computer-based analysis presented above, a quantitative text analysis of the reports from July and August 1935 in regard to *Einzelaktionen* and *Rassenschande* more than confirms these findings and provides a more differentiated picture of the situation. For this type of analysis, the following violent actions are understood as *Einzelaktionen*: anti-Jewish demonstrations, damage to and/or destruction of synagogues and cemeteries, manhandling of Jews resulting in injuries, “protective custody” of Jews in connection with these excesses, and protests against “race defilement.”

For the period between 1 July and 10 August 1935,⁵⁶ the computerized

search for *Einzelaktionen* showed that 53 of 127 documents reported such actions, while the close examination of these texts showed that a total of more than 328 cases were involved. Or, to put it the other way around: the total number of anti-Jewish excesses was higher by at least sixfold than indicated by only a count of the relevant documents. This is also seen from a comparison of the computerized search and the textual analysis regarding “race defilement” in reports between 1 August and 10 September 1935. The computerized search found that in this period, 40 of 158 documents reported on *Rassenschande*, while the textual analysis showed that these 40 documents actually reported on at least 185 cases. Some of the 185 cases were unspecific (“a number of Jews and their non-racially aware girls” (CD ◀1034▶), while other reports, in addition to precise numbers, mentioned that “more persons” have been affected (CD ◀1090▶). Based on these reports, the overall number of “race defilement” cases reported for August can with certainty be estimated as considerably higher. This also is true for the *Einzelaktionen* and other kinds of actions where the exact number of cases exceeds the findings because of the mechanism described here.

As shown above, the violent “pressure from below” and general lawlessness created a difficult situation for the local authorities: their duty was to maintain public order, yet at the same time they were part of the policy of the struggle against the Jew declared by the party and the state. Concern was also expressed by some segments of the population, who felt uneasy in the face of untrammeled public violence and even threatened by it, as a Gestapo report from Aachen for August 1935 shows (◀147▶).

The mounting pressure from below as presented in the reports created a reality in which the local and regional authorities acted on their own initiative by adopting quasi-legal measures, which actually preceded the anti-Jewish laws of Nuremberg on the level of the Reich. The Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor was preceded by the refusal of local registrars to perform marriages between Aryans and non-Aryans⁵⁷ and by the daily arrests of men and women who were accused of race defilement. Also the Reich Flag Law forbidding Jews to fly the German state flag and the swastika was preceded by local initiatives as well as by a Reich-wide directive of the Gestapo.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the demand of the population for a law depriving the Jews of their Reich citizenship is reported by the SD in August 1935 in connection with the pressure from the “Volk [...] which according to its National Socialist worldview wishes to see Jews being ousted from Germany” (CD ◀1082▶).

All these kinds of radicalizing pressure from below as presented in the reports clearly influenced the political leadership of the Reich. This can be seen

from the minutes of a high-level meeting convened on 20 August 1935 to discuss the necessary next steps in regard to the Jewish Question—a meeting that led to the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws a few weeks later. Participating were ministers of the Reich government, the heads of the Gestapo and the SD, and others. The Bavarian interior minister and Gauleiter of Munich, Adolf Wagner, obviously based his conclusion on the reports about popular opinion from the preceding months: “State Minister Wagner likewise criticized the violent excesses. He explained them by stating that in regard to the Jewish Question, there was a divergence of opinion between the government and the Party, and also with some departments of the Reich administration. About 80 percent of the population was pressing for a solution to the Jewish Question as spelled out in the Party platform. They thought that the Reich government had to keep that in mind, otherwise it would suffer a loss in its authority.”⁵⁹ It should be mentioned that a few months earlier, in May, Adolf Wagner had been the chief instigator of the violent anti-Jewish mass demonstrations in Munich.

Among the ministers who spoke along similar lines was the president of the Reichsbank and conservative minister of economic affairs, Hjalmar Schacht, who had already spoken out against the violence and lawlessness in a public speech in Königsberg on 18 August 1935.⁶⁰ He commented on the detrimental “exaggerations and violent excesses of anti-Semitic propaganda. [...] The conclusion of his remarks was that the Party program of the NSDAP should be made reality, but solely on the basis of legal measures and decrees.”⁶¹

At this stage, Hitler himself was disinclined to accede to the legislative proposals for various reasons, among them the upcoming Olympics in Berlin. Thus, he rejected Schacht’s personal intervention on the matter in May, though, in the end, he followed the pressure from below.⁶²

There is no doubt that popular opinion, as it reached the authorities through the reports, played a role that cannot be ignored, both in the preparations as well as in the final political decision on the Nuremberg Laws.

The laws were intended to meet two goals: the spectacular realization of a basic principle of the revolutionary ideology which the movement had preached from the outset of its political path; and the simultaneous institutionalization of the ideology and its militant manifestations within a controlled legal framework. This appears to be one of the stages of a complex dialectical relationship between government policy and popular opinion in the Third Reich.

The reports on the population’s reactions to the Nuremberg Laws are eloquent from this point of view: “The new laws on Jews have sparked great enthusiasm among the enlightened population. The activists and old veteran

fighters in the movement are also very satisfied, and generally people are shouting with joy: ‘The state is still revolutionary, after all! The points of the Party platform have not been forgotten!’ The violence against the Jews has ceased almost completely as a result of a strict decree issued by the Interior Ministry and an unmistakable statement on these matters by the Führer.”⁶³

While the Gestapo of Kassel reports enthusiastic acceptance of the Nuremberg Laws as realization of the Party program they had strived for and that made violence no longer necessary, in Aachen the picture was more nuanced. According to the Gestapo there, the laws were welcomed only insofar as they were to prevent further anti-Jewish violence (CD ▷1202▷).

A final assessment of the impact of the laws is given in a Gestapo report from Berlin that notes that the laws “brought clarity after years of struggle between Germandom and Jewry. [...] In future and for all time to come, no interference is possible in the *völkisch* affairs and concerns of the German nation, and is forbidden” ▷158▷).

The lack of uniformity in regard to the Jewish Question was now eliminated for this phase, and the pressure from below, nourished by the ideological message of National Socialism, had found its realization in a political decision coming from above.

The far-reaching teleological meaning of this significant step of 1935 toward the “removal” of the Jews is most pointedly expressed in one of the above-mentioned ubiquitous anti-Jewish banners and graffiti paintings “from below”: “No salvation of the German people without the solution of the Jewish Question.”⁶⁴ The dialectics between pressure from below and measures from above are also integral to further decisive stages in the development and realization of fundamental ideological principles in the Third Reich, in which the solution of the Jewish Question, with its multiple implications, was of central significance.

The Prelude to Kristallnacht

The Reichskristallnacht, the “Night of Broken Glass,” is perhaps the most thoroughly researched chapter in the prewar history of German Jewry in the Third Reich. Historiography, as well as Jewish and German collective memories, mainly presents the traumatic image of the November 1938 pogrom as an event of destruction and devastation in the course of *one night and one day*.⁶⁵ As is well known, the government’s pretext for the entire action was the dramatic news of 9 November 1938, about the death of the first secretary of the German embassy in Paris, Ernst vom Rath, as the result of Herschel Grynszpan’s assassination attempt two days earlier.

A revealing document that sheds light upon the pre-history of the Reichskristallnacht is the Reich-wide SD report for January to October 1938—that is, for the ten months preceding the pogrom. The report is dated 1 November 1938, about a week before Kristallnacht: “The attitude of the population to the Jewish Question was manifest in the very numerous individual actions especially in recent months, which in most instances were promoted by the local Party organizations” (354).

A more graphic account of the nature, scope, and circumstances of the events in those months is given in the monthly Reich-wide SD report for October 1938, which was discovered several years ago in the Osobyi Archive in Moscow: “The intensified anti-Jewish attitude in the population [...] had its most powerful expression in actions against the Jewish population. In the south and southwest of the Reich, this violence at times took on the *character of a pogrom* [italics added]. In a number of towns and localities, the synagogues were destroyed or set on fire, and the windows of Jewish shops and homes were destroyed. In the Gau Franconia and in Württemberg, the Jews in a few localities were in some instances forced by the population to leave their residences immediately, taking with them only the barest essentials” (353).

As for the Nuremberg Laws, a quantitative, computer-based analysis was carried out, followed by a textual analysis. The results show that 76 of 161 detailed reports from all parts of the Reich report on 117 *Einzelaktionen* against the Jews between 1 March and 8 November 1938. Often only nonqualified information referring to “numerous events” is given, without exact numbers, so that the total number is considerably higher than 117. A great many of the actions were those events of destruction and violence that the above-mentioned report did not hesitate to describe as bearing “the character of a pogrom.”⁶⁶

It turns out that the pattern of anti-Jewish rioting and violence and even the

cleansing of whole localities of Jews was extremely widespread during the period of May to October 1938, a time of brink-of-war tension over the Sudeten crisis with Czechoslovakia, and even before that in relation to the tension around the *Anschluß* of Austria in March 1938 (e.g., ◁313►).

The remarkable radicalization of all forms of anti-Jewish activity by the population was triggered by the escalation of the Sudeten crisis following the Czechoslovakian mobilization on 20 May 1938. The fear of imminent war is in general presented as related to the role ascribed by the population to “the Jew” as the force that provokes war against Germany. During the war itself, this link became fatal for the Jews, particularly in the years after the invasion of the Soviet Union and the American entry into the war in 1941, when the European conflict became a world war.⁶⁷

In this context, the anti-Jewish mood found expression even in the most remote provincial towns, as reported from the local police office of Sandberg in Bavaria on 27 September 1938: “The mood in the population can be best described as depressed. It [the population] is anticipating a large-scale war. [...] In general, the ‘Jew’ is held responsible as the originator of these critical times” (CD <2525>).

To reach the goal of removal, “until the last Jew has finally disappeared from our *Volksgemeinschaft*” (CD <2545>), pogrom-like actions were carried out even before the tensions culminated in the Reichskristallnacht. A cumulative report by the governor of the Palatinate district for October 1938 explicitly underlines this connection in reporting on the devastation wreaked on the synagogue in Leimersheim on the night of 9–10 October 1938 and other Palatinate synagogues and houses of Jews. After listing a large number of *Einzelaktionen*, this extensive report for October, written on November 9, the eve of Kristallnacht, sums up: “The population desires the departure of the Jews from the villages, and seeks to avenge itself in this way for the insolent behavior of the Jews during the critical period in September. This justification for the actions of the population runs through all the reports” ◁355►).

Altogether, the Sudeten crisis and tensions caused by the fear of war are explicitly mentioned in seventeen documents—each of which reports on more than one case—as reasons for violent anti-Jewish excesses. Aside from these explicit reports, the connection is implicit in most of the other documents on such incidents. All actions that typify the Reichskristallnacht—the destruction and devastation of synagogues and Jewish houses, manhandling of Jews and attacks against them, their arrest and expulsion—can already be found with increasing intensity during the first ten months of the year.

The unspecified number of cases of synagogues damaged and destroyed was not only a result of anti-Jewish violence from below as described in eleven documents.⁶⁸ In two spectacular cases, total destruction was initiated and carried out from above: in Munich in June on special order by Hitler, and in Nuremberg in August at the initiative of Streicher.⁶⁹ As explicitly stated in one of the reports, the Nuremberg action was intended as the first stage of a *Großaktion* and “tens of

thousands of *Volksgenossen* were present at the historical hour.”⁷⁰ Similarly, the bimonthly SD report from Berlin for June and July 1938 spoke about widespread boycott actions initiated by the party leadership that spiraled into destruction, looting, and physical violence against Jews and appear, in retrospect, as rehearsals for the Reichskristallnacht: “Beginning on 10 June 1938, a Jews’ action [*Judenaktion*] was carried out in Berlin, initially only in a few sections of the city. All formations of the Party participated, as instructed by the Gau Leadership. The operation reached its high point on 20/21 June 1938, when all the Jewish shops in Berlin and the signs of the Jewish lawyers and physicians were painted over with the word ‘Jew’ and the Star of David. In the course of the action, there was some destruction and plundering of Jewish shops, as well as physical assaults. The action was ended on the afternoon of 21 June 1938” (4332 ▶).

According to the Reich-wide SD report for July, similar actions occurred all over Germany (4341▶). The cases reported from provincial towns and villages range from the devastation of synagogues to full-fledged pogrom-like actions initiated from below. One example of a heavily damaged synagogue is from the district of Main Franconia, where in Mellrichstadt the interior of the synagogue was completely destroyed in an action that mushroomed into increasing public participation: “The first attack involved a small number of individuals, and then people from the gathering crowd chose to join in on the destruction.”⁷¹ In the same district, Jewish farms were attacked and damaged, a Jew was beaten up, and “the embitterment of the population found an outlet in similar excesses against the Jews at other places” (CD 42513▶). In many places, the situation escalated, as for example described by the SD in a special report for 27 September 1938, from the Wiesbaden district, where in Nassau/Lahn a large crowd gathered against the local Jews: “The house was surrounded by the crowd, and windows and shutters were subsequently smashed. The Jew Walter Rosenthal was taken into protective custody by the police for his own safety. A further report will soon follow. Another incident occurred in Rauenthal/Rhg., where a Jew and Jewess commented on the current foreign situation in remarks

to the residents. They said that in two years they would once again be in power. The following night the people dragged these two individuals from their beds and, whips in hand, forced them to march in their nightclothes through the streets of the town” (348►).

The pattern of the police taking Jews into protective custody “for their own safety” when the situation lurched out of control can be found repeatedly, for example in a report for May 1938 on a mass gathering in Bad Alzenau that turned into an event of violent excess (328►).

Under the impression of the Sudeten crisis, the violence against the Jews in this period of brink-of-war tension preceding the Reichskristallnacht resulted in Jews leaving several places or being forced out by the population, rendering the towns *judenrein* (Jew-free): “As a result of the murders and atrocities perpetrated against Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, there was great indignation in the market town of Bechhofen, district Feuchtwangen, and in Wilhermsdorf, district Neustadt a.d.Aisch. It was directed against the local Jews. The Jews then left Bechhofen and Wilhermsdorf. These localities are now completely ‘*judenfrei*,’ like the entire district of Feuchtwangen.”⁷²

During the months preceding the Reichskristallnacht, there were of course other voices in the population as well. Some of them either openly or implicitly criticized the anti-Jewish violence, while others expressed their apprehension in the face of the increasing brutality and lawlessness of the pogrom-like actions. In the same Reich-wide SD report for October 1938, which describes the extent and details of the pogrom-like actions, the reporter also mentions: “It was possible to note that the Catholic population generally disapproved of these actions” (353►).

Similar critical voices from different parts of the population had already been noted earlier in a Reich-wide SD report for April and May 1938. It describes “a strengthened anti-Jewish attitude among the population” on the one hand and “indirect support for the Jews on the part of strict Catholics and Protestants, and among farmers” on the other (324►). A local SD report of 15 May 1938 from Hanau reports on critical voices emanating in particular from so-called *bessere Leute*, a term generally used for the liberal bourgeoisie (325►).

However, there is no doubt that this new wave of “intensified anti-Jewish attitude in the population,” to quote again the cumulative Reich-wide retrospective report for October, written a few days before the Reichskristallnacht, “had its most powerful expression in actions against the Jewish population” and that the radical trend regarding the Jewish Question was then dominant. It can now be concluded that the Reichskristallnacht pogrom was an expansion and a centrally organized escalation from above of the patterns of

anti-Jewish violence that had swept Germany from below during the previous months of the year.

As shown, the often minute and identifiable details given in the local and regional reports on the events of this period confirm the reliability of the Reich-wide SD reports that were the point of departure for this analysis. It was these reports, summarizing the information provided by lower reporting levels across the Reich, that were presented to the political leadership and served it in its decision-making. The decision on the Kristallnacht pogrom itself was made at the highest level and according to recent research, was also motivated by and aimed at foreign policy.⁷³

The pogrom as such remains a milestone in the historical awareness of Germans and Jews, as well as one of the central issues in the historiography on the Third Reich in the prewar period. But, as is now evident, it was by no means an isolated event unleashed on the night of 9–10 November 1938, just as the Nuremberg Laws were not Hitler's chance improvised initiative on the eve of the Reichsparteitag of 15 September 1935. The pressure from below preceding the Nuremberg Laws almost unavoidably brought about the institutionalization of the radical demands in the form of legislation that also sought to put an end to the uncontrollable public violence. In 1938, in contrast, the pressure from below created local patterns of massive violence which, following the decision from above, were readily available to be expanded and escalated into the Reich-wide pogrom of Kristallnacht, with all its implications and consequences. As such, the population's attitudes and actions—the radicalized “pressure from below”—provided a background for the political leadership's decisions.

Marking of the Jews with the Yellow Badge and the Beginning of the Mass Deportations

In the foreword to the German edition of the secret Nazi reports we also discussed one of the most difficult problems in historiography, namely the critical evaluation of the sources from the period of the war and the Final Solution: “The apparent silence of the documents at the highest level of reporting regarding the deportation and murder of the Jews was often interpreted as indifference toward the fate of the Jews, repression or proof that the population had no knowledge of what was happening.”⁷⁴

Today we can state that the assumption of the apparent “silence of the documents” is based on a false impression. From the almost one thousand reports from the years 1939–1945, reproduced on the CD-ROM of the German edition, of which a substantial portion were also included in the present volume,⁷⁵ valuable new insights can be gained about the question of “what the German people knew.” Moreover, we can also learn about what the German population desired in respect to a “solution of the Jewish Question” during the war.

An illustrative example of this is the critical period after the invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, when Jews were ordered to wear an identifying badge and deportations began, along with the mass murder of deportees in the “East.”

The key document for this is an extensive report by the SD Main Office in Berlin, in which the findings of a nationwide investigation on reaction in the German population to the special marking of the Jews with the yellow badge are presented. As already mentioned, at this juncture there was no longer any special section devoted to the topic of the Jews in the Reich-wide SD reports. The relevant investigation is described in the section “Administration and Law,” under the subsection entitled “The Impact of the Police Ordinance on the Marking of the Jews of 1 September 1941.”⁷⁶

The report deals with the findings from twenty-nine regional reporting offices subordinate to the SD Main Office, which covered municipal, metropolitan, and rural areas throughout the Reich. In the pyramid-like architecture of the reporting system, each of these offices itself utilized reports stemming from subordinate offices. The primary reports also cover the period of the first systematic deportations into the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, where since July 1941 there had been mass shootings of the Jews.

The following report section sums up the general impact of the ordinance: “The issuance of the ordinance on the marking of the Jews has in general had a

favorable impact in the population. It is emphasized everywhere that this ordinance is in keeping with a wish long present among broad circles of the population, especially in localities where there are still a relatively large number of Jews” (¶618►).

Even before the ordinance went into force, the topic of special marking for the Jews was being discussed among the population, as shown in great detail in the almost completely preserved regional and local SD reports from Westphalia.⁷⁷ So in the report by the SD District Office Bielefeld of 13 September 1941: “Again and again you can hear people saying that at long last, finally every option for possible disguise is being taken from the Jews in Germany” (¶566►). And it was indeed “at long last,” since that demand had been repeatedly raised on various occasions in the 1930s, and then was very clearly articulated beginning in the summer of 1941, as in a further SD report from Westphalia dated 5 August 1941, which sees a parallel with the marking of the Jews in occupied Poland: “There had been repeated reports here recently about growing dissatisfaction among the population regarding the provocative behavior of the Jews. [...] People are demanding that compulsory marking to identify Jews be introduced, similar to the measure in force since the beginning of the war in the Generalgouvernement” (¶560►).⁷⁸

Under the heading “The Demands of the Population for Measures against the Jews,” in a report of 28 August 1941, a similar parallel is drawn with the situation in Poland (¶562►).

In a further report for the week 16–23 August 1941, a linkage is made between the call for separation from the Jews in everyday life and the war: “People in the local population are repeatedly demanding that Jews be given a special marking badge, as is already common in the Protectorate,⁷⁹ so that they can readily be recognized as members of the Jewish race. The *Volhgenossen* deem it insufferable that in the streetcars, in buses, and elsewhere in public transport, they are forced to stand next to members of a people who bear the major guilt for the present war, and whose racial compatriots seek in every way to destroy Germany” (¶561►).

The summary SD report cited above (¶618►) also points out that there are protests against the rules of exceptions for Jews married to non-Jews, and calls for uniform, strict measures to deal with such cases: “But reports also agree that the special treatment accorded Jews married to pure-blooded Germans has led to astonishment and reluctance among the population. The exceptions stipulated in the ordinance have even been criticized by *Volksgenossen* as a ‘halfway measure.’ ‘Indeed, such complaints and demands are the most frequent motif in

the existing reports from subordinate offices.⁸⁰

These demands for a uniform treatment of all Jews are part of the call for more radical decisions and measures that was associated with the expectation that all Jews would be removed from Germany: “In particular, it is evident from everywhere that among the general public, there is more understanding for a radical solution of the Jewish Problem than any compromise, and in the broadest circles, people want a clear external distinction to be made between Jewry and the German Volksgenossen. It is significant that many regard the ordinance on marking not as a final measure of some sort, but rather only as the prelude to further, more drastic ordinances, with the goal of a final resolution of the Jewish Question” (◀618▶).⁸¹

After several pages where details are given from reports from various localities, the summary report then closes with its conclusion on the prevailing mood in the population: “The large number of available reports agree that the measures already taken should not be viewed as final. [...] The population also wishes to mark the apartments of the Jews in an appropriate manner. But most of all, they say, a deportation [*Abschiebung*] in the near future of all Jews from Germany would be warmly welcomed” (◀618▶).

This apparently refers to the deportations to the East which began on 15 October 1941⁸² and the above-mentioned previous reports “from all parts of the Reich,” on which this report is based. In a number of those documents, the general wish is expressed that all Jews should move away from Germany, as for example in the above mentioned report of 13 September 1941: “In general, the pervasive hope is that now the last Jew will very soon leave the German fatherland” (◀566▶).

There were reports on the rounding up and deportation of Jews and reactions to this from many German localities, such as Forchheim, where Jews were deported on 27 November 1941: “While they were being readied for transport at the local Paradeplatz, a large number of local residents gathered, who watched them being sent off with great interest and satisfaction” (◀601▶).

In the Government District Minden, the deportation of 400 Jews in December 1941 continued for two days, and was observed and discussed by the population there: “On Thursday, 11 December 1941, the action began here locally to transport the first Jewish families to Riga.⁸³ About 10 a.m., the first Jewish families arrived in Bielefeld and were taken to the Kyffhäuser Hall at the Kesselbrink to be housed there. After two days, used for searches, checking of baggage, and the like, the transport left on Saturday at 3 p.m. Although this action had been kept secret by the Gestapo, the fact that the Jews were being sent

off was the object of discussion in all segments of the population” (605►).

What did the deportations that were closely observed—and, as quoted above from the comprehensive report, were warmly welcomed as the “final resolution of the Jewish Question”—mean to the German population at that time?

In this phase of the war, it was clear to everybody that emigration was no longer possible and that mass deportations to the East were under way. According to reports from various places, very accurate news arrived—in some cases almost in real time—about mass executions of those deemed “unfit to work” among the deportees from Germany, and mass killings of the Jews in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union: “People are telling one another that the Jews have all been deported to Russia. Transport is in railway carriage to Warsaw, and from there in cattle cars of the German Reichsbahn. [...] They say that in Russia, the Jews are being deployed at labor in former Soviet factories, while the more elderly and frail Jews are to be shot” (604►).⁸⁴

About the mass shootings of Jews in Russia there are detailed reports, as for example in the following travel report from July 1941:

According to a report from Major Frantz, 2,600 Jews were recently shot in Bialystok. He drove through a street that had been closed off by the police, and asked a German police officer: “Are Jews being deported here?” “No,” he replied, “but they’re being shot.”⁸⁵

The day before, they shot 2,600 Jews, the next day 6,000 were to follow. Supposedly all Jews between the ages of 15 and 60 are being shot. According to the police officer, the operation is being carried out daily, each day by a different century of men on duty. Several police officers who are no longer able to take part in such operations because of nervous breakdown have reported ill to a German physician on duty there. (557►)

This report also provides an answer to the question: what were the sources of knowledge in the German population about the shootings in the East? Here a major is mentioned, as well as police officers. These men, and soldiers on furlough who went back home, brought along descriptions of what they had seen, heard, and experienced, and this was regarded as highly problematical by the Party offices observing this phenomenon: “It has repeatedly been observed that soldiers coming from Warsaw and Litzmannstadt are talking in public about the way Jews are being eliminated in these cities; they may be exaggerating. These descriptions in the main aim to belittle and denigrate the nobility of our Wehrmacht in combat. The population is likewise disturbed by this, and it serves

to bolster enemy propaganda” ◀624▶).

In this respect, an especially important group was the escort personnel assigned for the trains, deployed for accompanying the deportations, since they were able to report immediately not only about the local shootings, but also about the situation on the way back home, since they returned with the trains. One example of this is the report cited above (◀604▶) with its comments on the route and means of transport, which evidently is based on data from escort personnel. There is a similar account in ◀601▶: “The Jews to be evacuated [...] were transported today at 9 a.m. by truck to Bamberg. From Bamberg they will be sent by train to Nuremberg and from there on 29 November 1941 by freight train to Riga. As escorts, Police Capt. Neuner and SS man Lindner were assigned to accompany them.”

The previously quoted reports also mention discussions in the population where the majority express support for the measures, or even call for more drastic steps, but where a minority expresses its sympathy with the victims, or even a critical view.⁸⁶

If in closing we return to the final conclusion of the Reich-wide SD report ◀618▶, which served here as a point of departure—and in which “the deportation of all Jews from Germany” was “warmly welcomed”—the new question is no longer what the German population knew about the fate of the Jews, but rather what it wanted at the time in respect to the “solution of the Jewish Question.” We already raised this question in the first public presentation of the German edition of this book at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2004.⁸⁷ The answer that can be derived from the reports on popular opinion, and from the subsequent published studies based on our edition, is a harsh one indeed.

1. See Chronology, September 1938.

2. This figure was given by the head of the SD reporting system, Ohlendorf, in 1945. See Heinz Boberach, ed., *Meldungen aus dem Reich: Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938–1945* (Herrsching: Pawlak Verlag, 1984), 16. A recent study on the SD in Saxony arrived at a figure of 2,746 agents and reporters for this region alone. Carsten Schreiber, “‘Eine verschworene Gemeinschaft’: Regionale Verfolgungsnetzwerke des SD in Sachsen,” in *Nachrichtendienst, politische Elite und Mordeinheit: Der Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers SS*, ed. Michael Wildt, 57–85, here 84 (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003).

3. On the various systems of the reports, their development, and evaluation

see Otto D. Kulka, “Die Nürnberger Rassengesetze und die deutsche Bevölkerung im Lichte geheimer NS-Lage-und Stimmungsberichte,” *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (V/ZJ32 (1984), 582–624, here 582–600; David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion under Nazism* (1990; Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 4–10.

4. Reinhard Heydrich, “An die SD-Führer der SS-Oberabschnitte,” Reichsführer SS, Der Chef des Sicherheitshauptamtes, Berlin, 4 September 1937, Bundesarchiv Berlin (BArch) R 58/990, Bl. 23.

5. Staatsministerium des Innern, “Berichterstattung in politischen Angelegenheiten, 17.7.1934,” Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, MA 106669.

6. See figures 1 (p. xxix), 2 (pp. xxxv), and 3 (pp. xxxviii–xxxix).

7. See Aryeh L. Unger, “The Public Opinion Reports of the Nazi Party,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 29 (1965), 565–582; Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich* (1984), 36 f.

8. 12 October 1940, see Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich* (1984), 22.

9. The documents of all reporting offices and agencies from the territory of the Reich in the borders of 1937 (the so-called Altreich) for the entire period 1933–1945 have been included here. These are supplemented by a small number of reports from the later occupied and annexed territories to the so-called Greater Germany (Grossdeutsches Reich)—Austria (after 1938 the “Ostmark” in Nazi terminology), the Sudetenland (annexed from Czechoslovakia in October 1938), parts of occupied Poland (annexed in October 1939), and Alsace-Lorraine (added in 1940, after the defeat of France)—which contain statements with broader salience for the entire territory of the Reich.

10. Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich* (1984). This edition was also included in the digital data base *Deutsche Geschichte im 20. Jahrhundert Online Twentieth-Century German History Online: Nationalsozialismus, Holocaust, Widerstand und Exil 1933–1945 National Socialism, Holocaust, Resistance and Exile 1933–1945* (Munich: Saur, 2006).

11. On the prescribed structure of the SD and Gestapo reports, see figs. 4 and 6. This format was retained until September 1939, when the more detailed breakdown according to groups of adversaries was discontinued in favor of a general category “Adversaries,” and reports were requested for twice a week instead of the previous instruction of once a month. This change had been motivated primarily by the war situation. In the summer of 1940, the general

category of “Adversaries” was also abandoned, and from that point on, reports dealing with Jews and other “adversaries” were to be found in all thematic categories, such as economy, law, war, race, or culture (see Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich* [1984], 21).

12. Heinz Boberach, ed., *Regimekritik, Widerstand und Verfolgung in Deutschland und den besetzten Gebieten: Meldungen und Berichte aus dem Geheimen Staatspolizeiamt, dem SD Hauptamt, der SS und dem Reichssicherheitshauptamt 1933–1944* (microfiche), vol. I, *Reichsgebiet mit an- und eingegliederten Gebieten*; vol. II, *Besetzte und angegliederte Gebiete* (1939–1945) (Munich: Saur, 1999).

13. Michael Wildt, ed., *Die Judenpolitik des SD 1935 bis 1938: Eine Dokumentation* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995), introduction, 9–64.

14. On the topic of the Jews, see the selective documentation by Falk Wiesemann, “Judenverfolgung und nichtjüdische Bevölkerung,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat et al., vol. I, 427–486 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1977).

15. Klaus Mlynek, *Gestapo Hannover meldet... Polizei- und Regierungsberichte für das mittlere und südliche Niedersachsen zwischen 1933 und 1937* (Hildesheim: Lax, 1986); Thomas Klein, *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Hessen-Nassau 1933–1936*, 2 vols. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1986); Klein, *Der Regierungsbezirk Kassel 1933–1936: Die Berichte des Regierungspräsidenten und der Landräte*, 2 parts (Darmstadt: Selbstverlag der Hessischen Kommission Darmstadt und der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, 1985). Among other similar editions, the following are worth mentioning: the first selection of situation reports by Bernhard Vollmer, *Volksopposition im Polizeistaat: Gestapo und Regierungsberichte 1934–1936* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1957); later Robert Thévoz et al., *Die Geheime Staatspolizei in den preussischen Ostprovinzen 1934–1936: Pommern 1934/35 im Spiegel von Gestapo-Lageberichten und Sachakten*, 2 parts (Cologne: Grote, 1974); Gerd Steinwascher, *Gestapo Osnabrück meldet ... Polizei- und Regierungsberichte aus dem Regierungsbezirk Osnabrück aus den Jahren 1933 bis 1936* (Osnabrück, 1995); Wolfgang Ribbe, *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei über die Provinz Brandenburg und die Reichshauptstadt Berlin 1933 bis 1936* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998). Christian Tilitzki, *Alltag in Ostpreußen 1940–1945: Die geheimen Lageberichte der Königsberger Justiz 1940–1945* (Leer: Rautenberg, 1991). *Gestapo Oldenburg*

meldet... Berichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei und des Inneministers aus dem Freistaat und Land Oldenburg 1933–1936, ed. and introd. Albrecht Eckhardt and Katharina Hoffmann (Hanover: Hahn, 2002); Hermann-J. Rupieper and Alexander Serk, eds., *Die Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei Sachsen aus 1933–1936*, vol. 1, *Regierungsbezirk Magdeburg* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2003), vol. II, *Regierungsbezirk Merseburg* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 2004).

16. Otto D. Kulka and A. Rodrigue, “The German Population and the Jews in the Third Reich: Recent Publications and Trends of Research on German Society and the ‘Jewish Question’,” *YVS* 16 (1984), 421–435; Kulka, “The German Population and the Jews: State of Research and New Perspectives,” in *Probing the Depths of German Antisemitism: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews, 1933–1941*, ed. David Bankier, 271–281 (New York: Berghahn, 2000).

17. Peter Longerich, “*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*” *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945* (Munich: Siedler, 2006). [We didn’t know anything about it! The Germans and the Persecution of the Jews 1933–1945].

18. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

19. In addition, instructive on current developments in research is Michael Wildt’s review of three monographic studies by Dörner, Bajohr, and Longerich: “Die Deutschen und der Holocaust.” *H-Soz-u-Kult* (2 February 2008), http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezen_sionen/2008-1-200, accessed 23 March 2008.

20. Otto D. Kulka, “‘Public Opinion’ in the Third Reich and the ‘Jewish Question,’” *Zion: Quarterly for Research in Jewish History* 40 (1975), 186–290 (Hebrew; English summary: xlvi–xlii; documentation in German: 260–290). A shorter English version of this study appeared in *The Nazi Holocaust: Historical Articles on the Destruction of European Jews*, ed. Michael Marrus, vol. 5 (1989), 115–150.

21. Ian Kershaw, “Antisemitismus und Volksmeinung. Reaktion auf die Judenverfolgung,” in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Martin Broszat et al., vol. II, 281–348 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979); Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent in the Third Reich: Bavaria 1933–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 224–277, 358–372 (reprinted in Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*, 151–209).

22. David Bankier, *The Germans and the Final Solution: Public Opinion Under Nazism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Bankier, *Die öffentliche Meinung im Hitler-Staat: Die “Endlösung” und die Deutschen. Eine Berichtigung* (Berlin: Berlin-Verlag Spitz, 1995).

23. Hans Mommsen, “What Did the Germans Know about the Genocide of the Jews?” in *November 1938: From “Kristallnacht” to Genocide*, ed. Walter Pehle, 187–221 (Oxford: Berg, 1991); Eberhard Jäckel, “Hitler und die Deutschen,” in Mommsen, *Hitlers Weltanschauung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1981), 137–159; Ursula Büttner, “Die deutsche Bevölkerung und die Judenverfolgungen 1933–1945,” in *Die Deutschen und die Judenverfolgung im Dritten Reich*, ed. Büttner, 67–88 (Hamburg: Christians, 1992). Also relevant, but mainly based on Gestapo files from Düsseldorf, is Hans Mommsen and Dieter Obst, “Die Reaktion der deutschen Bevölkerung auf die Verfolgung der Juden 1933–1943,” in *Herrschaftsalltag im Dritten Reich: Studien und Texte*, ed. Hans Mommsen and Susanne Willems, 374–485 (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1988).

24. Kulka and Jäckel, *Stimmungsberichte*, 9.

25. Longerich, “*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*”

26. Michael Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung: Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919–1939* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2007). [Volksgemeinschaft as Self-Empowerment: Violence against the Jews in the German Province 1919–1939].

27. Bernward Dörner, *Die Deutschen und der Holocaust: Was niemand wissen wollte, aber jeder wissen konnte* (Berlin: Propyläen bei Ullstein, 2007). [The Germans and the Holocaust: What none wanted to know, but all were able to know].

28. Frank Bajohr, “The ‘Folk Community’ and the Persecution of the Jews: German Society Under the National Socialist Dictatorship, 1933–1945,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20,2 (2006), 183–206; Bajohr, “Vom antijüdischen Konsens zum schlechten Gewissen: Die deutsche Gesellschaft und die Judenverfolgung 1933–1945,” in *Der Holocaust als offenes Geheimnis*, ed. Bajohr and Dieter Pohl, 15–79 (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2006). [From Anti-Jewish Consensus to Bad Conscience: German Society and the Persecution of the Jews 1933–1945]?

29. See ▲32▲33

30. We can gain valuable insight into how they actually dealt with and

processed materials from the monthly report of the SD Main Office for November 1938, which is extant in two versions, see ▶356▶ and the facsimile there. Regarding the type of summarizing of SD local reports in the Reich-wide SD reports, see the documents indicated in Note 32.

31. See photocopies in Yad Vashem: YVA, 0,51. OSO/48. For example, Adolf Eichmann criticized the report from the SD Upper Division West received in the SD Main Office shortly before as follows: “OA West sent a very meager report. When sentences are included here such as: ‘Dr. Neuberger, for example, propagated adherence to the Talmud and the Torah,’ then in such cases the Jewish political orientation of such Jews must also be mentioned” (18 August 1937). Some two months later, the SD Jewish Affairs Department issued the following instructions on compiling reports for the political leadership: “In order to render reports appropriate for channeling on to the highest echelons of the government and party, it appears that what is needed is a fundamentally clearer organization in the report format. This should be structured roughly as follows: 1.) Political situation and changes, 2.) Economic situation, efforts to disguise Jewish enterprises, etc., 3.) Jewish cultural life, 4.) Relation to foreign countries, 5.) Anti-Semitism. Intelligence on the relation of the Jews to other enemies will be made the topic of individual reports.”

32. See the documents in Chapter 9.

33. In April 1943, mass graves were discovered outside of Katyn (near the Russian city of Smolensk) containing the bodies of several thousand Polish officers. The massacre was carried out on orders from Stalin by the Soviet Secret Police in the spring of 1940. This discovery was exploited by Goebbels for a broad propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and the “atrocities of Jewish Bolshevism.” In this connection, the first intensive discussion developed in the German public regarding the Nazi mass murder of the Jews. See Chapter 13 and the Reich-wide SD report of 19 April 1943, ▶674▶ and Sec. 3 there, as well as reports on the local and regional level, such as ▶686▶, ▶687▶, and ▶692▶.

34. In this report, no figures are given on the surveillance, but in February 1935 the Berlin Gestapo indicated there had been a total of 3,001 meetings for the month in the capital, of which only 72 were placed under surveillance. That is an average of better than 100 meetings a day. See ▶93▶.

35. The book contains the most important sections of this document. The full text of the extensive report appears in the German original on the CD ▶110▶.

36. On the suicides of the Jews under the Nazi Regime in Germany, see

Konrad Kwiet, “The Ultimate Refuge: Suicide in the Jewish Community under the Nazis,” *LBIY* 29 (1984), 135–167. Christine Hartig, “‘Conversations about taking our own lives—Oh, a poor expression for a forced deed in hopeless circumstances’: Suicide among German Jews 1933–1943,” *LBIY* 52 (2007), 247–265; Anna Fischer, ed., *Erzwungener Freitod: Spuren und Zeugnisse in den Freitod getriebener Juden der Jahre 1938–1945 in Berlin* (Berlin: Textpunktverlag, 2007).

37. On German-Jewish nationalistic organizations, see Carl J. Rheins, “The Verband nationaldeutscher Juden 1921–1933,” *LBIY* 25 (1980), 243–268; Rheins, “Deutscher Vortrupp: Gefolgschaft deutscher Juden 1933–1935,” *LBIY* 26 (1981), 207–229; Hans Joachim Schoeps, ed., *Wille und Weg des deutschen Judentums* (Berlin: Vortrupp Verlag, 1935).

38. For the complete text, see CD 624.

39. See Gestapa Berlin Bericht, 1 October 1936 to 28 February 1937, -4257?.

40. See Chronology.

41. SD Main Office II 112: The Organization of the lews, their Connections and Political Importance.

42. 440, SD Main Office II 112, Report for luly 1939.

43. On the discovery of the *Reichsvereinigung* archives for 1939–1945 and their significance, see Otto D. Kulka and Esriel Hildesheimer, “The Central Organisation of German Jews in the Third Reich and its Archives (On the Completion of the Reconstruction Project),” IB/734 (1989), 187–203.

44. These local reports were mainly from Bavaria, where earlier forms of reporting were retained. On the basis of a comparison of such local reports from earlier years with those from other parts of the Reich, we can assume that these Bavarian reports were to a certain extent representative for all of Germany (see, for example, the documents 521; 538; CD 3031).

45. Commenting on the first mass deportation of the Jews from Baden and the Saar Palatinate in October 1940 to occupied France, the public prosecutor from Karlsruhe noted: “During the deportation of the Jews from Baden on October 22, 1940, there were a number of suicides. In Mannheim there were eight such cases” (533).

46. According to estimates by Konrad Kwiet, “The Ultimate Refuge,” between October 1941 and the middle of 1943, some three to four thousand Jews committed suicide after receiving a deportation order.

47. For a critical overview of this approach in the historiography see Wildt, *VolL? -gemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*, 260–266.

48. The analysis for this period is based on local and regional reports, completely preserved for Prussia and Bavaria, and on sporadic reports from other Reich regions. No Reich-wide reports were preserved for this period, either by the Gestapo or by the SD.

49. The plebiscite on the political status of the Saarland was held on 13 January 1935.

50. Longerich, “*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*” 75 f.

51. “Deutsche Volksgenossen betrachten sie anscheinend in jeder Hinsicht als Freiwild.”

52. Even though a law against “race defilement” did not yet exist, 72 persons were arrested in Berlin in July on charges of this offense, and 208 in August, according to this report ▶146▶).

53. This computer-supported research was carried out with the help of the search engine of the *Stimmungsberichte* CD-ROM edition. The search yields the number of documents in which a certain keyword is found but not the considerably higher number of occurrences of that term in the text. This pre-selected group of documents was then researched by means of textual analysis to arrive at a comprehensive result.

54. Individual actions were anti-Jewish excesses, mostly locally initiated.

55. Here, the asterisk in the end of the words allows inclusion of all derivations of the mentioned terms while using the search engine of the CD-ROM.

56. Most of the reports are monthly, written during the first ten days of the following month. For example, the reports for lune had to be submitted by luly 10. As a result, the period of examination here includes reports on the situation in lune and luly 1935.

57. See ▶78▶; CD ▶762▶; ▶129▶; CD ▶1048▶; CD ▶1082▶ as well as glossary entries for **Mixed marriages** and **Race defilement**.

58. See CD ▶868▶; CD ▶883▶; CD ▶894▶; ▶139▶, here as well, the Reich-wide ordinance of the Gestapo of 12 February. See Chronology and **Flag legislation**.

59. Minutes of the meeting (Chefbesprechung) of the heads of the Reich and state ministries, the Gestapo, the SD, and others, 20 August 1935 (Preussisches

Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Rep. 320, Nr. 513), excerpts quoted in Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze,” 616–19. The fear of a “loss of authority” by the government mentioned here appears in several preceding reports like in the Cologne Gestapo report for June 1935: “But ultimately what suffers in both instances is the authority of the state” (¶133). For an analysis of another version of the minutes of this meeting, as recorded by the Gestapo, see Wildt, *Voltegemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*, 261–264.

60. See ¶148 and CD ¶1141.

61. See Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze,” 617.

62. On the explicit reference to the preceding reports on popular opinion in Hitler’s speech on the occasion of the introduction of the Nuremberg Laws at the Reichsparteitag, see *ibid.*, 620.

63. Gestapo Kassel, Report for September 1935 (CD ¶1215).

64. “Keine Erlösung des deutschen Volkes ohne Lösung der Judenfrage,” Stapostelle Regierungsbezirk Koblenz, report for February 1935 (see CD ¶627).

65. See, for example, Pehle, *November 1938*; Benz, “Relapse into Barbarism,” as well as particular chapters in almost all comprehensive books on the Third Reich and on Nazi Germany and the Jews. For selected bibliography, see Longerich, “*Davon haben wir nichts gewusst!*” 374, fn 1.

66. While only local and regional reports but no nationwide Reich reports were preserved for 1935, the source situation for 1938 differs. We now have monthly Reich-wide SD reports at our disposal for the overall picture, but fewer of the more concrete and detailed regional and local reports. The local and regional reports from Bavaria, Westphalia, and the Palatinate were preserved more or less in their entirety, with sporadic reports from other regions of the Reich.

67. See most recently Ian Kershaw, *Fateful Choices: Ten Decisions That Changed the World 1940–1941* (New York: Penguin, 2007), ch. 10; Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda During World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

68. Thirteen cases are listed with name of the place, while a still larger number are unspecified.

69. For Nuremberg, see ¶336; for Munich: “Ein Schandfleck verschwindet,” in *Der Stürmer*, 26 June 1938.

[70.](#) District Governor Upper and Central Franconia, Report for August 1938 (◀ 343▶).

[71.](#) District Governor Main Franconia, Report for September, 10 October 1938 (◀350▶).

[72.](#) District Governor Upper and Central Franconia, Report for September 1938 (◀351▶).

[73.](#) See Stefan Kley, “Hitler and the Pogrom of November 9–10, 1938,” YVS 28 (2000), 87–112.

[74.](#) *Stimmungsberichte*, 9.

[75.](#) For this period there are 953 documents on the CD-ROM, 336 of which are included in the book.

[76.](#) The main sections are reproduced in ▶618◀; for the full text in German, see CD ▶3417◀. The ordinance was issued on 1 September and went into force on 19 September 1941. The report was written on 2 February 1942 and covers the time period until that date.

[77.](#) These are the reports sent to the Main SD Office in Berlin from the Main District Office of Bielefeld.

[78.](#) A term for the occupied territories in Poland that were not incorporated into the territory of the German Reich. This region had 12 million inhabitants, including 1.8 million Jews.

[79.](#) “Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia” was the official designation for the occupied part of Czechoslovakia, without the Sudetenland, which was incorporated into Germany after the Munich Agreement. The Protectorate was proclaimed on 15 March 1939, following the declaration of the independent Slovak Republic, a client state of Nazi Germany, on 14 March 1939.

[80.](#) Thus, for example in, ▶567◀, ▶568◀, ▶569◀, ▶572◀, ▶573◀, ▶574◀, and ▶578◀ and in the first summary report of the SD Main Office of 9 October 1941 ▶582◀.

[81.](#) “Mit dem Ziel einer endgültigen Bereinigung der Judenfrage.”

[82.](#) See ▶599◀, ▶601◀, ▶603◀, ▶604◀, and ▶605◀

[83.](#) On the deportation of the Jews from Germany to Riga in November–December 1941 and their fate (including mass shootings), see Yaakov Lozowick, “Documentation: ‘Juden-spediteur’: A Deportation Train,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 6, 3 (1991), 283–292; and EH, Vol. Ill, 1276–1279.

[84.](#) Here the destination was Riga as well.

85. In the German original, there is a parallelism in the verbs: “*Werden hier Juden abgeschoben?*” “*Nein,*” *sagte dieser,* “*aber abgeschossen*”

86. The document on the deportations from the Government District Minden in December 1941 already mentioned above also notes such critical voices: “The fact that the Jews were being sent off was the object of discussion in all segments of the population. Accordingly, there were also a number of statements reflecting the prevailing mood. It should be noted that the action was welcomed and approved by the preponderant majority. [...] As had become a common feature in connection with all government operations, the only voices of criticism and rejection came from religious circles” (◀605▶; see also ▶603▶ and ▶613▶).

87. Interview with the authors at the Frankfurt Book Fair, 2004: “Man wollte die Juden loswerden,” *Tribüne-Gespräch mit Eberhard Jäckel und Dov Kulka, Tribüne-Zeitschrift zum Verständnis des Judentums* 43,172 (2004), 202–204.

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- ◀ 60 ▶ Stapostelle Government District Kassel Kassel, 5 January 1935
- ◀ 61 ▶ Stapostelle Government District Lüneburg Harburg-Wilhelmsburg, 20 December 1934
- ◀ 62 ▶ Stapostelle Government District Lüneburg Harburg-Wilhelmsburg, 28 December 1934
- ◀ 63 ▶ Mecklenburg Political Police Schwerin, 5 January 1935
- ◀ 64 ▶ Stapostelle Government District Minden Bielefeld, 4 January 1935
- ◀ 65 ▶ Police HQ Munich Munich, 6 January 1935
- ◀ 66 ▶ State Minister, State of Hesse Darmstadt, 11 January 1935
- ◀ 67 ▶ District Governor Kassel Kassel, 2 January 1935
- ◀ 68 ▶ District Governor Minden Minden, 10 January 1935
- ◀ 69 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 9 January 1935
- ◀ 70 ▶ District Governor Palatinate Speyer, 9 January 1935
- ◀ 71 ▶ District Governor Stettin Stettin, 8 January 1935
- ◀ 72 ▶ District Governor Wiesbaden Wiesbaden, 27 December 1934
- ◀ 73 ▶ Gendarmerie Bad Neustadt/Saale Bad Neustadt/Saale, 21

- 74 ► County Commissioner Eschwege December 1934
- 75 ► Military Police Squad 1/V Frankfurt/M. Eschwege, 20 December 1934
- 76 ► Mayor of Fulda Frankfurt/M., 25 December 1934
- 77 ► Party District Chief Hanau Fulda, 27 December 1934
- 78 ► NSDAP District Office for Municipal Hanau, 25 December 1934
- Policy Kempten Kempten, 3 January 1935
- 79 ► SA Brigade 250 Offenbach/Main Offenbach/Main, 9 January 1935
- 80 ► Party District Chief Rotenburg Rotenburg, 22 December 1934
- 81 ► County Commissioner Schmalkalden Schmalkalden, 23 December 1934
- 82 ► County Commissioner Wolfhagen Wolfhagen, 27 December 1934
- 83 ► County Commissioner Ziegenhain Ziegenhain, 22 December 1934
- 84 ► SA Standarte 22 Zweibrücken (Rhine-Palatinate) Zweibrücken, n.d.
- 85 ► Gestapa Berlin Berlin, 19 February 1935
- 86 ► Stapo Stelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 4 February 1935
- 87 ► Police HQ Nuremberg-Fürth Nuremberg, 2 February 1935
- 88 ► District Governor Koblenz Koblenz, 3 February 1935
- 89 ► Senate Lübeck, Internal Administration Lübeck, 9 January 1935
- 90 ► District Governor Lower Franconia and Würzburg, 8 February 1935
- Aschaffenburg
- 91 ► Gendarmerie Schöllkrippen Schöllkrippen, 23 January 1935
- 92 ► Gestapa Baden Karlsruhe, n.d.
- 93 ► Stapo Stelle Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
- 94 ► Stapo Stelle Government District Hanover Hanover, 4 March 1935
- 95 ► Stapo Stelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 4 March 1935
- 96 ► Stapo Stelle Government District Minden Bielefeld, 4 March 1935

- ◀ 97 ► County Commissioner Fritzlar-Homberg Fritzlar, 19 February 1935
- ◀ 98 ► Police HQ Augsburg Augsburg, 1 April 1935
- ◀ 99 ► Stapostelle Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
- ◀ 100 ► Stapostelle Government District Erfurt Erfurt, 4 April 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 101 ► Stapostelle Government District Recklinghausen, 4 April 1935
- ▶ Münster
- ◀ 102 ► Stapostelle Government District Frankfurt/M., 5 April 1935
- ▶ Wiesbaden
- ◀ 103 ► District Governor Osnabrück Osnabrück, 2 April 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 104 ► District Governor Oppeln Oppeln, 2 April 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 105 ► Mayor of Amt Anröchte Anröchte, 19 March 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 106 ► Gendarmerie Wehrda Neukirchen, 23 March 1935
- ▶

Chapter 4 (April–December 1935)

- ◀ 107 ► Stapostelle Government District Aachen Aachen, 8 May 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 108 ► Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf Düsseldorf, 5 May 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 109 ► Stapostelle Government District Breslau Breslau, 5 May 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 110 ► Stapostelle Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
- ▶
- ◀ 111 ► Stapostelle Government District Frankfurt/Oder Frankfurt/O., 4 May 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 112 ► Stapostelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 4 May 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 113 ► Stapostelle Government District Königsberg Königsberg, n.d.
- ▶
- ◀ 114 ► Stapostelle Government District Minden Bielefeld, 4 May 1935
- ▶
- ◀ 115 ► District Governor Stettin Stettin, 10 May 1935
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- ▶ 116 District Governor Wiesbaden Wiesbaden, 30 April
1935
- ▶ 117 Gendarmerie Unsleben Unsleben, 14 April
1935
- ▶ 118 Stapostelle Police District Berlin Berlin, 13 June 1935
- ▶ 119 Stapostelle Government District Kassel Kassel, 5 June 1935
- ▶ 120 Stapostelle for the Government District Koblenz Koblenz, n.d.
- ▶ 121 Police HQ Munich Munich, 27 May 1935
- ▶ 122 Stapostelle Government District Münster Recklinghausen, 6 June
1935
- ▶ 123 Governor of the Province of Silesia Breslau, 6 June 1935
- ▶ 124 District Governor Trier Trier, 6 June 1935
- ▶ 125 County Commissioner Düren Düren, 27 May 1935
- ▶ 126 [NSDAP] District Direction Eichstätt Eichstätt, n.d.
- ▶ 127 Lord Mayor of Hameln Hameln, 20 May 1935
- ▶ 128 Gendarmerie Osnabrück Osnabrück, 25 May
1935
- ▶ 129 Stapostelle Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
- ▶ 130 Bavarian Political Police Munich, 21 June 1935
- ▶ 131 Stapostelle Government District Breslau Breslau, 5 July 1935
- ▶ 132 Stapostelle Government District Hanover Hanover, 4 July 1935
- ▶ 133 Stapostelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 7 July 1935
- ▶ 134 Stapostelle Government District Königsberg Königsberg, n.d.
- ▶ 135 Stapostelle Government District Sigmaringen Sigmaringen, 12 July
1935
- ▶ 136 District Governor Wiesbaden Wiesbaden, 1 July
1935
- ▶ 137 County Commissioner Hanau Hanau, 25 June 1935

- ▶ 138 County Commissioner Hünfeld Hünfeld, 24 June 1935
- ▶ 139 Stapostelle Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
- ▶ 140 Stapostelle Government District Aurich Wilhelmshaven, n.d.
- ▶ 141 Stapostelle Government District Breslau Breslau, 3 August 1935
- ▶ 142 Stapostelle Government District Frankfurt/Oder Frankfurt/Oder, 5 August 1935
- ▶ 143 Stapostelle Government District Hanover Hanover, 3 August 1935
- ▶ 144 Stapostelle Government District Wiesbaden Frankfurt/M., 5 August 1935
- ▶ 145 NSDAP Gau Office for Municipal Policy Gau Augsburg, 10 August 1935
Direction Swabia
- ▶ 146 Stapostelle Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
- ▶ 147 Stapostelle Government District Aachen Aachen, 5 September 1935
- ▶ 148 Stapostelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 3 September 1935
- ▶ 149 Stapostelle Government District Lüneburg Harburg-
Wilhelmsburg, n.d.
- ▶ 150 Stapostelle Government District Minden Bielefeld, 4 September 1935
- ▶ 151 Stapostelle Government District Osnabrück Osnabrück, 4 September 1935
- ▶ 152 District Governor Kassel Kassel, 2 September 1935
- ▶ 153 District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 9 September 1935
- ▶ 154 District Governor Wiesbaden Frankfurt/M., 30 August 1935
- ▶ 155 Gendarmerie Fischach Fischach, 6 August 1935
- ▶ 156 County Commissioner Gelnhausen Gelnhausen, 31 July

		1935
► 157	County Commissioner Halle/Westphalia	Halle/Westphalia, 28 August 1935
► 158	Stapostelle Police District Berlin	Berlin, n.d. 1935
► 159	Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg	Dortmund, n.d.
► 160	Stapostelle Government District Cologne	Cologne, 18 October 1935
► 161	Stapostelle Government District Magdeburg	Magdeburg, 5 October 1935
► 162	Stapostelle Government District Minden	Bielefeld, 3 October 1935
► 163	Stapostelle Government District Trier	Trier, 5 October 1935
► 164	District Governor Oppeln	Oppeln, n.d.
► 165	Reich Central Direction of the NSDAP, Main Office for Municipal Policy	Munich, 25 October 1935
► 166	District Office Bad Kissingen	Bad Kissingen, 27 September 1935
► 167	Government District Minden, State Lippe and District Hameln-Pyrmont	N.p., n.d.
► 168	Bavarian Political Police	Munich, 1 November 1935
► 169	Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg	Dortmund, n.d.
► 170	Stapostelle Police District Berlin	Berlin, n.d.
► 171	Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf	Düsseldorf, 6 November 1935
► 172	Stapostelle Government District Hanover	Hanover, 4 November 1935
► 173	Stapostelle Government District Koblenz	Koblenz, 5 November 1935
► 174	Stapostelle Government District Königsberg	Königsberg, n.d.
► 175	Stapostelle Government District Merseburg	Halle/Saxony, 5 November 1935

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| 176 | Criminal Investigative Division Amberg | Amberg, 16 October
1935 |
| 177 | Mayor of Lippstadt | Lippstadt, 21 October
1935 |
| 178 | Party District Chief Melsungen | Melsungen, 24 October
1935 |
| 179 | County Commissioner Rotenburg | Rotenburg, 24 October
1935 |
| 180 | Bavarian Political Police | Munich, 1 December
1935 |
| 181 | District Governor Aachen | Aachen, 14 December
1935 |
| 182 | Stapostelle Government District Königsberg | Königsberg, n.d. |
| 183 | Stapostelle Government District Magdeburg | Magdeburg, 5
December 1935 |
| 184 | District Governor Koblenz | Koblenz, 5 December
1935 |
| 185 | Mayor of Lippstadt | Lippstadt, 19
November 1935 |
| 186 | Government District Minden, State Lippe and
District Hameln-Pyrmont | N.p., n.d. |
| 187 | Stapostelle Government District Breslau | Breslau, 2 January
1936 |
| 188 | Stapostelle Government District Erfurt | Erfurt, 6 January 1936 |
| 189 | Stapostelle Government District Hanover | Hanover, 6 January
1936 |
| 190 | Stapostelle Government District Cologne | Cologne, 4 January
1936 |
| 191 | Stapostelle Government District Königsberg | Königsberg, n.d. |
| 192 | Stapostelle Government District Wiesbaden | Frankfurt/M., 4
January 1936 |
| 193 | Württemberg Political State Police Office | Stuttgart, n.d. |



► 194 District Governor Dresden

Dresden, 9 January
1936

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- 195 SD Main Office J I/6 Berlin, n.d.
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- 196 Stapostelle State Police District Berlin Berlin, n.d.
-
- 197 Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf Düsseldorf, 18 February 1936
-
- 198 "Political Reports from the Government District Minden, State Lippe and District Hameln-Pyrmont" N.p., n.d.
-
- 199 SD Main Office [II 121] Berlin, n.d. 1936
-
- 200 Stapostelle Government District Aachen Aachen, 5 March 1936
-
- 201 Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg Dortmund, n.d.
-
- 202 Stapostelle Government District Aurich Wilhelmshaven, 21 February 1936
-
- 203 Gestapa State of Baden Karlsruhe, n.d.
-
- 204 Bavarian Political Police I 1A Munich, 1 March 1936
-
- 205 Stapostelle State Police District Berlin Berlin, 6 March 1936
-
- 206 Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf Düsseldorf, 12 March 1936
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- 207 Stapostelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 4 March 1936
-
- 208 Stapostelle Government District Königsberg Königsberg, 6 March 1936

- ▶ 209 District Governor Kassel Kassel, 4 March 1936
 - ▶ 210 County Commissioner Bad Kreuznach Bad Kreuznach, 27 February 1936
 - ▶ 211 Gendarmerie Butzbach Butzbach, 18 February 1936
 - ▶ 212 County Commissioner Schwabach Schwabach, 2 March 1936
 - ▶ 213 Gendarmerie Thannhausen Thannhausen, 26 February 1936
 - ▶ 214 Bavarian Political Police Munich, 1 April 1936
 - ▶ 215 Stapostelle Government District Cologne Cologne, 12 March 1936
 - ▶ 216 Stapostelle Government District Königsberg Königsberg, n.d.
 - ▶ 217 Gendarmerie Gunzenhausen Gunzenhausen, 31 March 1936
 - ▶ 218 County Commissioner Mayen Mayen, 28 March 1936
 - ▶ 219 SD Main Office, II 112 Berlin, 25 June 1936
 - ▶ 220 Bavarian Political Police I 1A Munich, 1 July 1936
 - ▶ 221 District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate Regensburg, 7 July 1936
 - ▶ 222 District Governor Palatinate Speyer, 8 July 1936
 - ▶ 223 District Governor Swabia and Neuburg Augsburg, 6 July 1936
 - ▶ 224 Mayor of Oppershofen Oppershofen, 26 June 1936
 - ▶ 225 District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 6 August 1936

► 243 Mayor of Oppershofen	Oppershofen, 19 November 1936
► 244 Gendarmerie Unsleben	Unsleben, 28 November 1936
► 245 Stapoleitstelle Munich	Munich, 1 January 1937
► 246 District Governor Upper and Central Franconia	Ansbach, 7 January 1937
► 247 District Governor Palatinate	Speyer, 7 January 1937
► 248 Gendarmerie District Ebermannstadt	Ebermannstadt, 5 December 1936
► 249 Chief Public Prosecutor Mannheim	Mannheim, 21 January 1937
► 250 NSDAP Local Branch Münster-Rathaus	Münster, 24 December 1936
► 251 Gendarmerie Oberammergau	Oberammergau, 30 December 1936

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► 252 SD Main Office II 112	Berlin, January 1937
►	
► 253 ► Stapoleitstelle Munich	Munich, 1 February 1937
► 254 ► District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate	Regensburg, 5 February 1937
► 255 ► Police Office Bad Nauheim	Bad Nauheim, 30 January 1937
► 256 ► SD Main Office II 112	Berlin, 17 February 1937
► 257 ► Gestapa Berlin	Berlin, n.d.
► 258 ► NSDAP District Bremen, Propaganda Head	Bremen, 19 March 1937

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- ◀ 259 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 18 March 1937
- ◀ 260 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 8 April 1937
- ◀ 261 ▶ SD Main Office II 1121 Berlin, n.d.
- ◀ 262 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 6 April 1937
- ◀ 263 ▶ NSDAP Local Branch Press Officer Münster, 4 April 1937
- ◀ 264 ▶ SD Main Office Berlin, 19 April 1937
- ◀ 265 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 4 May 1937
- ◀ 266 ▶ Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2 Munich, 1 May 1937
- ◀ 267 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 5 May 1937
- ◀ 268 ▶ Mayor of Amt Altenrüthen Ruthen, 22 May 1937
- ◀ 269 ▶ Gendarmerie Heiligenstadt Heiligenstadt, 13 June 1937
- ◀ 270 ▶ NSDAP District Direction Münster Municipality Münster, 28 May 1937
- ◀ 271 ▶ Mayor of Wohnbach Wohnbach, 20 May 1937
- ◀ 272 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 16 June 1937
- ◀ 273 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 17 June 1937
- ◀ 274 ▶ Gendarmerie Steinach Steinach, 23 June 1937
- ◀ 275 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 16 July 1937
- ◀ 276 ▶ Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2 A Munich, 1 August 1937
- ◀ 277 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 17 August 1937
- ◀ 278 ▶ Mayor of Bad Nauheim Bad Nauheim, 27 August 1937
- ◀ 279 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 17 September 1937
- ◀ 280 ▶ Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2 A Munich, 1 October 1937
- ◀ 281 ▶ Police HQ Augsburg Augsburg, 4 November 1937
- ◀ 282 ▶ Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2 A Munich, 1 November 1937

- ◀ 283 ► District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate Regensburg, 7 November 1937
- ◀ 284 ► District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 8 November 1937
- ◀ 285 ► District Office Alzenau Alzenau, 30 October 1937
- ◀ 286 ► Gendarmerie Arnschwang Arnschwang, 26 October 1937
- ◀ 287 ► Mayor of Haigerloch Haigerloch, 29 October 1937
- ◀ 288 ► SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 12 November 1937
- ◀ 289 ► SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 18 November 1937
- ◀ 290 ► SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 18 November 1937
- ◀ 291 ► Gendarmerie Cham Cham, 28 November 1937
- ◀ 292 ► County Commissioner Gelnhausen Gelnhausen, 30 November 1937
- ◀ 293 ► SD Upper Division North II 112 Stettin, n.d.
- ◀ 294 ► SD Upper Division Northwest II 112 Hamburg, 14 January 1938
- ◀ 295 ► SD Upper Division East II 112 Berlin, 8 January 1938
- ◀ 296 ► SD Upper Division South [II 112] Munich, n. d.
- ◀ 297 ► SD Upper Division Southeast II 112 Breslau, 14 January 1938
- ◀ 298 ► SD Upper Division Southwest II 112 Stuttgart, n.d.
- ◀ 299 ► District Governor Palatinate Speyer, 8 January 1938
- ◀ 300 ► District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg Würzburg, 10 January 1938
- ◀ 301 ► NSDAP District Bremen District Propaganda Office Bremen, 7 January 1938

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- ◀ 302 SD Main Office II 1 Berlin, n.d.
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- ◀ 303 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 8 February 1938
- ◀ 304 ▶ Mayor of Amt Anröchte Anröchte, 25 January 1938
- ◀ 305 ▶ Gendarmerie Aufseß Aufseß, 26 January 1938
- ◀ 306 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 4 March 1938
- ◀ 307 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 9 March 1938
- ◀ 308 ▶ NSDAP Reich Direction, Main Office for Municipal Policy Munich, 15 April 1938
- ◀ 309 ▶ Gendarmerie Garmisch-Partenkirchen Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 2 March 1938
- ◀ 310 ▶ Gendarmerie Geiselbach Geiselbach, 25 February 1938
- ◀ 311 ▶ SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, n.d.
- ◀ 312 ▶ State Public Prosecutor Karlsruhe Karlsruhe, 7 April 1938
- ◀ 313 ▶ District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg Würzburg, 9 April 1938
- ◀ 314 ▶ Hitler Youth Baden Karlsruhe, 22 March 1938
- ◀ 315 ▶ Gendarmerie District Ebermannstadt Ebermannstadt, 29 March 1938
- ◀ 316 ▶ Gestapa IIA 2 Berlin, 4 May 1938
- ◀ 317 ▶ District Governor Upper Bavaria Munich, 9 May 1938
- ◀ 317 ▶ District Governor Palatinate Speyer, 10 May 1938
- ◀ 319 ▶ NSDAP District Bremen District Propaganda Office Bremen, 6 May 1938
- ◀ 320 ▶ Gendarmerie Hösbach Hösbach, 19 April 1938
- ◀ 321 ▶ NSDAP District Direction Königshofen-Hofheim Königshofen, 2 May 1938
- ◀ 322 ▶ Mayor of Neuweiler Neuweiler, 22 April 1938

- ◀ 323 ▶ Mayor of Unterreichenbach
Unterreichenbach, 21 April 1938
- ◀ 324 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
Berlin, n.d.
- ◀ 325 ▶ SD District Office Hanau II 112
Hanau, 15 May 1938
- ◀ 326 ▶ SD District Office Hanau II 112
Hanau, 23 May 1938
- ◀ 327 ▶ SD District Office Hanau II 112
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- ◀ 328 ▶ District Governor Main Franconia
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- ◀ 329 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Ansbach, 8 June 1938
- ◀ 330 ▶ NSDAP District Direction Königshofen-Hofheim
Königshofen, 30 May 1938
- ◀ 331 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
Berlin, 20 June 1938
- ◀ 332 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
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- ◀ 333 ▶ SD District Office Kochem II 112
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- ◀ 334 ▶ Gestapa IIA 2
Berlin, 27 June 1938
- ◀ 335 ▶ Stapoleitstelle Frankfurt/M.
n.p., 18 June 1938
- ◀ 336 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
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- ◀ 337 ▶ Gendarmerie Freudenberg
Freudenberg, 23 June 1938
- ◀ 338 ▶ Gendarmerie Oberammergau
Oberammergau, 29 June 1938
- ◀ 339 ▶ Gendarmerie Thannhausen
Thannhausen, 29 June 1938
- ◀ 340 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
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- ◀ 341 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
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- ◀ 342 ▶ SD Main Office II 1
Berlin, 5 August 1938
- ◀ 343 ▶ District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Ansbach, 7 September 1938
- ◀ 344 ▶ District Governor Palatinate
Speyer, 12 September 1938
- ◀ 345 ▶ District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Regensburg, 8 August 1938
- ◀ 346 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
Berlin, 8 September 1938
- ◀ 347 ▶ SD Main Office II 112
Berlin, 8 October 1938
- ◀ 348 ▶ SD Lower Division Wiesbaden, Police
n.p., 30 September 1938

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| ◀ 349 ► State Public Prosecutor Karlsruhe | Karlsruhe, 30 October 1939 |
| ◀ 350 ► District Governor Main Franconia | Würzburg, 10 October 1938 |
| ◀ 351 ► District Governor Upper and Central Franconia | Ansbach, 7 October 1938 |
| ◀ 352 ► Chief Public Prosecutor Waldshut | Waldshut, 30 September 1938 |
| ◀ 353 ► SD Main Office II 112 | Berlin, n.d. |
| ◀ 354 ► SD Main Office II 1 | Berlin, 1 November 1938 |
| ◀ 355 ► District Governor Palatinate | Speyer, 9 November 1938 |

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| ◀ 356 SD Main Office II 112 | Berlin, 7 December 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 357 Stapostelle Bielefeld II B 2 | Bielefeld, 14 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 358 Lord Mayor of Bielefeld | Bielefeld, 22 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 359 County Commissioner Halle/Westphalia | Halle in Westphalia, 18 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 360 County Commissioner Höxter | Höxter, 18 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 361 City of Minden | Minden, 18 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 362 Mayor of Atteln | Atteln, 17 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 363 Mayor of Amt Neuhaus | Neuhaus, 17 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 364 [SD District Office Hofgeismar] | Hofgeismar, 17 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 365 County Commissioner Paderborn | Paderborn, 23 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 366 County Commissioner Bielefeld | Bielefeld, 18 November 1938 |
| ▶ | |
| ◀ 367 Mayor of Lemgo | Lemgo, 17 November 1938 |

- ▶ 368 Mayor of Amt Borgentreich Borgentreich, 17 November 1938
- ▶ 369 Stapostelle Bielefeld II B 2 Bielefeld, 26 November 1938
- ▶ 370 Gestapa IIA 4 Berlin, 8 December 1938
- ▶ 371 SD District Office Kochem II 112 Kochem, 25 November 1938
- ▶ 372 Stapostelle Aachen IIA 4 Aachen, 30 November 1938
- ▶ 373 Stapostelle Magdeburg Magdeburg, 30 November 1938
- ▶ 374 Stapostelle Government District Merseburg Halle, 29 November 1938
- ▶ 375 Stapoletstelle Munich Munich, n.d.
- ▶ 376 District Governor Minden Minden, 5 December 1938
- ▶ 377 District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate Regensburg, 8 December 1938
- ▶ 378 District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Ansbach, 8 December 1938
- ▶ 379 NSDAP Reich Direction, Main Office for Munich, 15 January 1939
► Municipal Policy
- ▶ 380 NSDAP Main Office for [Ideological] Training Berlin, 18 January 1939
- ▶ 381 Gendarmerie Adlkofen Adlkofen, 22 November 1938
- ▶ 382 Gendarmerie Amberg Amberg, 24 November 1938
- ▶ 383 NSDAP Direction of the Women's Organization, Gau Baden n.p., November 1938
- ▶ 384 Criminal Investigative Division Bad Kissingen Bad Kissingen, 11 November 1938
- ▶ 385 Mayor of Bad Lippspringe Bad Lippspringe, 17 November 1938
- ▶ 386 NSDAP Bremen District, District Propaganda Office Bremen, 12 December 1938
- ▶ 387 District Office Ebermannstadt Ebermannstadt, 2 December

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| ► 388 | [NSDAP] District Direction Eichstätt | Eichstätt, 30 November 1938 |
| ► 389 | Gendarmerie Furth i. W. | Furth i. W., 27 November 1938 |
| ► 390 | District Office Garmisch-Partenkirchen | Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 10 November 1938 |
| ► 391 | Constabulary Grünstadt | Grünstadt, 19 November 1938 |
| ► 392 | District School Commissioner Hechingen | Hechingen, 13 November 1938 |
| ► 393 | NSDAP Office for [Ideological] Training, District Lahr | Lahr, 2 December 1938 |
| ► 394 | Chief Public Prosecutor Mosbach | Mosbach, 24 November 1938 |
| ► 395 | Gendarmerie Muggendorf | Muggendorf, 26 November 1938 |
| ► 396 | National Socialist Teachers League Weilheim | Weilheim, 19 November 1938 |
| ► 397 | SD District Office Gotha | Gotha, n.d. |
| ► 398 | District Court President Trier | Trier, 22 December 1938 |
| ► 399 | District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate | Regensburg, 9 January 1939 |
| ► 400 | District Governor Upper Bavaria | Munich, 9 January 1939 |
| ► 401 | District Governor Upper and Central Franconia | Ansbach, 7 January 1939 |
| ► 402 | District Governor Palatinate | Speyer, 7 January 1939 |
| ► 403 | District Governor Swabia and Neuburg | Augsburg, 7 January 1939 |
| ► 404 | Gendarmerie Bad Reichenhall | Bad Reichenhall, 15 December 1938 |
| ► 405 | NSDAP Local Branch Castrop-Rauxel | Castrop-Rauxel, 20 December 1938 |
| ► 406 | Gendarmerie Maxdorf | Maxdorf, 27 December 1938 |
| ► 407 | Gendarmerie Muggendorf | Muggendorf, 26 December |

- ▶ 408 SD Upper Division East II 112 1938
- ▶ 409 City President of the Reich Capital Berlin, 13 January 1939
- ▶ Berlin, 5 January 1939
- ▶ 410 SD Upper Division South II 112 Munich, n.d.
- ▶ 411 SD Upper Division West II 112 Düsseldorf, n.d.
- ▶ 412 SD Upper Division Elbe II 112 Chemnitz, 18 January 1939
- ▶ 413 SD Upper Division North II 112 Stettin, 20 January 1939
- ▶ 414 SD Main Office II 1 Berlin, n.d.
- ▶ 415 SD Main Office II 112 Berlin, 7 January 1939

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- ▶ 416 SD Main Office II 1 Berlin, n.d.
- ▶
- ▶ 417 ▶ SD Lower Division Württemberg-Hohenzollern Stuttgart, 1 April 1939
- ▶ 418 ▶ SD District Office Kochem Kochem, 24 January 1939
- ▶ 419 ▶ District Governor Upper-and Central Franconia Ansbach, 8 February 1939
- ▶ 420 ▶ NSDAP District Direction Augsburg Municipality n.p., n.d.
- ▶ 421 ▶ Chief Public Prosecutor Mosbach Mosbach, 24 January 1939
- ▶ 422 ▶ Gendarmerie Schmidmühlen Schmidmühlen, 25 January 1939
- ▶ 423 ▶ Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf Düsseldorf, 14 February 1939
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Chapter 14

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Part I

The Prewar Years (1933–1939)

The Dawn of the National Socialist Era

The Unleashing of Violence, the Boycott of the Jews, and Initial Reports on Jewish Associational Life (March 1933–April 1934)

◀1▶

[Prussian Political Police]¹

Report

Berlin, 11 March 1933

YVA, 0.51/331

Note: telephone call from Breslau, 12:15 p.m.

Communication from the Police Superintendent, Breslau:

Early this morning the peace and quiet in Breslau was disrupted by the SA, which forcibly entered Jewish **department stores** and shops.² The police were brought in and quietly restored order, dispersing the SA. There were no incidents. The department stores have now “voluntarily” closed until Monday. The SA also forced its way into the District Court and Local Court, and dragged Jewish **lawyers and judges** from their offices. Once again, the police was deployed, and forcefully, but without any incident, they removed the SA from the premises. As far as can be determined, those taken into custody have been released. In any event, there is no report of anyone being confined behind bars. The SA is now attempting to close the Wertheim Department Store. For that reason, the police has been deployed there as a precautionary measure. To justify its actions, the SA is referring to the speech yesterday in Essen made by Reich Minister **Göring**. According to that speech, there is to be no police protection for department stores.³

The Police Superintendent has called the attention of the SA leaders to the proclamation issued by the Reich Chancellor,⁴ declaring emphatically that no further disturbances of the peace will be permitted. Rather, forceful measures will be taken if this occurs. He noted that although there has been no violence between the SA and the police as yet, that eventuality must be considered a

possibility. The Police Superintendent stated that he feels it is his responsibility in particular to ensure that unemployment is not increased as a result of the closing of the department stores and shops. As he sees it, the difficulty is that nothing can be achieved by negotiating with the SA leader Heines.⁵ The latter refers to a conversation he had with the minister and says that he is obliged to further the forward advance of the national upsurge.⁶

In addition, the SA put up roadblocks on all the larger highways today around Breslau. Automobiles departing Breslau were halted and searched by the SA, apparently to prevent Jews from leaving the city. [...] <1>

•2•

Mayor of **Gollnow**

Report

Gollnow, 14 April 1933

AP Stet, Reg. Stettin I/11976

Respectfully submitted in the original with enclosures⁷ to the District Governor, Stettin, by the District Councillor, Naugard, with additional remarks on the events which transpired here.

The complainant is the owner of a **department store**, or more precisely, a specialty shop for ready-to-wear clothing for ladies and gents. However, he also stocks additional accessories such as shoes, hats, etc.

On 10 March of this year, during the course of the morning, about 11 a.m., two young men appeared out in front of the Oppel store, each bearing a sign with the words "Germans, buy German goods" and "Germans, buy only from German merchants." These two men, their signs in hand, positioned themselves at and inside the entrance to the Oppel Department Store.⁸ All this initially received no further notice whatsoever until Oppel, extremely agitated, telephoned and requested my assistance. I sent an employee of the police office, a civilian, and he instructed the men with the signs to leave the private premises and the entrance to the store, but informed them that they were permitted to walk back and forth on the street out in front. The two men with signs complied with this request. In this connection, a large crowd soon gathered at the corners of the market square. Such a crowd of people can often assume forms that may become previously unpleasant for the police. For that reason, I ordered two police officers to take up a position at the corner of the square where the Oppel store is located, and where the bulk of the traffic was. Soon thereafter or at the same time, SA men in uniform appeared. They positioned themselves in a rather tight formation in front of the entrance to the store, in this way completely blocking it. I am aware of cases where entrance to the premises of the store was obstructed. In a further telephone conversation with Oppel, I suggested that he close the store for the rest of the day in order to prevent a continuation of these events, or to dampen the momentum of what was transpiring. He rejected that suggestion. At the same time, I wrote the local group of the NSDAP, stating that the action had to be stopped, since otherwise it might endanger public order. The NSDAP answered immediately, saying that the SA men had gone there because they believed that the large crowd gathering on the market square was disrupting public peace and quiet. They also said that any demonstration against the local police and its instructions was out of the question. On the contrary: they valued working together in perfect harmony with the police. Finally, a strict order was

given to remove the SA immediately, and this was done. The entire event lasted some two hours. Around 1 p.m., the action was over. Only the two men with signs remained on the street. I decided against taking any steps against them.

That following night, the display windows of the Oppel Department Store were defaced with paint and smeared with verses. The next day, the *GoUonower Zeitung* published a declaration by the NSDAP along with a statement by the Oppel Department Store. The enclosed material contains all further information.

I hereby request that after examination the matter should be turned over to the state public prosecutor. It is not possible to establish who the perpetrator(s) were. [...] <15>

•3•

The Higher Police Leader in the West / Special Commissioner of the Interior Minister

Report for 27–28 March

Recklinghausen, 29 March 1933

HStA Dü, LRA Düren 132

Province of Westphalia

a) Reports:

[...]

Admin. District Arnsberg:

Police HQ Bochum:

[...]

The night of 29 March 1933, in Bochum and in Bochum Langendreer, unknown perpetrators smashed in and shattered 13 display windows in Jewish shops.⁹

[...]

Police HQ Dortmund

[...]

On 28 March 1933, about 4:30 a.m., several shots were fired by unknown assailants at the shop of a Jewish merchant in Dortmund.

On the afternoon of 28 March 1933, 100 Jews in Dortmund were taken into **protective custody** by the **SA**. For that reason, some 2,000 persons later gathered on Steinplatz. The square had to be cleared three times by the police, employing their batons. No injuries were reported.

During the night of 29 March 1933, four display windows in Jewish shops at Westenhellweg 4 were smashed by unknown perpetrators.

[...]

Police HQ Oberhausen

On 28 March 1933, Jewish shops were closed by deployment of sentries outside.¹⁰ Five Jews, including the **rabbi**, were led through the streets, preceded by placards. Another four Jews, including the Local District Court councilor Dr. Asch, were taken into **protective custody** by SA men. [...]

In Mülheim-Ruhr, the Jewish **lawyer** Königsberger was taken into protective custody along with the appointed councilor Hoosmann. <3>

◀4▶

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for the Second Half of March
Regensburg, 30 March 1933
Broszat, Vol. I, p. 432

On the 15th of this month around 6 a.m., several men dressed in dark uniforms appeared in an automobile before the home of the Israeli tic merchant Otto Selz in Straubing. Selz was taken from his home dressed in his night clothes, and driven away in the car. Around 9:30 a.m., he was found shot dead in a wood near Weng, Landshut District. The automobile is believed to have come from the direction Munich-Landshut and then returned along the same route. There were six uniformed men in the car, and it had plates bearing the marking II A.¹¹ It was not possible to determine the license number. Several locals claim they observed that some of the occupants of the vehicle were wearing a red arm band with swastika.¹²

Municipal Council Bad Kissingen
Report for the Second Half of March
Bad Kissingen, 31 March 1933
Broszat, Vol. I, p. 432

The local district **rabbi Dr. Ephraim**, and the head of the Jewish **Community** Bad Kissingen, Municipal Councilor N. Bretzfelder, were taken into custody during a consultation with a Jewish **lawyer** in Schweinfurt concerning their Israelitic coreligionists who had been arrested. Rabbi Dr. Ephraim was retained in **protective custody**. Due to ill health, the executive head of the Jewish Community was released. But he was instructed not to leave the municipal area of Bad Kissingen and to report twice a day to the local police office.

A search following this arrest in Schweinfurt carried out in the **synagogue** and the home of the rabbi, the homes of the local Community officials, and in the Israelitic institutions did not prove successful. <11>

►6►

The Higher Police Leader in the West/Special Commissioner of the Interior Minister
Report for 30 March-i April
Recklinghausen, 1 April 1933
HStA Dü, LRA Düren 132

Rhine Province

a) Reports:

[...]

Admin. District Düsseldorf:

[...]

Police HQ Düsseldorf:

On 1 April 1933 at about 4 a.m., 4 display windows were shattered in the

Tietz Department Store. The identity of the perpetrators is not known.¹³

[...]

Admin. District Cologne:

Police HQ Cologne:

[...]

On 31 March 1933, 60 Jewish judges and **lawyers** at the Higher Provincial Court were taken into **protective custody** for several hours.

[...]

Province of Westphalia

a) Reports:

Admin. District Münster:

Police HQ Bocholt:

In the night of 1 April 1933, the home furnishings of two Jews and 4 display windows were smashed by unknown perpetrators.

[...]

Admin. District Arnsberg:

Police HQ Hamm:

[...]

On 31 March 1933, the Jewish **lawyers** were prevented from entering the premises of the Higher Provincial Court.

In the night of 1 April 1933, 7 display windows in Jewish shops were smashed in. The perpetrators have not been established, but there is strong suspicion that this destruction was carried out according to plan by Communists.

<17>

►7►

District Office Bad Neustadt a/S.
Semi-Monthly Report for the Second Half of March/Early April
Bad Neustadt, 2 April 1933
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21904

Public Order and Safety

[...] The **boycott** of Jewish businesses yesterday proceeded without any incidents whatsoever. On the orders of the Special Commissioner, all the Jewish businesses remained closed.

The Jewish general practitioner Medical Councilor Dr. Guggenheimer was dismissed from his post as a physician on the staff of the Children's Hospital Neustadt a/S. and from his post as coroner for Neustadt and the nearby localities, on the orders of the Special Commissioner.¹⁴ <12>

►8►

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for the Second Half of March
Regensburg, 5 April 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 672

Trade, Industry, Commerce, Labor Market

[...] The **boycott** movement against Jewish businesses did not lead to any special incidents in the administrative district. <6>

►9►

District Governor Lower Franconia
Report for the Second Half of March
Würzburg, 6 April 1933
Kirchliche Lage, Vol. VI, p. 4

General Political Situation

[...] According to available reports, the **boycott** movement against Jewish businessmen has been carried out with exemplary masculine discipline. <8>

◀10▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for the Second Half of March
Ansbach, 7 April 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 670

General Political Situation

[...] The defensive action against the **atrocity propaganda**¹⁵ led only in Dinkelsbühl to negative untoward ramifications, which were terminated when the Jews involved were taken into **protective custody**. [...]

Economic Relations

[...] The Erlangen Municipal Council reports on the impact of the Jewish atrocity propaganda abroad:

“The effects of the Jewish atrocity propaganda abroad and the defensive measures introduced to counter this¹⁶ have already had a perceptible unpleasant impact felt by several larger local firms here. Thus, it was learned that as a result of Jewish atrocity propaganda, payments from abroad for the metalware factory Klebes & Mussgüller are being withheld, and that the seasonal orders customary at the present time for the carton and leather goods factory Ruter & Co. and the stationery factory Zucker & Co. have failed to materialize.¹⁷ As a result of the defensive measures introduced, large-scale domestic orders for the local cotton industry have been cancelled. This has presumably led to a 90 percent slump in sales, a situation which would be intolerable should it continue over the longer

term.” <7>

◀11▶

Recipient: Gau Intelligence Service Hanover¹⁸

Report for May
Hanover, 24 May 1933
HStA Ha, Hann. 310 I C9

Freemasonry Lodges and Youth Associations

[...] The main lodges are: "Die drei Weltkugeln," "Loge zum schwarzen Bär," "Loge zur Zeder," "Loge Wilhelm zur Deutschen Treue"; "Zion Lodge," "Orient Lodge." The "Zion Lodge" and "Orient Lodge" should be considered extremely dangerous and hostile to the state.¹⁹ International Jewish capital has come together in these lodges, where it supports and furthers Marxism. The Jew is and remains an agitator destructive of all order and organic structures. That is why he is a born Communist and Bolshevik.²⁰ Given these facts, it is necessary to fight very forcefully against the Jews' lodges in order to create reasons for their dissolution. ◀29▶

◀12▶

District Office Neustadt/**Aisch**

Report

Neustadt/Aisch, 15 July 1933

BayHStA, StK 106 677

[...] The struggle against Jewry in Germany is proceeding with especial verve in Franconia and the vicinity of Nuremberg, but with greatest energy in the districts Neustadt, Windsheim, and Uffenheim in the city of Neustadt. Here, as the repeated remonstrations by the **Central Association** for Citizens of the Jewish Faith to the state Economy Ministry indicate, that struggle has assumed forms and manifestations of such proportions that the Economy Ministry, the State Chancellery, and the government of Upper and Central Franconia, Chamber of Internal Affairs, have felt obliged in various decisions to instruct their organ of implementation, the district office, to take steps against the excesses.²¹

[...]

These remonstrations had little success. In most cases, the Party offices stated that they owed obedience to Gauführer **Streicher** in Nuremberg. [...]

On Saturday, 8 July 1933, the local branch of the People's Association for Germanness in Foreign Lands [Volksbund für das Deutschtum im Auslande] in Neustadt a.d. Saale organized a large public meeting in the largest assembly hall in Neustadt, attended by 1,000 persons. Its purpose was to provide information on the appalling situation faced by our fellow Germans in the Soviet Empire. The deputy Gau Director for Propaganda of the NSDAP in Leikham-Nuremberg took over the lecture. [...]

The speaker continued: [...] In Neustadt there are still some officials who have contacts with the Jews. The Führer in Franconia, Streicher, calls for putting an end to this. There are still officials who deem it unnecessary to participate in actions to combat the Jews or who seek to sabotage this effort. [...]

[...] The German people, which fought 14 years against Marxist and Jewish poison,²² has a right to expect that the **Jewish Question** be properly grasped by officials, and be dealt with in a clear manner. We therefore cannot countenance the fact that some people are still working against this in Neustadt. [...]

Whoever does not actively support the government and work for it will suffer the consequences. The Revolution has still not been brought to a conclusion. [...]

At my table and various other tables where discriminating individuals were

seated, there was no clapping. This despite the fact that the end of the speech, which was kept general, mass suggestion and a certain element of mass terror acted to spur the audience to applaud.

The speaker's statements were simply too strong for many supporters and friends of the national movement.

In normal times, every young man would probably have had enough decency to refuse to accept such a task. In another case, he would in normal times never had gotten further than the first few sentences of his speech.

[...] Immediately after the speaker ended his presentation, I went over to the Party District Chief, the teacher Bäselsöder in Neustadt a.d. Aisch, and reproached him. I said that according to the regulations on cooperation between the office chief and the deputy Gau Director for Propaganda of the NSDAP, he would have been able to prevent this terrible exposure of and grave insult to the organ of implementation of the state ministries in the Neustadt district.

[...] The Party District Chief stated he is aware that clear and unambiguous decisions by the Economy Ministry and the government should have been implemented.

[...] If energetic steps are not taken by the authorities and these gross affronts in Neustadt are not atoned for, the authority of the state will be mocked and derided elsewhere as well, to the detriment of the national movement and against the will of the Reich Chancellor.²³ <37>

District Governor Upper and Central

Franconia Fortnightly Report for July
Ansbach, 19 July 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 677

General Security

In Heidenheim, BA Gunzenhausen, crowds gathered, forcing the police to take seven Jews and **Jew friends** into protective custody. [...]

On 13 July at the Israelitic **cemetery** there [Neustadt a.d. Aisch], four gravestones were toppled. It has not been possible to determine who the perpetrators were. <33>

Gestapo Office Administrative District Kassel

Report for July
Kassel, 28 July 1933
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 57, 60

Jews

In general, the Jews are maintaining a restrained low profile. It has not been observed that they are coming together and engaging in illegal activities. There have only been some very isolated cases recently of Jews who were physically attacked or maltreated due to accusations against them that they had made statements hostile to the government.²⁴ [...] <32>

◀15▶

District Governor Upper and Central
Franconia Fortnightly Report for the Second Half of July
Ansbach, 8 August 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 677

General Political Situation

[...] The action ordered for the 19th of the month against Jewish organizations²⁵ proceeded without any special problems. Only in Nuremberg was it extended beyond the framework as originally ordered.²⁶ Various offices report on efforts to exclude Jewish **cattle** dealers from selling cattle, especially in open-air markets. The use of public bathing facilities by Jews has also been restricted or prohibited here and there.²⁷ <34>

►16►

Stapostelle Government District Hanover
Meeting of the Jewish Mizrahi Regional Organization
Hanover, 18 August 1933
HStA Ha, Hann. 80, Hann. II No. 798

Report on the course of the public meeting of the Jewish “**Ze’ire Mizrahi**” for Germany, Hanover branch²⁸

Agenda: “Our view on the real current situation of the Jews”²⁹

Rabbi Broch of Berlin spoke in lieu of the scheduled speaker **Adler**³⁰ from Berlin. The topic was changed since the speaker originally announced did not appear, and the person who replaced him spoke about the topic indicated above.

He dealt primarily with the settlement in **Palestine** of the Jews living in Germany. He described the prospects for settlement as highly favorable, but stressed that only a limited amount of financial support for cost-free travel to Palestine was available, and he called on the **Community** to donate funds.

He also appealed to the Jews attending the meeting to express their allegiance to Judaism, freely and with pride, even if at the present moment that was difficult. He stressed that although a number of Jews had encouraged the idea that the Messiah had already come in the era of liberalism, it was necessary to reject that view. These Jews had apparently believed that freedom, power, and money were heralds of the coming of the Messiah.

After the talk, participants in the meeting made inquiries about possible settlement in Palestine. The speaker's responses to these questions were guarded and kept brief. He emphasized that the Palestine Commission had received some 50,000 applications from Germany, but that the funding available could only cover the transportation costs for about 5,000 Jews. To receive assistance to go to Palestine, Jews applying had to be highly qualified individuals, fit in every respect for the difficult task of settling in Palestine.

The speaker did not touch whatsoever on the current political situation and remained in his remarks within the framework of the law.³¹

There were no disruptions. The talk was given only in German. <38>

Stapostelle Government District Kassel

Situation Report for August
Kassel, 29 August 1933
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 64, 66

[...] In Kassel, as I had already reported on radio, a number of Jews who had had intimate relations with German girls³² were brought in recent days to police HQ by the population, assisted by the SS. Before being handed over to the police, the Jews in question were paraded publicly through the streets. This was accompanied by repeated spontaneous anti-Semitic demonstrations by the agitated crowd.³³ The Jews were taken into protective custody and released a few days later. <39>

◀18▶

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg
Report for the Second Half of August
Würzburg, 6 September 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 680

General Political Situation

On 28 August, 3 Jews from Hörstein, District Office Alzenau, were abducted in an automobile by five to six SS men from Aschaffenburg on the occasion of the country fair there. They were transported out of town and then pummeled in a shocking manner with rubber truncheons. One man had his lower jaw smashed, several teeth loosened and was left with a black eye. He was a piteous sight. Since it is justified to assume that the attack was instigated by SS men from Hörstein, the Hörstein SS leader Vogt was arrested in order to counter a danger of possible suppression of evidence. The party district chief administrator was also in agreement with this arrest. However, it had to be rescinded on 29 August on orders from the Bavarian Political Police.

During the evening of Sunday, 20 August 1933, at about 9 p.m., 12 panes in the large synagogue window in the **synagogue** in Miltenberg were broken by stones, along with two windows in the Jewish schoolroom in the **synagogue**.³⁴ Down to the present hour, it has been impossible to determine the identity of the perpetrators. [...]

The Police Head Office Würzburg has reported about a boycott against a Jewish firm organized by the **NSBO**. The Gau head office of the NSBO was

ordered to halt the boycott measures. <41>

◀19▶

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg
Report for the First Half of October
Würzburg, 19 October 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 680

Economic Situation

Agriculture

[...] In remote localities in the district of Kitzingen, there are reports that cattle sales have stagnated due to the absence of the Jewish **cattle traders**, and that the cooperative cattle breeding association has not yet been able to bridge the gap. <56>

◀20▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for the First Half of September
Ansbach, 20 September 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 677

General Political Situation

[...] The mood hostile to *the Jews* in the countryside is manifested in numerous prohibitions by local police offices targeting the Jews. Signs posted at entrances of localities “Jews not wanted,”³⁵ “Jews prohibited from entering the **Cattle Market**,” their exclusion from public **bathing** facilities, and postings of “lists of offenders” with the names of individuals who have shopped in Jewish stores³⁶ can often be found in the countryside and likewise in towns. (Coburg). <49>

◀21▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for the Second Half of September

Ansbach, 6 October 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 677

Various civil registry offices have made difficulties in connection with Jewish marriages. In recognition of the ethnic-*völkisch* importance of **mixed marriages** with Jews and in cognizance of the mood prevailing in large circles of the population, a number of registry offices have rejected issuance of the banns.

Various complaints on this have been presented to the state ministry for a fundamental ruling. In an appreciable number of cases, marriages are involved with Jewish spouses who served in the military in action, some of whom were decorated for their bravery in battle. In most instances, there are also children in these unions.³⁷ If issuance of the banns is denied (for which there is no legal reason according to the law on marital status), public welfare is at times threatened with the prospect of quite heavy burdens. On the other hand, children from mixed marriages with Jews likewise can expect serious disadvantages to accrue for their advancement. It appears necessary to make a provisional arrangement to regulate this situation even before promulgation of the new law on race.³⁸ [...] <50>

◀22▶

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg
Report for the Second Half of September
Würzburg, 7 October 1933
BayHStA, StK 106 680

General Political Situation

Unfortunately, once again in Würzburg it has been necessary to note several cases of unauthorized behavior by members of the SA and SS. In this connection, worthy of especial mention are the searches and checks on book stocks undertaken by members of the SA and SS on 15 and 18 September in three Jewish bookshops.³⁹ In one case, material damage was caused when a lattice door was torn from its mounting, in another magazines were torn down and hauled off. In the incident on 18 September, robust intervention by the police prevented the action from expanding into something of greater proportions. Since the men who have now been identified by name maintain they

were acting on instructions from the Gauleiter of the NSDAP Lower Franconia,⁴⁰ this office was requested to adhere very strictly to these regulations, and the existing prohibitions on encroachment, assault, and unauthorized behavior. At the same time, information was requested on the identity of the individual who had issued the order for the 14 participants to take part in the illegal measures against the Jewish bookshops. To date there has been no answer forthcoming on this question. <51>

•23►

Stapostelle Government District Kassel
Report on the Activity of Jewish Associations
Kassel, 9 November 1933
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 74–76

Activities by Jewish Associations Especially in Kassel, Eschwege, and Hanau

I. Kassel

The Jewish associations⁴¹ in Kassel are gradually starting to become active once again. And in general, the Jews now feel more secure, especially as a result of the economic protection that Jewish firms enjoy, and are acting in that sense of greater security.

The **Zionist Association**, branch Kassel, has 72 members. It collects money from Jews for the **Jewish National Fund** by placing collection boxes and promotes the Zionist idea through lectures. The youth groups of the Zionists “**Habonim noar halutzi**” and “**Hechalutz**” hold training courses on **Palestine** studies on a regular basis, assisting their members in learning the **Hebrew** language. They also go on hiking trips together.

The local Kassel branch of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** has some 195 members. One can note growth here as a result of excluding Jews from membership in the veterans’ associations. The Jewish surviving dependents and war injured have largely also been accepted into the Reich League. People intend from now on to organize a monthly meeting of the membership.

In addition, there is the Jewish Gymnastics and **Sports Association “Bar Kochba,”** with about 120 members, whose recent activity has been limited to hiking trips. The program includes regular gymnastics evenings. The association engages in very active propaganda in Jewish circles in order to attract new members.

The **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith** has 200 members here. After the National Revolution, it has not been involved again in much noticeable activity.

One segment of the Jewish youth in Kassel has joined together in a local branch of the young men’s association **“Black Pennant.”** The local branch has about 20 members at the moment. The purpose of the association is education to promote a stronger sense of community. There are Sunday hikes and afternoons devoted to local culture, and evening get-togethers held in the building of the

Jewish Community. The young men's association "Black Pennant" has been registered with the **Reich Youth Leader**.

The other Jewish associations still in existence in Kassel are charitable associations,⁴² which do not engage in public activity and now devote themselves primarily to providing support for their fellow coreligionists and members of the same race.

The Sinai **Lodge** in Kassel now has 113 members. Its aim is to promote the further moral development of its members and of the Jewish Community more generally. In the main, it intends to promote charitable aims and activities beneficial to society. The by-laws and stated goals exclude the discussion of religion and politics, and there was no indication that such discussions were occurring. The members of the Sinai Lodge meet once a week in the home of a member, each week at a different location. [...]

The office of the state police⁴³ is busy at the moment putting together an exhaustive card catalogue of all Jewish associations and their members, as well as all Jews who have become known for their political activities and views, in order to make constant surveillance easier and improve its effectiveness.⁴⁴ <61>

◀24▶

Police HQ Nuremberg-Fürth

Political News

Nuremberg, 4 December 1933

StA Nü, Pol. Dir. Nürnberg-Fürth 357

“Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith” [CV]

The internal activity of the CV has assumed forms in recent weeks which suggest the need for giving the CV more attention.

In the period before the Reich Party Convention,⁴⁵ clearly in evidence was an ever more pronounced sense of reservation among the Jews of Nuremberg and Fürth. In many cases, it developed into a state of considerable nervousness and even led to attempts to flee from Nuremberg. Now one can note that the self-confidence of the Jewish circles, in full awareness of the security they have been guaranteed, has once again, quite astonishingly, been placed on a firm and solid foundation, and has been accorded proper expression.

A very significant factor behind this strengthening of the Jews is the Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith. According to the correspondence from relevant Jewish leadership cadres that has become known here, the CV is organizing the “defensive struggle against anti-Semitism” once again with a new initiative. Before the National Revolution, that initiative was welcomed earlier by the authorities, who either rejected National Socialism or were hostile to it, and was accordingly promoted.

The local branches of the CV are collecting information on “violations of the civil rights of Jewish citizens” to be sent on to the central office in Berlin. The CV appears to accord a special value for representing Jewish interests with the national government to material that reports on boycott measures⁴⁶ taken against Jewish businesses. At the present time, the CV is also attempting to determine what papers instituted a freeze on ads from Jewish firms or still maintain such a freeze.

The CV considers the demand issued by various authorities to stop excluding Jews from markets, etc., seen as a violation of the law, to be an important success in its ongoing work. Supported by documentary material, the CV also intends to protest to the central government against placing **signs** at the entrance to localities (such as: Jews not admitted) and against other “interference in economic life.”

The participation, active and passive, by Jews in the Winter Relief⁴⁷ is likewise being carefully scrutinized by the CV at the moment in order to determine whether there is “fair and proper treatment of Jewish citizens.”

There is great concern in broad segments of the population about this “reawakening of the Jews.” By contrast, in Jewish correspondence there is substantial confidence that “there will soon be a return to normal conditions.”
<62>

◀25▶

Interior Ministry Württemberg

Situation Report
n.p. 30 November 1933
PA, Ref. D, Pak. 86/4

On the Current State of the Jewish Question⁴⁸

General

Aside from a few isolated voices, the discussion of the **Jewish Question** in the broad public has proceeded in the context of the struggle that is being waged. It is thus perfectly understandable and only natural that the external form of the confrontation comprises battle cries and movement slogans that had to be kept simple and readily comprehensible in order to facilitate winning people over. This phase of the struggle has ended to the disadvantage of the adversary, of that there can be no doubt. [...]

Impact on Domestic Politics

So the Jewish Question in Germany has actually been recognized by foreign governments as being a question in German domestic politics, even if not in its full form. In such a sense, both from without and within, the demand of the leadership of the German state has been achieved. The period of still undecided struggle is now past. There is no longer any Jewish “Question” in the previous sense. There is only a point recognized as a part of the government’s program, which now must be consolidated in terms of administrative needs and criteria. The final objectives of this consolidation process are contained in the program of National Socialism. All that remains open to choice are the paths and means to achieve that.

The resolution of the Jewish complex could be attempted moving in four directions.

The simplest and most primitive solution would be physical extermination—programs [sic]⁴⁹; it must be abandoned as a means, and, along with other reasons, would not lead to the desired end, as historical examples (Spain, Russia) prove.

The second solution, progressive assimilation, has been expressly recognized as an impossibility in the case of Germany, since in comparison with the Jewish communities in other West European nations, German Jewry has become

numerically too large and qualitatively too influential. Jews are overrepresented in important professions. [...]

The third possibility, namely to transplant all German Jews in other countries, as has been done even in recent times for other ethnic minorities, such as in Turkey and Greece, is not readily feasible, given the size of the Jewish community in Germany.

It is doomed to failure, principally because few countries are willing to engage in setting aside of their own national interests on such a large scale, as is already evident today in the resistance on the part of various countries to take in Jewish emigres.⁵⁰ This fact, namely the large number of Jews, is also in reality the major obstacle facing the plan of **Zionism**, the repatriation of Jews to the Jewish homeland, since the absorptive capacity of Palestine is by no means sufficient. [...]

The new Jewish policy in Germany has provided this movement [Zionism], which the great majority of German Jews have long rejected, with natural impetus. It has been learned that Zionist activity recently has been able to develop, most especially in Berlin. A statement by Jews outside Germany notes that the “Zionist movement” in Germany enjoys broad popular support and that its activities are increasing from day to day. Down to August of this year, more than 16,000 persons have sought advice in the office of the movement, the so-called “**Hechalutz**”⁵¹ in Berlin. Some 3,500 applications for “preparatory training” for work in agriculture⁵² have been submitted. Only during the first week of July, there were 14 lectures and meetings attended by more than 5,000 persons. The Hechalutz in Berlin has set up special courses in modern **Hebrew** which have met with mounting interest. [...]

Autonomy Theory

The fourth solution is to assign German Jews a special form of civic existence similar to that of a national **minority**, and the final aim and fulfillment of German policy on the Jews probably moves in this direction.

[...] In the framework of the total reform of national and civil law on citizenship, whose preliminary work has already been completed and which will likely bear the name “Law on Reich Citizenship,” not only will the confusion in previous questions pertaining to citizenship and being a subject of the Reich be eliminated. The question of the place of the Jews in respect to civil law will also be clarified. According to what has become known about the guidelines of this legislation, in future the right to be a citizen of the Reich [*Reichsbürgerrecht*],

whose granting depends on special prerequisites, will only be bestowed on **Volksgenossen**, while **non-Aryans** will be classified in terms of subjects of the Reich.⁵³

This status of subjects of the Reich would exclude the German Jew from the enjoyment of certain political rights, which the “Reich citizen” would enjoy to the fullest extent. This position of the German Jews, as “subjects of the Reich of non-Aryan descent,” would thus constitute the legal form in civil law of the German Jewish minority. But practical difficulties would arise through competition between the legally valid agreements in international law and law between states pertaining to the treatment of the national minorities on German soil, such as in Upper Silesia and northern Schleswig. [...]

But these legal difficulties are probably of less importance than the other consequences which might result from classifying the German Jews as a national minority—because it is astonishing for outsiders to note with what relative warmth the Jewish side has welcomed the idea of such a Jewish autonomy as the natural consequence of relegating to Jews a special form of status in civil law. Such a compulsory autonomy would naturally even bring about a salvation of the Jews and Judaism in a religious, cultural, and racial sense. “Jewish emancipation was doomed to failure, because the **German-Jewish** base rotted away in its Jewish positions, and the German base alone was unable to support the Jew [...] Pushed from its German positions, German Jewry today wishes to confess its allegiance to Jewish content in the consciousness of its own value. [...] The old emancipation failed because people lost their sense of balance as Jews” (**CV-Zeitung**).

Among German Jews, there is a very strong movement under way in an open declaration of allegiance to Jewish race and religion, to gather together once again the forces split among dissent, intellectual liberalism, and libertinism. And in this way to unite those on the sidelines, on the one hand clinging to rigid **Orthodoxy** and on the other inclined to a Jewish-voifa’síA disinterested aloofness, energizing a reform of Judaism itself. [...]

The racial program of National Socialism expressly seeks to effect as complete a separation as possible between Jewishness and the Jews on the one side, and Germandom and the Germans on the other. Thus, among various demands is that books and newspapers written by Jews must also appear in **Hebrew**. This then prefigures the path toward Jewish cultural autonomy. In actual fact, increased attention is indeed being given to the study of the Hebrew language (modern Hebrew, especially for Jews who intend to emigrate to Palestine). The young Jewish generation in particular is imbued with the

conception of the racial and cultural Jewish idea, through which it is hoped to bring about a renaissance of Judaism. So in practice, on the one hand as a result of the special status of the Jews in civil law, on the other due to the exclusion of the Jewish subjects of the state from cultural cooperation and the sphere of culture, the Jews are automatically being consolidated into a special body of their own kind within the German people. The further logical conclusion from this would have to be the sanctioning and anchoring of this condition by granting the Jews a public law of self-administration in the full sense. [...?]

The Organization of the Jews

[...] Along with the religious Israelitic organizations, divided mainly into the two currents of the **Orthodox** Synagogue and the **liberal** Israelitic religious societies, German Jewry has long regarded the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith** as its principal organizational representative body. [...]

The Zionist direction is represented by the German Zionist Association,⁵⁴ whose activity is a focus of keen interest among almost all Jews. In the propaganda lectures of the association, which take place throughout Germany, there has been a very optimistic picture painted of the possibility for Jewish emigrants to be granted entry and settle in Palestine. It sees its current main task in preparing the youth for Palestine, even if their resettlement will not be accomplished until some time later. In their view, the cooperation of the Jewish **school** is indispensable for this, and the intellectual content of the curriculum should be connected with **Palestine**. In order to lay the groundwork for the Zionist solution of the Jewish Question and to make it a reality, the Zionist movement has established the organizations of Hechalutz [The Pioneer]. Hechalutz exists in nineteen countries, including Germany. Part of the preparatory program is among other things “retraining” [**Hachshara**] for physical work and integration into the organized workers, along with the transition to using Hebrew as a language. Each member has to acquire an agricultural trade as avocation. [...]

Reich Representation of the German Jews

The Reich Representation of the German Jews is a coalition and leading organization of the various directions within German Jewry, ranging from the CV and **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** to **Zionism**.

Reich Association

The questions insoluble in practice are the integration of Jewish **assimilationists** who refuse to return to the Jewish race and cultural community, and of the half-Aryan⁵⁵ or **non-Aryan** citizens. On the basis of the new German legislation, a planned provision will make it possible to eliminate the difficulties in civil law after the third generation. But this does not solve the question of the present not purely **Aryan** generation. The Reich Association of Christian-German Citizens of Non-Aryan and Not Purely Aryan Extraction,⁵⁶ which recently was also constituted in a regional organization for Württemberg, was established for these persons. Newspaper reports indicate that the authorities have approved of such an organization, and that there are also no reservations regarding the leading personalities in the association. The stated aims of the association are *inter alia*: retaining of the foundation of positive Christianity with the aid of the Christian churches,⁵⁷ and care for youth and their needs. The members of the association are urged to raise their children in the Christian religion, so that the association hopes to be able to include the children of its members within the comprehensive organization of German youth. It is thought that the churches will be open to cooperating in this form of educational work. It is expressly stated that the association does not pursue any commercial or political goals. Membership can be acquired only by male or female subjects of the Reich over the age of 18, Christian, and of non-Aryan or not purely Aryan extraction.⁵⁸ <65>

►26►

Gestapa Berlin

Communications No. 1—Report for 1 November 1933–10 January 1934

Berlin, 10 January 1934

BArch, R 58/3217

[...]

Jews

It has not been possible to determine the existence of any particular activity by the Jews hostile to the state. Striking is the tendency among them to band together. Thus, in Frankfurt am Main, 22 Jewish associations have been newly established.⁵⁹ The stated primary aim of banding together is to nurture Jewish tradition and provide economic and **welfare** assistance to Jews who have been

deprived of their livelihood. The **Stapostelle** Frankfurt am Main reports on establishing a card catalogue for Jews, which for practical reasons is connected with the creation of a list of emigrants. There is as yet no concrete experience with this. A central card catalogue is already in place and operational at the **Gestapa**.⁶⁰ Certain difficulties in **surveillance** have been created for the officers of the Secret Police due to their lack of knowledge of the **Hebrew** language.

There is careful observation of the lively activity of the Jews engaging in meetings and associations, which is especially pronounced in Frankfurt am Main. [...] <72>

Gestapo Berlin
Communications No. 2—Special Report on Political Questions
Berlin, 31 January 1934
BArch, R 58/3030

Economic Policy

[...]

Boycott of Jewish Businesses

Impairment of the functioning of **department stores**, retail shops with standard pricing, and other Jewish businesses has been reported, mainly from towns in the western parts of the Reich. There are only sporadic reports of such interference from other parts of the Reich. They have been conveyed by the authorities, the offices of the NSDAP, the Battle League for Small Business [*Kampfiund des gewerblichen Mittelstandes*], the NS-Hago, the Organizations of Traders, and individual members of the party, the SA, SS, and other organizations of the NSDAP. The forms of interference in the functioning of these firms were of various kinds, for example initiated by the authorities by means of a ban on officials and employees on buying in Jewish shops, and by excluding Jewish traders from municipal markets.⁶¹ By the offices of the NSDAP, which ordered a prohibition on entering Jewish shops for the SA, SS, and party members. By the Battle League for Small Business and the NS-Hago, through directives to avoid Jewish shops. By the Organizations of Traders, through relevant proclamations. By individual members of the party and of the SA, SS, etc., by hindering customers from entering shop premises.

As a result of instructions by the Reich economy minister and other high-ranking officials, emphasizing that calm is necessary for the economy to ensure recovery and promote further struggle against unemployment, and thus advising that people desist from all illegal measures of compulsion,⁶² there has been a sharp decline over the past several months in interference in the functioning of firms and enterprises. [...] <73>

◀28▶

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg
Report for the First Half of March

Würzburg, 20 March 1934
BayHStA, StK 106 680

General Political Situation

[...] According to reliable sources, the Gau leadership of the NS-Hago intends to carry out a large-scale propaganda action for small business in Lower Franconia in the period 23 March to 7 April. The action will be initiated on 21 March, commencing with a mass meeting. Later on, choruses will be brought in to chant slogans and there will be signs and banners. These later will be placed at the disposal only of firms which are purely German, but not those which have been “integrated” and “brought into step.”⁶³ Naturally, the struggle is against the Jew, even if for certain reasons, everything should presumably be avoided that might point in external fashion to this. In addition, people will take up positions against the **department stores** and other larger firms.

It is not hard to predict that in this way, the rumor of a “boycott of the Jews” will be given fresh impetus. It is also certain that there will be numerous formal complaints, and the complainants will brand the actions of the NS-Hago as inadmissible “interference in the economy.” Since it is not known whether this is a local measure or one to be implemented throughout the Reich, the Gau head office of the NS-Hago was contacted. It was stated there that the action was the will of the Führer, that the Reich Propaganda Ministry had agreed to it, and that it had already been specified which banners were to be carried. In general, people are somewhat astonished about the timing of the action, given the currently pending economic negotiations with France.⁶⁴ <104>

►29►

Stapostelle Government District Hanover
Report for March
Hanover, 6 April 1934
HStA Ha, Hann. 80, Hann. II No. 798

[...] It was learned that the local Jewish youth home (Director **Rabbi Dr. Schorsch**) is admitting children of the Semitic race and Christian faith.⁶⁵ These are youths whose parents were excluded from German associations as **non-Aryans**, or who themselves were excluded. [...] <98>

►30►

Central Office of the Commander of the Political Police⁶⁶

Report for February and March
Munich, 14 April 1934
BArch, R 58/3905

[...]

Bremen

Bremen is now able to declare itself virtually “judenfrei.” The most important cotton market for Bremen is controlled exclusively by long-standing, established non-Jewish Bremen merchants. [...]

Hamburg

The Jewish psychosis of emigration can be regarded here as a closed chapter. There are ever more signs that Jews intend to return to Germany once again.⁶⁷ Various applications submitted from Jewish circles point to this. [...]

According to confidential reports, there is a communist Jewish school⁶⁸ in **Palestine** which is attended in succession for short periods by many young men and women from all over the world. [...]

Hesse

The efforts to collect money among the Jews and **emigration** abroad are making substantial progress here. With the beginning of the new school year in Hesse, a number of private Jewish schools will be set up in order to separate the Jewish children from the German children externally as well.⁶⁹

In the second half of March, there were violent excesses against the Jews in various localities in the state.⁷⁰ But nothing out of the ordinary occurred [...].
<96>

Gestapa Berlin

Daily Report
Berlin, 28 April 1934
BArch, R 58/3371

Activity of Jewish Associations

State Police Magdeburg reports:

In recent weeks, there has been a sharp upsurge in the number of meetings of Jewish associations in the Magdeburg municipal area.⁷¹ The meetings, as far as could be determined, were all voluntarily announced and under the watchful eye of officers of the external service of the Police HQ.⁷² There was no need for police measures whatsoever. For the most part, this involved recreational evenings devoid of any political tendency. In the beginning, a number of lectures and presentations were in **Hebrew** or **Yiddish**. As a result of the difficulties this caused for surveillance, even rendering it impossible, permission was later only granted on condition that the presentations be made in the German language.

<111>

1. The identity of the person reporting from Berlin cannot be clearly established due to the incomplete photocopy of the document in the Yad Vashem Archive, but this is evidently a report from the headquarters of the Prussian Political Police, which a short time later, on 26 April 1933, became the Main Office of the Secret State Police (**Gestapo**).

2. This is a characteristic example of the “spontaneous” anti-Jewish violence and boycott measures that occurred even before the official declaration of the anti-Jewish **boycott** on 1 April 1933 by the national leadership of the **NSDAP**. See Chronology, March 1933, **Individual actions**, and Genschel, *Verdrängung*, 44 ff. On the events in Breslau, see *Das Schwarzbuch*, 94–101; Bracher, Schulz, and Sauer, *Nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung II*, 92 f., III, 244–247; Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 47 f.; Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews* I, 18 ff.

3. In this speech, Minister Goring declared *inter alia*: “I will employ the police ruthlessly anywhere an attempt is made to inflict harm on the German people, but I reject the notion that the police is a force for the purpose of protecting lewisch department stores.” See *Das Schwarzbuch*, 287 f.

4. On this proclamation of 10 March 1933 and its impact, see Bracher, Schulz,

and Sauer, *Nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung!!*],, 245; Domarus, *Hitler: Speeches and Proclamations*, I,263 f.

5. Shortly thereafter, Edmund Heines was appointed police superintendent in Breslau.

6. On the dispute over sphere of authority between the National Socialist police superintendent in Breslau at the time, loachim Friedrich von Alt-Stutterheim, and the SA General and the Gauleiter of Lower Silesia, Edmund Heines, as a consequence of the violence in Breslau, see *Das Schwarzbuch*, 96 ff.; Bracher, Schulz, and Sauer, *Nationalsozialistische Machtergreifung!!*, 92 f.

7. The complaint of 9 March 1933 by the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith**, Provincial Association Pomerania-Grenzmark/Stettin branch, to the District Governor has not been reproduced here; it can be found under the same archival number.

8. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish** and **Individual actions**.

9. See **Individual actions**.

10. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

11. Munich municipal area.

12. On local terror against Jews after the Nazi seizure of power, see **Individual actions**.

13. See **Individual actions**.

14. This was a local initiative, carried out even before the issuance of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtenstums) on 7 April 1933, see Chronology; according to this law, Jewish physicians were also to be dismissed from public service posts. The final removal of Jews from the medical profession, including the cancellation of their medical licenses to practice, did not occur until 25 July 1938, see Chronology.

15. See Chronology, 1–3 April 1933.

16. The evident reference here is to the anti-Jewish **boycott** prior to and on 1 April 1933.

17. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

18. According to the archival catalogue, the intended recipient of this handwritten report without a letterhead or indication of place was the Gau Intelligence Service, Hanover. The office reporting is thus undoubtedly a

subordinate office of the NSDAP intelligence service.

19. See **Freemasons** and **B'nai B'rith**.
20. See **Communism and Jews**.
21. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish, Individual actions** and Chronology, 7 July 1933.
22. See **Communism and Jews**.
23. The same folder contains additional reports and letter on this event which have not been reproduced here.
24. See **Individual actions**.
25. Reference is to the searching of the offices and residential hostels of all Jewish organizations in Bavaria, searching for written material, and the closure of these offices and hostels on 19 July 1933. (See Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 39, No. 184.)
26. On 20 July 1933, SA groups forced their way into the homes of some 400 Jews in Nuremberg. About 300 persons were taken into custody. This operation was accompanied by violence and maltreatment. See Ophir and Wiesemann, *Jüdische Gemeinden in Bayern*, 209.
27. See **Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities**.
28. The accompanying letter of the Stapo Hanover on this report states: "For your information. Attached please find a report on the meeting of the Jewish association **Ze'ire Mizrachi** for Germany held on 13 August 1933. The announcement of the meeting noted the following: "Zionist associations are not considered political meetings in the sense of the regulations on obligatory registration, and since the circle of persons is limited, they are likewise not regarded as public meetings in terms of the law. Dept. I A in the Berlin Police HQ has informed the leaders of our movement about this."
29. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
30. See **Alexander Adler**.
31. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
32. See **Race defilement**.
33. See **Individual actions**.
34. See **Individual actions**.
35. See **Signs, anti-Jewish**.

36. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish.**

37. See **Mischlinge.**

38. The document provides an example of the pressure exerted by various circles in the population and party organizations to implement the principles of NS racial doctrine. Mixed marriages were finally prohibited on 15 September 1935 by the **Nuremberg Laws**, see Chronology; more detailed in: Gruchmann, “‘Blutschutzgesetz’ und Justiz,” and Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze.”

39. See **Individual actions.**

40. See **Streicher, Julius.**

41. See **Associational life, Jewish.**

42. See **Welfare, Jewish.**

43. See **Gestapo.**

44. See Chronology, 11 July 1933; see also **Communism and Jews; Surveillance of Jewish Organizations and Meetings.**

45. Beginning in 1927, the national party conventions of the NSDAP were held in early September in Nuremberg and lasted for one week.

46. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish.**

47. See **Jewish Winter Relief.**

48. This report of 84 pages, uncommon for this period, was found in the archive of the Foreign Office in Bonn. An entry on the cover of the file indicates that it was one of the situation reports of the Württemberg Interior Ministry. It was completed on 30 November 1933. The report presents an overview of the internal domestic situation throughout the Reich since the seizure of power and deals with the most important groups of “opponents” to the regime, with special reference to the churches and the conservative opposition. About a quarter of the report is devoted to the “current situation in respect to the lewisch Question” and contains a general overview and suggestions for a possible solution to the lewisch Question in Germany. From the copy of the report at our disposal, it is not possible to determine for whom the report was written. Apparently it was compiled for the Reich Interior Ministry.

49. I.e.: pogroms. This error in using the originally Slavic term for anti-Jewish violent disturbances was quite widespread in the German language. See “Hitlers erste politische Schrift, “ 16 September 1919, in: Jäckel and Kuhn, Hitler, *Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen*, 89.

50. See Emigration.

51. Reference is probably to the **Palestine Office**, in the framework of which the Hechalutz movement was also working.

52. See Hachshara.

53. Jews were not excluded from Reich citizenship until the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws. On similar proposals from circles of the state and party administration in 1933, see Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 82 f.; idem, An Overall Plan for Anti-Jewish Legislation; and Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 2,37 ff.

54. The reference here is probably to the Zionist Association of Germany.

55. See **Mischlinge**.

56. See **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians**.

57. See **Churches and National Socialist Policy on the Jews**.

58. The relatively large space in this report accorded the problems of the **Mischlinge**, **mixed marriages**, and **non-Aryan** Christians, extends far beyond their relative proportion among persons affected by the anti-Jewish racial legislation. This disproportion is due on the one hand to the difficulties inherent in defining precisely what is a “non-Aryan,” and on the other to the fact that here the Aryan side of the families was also affected (see **Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews**). This problem was treated in special detail in the preparation of the **Nuremberg Laws** and the **Final Solution**.

59. See **Associationallife, Jewish**.

60. See Chronology, 11 July 1933.

61. See Boycott, anti-Jewish.

62. See Chronology, 7 July 1933.

63. See Signs, anti-Jewish.

64. See Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, chap. 4.

65. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.

66. This is **Himmler's** office, whose authority even then extended beyond the perimeters of the state of Bavaria. Himmler relocated a bit later to Berlin as the head of the Prussian Secret Police (see **Gestapo** as well as Chronology, 20 April 1934).

67. See **Remigration**.

68. On notions in Nazi ideology regarding the links between Jews and communism, see **Communism and Jews**.
69. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
70. See **Individual actions**.
71. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
72. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

“Reconstruction in the Age of Decline”

German Jewry and the Process of Exclusion as Reflected in the First Nationwide Gestapo and SD Reports (April–June 1934)

◆32◆

Gestapo Berlin

The Jews in Germany¹

Berlin, April 1934²

OA Mos, 501/1/18

General

Jewish life in associations, which already earlier was well developed, has been given strong new impetus as a result of the comprehensive exclusion of the Jews from government jobs in the Reich and from public bodies of various kinds,³ coupled with the restricting of their influence in economic and private life. The membership ranks in existing associations are constantly growing, and new associations have been established, especially those with an internal Jewish economic and political character. The result is a very vigorous and lively associational activity that, due to the need for requisite surveillance and control, represents a considerable burden on the organs of the **Secret State Police**. [...] The Secret State Police has up to now consciously refrained from attempting to “bring into line” and place under full state control through *Gleichschaltung* the numerous often conflicting associations, frequently locked in bitter struggle with one another. Because the internal lack of unity among Jews is the best ally in attempting to prevent Jews from gaining influence in the domestic political sphere. [...]

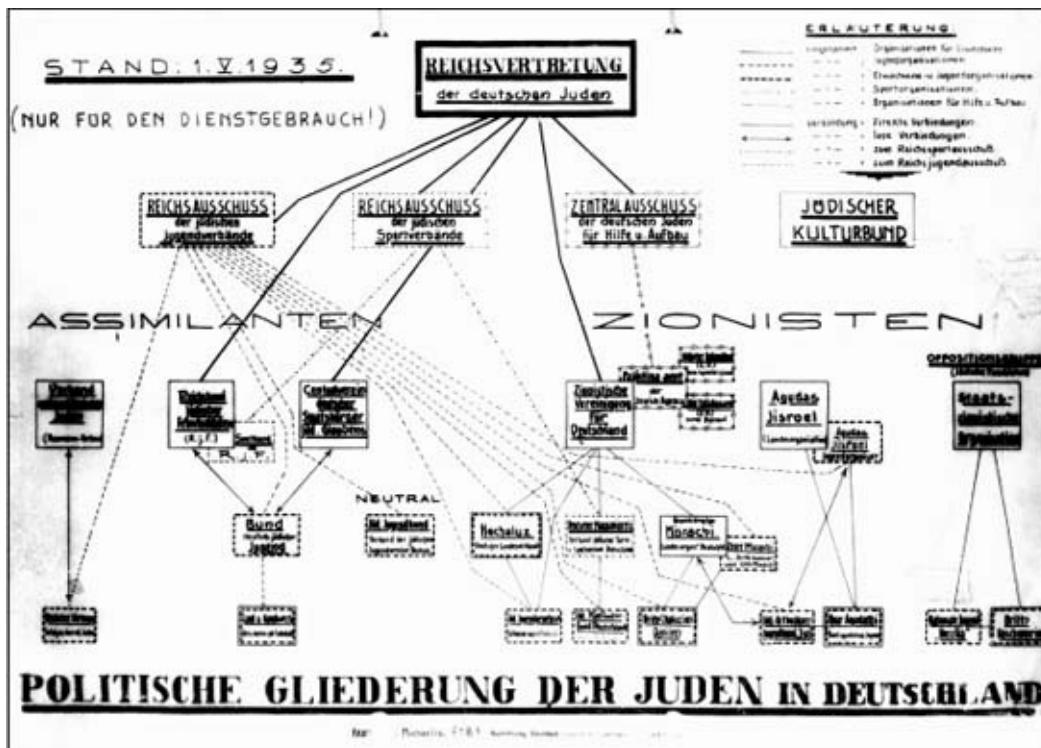


Figure 4. Diagram of the linkages between Jewish organizations in Germany, prepared by the Central Office of the Gestapo (Gestapo) in Berlin for purposes of surveillance. Here the political organizations are highlighted, divided into "Assimilationists" and "Zionists"; May 1935. BArch, R 58/995.

Activities of the Jews

a) In Politics

Even if Jews in some exceptional cases have today given expression to their views hostile to the state, recently it has no longer been possible to detect Jewish organizational activity directed against and hostile to the state. The number of cases in which Jews demonstratively expressed their attitudes hostile to the state has diminished markedly, thanks to the watchful eye and resolute action of the Secret State Police.⁴

This very lively associational activity was neutral in character, insofar as political questions were touched on at all in this connection. No attacks were evident against the National Socialist movement and the new state. As is clear from almost all larger meetings, the Jews in the new state are endeavoring not to appear visibly as opponents. In particular, the **assimilationist** tendencies deny any common ground or community with international Jewry.

If an openly adversarial stance on the part of German Jewry toward the new

state is not in evidence, this should not blind us to the fact that the Jew, in keeping with his inner attitude, will always be an enemy of the National Socialist state. There can be no conciliation between his liberalistic-international worldview and the conceptual world of National Socialism. In a clever and disguised manner, the Jew will repeatedly try to gain influence on internal German affairs and to sow the seeds of discord in the National Socialist **Volksgemeinschaft**.

b) In the Economy

Since the situation in Germany has rendered further activity by the Jewish population in the economy difficult, or even brought such activity to a complete halt, Jews are trying to shift this activity abroad. The restraint among the public called for by the NSDAP in the frequenting of Jewish businesses⁵ has forced many Jewish business owners, especially in rural areas, to give up their business. This circumstance and the activity of **Zionism** have led to a situation in which broad segments of the Jewish population are now turning to craft professions.⁶

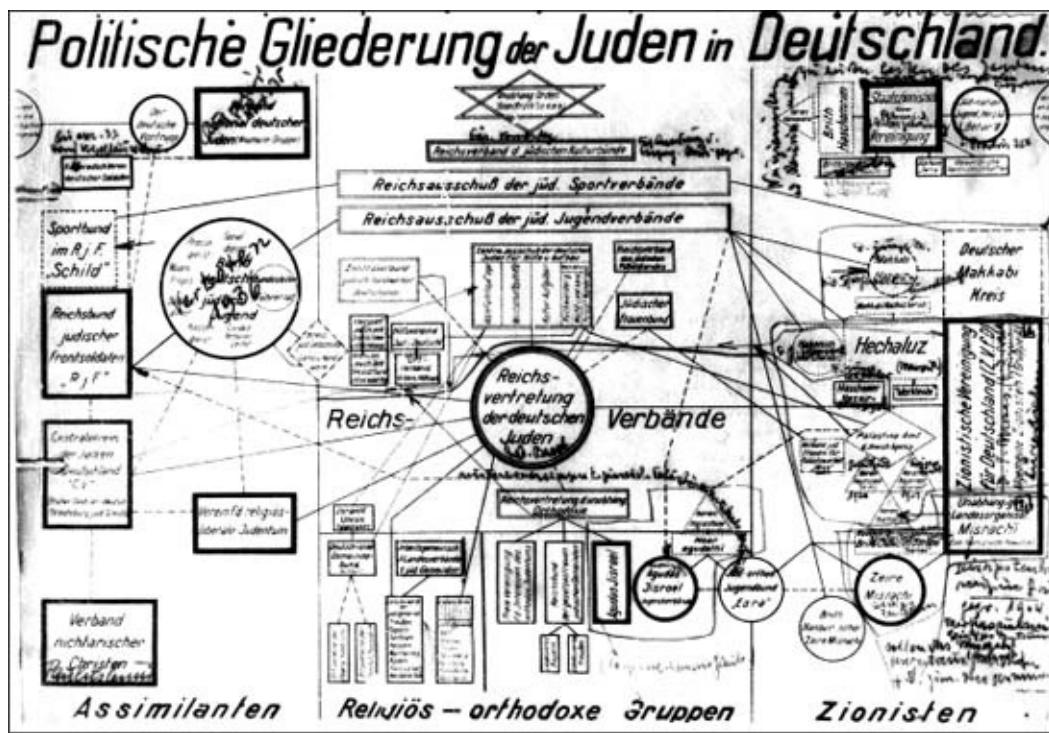


Figure 5. The diagrams were kept up to date by the regular inclusion of additional comments by hand, such as "Prohibited (Verboten) 1936" BArch, R 58/995.

The decline in retail sales in the Jewish **department stores** in the large cities, which continued until the end of 1933, has now been countered and almost completely offset by a new influx of customers. In the main, it is the unemployed and the impoverished middle class and rural population who are shopping for their basic needs in such firms. But unfortunately, it was also possible to note government officials and even officers of the SA, SS, and PO as customers in department stores. This renewed wave of customers frequenting the department stores and **one-price stores** is due primarily to the fact that prices for goods are cheaper there than in the **Aryan** stores. [...]

The decrees issued by the Reich economy ministry and Reich labor ministry on equal treatment for Aryans and **non-Aryans** in the economy⁷ have engendered a view in the Jewish community that all dangers for them in economic life are now past and have been overcome. They even hope, on the basis of these decrees, to be able to regain their former economic influence. As a result, large segments of the population which believed they would be totally freed of the Jews and their presence now assume that the Jew, contrary to the program of the NSDAP, has a firm and permanent anchorage in German economic life. For this reason, a segment of the working class is unhappy, since it cannot understand why Jews should continue to play an economic leadership role. Moreover, the decree by the Reich interior minister stating that the **Aryan legislation** should not apply to the free economy has provided considerable propaganda material for the Jewish organizations, in particular the assimilationists. The effects of this can be seen in an unpleasant emergence of Jewish elements, especially in an increased **remigration** of Jewish emigrants.

As a consequence of the **vocational restructuring** among the Jews, there have been ever more cases in the recent period of young Jews in rural areas being trained as farmers and craftsmen.⁸ In the district of Frankfurt an der Oder, at the present time in nine localities alone, 163 Jews are being retrained in agricultural enterprises, and in the Simmern district up to five Jews are in such a retraining program. Similar desire for retraining has also been reported for the districts of the State Police Offices Aurich, Königsberg, and Allenstein. [...]

c) *In the Area of Culture*

Until recently, there were a large number of Jewish cultural leagues in Prussia which were hard for the authorities to supervise and control. In agreement with the State Commissioner for Prussian Theaters,⁹ the Secret State Police has now unified Jewish cultural activities so that the organization which should be regarded as authoritative in this area is the **Kulturbund of the**

German Jews with its various branches.¹⁰ When setting up new local branches, the Cultural League is obliged to adhere to certain rules, and must present its entire program of events to the Prussian Theater Committee for formal approval. This has made it possible for the authorities to observe and oversee all Jewish cultural movements.

Jewish artists are now rarely employed by German theaters.¹¹

A consequence of their ever stronger cultural association among themselves is that Jews now are seldom seen at general cultural events in concerts and theaters. In public, as a rule, they generally frequent only those inns and restaurants owned by Jews.

On 8 March 1934 in Berlin, on the occasion of the premiere of the English film *Catherine the Great*, starring the Jewish actress Elisabeth Bergner, there were disruptions by members of the NSDAP.¹² This incident provided the Jewish propaganda press abroad with a new occasion for ugly rhetoric and vituperation about the new Germany, but the foreign press that deserves to be taken seriously also threatened a possible boycott of German films in connection with this incident in Berlin.¹³

d) In Sports

Like all other branches of Jewish community life, sports also received powerful impetus.¹⁴ Especially active here are the youth groups of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**. In some cases it was observed that Jews were even engaging in paramilitary and field sports. Since such activity is incompatible with national interests, the Secret State Police has taken precautionary measures to prevent this from occurring in the future.

In addition, various youth leagues and hiking groups have tried to require their members to appear in uniform dress, in some cases even wearing brown uniforms. Such attempts have naturally angered members of the SA and SS. In order to prevent clashes, the Secret State Police has urged the Reich Youth Leader to issue a general set of rules in this regard. Certain regulations can be expected in the near future.¹⁵

Emigration

The economic measures instituted against the Jews since the takeover of state power have led in the main to efforts for emigration among the Jews. In particular, a stream of emigration began to flow from the countryside and small towns into the larger cities. One of the motivating factors here was that the Jew

believed he could disappear and remained unnoticed in the large city.¹⁶ But far more Jews emigrated abroad.

The main current of the Jewish emigrants went this past year to **Palestine**. According to reports to date, 13,000 Jews have emigrated to Palestine from the beginning of emigration to early March 1934. But since the British **mandatory government** does not intend to increase the quota for immigrants, the flow of Jews to Palestine is presently hindered.

The European countries for emigration are likewise limited in their capacity to absorb immigrants. Since the economic situation in these countries cannot offer the Jews a proper basis for a livelihood there, complaints by the emigrants about their bad situation are increasing. This is causing those desirous of emigrating to postpone or completely abandon plans to emigrate. The consequence is not only a significant decline in emigration but also the phenomenon which has been observed specifically in recent months of a **remigration** by emigrants back to Germany. [...]

Boycott Agitation Campaign¹⁷

[...] In addition to the surveillance and control of the Jews in Germany and the prevention of unlawful attacks on Jews,¹⁸ it will be the paramount task of the Secret State Police to carefully follow the boycott movement and propaganda abroad in order to counter it by a program of enlightenment and clarification as extensive as possible, in conjunction with the competent Reich ministries. <110>

►33►

SD Main Office

[...]

The Jewish Question¹⁹

General

In their political, economic, and social activity, individual Jews are imposing upon themselves a degree of restraint uncommon for their race.

Politically they are now only active when it comes to their own concerns.

In their *economic* activity, they have become freer after the **boycott** of the Jewish shops came to an end. The decline in retail sales in the Jewish **department stores**, which continued up to the end of 1933, has now been almost completely offset by an improvement in turnover. In the main, it is the unemployed, the impoverished middle class, and the rural population who make up the customers. But unfortunately, it was also possible to note once again the presence of government officials and even members of the party or its associated organizations. The influence of the Jews in the **cattle trade** has been maintained almost without any interruption.

The decrees issued by the Reich economy ministry and Reich labor ministry on equal treatment for Aryans and **non-Aryans** in the economy²⁰ have awokened new hopes among the Jews.²¹ [...]

Reichsführer SS Chief des Sicherheitsamtes	Nr. 000	Rathausliche Bewegung <i>Die Umfrage 2 Seiten</i>	3
		Evangelische Bewegung	28
		Die Judenfrage	45
		Zage und Tätigkeit des Marxismus <i>Die Umfrage 2 Seiten</i>	53
		Freimaurerei <i>Die Umfrage 8 Seiten und Seiten</i>	61
<hr/>			
Die Judenfrage			
		I. Emigration	
		II. Das jüdische Christentum	
		Die Zionisten	
		Die Zionsträger	
		Die Sionistischen	
		Sionistenorganisationen	
		Die Zionisten waren	
		III. Bestürzige Organisationen	
		Die Sportorganisationen	
		Jugendorganisationen	
		IV. Die jüdische Presse	
		V. Das jüdische und jüdischstädtische Leben	
		VI. Berufsausbildung und Kaufmännische	
		VII. Die Zahl und Verteilung der Einwanderer	
		Zahl nach Verteilung der Rückflüsse auf Deutschland	
		Palästina	
		Amerika	
		Soviet	
		VIII. Hetzerpropaganda und Beleidigung	

Lagebericht

28 n i / 3 x n i 1934

- 1. Zurück zu Ihnen zu geben in einer Art Bericht vom Deutschen Reichsamt für die Zeit vom 2. Juni 1934.
- 2. Empfehlen Sie für diese Aufzeichnungen und Freizeit.
- 3. Der Gegegen ehemaligen, Wiedergabe nur durch Einvernehmen.

Facing Page: *Figure 6. First preserved nationwide SD Situation Report: title page, general table of contents, sub-headings in the section “The Jewish Question”; May/June 1934. See ▲33▲. Translation:*

[Left page] Situation Report/May/June 1934 [next line boxed] [...] 3. To be stored in a safe deposit box; destroy by burning only.

[Right page] Catholic movement [...] / Protestant movement *The lewisch Question* Situation and activity of Marxism [...] / Freemasonry [...] *The lewisch Question* I. General matters / II. lewisch organizational structure *The Zionists* The Middle Group *The National-Germans* Comprehensive organizations *The lewisch lodges* III. Other organizations *Sports organizations* Youth organizations IV *The Jewish press* V. Cultural and social life VI. Vocational restructuring and emigration VII. Number and situation of the emigrants *Number and distribution of refugees from Germany Palestine Birobijan Syria* / VIII. Atrocity propaganda and boycott." BArch, R 58/3968.

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Berlin, den 26.10.1937.

Dan./Mag.

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An II 1.

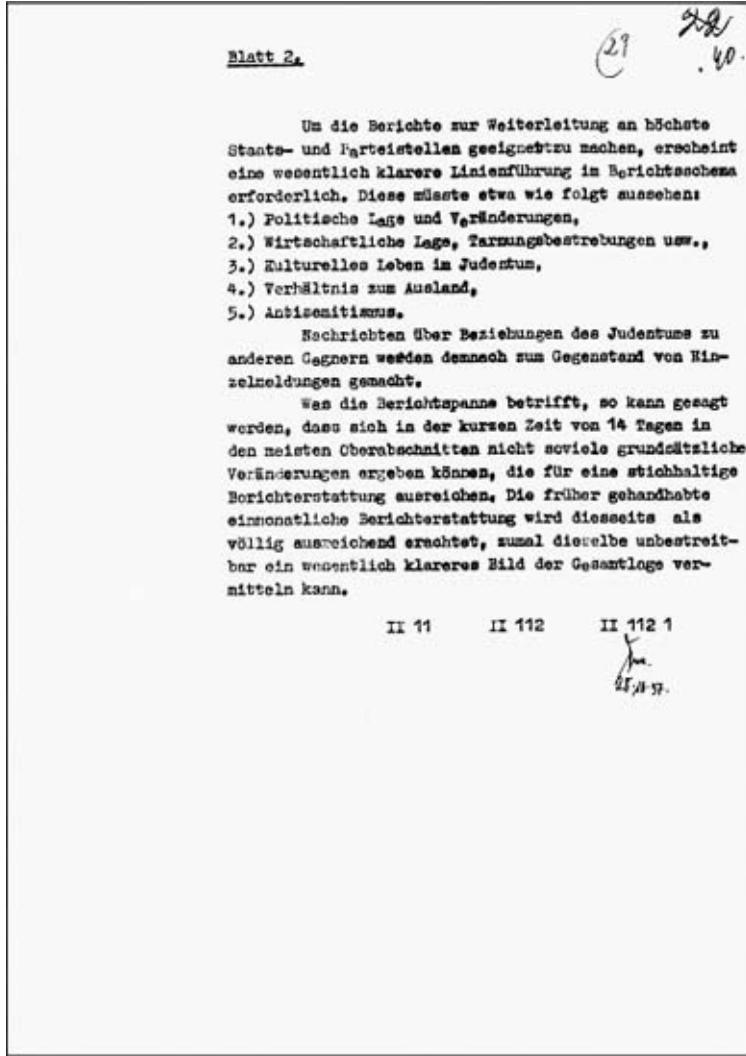
Botr.: Erfahrungsbericht über die Lageberichterstattung.

Vorg.: Befehl II 1 vom 26.10.1937.

Die letzten Lageberichte gaben zu sachlichen oder formellen Beanstandungen kaum Anlass. Für die Berichterstattung innerhalb des SD sind sie ausreichend.

Eine Weitergabe der Berichte in der jetzigen Form an Stellen ausserhalb des Sicherheitsdienstes erscheint jedoch vorerst noch als nicht angebracht. Nach hiesiger Auffassung dürfen die Berichte, die an Partei- oder Staatsstellen weitergeleitet werden, sich nicht zu sehr in Einzelheiten verlieren, sondern müssen vor allem das Problem 'Judentum' im Gesamtbild zeigen. Es kann daher zukünftig eine Aufgliederung nach jüdisch-politischen Gesichtspunkten nicht mehr beibehalten werden.

Aus diesen Erwägungen heraus wird vorgeschlagen, generell die Oberabschnitte anzzuweisen, von der bisher für die einzelnen jüdisch-politischen Gruppen getrennt erfolgenden Berichterstattung abzugehen und nur einen Gesamtbericht über das Leben und die Veränderungen im Judentum abzugeben. Diese Anordnung könnte insbesondere für den SD-CA Süd in Frage, dessen Bericht schon seit längerer Zeit dem zuständigen Gauleiter im Durchschlag übermittelt wird.



Figures 7a, 7b. SD Main Office II 112 (Dept. Jewish Affairs) to all SD Upper Divisions, October 1937. Translation: "In order to render the individual report suitable for transmission to the highest echelons of the state and Party, a far clearer organization in the layout of the report would appear to be necessary. This should roughly be structured as follows: 1) Political situation and changes. 2) Economic situation, efforts for concealment, etc. 3) Cultural life among the Jews. 4) Relation to countries abroad. 5) Anti-Semitism. Accordingly, information on the relations of Jewry to other adversaries should be made the topic of individual reports." Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, 0,51, OSO/48.

Under the pressure of the surrounding Germanized environment, the Jews have vigorously developed their own associations, and retreated almost exclusively into the fold of these associations.²²

Jewish Organizational Life²³

The general organizations of the Jews can be divided into three main groups, the **Zionists**, the middle group,²⁴ and the National-Germans.²⁵

The Zionists

The position of the Zionists appears to us to be the clearest. They do not only wish to be Jews in regard to religion but also assert their special Jewish character and envision a future national folk state of their own.

Their slogans: Study Jewish history, be more actively engaged in studies of the Bible, observe Jewish customs, learn **Hebrew** again, and emigrate to **Eretz Israel**, the Promised Land. [...]

The Middle Group

Included here are the **Central Association of Jewish Citizens of the Jewish Faith**; the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**.

This camp likes to use the expression “**German-Jewish**” (where both terms in the compound are considered to be equal!) in its publications, and in the new establishment of supplementary and aid organizations. They attempt to explain this notion of two souls in many essays, where they of course like to skirt around the concept of race. There they speak of religion on the one hand, and of the common language with the host people, history, and so forth, in short, the cultural community on the other. The concise formulation to date: our guideposts are *faith* and *homeland*.

The National-Germans

The **Association of National-German Jews** is even more “German” than the CV and emphasizes this in its political program and in all possible external manifestations. [...]

They have a “Führer” who signs officially as “leader of the Association” [*Verbandsführer*],²⁶

They also have introduced the Führer principle: [...]

Comprehensive Organizations

One must not let oneself be deluded by this fragmentation of Jewish associations, because alongside these three pillars, various possibilities are present for a uniform formation of the will.

The first is the factor of common *religion*, which has preserved and protected Jewish ethnic existence over the centuries.

In the autumn of the past year, the Jews created a further instrument for acting on their common concerns through the establishment of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**.

However, the work of unification, long an aim of this middle group, has not yet succeeded completely in achieving its aspirations. The only organization that recognizes this umbrella association without any reservations whatsoever is the middle group, while the Zionists are waiting to see what activity the Reich Representation develops, and the National-Germans initially reject it.²⁷

Despite this rejection, they are nonetheless evidently trying to stay in touch a bit, should it turn out that the Reich Representation or the Zionist movement could be recognized as such. In addition, it should be noted that the Zionists and the CV are necessarily moving closer together, since the former can no longer look solely to **Palestine** alone, but also have to pay some attention to the situation in Germany. Meanwhile, the CV, especially under pressure from its youth wing, can no longer unconditionally reject the idea of emigration. [...]

Whether and, if so, when the full unification of German Jewry can become a reality is primarily dependent on the behavior of the German opposite side.

But to promote developments pushing in this direction leads to a very great danger, not yet sufficiently recognized given the present situation. We should keep in mind that we may not be successful in bringing our Jews to the point where they **emigrate**, since the whole previous development is now suffocating, so to speak. With the passage of time, our neighboring countries will, after accepting 50,000 immigrants, refuse to take in the other 555,000 Jews, quite aside from the **Mischlinge** of mixed blood.

Previous attempts by Jews to settle have been inadequate, as will be shown below. Then we will no longer be able to treat them as temporary unwelcome guests in Germany, but will be compelled to make legal the present intermediate situation. We will perhaps even have to recognize the Jews as a **minority**, and then they will be on our hands for the rest of eternity. This danger is approaching ever closer, the more the Jews in Germany feel they are a minority. We help aid and abet this thinking when we recognize the Jews as a totality, in order to negotiate with them more easily and build a better system of **surveillance**, negotiating with their Reich representations, Reich committees, and so forth, instead of with their individual groups.²⁸ [...]

The Jewish Press

Like the Jewish organizations, the Jewish **press** has also experienced growth that was almost unexpected in its scope. But the newspapers of the larger organizations and the local community papers have multiplied their readership, expanded their content, and increased the size of the paper.

One illustrative example is the development of the **CV-Zeitung**. A year ago, it was still a small newsletter published in a compact format. In the fall, it shifted to the standard-size newspaper format. It has expanded its political section and added, one after the next, a section of legal matters and business and the economy, a page on youth, a children's supplement, a page for the German-Jewish woman, and a large section of want ads.

The front page usually carries articles on the intellectual situation of the Jews, disputes with other groups, pan-Jewish tasks, etc. The politics section appears to be a bit thin, yet contains everything of importance for the Jew. The newspaper quickly publishes the full text of all new regulations and court decisions, often with explanations on their meaning and scope. It publishes all relevant passages from speeches by government ministers, etc., as a rule literally, without a striking headline but in a prominent place. It is not surprising that the editors generally refrain from any commentary of their own since in any case, the Jews know what is meant. And every reader understands without commentary why this paper contains a relatively large amount of news about the disputes in and with the Christian churches, excerpts from sermons, etc. After all, these matters also play an important role in the conversations of the Jews. Here is perhaps the only place where the Jews' papers, otherwise so cautious, depart from the stance of reserve which they have maintained throughout the entire winter.

Heeding the dictate of caution, they did not report anything on the incidents in Pomerania, the Grenzmark, the Rhineland, and Franconia in February and March.²⁹ (Except for the incident that transpired in Gunzenhausen, these were relatively innocuous: windows broken in homes, **synagogues**, etc.) By contrast, these were seized upon and exploited by the Jewish papers abroad, and naturally were picked up then by the other papers. They gave substantial impetus to the **atrocities** and boycott propaganda abroad.³⁰ Here both the Jewish and Catholic press are busy at work. Everything they are not allowed to write in their papers in this country, they publish in their papers abroad.

One example to illustrate that is the paper *Wiener Neue Welt*.³¹ On 5 April 1934, it reported as follows on the incident in Gunzenhausen in Franconia:

The Pogrom in Gunzenhausen

... The signal to start the pogrom was given in a vicious scene that transpired in a local inn. A Jew who entered its premises was attacked and badly beaten by the Christian customers, and then thrown out into the street. The guests at the inn, reinforced by National Socialists who had been taking part for several days in the ongoing drive to **boycott** the Jews, now commenced a general attack on the houses of the Jews.

The residents, including women, were dragged brutally from their homes, thrown into the street and mercilessly maltreated. There are doubts as to whether the 20-year-old Jew Rosenfeld committed suicide, as the official police version contends. After he had been subjected to terrible torment, he was found dead hanging from a garden fence. Rosenfeld certainly no longer had the physical strength left to kill himself. Rather, it is assumed that he was hanged by his tormentors. A man was found dead in the street, stabbed four times in the heart, a 60-year-old Jewish resident of Gunzenhausen named Rosenau. Although the authorities gave assurances that there would be a thorough investigation of these two murders, the two men were buried on Tuesday, 27 March, on orders from the authorities, without a court autopsy having been performed on their bodies. The Gunzenhausen Jewish inhabitants who suffered injuries are receiving medical treatment. All the Jewish inhabitants who have not fled are living in an interminable state of panic...³²

Cultural and Social Life

The **Kulturbund of the German Jews** established in the autumn with the permission of the Reich interior ministry has gone through further development in the time period covered by this report. The Kulturbund and its regional subordinate organizations have put on a large number of concerts, evening lectures, and theater performances.

Recently a **Jewish Book Association** has been established that has already published its first annual volume: Georg Hermann, *Eine Zeit stirbt*.

Jews are conducting social life almost exclusively within their homes or in closed social get-togethers. The Jewish **school system** has to date only been promoted and equipped by the Zionists. More recently, the middle group has begun to send their children to schools exclusively for Jews. Only the National Socialists still reject this, as they do any “ghetto in whatever form.” In accordance with this, several new schools were opened at Easter, and the existing schools have increased the number of pupils and classes. There are as yet no final definitive figures.

Vocational Restructuring and Emigration

Vocational Restructuring

Down to 1932, the problem of the **vocational restructuring** of the Jews was discussed almost exclusively only in academic circles. Only small segments of Zionist youth dared to venture possible attempts to solve this problem. But since the great Upheaval, “vocational normalization” as they call it, is no longer some sort of theoretical problem. Now it is an urgent and pressing task of the present. It is evident that they have invested great energy and substantial funds in trying to solve this problem. **The Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** has a budget of 900,000 RM for the first six months of 1934! In addition, there are the expenditures of the Zionists and the funds directly applied for financing **emigration**.

In the *CV-Zeitung* for 29 March 1934, the Central Committee announced that there are presently 6,069 Jews in vocational restructuring. Of these, 3,331 wish to pursue craft trades, 2,738 to enter agriculture (of these latter, 900 are in training abroad and the remainder are studying in Germany in collective workshops or volunteer training posts). [...] There is no criticism of such retraining if done in closed groups and oriented to the prospect of a later emigration. It must be prevented if it takes place only in German villages and is intended to prepare individuals for settlement in Germany.³³ [...]

The Number and Situation of the Emigrants

[...] The emigration of the Jews is not uniform from all areas. It was stronger in agricultural districts, weaker in the large cities. That is supplemented by internal migration from the countryside into the city.³⁴ There are no final figures. But here are three typical examples of the reduction in the number of members in the Jewish religious communities.

	1932	1933	Migrated	%
Province Mecklenburg	1,225	ca. 670	ca. 555	45
Israelitic Community Chemnitz	2,796	2,215	581	21
Israelitic Community Frankfurt/M.	29,385	27,690	1,695	6

[...]

Atrocity Propaganda and Boycott Movement

Unfortunately, the Jews have not yet migrated to the Orient, and many have not given up hope that there will be a substantial change for the better in

Germany. They think they have a mighty weapon in hand against the Third Reich, and they do: namely economic boycott.³⁵

As a result, Jewish **atrocities propaganda** is also useful today for the idea of boycott. In some countries, the vociferous agitation has somewhat abated. In others, especially North America, it is continuing unabated. Now the “quiet boycott” has come to have a strong impact and is making use of new, highly effective and quieter methods to spread. [...]

Catholic Movement³⁶

[...]

Engagement on Behalf of Judaism and the Jews

Through its legislation, the National Socialist state has taken up the struggle against the excessive influence of the Jews throughout cultural and economic life in Germany. The Catholics have not adopted an open position against this measure, but there is clear sympathy for the Jews, evident from numerous statements.

Especially noteworthy in this regard was the effect of the Advent sermons on Judaism delivered by Cardinal **Faulhaber**.³⁷ Although Faulhaber emphasizes in his sermons that he relates “only to pre-Christian Judaism,” his choice of topic at this moment in time had to appear as if it were a defense of Jewish influence (Old Testament!). After all, the racial disposition of the Jewish people did not change in the Christian era.

Even if the Cardinal did not intend this effect, he should have foreseen the impact. In the Jewish and foreign press, Faulhaber’s statements are viewed as a defense of Judaism. The paper *Pester Lloyd* of 29 Jan. 1934 reports that Faulhaber spoke “against the persecution of the Jews.”

The *CV-Zeitung für das Judentum* (January 1934) carries an essay entitled “New Enthusiasm for Our Holy Scripture: On the Advent Sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber” by Rabbi Dr. **Baerwald**, Munich. Regarding the statement by the Cardinal that the onslaught against the books of the Jews can “ignite a holy fire of new enthusiasm for the holy scriptures,” the paper states: “We can only mention these words with a sense of gratitude and gratification.” And: “We have the modest pride that the world was given revelation through us.”³⁸

In a report in the *CV-Zeitung* of 29 March 1934, on a lecture by Dr. H. Frankenstein, it states *inter alia*: “In his Advent sermons, Archbishop Faulhaber made a hyphen between Biblical and present-day Jews. But Judaism has always

... adhered to the eternal values proclaimed to the ancient people of Israel, and before which Christianity also bows its head in reverence.”

There are also many reports of statements by Catholic clerics against anti-Semitism. In some dioceses, both Rosenberg’s *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts* and the *Handbuch der Judenfrage* by Theodor Fritsch³⁹ were declared to be prohibited books for Catholics. [...]

Protestant Movement

[...]

The Opposition in the Church (Pastors’ Emergency League, etc.)

In opposition to the **German Christians** and the ecclesiastical administrations they control, a Pastors’ Emergency League was created. It is a league like a religious order with a high degree of voluntary commitment.⁴⁰ [...]

In positive terms, the Emergency League seeks an internal renewal of the Church. In its defensive struggle, it is particularly opposed to the following fundamental precepts of the German Christians:

1. Against the principle of race and nationalism. The principle is espoused: “There can be German National Socialists, but not a National Socialist Christianity.” Instead of a national church, a Confessing Church is called for. The introduction of secular principles (*Gleichschaltung* with politics) is resolutely rejected. The **Aryan Clause** is rejected as being contrary to scripture (theological expert opinions from Marburg and Erlangen) and has also been abandoned once again by the Reich Church.⁴¹ Race and blood as the foundation of religion in the sense of Rosenberg are repudiated as pagan elements [...] <139>

Gestapo Berlin

Situation Report on the Activities of the Jews and Their Organizations around the World and in Germany⁴²

Berlin, 17 June 1934

OA Mos, 501/1/18

Statistics

Before the war, there were some 555,000 Jews resident in Germany. Of these, approximately 30 percent had emigrated to Germany from Eastern Europe after 1870. A large proportion of the **East European Jews** remained in the eastern provinces of the Reich, and then emigrated in larger numbers to western areas of Germany after World War I. Already during the war, there was emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe, though it was not possible to obtain solid statistical data on this. Immediately after the end of the war, there was a veritable wave of Jewish migrants from all the countries of Eastern Europe to Germany. That wave peaked during the era of high inflation. In the period of deflation and with the onset of inflationary pressures in the countries in Western Europe, a movement of migration began that carried these East European Jews westward, to Belgium, France, and other countries. Another phenomenon was the powerful **internal migration** from the rural areas to the large cities, which is still in progress today.

Given the huge number of Jews from Eastern Europe who migrated to Germany, and the later naturalizations, marriages, and **mixed marriages** among them, a reliable statistical picture of the East European Jewish migrants is not possible. They are estimated to number about 100,000.

When the Führer was appointed Reich Chancellor, but even a short time prior to this, there were already the first signs of an emigration of Jews. The Jews themselves jokingly refer to this as “Semigrants.” It is assumed that to date some 100,000 Jews have emigrated from Germany, and another 100,000 have probably migrated from the smaller towns to the cities in the German Reich, so that here too a precise statistical picture is not possible. The main organization of the Jews⁴³ has been watching this internal migration for some time now with great concern, since it is a serious complicating factor for **vocational restructuring**.

Behavior of the Jews after the Upheaval from the Social Perspective

The National Revolution has had a serious impact on the social positions of the Jews, since even those governmental measures whose tendency is not directed against the Jews in any way have had a powerful effect on the economic position of the Jews. For example, the organizations engaged in the production and trade of food, which shut down all grain and egg trade, which is up to 70 percent Jewish, since, as is well known, the Jew was prominent in all these functions as middlemen traders. The legal measures of the government against the Jews have not had such a very hard impact on them. More of a deleterious effect has been exerted by the narrowing of economic space resulting from other legislation. The phenomenon of **emigration** was thus not only noted among university graduates but also in the remaining Jewish middle classes. The Jews abroad are establishing relief aid committees for the emigrants, which despite numerous international conferences, never functioned with any success. Almost all now have been discontinued once again. From this perspective, for example, of the total number of emigrating Jews who did not go to Palestine, a further third can be designated as transit migrants to Palestine. The problem of the unfavorable social stratification of the Jews in Germany, which has been much discussed among far-sighted Jews for many years, became their principal topic after April 1933, and has continued to remain so. The desire was to retrain Jews, both adults and youths, to become craftsmen and farmers. Yet it turned out that major obstacles were the financial expenses and personal qualifications of the individual. So one can note that today as in the past, the Jew in Germany still seeks a livelihood mainly in commerce. The other questions of retraining and emigration are treated in the discussion below on political matters.

Political Behavior after the Overthrow State Level of Politics

The Jew in Germany has not endeavored, either openly or in a concealed manner, to influence the changes in state politics. It was possible to note more generally that every Jew limited himself to self-preservation and otherwise, to the extent he was financially able to, he limited himself to support from the welfare office.⁴⁴

The leading organizations of Jewry were trying desperately to influence their fellow co-religionists in such a way that any and all repercussions for the Jews in Germany would be avoided. Jews abroad were inundated with calls to halt all boycotts or other actions.⁴⁵ By contrast, the foreign Jews declared that the incidents in Germany were a question that was of concern to all Jews everywhere. The Jews abroad could, in their view, not show any special consideration for the Jews in Germany. Foreign Jewry was, they noted,

defending its own positions. The powers abroad had to realize that no country in the world could be allowed to enshrine anti-Semitism as a state principle without itself suffering damage as a result. The Revisionist leader **Jabotinsky** declared in a speech that he would not call off the boycott struggle against Germany even if all Jews in Germany went to their ruin as a result of this boycott.

Activity in Economic Policy; Internal Jewish Activity

The activity of the Jews in economic policy in Germany remained confined to the spheres of welfare and retraining. In addition, support was provided for the emigration efforts of those Jews who wished to go abroad for economic reasons. The emigrants to Palestine were mainly assisted by the **Zionists** and their institutions. Emigration to other countries was supported by the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. The activity of these organizations will be discussed in connection with their description later. [...] <140>

1. The present document is the first nationwide systematic report by the Berlin **Gestapa** on the Jews. Eighteen pages in length, it sketches a comprehensive picture of the Jews in the German economy and society, describing in detail the structure and architecture of the Jewish organizations after one year of National Socialist rule. It was intended as a broad foundation for further surveillance and control of the Jews. At about the same time, the SD Main Office compiled a similar first comprehensive report in which assessment of the situation and political recommendations are of greater importance (see ▶33▶). For that reason, the editors have left out the large section in the report dealing with the “Organizations and Associations of the Jews” with the subsections “Zionism” and “German Judaism (Assimilation)” (see **German Nationalistic Jews**), despite certain differences in presentation when compared with the SD report. The complete text can be found on the CD-ROM edition, ▶110▶.

2. Date handwritten on the document.
3. See Chronology, 7 April 1933.
4. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings** and **Communism and Jews**.
5. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
6. See **Vocational restructuring**.
7. See Chronology, 16 December 1933 and 17 January 1934.

8. See **Hachshara**.

9. See Hans **Hinkel**.

10. However, the phenomenon of unification described here pertains only to Prussia, since the area of competence of the Gestapo was not extended to the entire area of the Reich until after 2 May 1934 (see Chronology). There was not a final nationwide merger under the name Reich Association of Jewish Cultural Leagues (Reichsverband jüdischer Kulturbünde) until 27–28 April 1935 (see Chronology).

11. See Chronology, 5 March 1934.

12. See **Individual actions**.

13. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

14. See **Sports associations, Jewish and Youth organizations, Jewish**.

15. See **Youth organizations, Jewish**. On the earlier ban on Jews in Jewish youth organizations wearing uniforms, see Chronology, 7 March 1934.

16. See **Internal migration**.

17. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

18. See **Individual actions**.

19. This document is the first comprehensive situation report by the SD Main Office. At this juncture, the information network of the SD was still in its initial phase, and much information was secondhand. Among other places, it was culled from the Jewish **press** and other lewish publications. Similar to the previous report by the **Gestapo**, the present one was also intended to help construct an independent nationwide system of **surveillance** by the regime.

20. See Chronology, 16 December 1933 and 17 January 1934.

21. Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 66 f.

22. See **Associationallife, Jewish**.

23. The detailed and reliable description of the Jewish organizations is largely in harmony with the description from the first comprehensive nationwide report by the Gestapo, April 1934, see ▶32▶. That is especially noteworthy, since the Gestapo and SD reporting systems operated quite independently.

24. See **Assimilationists**.

25. See **German Nationalistic Jews**.

26. Reference here is probably to the founder of the association, Max

Naumann.

27. The so-called Secession Orthodoxy also had a negative view of the Reich Representation, and only joined it in June 1938. But common shared areas of interest connected Secession Orthodoxy with the Reich Representation, such as negotiations with the authorities on financing the Jewish schools.

28. On the attitude of various government and party offices to the Reich Representation (from the takeover of power in January 1933 until the establishment of the **Reich Association** in February 1939), see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, I. Zur Einstellung des SD (bis 1938); Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*.

29. See **Individual actions**. On so-called incidents in other localities in this period (such as Hesse), see CD ▷113▷.

30. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

31. Reference is to the paper *Die Neue Welt* in Vienna, organ of the Jewish People's Party in Austria, which had a political orientation similar to the **State Zionist Organization** in Germany; see Mühl, "‘Immer waren Wahlen’."

32. The fact that this report was taken over verbatim and without further comment from the Vienna paper *Die Neue Welt* shows that at this juncture, the SD did not yet have any system of information-gathering at the local level. On the pogrom in Gunzenhausen, see also later reports such as that by the District Governor for Upper and Central Franconia CD ▷115▷. In the subsequent trial, the nineteen defendants received sentences of from three to ten months behind bars. "The main court proceeding came to the conclusion beyond any doubt that the cause for the two deaths that evening was suicide," see CD ▷148▷; on further disturbances in Gunzenhausen, see CD ▷206▷.

33. Although vocational retraining for Jews to work in agriculture (Hachshara) was as a rule promoted by the authorities, numerous reports also express their misgivings that "the unavoidable appearance of large numbers of Jewish boys in groups would necessarily antagonize the population, so it would give rise to a probable threat to public tranquility," see CD ▷77▷. In various localities, resistance by the local population to these initiatives actually led to the prohibition or closure of Jewish training facilities in rural areas. On the other hand, there were also voices raised in the population strongly in favor of agricultural training for the Jews, see ▷282▷.

34. See **Internal migration**.

35. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

36. The following sections on the Catholic and Protestant movement come before the chapter “The Jewish Question” in the original (and correspondingly likewise in the CD-ROM complete edition ▶139▶). See also **Churches and National Socialist Policy on the Jews**.

37. See Faulhaber, *Judaism, Christianity, and Germany*; it contains the Advent sermons by Faulhaber in St. Michael's in Munich given on 3,10,17, and 24 December and the New Year's sermon of 31 December 1933.

38. On the huge echo of the Faulhaber sermons among Jews in Germany and the arrest of those who illegally circulated and distributed the sermons to a wider audience, see Situation Report of the Gestapo Berlin for February 1935, ▶93▶.

39. The handbook by Fritsch (1855–1933), published for the first time in 1886 as a catechism for anti-Semites, reached its twenty-sixth printing already in 1907, and had its forty-ninth printing in 1944. It was subtitled “The Most Important Facts for Evaluating the Jewish People.”

40. On the Pastors' Emergency League initiated with the founding call by Martin Niemöller on 21 September 1933 (Beckmann, *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*, 25), see Niemöller, *Evangelische Kirche im Dritten Reich*, 112; according to the figure given there, it had a membership in the summer of 1934 of only 5,256 pastors, after 1,800 members from Bavaria, Hanover, and Württemberg had resigned in the beginning of 1934.

41. The expert opinions mentioned here were submitted in September 1933, see Hermelink, *Kirche im Kampf*, 51 ff.; further literature in Niemöller, *Evangelische Kirche im Dritten Reich*, 381.

42. The present very extensive nationwide situation report of the Berlin Gestapa is conceived along lines similar to the two previous reports of the Gestapa and SD, and serves likewise as a basis for surveillance. The reporter is doubtless very well informed about the organizations of the Jews in Germany and throughout the world. According to his own statements, he relies above all on consultation of basic Jewish reference works such as “1. Führer durch die jüdischen Gemeinden und Organisationen, 2. das jüdische Jahrbuch und 3. das jüdische Adressbuch von Groß Berlin,” and even in these very voluminous works, not all Jewish associations have been listed. The Gestapa alone has 456 different files on associations and institutions in Berlin (see the last paragraph of this document). The editors have included only the first four sections here, where the general demographic, political, and economic developments since Imperial Germany and the effects since the takeover of power by the National Socialists

are described. The sections not reproduced here deal with: “Judaism and its Organizations. Directions and Organizations Internationally” and “Directions and Organizations in German Jewry.”

43. See **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany.**

44. See **Welfare, Jewish.**

45. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich.**

Anti-Jewish “Individual Actions” and Further Expansion of Jewish Community Life

The Beginnings of Systematic Monthly Reporting by the Gestapo and the District Governors (July 1934–March 1935)

►35►

[Württemberg Political Police]

Report for July

[Stuttgart], 10 August 1934

BArch, R 58/3968

Jews and Freemasons

The situation of the Jews in Württemberg can be characterized as clear and unambiguous in the sense that the Jews on one side, and the German population on the other, keep as far apart from one another as possible. Incidents with disagreeable complications are rare exceptions.

At the end of June, there was a break-in at the **synagogue** in Schwab[isch] Gmünd, and the furnishings of the synagogue were somewhat damaged. At the end of July, a Jew in Stuttgart had to be arrested because he had made outrageous statements in public about a Party office.

These incidents did not appear to have been planned by anyone in advance.

Despite all the external reserve shown by the Jews, for some time now in Württemberg, it is possible to observe certain efforts in numerous individual areas which, when viewed together in a larger context, suggest that there is intensified activity. Everywhere there are clear attempts to make *greater use* of the possibilities within the boundaries drawn by **racial legislation** and the political situation. In the board of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**, the top umbrella organization of all Jewish associations and directions, the former Württemberg Ministerial Councillor Dr. Hirsch¹ has a leading position. There are certain indications that the Württemberg Jews wish to derive various benefits from this favorable connection with the central leadership

of German Jewry.

At the moment, especial zeal is being applied to pushing forward with the expansion and development of *Jewish cultural autonomy* in Württemberg. In Herrlingen near Ulm, there is a Jewish rural boarding school. In May of this year, there was a national German Jewish conference at which reform initiatives of the Jewish educational program were discussed.² Prominent cultural leaders of German Jewry took part in this conference, including Martin **Buber**, Professor Ernst **Kantorowicz**, Georg **Lubinsky**, and Dr. Ernst **Simon**. According to the available information here, there was no discussion at the conference of current political questions of immediate relevance.³

The Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Stuttgart, founded in 1925 with the outstanding cooperation of former Ministerialrat Dr. Otto Hirsch, held in recent weeks a number of cultural events, lectures, art exhibitions, concerts, etc., and expanded its possibilities for influence by building a residential home attached to the Jewish Lehrhaus.

The energetic expansion of the Jewish organization is also reflected in the opening of a Jewish Apprentices' Hostel in Stuttgart.

After a corresponding decree by the Württemberg Ministry of Culture, Israelitic religious classes are no longer taught at the secondary schools in Württemberg. It left up to the Israelitic Religious Community to arrange private instruction in the religion. But there is no financing from public funds for this purpose. The Jews have responded to this measure by establishing a Jewish school with *five grades* in Stuttgart. The school budget is estimated at 10,000 marks per annum. The construction of a new school building has reportedly been proposed.⁴

The efforts of the **Hechalutz** are also being vigorously promoted by the Jews in Württemberg. Thus, it has been noted among other things that candidates for Zionist **emigration**⁵ have been accommodated in agricultural enterprises on farms in Württemberg. [...] <191>



Figure 8. Martin Buber (right) during a Study Week held at the Center for Jewish Adult Education in Germany; 1934. Martin Buber Archive, ARC Ms. Var. 350, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem.

◆36►

Stapostelle Government District Aachen

Report for July

Aachen, 6 August 1934

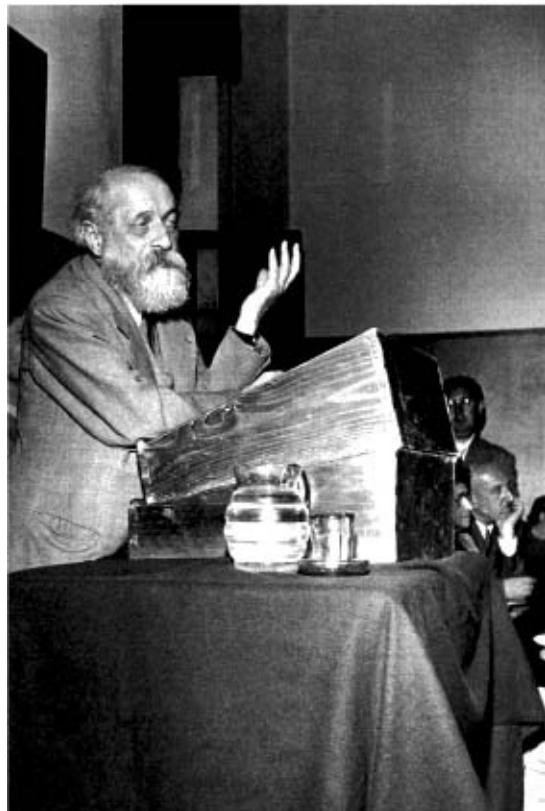
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9,1

[...]

Jews and Freemasons

During the course of this month in the local region, the Jews have not been conspicuous, except in the district of Schleiden. They live completely among themselves and are active principally in their own associations,⁶ and some are extremely active in Jewish **sports associations**. In the Schleiden district, the Jews play a special role even numerically. There are localities where the percentage of Jews reaches 10 percent.⁷ According to a report of the county commissioner, especially after 30 June 1934,⁸ there were once again complaints about more insolent behavior on the part of some Jews. There is also a strong

suspicion that Jews in Schleiden maintain ties with persons abroad. [...] The CV has repeatedly come to me⁹ with complaints that in the Schleiden district, the PO has been putting pressure on the population, contrary to legal directives, not to shop in Jewish businesses,¹⁰ and there is also agitation there against decent and upstanding Jews. As far as the local office was able to determine, there was no basis for any actions in violation of the law.



*Figure 9. Martin Buber in the Seminar for Adult Education in Jerusalem, 1949.
Martin Buber Archive, ARC Ms. Var. 350, Jewish National and University
Library, Jerusalem*

I have already mentioned that in the Schleiden district, there are as yet no **Aryan** marketing organizations for the **cattle trade**. [...] <164>

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Gendarmerie Geiselbach

Report for July
Geiselbach, 26 July 1934
StA Wü, LRA Alzenau Alz 339

Politics

[...] At the beginning of July, I was confidentially informed that several days before, the Jewish tradesman Louis Strauss (called Borg) from Schöllkrippen was openly prevented from practicing his commercial business by two members of the SA in the locality of Oberwestern. The man had been followed on the street and people were warned to desist from having any business transactions with him.¹¹ The trader was asked by the SA men for his papers as a licensed merchant, and had had to endure some rather nasty insults.

Information gathered in Oberwestern confirms the correctness of this report.
[...] <224>

Berlin, den 10. Februar 1936.

Zum Drt. *Gaulke*

Begutachtung des Buches "Reden über das Judentum" (M. Buber).

Martin Buber erläutert in seinen acht "Reden" die Stellung des Menschen zu Gott und meint natürlich die Haltung des Juden, den er versucht als Überdurchschnittsmenschen zu illustrieren.

Er geht dabei von folgender Basis aus: Ein Mensch, der aufwächst in seiner Heimat, dort, wo er und seine Väter geboren sind, der sich der Sprache und Sitten seines Volkes, dem er ja an gehört, bedient, fühlt sich all den zugehörig und empfindet auf dieser Stufe sein Volk, mit dem er über das Geschilderte hinaus bluts mässig seit Generationen verbunden ist. Wie ganz anders ist da die Stellung des Juden, besonders des westeuropäischen, der in einem fremden Milieu aufwächst, der sich äußerlich anderer Sitten bedienen muss und nicht die Ursprache seines Volkes spricht und trotzdem Jude bleibt?

Buber begründet das darin, dass die Abstammung eines Juden nicht bloße Zusammenhang mit dem Vergangenen bedeutet, dass sie etwas Konstantes in jedem jüdischen Leben hervorruft, das den Einzelnen nie verlässt. Er nennt es "Blut als tiefste Machtsschicht der Seele". - Buber leugnet dabei keineswegs, dass das jüdische Volk aus einer Mischung auch von anderen Völkern besteht und geht sogar von der Einsicht aus, dass es ein Widerspruch in sich selbst sei, der unter ihm die "niederrücktigsten Spieler und Verräter" aber auch die "erhabensten Propheten und Erlöser" in einer Epoche möglich mache, nennt es aber den Herren dieser Mischung, der sich ihr nur als Mittel zum Zweck bedient. Dieser Dualismus jedoch bringe ein Streben und inneres Verlangen nach einer Einheit mit sich, durch die sich das jüdische Volk einzigartig kennzeichne.

All das war der Anlass zum Entstehen und Diskutabelwerden einer Judenfrage unter der Menschheit.

8/112-61
Buber ist, seinem Buche nach zu urteilen (das Buch erschien 1932), zwar propalästinensisch jedoch kein absoluter Zionist. Er befiehlt die jüdische Ansiedlung in Palästina als eine Möglichkeit, ein gesundes jüdisches Kornvolk heranzubilden, das auch im Laufe von Generationen kulturelle Werte erzeugen und wahrscheinlich auch auf die übrige Judentum einen zusammenhaltenden Einfluss ausübe würde, sieht in ihr jedoch keine unumgängliche

Blatt 2-

revolutionäre Erneuerung, weil das jüdische Volk aus der einfachen Erfahrung, dass es kein Siedlervolk und innerlich zerrissen ist, dazu nicht räif genug sei.

Er bezeichnet das Judentum nicht als Konfession allein und nicht nur als Volkstum, womit nur ein Teil seiner Bestimmung erschöpft wäre, sondern sieht in ihm einen geistigen Prozess, der sich durch die geschichtliche Entwicklung im Laufe von über 3000 Jahren durchgerungen hat. "Denn das Heil kommt von den Juden" sei die Grundtendenz des Judentums; auf eine derartige tendenzielle Entwicklung müsse sich jeder Jude vorbereiten, ganz gleich, wie sie von statten gehe.

In schwunghaften philosophischen Ausführungen versucht Buber den Geist des Orients mit dem des Judentums zu identifizieren. Noch heute sei Jerusalem das Heil vieler Völker insbesondere der Juden (wahrscheinlich sieht auch Buber in dieser "Geburtsstätte jüdischen Lebens" das Vorrecht der Juden als "ausserordentliches Volk")

Dogmatisch zieht sich durch das ganze Buch Bubers die Vorrechtsstellung des Judentums, die er in allen möglichen Erscheinungsformen des allgemeinen Lebens zu beweisen versucht und die unter besonderer Würdigung der schon ausgeführten blutammsigen Zusammengehörigkeit nicht zuletzt auf das tiefe religiöse Erleben seiner Angehörigen zurückzuführen ist und dort immer erneut ihren Ausdruck findet.

Ein abschließendes Urteil über das nicht immer leicht verständliche eigentlich religionsphilosophische Buch Bubers kann nur ausgedrückt werden, in der schroffen Ablehnung dieser Zeilen, die unter den Juden das stolze Bewusstsein des Mehrseins als alle anderen Menschen auch in der Diaspora nach rufen wollen.

Figures 10a, 10b. Expert opinion of the Jewish Affairs Department in the SD Main Office concerning Martin Buber's famous "Addresses on Judaism," 1936. Translation: "In his eight 'Talks,' Martin Buber explains the relation of the human being to God, and naturally means the attitude of the Jew, whom he attempts to portray as a superior human being. [...] A final judgment on Buber's book, which is not always readily understandable and actually deals with the philosophy of religion, can only be expressed in the immediate and strong rejection of these lines, intended to awaken among the Jews the proud consciousness that they are better than all other human beings, even in the Diaspora." BArch, R 58/991.

District Governor Palatinate

Report for August
Speyer, 8 September 1934
BayHStA, StK 106 693

Jews and Freemasons

The migration of Jews abroad has let up somewhat.¹² Their comportment in public is now becoming more confident once again. One hears that the economic situation of the Jewish businesses has improved almost everywhere. **Boycott** measures are no longer in evidence. <272>

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District Governor Swabia and Neuburg

Report for August¹³

Augsburg, 6 September 1934

BArch, R 58/3628

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...] On 19 August 1934, the enclosed issue No. 57/34 of the paper *Christkönigsbote* was distributed at the Catholic City Parish Church in Donauwörth by two members of the youth branch of the Christkönigsgesellschaft vom Weißen Kreuz in Meitingen. In the intercession litany on p. 4, God's mercifulness is recommended to all Jews, Freemasons, Communists, anarchists, revolutionaries, aliens to the German people and those of other races. For that specific reason, a substantial proportion of the population felt that the distribution of this was offensive, so that the distributors, for their own protection, were temporarily taken into custody on orders from the District Chief. The Regional Office in Donauwörth, acting on the basis of Art. 102 AG. StPO., prohibited until further notice the distribution of periodicals and other printed matter of the Christkönigsgesellschaft, especially in front of the entrances to churches.¹⁴

Jews, Freemasons¹⁵ <278>

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Stapostelle Region Berlin

Report for September
Berlin, 4 October 1934¹⁶
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 2, 2

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

The **emigration** of Jews to **Palestine** is continuing. In the month covered by this report, 189 persons have emigrated. Their departure was without incident.

In this same period, the return of emigrants has once again increased.¹⁷ Striking in this connection was the large number of returning emigrants of Polish nationality. The reasons for remigration remain the same as before, namely no possibility for successful pursuit of a livelihood abroad, and the fact that, contrary to all atrocity reports, the emigrants had a better life in Germany than abroad.

In September, there were a total of 793 meetings of Jewish organizations, of which 43 were closely monitored.¹⁸ In no case was there any cause for complaint.

The association Freundesbund Einigkeit, whose membership was some 90 percent Jewish, and which constituted an illegal continuation of the prohibited Hamburg **Freemason** Grand Lodge, was dissolved on 6 September 1934. The assets of the association were confiscated. <302>

Stapostelle Government District Kassel

Report for September
Kassel, 5 October 1934
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 167 f.

Jews and Freemasons

[...] Reference has been made to the new sense of self-confidence and solidarity of the Jews in all the Jewish religious services marking the Jewish **New Year**. The Judgment of God upon the Jews has restored to them their strength and sense of dignity.

Jewish **associational life** is very active. There have not been any noteworthy changes. The so-called **Altsoldaten** and supporters have left the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**. The local branches of the Jewish youth association **Black Pennant** now call themselves “Local Groups of German-Jewish Youth.”¹⁹

The decree issued by the Führer’s Deputy regarding contacts by Party members with Jews and the representation of Jews by Party members²⁰ was an urgent necessity, and has been welcomed with satisfaction by the National Socialist population.

In the rural communities, propaganda against the Jews has strengthened. In some localities, **signs** proclaiming “Jews not wanted here” and “Jews—entry prohibited” have been placed at the entrance to the locality and mounted on houses.

In some localities, hatred against the Jews has increased significantly because their consequent bearing and behavior also lacked the requisite reserve. As a result, there have also been attacks on Jews.²¹ [...] <312>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne

Report for September
Cologne, 1 October 1934
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 8

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The Jewish shops are complaining a great deal about the effects of the **boycott**. Almost all the small branches of the large **department stores** are operating at a loss, and are only being kept afloat by the large stores. There is a possibility that the branches in the smaller towns, especially of **Tietz** Department Store (now Kaufhof Inc.) will be shut down in the near future. In the small towns, the boycott *against* Jewish shops is more effective than in metropolitan areas, because it is easier to keep tabs on who is shopping at a Jews' store. [...] <314>

Stapostelle Government District Minden

Report for September
Bielefeld, 4 October 1934
BArch, R 58/3709

Jews and Freemasons

The Jews are continuing to show reserve in public and political life.

But cohesion in their own ranks is growing ever more firm. Special value is placed on work with youth.²² By forming small groups in the Jewish associations, an attempt is being made to include all age groups and to school them in the Jewish worldview. Observation is rendered more difficult as a result.²³ There has been an appreciable upsurge in activity in the "Jewish Youth Association,"²⁴ the "**Jewish Scouts League**," and in the "**League of German-Jewish Youth.**" Activity in the "*Werkkreis*,"²⁵ in which the head officers of the various individual associations and groups and their representatives for working groups come together and deliberate, deserves special attention.

The **National Youth Day** is utilized by **rabbis** and teachers in the Jewish **Community** for the purposes of work with youth. There are special religious services for youth on Saturdays, followed by classes in religion, the **Hebrew** language, and Jewish history. [...] <320>

Stapostelle Police District Berlin

Report for October
Berlin, 5 November 1934
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 2, 2

General Remarks

[...] The poorer strata of the population have heartily welcomed the reopening of the **Winter Relief**. [...] But it is important to prevent any Jews from being officially recruited for collection activity for the Winter Relief, and their being issued special ID cards for this purpose, as has occurred in one case. And efforts aimed at obtaining contributions from Jews should be prevented. Should that occur, it could cause huge damage to the National Socialist movement. The

German **Volksgenossen** cannot comprehend that, viewing it as a weakening of the separation between Jews and Germans. They quite correctly see the Winter Relief as an expression of the community of fate of the *Germans* as proclaimed by the NSDAP. There is no place whatsoever for Jews in that community of fate. But for the Jews this could serve as a reason to increasingly abandon ever more of their reserve, observed in the early period after the National Socialist Revolution, and to confront the German *Volksgenossen* in a more overbearing and arrogant manner, as has been recently observed.²⁶ [...]

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

Emigration of Jews to **Palestine** has increased substantially in the month covered by the report. In September 1934, a total of 189 persons emigrated, while in October, up to the 25th of the month, that figure rose to 330. Their departure was in three groups, numbering 100, 150, and 80 individuals. The departures, at which on each occasion several hundred of their racial comrades appeared, passed off without an incident.

The return of emigrants²⁷ has continued to increase during the month of October, rising by about 20 percent compared with the previous month. In particular, a larger number of persons who fled to Holland, France, and Belgium have returned. The reason given is that they were unable to find any gainful employment in these countries. In most cases, these emigrants were persons who had fled from Germany for no significant reason as motive. [...]

Concealing of Jewish Companies

A very alarming phenomenon observed especially in economic life in Berlin is the concealing or camouflaging of Jewish shops and firms by the action of a new or older member of the Party.²⁸ That is arranged in the following manner:

The firm owner changes the one-man business or general partnership to an incorporated joint-stock company or association limited by shares or a limited liability corporation. In this way, the Jewish proprietor recedes completely into the background, while keeping control of the capital, and appoints with these powers an **Aryan** director. That individual then contacts all manner of state, municipal, Party, or other government offices, attempting to obtain orders by mentioning that he is a new or longer-standing member of the Party. In most cases, he is even successful in this endeavor. If any difficulties arise, the Aryan firm director contacts Party offices seeking protection. In so doing, he stresses that his is a purely Aryan firm (he claims he does not know who has control of the stock; according to his information, it often changes ownership, since it is traded on the stock exchange or sold commercially). In most cases, the assistance he requests is granted to him in good faith.

Precisely in such cases, the now more difficult regulations for **protective custody** have proved to be an obstacle. In more complicated economic transactions, it is extremely difficult to find a legal basis for arresting the real wire-pullers behind the scenes, who are always adroitly able to remain in the background. [...]

Preference for Jewish Employees

It has been observed that the **non-Aryan** businesses basically also tend to hire non-Aryan white-collar and blue-collar employees. According to information from the Gauleiter of the NSBO, things have even reached the point where in two cases, the Aryan employees made up 5 percent of the work force and the Jews 95 percent. The Jewish weeklies (such as the **Jüdische Rundschau** and others) point out very openly that in hiring procedures for advertised vacancies in Jewish businesses, Jewish employees are being given special preference.²⁹

Anti-Aryan Advertisements

Worthy of mention is the mode of advertising used by several Jewish businesses organized as follows:

Circulars bearing a large Star of Bethlehem³⁰ and below it the caption

“Jewish Businesses” are used. They particularly target a Jewish clientele, calling on them to shop only at Jewish businesses. <379>

◀45▶

Stapostelle Government District Kassel

Report for October
Kassel, 5 November 1934
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 182 f.

Jews and Freemasons

The propaganda by the Party regarding the **Jewish Question** has intensified. One can see signs mounted at numerous entrance points to localities and outside inns and restaurants stating: "Jews—no entry!" and "Jews not wanted here!" A larger number of windows in the homes and shops of Jews have also been smashed.³¹ I have dealt with this in my daily reports. To date, the **Stapostelle** has always taken action against such signs placed at the entrance to localities in order to prevent provision of potential material for use by foreign propaganda. Signs denying Jews entry were tolerated only if affixed to private residences. Recently, signs have been put up on village streets and at entrances to localities in such great numbers, on the orders of Party offices, that now no action has been taken, in this connection here taking into account the situation prevailing elsewhere in the Reich. The authority of the state is compromised and damaged if something is to be prohibited here that is permitted and tolerated in neighboring districts. On the occasion of the Party convention, one could note that there was no village in Franconia without several such signs as a permanent fixture. That was mentioned by convention participants from all over the nation. A clear and unmistakable statement by the competent central authorities on this question would appear to be necessary.³² [...]

The differential way in which the Jewish Question is being dealt with in various districts throughout the Reich, such as also in regard to the manner in which the youth associations³³ appear in public, is quite familiar to the Jews, and they view this as a manifestation of weakness on the part of the national government. Moreover, the Jews claim that innkeepers who have put up signs at their establishments saying "Jews—no entry!" were forced to put up these signs against their will, on the orders of Party officials. [...] <398>

Stapostelle Government District Koblenz

Report for October
Koblenz, n.d., 1934
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 7

Jews and Freemasons

The Jews continue to be very reserved in their external behavior. The internal meetings that have taken place provide no cause for complaint.

As a result of the very active propaganda work by the organs of the National Socialist movement, the urban population largely avoids any contact whatsoever with the Jew. By contrast, the rural population shows less understanding of the **Jewish Question** and continues, now as before, to have very active business dealings with the Jewish traders. That holds true even for some members of the Party. The **cattle trade** in particular still remains decisively dominated by the Jews. There is hardly any notable competition by **Aryan** cattle dealers. A similar situation prevails in the grain trade. <399>

Gendarmerie Bad Neustadt

Report for October
Bad Neustadt, 24 October 1934
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21906

[...] In his Sunday sermon on 14 October 1934, the Catholic priest Friedrich in Neustadt a. Saale spoke about the lack of affection among human beings, the absence of union, the presence of feelings of hatred toward their fellow man. He also commented on current measures against the Jews.³⁴ He noted that young people sing a song containing the line “When Jews’ blood drips from the knife.”³⁵ Friedrich stated that hatred against the Jews is instilled in the hearts of the young in this way.

[...] Referring to this sermon, the Municipal Council Neustadt a. Saale has stripped the priest Friedrich of the rights of Honorary Citizen, bestowed upon him by the Municipal Council Neustadt a. Saale in 1929. [...] <431>

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Gestapa Berlin, II 1 B 2

Report

Berlin, November 1934³⁶

OAMos, 501/1/18

Current Situation in Regard to the Jewish Question

[...] In 1933, the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** was formed as the top umbrella organization of Jewish associations, to which the organizations of all currents belong, aside from a few insignificant exceptions. In the course of the struggle for dominance in the Reich Representation, the antagonisms between the **Zionists** and the **German-Jewish** Jews intensified. The efforts of the Zionists were promoted by the **Gestapo**. They were successful in placing a large number of non-Marxist Zionists in the Reich Representation, so that such Zionists now exert a decisive influence there.

The efforts of the Gestapo are oriented to promoting Zionism as much as possible and to lending support to its efforts to further emigration. The Germans (**assimilationists**) are being hampered in their activity as much as possible, this in order to induce them to switch to the camp of the Zionists. Thus, the **Central Association of German Jews** has been required, subsequent to a decree of 1 June 1934) to formally register all meetings of its members in private rooms and residences,³⁷ and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** has been ordered, subsequent to a decree dated 25 June 1934, to restructure its local groups so that noncombat soldiers and members who did not serve as soldiers, or saw service only in the period before the war, are expelled from its membership ranks.³⁸ [...]

In place of a rushed and poorly prepared emigration in 1933, we now have well-regulated **emigration**, whose sole destination is **Palestine**.³⁹ Emigration to other countries is of little import and remains quite rare. Emigration to Palestine is so heavily curtailed as a result of the restrictions imposed by the Mandatory Government there that the flow of Jews as emigrants is no longer to the extent desired. [...]

After the Jews learned of the decree by the national government stating that the **Aryan legislation** should not be applied to the economy, they are striving hard to regain their lost position in the economic sphere. In the branch of textiles and ready-to-wear clothing, a sector they have dominated since time immemorial, they have reaped substantial profits, given the present positive state of the economy.

It is unfortunate that even offices in the national government and state administration believe that it is impossible to govern unless the Jews are involved as participants. [...]

Communal bodies have unfortunately also neglected to exercise the proper reserve vis-à-vis Jewish organizations. Thus, since April 1934 the city of Cologne has placed municipal gymnastics halls and sports grounds at the disposal of the Jewish **sports associations**. The Council of Municipalities only recently sent a questionnaire to municipalities in the western parts of the Reich regarding the possible scope and manner for communal facilities to be made available to Jewish organizations.

Broad segments of the population are bewildered by these decrees by state and local bodies. When they learn of such ordinances, their trust in the idea of National Socialism is shaken. The **Gestapo** has thus called the attention of the competent offices in the national government and the Party to these cases and requested that these deficiencies be eliminated.

I have acted to check and rein in as much as is feasible the now very intensive activity of the Jewish youth associations⁴⁰ by issuing my Procedural Guideline No. 5 dated 2 August 1934. My intention to eliminate that activity altogether was thwarted by the concessions made by the Reich Sports Leader for free participation by Jews in sports activities and their participation in the 1936 **Olympic Games**. The Jews are making extensive use of these concessions. Thus, they are sending many Jewish swimmers to the course for young Olympic athletes in Leipzig and have arranged for the Jewish track and field champion Crete Bergmann from Swabia (sports group of Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans) to train in London for the 1936 Olympiad. [...]

The openly demonstrated self-assurance, aplomb, and purposeful activity of the Jews can act to spark ill-feeling in the population. In all parts of the Reich, this ill-feeling is manifested in violent attacks,⁴¹ placing the police in the unpleasant position of having to protect the Jews and their property against the incensed population. [...]

All Jewish organizations, with a list of their board members, their by-laws, and their assets are contained in the files of the Gestapo, thus ensuring their continuous **surveillance** and control. <447>

Stapostelle Government District Kassel

Report for November
Kassel, 5 December 1934
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 190 f.

SA, SS

There have been reports from various subordinate offices that as a result of the singing of anti-Semitic battle songs ("Put the Jews, put the bosses up against the wall!"—"When Jews' blood drips from the knife" ...) by formations of the **SA** and **SS**, economic life has been disrupted, or there is a distinct threat of such disturbances, especially when these songs are sung demonstratively out in front of certain firms. Special complaints were voiced about this in Hanau, where local industry is eager to obtain as many orders from abroad as possible.⁴² I contacted the relevant competent offices, and they have taken the necessary steps. In the meanwhile, the SA Group Hesse has banned the singing of several songs or particular verses. [...] <462>

Police HQ Munich

Report for November
Munich, 6 December 1934
BayHStA, StK 106 697

General Overview of Internal Political Developments

[...]

Activities of the Jews

[...] Recently there have been numerous reports about an increase in collection activity within certain Jewish **Communities**.⁴³ This can be attributed to a circular sent out by the **Central Welfare Office** of the German Jews at the request of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**. This circular was sent to the state and provincial associations for Jewish welfare, the public central office for Jewish welfare, and the Jewish communities.

Presumably in a bid to get around the legal difficulties, the collections will be carried out by issuing contribution stamps. These matters are currently being examined by the Bavarian Political Police. <464>

District Governor Palatinate

Report for November
Speyer, 8 August 1934
BayHStA, StK 106 693

Jews, Freemasons

Police HQ Ludwigshafen am Rhein reports that charges have been brought recently against numerous Jews for antisocial behavior. The charges have largely proven to be groundless. The motives of those bringing the charges were not always commendable. In one case, it turned out that a Christian merchant had repeatedly agitated against a Jewish merchant for only one reason: because he wished to gain possession of the latter's business.⁴⁴

The Jewish Scouts⁴⁵ in Ludwigshafen am Rhein have been permitted to resume their activities. They have put on a parents' evening where people spoke in general about the aims of the Jewish Scouts and questions regarding schools were discussed.⁴⁶

The Speyer branch of the Jewish Youth Organization⁴⁷ organized an evening lecture with the permission of the Gestapo.⁴⁸ The event took place in the Catholic Club House, since another venue was not available. <477>

•52•

Interior Minister Braunschweig

Report

Braunschweig, 14 December 1934

BArch, R 1501/127079/39

[...] On 7 November of this year in the city of Braunschweig, Gauleiter Julius **Streicher**, Nuremberg, dealt with the **Jewish Question** at three mass meetings, to the loud applause of the participants. As a result of the comments by Gauleiter Streicher, the anti-Jewish mood, basically present in large segments of the local population, has been significantly strengthened. [...] The anti-Jewish mood of the population was directed in an especially forceful way against the local Jewish Adolf Frank **Department Store**,⁴⁹ located on Schuhstraße. In decorating its show windows, the store used Christian symbols for its Christmas displays. Here, at the very heart of commercial traffic in Braunschweig, a scandalized crowd of people gathered on repeated occasions. The anti-Jewish mood was intensified even more by the fact that even National Socialists in uniform, and others wearing uniforms with badges of their high rank, went into the store to shop. [...]

It goes without saying that the ordinances of the Reich government are to be implemented by the authorities in Braunschweig. But it cannot be the will of the Reich government for these to be enforced in a form where a contingent of uniformed police resort to force against an angered German crowd whose point of view can be based on the fundamental principles of the NSDAP.⁵⁰ [...]

To that end, all steps necessary were taken here. In particular, the police managed to fulfill its delicate task resolutely, but also with the requisite understanding for the delicate situation. It was successful: without resorting to force and without causing an unpleasant stir, it proved possible to assuage the popular mood in a very short period of time, and to do so without shaking the faith of the people in the National Socialist state.⁵¹ [...] <469>

►53►

District Office Alzenau in Lower Franconia

Report for November
Alzenau, 27 November 1934
StA Wü, LRA Alzenau Alz 339

While the political situation in the district during the period covered by this report was generally without any disturbance, at the end of October in Schöllkrippen, more serious disagreements arose between Jews and men of the SA. During the night of 28/29 October 1934, there was a break-in at the **synagogue**. The culprits stole several **Torah** scrolls valued at more than 1,500 marks, along with three silver pointers for the Torah reading. The objects were located the following day, scattered in the neighboring bed of a brook and the adjoining meadow, and were for the most part badly damaged. Suspicions are directed against two SA men from Schöllkrippen who were taken into custody on 30 October 1934 by the local police here due to suspected collusion, and incarcerated on 31 October 1934 in the jail of the District Court Alzenau.⁵² They were released that same day after being questioned by a judge. Whether they are indeed guilty cannot be established with certainty until the results of fingerprinting are known.

Unfortunately, the obligatory action taken by the gendarmerie was seized upon by the SA *Sturmführer* [name withheld] (Schöllkrippen) to agitate against the gendarmerie. He accused the gendarme officers of being **Jew friends**. In addition, they were later ridiculed by the drunken man [name withheld] at a dance in Sommerkahl, when he suggested that "the two dangerous criminals should dance a solo." It must be mentioned that in a good many SA circles there is talk that after the **Saar plebiscite**, harsh steps should be taken more generally against the Jews. In this connection, there were quite open threats of murder expressed. In my view, these statements should not be taken lightly, since rash actions in this area could result in extremely serious consequences for the economy and foreign policy. <484>

Chief of Police Berlin
Report for November and December 1934/doct
Berlin, 18 January 1935
BArch, R 58/3657

[...]

Jews, Emigrants, and Freemasons

Jews

[...] The number of gatherings held by Jews in October, 1,128, rose in November to 1,185, and surged in December to 1,972. One can justifiably speak here of a veritable wave of meetings.⁵³

No new Jewish associations have been established. By contrast, the Jewish youth league Black Pennant was disbanded voluntarily on a suggestion of the **Reich Youth Leader**. It had been set up in 1932, modeled on the Hitler Youth, and spread in Gau districts throughout Germany. The Black Pennant sought to be a nonpolitical youth organization and educate its members in the spirit of the German youth movement.

The aggressive behavior of the Jews that has been in evidence for some time is becoming ever more pronounced. They express their negative attitudes against the state in word and deed, openly or clandestinely. There have been numerous complaints voiced that they had approached German girls in an improper manner,⁵⁴ and that they criticized and even vilified National Socialist structures and leaders in the most nasty way. In addition, there are ever more cases where Jewish landlords or caretakers have been ruthless in dealing with tenants.

[...] It can be considered certain that very large segments of the population do not comprehend why the authorities are exercising such restraint in dealing with this aggressive behavior.

The question of the displaying of swastikas and swastika flags by Jews and Jewish businesses also requires some uniform regulation. There have been instances where Jewish businesses have displayed the swastika flag not only on national holidays but also for purely commercial reasons, in the event provoking popular anger. Crowds gathered in front of the businesses involved in such display, and there were serious disturbances, which usually continued until the flag was forcibly removed, or voluntarily taken down by the proprietor.⁵⁵

Emigrants

The return of emigrants to Germany is continuing unabated. Most **remigrants** come from **Palestine**, France, Holland, and Switzerland. Just how unwilling countries are to absorb the emigrants is evident from the fact that even those persons who were sought by tax offices or courts are returning to Germany. In most cases, the migrants were totally destitute and not even able to cover the costs themselves for their return.⁵⁶ It is noteworthy that more recently, there has also been a sizeable return of emigrants from Russia. Many of the persons involved are skilled workers, some of whom were recruited several years ago by the Russian trade mission for jobs in Russia. Now they can no longer maintain themselves there, since they contend that the Russian authorities are now seeking to remove all foreign workers from factories connected with the war armaments industry. <495>

Chief of Police Dresden
Report for the Period 29 November–5 December 1934
Dresden, 6 December 1934
StA Nü, Pol. Dir. Nürnberg-Fürth 429

Jews

1) The Jewish “Athletic and Sports Association **Bar-Kochba** Dresden” in the German **Maccabi Circle** put on a Maccabi celebration on 2 December 1934 in the Trianon Halls on Trabantengasse. It was attended by some 1,000 persons and was not marred by any incident. There was no reason for any formal complaint. For further information, readers can refer to the already submitted detailed report.

2) Operating confidentially, it was possible to obtain an issue of the *Volh-Telegraphen-Agentur*, No. 272, Vol. 2, 30 November 1934. This is a mimeographed typescript published in Prague XII district. It deals exclusively with Jewish affairs. There *inter alia* we find the following statements: [...]⁵⁷

d) *The Nazis expect that the governments will act to contain the boycott.*⁵⁸
Berlin, 29 November (Z.T.A.) The National Socialist press is calling the London Non-Partisan Boycott Conference a “Jewish initiative,” but has expressed its concern about the possible consequences of the resolutions taken in London. In evidently inspired commentary, several Berlin and provincial papers come to the following conclusion: “In the final analysis, the Jewish boycott campaign amounts to an initiative to do damage to those countries that stand idly by and watch all this boycott activity unfold. To the same degree that Germany recedes in the foreign market as a seller of its goods, it naturally cannot be considered as a buyer either. But given the general current economic crisis, there is hardly any country that could afford to simply forego having a people numbering some 60 million as a client. A healthy grasp of the actual situation and economic necessities is thus gradually likely to gain complete sway.” [...]

Statistics

Comments on the charges submitted to the Political Section in the Police HQ Dresden during the time frame of this report and other cases of infractions by Party members now being dealt with:

Rumors: Maltreatment in Hohenstein. A Jew was forced to eat a roll that had been coated with shoe polish, toothpaste, and castor oil. An elderly man, after

his hair had been shorn in the form of a wreath, was then chased down the street.

<497>

•56►

Chief of Police Dresden
Report for the Period 6–12 December 1934
Dresden, 13 December 1934
StA Nü, Pol. Dir. Nürnberg-Fürth 429

Jews

During the week here surveyed, the activity of Jewish associations was especially intensive.⁵⁹ The following functions took place:

- a) On 4 December 1934, the Israelitic Day Nursery organized a children's play on the occasion of the celebration of Hanukkah, put on in the rooms of the Fraternitas Lodge.⁶⁰ Some 60 children and 100 adults participated.
- b) On 5 December 1934, the Jewish **Artists' Relief** Dresden organized its 5th artists' evening for the benefit of Jewish artists dismissed from their positions. It was held in the large hall of the Business Association, with 450 persons participating. Dr. *Saalheimer* was the master of ceremonies. The actor Otto *Bernstein*, born 13 November 1887 in Posen, resident in Dresden at Friedrich-August-Platz 9, read from the dramatic work *Jeremías*.
- c) On 6 June 1934, the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith** organized a meeting of its members in Harmony Hall, Landhausstr. 11. Some 300 persons attended. The meeting was presided over by the chairman Rudolf *Apt*, resident in Dresden at Gabelsbergerstr. 22. Dr. Alfred **Hirschberg** from Berlin spoke on the topic "Idea and Work within German Judaism."
- d) On 8 December 1934, the Women's Auxiliary of the Fraternitas Lodge⁶¹ in Dresden organized a social evening in the framework of Hanukkah celebrations. It was held in the premises of the lodge at Moritzstraße 1 b, with some 130 persons of both sexes in attendance. On this occasion, **Rabbi Wolf** gave a short religious talk.
- e) On 9 December 1934, Dr. Michael **Traub**, resident in Berlin, at Meinekestr. 10,⁶² spoke on the topic "Asylum or National Home" on the occasion of an evening lecture organized by the local Zionist Group⁶³ of Dresden in Harmony Hall, Landhausstr. 11, before an audience of some 300 persons. At this time, it was also announced that the current chairman of the Zionist Group of Dresden, the engineer Joseph *Tschernoff*, resident in Dresden, at Beilstr. 23, will be emigrating to **Palestine** in a few days. To assist him, the merchant Hermann **Schocken**, resident in Dresden, at Paradiesstr. 4, will assume his duties as chairman temporarily, until roughly the spring of 1935. At that time

a new chairman will likely be chosen.

There was no cause for any complaint whatsoever in connection with these functions. <498>

Chief of Police Dresden
Report for the Period 13–19 December 1934
Dresden, 20 December 1934
StA Nü, Pol. Dir. Nürnberg-Fürth 429

Jews

- 1) With the aim of doing good deeds in a concentrated form to benefit members of the Israelitic Religious **Community** through donations of money and food and clothing, a Working Group of the Jewish Women's Organizations in Dresden was established in 1931. This organization is still directed by the merchant's wife Elli Lesser, née Brühl, born 10 May 1890 in Berlin, and resident in Dresden, at Hüb-nerstr. 18. The following organizations belong to it:
 - a) The **Israelitic Women's Association** (founded 1791)
 - b) the Women's Association **Agudas Noschim e.V.** (founded 1916)
 - c) the Women's Association **Achduth** (founded 1926)
 - d) the Women's Auxiliary of the Fraternitas Lodge (founded 1902)
 - e) the Association of Jewish Women for Work for Palestine (founded 1925)⁶⁴
 - f) the Women's Working Group of the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith** (founded 1926).
- 2) In October 1934, the Jewish Men's Choir was established under the direction of the **Orthodox** Jew and cantor Nachmann Moses Daches, born 11 March 1898 in Brody in Poland, a Polish national resident in Dresden at Johann-Georgen-Allee 15. The choir has 14 members who are dedicated to cultivating the choral art, and participating in Jewish festive celebrations. Practice hours are temporarily scheduled Saturdays and Sundays every week from 6 to 8 p.m. at Kaulbachstr. 6,1. There are also some 15 boys singing in the men's choir. <500>

Daily Report
Düsseldorf, 3 December 1934
HStA Dü, Reg. Düsseldorf 30655 b

Special Matters

[...] 2) During the night of 1 December 1934 in M. Gladbach, a sidewalk was defaced with the inscription painted in red: "Government official Meyer shops at Jewish-owned stores!" The culprits behind this are not known. A police investigation is in progress.

3) The Sports Group of the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans of M. Gladbach celebrated its first anniversary on 2 December 1934 in Oberstadt Hall. The afternoon program was extensive, with skits and performances by youth, musical performances, and the like. The celebration closed with merrymaking and dance. Present were some 500 persons, including guests from Düsseldorf, Cologne, and Krefeld. The gathering was monitored.⁶⁵ There were no complaints. <502>

►59►

Stapostelle Government District Hanover

Report for December 1934

Hanover, 7 January 1935

Mlynek, 289

Jews

In the month of December, there were numerous acts of violence⁶⁶ against Jewish proprietors of businesses and **department stores**. Thus, on 23 December 1934 in Hanover, tear-gas canisters were thrown into several department stores and Jewish shops by culprits whose identity has not yet been established.⁶⁷

In the countryside, the display windows in the shop of a Jewish butcher⁶⁸ were broken for the second time. The perpetrator was apprehended and admitted he had broken the windows in the shops of other Jewish businessmen in the past, as well as windows in the **synagogue**. In the night of 21/22 December 1934, the displays of Jewish shops in Osterode a.H. were doused with creosote and sulfuric acid squirted through openings drilled into the display windows.

There are also various reports on the **boycotting** of Jewish businesses;

attempts were made by setting up a picket line of sentries in front of the shops to prevent the population from shopping there. <503>

◀60▶

Stapostelle Government District Kassel
Report for December 1934
Kassel, 5 January 1935
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, pp. 204 f., 210 f.

State and Movement ***General Observations***

[...] Cases of serious friction between government and Party offices did not come to our attention during the period covered by this report.

Criminal proceedings have been initiated against the local leader of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization in Hünfeld due to unlawful interference and attempted extortion of a Jew (see Daily Report, 8 December 1934).⁶⁹ [...]

Jews and Freemasons

Jewish **associational life** continues to be very active.

In business, the Jew is trying more and more to regain his former position. In the **cattle trade**, he still plays a leading role. On the other hand, in the smaller towns and rural areas, there are a growing number of Jews living in destitution, supported by public welfare.⁷⁰

In the period reported on, there were various rallies against Jews, where numerous windows were broken in **synagogues**, businesses, and private dwellings.⁷¹

In the **Jewish Question**, the difference between how anti-Semitism is treated by the state and by the Party has recently come to the fore once again. Although the Gestapo has made its position very clear on the question of affixing signs with anti-Semitic content (see Situation Report, 5 December 1934–III/F-),⁷² the Party offices continue very actively to promote the placement of such **signs**, now as before, in public streets and squares. Those communities and rural districts where such signs can be seen more frequently are held up as examples worthy of emulation. The authorities which speak out against such a treatment of anti-Semitism, in keeping with a higher directive, are often accused of being friendly toward Jews and having an outlook that is not National Socialist. The Gestapo has once more emphatically pointed out to all subordinate offices that the ordinance regarding Jews' signs must be adhered to scrupulously. If necessary, this enactment must be implemented forcibly by coercive means and employing

disciplinary measures. The task of county commissioners and local police administrators is made easier if they can refer to directives of the Gestapo. Nonetheless, as the lowest-level executors of state power, they have to put up with considerable unjustified criticism and attacks for such reasons.

The implementation of the repeated strict decrees from the Reich economy ministry⁷³ regarding the **boycott** of Jewish businesses is encountering repeated difficulties. The local police offices are not taking forceful enough action against violations, such as have occurred especially prior to Christmas; in many cases, this is attributable to their fear of the Party. <504>

►61►

Stapostelle Government District Lüneburg

Daily Report

Harburg-Wilhelmsburg, 20 December 1934

BArch, R 58/757

Last night unknown perpetrators smashed the windows in the **synagogue** in Harburg-Wilhelmsburg.⁷⁴ The Jewish side has now requested that the periodical *Der Stürmer* be removed in this town from display windows, etc., since an article published in that paper entitled "Jews Defile Three-Year-Old Children" is presumed to have provoked the smashing of windows. The request by Jewish circles mentioned has not been granted, but is an indication that the Jews are gradually beginning to reassert themselves with greater self-assurance.

There were no disturbances. The general population took virtually no note of the broken windows. <506>

►62►

Stapostelle Government District Lüneburg

Daily Report

Harburg-Wilhelmsburg, 28 December 1934

BArch, R 58/757

In the evening hours of 22 December, small round handbills bearing the message "Whoever shops from Jews is a traitor to the people" were affixed randomly to the display windows of several Jewish businessmen in Lüneburg.⁷⁵ Along with the message, the handbill also displayed a caricature of a grimacing Jew. The display windows of a discount store⁷⁶ were plastered over with an especially large number of such handbills. The shop windows of non-Jewish stores were likewise not spared. After these handbills were removed, new ones were not affixed. In their investigation, the police has as yet been unable to locate the perpetrators. <507>

Mecklenburg Political Police
Report for the period 16–30 December 1934
Schwerin, 5 January 1935
BArch, R 58/3959

Jews

In the night of 20/21 December 1934, several Jewish stores in Schwerin had their show windows plastered with posters bearing the following message: “Whoever buys from the Jew is a traitor.”⁷⁷

During the shopping days before Christmas, several persons tried to block the Jewish stores by standing out in front and attempting to hinder customers from entering the shops. There were no clashes. <508>

Stapostelle Government District Minden
Report for December 1934
Bielefeld, 4 January 1935
BArch, R 58/3709

General Situation

[...] Now as before, Communism, the Protestant church dispute, and the problem of the Jews remain in the foreground of interest on the domestic political front.⁷⁸ [...]

Jews

In the local district during the month covered by this report, there has been an intensified wave of anti-Semitism. In various localities in the district there were unpleasant anti-Semitic excesses.⁷⁹ These were intended to seriously disrupt Christmas sales, and serve unintentionally as propaganda for the Jews. Thus, in Bielefeld on 8 December 1934, a celebration of the Jewish Festival of Light⁸⁰ was disrupted. It had been organized by the working circle of the Jewish Youth League⁸¹ in the Catholic clubhouse in Bielefeld. These events have already been described in a daily report and a detailed report sent there.⁸²

In Herford and Vlotho, members of the National Socialist movement distributed handbills in front of Jewish businesses calling on the public not to shop in Jewish stores.⁸³ In addition, in Herford in the night of 23 December unknown perpetrators smashed the windows in two Jewish businesses, shortly after the glass pane in two fire alarms was broken, thus setting off the alarm to the fire department.

In the EPA **one-price store** in Bielefeld, stink bombs were tossed by three unknown perpetrators into the salesroom. Stink bombs were also thrown into a Jewish **department store** in Gütersloh, along with a tear gas canister and a smoke bomb. The police investigation is in progress.

On the basis of the incident in the Catholic clubhouse in Bielefeld, a number of SA leaders, SA men, and Party members who were involved in the clash have been given a leave of absence and ordered to refrain from wearing a uniform until the affair has been cleared up.

In the wake of these incidents, the Gau central direction in Münster, as well as the head of the SA Group, Gruppenführer Schramme in Dortmund, have once again issued strict orders to their subordinate formations prohibiting any

individual action, under threat of possible expulsion from the Party or SA. [...]

<509>

◀65▶

Police HQ Munich
Report for December 1934
Munich, 6 January 1935
BayHStA, StK 106 685

Foreigners

[...] Expulsions of Jewish vermin harmful to the economy, a large number of which had to be carried out in 1933 and in the first half of 1934, have now become very infrequent. By contrast, requests for a reentry permit⁸⁴ have increased. Such requests are often even directed personally to the Führer and Reich Chancellor. [...]

Other Matters

On Saturday, 16 December 1934, there was a disturbance in the Luitpold Cinema during the evening show, since the audience was very emphatic in its displeasure over the film *Ein Mädel aus Wien*. People objected to the film's general outlook, which was devoid of any ethnic-völkisch conception. The plot of the film did not meet the public's expectations, but rather only glorified the machinations of a wealthy Jew. By dint of the power of his money, he was attempting to win a poor German girl for his own. He offered to be her benefactor. In some scenes, the audience expressed its indignation, bursting out in loud protest. There were shouts of "Germans! Let's get out of this Jews' movie!" "Show German films!" and "Munich is a city of art and doesn't want to watch trash!"

The management of the movie house immediately halted projection, reimbursing the audience members for the cost of their tickets. According to an explanation of the manager, the film *Mädel aus Wien* had to be booked "sight unseen," i.e., without screening before booking. The theater owners are supposedly constrained to make such decisions, since the distributors are in a good position to exert pressure on the cinema owners to comply. <510>

►66►

State **Minister**, State of Hesse

Report on Political Affairs

Darmstadt, 11 January 1935

StA Da, G 5 Nr. 103

The **boycott** against Jewish businesses, that is once again intensifying quite substantially in some regions of the state, especially directed against **department stores** and **one-price stores** with standard pricing, is probably bound up with the circumstance that nowadays, craft trades and the small merchants find themselves in a difficult situation. This boycott, which often was waged using quite erroneous means, is certainly something that we to a great extent have the **NS-Hago** to thank for. All the same, these spontaneous boycott measures were only temporary in any case.

Generally the reports on the Jews note that they are now much more self-assured than before. Jews who believe somehow that they have suffered economic damage report this now directly to the Reich economy ministry in Berlin.⁸⁵ In any event, unfortunately once again, the Jew is rather optimistic about his future in Germany. <512>

District Governor Kassel
Report for November and December 1934
Kassel, 2 January 1935
Klein, Kassel, pp. 302 f., 305

General Overview

[...] Another danger is rumor-mongering. [...] About three weeks ago, a rumor was circulating in the district of Schmalkalden concerning an assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler, that his driver was dead, he himself had been shot in the hand. [...] At the moment, there is talk there about an uprising that will break out in January after the **Saar plebiscite**. Rumors are that the Jews are withdrawing ever more of their capital investment from German firms and placing it abroad, that is the surest sign. [...]

Efforts Hostile to the State

[...] Recently the **Stahlhelm** appears to have become more active once again. Thus, the District Chief in the Gelnhausen district notes that within the Stahlhelm there he sees signs of intensified movement. [...] In one locality a local group has been established whose members are mainly youth; its leader is known as a **Jew friend** and opponent of the NSDAP.⁸⁶ [...]

Jews and Freemasons

Freemasonry is not in public evidence. The Jew is more on the advance. I already reported earlier that the Jewish dealer in the countryside has regained his old position.⁸⁷ The turnover in Jewish stores is also on the rise in the urban areas. The Jews themselves are quite emboldened. More recently, their spokesman has increasingly been the CV, which is assiduous in collecting data on each and every incident. The decrees issued on this are being implemented by the relevant offices. On the other side, the struggle by the Party is being waged in a more intensified form. In some districts, **signs** have been mounted at the entrances to villages stating that Jews are considered undesirable there. My own view is that I will undertake no practical measures against such inscriptions. The Jews themselves tend to view each and every disadvantage as an impermissible **boycott**. In their eyes, enlightening the population about the dangers the Jews pose is an illicit form of interference in the economy. By the way, Jewish complainants, if they appear personally to file a complaint, are almost always

armed with a copy of the well-known decree of the Honorable Reich Economy Minister.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the authorities must endeavor to avoid getting a reputation among the population of being the protectors of the Jews. <513>

District Governor Minden
Report for November and December 1934
Minden, 10 January 1935
BArch, R 18/1566

Jews and Freemasons

As has been observed, the Jews are cementing bonds and coming together more closely as result of so-called cultural evenings. In various localities, such events in the form of song and aria evenings of the **Kulturbund of the German Jews** of Eastern Westphalia have taken place. These events, most of which were held in Jewish community centers, were relatively well attended.⁸⁹ [...]

On 9 November, there was an incident in a locality in the district of Halle in Westphalia. On the return march from a ceremony to honor veterans, two torches that had burned out were hurled into the garden of a Jew. The daughter of the owner of the house grabbed the two torches and threw them back into the midst of the participants in the procession. The perpetrator was arrested and released after five days in **protective custody**. [...]

The Gestapo in Bielefeld has seen a letter from the press of ***Der Stürmer*** to a distributor of the newspaper suggesting that *Der Stürmer* should be offered for sale particularly in front of Jewish stores in the shopping period running up to Christmas. As a result, there were some unpleasant incidents in Gütersloh. The Christmas sales of these Jewish stores were actually not seriously affected by these incidents. On the contrary: in a number of places, people think that for many segments of the population, such incidents are precisely the stimulus needed to start shopping now at Jewish shops, much more frequently and demonstratively. So the purpose of the action is transformed into the very opposite of what was intended. <514>

►69►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for December 1934
Ansbach, 9 January 1935
BayHStA, StK 106 677

General Political Situation

[...] There has been no change in the attitude of the Catholic Church. In his final sermon for the year, Archbishop Hauck of Bamberg was remarkably vehement in his attack on the formation of a national church. He noted among other things: "They are trying to make something counterfeit, to turn Christ into an **Aryan** hero whose teachings were falsified and corrupted by the Jewish **Rabbi** Paul.⁹⁰ [...] Unfortunately, the idea of a national church has surfaced here and there in our fatherland. In this connection, people speak about an inward unification of the German people. This notion of a national church stands in stark contrast with the true essence of the Roman Catholic Church. We honor state power and authority, even if a large number of the supporters of the national church claim to be working for its cause. The supreme Führer of the New Germany acts differently. In a festive address, he stated that he regards the two Christian denominations as solid pillars of the state, and calls on them to take active part in the reconstruction of the German fatherland. In the same way, we praise the loyalty to the faith in Christ of our Protestant fellow Christians and welcome their struggle against the new paganism." <516>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for December 1934
Speyer, 9 January 1935
BayHStA, StK 106 675

Commerce, Industry, and Trade

Christmas sales volume turned out to be much to the satisfaction of the merchants and tradesmen.

They say that cash receipts were better than in the past year. It is noteworthy that the Jewish stores in particular did brisk business. In order to stem this throng of customers, the district head office of the NSDAP Kaiserslautern posted liaison officers in the vicinity of the larger stores. Their job was to point out to all Party members, insofar as they were identifiable by a Party badge or otherwise, that a National Socialist should never shop at a Jewish store.⁹¹ <517>

District Governor Stettin
Report for November and December 1934
Stettin, 8 January 1935
BArch, R 58/3966

Jews and Freemasons

During the month this report covers there was no evidence of any activity by Jews or Freemasons hostile to the state.

The activity of the Jews in associations has not diminished in intensity.⁹² The **Stapostelle** Stettin has made the following comments:

“On 13 December 1934, there was a meeting in Stettin of the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans, Local Branch Stettin. The **lawyer** Dr. Appelbaum from Stettin gave a memorial tribute to the 12,000 Jewish **combat soldiers** who died during the War. In his remarks, he stressed the *esprit de corps* of the men at the front and the comradeship between Jews and their fellow Germans.

On 14 December 1934, there was a meeting of non-Aryan lawyers in Stettin, with 13 lawyers participating. The lawyer Dr. Appelbaum gave a lecture entitled ‘On the right to cancellation of debt in agriculture’ and another on the ‘law on entailed estates.’

Political questions were not discussed in either meeting.”

The Stapostelle reports to the Gestapo on boycott measures⁹³ for Jewish shops as follows:

Recently there have been repeated complaints by the CV where it was noted that Jewish stores were being boycotted by members of the NSDAP. Thus, in various towns in the Posen district, sentries were positioned in front of Jewish businesses to hinder customers from entering Jewish **department stores**. They checked what items had been purchased and obtained the names of the customers.

In order to effectively halt these measures, I asked the **Gau** leadership, the NS-Hago, and **SS** Section XIII in Stettin to point out to the Party members that their behavior was having a deleterious effect, since it provided the Jews with a basis for conveying the message to the international public that there was indeed a **boycott** movement against the Jews in Germany.⁹⁴ In my letters of request, I enclosed a copy of the decree of 24 November 1933-II E 1 230/10/1. <520>

District Governor Wiesbaden

Political Situation Report, NSDAP and Its Formations

Wiesbaden, 27 December 1934

BArch, R 58/3987

Boycott of the Jews

[...] Frequently during the night hours, signs with inscriptions were affixed to Jewish businesses calling for people to stop shopping at Jewish stores, such as: "A German doesn't shop at a Jew's store." On streets and sidewalks, inscriptions were placed in banner headlines one meter high saying "don't shop at Jewish stores."⁹⁵

In another case, sentries who hindered the public from entering the premises were placed near and in the entrances to a Jewish **department store**. There was also a false pretense to take photographs of these persons in order to exert some pressure on the shoppers. They went on to organize small groups to chant slogans calling on people not to shop at Jewish stores. On 23 December, chains were formed in Frankfurt am Main before certain businesses. In the course of action by the Feldjägerkorps there were clashes with the SS, and the military police riflemen drew their weapons (a special separate report has been filed).⁹⁶

In recent days, the observation has been made that some members of the SA and Hitler Youth in uniform have participated in the boycott.

The official Party press contained calls to the public in its ads section:

"Are you a real Christian? Then put only presents from Christian shops under your Christmas tree. Take a look at the ads in the Frankfurt *Volksblatt*, which are Jew-free."

As an answer to the boycotting of German goods abroad,⁹⁷ Otto Fischer, resident in Frankfurt am Main-Rödelheim, at Dreispitzstraße 6, has brought out a book in the *Frankfurter Volksblatt* publishing house entitled *A Response to the Atrocity and Boycott Agitation of the Jews Abroad*, which contains a list of the Jewish shops and also, as the paper notes, unfortunately by mistake includes the names of some Aryan firms in the alphabetical listing and in the sections by branch of trade. The publication of this book has been commented on extensively in the press, for example in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 13 December 1934, in a piece entitled "Racial Differences and the Economy."

On the basis of complaints caused by the boycott, I was instructed by the Honorable Reich Economy Minister, in the decree of 10 December 1934-IV

9217/34,⁹⁸ to intervene against measures which must be viewed as inadmissible boycott measures in line with the regulations as stipulated in the decree.

Implementation of these orders puts the provincial authority in the uncomfortable position of possibly being opposed to the views of the movement. In connection with an individual case (renting of state-owned sales stalls to Jews in Bad Ems), I already wrote in my report of 25 June 1934 III 2 P I 7 to the Honorable Prussian Finance Minister⁹⁹ that the way the **Jewish Question** is being dealt with suffers from the contradiction between the policy on the Jews of the ministries and the policy of the movement. Though the Gauleiter agrees with me that boycott measures are *fundamentally* improper and impermissible, the administrative office immediately finds itself facing difficulties if it has to decide *which* measures are boycott measures that cannot be permitted. The Gauleiter considers the well-known **signs** “ [This is a] German shop,” which because of their issuance as an official Party item and their widespread distribution, undoubtedly produce an effect that is similar to a boycott, proper and permitted, because no one can be stopped from referring to their business as German if they so desire. I cannot simply refuse to consider this point of view, and so have undertaken nothing against the signs. However, it is imperative to clarify this question. If it should turn out that the signs cannot be permitted, I would like to point out that the administration would then find itself in an extremely difficult situation if it should instruct the police to remove signs officially put up by the Party. For that reason, this matter can only be properly regulated through the agency of the Party.

If, by the way, certain measures are to be halted in the general interest of the economy, I wish to stress that the police authorities can only affect such things to a limited degree. It is probably possible to interdict the placing of sentries before shops or the writing on inscriptions on the pavement. But anything beyond that and concerning the organs and press of the movement is beyond the sphere of influence of the administration. It is not permissible to make use here of the organs of the administration to achieve economic aims. The entire complex of questions has to be satisfactorily regulated by the central authorities. It cannot remain left up to the discretion of provincial authorities to clarify the antagonism between the fundamental principles of the movement in its struggle against the Jews on the one hand, and the demands coming from the Economy Ministry to tolerate Jews in economic life on the other. <522>

Report for 18/19 December 1934
Bad Neustadt/Saale, 21 December 1934
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21906

The married hairdresser Leonhard Voll from Bad Neustadt a.S., resident at Zwiebelgasse 15, reported as follows in filing a complaint with the police:

“During the night of 18/19 December 1934, unknown perpetrators scrawled the following inscription on my display window with white oil paint: ? Jewish slut is employed here.’ The inscription was very large and could be easily read by passers-by in the street. No Jewish girl is in my employ, and of my female employees, none has any involvement with a Jew. Using turpentine, I had a difficult job removing the oil paint graffito from my display window. I have no specific suspicion of anyone in particular.”¹⁰⁰

It is also noted that that same night, in the Jewish **department stores** Klein and Sichel here in town, the display windows were also covered with graffiti in white oil paint. At the property of the Jewish **cattle** dealer Sally Dannenbaum here in town, there was also an inscription daubed in white oil paint: “Pig Jew, defiler of young girls.”¹⁰¹

The police inquiry regarding the culprits has as yet yielded no results. If the culprit can be found, a supplementary complaint will be filed later. <525>

County Commissioner Eschwege
Report for November and December 1934
Eschwege, 20 December 1934
Klein, Kassel, p. 245

Among the customary practices it is difficult to persuade a farmer to desist from engaging in commerce with Jews. When this was recently established as a factor in connection with a person recommended for an honorary communal office, and the superintendent of the township was asked to make another recommendation instead, he said he couldn't recommend any suitable substitute, since in his locality everyone sold their cattle to Jews.¹⁰² A similar state of affairs, though not as blatant, also occurs in other townships. A series of complaints by Jews indicates that as a whole, they feel that their position has been strengthened. <526>

►75►

Military Police Squad 1/V Frankfurt/M.
Report for 23 December 1934
Frankfurt/M. 25 December 1934
BArch, R 1501/127079/29

There were a number of serious attacks against Jewish businesses on Sunday, 23 December 1934 in Frankfurt am Main.¹⁰³

The **boycott** was apparently carried out by the NS-Hago with assistance of members from nationalist associations, especially the SS.

Since these large crowds, which gathered mainly on the Zeile before the firms *Ehrenfeld* and *Kaufhof Inc.*¹⁰⁴ and in the main in front of the firm of *Salberg*, also contained uniformed SA and SS men, the local Military Police squad sent in patrols instructed to keep those in uniform at a distance from these violent excesses. At 1600 hours, 40 minutes, the Military] P[olice] Guard stationed in the Gutleut barracks was called to the Zeile. Passersby there were attempting to storm the firm of Ehrenfeld and smash the display windows. Since the crowd was made up of both civilians and persons in uniform, the MP Guard marched out. It was composed of the Senior MP Officer *Becker*, MP officers *Rilttinger* and *Weil*, along with two officers from the police riot squad. When they left the police van, the MP and the police officers were greeted by the demonstrators with loud shouts of derision. One police officer had his epaulets

and shoulder strap ripped off his uniform. Since only civilians were involved in this incident, the first five persons that had been especially active in demonstrating were brought to the police van to take them to the nearest police station in order to check their identity. When the van started to move, civilians attempted to free the prisoners by jumping onto the running boards of the van.

The MP and police officers tried to push these civilians away from the van, but were unsuccessful because the others had clear superiority in force. Rather, the crowd shifted to an attack. MP officer Rüttinger and MP senior officer Becker were attacked by several persons, who grabbed their shoulder straps and tugged at their gorgets, trying to drag them out of the car. These MP men saw no other way of saving their skin except to pull out their hunting knives and fend off the attackers. Together with the police officers, who likewise had drawn their pistols, the MP riot squad managed to free the van and drive off.

Since the civilians arrested revealed during the journey that they were SS personnel, they were brought to the MP quarters and kept under arrest until shop closing time. Only in one case was it possible to establish the identity of the individuals who attacked the MP. The MP men *Schäfer* and *Glässer* arrived at the front of the Ehrenfeld store precisely at the moment the riot van was leaving. MP Schäfer was able at the last moment to apprehend the individual who had attacked officer Becker. Since the riot van had left, Schäfer and Glässer decided to accompany the person on foot, bringing him to the MP quarters. At the Konstablerwache, some 300 meters from the scene of the crime, a large crowd attempted to free the prisoner. The MP officer Schäfer was only able to defend himself from attacks by this crowd, which was significantly superior to him in force, by drawing his weapon to threaten them. Schäfer handed over the man in custody to an MP patrol that had in the meantime rushed over on motorcycle. The patrol brought him to the MP quarters. The MP officers Schäfer and Glässer then continued with their patrol duties. A short time later, some 30–40 members of SS-Standarte M 11 arrived in cars and on motorcycles, most with a pistol in holster. These SS men immediately assumed a threatening attitude, and an SS man familiar to the local MP unit and in its files pulled out his knife behind the back of the MP. He was prevented from carrying out an attack when a cool-headed comrade intervened. The two MP officers, who were almost defenseless in the face of this superior force, were liberated by the motorized patrol that had in the meantime returned. About 7 p.m., some 30–40 uniformed SS men, likewise armed with pistols, appeared at the 4th police precinct station on Ziegelgasse. They demanded to see the papers of the leader of the riot squad, MP senior officer Becker. When the police officials in the 4th precinct told them they

were unwanted there, the SS men departed, shouting threats against the MP.

It is clear that these events are not described in an exaggerated fashion by the MP Squad 1/V. That is evident alone from the fact that a demonstrator smashed the top of the skull of an employee of the Kaufhof Inc. and that there were many injured that day.

The attitude of the Gau leadership remains incomprehensible to the local squad. The adjutant of the Gau chief Sprenger, Party member *Stöhr*, attempted by phone to berate the MP squad 1/V for its actions.

The head of the interrogation office, *Jäger*, rejected these efforts by the Gau chief. On Monday, 24 December 1934, mobs gathered in various spots once again in the city, but everything went off peacefully.

It would appear as if only members of the SS were deployed in this action, since it was impossible to find any members of the SA who had taken part. According to statements by the MP, SA men even offered their assistance.

Since the MP squad 1/V cannot and will not tolerate such behavior by the SS, they ask for an opinion from the commanding officer on these events. The local squad intends to file a complaint against the guilty men now in custody.
<528>

Mayor of Fulda

Report for November and December 1934

Fulda, 27 December 1934

Klein, Kassel, p. 251

In recent weeks, strong pressure against the Jews has been noted again. It was manifested in the jostling and shoving of Jews and the smashing of windows in the Israelitic Elementary **School**, the **synagogue**, and a number of private homes.¹⁰⁵ The perpetrators are from the ranks of young members of the nationalist associations. The Gestapo in Kassel was in any case informed of these events.

There are 231 foreigners resident here, for the most part Polish nationals, in particular Jews.¹⁰⁶ <529>

Party District Chief Hanau
Report for November and December 1934
Hanau, 25 December 1934
Klein, Kassel, p. 260

[Jews, Freemasons]

The local Jewish organizations have been very active in recent weeks.¹⁰⁷ On 18 November 1934, there was the first appearance of the Jewish-Religious¹⁰⁸ Cultural Association for Hesse and Hesse-Nassau, based in Frankfurt am Main. There was a meeting at the local community center, where instead of **Rabbi** Horowitz¹⁰⁹ from Frankfurt am Main, who was ill, but scheduled to speak on the topic "Humility and Pride," a Dr. Henry Philipp, likewise from Frankfurt am Main, gave a talk on "The Figure of the Prophet Jeremiah."

The two **department stores** here, Tietz and Wronker, now Kaufhof and Hansa, were so full of customers last Sunday that for a time they had to close their doors. There were no such conditions observed in connection with Christmas shopping last year. <531>

►78►

NSDAP District Office for Municipal Policy Kempten

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Kempten, 3 January 1935
BArch, NS 25/351

The divorced Catholic merchant Otto *Schreiner* in Kempten has registered to wed the divorced Jewess Crete *Pollak*, née Politzer. The registrar has refused to perform the marriage because after the divorce decree of *Pollak*, it was not totally clear whether or not there might be a legal impediment to marriage pursuant to 1312 of the Civil Code. *Pollak*'s marriage was dissolved due to adultery with a Wilhelm Eichhorn. However, in the stated reasons for granting the divorce, it was also determined that she had committed adultery with her present fiancé *Schreiner*. The state government of Schwaben and Neuburg, which was requested to render a decision in the matter, referred the registrar to the chief magistrate of the District Court in accordance with 2 of the VO of 31 May 1934 (RGBl. I. p. 472). The local court has instructed the registrar to perform the marriage in accordance with 11 Sec. II of the Law on Marital Status.

This marriage is probably permissible in the eyes of the law, but on the basis of National Socialist principles, it should have been prevented.¹¹⁰ *Pollak* is a Jewish woman and Austrian national who obtained citizenship in the German Reich by this marriage. Her offspring will be **Mischlinge** of alien racial stock. Permission for such a marriage could have been prevented on the basis of the opinion of the court in this case. The Austrian authorities granted *Pollak* both a dispensation from the impediment of difference in religions and also a dispensation from participation in the cause for separation of the previous union. In Austria itself, she probably would never have been granted dispensation for a new marriage. By contrast, here in the National Socialist German Reich, it is made possible for an **East European Jewess** to marry a German and give birth to a number of bastards. Please pass on a report regarding this to the higher authorities. <535>

79
SA Brigade 250 Offenbach/Main
Fourth Quarterly Annual Report 1934
Offenbach/Main, 9 January 1935
BArch, NS 23/265

Relation to Other Formations

[...]

To State Authorities

In general, the relations with state authorities can be regarded as excellent. Especially in the case of the courts, relations improved significantly to the benefit of the Reich after most of the Jewish judges and **lawyers** disappeared. But it is in any event intolerable that we still have any Jewish judges at all in the German courts. <541>

•80►

Party District Chief Rotenburg
Report for November and December 1934
Rotenburg, 22 December 1934
Klein, Kassel, p. 274

Economic and Agrarian Policy

[...] There has been no more panic buying and price hikes in recent weeks. At the present time, there is an investigation under way of a Jew in Bebra who owns a textile store. The inquiry seeks to establish whether he purchased more future stock than necessary. It is noteworthy that the Jew claims that after his business declined in 1933, it has now taken a significant turn for the better, and sales correspond to the needs of his firm. The Jewish merchant dares today once again to declare in an official interrogation that his shop is an established, well-run business. This sounds almost triumphal, because indirectly the Jew is saying that for his clientele, National Socialist, conscious *völkisch* -national education has had no effect, so that he can again increase his stock. The fact that people are shopping more frequently again at Jewish shops is something I have repeatedly called attention to in my political situation reports. [...] <542>

County Commissioner Schmalkalden
Report for November and December 1934
Schmalkalden, 23 December 1934
Klein, Kassel, pp. 281 f., 289

General Overview of the Developments in Domestic Politics

[...] Currently there are rumors about an uprising that will supposedly break out in January after the **Saar plebiscite**. The Jews are withdrawing ever more of their capital investment from German firms and placing it abroad; that is the surest sign. The uprising will be instigated by the Reichswehr and reactionaries. The new government will then be led by von Hugenberg.¹¹¹ [...]

Jews and Freemasons

A large segment of the working population, but also other circles of the population as well, continue now as before to shop at Jewish establishments.
[...]¹¹² <544>

County Commissioner Wolfhagen
Report for November and December 1934
Wolfhagen, 27 December 1934
Klein, Kassel, p. 294

Jewish Question

In the **Jewish Question**, more noticeable recently once again has been the difference between the way the government and the Party treat the anti-Semitic movement. Here are just two examples. While the **Stapostelle** in Kassel gave clear expression in a communication 27 November 1934–80–¹¹³ on the question of putting up posters with anti-Semitic content,¹¹⁴ the Party, especially in the most recent period, has been enthusiastically propagating such tablets and posters in public thoroughfares, streets, and squares. Those districts where such **signs** are more commonly found than in the Wolfhagen district are even being held up as examples worthy of emulation. They even accuse the government offices opposed to this way of handling anti-Semitism of being Jew-friendly, under certain circumstances oblivious to that fact. The other difference between the government and the Party is in the question of the **boycott** of non-Aryan businesses. A strict decree laid down by the Reich economy minister and dated 10 December 1934¹¹⁵ has once again been sent on, prohibiting boycott measures, especially violence against non-Aryan shops, along with an ordinance of the 22nd of this month—A VII H I 102-.¹¹⁶ Meanwhile, the Party and SA continue now as before to call for a boycott of Jewish establishments. They are also inciting people to all kinds of crude mischief, such as smashing windows, writing graffiti all over front doors and windows, smearing paint, and the like.¹¹⁷ In just the last few days, such incidents have been reported from the towns of Volksmarsen and Zierenberg. In general, the local police do not take forceful enough action against such riots, because of fear of either the Party or the SA. I shall take the ordinance of the 22nd of this month as a basis for strictly prohibiting such measures as actions that damage the image of the state and the Party in a similar way. But it is also reasonable to expect that the state authorities, in implementing decrees like that of the economy minister of 10 December 1934, will be supported and protected in any possible conflict that may arise with the lower levels of the Party or the SA. <546>

County Commissioner Ziegenhain
Report for November and December 1934
Ziegenhain, 22 December 1934
Klein, Kassel, p. 295

[Jews and Freemasons]

There is information that an unmarried Jewess who emigrated on 3 April 1934 to New York has returned to Frielendorf. She states that she wishes temporarily to spend three months there.

Moreover, there are reports that several Jews who emigrated wish to move back to Germany.¹¹⁸

Disputes and brawls with Jews have not been observed or reported in the recent period. The commercial Jew and the itinerant Jew who goes through the villages, in his pocket an itinerant trader license for an itinerant commercial trade, is regaining his old place again, ever more from day to day. <547>

►84►

SA Standarte 22 Zweibrücken (Rhine-Palatinate)
Fourth Quarterly Annual Report 1934
Zweibrücken, n.d.
BArch, NS 23/265

General Observations

[...] It is generally assumed that after reintegrating the Saar territory,¹¹⁹ there will be an intensified attack against the Jews, political Catholicism,¹²⁰ and most especially against the gentlemen of the economy. <548>

►85►

Gestapo Berlin

Report for December 1934 **and** January 1935

Berlin, 19 February 1935

OAMos, 501/1/18

Jews

The work of the Jews in their organizations, interrupted during the Christmas shopping period by their commercial activity, has recommenced with a new intensity.¹²¹

The results of the **Saar plebiscite** have had some impact on the various currents inside Judaism.

Thus, the Zionists¹²² regard the surprising result of the poll as a stimulus for strengthening their propaganda oriented to emigration to **Palestine**.

The dismay and disappointment among German-Jews¹²³ as a result of the plebiscite was soon replaced once again by a powerful sense of optimism. Along with the CV, it is especially the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** which is campaigning for loyalty to German culture and remaining in Germany. [...]

In order to block the work of this organization as much as possible and to push it toward Zionism, I have sent a decree to all **Stapostellen** ordering that all Jewish gatherings in which people are scheduled to speak in support of bolstering a loyalty to German culture and remaining in Germany are until further notice prohibited.

No new Jewish organizations were established during the present report period. A Jewish youth group, **Black Pennant**, created along the pattern of the **Hitler Youth** and meant to be a nonpolitical youth organization, has voluntarily disbanded on the basis of a suggestion by the **Reich Youth Leader**.¹²⁴ [...]

Complaints received indicate that the Jews appear to be casting aside their previous attitude of reserve. The surprisingly good sales during the Christmas shopping season have made an important contribution to bolstering their sense of self-esteem. In many cases, it is also the irresponsible behavior of Party members that is to blame: they hand over their National Socialist honor and German name to be used as a figurehead for Jewish firms. [...]

I asked the deputy of the Führer,¹²⁵ in a decree sent to the Party organizations, to once again ban any contact with Jews, and to prohibit shopping in Jewish stores and **department stores** by any members of the organizations.

In many parts of Germany, the **cattle trade** is almost exclusively in the hands of Jewish cattle dealers, who once again are behaving with an excessive degree of brazenness and pushiness. The Aryan cattle trade cannot compete because it is not sufficiently capitalized.

The authorities have granted licenses to import horses from Belgium almost exclusively only to Jews. That has reportedly caused a quite a stir even in the neighboring districts across the border.

The right to unrestricted athletic activity granted the Jews by the Reich Sport Leader has provided the Jewish sports movement with special fresh impetus.¹²⁶ The general population does not recognize the reasons for this decision. These reasons lead to misinterpretations, especially since the Jewish sports associations also are permitted to use communal facilities (sports fields, gymnastics halls, swimming pools).¹²⁷ [...]

On the occasion of celebrations for the Saar victory, many Jewish stores and private homes displayed the swastika flag, hoisted by Jews, and this has resulted in a certain sense of unrest in the population. Since according to National Socialist principles, Jews do not belong to the **Volksgemeinschaft**, I consider it improper for them to display the swastika flag. Nor can the use of the black, white, and red flag be allowed. I have instructed the Stabstellen subordinate to my command to implement these principles in a suitable form.¹²⁸

Among Jews resident in the Saar area, the result of the plebiscite has sparked a sense of great consternation. Approximately one-third of the Jews there, among them some 50 percent of the most wealthy, have reportedly already emigrated abroad, and those who have remained behind do not feel particularly safe there. Their disquietude is great, since the two large organizations which regard belonging and allegiance to the German fatherland as the foundation of their activity, namely the **CV** and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, openly endorsed the status quo in the territory of the Saar plebiscite. For that reason, immediately after the vote, the leaders of these organizations departed to France or Luxemburg, showing French passports to the authorities. [...]

It has been recently noted that Jewish artists appearing in public¹²⁹ are trying to deal more intensively with the measures of the government and the political situation in Germany. They seek through mimicry and intonation to express an intentionally demoralizing critique before an audience made up largely of **non-Aryans**. The state authorities were also provoked when police intervention in the case of an undesirable joint performance by Aryan and non-Aryan artists was met with applause [from the public] for the non-Aryan artists.

I have instructed the Stapostellen to ensure¹³⁰ that during their performances, non-Aryan artists avoid any allusion to domestic German affairs. In cases where this is violated, they are to order **protective custody** for the respective artists involved, in the context of the view that we cannot tolerate non-Aryans meddling in German affairs. Where fears persist that provocations are likely should Aryan and non-Aryan artists appear together, the performance should be immediately banned. [...] <551>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for January 1935
Cologne, 4 February 1935
BArch, R 58/3863

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The Jewish sports community, which has been granted more rights than previously by the Reich Sports Leadership, has become very active. The Jewish **sports associations** are permitted once more to make use of the athletics halls and gyms in the city of Cologne in order to train for the 1936 **Olympic Games**. The Jewish sports community specifically feels stronger than any other Jewish organization, since it is supported by its foreign friends and associates in sports.

The fact that the Jews generally are being to reassert themselves, even though less in the sphere of social life, is proven by the Jewish newspapers.¹³¹ They very often now carry editorials that are objectionable. The editor of the Jewish Community paper in Cologne was given a sharp rebuke and warned to use more moderate language in future. The **boycott** against Jewish firms supported by the movement has likewise not had much of an impact recently. If you ask workers why they do not support the small Christian traders, then they answer that they go where the prices are lowest. They say: give workers a better income, then they can also shop in Christian stores. <562>

►87►

Police HQ Nuremberg-Fürth

Report

Nuremberg, 2 February 1935

CDJC, CCCLXXXI-9

In the enclosure I respectfully present an overview of the Jewish elements which according to the available material have played a notable role in the Communist and/or Marxist movement in Nuremberg-Fürth.¹³² [...]

Benario Rudolf, economist, unmarried, born 2 September 1908 in Frankfurt/Main, last resident in Fürth, at Moststr. 35/II, a Jew. He was formerly for many years the leader of the Young Socialists, and while at the University of Erlangen, he founded a so-called student league with the name “Republican Students League, University Branch Nuremberg-Erlangen,” which he himself

headed.

He later was behind the move by a number of radical Young Socialists to join the German Communist Party, and as a member of the Jewish Communist group of intellectuals in Nuremberg, he played a very significant role in the district central direction, northern Bavaria, of the German Communist Party.

On 6 April 1934, he was taken into **protective custody** and interned in the **concentration camp** Dachau. He was shot and killed on 13 April 1934 while attempting to escape. <570>

►88►

District Governor Koblenz

Report for December 1934 and January 1935

Koblenz, 3 February 1935

BArch, R 58/3856

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The quiet **boycott** against the Jewish firms by the local organs of the Party has continued to received new impetus in the closed meetings of members of the NSDAP and its associated formations and subformations, urging Party members to avoid frequenting Jewish businesses. [...]

During the course of the month surveyed, there were violent excesses in various places in the district.¹³³ In several cases, the windows of Jewish businesses were smashed. In Oberbieber (Neuwied subdistrict), the cattle truck of a Jewish **cattle dealer** was pushed into a brook. Unfortunately, as a result of these events, and in connection with the termination of the complaints mentioned above, regrettable antagonisms have arisen in several cases between Party organizations and the police. These could be avoided if there were a uniform approach in the **Jewish Question** by the movement and the state authorities.

Despite the numerous instructions issued by the Party not to shop at Jewish establishments, all Jewish businesses have recently had increased sales. From almost all areas of the districts, reports have come in which concur that Jews, quietly and according to plan, are attempting, with visible success, to reconquer the areas of the economy that they had lost control of. The rural population in particular continues to have little appreciation for the boycott of the Jews. [...] <585>

►89►

Senate Lübeck, Internal Administration
Report for 10 November 1934–9 January 1935
Lübeck, 9 January 1935
BArch, R 58/3893

The Jews and their organizations continue to be quite active.¹³⁴ They have had a series of cultural and other working conferences. The purpose and aim is to reach out to and include every Jew, in particular the younger generation. Likewise in order to bring those outside under a common umbrella, there is a plan to create a new organization, though no application has as yet been received regarding this. <586>

►90►

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg

Political and Economic Situation
Würzburg, 8 February 1935
BayHStA, StK 106680

General Political Situation

[...] In Würzburg and Schweinfurt, one can observe that Jews are joining together in small circles, such as the League of Jewish Combat Veterans,¹³⁵ gymnastics and sports associations and clubs.¹³⁶ The **surveillance** of these clubs, which consist only of Jews, is rendered more difficult by the fact that it is not possible to recruit persons for liaison among the Jews. There are repeated violent excesses against the Jews, which cannot be tolerated.¹³⁷ Two shots were fired from the street at the home of Nathan Bretzfelder, owner of a **spa** hotel in Bad Kissingen. The bullets penetrated the double glazing and shutters and went on through a picture hanging on the opposite wall. [...] <594>

•91►

Gendarmerie Schöllkrippen
Report for January 1935
Schöllkrippen, 23 January 1935
StA Wü, LRA Alzenau 339

[Political Situation]

The general political situation is calm. The concern in the population that after the **Saar plebiscite**, there might be disturbances and unrest, has vanished. The processions in a number of localities in the district (Schöllkrippen, Kahl, Laudenbach, Blankenbach, Krombach, and Eichenberg) on the occasion of the Saar plebiscite enjoyed very active participation on the part of all strata of the population. They went off without any incidents whatsoever. Almost all Jews in Schöllkrippen put out flags in the Reich colors black-white-red and in the state colors white-blue to mark the favorable outcome of the plebiscite.¹³⁸ No one took offense at this. [...] <607>

•92►

Gestapo Baden

Report for January **and** February 1935

Karlsruhe, n.d.

BArch, R 58/3035 c

Special Matters

[...] As in previous months, complaints were filed against a large number of persons¹³⁹ who engaged in provocative agitation and slanderous statements about the Party and the state. Some of these were adjudicated before the Special Court or the district offices; in several cases a **protective custody** order was issued, as in particular against the Jewish traveling salesman Heinrich *Hofsäss* from Karlsruhe, who felt it was his mission, in the practice of his trade, to spread the agitation propaganda of the Strasburg radio station.... <614>

Stapostelle Police District Berlin
Report for February 1935
Berlin, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3035 a

Activities of the Jews

In Jewish circles one can note a great deal of activity. Thus, in Berlin an apparently falsified speech of Cardinal Faulhaber was mimeographed and distributed.¹⁴⁰ The official inquiry into this incident led to the arrest of the following persons:

- 1) Dodeles, Ethel, born 24 December 1902, Budapest,
- 2) Hohenstein, Rosa, née Maschkowski, born 8 March 1881, Sirakowitz,
- 3) Franke, Julius, born 22 June 1877, Kassel,
- 4) Maschkowski, Willi, born 26 June 1890, Sirakowitz/Poland,
- 5) Hochdorf, Saul, born 19 December 1871, Lvov,
- 6) Türkischer, Markus, born 18 June 1870, Brzezany/Poland.

It was determined that the author of the copy of the speech by Faulhaber was the individual named above under 6), Türkischer.

T. gave the copy to the person named under 5), Hochdorf. He in turn falsified the speech and then passed it on to the others, some of whom then mimeographed and distributed it. The supposed speech probably sparked special interest among the Jews, since it was also distributed in other parts of Germany.

An order of protective custody has been issued against all these individuals, and they have been arrested. Some are confined in **concentration camps**.

Just how confident the Jews in Germany now feel once again, by the way, is evident not only from the rising figures for **return emigration** of Jews who fled abroad, but is also manifest most especially in their behavior, which is becoming ever more haughty by the day. They cannot and do not wish to comprehend that they are only aliens in the Third Reich. Their intent basically is to slowly steal their way back once again into **Volksgemeinschaft**. Nothing is more revealing of this than the following incident:

When the **lawyer** Dr. Stern,¹⁴¹ Charlottenburg, resident at Uhlandstr. 194a, was taken into custody, documents were found dealing with the internal **Jewish Question**. Thus, an argument was found for the "Draft of a Law on the Legal Status of the Jews in Germany."¹⁴² Among other things, it is stated there that although existing legislation provides a basis to eliminate Jews from certain

sectors of public life, there are no regulations regarding to what extent the Jews should be incorporated into the structure of the new life in the state. Thus, a positive body of law for this question must be created. It has to be structured in such a way that it shows the Jewish population in Germany to be different in nature, although in no case presented as an inferior group. It states that the state authorities and the law must put an unambiguous and clear end to the defamation of Jews in public and in the economy. The draft law thus also espouses the principle of the recognition of the Jewish people. [...]

In addition, there have been ever more cases in which Jewish managers have sexually abused the German personnel.¹⁴³ These events have stirred a great sense of disgust among the **Volksgenosseen**, and give repeated cause for indignant complaints to the police. It is simply incomprehensible to the people, who are thinking ever more along racial lines, that the state does not act to put an end to such actions by the introduction of draconian legislation.

Also consonant with the activity of the Jews which has increased in all spheres is the growing number of their gatherings. There what is more important to them is not the lectures themselves, but rather, as the subsequent discussions have shown, the fact that their fellow Jews meet here in a tight and compact mass.

In the period covered by this monthly report, there were a total of 3,001 meetings, contrasted with 2,500 in January. Of these, 72 were subjected to observation.¹⁴⁴ There are thus an average of some 100 such meetings per day. [...] <615>

Stapostelle Government District Hanover

Report for February 1935

Hanover, 4 March 1935

BArch, R 58/3035 b

Jews

This month as well, the mood in the population toward Jews is characterized by a number of **individual actions** against Jewish business proprietors and **department stores**. [...]

The Jewish associations and societies are becoming ever more energetic in organizing meetings and gatherings,¹⁴⁵ noticeable most particularly in the case of associations for youth within the **Zionist Association** and the **CV**. Thus, during the month of February, the Zionist Association, branch Hanover, has had 6 meetings or other events, the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** 3 meetings or events, the **Israelitic Women's Association** 3 meetings, the Jewish **Kulturbund** 3, the **League of German-Jewish Youth** 31 meetings and/or events, the **Werkleute** 27 such meetings and the youth group of **Agudas Jisroel** has had 1 meeting. Within the broad public, there is severe criticism of the energetic activity of the Jews in organizing meetings, and of their ever more brazen behavior. The antagonisms among the Jewish associations continue unabated in their severity. Especially pronounced are the antagonisms between the Zionist Association and the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans. [...] The disputes between the Zionists and the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans have led to a decision by the Zionist Association to disallow simultaneous membership by their members in the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans. The upshot was that these members then resigned from the Reich League. [...] In addition, over the course of the last three months, some 57 Jews have emigrated to **Palestine** from the city of Hanover. About 90 percent of these emigrated Jews were **East European Jews** who had previously emigrated to Germany from Eastern Europe. It is noteworthy that more recently, the Jewish **Kulturbund** has often organized musical and social events for the public, in this way seeking to provide unemployed Jewish artists with employment. But the main aim here is probably to bring all Jewish circles more closely together.

It should be noted that given the large number of Jewish gatherings, proper **surveillance** of these meetings and events cannot be guaranteed. [...] <624>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for February 1935
Cologne, 4 March 1935
BArch, R 58/3035 b

Jews and Freemasons

[...] In all subdistricts of the government district, as a result of the brisk propaganda against the Jews, there has also been notable forceful activity by the population which stands behind the government against the Jews.¹⁴⁶ In Cologne, the windows of the dwellings of a number of Jewish families have been smashed. A number of Jews have also been attacked in public taverns in various ways, giving rise to disputes and conflict. In the countryside, there have also been a number of incidents in which Jewish property was damaged. A few days ago, several youths in Honnef broke into the **synagogue** there, fouling the prayer area [with excrement] and damaging ritual objects. [...] <628>

Stapostelle Government District Minden
Report for February 1935
Bielefeld, 4 March 1935
BArch, R 58/3035 a

Jews

The Jews continue to meet and gather with unabated frequency.¹⁴⁷ The independent associational life among the Jews is stronger now than ever before. There are such frequent cultural, social, and athletic evening get-togethers that the requisite **surveillance** or observation of these events is becoming ever more difficult. These gatherings provide the Jews with an inner strength to endure in this period. By presenting historical facts to them from the past, their basis of support in the present is strengthened. Thus, the Jews are called on again and again to be real Jews in their whole attitude. Judaism stands above blood, soil, and nation [*Blut, Boden und Nation*], said a Jewish speaker recently in a gathering.

The Jews at the moment are engaging in severe criticism of Gauleiter **Streicher**, stating that his behavior is improper.¹⁴⁸ People are also repeatedly upset about the militant song “Hang the Jews, put the bosses up against the wall.” The local **youth organizations** are very dissatisfied with the existing prohibition on activity (see the Daily Report, 15 December 1934),¹⁴⁹ because they regard this as a one-sided very harsh measure.¹⁵⁰ No indications were found that the Jewish organizations were engaged in any activities hostile to the state. On 3 February, the **Kulturbund of German Jews** put on an evening of recitation in the **synagogue** in Bielefeld, featuring Ms. Edith **Herrnstadt-Oettingen**, of Berlin, in which some 250 persons participated. Ms. H. recited from various works. The purpose of the event was to make Jews more familiar with Jewish culture, while at the same time promoting greater cohesion of the Jewish people. By presenting Jewish literature, which in the main is oriented to persecution and oppression as themes, an effort is made to bolster the Jewish people in its present situation, and to provide signposts for the current period. [...] <635>

•97►

County Commissioner Fritzlar-Homburg
Report for January and February 1935

Fritzlar, 19 February 1935
Klein, Kassel, pp. 315 f.

Jews, Freemasons

There were repeated unpleasantries for the police in regard to the **Jewish Question**. The party offices felt justifiably obliged to take action against contact with Jews or even their active support by **Volksgenossen**. But the local authorities do this at times in a manner contrary to the regulations issued to the police by the central and state government. Frequently, this then gives rise to situations that are embarrassing for the gendarmes and municipal police officers. This is because when they must act under orders to protect the Jews, they acquire the name, against their will, of being **Jew friends**. I was thus very pleased when the Gestapo placed detectives at my disposal at the time of the unrest in Gudensberg. Naturally, that will not be feasible as a permanent measure, and in connection with every minor incident. So it would be desirable if perhaps basic agreements could be worked out between the central government and the Party over how the Jewish Question should be dealt with. Those agreements would then have to be binding down the command chain to the level of the local group leader and **Blockwart**. [...]

<673>

498►

Police HQ Augsburg

Report for February and March 1935

Augsburg, 1 April 1935

BayHStA, StK 106697

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The Israelitic **Community** Augsburg has previously been holding administrative meetings and committee sessions every 4–6 weeks in the **synagogue**, always with some 20 persons in attendance. In not a single case was police permission requested for such meetings.¹⁵¹ Now, after Police HQ has learned of these gatherings as the result of a surprise check on activities, it has filed criminal charges against the individual responsible for calling these meetings, the Jewish **lawyer** Dr. Eugen Strauß, born 24 June 1879 in

Ulm/Germany, resident here at Alexanderstr. 17. The charges are on the grounds of violating the decree by the Reich President on the Protection of the People and the State, dated 28 February 1933.¹⁵² <692>

•99►

Stapostelle Police District Berlin
Report for March 1935
Berlin, n.d. BArch, R 58/3037 a

Emigrants and Jews

[...]

Jewish Activities

The Jews have regained their former sense of security, which is abundantly evident in their behavior. [...]

Marriages between **Aryans** and **non-Aryans** also continued during the month of the present report. The people are urgently awaiting some legal solution to this question in order to prevent any further defilement of race. [...]

How much the Jews are concerned to remain in Germany is reflected in the report of a meeting of the Board of Governors of the German Jews held on 27 March 1935 at Rosenstraße 2/4.¹⁵³ The head presiding at this meeting, Dr. **Jacobson**, explained that on the basis of the **Aryan Clause**, the Jewish Archive felt itself likewise compelled to record the Jewish race and family history in their entirety in an archive. Reading from a report, he informed the audience that instructions had already been given to the Reich and regional leadership of the Jews¹⁵⁴ to support the archive in all possible ways. A large number of the regional leadership organizations¹⁵⁵ have already answered this request, and have, he noted, submitted very useful material. The following should be said regarding the overall total impression gained of the meeting: the Board of Governors and the Archive are making the greatest efforts to obtain documents from the various communal books and civil registry offices from which one can learn when the first Jews migrated into Germany. The inscriptions on gravestones are deemed of especial interest as an additional source to provide the archive with material that it needs to document the immigration of Jews into Germany. [...]

On the treatment of the **Jewish Question**, one can note in summary the following:

It appears a matter of great urgency to give requisite consideration to the standpoint of the Party more than before in connection with the policies to be pursued toward Jews. That should be done so that no divisive conflict arises between the state and the movement, a conflict which would necessarily

gradually undermine the faith of the people in both. [...] <694>

◀100▶

Stapostelle Government District Erfurt
Report for March 1935
Erfurt, 4 April 1935
BArch, R 58/3037 b

Religious Movements

Catholic Action Initiative

[...] Every week there are several evening get-togethers for Catholic youth. There in a disguised manner repeated attempts are made to encourage young people to think critically about the racial doctrine of the state.¹⁵⁶ The clergy has clearly recognized the danger that as racial thinking and a feeling of blood solidarity become ever more dominant, Catholic doctrine is seriously endangered. Proceeding from a religious point of view, they are thus endeavoring to prohibit rational thinking on the part of their wards about blood and race, by mustering all means and threatening all manner of biblical punishment. [...]

Recently the Catholic clergy has also started to deal with racial questions in the church as well. Itinerant preachers of the Jesuit order have gone from place to place, giving lectures on this topic in the churches. [...] <698>

◀101▶

Stapostelle Government District Münster
Report for March 1935
Recklinghausen, 4 April 1935
BArch, R 58/3037 c

Church Policy

Protestant Church

[...] The Confessional Synod¹⁵⁷ in Westphalia virtually controls all church power exclusively. The members of the **German Christians** in the presbyteries are now being asked to declare their support for the **Confessional Front** and to drop the **Aryan Clause**. If they should refuse, they are simply stripped of their office. [...]

Economic and Agrarian Policy

[...]

Industry

[...] The following is reported from Bocholt:

“The prohibition on hoisting of the national Reich flag by Jews¹⁵⁸ has generated great reluctance to accept this among the workers’ crews in the Jewish textile factories here. These crews of workers, up to 99 percent of Aryan extraction, cannot understand that they are not allowed to hoist the Reich flag. If the prohibition had been enforced on 1 March of this year, the crews in the Jewish factories would have refused to take part in the parade in honor of the liberation of the Saarland.¹⁵⁹ They still hope that this prohibition will be revoked.” [...] <711>

Stapostelle Government District Wiesbaden

General Overview

Frankfurt/M., 5 April 1935

BArch, R 58/3037 b

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

In the **Jewish Question**, one can observe an ever more virulent brazenness in the Jewish **press**, manifest principally in the commentary (sometimes quite impudent) on decrees by the authorities and statements by leading personalities in the Party.

The ordinance reported last month specifying that in the case of Jewish gatherings,¹⁶⁰ the content of the speeches necessarily had to be submitted verbatim in two copies,¹⁶¹ has led to a slight reduction in the volume of the wave of meetings. Yet the Jews do not balk at this extra requirement in order to press on with their heightened organizational activity. Now as before, there is **surveillance** of the Jewish meetings and events.

In accordance with the ordinances specifying that sports events are to be accommodated as much as possible (looking forward to the **Olympic Games**), a sporting event of the Jewish sports association **Bar Kochba** on 10 March 1935 in the Frankfurt Stadium was not prohibited.¹⁶² The event was not marred by any incidents.

All in all, one can note that the Jews are attempting to offset their economic immiseration and ousting from the **Aryan** and state educational institutions, and their exclusion in general from any cultural participation outside their circle, by an intellectual and moral strengthening of their Jewish worldview. That can be seen both in the number of pupils in the Jewish middle and secondary **schools** and in the cultural events such as lecture series and the like.¹⁶³

There are reports from the rural districts indicating that the Jewish **cattle** dealer is still engaged in making business deals with the German farmers. In some cases, the influence of Jewish dealers is increasing markedly among the farmers. The Jews pay prices for cattle that are above the going market rate. In connection with this, it does not seem all that surprising that Jews in rural areas once again are taking increased part in dances and similar public functions.
<721>

District Governor Osnabrück

Report for February and March 1935 (“Situation Report”)

Osnabrück, 2 April 1935

BArch, R 58/3930

Opposition (Black Front), Tannenberg League, etc.

[...] On 18 March 1935, the **Ludendorff** Publishing House arranged a lecture in a tavern in the city of Osnabrück, attended by some 300 persons. Rudolf Schmidt, Hanover, spoke on the topic “Rome-Judea and the German Knowledge of the Gods.” His comments were directed against Jewish religious imperialism and its supposed support from the Christian religion, in particular the Catholic Church.¹⁶⁴

Jews, Freemasons

The intense associational activity and lectures among the Jews continued unabated.¹⁶⁵ In Osnabrück, there was a slide show put on by the local branch of the Cultural Alliance of German Youth.¹⁶⁶ Meyer-Michael, from Rheda, spoke about Rembrandt’s Jewish figures. In another function arranged by the Jewish **Community** in Osnabrück, the former actor at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin, Meinhard Maur, recited from the works of Goethe, Herder, Heine, and Nietzsche. He also read various chapters from the Bible in an old Jewish version. His presentation closed with readings from works by various poets and philosophers designed to demonstrate the patriotism of the Jews. [...] <734>

•104•

District Governor Oppeln

Report for February and March 1935

Oppeln, 2 April 1935

BArch, R 58/3926

Jews and Freemasons

While the **Freemasons** Movement has no importance whatsoever, the Jews remain now as before extraordinarily active in their associations,¹⁶⁷ though they have given no cause for the government to intervene. They are clever at staying

within the framework of the boundaries set by the Geneva Convention.¹⁶⁸

There has been no excessive increase in the number of cases of minority complaints.¹⁶⁹ <735>

◀105▶

Mayor of Amt Anröchte

Political Situation Report

Anröchte, 19 March 1935

StA Ms, Polit. Polizei III. Reich, 348

Jews

[...] A young barber employed in the barber shop Münstermann as manager is strongly suspected of being friendly toward Jews.¹⁷⁰ That is due to the large number of local Jews who frequent the barber shop and the preferential treatment they are accorded there.¹⁷¹ One morning the sign of his firm and the brass plate were removed from the premises and mounted on the house of a Jew living nearby. If this, as in so many other minor occurrences, is only some sort of practical joke, the effect is dramatic, and leaves more of a lasting impression on the mind of the simple man than many a profound lecture about Germans and the guest people dwelling in their midst. <742>

◀106▶

Gendarmerie Wehrda

Report for 22 March 1935

Neukirchen, 23 March 1935

HStA Wi, Abt. 483 No. 6752

On 22 March 1935, at 7:20 p.m., we received news at home by telephone that there had been an attack there on the **synagogue**. Gendarme officer Wolf and I proceeded immediately to Rhina, where we determined the following: at about 6:45 p.m., after the end of the Jewish evening prayer service, as the first persons were leaving the synagogue through the main door, which opens onto the street, suddenly some 15 to 20 individuals pushed their way into the synagogue. They were disguised and wearing black masks, had rubber clubs, and struck at the male Jews blindly.¹⁷² The following persons were badly or slightly injured in this attack: Nathan Nußbaum, Jakob Katzenstein, Sally Klebe, Isaak

Katzenstein, Moses Blumenthal, Samuel Buxbaum, Hermann Wetterhahn, Jakob Klebe, Issak Oppenheim, Moses Bacharach, and Siegfried Oppenheim. [...] <753>

1. See **Hirsch, Otto**. On his activity as executive director and central personality of the Reich Representation from September 1933, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I; and Kulka, “Reichsvereinigung and the Fate of German Jews.”
2. See **Adult education** and **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
3. A detailed report on the conference in Herrlingen can be found in Simon, *Aufbau im Untergang*, 42–55; and Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 45. On Buber, see figures 8–10.
4. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
5. See **Zionism**.
6. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
7. This unusually high percentage for Germany in the twentieth century characterizes certain rural areas in which Jews pursued their traditional trades, such as **cattle trade**. There in some cases they constituted even up to half the local village population (see CD ▲174▲). By contrast, the percentage of Jews in the total German population in 1933 was 0.76 percent, and declined later as a result of **emigration**. See: Bennathan, “Demographische und wirtschaftliche Struktur”; Jeggle, *Judendorfer in Baden-Württemberg*.
8. See **Röhm Revolt** and **SA**.
9. The Gestapo Situation Report is signed by Regierungsrat Dr. jur. Johannes Nockemann; before 1933, he was departmental head of the regional government in Aachen, from 10 May 1933 temporary director of the Aachen **State Police**, and from 1 March 1935 its regular director; see Vollmer, *Volksopposition im Polizeistaat*, 14 f. The unusual fact that here the CV turns directly to the **Gestapo** and not, as was customary, to the police or a court, can perhaps be explained by reference to Nockemann’s “noteworthy objectivity” as observed by Vollmer, and his official position before January 1933. In addition, Vollmer notes his realistic assessment of the mood of a population that was largely not National Socialist in outlook and persuasion.
10. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

11. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
12. See **Emigration**.
13. The situation report to the Reich interior minister is evidently another version of the “Monthly Report” for August of the same date to the Bavarian State Ministry.
14. See Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews; on the Christkönigsgesellschaft and the Christkönigsbote in this connection, see Witetschek et al., *Kirchliche Lage in Bayern* III, 33.
15. The pattern for reporting (see Introduction) explicitly obligated the reporters at this time to report on the Jews as well. The author of this report had nothing to report in that regard.
16. Typed document undated; date written in by hand.
17. See **Remigration and Return emigration**.
18. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations**.
19. See **League of German-Jewish Youth**.
20. See Chronology, 16 August 1934.
21. See **Individual actions**.
22. See **Youth organizations, Jewish**.
23. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
24. The reference is probably to the **Jewish Youth League**.
25. The reference is probably to **Werkleute**.
26. Despite the repeated demand that Jews be excluded from **Winter Relief of the German People**, this did not occur until promulgation of the **Nuremberg Laws** on 15 October 1935. See also **Jewish Winter Relief** and Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 55.
27. See **Remigration**.
28. See **Aryanization and the Jewish struggle for further economic survival**.
29. On the Jewish employment policy described here and the struggle in Germany for economic survival, see **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
30. Evidently the reference here is to the six-pointed Star of David, not the Christian Star of Bethlehem.

31. See **Individual actions**.
32. See **Signs, anti-Jewish**.
33. See **Youth organizations, Jewish**.
34. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
35. The reference here is to the “Song of the Storm Trooper,” which stemmed from the early Period of Struggle of the NSDAP and was extremely popular in circles of the **SS, SA**, and the **Hitler Youth**.
36. In the copy available it is impossible to decipher the exact date.
37. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
38. See **Senior Soldiers**.
39. See **Aliyah**.
40. See **Youth organizations, Jewish**.
41. See **Individual actions**.
42. On the instructions given by **Schacht** to avoid excluding Jews forcibly from economic life, see Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 105 ff.
43. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
44. On Jews being reported to the police by the German population in the Third Reich, see Gellately, “Gestapo and German Society.”
45. See **Jewish League of Scouts**.
46. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
47. The possible referent here is the **League of German-Jewish Youth**.
48. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
49. The same file contains a detailed correspondence between various offices about the complaint coming from some Aryan workers employed in a Jewish department store, who are opposed to the anti-Jewish **boycott** and fear for their jobs. There is also reference to the complaint by the department store owner Adolf Frank himself. These documents are not contained on the complete edition on the CD-ROM.
50. There was a constant dilemma faced by the police and other government offices, who were in general in basic agreement with the anti-Jewish measures of the Nazi regime, though to differing degrees, and also simultaneously had to maintain law and order; on this see **Individual actions**.

[51.](#) A letter from the Braunschweig interior minister to the Reich and Prussian interior minister, dated 18 December 1934, concludes: “The matter has now been taken care of in connection with the Jewish Adolf Frank Department Store. We will take steps, with all requisite forcefulness, against any attempt to disrupt the Christmas seasonal business of the Jewish stores.”

[52.](#) See **Individual actions**; see also the report by the District Governor, Lower Franconia, 6 December 1934, CD [479](#).

[53.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[54.](#) See **Race defilement**.

[55.](#) See **Flag legislation**.

[56.](#) See **Emigration**.

[57.](#) This is followed by detailed extracts from the Bulletin which report on Jewish antifascist activity in various countries in Europe, including an international conference in London to help coordinate the boycott movement against the Third Reich. These are not reproduced here.

[58.](#) See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

[59.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[60.](#) See **B’nai B’rith**.

[61.](#) See **Women’s Auxiliary of the B’nai B’rith Lodge**.

[62.](#) Meinekestr. 10 in Berlin was the address of the state office of the **Zionist Association of Germany**.

[63.](#) See **Zionist Association of Germany**.

[64.](#) See **Jewish Women’s League for Palestine Work**.

[65.](#) See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

[66.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[67.](#) Mlynek notes that there is a special report on this by the Hanover Gestapo dated 24 December 1934 and a situation report by the mayor of Hanover 25 January 1935 (see Mlynek, *Gestapo Hannover meldet*, 289, n. 7). The editors do not have copies of these reports.

[68.](#) See **Ritual slaughter**.

[69.](#) See Tagesbericht vom 8.12.1934 – Ziffer II/1. The daily report of 8 December 1934 was not available to the editors.

70. See Elkin, *Continuity and Change*, and Gruner, *Öffentliche Wohlfahrt und Judenverfolgung*.

71. See **Individual actions**.

72. See 49►.

73. See Chronology, 26 December 1934.

74. See **Individual actions**.

75. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish** and **Signs, anti-Jewish**.

76. See **Ehape**.

77. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish** and **Signs, anti-Jewish**.

78. See **Communism and Jews** and **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

79. See **Individual actions**.

80. See **Chanukka**.

81. See **Werkleute**.

82. The document was not available to the editors.

83. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

84. See **Remigration**.

85. See **Schacht, Hjalmar**.

86. On the relations between Jews and the Stahlhelm in the Third Reich, see **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**.

87. See **Cattle trade, Jewish**.

88. See Chronology, 26 December 1934, and the intervention by Schacht as mentioned on 12 December 1934.

89. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

90. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

91. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

92. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

93. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**, as well as **Signs, anti-Jewish**.

94. See **Atrocity propaganda, Jewish**.

95. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

96. See **CD** 523►.

- 97.** See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.
- 98.** We were unable to check this decree. But see also the Chronology, 26 December 1934 and the reference there by **Schacht** to the decree of the Reich Interior Ministry of 17 January 1934.
- 99.** The report was not available to the editors.
- 100.** See **Individual actions**.
- 101.** See **Race defilement**.
- 102.** See **Cattle trade, Jewish**.
- 103.** See **Individual actions** and CD 4521, 4522, 4523.
- 104.** See **Department stores**.
- 105.** See **Individual actions**.
- 106.** See **East European Jews**.
- 107.** See **Associational life, Jewish**.
- 108.** See **Orthodoxy**.
- 109.** The reference is probably to Jacob **Horovitz**.
- 110.** See Race defilement and Mixed marriages.
- 111.** On the attitude of the “conservative opposition” toward the Jews, see Dipper, “German Resistance and the Jews”; Rosen, *National-Conservative Opposition*.
- 112.** See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
- 113.** The document was not available to the editors.
- 114.** See Gestapo.
- 115.** See n. 98.
- 116.** The document was not available to the editors.
- 117.** See Individual actions.
- 118.** See Remigration.
- 119.** See **Saar plebiscite**.
- 120.** See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
- 121.** See **Associational life, Jewish**.
- 122.** See **Zionism**.

- [123.](#) See **German Nationalistic Jews**.
- [124.](#) It is clear that this “suggestion” could only mean an order to dissolve the group.
- [125.](#) The corresponding ordinance came from **Hess** on 11 April 1935. See Chronology.
- [126.](#) See **Sports associations, Jewish**.
- [127.](#) See **Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities**.
- [128.](#) See **Flag legislation**.
- [129.](#) See **Kulturbund of the German Jews**.
- [130.](#) See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
- [131.](#) See **Press, Jewish in the Third Reich**.
- [132.](#) See **Communism and Jews**.
- [133.](#) See **Individual actions**.
- [134.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.
- [135.](#) See **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**.
- [136.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.
- [137.](#) See **Individual actions**.
- [138.](#) See **Flag legislation**.
- [139.](#) On Jews being reported to the police by the German population in the Third Reich, see Gellately, “Gestapo and German Society.”
- [140.](#) It is possible texts were used here from the famous sermons for Advent and the New Year on the topic “Judaism, Christianity, German dorn.” See **Faulhaber**.
- [141.](#) The reference is to Heinrich **Stern**.
- [142.](#) The draft was probably not by Stern, who was a member of the CV, but rather stemmed from circles within the **Jewish People’s Party**; see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum I*, No. 61.
- [143.](#) See **Race defilement**.
- [144.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish** and **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
- [145.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[146.](#) See Individual actions.

[147.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish.**

[148.](#) See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 58, 31 January 1935: “ ‘Die Ehre der deutschen Juden’-Eine Erklärung der Reichsvertretung gegen Julius Streicher.” [The Honor of the German Jews – A Declaration of the **Reich Representation** against Julius **Streicher**]

[149.](#) The document was not available to the editors.

[150.](#) See Chronology, 10 February 1935, and in this connection 26 February 1935 (Decree of the **Gestapo** Karlsruhe).

[151.](#) See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings.**

[152.](#) See Chronology.

[153.](#) The reference here is to the **Archives of German Jewry.**

[154.](#) Reference here is to the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** and the director of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities.**

[155.](#) Reference is to the directors of the **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities.**

[156.](#) See Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews.

[157.](#) See **Confessing Church.**

[158.](#) See Chronology, 12 February 1935 and **Flag legislation.**

[159.](#) See **Saar plebiscite.**

[160.](#) See **Associational activity, Jewish.**

[161.](#) See Chronology, February 1935.

[162.](#) See **Sports associations, Jewish.**

[163.](#) See **Kulturbund of the German Jews** and **Center for Jewish Adult Education.**

[164.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews.**

[165.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish.**

[166.](#) Correct: **Kulturbund of the German Jews.**

[167.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish.**

[168.](#) See **Minority protection, Upper Silesia.**

[169.](#) See **Bernheim Petition.**

[170.](#) See **Jews' lackey**.

[171.](#) See **Jews' lackey**.

[172.](#) See **Individual actions**.

“The New Anti-Semitic Wave” and the Nuremberg Laws

(April–December 1935)

◀107▶

Stapostelle Government District Aachen

Report for April 1935

Aachen, 8 May 1935

GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 2

General Observations

[...] During the month under report, observations continued to indicate that throughout the government district, a strong anti-Jewish mood has become evident, manifested primarily in defacing Jewish businesses by means of demeaning drawings and slogans.¹ [...] <757>

◀108▶

Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf

Comprehensive Overview of the Political Situation

Düsseldorf, 5 May 1935

GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 5

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] The attacks to which Jews were subjected in the period here reported on, as a result of **posters** put up, slogans written on some businesses, etc., have apparently had a notable impact, acting to limit the Jews in their previous activity. It would seem as if at present they wish to avoid anything which might

call further public attention to themselves. The **boycott** measures against the Jews have intensified everywhere once again. Thus, in recent weeks, unknown culprits in Oberhausen have repeatedly scrawled and pasted anti-Jewish slogans on the sidewalks in front of Jewish firms. [...] <764>

◀109▶

Stapostelle Government District Breslau
Overview for the Gestapo Offices in Breslau, Liegnitz, and Oppeln²
Breslau, 5 May 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 11, 2

Jews and Freemasons

[...] In Breslau, the newspaper *NS-Schlesische Tageszeitung* continued its series in March and April 1935 entitled “Put Them in the Pillory!” The names and addresses were listed of **Aryan** women and girls who have intimate contact with Jews.³ Uniformed SA men carried posters through the city, publicizing the names of the women and the Jews involved. In addition, their names and addresses have been posted on the Staup Column at the Ring, and were guarded by SA members. On the whole, these measures have been welcomed by the Aryan population. It can be said that the population is learning how to view matters more racially, and that aversion to the Jews is mounting, bolstered by the circumstance that the paper ***Stürmer*** is being pasted up for public view by some NSDAP local groups in various neighborhoods in the city. [...] <763>

◀110▶

Stapostelle Police District Berlin
Report for April 1935
Berlin, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 1

Emigrants and Jews

Jewish Activities

[...] a) The Jew Sally *Hollaender*, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, resident at Kaiser-Allee 26, sent the 156th Precinct Police HQ the following letter, dated 19 April 1935:

“In view of the daily violations of the honor of the name of the Jews in the German public, I hereby retract my application for granting of the medal War Cross of Honor. I request that you send back to me the extract from the War Personnel Roster, using the stamped envelope herewith enclosed.

Respectfully, your most humble
Sally H. [signed]
Guard Non-Commissioned Officer of the old Peacetime Army and Non-
Com. Officer of the Army of the Front 1914–18.”

Hollaender was placed in protective custody.

[...] Over the course of time, difficulties arose regarding the meetings and gatherings of Jews, and these require some regulation.⁴ A large proportion of these gatherings take place in private residences. Officials who observe such meetings in the course of their assigned duties leave the residence after the meeting has been concluded, while the participants remain on, in order supposedly to drink tea in other rooms. There is some suspicion that these subsequent tea parties serve illegal ends. When the official leaves the residence, the building is often locked, so that the official must ask the Jews additionally to let him out of the building. Such a circumstance is hardly beneficial to the reputation of the Gestapo, and it is impossible to carry out adequate surveillance of such gatherings. For that reason, it is planned to generally limit gatherings in private residences. [...] <761>

◀111▶

Stapostelle Government District Frankfurt/Oder

Jews

Their associational activity and organizing of gatherings have decreased in the month here reported on.⁵ In a meeting called by the board of the Jewish **Community** in Küstrin on 20 March 1935, the former Frankfurt **lawyer** Dr. Landau, now a Jewish itinerant lecturer and the owner of a law office in Frankfurt/Oder, stated that the weekly day of rest was introduced by the Jews 3,000 years ago, and subsequently was adopted in imitation by other nations. In Germany, he noted, there had been a day of rest only since the introduction of the Reich Trade Code.⁶ He stressed that all great men in the Orient and Occident have drawn on the Jewish religion. He noted that the Jew, who resisted the great Roman Empire, had also been a brave soldier in various wars. Other great peoples, such as the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans, had declined and their cultures had disappeared. The speaker emphasized that only the Jewish people had not perished and would never perish. It had survived great revolutions and would also survive this one. Jews can walk with their heads held up high in pride because they have a glorious past. He stressed that they should stick together and stand together in the spirit of their ancient Jewish religion, which had always had a stimulating effect on other peoples.

Special attention will have to be given in future to the Jew named above, especially since his arguments are suited to significantly bolstering international Jewry, which is still present today in Germany. [...] <766>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for April 1935
Cologne, 4 May 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 8

Jews

In the past month in the Cologne district, the intensity of the anti-Jewish propaganda wave has increased,⁷ including numerous **individual actions** in its wake. Over the course of two weeks, windows have been smashed or broken, with a total value in the range of 20,000 RM. During the night hours, there have been repeated incidents where Jewish businesses or their display windows have been covered and defaced by oil paint and red lead paint. [...]

The Jews keep their distance from common social life. They have switched to organizing social evenings in their own homes and to cultivating the playing of music in the home.⁸ Public events take place only in the Rhineland Lodge,⁹ and no longer as in previous times in the most varied taverns and related venues. There is a plan to enlarge the stage in the Rhineland Lodge and to remodel the grand hall so that the question of adequate space can be better dealt with than before. The Jewish **Kulturbund** has shifted its concerts from the rooms of the Bürgergesellschaft to the **synagogue** so as to avoid being exposed to any attacks. [...] <770>

◀113▶

Stapostelle Government District Königsberg
Report for April 1935¹⁰
Königsberg, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, **Vol. 6**, 2

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The Jewish **Community** Königsberg has opened its own primary school with the beginning of the school year 1935, after receiving from the government the concession for operating an 8-grade elementary school.¹¹ The school is housed in the local new **synagogue**. Some 80 children are now attending classes there. The directors of the school are the teachers Franz Kälter and Neon¹² **Nussbaum**. The official sponsor of the newly established Jewish school is the

local Jewish Community. It is financed by the **Reich Representation** in Berlin and by a Königsberg Jewish school association now in the process of formation. [...]

Anti-Semitic Rallies

[...] Jews have complained about a **poster** that was affixed in Christburg, Stuhm District, in the two display cases of the NSDAP. The poster had the following content:

“The Jewish Passover festival is now approaching,¹³ a time when a Jewish sect needs the blood of a Christian for their superstitious customs.¹⁴ In the Lithuanian city of Tauroggen, a girl was slaughtered several days ago. The incidents in Konitz and Marienburg (in 1917) show that the sect also exists in Germany. Children and youth are especially in jeopardy, and are hereby explicitly warned of such danger.”¹⁵

The poster was signed by the head of the local group of the NSDAP in Christburg. The poster was not removed because it did not pose a threat to the public peace and security, nor did any disturbance seem likely. According to a report of the local police HQ in Wormditt, in the early morning hours of 14 April 1935, the synagogue, and the houses and display windows of Jewish businessmen, were besmirched with large slogans of an anti-Semitic character.¹⁶ The culprits are not known.

On 11 April in Allenstein, display windows in Jewish businesses were smashed by stone-throwing. In Johannisburg, the company name of Jewish firms, written on canvas strung up 3 meters above the street, was torn down and the display windows were smashed.

Statements by the Roman Catholic cleric Dobberstein so stirred the population to anger¹⁷ that spontaneous protest demonstrations erupted on 11 April 1935. Groups of Volksgenossen moved through the streets, shouting:

“Down with Dobberstein, this Jesuit, traitor to his country, down with **Freemasonry**, death to the Jews.” During this demonstration, display windows were smashed in almost all Jewish-owned businesses. A police investigation to find the culprits has been initiated.

The SA in Schillehnen, Pillkallen District, called on the German people to refrain from shopping at Jewish stores by posting **signs** at various locations in the locality, and putting up the militant paper ***Der Stürmer***.¹⁸

In the same manner, the local branch leader of the NS-Hago in Malwischken, Pillkallen District, put up a sign in Dorfstraße with the slogans: “Whoever shops

at Jewish stores is a traitor to the people," and "the Jews are our misfortune." Beneath this the militant paper *Der Stürmer* is prominently displayed and available to the public.

Signs have been put up at the main places in the city of Treuburg. They bear the message: "Any stay by Jews and Freemasons in the district is undesirable! Treuburg, September 1934. The Mayor." These are signs that were already put up for several hours in September 1934, and then had to be removed on orders from superior authorities. <771>

◀114▶

Stapostelle Government District Minden

Report for April 1935

Bielefeld, 4 May 1935

BArch, R 58/3709

Jews

[...] There has been a steady increase in internal cohesion among the Jews in the most recent period. That cohesion is being strengthened primarily by special attention given to religious observance and festivities in order in this way to return increasingly to a Jewish ethnic culture. In the framework of these efforts, it is notable that the local Jewish **Community** organized a special Passover meal¹⁹ for Jews without any family ties, or Jews who for specific reasons have no opportunity to partake in this festive meal in the home of their parents. This is an occasion, as is known, that is otherwise normally celebrated in the family. [...] <777>

◀115▶

District Governor Stettin

Report for March and April 1935

Stettin, 10 May 1935

BArch, R 58/3966

Jews

[...] As was already mentioned in the last Situation Report,²⁰ there has for

some time now been an energetic propaganda campaign by the NSDAP against the Jewish menace. It has indeed led to repeated public demonstrations by the population. During the period here reported on, there have been ever more frequent reports about display windows in Jewish businesses and Jewish homes, and sidewalks nearby, being pasted over with signs and painted with slogans. Now and then display windows have even been smashed.²¹ Very recently, 28 windows in a **synagogue** in Pyritz were destroyed. In order to avoid acts of violence against the Jews themselves, the Police Chief in Stettin has contacted the district administration of the NSDAP with express reference to the unavoidable legal consequences. [...] <812>

◀116▶

District Governor Wiesbaden

Jews, Freemasons

The Jews are attempting to offset their economic immiseration and the severing of their ties with **Aryan** and state educational institutions, and their total exclusion from participation in cultural affairs outside their circle, by an intellectual and moral strengthening of their Jewish worldview. This is evident from both the growing number of pupils at Jewish middle schools and high **schools**, and the numerous events, lectures and the like.²²

The influence of the Jewish dealers among farmers is increasing markedly. In many places in the rural areas, one can note that Jews are engaged in the purchase of all available cattle for slaughter by Jews, who offer prices for purchase above the going market value. Jewish participation in **cattle trade** in the countryside is estimated by some to be as high as 80 percent. During the period here under report, the defensive measures against the economic influence of the Jews have remained within the confines of the law. [...] <814>

Gendarmerie Unsleben
Report for 13/14 April 1935
Unsleben, 14 April 1935
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21907

During the night of 13/14 April 1935, a window of the **synagogue** in Eichenhausen was damaged by stones thrown at the building.²³ Two stones the size of a human hand were found in the synagogue. The window consists of six separate panes, of which four were totally smashed. Each pane is 35 x 50 cm. The value of the damage caused is about 4 RM. The culprit has not as yet been identified, but there are suspicions that the background to the incident was political. [...]

In addition, during the same night, the word "*Jüdling*"²⁴ was painted onto the courtyard door of the residence of the 1st Mayor Gottfried Steinmüller in Eichenhausen, using the same aforementioned type of paint.

In the case of the 2nd Mayor and pig dealer Josef Behrmann of Eichenhausen, the words "**Jews' lackey** and traitor to the people" were written on the courtyard door.

In the case of the farmer Otto Schmitt of Eichenhausen, the word "Judas" was painted on the door of his barn, which faces the main street in the locality.

In the case of the unmarried farmer Eustach Moritz of Eichenhausen, the expression "Jews' lackey" was written, and the same word was written on the entrance of the home of the farmer and the local leader of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization Alois Stahl of Eichenhausen. The entrance gate of the farmer Rudolph Ullrich of Eichenhausen was covered with the words "Jews' lackey and traitor."

The painting and handwriting in the case of these last six persons are identical to that in the case of the Jewish families mentioned. Here too the culprits are probably one and the same.

In the town of Eichenhausen, people are indignant that the gates of the courtyards and the doors of barns of the non-Jewish families were painted with the words "Jews' lackey" and "traitor."

It must be stated that these six families are honest and decent persons, and can be deemed loyal citizens.

Steinmüller, Behrmann, Ullrich, and Stahl are NSDAP members. [...] <834>

Stapostelle Police District Berlin

General Overview
Berlin, 13 June 1935
BArch, R 58/3038 a

Jewish Activities

In the month under report, the provocative behavior of the Jews has grown worse, and in various instances this has led to the population seeking its own remedy.²⁵ Generally, one can note a strong anti-Semitic wave.²⁶ Difficulties have arisen in various places when the police intervened. Such events act to shake the trust in the organs of state power. For that reason, the uniformed police will largely have to pay heed to the views held by the general population. [...]

The Jewish association **Hechalutz** organizes regular evening training courses to prepare fellow Jews living in Germany for settlement in **Palestine**.²⁷ The training reportedly consists of **Hebrew** language lessons and lectures about Palestine.

On the occasion of inspecting²⁸ such an evening training course, it was learned that of the eight announced lectures on specific topics, almost none was actually given as announced. In four instances, in their stead a lecture was given on the geographical location of Palestine. Moreover, in several cases the names of the lecturers as submitted differed from the registration data provided here. But they were present. [...]

It is the opinion among us that there is a silent agreement here: namely that once the police appears, the topic being discussed at the moment is switched, replaced by another, determined in advance. There has already been a report on this matter. [...]

On 27 May 1935, the “**Association of National German Jews**” held a meeting in the Schubert Hall, Berlin W 57, headed by Dr. **Naumann**. An estimated 400 persons were in attendance.

First, a Mr. Rosenow read a few sections from a work by Dr. Naumann from the year 1922. They dealt with the ridiculing of the military by Jewish profiteers, a common practice at the time, especially mockery of the officers’ corps. He noted that the above association was decidedly opposed to such machinations.

Then Dr. Naumann spoke on the topic “The Path to Freedom,” developing at length the concept of internal and external freedom. He stressed especially that the members of the association felt they were genuine Germans and had welcomed the new era in Germany brought by the Führer, and that they were

still in support of him. Commenting on the new defense law of 16 March 1935,²⁹ he stated that the national-oriented Jews were very much in favor of its introduction, because it had given Germany back her external freedom, but they regretted that they had been excluded from bearing arms for the fatherland.³⁰ He went on to state that the National Socialist radical change had not yet come to a conclusion. He hoped that the process of ridding the movement of the dross it still harbored would continue, so that a wine might come from this which would delight the palate of all Germans.

The talk was repeatedly interrupted by heckling from the **Zionists**, but the speaker put them in their place. [...]

Then the national anthem was sung. At this point, a small disturbance developed in the back of the hall, which was immediately quelled, and the cause for this was not readily visible.

A report about this gathering was sent to the **Gestapo**. [...]

In the month of May, there were 2,950 Jewish meetings, of which 76 were observed.^{31!} [?] <841>

Stapostelle Government District Kassel
Report for May 1935
Kassel, 5 June 1935
Klein, Kassel, p. 272

Jews and Freemasons

During the time covered by the report, there were numerous anti-Semitic rallies as a result of the provocative behavior of the Jews. In some instances, windows were broken.³² Jewish cunning was manifest in two cases, where Jewish businessmen got a sign from their insurance company stating roughly the following: "This windowpane is insured with the **Aryan** insurance company. ... Germans, protect the German people's property!" [...] <851>

Stapostelle Government District Koblenz
Report for May 1935
Koblenz, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3480

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The following incident is also revealing of the attitude among a segment of the **Aryan** population toward the Jews. At the beginning of May, the wife of a Jew was laid to rest in Merxheim, Kreuznach District. It was assumed that the population would behave in a properly restrained manner at the funeral, but that turned out to be mistaken. On the contrary, a large number of Aryan Volksgenossen took part in the funeral procession, unfortunately including a number of the members of the National Socialist Women's Organization. Also striking was the extent of participation of the Catholic population. It is only obvious that the necessary result of such an attitude displayed by the Aryan population is for the comportment and behavior of the Jews to become increasingly more free and emboldened.

The boycott measures against the Jews which were in effect in the other localities in the district consisted principally in pasting flyers calling for a **boycott** of the Jews on the walls of houses. These measures were carried out not only at houses where Jews lived, but also at houses where there was suspicion that the residents were still shopping at Jewish-owned stores. [...]

There is a trend observable among a segment of the Jews to move from the rural areas to the large cities or to emigrate abroad.³³ Thus, a Jewish farm was sold in Simmern, while others are now up for sale. <852>

Police HQ Munich
Daily Report for 25/26 May 1935³⁴
Munich, 27 May 1935
BayHStA, StK 106411

III. Special Items

Anti-Semitic Boycott Movement

On the afternoon of Saturday, 25 May 1935, a large crowd gathered in Rosenthal near the Epa **Department Store**. This was a rally directed against Jewish department stores (Epa, Uhlfelder). The crowd demanded that these businesses be shut down. The Labor Front likewise contacted Police HQ in order to obtain protection for the **Aryan** employees at these firms. Shortly after these reports were received, phone calls came in from nearly all Jewish businesses in Munich, requesting that their premises be protected from demonstrators. So it was reasonable to assume that there was a planned operation under way here against Jewish firms.³⁵

The perpetrators forced their way into the stores, cleared the premises of customers and forced those in charge to shut down and close the shop. In some instances, Aryan employees in these stores were also maltreated. As it was soon possible to determine, the demonstrators were not just members of the Party and the SS. It very soon became clear that persons of a dubious nature had also infiltrated among these demonstrators. They undoubtedly were bent on increasing the level of agitation and inciting the crowd to commit ill-considered acts against the police. A man named Walder Johann, born 28 February 1902 in Munich, was encountered, dressed in brown trousers and apparel that was conventional middle-class clothing. He is suspected of having been one of these disguised agitators.

By increasing the rounds of officers of the uniformed police, operating in conjunction with officers on patrol, the **SA** and **SS**, along with the Party organizations, law and order were soon restored. [...] <863>

►122►
Stapostelle Government District Münster
Report for May 1935
Recklinghausen, 6 June 1935

Jews and Freemasons

[...] As in most other places in the Reich, locally here in the district in recent weeks the Jewish Problem has once again become a focus of general concern. Everywhere the propaganda against Jews, and most especially against Jewish business persons, has been intensified.³⁶ This propaganda against the Jews was manifested in setting up *Stürmer* display cases, in calls for the **boycott** of Jewish shops, and in isolated instances of violence against Jewish businesses.³⁷ [...]

The Catholic population has no real appreciation for the fact that the **Jewish Question** has more recently come forcefully to the fore, and due to its religious views does not approve of the type of struggle mounted against the Jews.³⁸ Yet in broad segments of the population, and especially in the ranks of the SA, the dominant view is that the time has now come to finally solve the Jewish Question once and for all. As they put it, they wish to come to grips from below with the Jewish Problem, and believe that the government authorities will then have to take action, following suit. Under these circumstances, the authorities are naturally placed in a very difficult position, since among Party members there is no understanding whatsoever for the notion that the Jews should have economic equality,³⁹ as espoused by the Reich economy ministry. [...] <865>

◀123▶

Governor of the Province of Silesia
Report for April and May 1935
Breslau, 6 June 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 11,1

Jews and Freemasons

The district governor in Breslau has called attention to a new element in the Breslau streets on Sundays: SA men, proceeded by a trumpeter, are carrying posters through the streets bearing the names of Christian women in a relationship with a Jewish male.⁴⁰ The names in question are then posted on the Staup pillar in front of the Breslau town hall after the demonstrators have first marched in formation past the residences where these women live. The opinion of the general population on this, as the district governor has already reported, is

mixed. Some persons voice their approval, others disapprove. From reports that have come to my attention, it is clear that this demonstration is having a certain impact on the Jewish boycott abroad,⁴¹ and that Jewish circles are attempting to call attention to these manifestations by means of photographs. I assume that is being done with an aim to utilizing such imagery abroad in order to cast aspersions on Germany. [...] <907>

◀124▶

District Governor Trier

Report for April and May 1935

Trier, 6 June 1935

LHA Ko, 442/15625

Jews

[...] Anti-Semitic propaganda was also very active in the months covered by this report. *Inter alia*, it is manifest especially in putting up banners in the towns and villages which call for the **boycott** of Jewish shops. Or which state that Jews are not welcome in the town, or warn that Jews enter the locality at their own risk, etc.⁴² Unfortunately, undesirable excesses often occurred, such as throwing stones at the windows of Jewish houses and **synagogues**, threats against Jews, smearing windows and doors with human excrement, and violent acts against Jews.⁴³ Thus, a **cattle** dealer was attacked in the forest and beaten up in the Berncastel district. Police inquiries proved unsuccessful. I also think the manner in which children participated in anti-Semitic propaganda was regrettable.

In general, the greater mass of the population does not appreciate this kind of anti-Semitic propaganda. It does not accept being prevented from shopping in Jewish stores, especially if there are low-cost, high-quality goods to be purchased. [...]

In Trier, a flyer was brought out by the District Party Direction containing an order by the deputy Gauleiter of the NSDAP. It stated that Party members and members of the various Party formations are expressly reminded once more that it is strictly forbidden, now as before, for them to have any contact with Jews privately or for business purposes, and that they will be dealt with harshly and excluded from the Party if they should violate this injunction.⁴⁴ [...] <911>

◀125▶

County Commissioner Düren
Report for May 1935
Düren, 27 May 1935
HStA Dü, RAP 1039

General Overview of Internal Political Developments During the Month Covered by the Report

[...] In and outside of Düren, a story is making the rounds that a member of the SA intentionally shot and killed a comrade in Euskirchen. The rumor then spread in Euskirchen that the culprit was a Jew, and that Jews in Euskirchen had been maltreated and persecuted as a consequence.⁴⁵ <915>

►126►

[NSDAP] District Direction Eichstätt
Report for May 1935
Eichstätt, n.d.
StA Nü, Miscellaneous NSDAP

The **Jewish Question** was dealt with yesterday in an exemplary manner by the Party District Chief. It encompassed almost every locality and, as far as could be determined, had the desired success. Unfortunately, it is still not possible here to say that all the **Volksgenossen** have recognized the importance of the **Jewish Question**. But that is probably due to the fact that the Church acts as a brake on this, quietly engaging in opposition.⁴⁶ <916>

►127►

Lord Mayor of Hameln

Report on Political Affairs
Hameln, 20 May 1935
HStA Ha, Hann. 80, Hann. II No. 799

[...] On 11 May 1935, there was a social evening organized by the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans, with 10 members in attendance. Along with organizational matters, the members were informed that Jews would have to vacate the new Jewish settlement of Groß-Gaglow, since Aryans were to be settled there.⁴⁷ It was also announced that the central government had acknowledged receipt of the proposal by the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans to extend compulsory military service to include the Jews as well.⁴⁸ The Führer and Reich Chancellor has personally reserved the prerogative of final decision on the matter. No clarifications of any kind were given regarding the two points, nor was any opinion expressed.

◀128▶

Gendarmerie Osnabrück

Special Report
Osnabrück, 25 May 1935
Steinwascher, p. 472

There were no significant events in internal political developments.

Since the birthday of the Führer, there has been considerable activity by the **Tannenberg League**. For example, the Wittlage district reports as follows: "The Tannenberg League has been doing an unusual amount of advertising since the birthday of the Führer. In all its meetings, they are preaching that the Jews should be destroyed, but recently they have also spoken out in an exceptionally sharp manner against Christian doctrine as well. It is stated quite openly that if Judaism is to be destroyed, the Christian religion must disappear. For that reason, there has been a certain discomposure manifest in the population."⁴⁹
<924>

◀129▶

Stapostelle State Police District Berlin
Report for June 1935
Berlin, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 2, 2

Jews and Emigrants

Activities of the Jews

[...] German **Volksgenossen** apparently regard them to be fair game in every respect. For that reason, in the past month as well, there have been a large number of outrageous incidents. The positive aspect of those events, however, is that the population is clearly having its eyes opened ever wider, and that opposition to the Jews is on the constant rise. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the population should on occasion express its indignation and take the law into its own hands.⁵⁰ [...]

Cases are still becoming known in which **Aryan** women give themselves to Jews and have intimate relations with them.⁵¹

By means of insistent remonstration vis-à-vis the Jewish man involved and reeducation of the Aryan woman, the Gestapo is endeavoring to prevent such relations, which defile racial purity. To the extent there was a sufficient legal basis for action, the Jews involved were taken into **protective custody**.

Here a more intense and active campaign of enlightenment for educating the Volksgenossen appears necessary, especially since there have to date been no legal regulations fundamentally prohibiting marriage between Aryans and **non-Aryans**.

Propaganda activity by the **Stürmer** has increased substantially and can point to some excellent success. <933>

Bavarian Political Police

Report

Munich, 21 June 1935

StA Mü, Gestapo 62

There has recently been a considerable increase in the activity of the so-called **German-Jewish organizations (assimilationists)**. The immediate reason for this was the law on military service⁵² in particular, where they had hoped for an opportunity, through its agency, to come into closer contact once again with Germandom.

In future, the strong organizational activity of the Jews cannot be tolerated in its present scope.⁵³ Where the local conditions necessitate, it is left to the authorities to prohibit meetings of Jewish organizations on the basis of §1 of the decree by the Reich president on the Protection of the People and the State of 28 February 1933.⁵⁴ Reference is made to the decision by the Bavarian Political Police of 20 February 1935 B.No. 18186/35 I B 1. This primarily affects the functions and gatherings of the German-Jewish organizations.

The following are exempted from a general prohibition:

- 1) Gatherings and functions of the local cultural organizations which are affiliates of the Reich Federation of Jewish **Kulturbund** in Germany.
- 2) Gatherings of the members of **sports associations** and sporting events, if no special limitation is stipulated.
- 3) Gatherings and functions of the Zionist organizations.⁵⁵

Yet to the extent that functions and meetings, especially of the organizations named under 1) and 2) above, are utilized for purposes of concealment and disguise, and open or hidden propaganda is made in them for Jews to remain in Germany, they are to be dissolved immediately and placed under a prohibition until further notice.⁵⁶ <931>

Stapostelle Government District Breslau
Overview for the Gestapo Offices Breslau, Liegnitz, and Oppeln
Breslau, 5 July 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 11,1

Jews and Freemasons

Of principal interest are the events in recent days, where a number of German females oblivious of their racial identity and Jews (some 20 individuals all told) were taken into **protective custody** in Breslau. They were placed in custody on charges of **race defilement** in conjunction with a direct threat to public security and order. In so doing, forceful action has finally been taken against the shameful antics by German females oblivious of their racial identity and their Jewish paramours. [...] <935>

Stapostelle Government District Hanover
Report for June 1935
Hanover, 4 July 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 3, 2

Opponents of the State and the Movement

[...]

[Jews]

[...] The Zionist Association continues to spread powerful propaganda calling for registering all non-Zionist Jews. The membership of the local Zionists has increased in the past three months by about 40 percent. Since April 1933, 183 Jews have emigrated from the city of Hanover.⁵⁷ There are 172 **East European Jews** among these emigrants. A further 27 individuals are in **vocational retraining** and have already requested their **certificates** from the British government. Of these, 21 are of East European origin.

With the approval of the local municipality, the Jewish **Community** in the Synagogue Community Center on Lützowstraße established a Jewish school in May of this year, with five grades and some 80 pupils. The school will be expanded in the near future, since there are almost 600 pupils in Hanover. Classes at school are being handled by a recently qualified teacher as director and three additional instructors.⁵⁸

There is nothing of special interest to report regarding the other Jewish associations and alliances.⁵⁹ [...] <939>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for June 1935
Cologne, 7 July 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 9

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

The renewed wave of anti-Jewish propaganda,⁶⁰ which in the local district has largely taken on the form of individual boycott,⁶¹ has in the meantime subsided. Recently the Gau leadership has also ordered the numerous **banners** hung over the streets in the city to be removed.⁶² The events of the past two months have shown that in future, it is necessary to have absolutely clear instructions from the central authorities regarding *what is permissible in the framework of the wave of anti-Jewish propaganda, and what is not permitted*. This is necessary since otherwise the senior police official with executive power, who ultimately shoulders the full burden of responsibility, will, if he should intervene, not have the requisite backing, or no longer appears on the scene when in the close proximity of critical situations. But ultimately what suffers in both instances is the *authority of the state*. The same is true when the impression is awakened in the country that in respect to anti-Jewish propaganda, there is *no uniform conception* among the various central authorities. For example, the economy ministry often takes a view that differs from that of other authoritative offices.⁶³ [...]

It is striking that in several *funerals of Jewish citizens* in smaller towns which took place during the period reported on, there was quite *substantial participation* likewise by the *non-Jewish population*, so that it is already possible to speak of the *growth of philo-Semitism*. Jewish *organizational activity* was also quite active in the past month.⁶⁴ <942>

►134►

Stapostelle Government District Königsberg
Report for June 1935
Königsberg, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 6, 3

General

[...] There were no larger-scale anti-Jewish rallies. Yet gradually here too there is an increase in a mood inimical to the Jews, particularly since in East Prussia⁶⁵ as well, there are ever more cases in which Jews take advantage of and abuse **Aryan** girls.⁶⁶

Jews and Freemasons

[...] In East Prussia the number of cases where Jews sexually abuse Aryan girls is also on the rise, though it must be said that the girls surrender to this without much thought. [...]

On 10 June 1935, it was announced in Johannisburg that the **Women's Chevra Kaddisha** had been formed, the Israelitic Association for Care for the Sick and Burial Association of the Johannisburg District Jewish Community.⁶⁷ The purpose of the association is

- 1) to provide care for destitute local residents who are of the Jewish faith,
- 2) to perform the ritual washing, dressing, and accompanying of the body of the deceased, as a service of love. [...]

The population has little understanding for measures of the Reich government to combat the folk pest and the related **Jewish Question**. Now as before, it is evident that individuals are continuing to frequent Jewish shops. It is a regrettable fact that not only the rural and poorer population shops at these stores, but also a substantial segment of the government officials, whether they belong to the National Socialist organizations or not.⁶⁸ [...] <943>

◀135▶

Stapostelle Government District Sigmaringen

Report for June 1935

Sigmaringen, 12 July 1935

GStA, I. HA Rep. 9 oP, Vol. 5

Jews and Freemasons

A meeting of Jews took place in Hechingen on 26 June 1935 in the **synagogue**. It was unobjectionable.⁶⁹ The **Hitler Youth** disturbed the meeting considerably from outside by fanfare and the chanting of slogans, though there was no current or past special reason for doing so. This operation⁷⁰ displeased

large segments of the local population of Hechingen, especially the workers employed in the Jewish workshops and factories, i.e., almost all of Hechingen's industry, and who fear the loss of their jobs should these firms close. The workers have threatened to resign from the German Labor Front if their employers are not given satisfaction. That naturally is impossible. Now the workers are being given an oral explanation by the director of the German Labor Front, emphasizing that such incidents should in future be eliminated. <957>

◀136▶

District Governor Wiesbaden

Report for May and June 1935 (“Political Situation Report”)

Wiesbaden, 1 July 1935

BArch, R 58/3987

Jews

[...] The question of the “*non-Aryan teachers*,” for example, who on the basis of exceptions laid down in the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service have remained on the job as **combat veterans** and the like, gives rise to special difficulties.⁷¹ The National Socialist parents refuse to send their children to classes conducted by these teachers. On the other hand, the school authorities are bound by the regulations as set down in the law and are thus “legally” obliged to protect the Jewish teachers, and to proceed with possible legal sanctions against the National Socialist parents. As untenable as this state of affairs is, the previously broached attempts to solve the problem are hardly satisfactory, such as the formation of Jewish classes or Jewish schools maintained by the municipality. One solution might be for the state to legally transfer the Jewish teachers to the recognized Jewish private **schools**. [...]

The pronounced presence of the Jews in the public arena is perceived as an especially disturbing phenomenon. This was particularly evident in the Brentano Bad, a bathing facility in a Frankfurt suburb frequented by numerous Jews. Some 150 youths, presumably members of the **Hitler Youth**, entered the premises as guests and then demanded that the Jews leave the facility, chanting slogans. They also had made small wooden signs that read: “Jews out!” “Jews, pack your bags!,” “Hebrews, get out of here!” etc. These pieces of wood were set afloat in the pool.⁷² The special riot squad called in by the pool director cooperated with officers of the local police station to restore order.

In various smaller municipalities in the local district, there are now **signs** put up on the streets bearing the message "Jews Not Wanted Here!," etc. Since the interior minister recently issued an order stating that such signs should be removed by the police only if they were affixed to signposts and traffic signs,⁷³¹ have not taken any steps against the placement of these signs. [...] <972>

◀137▶

County Commissioner Hanau
Report for May and June 1935

Hanau, 25 June 1935
Klein, Kassel, p. 425

Jews, Freemasons

In recent weeks and months, the Jewish associations have shown increased levels of activity.⁷⁴ The so-called **German-Jewish** organizations (**assimilationists**) think that given the active engagement of the Zionist organizations⁷⁵—which are dealing, as is well known, with vocational retraining for the purpose of **emigration to Palestine**—they must also take action. The meetings of the **German-Jewish** associations are no longer permitted.⁷⁶ [...]

The great majority of the population cannot understand why Jews today are still accorded the possibility to be active in such associations. [...] <984>

◀138▶

County Commissioner Hünfeld
Report for May and June 1935
Hünfeld, 24 June 1935
Klein, Kassel, p. 431

The acts of terror against Jews and Jewish property continue unabated, since the perpetrators think they are protected from any sanctions under the law.⁷⁷
<985>

◀139▶

Stapostelle Police District Berlin
Report for July 1935
Berlin, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 2,1

General

[...] There is general interest in news reports about the struggle against the Jews, the conflict in the Church, especially the fight against political Catholicism and the dissolution of the **Stahlhelm**. Depending on political views, there are differing positions expressed on these questions. [...]

Communism

The Distributing of Pamphlets That Stir Up Hatred

[...] The cell paper *Die Wahrheit*, publication of the Pankow branch of the German Communist Party, June 1935, states in the article “Pogrom in Pankow” that anti-Semitism is only a means for the Nazis, in order to distract attention from the ever more serious difficulties.⁷⁸ [...]

Jews and Emigrants

Activities of the Jews

For months, the **Stapostelle** in Berlin has been observing a constant rise in the wave of anti-Semitism.⁷⁹ [...] First at the beginning of June in Spandau and Pankow, there were several demonstrations out in front of Jewish businesses. These rallies were suppressed by taking the Jews temporarily into **protective custody**, their seizure fully visible to the demonstrators. But soon the demonstrations increased in size and began to target the ice-cream parlors owned by Jews in particular. [...]

The incidents usually developed in the following way: in the evening hours, large numbers of young people gathered in front of the ice-cream shops, chanting slogans demanding that they be closed down. Various customers and Aryan personnel were threatened and even physically accosted, and the items customers leaving the shops were carrying were knocked from their hands. In addition, crowds chanting slogans such as “Don’t buy from Jews!”⁸⁰ sought to keep the public from entering the ice-cream parlors. In numerous instances, the

owners were told they had better close their place immediately, and that if they didn't it would be forcibly cleared or demolished. After they closed up, the shops were pasted over with boycott placards and *Stürmer* sheets. This operation was continued during the night hours. In addition to the ice-cream parlors, other Jewish establishments were plastered over with boycott notices and posters, and smeared with paint. The sidewalk outside was painted with slogans against the Jews. The chemical water glass was often used as a cement to paste paper on the windows. Its corrosive action rendered the display windows opaque and thus unusable. In numerous instances, the display windows were smashed during the night. The events on Kurfürstendamm⁸¹ on the occasion of the showing of the Swedish movie *Petterson and Bendel* injected new momentum into these excesses. One case of plunder has also become known. In that incident, items with a total value of some 150 RM were stolen. While the rallies initially were largely organized by members of the **Hitler Youth**, it soon became apparent that the crowds gathering were composed more and more of adults. Their ranks often included persons who were not members of the Party, and elements hostile to the state. The latter wished to make use of the disturbances for their own ends. The demonstrators were all dressed in conventional clothing and bore no special badges. The uniformed police gained the impression that some of the demonstrations were carried out according to plan by lower-level offices or individuals connected with the Party or its formations, contrary to the directives of the Gau leadership. There are still inquiries in progress on this matter.

Soon after knowledge was received about the disturbances, the Stapostelle took comprehensive steps to prevent further incidents.⁸² [...]

In connection with these incidents, it must be noted that the police, forced to intervene in these cases, found itself in an extremely difficult situation, since most of the public had little understanding of its actions. The officials were greeted by the demonstrators and the rest of the public with shouts of "**Jews' lackeys.**" Statements on occasion by those taken into custody made it clear that the Party offices were carefully observing and recording the intervention by the officials. The officers on patrol, who are generally familiar with this procedure, have been made insecure regarding how to perform their assigned duty, since they are afraid of suffering serious professional setbacks. And they are likewise repeatedly threatened by the demonstrators. Given this situation, after the first initial clashes, an order was issued instructing officials of the NSDAP and SA men in uniform to take part in the clean-up operations of the uniformed police. That measure helped substantially to ease the burden of the uniformed police.

Despite enlightenment in the National Socialist press, the race-defiling

activity of the Jews has assumed proportions that necessitate giving greater attention to this activity. Just in the month alone treated in this report, 72 persons were arrested on charges of **race defilement**. [...]

In several cases, the population has taken steps to publicly expose the Jewish race-defilers and their Aryan girlfriends by means of posters. [...]

As a result of enlightenment efforts by the NS press, the public has become far more attentive now, directing a watchful eye to Jews in the company of blond German girls as companions. There are numerous complaints filed by the public every day about such incidents. [...]

Jewish associational activity⁸³ in the month of July was reduced to the absolute minimum by actions of the Gestapo. Thus, there were only 125 meetings. The intention is to drastically restrict the activity of the Jewish associations, since there are insufficient Gestapo personnel to engage in proper surveillance of even a portion of the Jewish gatherings and meetings.⁸⁴ [...]
<1004>

Stapostelle Government District Aurich
Report for July 1935
Wilhelmshaven, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 3, 8

Jews and Freemasons

Regarding the demonstrations in the north⁸⁵ against Jews, I refer to my reports B. No. 1485/35 of 27 and 30 July of this year.

In Wilhelmshaven as well, the **boycott** against Jewish individuals and businesses has intensified to an exceptional degree in the course of the last week, and there have been various violent excesses.

At the residence of the Jewish wholesale dealer [name a withheld], [...], during the night of 20 to 21 July 1935, in front of the entrance on the sidewalk, the following was written in white paint: "Entrance to the Institute for **Race Defilement**, treatment with full discretion; utilizing our own special method, numerous years of experience." The occasion for these lines was the relationship of [name a withheld] with the daughter of the retired Privy Councilor [name b withheld], who lives a few doors away from the house of [name a withheld] [...]. Scribbled on the sidewalk in front of their house were the words: "Here dwells the whore of the Jew." Due to these actions, [name a withheld] and [name b withheld] have taken flight. Their present whereabouts are unknown. A few days later, during the night of 26 to 27 July 1935, a **banner** was affixed in front of the house of [name a withheld], bearing the words: "A dead dog, a dead pig and a Jew—all one and the same." The banner was subsequently removed by order of the police.

On 27 July 1935, about 5 a.m., a police patrol discovered the head of a pig nailed to a board and affixed to the door of the **synagogue**. A pig's tail was affixed to the door handle of a side door, and attached to the handle of another side door was the vulva of a female pig. These objects were immediately ordered to be removed; it was not possible to determine who the culprits were.

On 28 July 1935, a private individual provided the information that in front of the local office of the branch "South" of the NSDAP, a life-sized doll was found affixed to the premises. It bore the inscription: "This is how all Jews who defile our women must end up." The doll was removed by order of the police. [...] <1000>

Stapostelle Government District Breslau
Overview of the Gestapo Offices Breslau, Liegnitz, and Oppeln⁸⁶
Breslau, 3 August 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 11,1

Jews and Freemasons

[...] After ***race defilement*** of ***Aryan*** women by ***Jews*** has finally been presented to the public in a very clear and unambiguous light, the bitter feeling against these criminals has assumed huge proportions, beyond any limit. There was not any abatement until a total of 20 ***Jews*** and 20 ***Aryan*** "females" were taken into protective custody. The public reacted with ***great*** applause to the internment of these race deniers in the ***concentration camp***. Thus, on 30 July 1935, thousands of ***Volksgenossen*** who wished to witness the dispatching of these race deniers to the camp gathered in the streets. [...] <1007>

►142►

Stapostelle Government District Frankfurt/Oder
Daily Report
Frankfurt/Oder, 5 August 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 4, 2

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] An incident occurred in the city of Arnswalde. There at the beginning of the month, the direction of the local branch of the NSDAP posted a placard with the names of three officials who had supposedly shopped at Jewish stores (among them a senior official of the Reichsbank). The president of the Reichsbank⁸⁷ then demanded that the placard be removed and replaced by an explanation stating that the charge of treason against the people allegedly committed by the bank official in question was unfounded. Since this demand was not fully adhered to, the president of the Reichsbank ordered this branch closed, effective from 15 July.⁸⁸ There is general consternation in the city as a result of this incident. Particularly in business circles, there is criticism of the actions of the head of the Party branch. [...]

It is noteworthy that, as reported by all district and local police offices, it is principally the rural population that continues to shop at Jewish-owned stores.

There were only a small number of meetings by Jewish organizations.⁸⁹ [...] <1010>

►143►

Stapostelle Government District Hanover

Report for July 1935

Hanover, 3 August 1935

GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 3, 2

Opponents of the State and the Movement

[...]

Jews

The long-standing lack of unity between the **Zionists** and the **German-Jewish** Jews in the Jewish movement continues to exacerbate. The rivalry, which appears to be impossible to bridge, consists principally in differences between the Zionists⁹⁰ and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, because the Reich League now sees its dominant position in German Jewry being eroded as a result of the ever stronger influence enjoyed by the Zionists. There is also rivalry between the Zionists and the Aguda Isroel.⁹¹ For several months now, the Aguda has been forming its own groups of immigrants for **Palestine** alongside the Zionist organization, and is also attempting to organize a special group in Palestine devoted to living as Orthodox Jews. The opposition to Zionism is based on the circumstance that the Aguda Isroel believes that Palestine can only be rebuilt with divine providential aid. Members of the Aguda are observant Orthodox Jews, true to the **Torah**. They have only a small circle of adherents in Germany. Thus, the local group in Hanover has about 70 members. [...]

The increased organizational activity⁹² among Jewish organizations in recent months has placed Jewry in a more fortified defensive position vis-à-vis the state and the National Socialist party. The consequence is a generally more aggressive stance, and a tendency to intensified resistance against measures by the authorities or the Party offices. [...] <1012>

►144►

Stapostelle Government District Wiesbaden

Contribution to Situation Report
Frankfurt/M., 5 August 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 4, 2

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] There was very active agitation against the Jews in the past month. Unfortunately, this led to violence by troublemakers who believed they had to oppose the Jews by inflicting material damage on them. Thus, at a Jewish cemetery hidden in the forest in the district of Bornich, 25 gravestones were toppled one after the other, and even the iron fencing was destroyed.⁹³ The head of the Jewish religious Community rejected the idea that members of the NSDAP might be involved here as perpetrators. [...]

In Diez, it is striking that most of the pupils in the Israelitic children's home wear uniform dress. It consists of brown corduroy trousers, a green linen smock with a belt, and a black beret. The boys wear knee-length socks. Since those of school age at the children's home attend public school in Diez and constitute a certain disruption of instruction due to their appreciable numbers, the Jewish children are to be transferred out and assigned to their own Jewish **school**, to be set up for this purpose. <1035>

◀145▶

NSDAP Gau Office for Municipal Policy Gau Direction Swabia
Activity Report
Augsburg, 10 August 1935
BArch, NS 25/351

My directive of July 1935, regarding **bathing prohibitions** for Jews at municipal pool facilities, which was well received throughout the German press, has now also been adopted in many other municipalities, such as in Bad Wörishofen. There the mayor has announced that in future passes for Jews to use the spa facilities will no longer be issued. <1077>

◀146▶

Stapostelle State Police District Berlin
Report for August 1935
Berlin, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 2, 1

Jews and Emigrants

Activities of the Jews

In the anti-Semitic movement, in comparison with the previous month there has been no basic change. But the **individual actions** against Jews and Jewish businesses have ceased almost completely. Particularly toward the end of the month, a widespread calming in this respect was evident. However, due to the fact that the behavior of the Jews hostile to the state and the people continues unabated, despite the past disturbances,⁹⁴ there is no guarantee that the present situation will continue. Everywhere in the population and the Party, people note the lack of a straight and clear line in policy on the Jews. As was already detailed in the last situation report, what is generally noticed is that the government and the Party are not working hand in hand when it comes to the Jewish Question. [...]

In any event, police force alone will not be able to prevent a repetition of the demonstrations against the Jews.

The activity of the **Stapostelle**⁹⁵ has been intensified even further due to the ever more numerous complaints filed charging **race defilement**. In the month covered by this report, activity constituting race defilement was established in the case of a total of 208 persons. [...]

In the month here under report, 2,213 Jewish meetings took place, of which only 22 could be properly observed.⁹⁶ [...] <1089>

►147►

Stapostelle Government District Aachen
Report for August 1935
Aachen, 5 September 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 3

General

[...] The way the **Jewish Question** is being dealt with in my district has likewise caused great displeasure, since given their mentality, the Roman Catholic population initially sees the Jew as a human being, and only secondarily thinks of evaluating the matter from the standpoint of race policy. Though Catholics are even in opposition to fundamental principles and demands of the movement in regard to population policy, as for example in the question of sterilization,⁹⁷ when it comes to Jews, the Catholic population is extremely tolerant. It resolutely rejects, insofar as the individual Jew is concerned, any and all measures.⁹⁸ It is thus very welcome that in future there are to be no more **individual actions against Jews**, especially since here in this district, such actions have in any case led to the most detrimental consequences in regard to our close foreign neighbors just over the border. The manner of expression of the paper ***Stürmer*** is likewise little appreciated in these parts. [...] <1086>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for August 1935
Cologne, 3 September 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 9, 9

General Mood

[...] The speech by the Reichsbank president Dr. **Schacht**, which he gave in Königsberg on the occasion of the opening of the trade fair there,⁹⁹ is the object of much discussion among business people and the broader citizenry. It is considered unfortunate that the speech was not reproduced verbatim in full, and rather only in extracts, in the daily papers. Since the full text of the speech is being distributed by the Reichsbank, it is now finding its way into the broader public arena. Voices are already being raised which contend that the speaker has come to a reckoning with those forces which have permitted themselves to interfere in economic life in an irresponsible manner, thus inflicting damage on the economy. The **Jewish Question** was also reportedly touched on in the speech, and addressed from a perspective that is not in keeping with the view of the movement on the Jewish Question, and with the manner in which the Jews are being dealt with. In economic circles, a certain satisfaction is expressed that the president of the Reichsbank openly rejected interference by individuals who have no understanding of the structure of the economy. There are numerous voices saying that the president of the Reichsbank, with his stated views on the problem of the economy and the Jewish Question, has here achieved a splendid victory over the movement. [...]

Jews

The mood among the Jews is very depressed. They believe that their situation would be far worse were there no moral pressure exerted by world public opinion from the outside.¹⁰⁰ In the Jewish community, there is an expectation that their fate may be improved in the light of the speech by the Reich economy minister Dr. Schacht given in Königsberg. The Jew has withdrawn completely from social life, and now leads his own life in the family, or in a meeting place or establishment specially designated for him.

The boycott measures¹⁰¹ against Jewish businesses have been halted almost completely. Only in two instances was there an attempt to prevent shoppers from entering Jewish stores. In one further case, the windows in a Jewish residence

were smashed.¹⁰² Five Jews charged with **race defilement** were taken into **protective custody** during the month covered by this report. <1099>

►149►

Stapostelle Government District Lüneburg

Report for August 1935

Harburg-Wilhelmsburg, n.d.

GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 3, 3

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The Jews in general have behaved in a quiet manner, but recently in the city of Celle several cases have been reported in which Jews have been baptized and converted to the Protestant church. Among members of the Protestant community, these individuals are seeking to awaken the impression that they are true believers in the Protestant religion. Of course, their baptism was only for the purpose of disguising their Jewish origin.¹⁰³

The decree by the Reich and Prussian interior minister, dated 20 August 1935,¹⁰⁴ on the prevention of violent excesses, by which the Führer and Reich Chancellor has directed that there must be an unconditional end to any **individual actions** against Jews by members of the NSDAP and its formations and affiliated organizations, was warmly welcomed by the authorities. [...] <1102>

►150►

Stapostelle Government District Minden

Report for August 1935

Bielefeld, 4 September 1935

BArch, R 58/3709

Protestant Church

[...] It is also the expectation in broad circles of the **Confessional Front** that an official position will be formulated on the **Jewish Question** at the upcoming synod in Königsberg. It should be noted here that leading figures in the Confessing Church, according to available statements, fundamentally endorse the position of the government on the Jewish Question, but for reasons of moral principles reject the tendency of the **Stürmer**. [...]

Jews

During the period covered by this report in the local district, the struggle against the Jews has intensified markedly, after this struggle has been vigorously advanced in the National Socialist press and in the neighboring districts. [...] Initially people were content, in individual localities in the district, such as in Minden, to paste over the display windows of Jewish, and in some cases also of **Aryan** business people, with placards whose content was hostile to the Jews. In the second half of the month of August, there were more coarse violent actions reported in Lübbecke, Bösingfeld, and Lage in Lippe-Detmold. In Lübbecke, the windows of several Jewish businesses were smashed by stones. In Bösingfeld i/L., a Jewish **physician** living there was summoned by a false telephone call late in the evening to the scene of a supposed accident with an injured person. His car was then peppered with stones from behind as he rounded a curve. Finally, in Lage (Lippe), several gravestones were overturned at night at the Jewish cemetery¹⁰⁵ and a number of objects were damaged in the **synagogue**. In all three cases, the culprits were apprehended and have been taken into temporary **protective custody**. I refer to my daily report of 19 August 1935 I 1431.¹⁰⁶

Finally, in the period here under report, a number of persons were arrested, charged with **race defilement**, and placed in temporary protective custody. Most of them have since been released.

It should be noted that due to the many reports in the press about people being arrested on the charge of race defilement, large segments of the population have been seized by a certain kind of race defilement psychosis. They seem to sense race defilement everywhere, and in some cases have called for the state to proceed against race defilement on the basis of events which in some cases occurred many years ago. In these circles of the population, people likewise fail to understand why all those persons whom they named as guilty of race defilement were not sent immediately for a long period of detention to a **concentration camp**. Gradually a certain easing of the mood has also come to pass here in this regard. In order to prevent violent excesses under any circumstances in the future, the Party and SA have once again, as on previous occasions, issued special decrees strictly prohibiting any and all **individual actions**. <1106>

Report for August 1935
Osnabrück, 4 September 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 3, 9

Jews and Freemasons

In the month here reported on, the Jews did not have any organizational activity whatsoever. There were not even any religious services held in the **synagogue**. Evidently people have apprehensions, totally groundless, that if they gather together in meetings there could be some acts of violence toward them. This anxiety psychosis is so powerful that during a rally of the NSDAP at the Ledenhof in Osnabrück, some of the Jews suddenly decided to leave town and did not return until the following day. [...]

The high point of the defensive struggle was the huge mass rally of the NSDAP at the Ledenhof on 20 August 1935, attended by more than 25,000 persons. [...]

<1109>

◀152▶

District Governor Kassel
Report for July and August 1935
Kassel, 2 September 1935
Klein, Kassel, pp. 518 ff.

General Situation

The mood in the population has evidently worsened during the last few weeks of the period here reported on. Instead of the previous generally shared mood, which gave scant if any attention to the bickering and negative complaining by a few individuals, now one can note a certain political fatigue and a strong inclination to criticize. [...]

If one looks into the reason for this negative mood, it is clear that many disapprove of what is happening locally, and also dislike the **Stürmer** display cases, now commonly set up in almost all localities. Here it would appear that certain blunders have been committed. Without supervision by a higher-level office, such as that of the Party District Chief, one cannot rule out the danger that accusations may be made which lack sufficient clarification of the actual facts involved. The Stürmer display cases could even be utilized locally as a weapon in personal village disputes. The attacks against officials and the accusation that they are a "traitor of the people," a charge whose gravity many apparently do not really comprehend, clearly function to undermine the authority of the state. Moreover, the denunciation of Marburg professors¹⁰⁷ can serve to generate a negative image of Germany among foreigners, who quite naturally do not disregard such negative criticism. [...] <1124>

◀153▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for August 1935
Ansbach, 9 September 1935
BayHStA, StK 106677

General Situation

[...] In the Protestant Church dispute, all was quiet externally. But deeper down the tensions continue, now as before. In Bayreuth, for example, the last will and testament of a number of persons was revoked, since the family members designated as heirs had declared they were followers of the **German**

Christians. Many **Confessing Church** clergy believe it is their duty at the moment, when an enlightened attitude about the Jew is spreading far beyond the boundaries of Franconia, to emphasize and focus on the earlier or future “mission” of the Jewish people, as stated in the Bible. But that is an outrage for the people and the movement, and is regarded as a provocation, not only by opponents of the **Confessional Front.** [...]

◀1127▶

District Governor Wiesbaden
Report for August 1935
Frankfurt/M., 30 August 1935
Klein, Hessen-Nassau, p. 901

Jews and Freemasons

[...] At the Jewish cemetery in Bornich (District St. Goarshausen), some 25 gravestones were overturned by unknown culprits.¹⁰⁸ In the **synagogue** in Kröffelbach, there was a break-in. In mid-July, a crowd gathered in front of the sanatorium in Oberstedten near Bad Homburg. Several stones were thrown at the windows of the sanatorium. A few days later, some shots were fired at the building. In Diez a. d. Lahn, a crowd gathered out in front of a Jewish orphanage and, using ladders, attempted to enter the building. It was successful in causing the police to intervene and come to the aid of those inside, some 50 persons, mainly children, and deport them to Frankfurt am Main. Popular indignation was especially violent in Gladenbach, where three houses inhabited by Jews were ransacked. People forced their way into the houses and then turned on the water taps, or ripped out the pipes, so that the houses were totally destroyed by the water.¹⁰⁹ [...] <1140>

Gendarmerie Fischach
Report for 4 August 1935
Fischach, 6 August 1935
BArch, R 1501/127079/35/1

On Sunday, 4 August 1935, at about noon, SA-Sturm 40/3 from Augsburg arrived by truck in Fischach.

Their vehicles were parked in the square in the center of Fischach and then the SA men combed through the entire town, moving in small units.

They had small jars filled with glue and put up notices on most of the buildings inhabited by Jews. These advertised an issue of the *Stürmer*, the particular one where the trial against the Jew [name withheld] from Magdeburg was treated, involving a charge of defiling German girls.¹¹⁰

In most cases, this went off without causing any damage to Jewish property.

But in a few cases, huge placards were affixed on the front doors and doors of the garages, all with the same content. This left the doors in a very dirty condition.

The door of the synagogue was subjected to the same treatment, pasted over and virtually covered *in toto* with a number of these small notices. The merchant and Jew Hugo Delier, married, tore down a few of the notices from the synagogue door, and information about his action was passed on to the SA men. Delier is a member of the synagogue administration.

Deller was then picked up by Obersturmführer Gallien and Oberscharführer Neumair at his home and brought to the Main Square. There he was forced to hold up the large poster for all to see, and he was photographed together with some SA men.

Later he was reportedly maltreated, and subsequently released. Back at home, Deller was instructed to maintain strict silence about this incident, since otherwise he would be sent to Dachau.¹¹¹ [...]

The population felt it was particularly unpleasant that this gigantic poster was also put up on the wall of the Catholic Church.

To date, Deller has not filed any charges. [...]

Especially in the environs of Fischach, the incident is not being viewed as a source of honor for the SA, and there is negative talk about what transpired. [...]

The Jews are very frightened after this incident. <1159>

County Commissioner Gelnhausen
Report for July and August 1935
Gelnhausen, 31 July 1935
Klein, Kassel, pp. 474 f.

Protestant Movement

[...] Pastor Finke from Aufenau was taken into **protective custody** today, since he had called on the church congregation to pray for the Jews in distress.¹¹²
[...] <1166>

◀157▶

County Commissioner Halle/Westphalia
Report for August 1935
Halle/Westphalia, 28 August 1935
StA Det, M1 IP Nr. 632

General Overview of Domestic Political Developments During the Month Covered by the Report

The month was marked by the struggle of the Party against the Jews.¹¹³ This struggle is proof that the members of the movement, its formations, and affiliated associations are ever more urgently seeking to find a speedier solution to the **Jewish Question**. In many cases, whether the measures are correct in terms of domestic and foreign policy may remain an open question. [...] <1168>

◀158▶

Stapostelle Police District Berlin
Report for September 1935
Berlin, n.d. 1935
BArch, R 58/3039 c

General Matters

[...] The new laws passed by the Reichstag at the Convention of Freedom, in particular the Reich Citizenship Law and the Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor,¹¹⁴ have finally cleared the air and brought clarity after years of struggle between Germandom and Jewry: Jewry is defined as a national minority and, under protection of the state, is granted the possibility to develop its own cultural and *völkisch* life. In future and for all time to come, no interference is possible in the *völkisch* affairs and concerns of the German nation, and is forbidden.

Everywhere the new laws were a source of great satisfaction and received with enthusiasm among the people. [...]

We must wait and see whether the Jews draw the practical necessary consequences from insight into their situation, and will now behave with the requisite reserve.

Communism

[...]

Distribution of Agitational Pamphlets

[...] By spreading notices and stickers, an attempt is being made to influence the population. Here are a few of these agitational notices now being circulated in large numbers:

“We hate no race—but we hate the capitalist class” (Wir hassen keine Rasse —aber wir hassen die Kapitalistenklasse).

“Whether a Jew or a Christian—the worker’s enemy is called capitalist” (Ob Jude oder Christ—des Arbeiters Feind heißt Kapitalist).

[...] The leaflet *Anti-Stürmer, Kampfblatt gegen Antisemitismus und Rassenhass* [Anti-Stürmer, Combat Paper against Anti-Semitism and Racial

Hatred] issued a call to the “working population” after a critique of “**Streicher**‘s Speech at the Sports Palace.” It notes *inter alia*:

“Anti-Semitism as a maneuver to distract people is not some sort of invention of the National Socialists, but rather a time-honored tool of all forms of economy bent on exploitation. The best recent examples, which probably also served the leaders of the Third Reich as a paradigm, were the frequent pogroms in czarist Russia before the war. These were designed to deflect the attention of the dissatisfied masses of farmers from identifying their true oppressors and served as an outlet for discharging the general sense of dissatisfaction and outrage. Hitler’s administration in Germany is operating according to the same model....

Transform all anti-Semitic rallies into antifascist demonstrations. Ask the speakers and the curious onlookers whether groceries become cheaper by the closing of a Jewish shop, or whether wages rise as a result of violent attacks on Jews.

Don’t go just half way. Connect your struggle against anti-Semitism with the general struggle against fascism.

[...] Whoever can condone and consciously tolerate such a development with open eyes must share in the guilt, blame, and responsibility for all future abominations.”¹¹⁵ [...]

Jews and Emigrants Activities of the Jews

The complaints filed against Jews for **race defilement** and behavior hostile to the state have remained as numerous as in the previous month. [...]

The following noteworthy cases of race defilement were dealt with during the month this report covers: [...]

8. The Jew [name *n* withheld], born 29 November 1877 in Berlin, and the **Aryan** woman [name *o* withheld], born on 17 March 1897 in Insterburg, confessed to having engaged in acts of race defilement for about ten years. Their last intercourse reportedly transpired prior to 15 September 1935. Since it was impossible to prove the contrary, it was not possible to bring [name *n* withheld] before the judge.

9. The Jew [name *p* withheld], born on 30 July 1899 in Neumarkt/Silesia, and the Aryan, divorced wife [name *q* withheld], born on 23 February 1909 in Kiel, were accused of race defilement. Both confessed and admitted that they had known each other since 1931, and had been having intimate relations since

that time. Since this behavior involving race defilement continued even after 15 September 1935, [name *p* withheld] was arrested and brought before the magistrate, who [...]¹¹⁶ issued an arrest warrant. <1209>

◀159▶

Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg
Report for September 1935
Dortmund, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3039 a

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The Law on the Protection of the German People and German Honor and the Reich Citizenship Law¹¹⁷ passed in Nuremberg at the national party convention have sparked a mood of depression among Jews, since they see themselves excluded in actual fact from the **Volksgemeinschaft** by these measures. On the other hand, they hope that within the restricted boundaries they have now been placed in, they will be able to freely develop their lives and remain in future shielded from **individual actions**. The **Zionists** hope that one effect of the laws on Jews will be greater emigration to **Palestine**.¹¹⁸ The Zionist movement¹¹⁹ is of the opinion that the action of the Reich Chancellor is of great significance for state politics, since it designates the Jews inside the borders of the Reich to be a *völkisch* (ethnic) minority¹²⁰ now and for all eternity.

The promulgating of the law, which fulfills a demand of the National Socialist program and takes into account the common sense of the German people for what is truly necessary, has been given full recognition by all Volksgenossen. However, the regulation expressly placing the display of the Jewish colors under state protection¹²¹ meets with little appreciation within the population. People regard this regulation as a concession to the Jews that goes too far. The showing of the Jewish colors is doubtless perceived to be a provocation, and in practice in numerous cases it will also lead to unavoidable excesses.¹²² [...] <1203>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for September 1935
Cologne, 18 October 1935
BArch, R 58/3039 c

Jews

The Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor has generated a powerful sense of disillusionment among the Jews. Even the Zionists, previously always optimistic,¹²³ have little appreciation for this legislation. The Jewish combat veterans¹²⁴ feel especially affected by this law, since they regard themselves first as Germans and only secondarily as Jews. They did not expect that people would construct a ghetto for them. The Jews are very interested in the new export regulations,¹²⁵ and are excitedly awaiting their announcement, since they hope they will bring some easing of the situation. It is very clear that the greatest enemy of the Jew is the Jew himself. People also are quite ready in individual instances to admit this. Thus, a Jew replied to the question of why he wasn't going to **Palestine** with the laconic retort: "I'm not going to Palestine because there are too many Jews there."

In the month under report, 26 complaints alleging **race defilement** were filed. On the basis of the new law, two Jews were arrested and brought before the district court for purposes of issuing a warrant. Three Jews and three Christians were taken into **protective custody** before the law went into effect. That individual Jews are still consciously resisting the law is confirmed by the fact that even several days after the legislation had become law, Jews were still having intimate relations with German girls, and in some cases were living together and sharing a joint household. [...] <1217>

Stapostelle Government District Magdeburg

Report for September 1935

Magdeburg, 5 October 1935

BArch, R 58/3039 c

General

[...] By contrast, the laws on the Jews have been a topic for animated discussion. Middle-class circles that otherwise cannot be considered favorably disposed toward the Jews are in many cases beginning to show sympathy for them. They say that the pace of legislation on the Jews is much too rapid, and for that reason is creating extraordinary hardship. Working-class circles have no evident interest in the law on marriage with Jews, since the working class has itself seldom had direct experience of such mixed marriages. But they are against being branded as traitors of the people just because they shop at Jewish-owned stores. They say that as long as they can purchase everything at lower prices in such shops, they cannot be expected, given their low wages, to make sacrifices too great for them. In circles that are very openly hostile to the state, both on the right and left, the Jews' Laws have even been hailed as a welcome new development. They contend this, arguing that the worse the new laws are, the more that serves to open the people's eyes to the real direction National Socialism is moving in. In regard to the Reich Citizenship Law, some are also saying that with this law on the books, the government now has full power to deny citizenship to anyone not to their liking. So all in all, it is accurate to note that the new laws have been received in part with indifference, and in part with very little appreciation and understanding outside the solid National Socialist-oriented population. [...]

Jews and Freemasons

In the month under report, the wave of anti-Semitism had already begun to ebb.¹²⁶ There were no more propaganda marches by the SA. People in general are of the view that the government will now proceed to implement [policy on] the **Jewish Question** consistently and without any concessions. [...] <1222>

Stapostelle Government District Minden
Report for September 1935
Bielefeld, 3 October 1935
BArch, R 58/3039 a

General

[...] There was a particularly warm reception given the new Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor.¹²⁷ [...] The concession based on this law that Jews are permitted to employ **Aryan** domestic servants over the age of forty-five has met with diverse reactions, according to what has been ascertained here. The general view is that it would have been more advisable to issue this prohibition extended to the entire female gender, for the protection of the German woman as a whole. In this view, the present regulation has created an unnecessary classification. As is so often the case, this section of the law also received a certain amount of “malicious” commentary. For example, here in Bielefeld there are stories in circulation in the pubs to the effect that “the Marienstift (a home for elderly women) will soon be closed down, and the women now accommodated there will then be hired on as domestics in Jewish families.” [...]

Jews and Freemasons

Down to the beginning of the month covered here, the anti-Semitic wave¹²⁸ was still rather pronounced and in evidence in the **Stapo** district. [...] In Minden, a hunk of brick was thrown through the window of the **synagogue** during religious services. The brick finally came to rest in front of the organ after it had smashed several panes of glass. In all these cases, it was not possible to identify and apprehend the culprits. Further **individual actions** were planned before the promulgation of the **Nuremberg Laws**, *inter alia* against the Jewish man [...] [name *a* withheld], [...] in Bielefeld. It is known that [name *a* withheld] enjoys the reputation of being a “lover of blond German girls.”¹²⁹ For that reason, the plan was to pillory [name *a* withheld] and march him through the streets of the city, with a placard around his neck. A number of Volksgenossen have already joined together and agreed to carry out this plan. In a similar vein, it was decided to pillory the Jew [name *b* withheld], resident in Bielefeld, [...], since [name *b* withheld] is in the habit of engaging in nudism in the morning hours out in his garden, quite visible to the eyes of his neighbors. As a result of the Law on the

Protection of German Blood and German Honor that has in the meantime come into force, and the guidelines issued by the Führer, stating that **individual actions** to combat Jews must cease, for reasons of foreign and economic policy,¹³⁰ the planned individual actions have not been implemented. [...] <1225>

◀163▶

Stapostelle Government District Trier
Report for September 1935
Trier, 5 October 1935
BArch, R 58/3039 c

Opponents of the State and the Movement

[...]

Jews

During the month here reported on, the previously observed reserve among the Jews has continued. [...]

The violence against individual Jews and Jewish property has not abated, this despite repeated strict instructions to the contrary.¹³¹ [...] <1237>

►164►

District Governor Oppeln
Report for August and September 1935
Oppeln, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3926

General Overview

General Mood

[...] The laws passed at the Party conference in Nuremberg have been welcomed with a sense of gratification.¹³² [...] The regulations on the protection of German blood have also been positively received by all citizens with a sense of German loyalty and the bonds of German sentiment, all the more so since the protection of the Jewish minority in the former area of the referendum by the Geneva Accords has underscored the Jewish character of this area in a particularly clear manner. The circumstance that the Jews' Laws initially cannot for the time being be applied to the Jewish minority in the referendum area in Upper Silesia¹³³ is probably perceived by all Volksgenossen of a National Socialist persuasion to be intolerable! [...] <1254>

◀165▶

Reich Central Direction of the NSDAP, Main Office for Municipal Policy

Gau Office for Municipal Policy Greater Berlin

[...] The wish is being expressed ever more loudly among the Berlin population that German-owned stores and businesses ought to be given some special identifying signs for their ready recognition, and that the **Star of David** should be mounted on Jewish business establishments. This can help prevent Germans from entering Jewish shops due simply to ignorance, as has happened.¹³⁴—The Jews' Laws¹³⁵ and the designation of the swastika flag as the only national flag of the Reich have been received with the greatest enthusiasm among Party members and German Volksgenossen. The race laws have also had a stimulating effect on municipal policy. Thus, for example, the district mayor of the administrative district of Pankow has now begun to assemble an official card catalog of Jews. The basis for this are police files and records of civil and marital status. <1259>

District Office Bad Kissingen
Report for September 1935
Bad Kissingen, 27 September 1935
StA Wü, LRA Bad Kissingen 1153

Political Situation

[...] The laws enacted in Nuremberg¹³⁶ against the Jews are generally welcomed by the population. But there are still some persons who believe they have to protect the Jews. Especially in Steinach, the population appears to have split into two camps: opponents of the Jews and "**Jew friends.**" There were no **individual actions** against Jews in the month under report, either in the district or in the city of Bad Kissingen. The large influx of Jews as visitors to Bad Kissingen has ceased.¹³⁷

<1265>

◀167▶
Government District Minden, State Lippe and District Hameln-Pyrmont¹³⁸
Report for September 1935
N.p., n.d.
StA Det, M1 IP No. 632 Vol. I

Jokes, Satire, Anecdotes, Songs

Only a small number of jokes were noted in the month covered by this report.¹³⁹ They deal primarily with the **Jewish Question.**

A lion has broken out of his cage in some city. Everyone runs away when he appears in the street. But one crooked Jew goes right up to the lion, grabs the creature by the mane, and hauls him back to his cage. The next morning the newspaper carries a story: "Jewish Insolence—A Jewish lout had the gall to pull so hard at the mane of a poor defenseless lion in the street that the lion was forced to follow him. It is high time that some limit be set to the outrageous brazenness of the pack of Jews." [...]

Jews and Combating of the Jews

At the beginning of September, there was a sharp decline in actions against the Jews, restrained by strongly worded orders from the Gau leadership and the SA, and the remarks of various leading Party members in the newspapers. But there was still a whole series of cases where actions were carried out against the

Jews, until the declarations by Adolf Hitler at the national Party convention in Nuremberg¹⁴⁰ and the Jews' Laws¹⁴¹ finally made it crystal-clear to all Party members and Volksgenossen that the time for **individual actions** against the Jews had passed.

Among the general population, the Jews' Laws are perceived and assessed as a very clever solution by Adolf Hitler. The desire for clarity in the **Jewish Question** was immense, especially since economically there are still many ties to Jewish businesses and enterprises. Due to the jobs of the employees, they cannot be readily and simply dissolved. These ties have evoked qualms of conscience and moral conflict!....]

<1311>

◀168▶

Bavarian Political Police
Report for October 1935
Munich, 1 November 1935
StA Nü, Pol. Dir. Nürnberg-Fürth 431

Jews

There are indications that **Zionism** is gaining fresh impetus as a result of the **Nuremberg Laws** on the Jews. Thus, Police HQ in Augsburg reports that at the beginning of October there, as a result of assistance from the Zionist Alliance,¹⁴² a retraining facility for Jewish emigrants was established.¹⁴³ Jews up to the age of 35 can participate in retraining courses in agriculture and domestic work. In Bamberg, there was a Zionist lecture about the "soil of the fathers, soil of the future." There too, the local branch of the Jewish **Youth Associations** has set up a vocational retraining center¹⁴⁴ that serves to prepare emigrants for Palestine. [...]

The "Jewish **Kulturbund** in Bavaria," previously an association without members constituted as a corporate body, has now been granted permission to organize itself as an association with individual members and the right to recruit new members, in accordance with the instructions of the Political Police Commander of the states.¹⁴⁵ Henceforth, Jews now have the possibility to make a complete cultural separation as well from the German host people. [...]

At the beginning of the month here reported on, a number of **race defilers** along with their female paramours who had grown forgetful of their race were taken into **protective custody**. Now in arrests of this kind, the accused parties

are brought immediately before the judge for arraignment. [...]

<1316>

Abschrift.

16

Deutsche Geheime Staatspolizei Berlin, den 17. Januar 1935
II 1 B 2 - 69681/1976

Landrat Worbis

Eig. 30.JAN 1935

Nr. 711

V e r t r a u l i c h .

An alle Staatspolizeistellen.

N a c h t r a g .

zu der mit Erlass von 2.8.1934 - II 1 B 2 23929/1672 R 5 -
überstandene Arbeitsrichtlinie 5 betr. die jüd. Jugendverbände.

Die Tätigkeit der sionistisch eingestellten jüd. Jugendorganisationen, die sich mit der Umschichtung zu Landwirten und Handwerkern zum Zwecke der Auswanderung nach Palästina befassen, liegt im Sinne der nationalsozialistischen Staatsführung. Wo es die auf diese Berufsumschichtung abgestellte Tätigkeit erforderlich macht, stelle ich anheim, Ausnahmen gegenüber der von mir gegebenen Arbeitsrichtlinie zuulassen und die Bundesmitglieder der sionistischen Verbände in Hinblick auf die Abwanderung nach Palästina gerichtete Tätigkeit nicht mit derjenigen Strenge zu behandeln, wie sie gegenüber den Angehörigen der sogen. deutsch. jüd. Organisationen (Assimilanten) notwendig ist. Es obliegt natürlich den Stabstellen zu prüfen, ob die Umschichtung auch tatsächlich mit dem Ziele der Auswanderung erfolgt.

Jn Vertretung:
ges. Heydrich.

Beglaubigt:
ges. Lehmann
Kanzleistandelle.

Staatspolizeistelle Erfurt, den 26. 1. 1935
für den Regierungsbezirk Erfurt

I 7121 Nr. 108/34

An den Herrn Landrat in Worbis

Abschrift zur gefl. Kenntnisnahme und Beachtung ergebenst
Überstandt. Diese Bewegung bitte ich laufend zu beobachten und über
das Ergebnis Ihrer Ermittlungen in einem der nächsten Lageberichte
zu berichten.
Ich bitte, diesen Erlass vertraulich zu behandeln.

ges. Dr. Fischer.

W. 1.2.35. 11
R. 25.2.35. 11
P. 25.2.35. 11

Beglaubigt:
Staatspolizeidirektion
Polizei - Angestellte

W. 25.2.35. 11
7.3.35 reer. el.
2.3.35. 11

W. 25.2.35. 11
7.3.35 reer. el.
2.3.35. 11

W. 25.2.35. 11
7.3.35 reer. el.
2.3.35. 11

Figure 11. Instruction from Reinhard Heydrich to permit the “retraining” of Jewish youth “as agriculturalists and craftsmen, January 1935. Translation: “The activity of the Zionist youth organizations, which are dealing with vocational restructuring for agriculturalists and craftsmen for the purpose of emigration to Palestine, is in keeping with the thinking of the National Socialist government leadership. [...] It is, naturally, the task of the Stabstellen to check and verify that the vocational restructuring involved is also actually undertaken with the aim of emigration.” Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Gotha, Landratsamt



Figure 12. Students at a training post, Youth Aliyah schools for agriculture, 1937. Jewish Museum, Berlin, Sammlung Herbert Sonnenfeld, 343 f/21.

◀169▶

Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg
Report for October 1935
Dortmund, n.d. BArch, R 58/3040 a

Communist Movement

[...] Noteworthy is a leaflet distributed by Communists in Bochum targeting Catholic youth and the associations of the Protestant **Confessing Church**.¹⁴⁶ Here is the text:

“We young Communists differ from the youth of the Catholic Church and the Protestant anti-Nazi church by our different worldview. But there is one point where we must stand together in a single front. The terror of Nazism demands of us a united front in resistance against our common enemy Hitler! After cautiously establishing contact from one individual to the next, create shared clandestine self-protection organizations! In order to protect the religious or political antifascist population! Organize the struggle for freedom of conscience in a planned way! Raise the demand: release all political prisoners! Release all the jailed parsons, sisters, and pastors of the Confessing Church from prisons,

penitentiaries, and **concentration camps!** Agitate among the masses, using religious propaganda against the oppression! Struggle to demand tolerance for the Jews, who are human beings like all the rest of us! Demonstrate against the provocations by the police and SA! Don't let the Nazi state have a single day of respite! Prepare the hour of revenge! Build antifascist solidarity!



Figure 13. Students and instructor at an ORT training center for a trade, 1937. Jewish Museum, Berlin, Sammlung Herbert Sonnenfeld, 212/15.

KPD international Communist Youth League.”¹⁴⁷

[...]

Jews and Freemasons

The **boycott** against Jewish businesses carried out in recent months continues to show its lasting effect. Turnover has declined to such an extent that over the longer term, it will be necessary to reduce personnel. [...]

There is great alarm among Jews because they assume that this winter they will no longer receive any benefits from the **Winter Relief of the German People**. To provide support to their more needy racial compatriots, the Jewish Communities thus intend to build up a Winter Relief¹⁴⁸ program of their own modeled on the National Socialist People's Welfare. But even the Jews are dubious about whether and to what extent this support initiative will succeed.¹⁴⁹

Greater associational activity has recently been observed, among both the **assimilationists** and the **Zionists**.¹⁵⁰ However, the assimilationist tendency

seems to have accepted the fact that today they are no longer able to realize their former goals and plans. In particular, younger advocates of this tendency have come to understand that for them, to stay on in Germany is fraught with disadvantages for their advancement and serves no purpose. For that reason, they are attempting to enter the ranks of the **Zionist Association**, and this had led to substantial growth in the youth groups¹⁵¹ of the latter.

In the month covered by this report, the customary festivals of petition and joy were celebrated, with strong participation by religious Jewry. No disturbances whatsoever were noted.¹⁵²

<1313>

◀170▶

Stapostelle State Police District Berlin
Report for October 1935
Berlin, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3040 a

Communism

[...] In addition, a Jew Kurt Arnheim, born 10 September 1897 in Berlin, was apprehended. A. is a long-sought distributor of illegal subversive writings. Inquiries ascertained that he actually was operating alone. Since 1933, as was established in 19 cases, he has been the constant distributor of the subversive material against the army and uniformed police that has repeatedly surfaced.¹⁵³

A typewriter was confiscated on which he prepared these materials.

Arnheim has confessed and been taken into custody. He has already been brought before an interrogating judge who has issued a warrant for his arrest. [...]

Catholic Movement

Political Catholicism was also very carefully watched during the month here under report.

1. On 2 October 1935, there was a gathering of the Catholic Men's Association St. Matthew. [...] The secretary initiated a discussion which evidently sought to change the efforts by the state in regard to the **Jewish Question**.¹⁵⁴ [...] The chaplain went on to state that the Jewish Question as presently being dealt with was unacceptable for the Catholics. He stated that every Catholic had a duty to help every other Catholic, and race played no role. Of course, it was not permissible that Jews should dominate everything, as they did until recently, in contrast with their percentage in the population. In his view, the Jewish Question had to be regulated using permitted means, and could not be allowed to decline into acts of persecution. The Jews are, he noted, actually having a terrible time of it, they are a downtrodden, persecuted people, while once they were God's chosen. Only because they had crucified Christ was his blood upon them and their children.¹⁵⁵ [...]

Protestant Church

Positive Parochial Association

The Positive Parochial Association organized a meeting of about 110 persons

on 14 October 1935 in the community hall of the Protestant Apostle Paul Community, Berlin-Schöneberg. The retired pastor Knieschke spoke about the **Talmud**, in his comments for example celebrating **Rabbi Ben Akiba**¹⁵⁶ as a true hero. He said: "Even if the papers today, and one of them in particular, are writing so much against the Jews, I have to say that we mustn't look at the Jews of that time through the spectacles of the present. They really were heroes in this people. And during the war,¹⁵⁷ the Jews were not just profiteers and that sort. Some Jews were out in front in the trenches.¹⁵⁸ [...] So you see, you don't need to hate. Rather you must love all human beings, even if they are Jews."¹⁵⁹ <1317>

◀171▶

Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf

Report for October 1935

Düsseldorf, 6 November 1935

BArch, R 58/3040 a

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] There was a meeting of the **Jewish Women's Alliance** on 22 October at the Elberfeld Women's Club, Wuppertal-Elberfeld, attended by some 100 Jewish women and girls. The deputy chair, Frau **Samuel**, invited Conny Katzenstein to speak on the topic: "How can we deal with the lack of domestic help?" Frau Katzenstein reported that the Jewish **Communities** had set up courses on housekeeping, sewing, washing, etc., in order to train the Jewish women for household work. In her opinion, however, that was not enough. Rather, Jewish daughters should be trained as domestic servants, since many were leaving their previous jobs in stores and shops.¹⁶⁰ Jewish families should declare themselves willing and ready to accept young Jewish girls, especially since training in housekeeping was a fundamental condition for emigration to Palestine. The speaker then noted that in individual Jewish Communities, **employment exchanges** had been set up or were on the drawing boards for the near future, and she called on those in the audience to fill out the forms they had been provided and to hand them in to the Community. [...]

There is a formal notification¹⁶¹ for the Essen Jewish Community and its associated organizations, according to which this coming winter three to four internal events are planned every week. Every Monday evening from 8–10 p.m.,

there will be courses in **Hebrew** and English in order to prepare for Palestine. In addition, every other week on Thursday evening, there will be study groups with the same speakers each time, such as the lawyer Georg **Guthmann**, Frankfurt a.M., on the topic “Palestine, Economy, and Society,” by Dr. Moritz Schweizer, Essen, on “Problems of Emigration,” and by **Rabbi Dr. Hahn**, Essen, on “Franz Rosenzweig’s Path to Judaism.” The nature of these courses and lectures is solely religious instruction,¹⁶² and they are intended to lay the intellectual foundations for the construction of Palestine. The Zionist branch Essen of the **Association of Jewish Women for Work in Palestine** will have an evening meeting every Thursday on the question of emigration to Palestine¹⁶³ and a lecture every Monday evening on problems of

Zionism. The Religious-Charitable Study Group of the Jewish Women¹⁶⁴ of Essen has a weekly Bible course, and a monthly lecture on questions of education and home economics. The Glückauf Association, headed by the preacher A. Katzenstein of Essen-Steele,¹⁶⁵ has a study group every first and third Wednesday evening of the month on the topic “Pathways to Judaism,” and the Jewish Youth Local Circle¹⁶⁶ in Essen is also organizing the customary evening get-togethers for sports and social gatherings. [...]

<1320>

◀172▶

Stapostelle Government District Hanover
Report for October 1935
Hanover, 4 November 1935
Mlynek, pp. 433, 436 f.

Jews

The Jewish associations and federations are developing an ever more intense activity.¹⁶⁷ The **Nuremberg Laws** have led in recent weeks to vehement exchanges between the **Zionists** and the **assimilationists**. [...]

The Jewish **sports associations** are very active in sports. External larger Jewish sports associations are also being invited for soccer and handball matches, and competition in track and field athletics. The newly formed Jewish **Kulturbund** in Hanover, associated with the Reich Federation of the Jewish Kulturbund in Germany, has reorganized in accordance with the guidelines of the commissioner of Reich Propaganda Minister Dr. **Goebbels**.¹⁶⁸ The federation now has a membership of 526 persons. The board of the Kulturbund is composed largely of Jews with assimilationist views.¹⁶⁹

The Nuremberg Laws and the demand of the Zionists to be the dominant force within German Jewry are what at the moment is determining the atmosphere within the various groups in German Jewry.

The Movement and Its Organizations

Cooperation between the government, the Party, and its formations is exemplary.

Now as before, complaints are voiced about the **Hitler Youth**. Thus, it has been learned among other things that on 2, 9, and 10 October of this year in Springe, seven members of the Jungvolk,¹⁷⁰ after completing a service evening, smashed some 90 windows in the grain sheds of two Jewish grain dealers in the town. Since splinters of glass fell into some 60–80 hundredweights of wheat, there is now some question about whether this grain can be used. Inquiries have ascertained that the ringleader for this **individual action** was the 13-year-old son of the local branch head of the German Labor Front. This incident has sparked indignation among broad segments of the population. [...]

<1323>

►173►

Stapostelle Government District Koblenz

Report for October 1935
Koblenz, 5 November 1935
BArch, R 58/3040 b

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

As time passes, the legal regulation of the **Jewish Question**¹⁷¹ is leading to a situation where ever more Jewish families are opting for **emigration**. The exclusion of the Jews from economic life is continuing to advance.¹⁷² In particular, Jewish influence in the branch of **cattle trade** has disappeared almost completely. In retail trade, the Jews have also lost further ground. Jewish businesses are being abandoned at an accelerated pace. In the recent period, a number of plots of agricultural and developed land have been put up for sale.

[...] After promulgation of the Jews' Laws, the Jews now no longer believe it is possible to remain in Germany. They expect that within about 10 years or so, the last Jew will have departed the country. Since the executive orders on the Jews' Laws have not yet been published, the Jews feel a certain nervousness.¹⁷³

They state that as a result of previous treatment and slander, they are psychologically so demoralized that they cannot endure any further bad treatment. They would be grateful if the uncertainty could be lifted, and they could be told that they have to leave Germany within half a year. [...]

<1327>

►174►
Stapostelle Government District Königsberg¹⁷⁴
Report for October 1935
Königsberg, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3040 c

Jews and Freemasons

[...] In the city of Allenstein, with its largely Catholic population, it was necessary to note that people are continuing to shop at Jewish stores. It has been frequently observed that even government officials do their shopping there, thus paying no heed to the measures of the Party offices and the government.¹⁷⁵ The rural population can also be found frequenting Jewish stores, and they maintain they can shop there at cheaper, more attractive prices. In addition, a segment of

the Catholic population maintains a friendly attitude toward Jews, and shows little understanding when it comes to the racial laws.¹⁷⁶ The Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, and particularly 3,¹⁷⁷ is even viewed as a severe hardship, since they claim that domestics are better paid and treated far better by Jews than if they work in Christian families.

In Allenstein itself, for this reason, one cannot see visible signs of success of the anti-Semitic efforts, or a substantial drop in the size of the Jewish population. By contrast, the towns in the district present a quite different picture. Everywhere there are reports that the Jewish population is leaving,¹⁷⁸ and there are expectations that this trend will continue. [...]

<1329>

◀175▶

Stapostelle Government District Merseburg
Report for October 1935
Halle/Saxony, 5 November 1935
BArch, R 58/3040 b

Jews

The degree of interest with which the Jewish problem is approached by the population is marked by the numerous complaints and denunciations filed against those who defend and support Jews in any form whatsoever. Sometimes these are complaints against the Jews themselves, sometimes reports about **Aryan** customers frequenting Jewish-owned shops, where again and again the striking feature is the large number of government officials from all manner of government offices. Sometimes these are complaints that stem from a political conversation in which some criticism was voiced about the racial legislation¹⁷⁹ of the government.¹⁸⁰ In general, it is possible to say that the wave of anti-Semitism here in the area is still on the rise. The impact the press is having is very clearly in evidence here. A large percentage of the complaints are written very much in the style of the *Stürmer*. Other complaints, for their part, contain the comment: above all else, this is something that has to appear in the *Stürmer*.

The **Nuremberg Laws** are beginning to have their first visible effects. In an appreciable number of cases, Jews have already terminated their love affairs with Aryans. But it has to be emphasized that the initiative for this comes mainly from the Jews, since they are afraid of possible penalties, while their Aryan paramours have unfortunately in many instances lost any and all feeling for their race. [...]

◀176▶

Criminal Investigative Division Amberg
Report for 15 October 1935
Amberg, 16 October 1935
BayHStA, StK 106672

The Amberg Israelitic **Community** had obtained permission for 15 October from the municipal commissioner for holding a meeting at the **synagogue**, where the retired mayor Dr. Weiler¹⁸¹ was scheduled to talk on the topic "Communal Affairs and Questions of Emigration."¹⁸² Police **surveillance** had been ordered for the meeting, and this was handled by Chief Constable Dorfner and the undersigned. The meeting also took place according to schedule. There were forty-two persons in attendance, including several school pupils. The orders for the surveillance detail stated the meeting should be stopped immediately if propaganda was made for the Jews to stay on in Germany.¹⁸³ [...]

There was nothing objectionable in the content of the talk by the speaker. He said nothing whatsoever about the idea of Jews remaining in Germany. Right at the beginning of his talk, he mentioned that it was forbidden to speak in favor of the option for Jews to stay on in Germany. In the question period following the talk, the cobbler Jakubowitsch asked whether he too could still emigrate to Palestine. The speaker said no, since the maximum age for emigrants was 35, or in exceptional cases 37. But his 30-year-old son could emigrate and then arrange to have him (the cobbler) come to Palestine as his next of kin later on. [...]

<1370>

◀177▶

Mayor of Lippstadt
Report for October 1935
Lippstadt, 21 October 1935
StA Ms, Polit. Polizei III. Reich, 351

Jews and Freemasons

The Jewish population here has recently selected the Kamppeter Bar, now run by the tavern owner Michels on Hospitalstrasse, as their local spot for congregating, and they have been meeting there regularly. Since such gatherings are difficult to monitor, I ordered the tavern owner Michels to join in the local prohibition now in effect for Jews at bars. Michels complied with the order. [...]

<1391>

Party District Chief Melsungen
Report for September and October 1935
Melsungen, 24 October 1935
Klein, Kassel, pp. 569 f.

[Jews and Freemasons]

As a result of the most recent laws and decrees, the **Jewish Question** has been clarified to a great extent.¹⁸⁴ The creation of secure legal conditions now is dependent on their practical implementation. Even if infractions of the law are now being pursued and penalized more strictly, the courts should nonetheless take an important element into consideration. The ordinary person, whose passions have been whipped up in revolutionary fashion by the *Stürmer* and other periodicals, formerly believed that by persecution of the Jews, based on an anger welling up from the soul of the folk, he was doing the desired spadework for the national legislation to come. He should now not suddenly be penalized more severely than appears absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the authority of the state. Above all else, after a period of revolutionary developments, the concept in criminal law of breach of the peace must be handled with requisite caution and proper understanding. Violent actions against Jews¹⁸⁵ and other instances of the formation of a mob to commit unlawful acts, such as have also occurred recently in a number of instances in the Melsungen District, will cease when all the responsible authorities provide clarification and act in a uniform way, in keeping with the laws and regulations on the books. I believe that on the basis of such unified cooperative effort, especially with the county commissioner here in the district, it will prove possible in future to avoid the unlawful acts that have occurred and been reported.

<1396>

►179►
County Commissioner Rotenburg
Report for September and October 1935
Rotenburg, 24 October 1935
Klein, Kassel, p. 574

Jews and Freemasons

The Law on the Protection of German Blood¹⁸⁶ passed by the Reichstag in Nuremberg has spelled out the position of the Jews within the body of the German folk at the national level. After all the recent instances of arrogance on

the part of the Jews, there has now been a significant decline in such behavior. If in individual cases one can still note a “purely human” attitude toward the Jews, it can definitely be expected that this view will soon come to an end. [...]

<1400>

◀180▶

Bavarian Political Police
Report for November 1935
Munich, 1 December 1935
StA Nü, Pol. Dir. Nürnberg-Fürth 431

[...]

Economy

As can be garnered from the reports on the situation in industry submitted during the time period here reported on, the level of employment has remained about the same. In some industrial groups, there is a clearly perceptible decline in orders from abroad, which can then in each case readily be shown to be a consequence of the boycott of the Jews.¹⁸⁷ If there have been no larger dismissals to date, that is due to the fact that companies still have numerous back orders, or are operating in part with goods in stock. [...]

The **Nuremberg Laws** have given the movement of **emigration** among Jews fresh impetus. One consequence of this is that Jews are increasingly withdrawing from the economy. This is most striking when, as was reported in the period here under review, the ownership of large Jewish **department stores** is transferred to local **Aryans**.¹⁸⁸ **Vocational restructuring** centers are becoming too small and have to relocate into larger quarters.[...]

<1417>

◀181▶

District Governor Aachen
Report for October and November 1935
Aachen, 14 December 1935
YVA, 0.51/331

Jews

In the time period covered, it is unfortunate that Jewish property has been repeatedly attacked and damaged in rural districts. By contrast, such acts have been rare in larger towns and cities, where there are better opportunities for surveillance by police officers.¹⁸⁹ Once again, I instructed the police stations in my district to carry out the corresponding police investigations with the requisite vigor, so that under no circumstances might the population gain the incorrect impression that such incidents are only being investigated in a superficial manner. Special consideration for the culprits is no longer proper, now that the Party and government authorities have repeatedly pointed out that such actions are highly deleterious to the interest of the movement and the authority of the state, especially in a border district.

The decrees on implementation¹⁹⁰ of the Nuremberg Laws have been favorably received by the population. Thanks to their fundamental clarity and logic, they have in the main been greeted with a sense of satisfaction.

<1443>

◀182▶
Stapostelle Government District Königsberg
Report for November 1935
Königsberg, n.d.
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 6, 3

Jews and Freemasons

In November, the Jewish organizations and federations were very active. There were daily evening training courses of all kinds, language courses in English and **Hebrew**, sports events, social evenings, parents' evenings, and functions put on by the Jewish **Kulturbund**. The result was that the sole **Community** House available to the Jewish organizations for their meetings and program activities was occupied all day, continuing to the late hours of the evening. Due to their large number, only a small selection of functions were monitored in random sampling.¹⁹¹ All the leading personalities of the Jews

warned their fellow racial compatriots not to hastily sell their enterprises, real estate, and the like, stating that after the **Nuremberg Laws**, it was also necessary to have a legal regulation of economic questions as well.

The Jewish organizations, which earlier had been engaged in considerable infighting among themselves, now express their differences of opinion on philosophical questions in an objective manner, and are doing all they can to awaken the impression to the outside of a semblance of internal unity. [...]

<1427>

◀183▶

Stapostelle Government District Magdeburg
Report for November 1935
Magdeburg, 5 December 1935
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90P, Vol. 10, 3

Jews and Freemasons

The executive orders¹⁹² supplementing the **Nuremberg Laws** have been welcomed everywhere with a sense of satisfaction. The population senses that regulations on the situation of the Jews are an act of liberation. It will now bring absolute clarity, and though resolute in preserving the racial interests of the German people, will refrain from any hateful persecution of the Jews.¹⁹³ In addition, it would be highly desirable if the question of activity by Jews in the economy could be properly regulated as soon as possible. The suspicion is being raised against businesses formerly in Jewish hands and now supposedly owned by non-Jews that the relevant business agreements on sale, etc., cannot be taken seriously. It is suspected that the Jewish influence in these firms continues unabated, now as before. In order to show the population clearly what shops are Jewish, these must be ordered to mark their establishment so that it can be readily identified as Jewish-owned,¹⁹⁴ in such a manner that a purchaser cannot form a mistaken impression. At the present time, there is an unmistakable sense of insecurity and uncertainty among the population in this regard, the effect of which is often very negative, most specifically for **Aryan** proprietors. [...]

<1430>

►184►
District Governor Koblenz
Report for November 1935
Koblenz, 5 December 1935
BArch, R 58/3856

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

The effect of the legal regulation of the **Jewish Question**¹⁹⁵ is that the Jews are increasingly becoming very reserved in their behavior, and that more and more Jewish families are emigrating.¹⁹⁶ In addition, it would appear that for the rural districts, a solution for the Jewish Question will in the near future be found:

namely that the Jews in their totality will migrate from the rural countryside into the larger urban areas.¹⁹⁷ Thus, for example, in the Simmern District, where there were a large number of Jewish **cattle** dealers in particular, the number of Jews has declined by almost 50 percent since the seizure of power.

[...] After the issuance of the Jews' Laws, the Jews no longer believe in the possibility of continuing to remain in Germany, and expect that within about ten years there will no longer be any Jews in Germany. [...]

<1448>

◀185▶

Mayor of Lippstadt
Situation Report
Lippstadt, 19 November 1935
StA Ms, Polit. Polizei III. Reich 351

Jews and Freemasons

In the month here reported on, no gatherings of any kind were organized by the Jews.

Similar to the **Winter Relief** of the NSDAP, the Jewish population has set up a Winter Relief of the Jews.¹⁹⁸ They are putting on a "Stew Sunday" once a month and organizing a monthly collection of money.¹⁹⁹ Thirty percent of the sum from the collection must be transferred to the Social Committee for Jewish **Welfare** Work in Westphalia, located in Bielefeld, while the rest is given to needy Jews locally. The last stew Sunday and money collection was on 27 October 1935. The total amount collected was 152.25 RM. The next stew Sunday is scheduled for 24 November. According to information received from the local National Socialist People's Welfare, the collection is permissible for the Jews under the law, so that I took no steps against it.

During the night hours of 16 to 17 November, there were minor acts of violence perpetrated against Jewish businesses.²⁰⁰ In four Jewish shops, the display windows were smeared with red paint. The words "Jews" and "Don't shop at Jewish stores"²⁰¹ were written there. These words were removed on police order even before the first rays of dawn. The culprits are being sought. I refer to the special report prepared on this matter. [...]

<1485>

◀186▶

Government District Minden, State Lippe, and District Hameln-Pyrmont²⁰²
Report for 8 November–7 December 1935
N.p., n.d.
StA Det, M 1 I P No. 633, Vol. II

Jews

The month of November has brought some clarity in regard to the **Jewish Question** as a result of the Reich Citizenship Law and the Law on the Protection of Blood and the executive orders as per the ordinance of 14 November 1935.²⁰³ This has created a clearer picture in the Jewish Question in respect to one point, namely: who is a Jew, and what is the status of the Jew and that of the person of mixed race, the **Mischling?** Through the prohibition on marriage between Jews or Mischlinge [and Aryans],²⁰⁴ there is finally clarity on this matter. Despite the strict penalties that threaten the Jew in connection with **race defilement**, such cases still occur. On Saturday, 30 November, the Jewish merchant [name *a* withheld] from Halle and a woman from Gartnisch (of **Aryan** descent) near Halle in Westphalia were arrested in Halle in Westphalia, on the grounds of a strong suspicion that the two had violated the new laws on the protection of the purity of the blood.

In general, interest in the Jewish Question has declined. Now after the legal regulation of this matter, there is no longer any sensationalism attached to the topic. [...]

In the meantime, Jewish cultural life is thriving. Most of all in the city of Bielefeld, the largest urban center in the district, but also in Paderborn and Warburg. Less in the other areas. In Bielefeld, a plan has recently surfaced for setting up a Jewish center with a café and other amenities. It cannot be determined whether this idea is practicable. Little information about the actual cultural life of the Jews is reaching the public. A lecture in Bielefeld recently provided an overview of the work of the Party member Hans **Hinkel**, executive director of the Reich Chamber of Culture, who has responsibility for monitoring and **surveillance** of the artistic and cultural activities of the Jews in Germany. “After two and a half years, it can now be stated that the Jews have been excluded from cultural and artistic life in Germany. On the other hand, the National Socialist state has not placed any obstacle in the path of the Jews in the nurturing of Jewish culture and art. Of course, it goes without saying that every event first has to be officially approved. The endless work that surveillance demand springs from the fact that everything slated to be presented or included in the text of a lecture has to be read and censored beforehand. This necessitates

special experts to serve as readers for material in Hebrew and Jewish.²⁰⁵ [...]"

There were small local branches in Bielefeld and Paderborn of the **Association of National-German Jews**, which was recently disbanded. These together had a total membership of between 50 and 70 persons. They were barely visible in terms of activity, and probably already disbanded sometime earlier. [...]

<1496>

◀187▶

Stapostelle Government District Breslau
Overview of the Stapo Offices in Breslau, Oppeln und Liegnitz
Breslau, 2 January 1936
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90 P, Vol. 11, 2

Jews

[...] People have noted that Jews are appearing on stage as masters of ceremony and comedians in so-called cabaret theater and stage shows. They tell political jokes before the audience openly and in a veiled form. These jokes are suited to ridicule and demean the measures of the government of national revolution, the Führer, and institutions of the state. Surveillance of these places of entertainment appears to be urgently necessary, and is already being done here in Breslau. Four Jewish women of ill repute, the only ones in Breslau, were sent to the Moringen **concentration camp** by order of the Gestapo in Berlin. It is absolutely intolerable that these women should engage in sexual intercourse with **Aryan** males in exchange for money. [...]

NSDAP and Its Formations

[...] New unrest and disagreements in the ranks of the Party members have arisen as a result of the fact that very recently, the Hamburg District Court has ruled that in certain specific cases, individual actions against Jews can to a limited degree be acceptable. This ruling is difficult to reconcile with the guidelines generally issued. It can be expected that the foreign press will seize on this court decision and exploit it as propaganda against Germany.²⁰⁶ Evidently the ruling will lead in many instances to new actions against Jews once again. For that reason, the demand must now be raised that once again that a general and uniform regulation pertaining to individual measures should be created. This would likely be in the interest of the state. In this connection, it is being proposed once again to specially mark and identify Jewish shops and enterprises in some form or other.²⁰⁷ It would probably be very appropriate if the Jewish shop is ordered to put up these notices in German, and also in Hebrew, in a readily visible spot. The special cultural position of the Jews is clearly expressed by such action.

<1504>

Stapostelle Government District Erfurt
Report for December 1935
Erfurt, 6 January 1936
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90 P, Vol. 10,1

General

[...] The Commissioner of the Führer, Reichsstatthalter Sauckel, has arranged the transfer of the formerly Jewish Simson Factory in Suhl, the largest weapons factory in Germany, to the property of the German Volksgemeinschaft, as a National Socialist foundation.²⁰⁸ In his speech, Sauckel noted among other things that this factory has been the source for the true and very first weapon smith, which now is ready to serve the entire German people and no other. It arose from what was a Jewish-capitalist enterprise, with all the resultant destructive and corrosive phenomena, and came forth from an exploitative firm of the grossest form, a tool of profit-greedy international weapons manufacturers, pernicious examples of which can be found throughout the world. He noted that the Jewish-Marxist spirit had been banned now and forever more from within the walls of the factory, a comment received with jubilation and great enthusiasm. Now in its stead there was National Socialist communal will and a desire for its betterment. He connected this new situation with a call: now, more than ever before, duty and achievement and unconditional comradeship should be considered the highest priority, above all else.

The firm now has the name Berlin-Suhler Waffen-und Fahrzeugwerke (B.S.W). [...]

<1506>

◀189▶
Stapostelle Government District Hanover
Report for December 1935
Hanover, 6 January 1936
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90 P, Vol. 3, 2

Opponents of the State and the Movement

[...]

Jews

The migration of the Jews out of the **Stapo** district is continuing unabated.²⁰⁹ As a result, Jewish **Communities** often find themselves in certain financial difficulties, since in many cases it is the wealthier Jews who leave first. For example, the Jewish Community in Hameln is no longer able to support its own teacher. The former teacher was dismissed effective 1 April 1936.

The **Jewish Winter Relief** is making excellent progress. Of the approximately 1,200 persons in the Jewish Community Hanover, about 750 have participated up to now in contributing to the Jewish Winter Relief. There is continuous support for about 350 families with some 800 persons. In addition, there is a new regulation in effect that only those who have two Jewish parents can make use of the Jewish Winter Relief. Jews of the Christian denominations²¹⁰ receive assistance from the Jewish Winter Relief. The work is done primarily on a voluntary basis, especially by women and young people who have placed their services at the disposal of the Winter Relief. There has been no public advertising for the Winter Relief to date, and none is planned. [...]

<1508>

◀190▶

Stapostelle Government District Cologne

Report for December 1935

Cologne, 4 January 1936

GStA, I. HA Rep. 90 P, Vol. 9, 9

The Old Catholic Church in Cologne, which previously had only held its functions at the church, was in public evidence in the period from 10 to 13 December 1935 by the organizing of three lecture evenings in various parts of the city. As head of the Rhine Regional District of the Catholic-National Church Movement, Pastor Dommel gave a talk on "Political Catholicism and the Third Reich."²¹¹ In each case, these events were well attended by Party members and members of the SA, among others. The closed restricted character of the function was maintained. Invitations were limited to members and guests. There was no question period and discussion after the lectures. The remarks by Pastor Dommel reflected a positive attitude toward National Socialism. The speaker dealt mainly with the power of the Roman pope, its deleterious influence on *völkisch* thinking, and its impact on the behavior and conscience of the German Roman Catholic clergy. He noted that foreign hate propaganda²¹² against the Third Reich had originated in this situation of constraint. He stressed that political Catholicism should also be understood in this context. It was thriving more than ever outside Germany nowadays, and in spite of all assurances by the top echelons of the clergy, it had still not disappeared in Germany either, but had only donned a disguise. To substantiate this assertion, Pastor Dommel cited a number of recent reports in foreign newspapers that openly document the negative attitude of the Roman Catholic clergy toward the new Germany. The attitude of the Germans loyal to Rome also has to be evaluated in the same spirit, Dommel noted. In conclusion, he mentioned four points that rendered cooperation between Catholicism and National Socialism a questionable undertaking, since as Pope Pius XI had stated, Catholicism would never recognize the claims to total power of the Third Reich.



Figure 14. Ceremonial opening of a campaign of the independent Jewish Winter Relief in the Synagogue on Prinzregentenstraße, Berlin; the lower banner reads: "No one must be allowed to go hungry and freeze. GIVE as best you can. With a happy heart"; October 1936. Jewish Museum, Berlin, Sammlung Herbert Sonnenfeld, 233/3.

These are the points:

- a) the question of sterilization
- b) community schools
- c) the question of youth
- d) the **Jewish Question**.

In all these points, the Catholic-National Church Movement was proceeding in agreement with National Socialism, since it was anchored on a Christian foundation free from Rome, and gave priority to the German *völkisch* idea. Only the Christian free of Rome can think in a Catholic and German manner. Pastor Dommel concluded the function with a Sieg Heil salute to the Führer. His comments received resounding applause from the audience. There was nothing objectionable here from the standpoint of state politics. [...]

<1514>

◀191▶

Stapostelle Government District Königsberg

Report for December 1935

Königsberg, n.d.

Jews and Freemasons

[...] On 23 December 1935, the Jewish merchant Hermann Motulski from Fischhausen was taken into **protective custody**. The charge: under serious suspicion of having composed a fraudulent letter from the District Head Office Samland of the NSDAP, and then of having sent this to the Party branch in Fischhausen. The content of the letter was as follows: "In accordance with a directive from the Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda Berlin, the **Stürmer** papers are to be removed, effective immediately, from **Stürmer display cases**. They should be replaced by copies of the *Preußische Zeitung*. At the same time, the words on the wooden walls of the casing should be painted over and thus removed. Heil Hitler! District Head Office." After Motulski had professed his innocence for a long time, he later gave a comprehensive confession. He was arraigned before the District Court, which has issued a warrant for his arrest. [...]

According to a report from Johannisburg, windows were repeatedly smashed from 25 November to 7 December 1935 in the **synagogue** in Johannisburg.²¹³ The damage amounts to 22.50 RM. It has not been possible to date to identify the culprits. [...]

<1515>

Stapostelle Government District Wiesbaden
Report for December 1935
Frankfurt/M., 4 January 1936
GStA, I. HA Rep. 90 P, Vol. 4, 2

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] The clear and unequivocal **Nuremberg Laws** on the **Jewish Question** have given new impetus to heightened activity on the part of all Jewish organizations and groups that espouse **Zionism**.²¹⁴ This now-intensified activity is especially manifest in numerous meetings of the Jews. The main aim of these meetings is supposedly to help prepare for **emigration** and to familiarize individuals with the prevailing conditions in **Palestine**. The **Orthodox** Jewish association describes the “momentary humiliation” as an act by God to punish his “chosen people” and they call for a return to the **Torah**, to Biblical faith. This was the general viewpoint in all the speeches given at the delegate conference of **Agudas Yisroel** from 27 to 30 December. It is striking that the League of Jewish Combat Soldiers²¹⁵ is also dealing with **emigration** and other matters.

The migration of Jews from rural districts and small towns to the large urban areas, mentioned in the previous monthly report, is still noticeable, though it has declined in scope.²¹⁶ In the same way, the emigration of Jews abroad is also continuing.

According to recent experience, many farmers are still engaging in **cattle trade** with Jews. The result of this is that the butchers can hardly buy any cattle for slaughter from farmers directly, but rather are likewise forced to deal with the Jews.

Several persons were brought before the judge, who issued arrest warrants in all cases. The charge: serious suspicion of **race defilement** and some instances of proven race defilement. [...]

Freemasons

Since except for the Jewish U.O.B.B. lodges,²¹⁷ there are no longer any other lodges in operation, there is nothing special to report.[...]

<1532>

Württemberg Political State Police Office
Report for December 1935
Stuttgart, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3968

Miscellaneous Matters Jews

According to local observations here, there was an intensified migration of Jews from outside into Stuttgart over the past half year.²¹⁸ Suitable measures have been introduced to ensure that any further increase in the percentage of Jews in the population is avoided.

On 11 December 1935, there was the second event in Stuttgart (Gustav Siegle House) put on by the Stuttgart Jewish Art Community. The Jewish **Kulturbund** Rhine-Ruhr presented a stage production of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* in the new version by Hans Rothe. The play was given permission, as per file no. I K 188/13164, 28 October 1935, by the State Commissioner **Hinkel**.²¹⁹ It has already been performed in Aachen, Dortmund, Duisburg, Essen, Gelsenkirchen, Cologne, Krefeld, Recklingshausen [sie], Wuppertal, Frankfurt, and Karlsruhe.

The hall was packed; there were an estimated 500–600 Jews of both sexes in the audience.

The final lines of Dromio of Ephesus in the eighth scene:

When Heaven deigns to test us, it is not our office to understand this test.
Whoever knows himself well never explained that we go to prison innocent,
because sin smolders deeply within us all. We obey, and even if you push and
shove us: external injustice has always failed!²²⁰

were delivered by the performer with conscious emphasis on his words and gestures. Those present in the audience realized immediately that this was intended as a reference characterizing the current situation of the Jews in Germany. It had been completely quiet in the hall as Dromio spoke these lines, and the actor was given loud applause after the speech.

Zionists in recent months have been stepping up their propaganda on behalf of collecting money to purchase settlement land in **Palestine** for young German Jewish emigrants.²²¹ The drive is evidently being carried out in the framework of the Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael fund / K.K.L. [...]

►194►

District Governor Dresden
Report for November and December
Dresden, 9 January 1936
BArch, R 58/3750

Jews

[...] In Dresden, where the number of Jews stands out, there was lively Jewish associational activity during the month here reported on.²²² A special note was injected into Jewish communal life by the purely Jewish festival of Hanukka,²²³ celebrated every year at this time. In the course of this holiday, there are a number of religious services, as well as other events and functions. In this connection, all that will be noted here is the “Festive **Chanukka** Evening” on 28 December 1935 in the hall of the synagogue, put on for the wards of the **Jewish Winter Relief**. It was attended by some 250 persons. [...]

<1558>

1. See Individual actions and Signs, anti-Jewish.
2. The report deals with the two provinces of Lower and Upper Silesia.
3. See **Race defilement**.
4. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
5. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
6. In 1891.
7. See Chronology, February 1935.
8. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
9. See **B'nai B'rith**.
10. The report deals with the entire province of East Prussia, and thus also with the government districts of Allenstein, Gumbinnen, and Marienwerder.
11. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
12. Correct: Leo.
13. See **Pessah**.

- 14.** See **Desecration of religious symbols of the Jews**.
- 15.** See **Ritual murder**. On the accusation of ritual murder in Tauroggen, see: *Der Gelbe Fleck*, 46 f. A charge of ritual murder is known to have been made in Konitz in 1900 (and not 1917). No information about an accusation in Marienburg was available to the editors.
- 16.** See **Individual actions**.
- 17.** See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
- 18.** See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
- 19.** See **Pessah**.
- 20.** See CD <660>.
- 21.** See **Individual actions**.
- 22.** See **Associational life, Jewish**.
- 23.** See **Individual actions**.
- 24.** See **Jews' lackey**.
- 25.** See **Individual actions**.
- 26.** See Chronology, February 1935.
- 27.** See **Aliyah**.
- 28.** See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
- 29.** See Chronology.
- 30.** See Chronology, 21 May 1935.
- 31.** See **Associational life, Jewish** and **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
- 32.** See **Individual actions** and Chronology, February 1935.
- 33.** See **Internal migration** and **Emigration**.
- 34.** In addition to this report, the anti-Jewish movement in Munich that began the end of March 1933 and culminated in the events on 25 May 1933 is also dealt with in CD <862>, <864>, <881>, <922>, and <923>.
- 35.** See **Individual actions**.
- 36.** See Chronology, February 1935.
- 37.** See **Individual actions**.
- 38.** See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

- 39.** See **Schacht, Hjalmar**.
- 40.** See **Individual actions** and **Race defilement**.
- 41.** See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.
- 42.** See **Signs, anti-Jewish**.
- 43.** See **Individual actions**.
- 44.** See **Chronology**, 16 August 1934.
- 45.** See **Individual actions**.
- 46.** See **Churches and Nazi policy on the Jews**.
- 47.** The estate Groß-Gaglow, established by the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans in 1930 for the purpose of training Jews in agriculture in Germany and rendering them “productive,” had to be vacated as a result of the decision by the Reich and Prussian Food Minister in April 1935. The Jewish settlers planned to emigrate to Brazil where with the assistance of the ICA they wished to establish a gardening settlement along the lines of Groß-Gaglow. As a matter of fact, most of the settlers emigrated to Palestine shortly after the estate was dissolved. See the chapter *Jews* in CD 938. See also Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, 92 f. and n. 47, as well as Hachshara.
- 48.** See **Chronology**, 21 May 1935.
- 49.** The section here is similar in meaning to the May 1935 report of the Gendarmerie Wittlage, 18 May 1935 (StA Os, Rep 430 Dez 201–204 acc 16C/65), not reproduced here or in the complete edition on the CD-ROM. Instead of “birthday of the Führer,” there the expression is “birthday of the military leader.”
- 50.** See **Individual actions**.
- 51.** See **Race defilement**.
- 52.** See **Chronology**, 21 May and 29 May 1935.
- 53.** See **Organizational life, Jewish**.
- 54.** See **Chronology**.
- 55.** See **Zionist Association for Germany** and **State Zionist Organization**.
- 56.** See **Chronology**, 10 February 1935.
- 57.** See **Emigration**.
- 58.** See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.

59. See **Associationallife, Jewish.**
60. See Chronology, February 1935.
61. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish.**
62. See Chronology, 21 June 1935.
63. See **Schacht, Hjalmar.** On the mixed views of other government and police offices, see also CD 941.
64. See **Associationallife, Jewish.**
65. The report deals with the entire province of East Prussia, and thus also with the government districts Allenstein, Gumbinnen, and Marienwerder.
66. See **Race defilement.**
67. See **Chevra Kaddisha.**
68. See Chronology, 11 April 1935.
69. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings.**
70. See **Individual actions.**
71. See Chronology, 7 April 1933 (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service-Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums) and 6 May 1933 (Third Decree on Implementation).
72. See **Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities.**
73. See Chronology, 21 June 1935.
74. See **Associational life, Jewish.**
75. See **Zionist Association of Germany** and **State Zionist Organization.**
76. See Chronology, 10 February 1935.
77. See **Individual actions.**
78. See **Communism and Jews** as well as **Individual actions.**
79. See Chronology, February 1935.
80. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish.**
81. See Chronology, 22–28 July 1935.
82. See **Individual actions.**
83. See **Associational life, Jewish.**
84. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings.** It should be noted that the number of Jewish meetings in Berlin in the previous months of

April, May, and June reached 2,483, 2,950, and 2,281, respectively.

85. See **Individual actions** and Chronology, July-August 1935.

86. The report deals with the two provinces of Lower and Upper Silesia.

87. See **Schacht, Hjalmar**.

88. See Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 106.

89. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

90. See **Zionist Association for Germany**.

91. See **Agudas Jisroel**.

92. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

93. See **Cemetery desecration**.

94. See Chronology, July-August 1935.

95. See **Gestapo**.

96. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

97. See Chronology, 14 July 1933.

98. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

99. Schacht commented in this speech on 18 August 1935 on the anti-Jewish violence in July-August 1935 (see Chronology). The Propaganda Ministry prohibited publication of the full text of the speech. But it was printed as a special publication of the Reichsbank. See Schacht, *Königsberger Rede*; see also Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 123, and Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 112.

100. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

101. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

102. See **Individual actions**.

103. See CD ▶1027▶ and **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.

104. See Chronology.

105. See **Cemetery desecration**.

106. The document was not available to the editors.

107. This is probably a reference to the professors of the Protestant theology faculty who authored a statement against the discrimination of baptized Jews (see **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**) inside the Protestant

church. However, this expert opinion does not mention the disfranchisement and persecution of non-baptized Jews. See also Gutteridge, *Open Thy Mouth*, 126.

108. See Cemetery desecration.
109. See Individual actions.
110. See Race defilement and the description of this “trial” in CD 946.
111. See Concentration camps.
112. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
113. See Chronology, July–August 1935.
114. See **Nuremberg Laws**.
115. See **Communism and Jews**.
116. Word illegible.
117. See **Nuremberg Laws**.
118. See **Emigration and Aliyah**.
119. See **Zionist Association of Germany**.
120. See **Minority protection**.
121. See **Flag legislation**.
122. See **Individual actions**.
123. See **Zionist Association of Germany**.
124. See **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**.
125. On the later regulations for exporting goods from Germany, see Chronology, 14 November 1935 and 21 December 1935.
126. See Chronology, July–August 1935.
127. See **Nuremberg Laws**.
128. See Chronology, July–August 1935.
129. See **Race defilement**.
130. See Chronology, 20 August 1935.
131. See **Individual actions**.
132. See **Nuremberg Laws**.
133. See Minority protection and Weissmann, “Durchsetzung der jüdischen Minderrechtsrechte.”

- [134.](#) See **Marking of the Jews and their possessions**.
- [135.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.
- [136.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.
- [137.](#) See **Spas**.
- [138.](#) The office issuing the report in this document has not been identified, and it was also not possible to ascertain this from the State Archive in Detmold. These and other documents of the same origin are only available there in carbon-copy form and without a printed letterhead.
- [139.](#) On political jokes in the NS-period see Wählert, *Der politische Witz*.
- [140.](#) See Domarus, Hitler, *Speeches and proclamations*, II, 708.
- [141.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.
- [142.](#) See **Zionist Association of Germany**.
- [143.](#) See **Hachshara**.
- [144.](#) See **Vocational restructuring**.
- [145.](#) Heinrich **Himmler**, see Chronology, November 1933–January 1934.
- [146.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
- [147.](#) See **Communism and Jews**.
- [148.](#) See **Jewish Winter Relief**.
- [149.](#) On its genesis, creation, and activity see **Jewish Winter Relief**.
- [150.](#) See **Zionist Association in Germany**.
- [151.](#) See **Youth organizations, Jewish**.
- [152.](#) See **Sukkot** and **Simchat Tora**.
- [153.](#) See **Communism and Jews**.
- [154.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
- [155.](#) The previous section is similar in content to the “Catholic Church” section in the report for September and October by the Berlin police chief, CD ▶ 1318▶.
- [156.](#) It should read *Rabbi Akiba ben Joseph*. One of the central figures of the first generation of Talmudic Judaism (Tanaïtes), and the intellectual leader of the Bar Kochba revolt against Rome (132–135), in whose quelling he died the death of a martyr.

[157.](#) The reference is to World War I.

[158.](#) These remarks refer to the “Jews’ census” carried out in 1916 to determine the percentage of Jews among combat soldiers at the front. It was ordered due to the repeated charge that Jews were shirking military service. On Jewish reactions to this accusation, see **Combat veterans, Jewish**.

[159.](#) The previous section corresponds in content to the chapter “German Faith Movement and Other Ideological Movements” in the report for September and October by the Berlin police chief, CD [◀1318▶](#), see also **German Christians’ Faith Movement**.

[160.](#) See **Vocational restructuring**.

[161.](#) See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

[162.](#) See **Adult education, Jewish**.

[163.](#) See **Aliyah**.

[164.](#) See **Israelitic Women’s Association**.

[165.](#) This evidently is the head of the Jewish Community in Essen, Willy Katzenstein.

[166.](#) See **Youth organizations, Jewish**.

[167.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[168.](#) On the organizational restructuring of the Kulturbund, a process which went on over the course of several months, see Dahm, “Kulturelles und geistiges Leben,” 105–111.

[169.](#) See **Assimilationists**.

[170.](#) See **Hitler Youth**.

[171.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.

[172.](#) See **Boycott, anti-Jewish and Aryanization**.

[173.](#) On the later executive orders from Germany, see Chronology, 14 November and 21 December 1935.

[174.](#) The report deals with the entire province of East Prussia, and thus likewise with the districts of Allenstein, Gumbinnen, and Marienwerder.

[175.](#) See Boycott, anti-Jewish, and the ordinance by the Führer’s Deputy Hess, 11 April 1935 (see Chronology).

[176.](#) See Nuremberg Laws.

[177.](#) This section of the law prohibited Jews from hiring female Aryan domestics under the age of forty-five.

[178.](#) See Emigration and Internal migration.

[179.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.

[180.](#) On the topic of complaints and denunciations from the ranks of the German population, see Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*; idem, "Gestapo and German Society."

[181.](#) This is probably Otto **Weiler**.

[182.](#) See CD ▲1356▲.

[183.](#) According to a decree from the Gestapo, all Jewish functions where there was active support expressed for the Jews to try to stay on in Germany was prohibited. See Chronology, 10 February 1935, and **Assimilationists**.

[184.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.

[185.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[186.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.

[187.](#) See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

[188.](#) See **Aryanization**.

[189.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[190.](#) See Chronology, 14 November 1935.

[191.](#) See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

[192.](#) See Chronology, 14 November 1935.

[193.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[194.](#) See **Marking of the Jews and their possessions**.

[195.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws** and Chronology, 15 September 1935.

[196.](#) See **Emigration**.

[197.](#) See **Internal migration**.

[198.](#) See **Jewish Winter Relief**.

[199.](#) On order of the Reich government, the people were compelled to eat simple stew meals on the first Sunday of the months October to March, the so-called *Eintopfsonntag*, at a price not to exceed one Reichsmark per person, also as standard fare in restaurants. The difference in price between this cheaper stew and a regular Sunday meal was to be donated as a contribution to the Winter

Relief.

200. See **Individual actions**.

201. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

202. The office issuing the report in this document has not been identified, and it was also not possible to ascertain this from the State Archive in Detmold. These and other documents of the same origin are only available there in carbon-copy form and without a printed letterhead.

203. See **Nuremberg Laws and Chronology**.

204. See **Mixed marriages**.

205. See **Yiddish**.

206. See **Atrocity propaganda, Jewish**.

207. See **Marking of the Jews and their possessions**.

208. See **Aryanization**.

209. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.

210. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.

211. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

212. See **Atrocity propaganda, Jewish**.

213. See **Individual actions**.

214. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

215. See **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**.

216. See **Internal migration**.

217. See **B'nai B'rith**.

218. See **Internal migration**.

219. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

220. This speech does not appear in any form of the Shakespearean original text, nor is there any eighth scene in any act. It is perhaps a literary invention of Hans Rothe for his version. Rothe uses this cryptic addition to the Shakespearean text to transmit his political message to the Jewish audience. See **Midrash**.

221. See **Emigration and Aliyat Hanoar**.

222. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[223.](#) See **Chanukka**.

The Year of the Olympic Games

Breathing Space for the Jews in Germany?

(January–December 1936)

◀195▶

SD Main Office J I/6

Situation Report

Berlin, n.d.¹

OA Mos, 500/3/316

The day of national uprising marked a turning point in the historical development of Judaism and the Jews in Germany, and thus in the rest of the world.

Assimilation was unable to continue its wheelings and dealings in the forms it had chosen up to 1933. The uncompromising attitude of the National Socialist movement to the Jews was familiar to the **assimilationists** from the years prior to 1933, so that it was only natural for them to embark on a new direction adapted to the situation. This entailed placing new emphasis on the pro-national, German, and pro-state attitude of the staunch assimilationists.

However, **Zionism** developed in a quite different direction. Before 1933, it was possible to regard the adherents of this Jewish political current as stalwart nationalists in the Jewish sense. After 30 January 1933, however, the Zionist organizations had a strong influx of new members from among the assimilationists. Jews who no longer had any basis for a livelihood in Germany suddenly swore their allegiance to Zionism. They hoped, stressing the fact of their belonging to the Jewish Community, to be able to create a new means of existence for themselves in **Palestine**. Or by means of their association with this group within Jewry, which was under less attack by the German state, they sought to improve their chances when it came to staying on longer in Germany. This development peaked in August 1935, when according to the findings of the Lucerne **Zionist Congress** then,² 102,000 Jews in Germany proclaimed their adherence to Zionism through the purchase of the **Shekel** (a Zionist tax that

entitled a person to vote in the election for the Congress). If you take into account that in addition to these Shekel-payers, i.e., registered members, those not entitled to vote (children and young adults under 20) should also be included in the full count, and you consider all of Jewish youth, which is 75–80 percent pro-Zionist, then you arrive at a figure of about 60 percent of the total Jewish population in Germany as being close to the Zionists.³ Contrast that with only 20–25 percent in the purely assimilationist organizations. The remaining 15–20 percent are neutral as Jews, most are strictly **Orthodox**, and lean sometimes to one side, sometimes the other.

Special attention should be given to the main exponents of the two Jewish political currents, the assimilationists and the Zionists:

The most extreme assimilationist group, the **Association of National-German Jews** (Naumann group) was disbanded last December on orders of the **Gestapo**. This association, which never made any secret of its allegiance to the Jewish religion, but rather emphasized that element with special pride, had understood how to gain some influence with the authorities precisely by foregrounding its German-national ideology. There is a confidential circular by the head of this association, the lawyer **Dr. Naumann**, dated 4 June 1935, to the members. In it every member of the cohort born 1914/1915 is called upon to report voluntarily for service to his local Defense District Command. It states that membership in the Association of National-German Jews should be given special emphasis, and if necessary the member volunteering should speak personally with the responsible Defense District officer or sergeant.⁴ Characteristic of the ideology of these Jews is their mutual salute, with lifting of the right arm. The prohibition on this association, which only sought to maintain them as an equally valued part of the German people, is completely justified.

The CV or **Central Association of the Jews in Germany** has recently not called much attention to itself in the public arena. It has lost a large number of members as a result of the strengthening of the Zionist organizations. However, the situation is different for the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans. Its direction, and correspondingly its membership as well, still feel quite comfortable today in Germany as “non-Aryan **combat veterans**.” The League is active in all spheres of Jewish life. Subordinate to it are the **League of German-Jewish Youth** and the sports league **Schild**. In addition, it supports a whole series of other smaller Jewish **sports associations**, most with a fully German name (in contrast with the frequent **Hebrew** names of the Zionist organizations). The most important of these is the Sports Association 1933 in Berlin, along with a number of rowing and tennis clubs. The League of Jewish Combat Veterans

very openly rejects any kind of political **emigration**, especially to Palestine. An apt remark to characterize this is probably a comment by a Jewish speaker at a members' meeting, where he ended his speech by saying: "We will not abandon the 'ship' called Germany until the women and children have been brought to safety." Another League speaker once stated: "If we can bide our time, some day we will be the citizens of those to come."

However, the contemporary situation in the Zionist organization differs. Within the Zionist current, a fundamental distinction should be made between the general Zionists⁵ and the State Zionists.⁶ While in Germany the predominant faction of the general Zionists are part of the interterritorial Zionist Organization, which has an annual Zionist Congress, the State Zionists, a grouping that is minuscule in Germany in terms of numbers, are part of the New Zionist Organization (**Revisionists**). This is an organization that is one of the worst agitators for boycotts against the new Germany.⁷ The general Zionists are represented in Germany by the **ZVfD-Zionist Association of Germany**, and its affiliated sports and youth organizations. Along with smaller such groups, the most important of these are **Hechalutz** and the **Maccabi** Sport Circle. While the general Zionists can point already to actual success—since 1933 some 30,000 German Jews have emigrated to Palestine—and here in Germany as well the Jews are attempting to prepare for the Palestinian state,⁸ the State Zionists, in Germany led by **Kareski**, can be regarded as one of the most dangerous groups within Jewry. Although their numbers are extremely small compared with the general Zionists, with whom they are "on a war footing," they nonetheless raise their bold heads, calling themselves the true representatives of Judaism. They find support in this again and again within the New Zionist Organization (Revisionists). Recently at its Vienna Congress, in September 1935, where Kareski was present supposedly only as an "observer," the NZO formulated a sharply worded resolution against Germany, calling for an intensified boycott. It should also be borne in mind that Kareski has a rather dubious reputation: he attempted to place himself in a favorable light in the eyes of the Gestapo, and has been denounced abroad as a Gestapo agent and spy. That charge has gone unchallenged (in Prague, Paris, and London). There are thus doubts about whether appointing this man Kareski as president of the **Reich Federation of the Jewish Kulturbund** is proper, since he and his followers are probably extremely slick political con men. For that reason, it would likewise be a questionable move to put the power-hungry Kareski in charge of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**. He would doubtless exploit that post only for his personal ends and for the Jewish political direction he espouses.⁹ Up

to the present time, the State Zionists are still not represented in the Reich Representation of the Jews. The work of the other Reich organizations, the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations** and the **Reich Committee of Jewish Youth Associations**, was limited more or less to fulfilling their duties as major Jewish organizations.

Exceptionally active in the recent period has been the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. It propagates Jewish emigration to countries other than Palestine, maintaining ties to almost all countries, especially in South America and southern Africa. Among the relief and aid organizations for Jews in Germany, three others deserve mention: the American **Joint Distribution Committee**, the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation,¹⁰ and **ORT** (abbreviation for *Obschtschestvo rasprostraneniya truda*).¹¹ Each of these three organizations is represented in Germany, and regularly presents itself to the outside world as a specific relief and aid organization for German Jews. The American Joint Distribution Committee has its main office in New York. Its honorary president is the well-known hate agitator against Germans Felix M. **Warburg**; the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation, a parallel creation of the Joint Committee, has its head office in London. Until 1933, the direction of both organizations in Germany was in the hands of the Communist leader Dr. Bernhard **Kahn**, who in the meantime has emigrated to Paris. Both organizations maintain close ties to the then Commissioner for German Refugees James McDonald,¹² and both took part in the 1934 refugee conference in London. ORT¹³ has links in particular with circles in **East European Jewry**, and also designates itself as an organization purely centered on aid and relief. Moreover, it maintains ties especially to Belgium. As a participant in the London conference, ORT and the two other organizations mentioned are suspected of engaging in activities hostile to Germany. It would thus be highly desirable for these three associations to be banned in the near future in Germany. In general, the suspicion is probably well-founded that the Jews wish to disguise what is going on by shifting their political mole work into the so-called relief and aid organizations. The latter can always explain away their links with foreign groups as being harmless. For that reason, this office will pay greater attention to these organizations in the near future.¹⁴

<1591>

Stapostelle State Police District Berlin
Report for January 1936
Berlin, n.d.
BArch, R 58/3043 a

General

[...] In the circles of the old Party stalwarts, but also in the broadest circles of the **Volksgenossen**, people are perplexed about the mild treatment being accorded the Jews in Berlin. Despite the very welcome and temporarily indeed effective slowdown in activity in July of last year,¹⁵ it is already possible once again for them to appear in growing numbers in the streets and the bars and shops without encountering discord and unpleasant encounters. On a number of occasions, Jews have been observed in the company of **Aryan** women. Even when scrutinized more closely, they do not try to conceal their intimate relationships. They also occasionally use the Hitler salute, bidding their racial compatriots to salute them in the same manner. Shrewdly, they know how to arrange their behavior so that it is difficult to undertake any action against them.

[...] The implementation of the Law on the Protection of Blood¹⁶ has acted to depress the mood in the populace, since the number of domestic servants that have been dismissed in Berlin is quite substantial. Moreover, one can see from most of the applications for granting an exception that the individuals affected have not yet grasped the significance and purpose of this regulation. Nor has it been possible to reintegrate all the domestic servants that were fired into the work force. [...]

When it comes to the **Jewish Question**, there has been no change in the situation in comparison with previous months. The **Nuremberg Laws** have in this case acted as a deterrent in their impact on the Jews. A convincing proof of that is the increase in complaints to the Department for Jewish Affairs since the promulgation of the Nuremberg Laws. From 1 to 31 October 1935, there were 384 new cases registered. Of these, 311 were connected with **race defilement** and 31 charged with suspicion of ideas hostile to the state. In the period 1–30 November, there were 492 new cases, with 414 involving race defilement and attitudes hostile to the state = 39. From 1 to 31 December 1935, 573 new cases were registered; of these, 50? [Unreadable figure. The number is between 500 and 509] were for race defilement, and 45 for attitudes hostile to the state.

In the period 1–31 January 1936, 741 new cases were received; of these, 653

involved race defilement and hostility to the state = 65. So from 1 October 1935, there has been an increase of about 50 percent in the number of formal complaints filed charging race defilement and attitudes hostile to the state.

The number of arrests for race defilement and attitudes hostile to the state were 42 in October 1935, in November 1935 there were 57 such cases; December 1935 = 36 and January 1936 = 73. In 61 cases, a warrant was issued for arrest on the charge of race defilement. [...] <1596>

◀197▶

Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf
Report for January 1936
Düsseldorf, 18 February 1936
Arch, R 58/3043 a

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

With the beginning of the new year, the Jews have continued with their previous level of activity in meetings and gatherings.¹⁷ They are making substantial use of the freedom granted to them in the framework of the law. There is a vibrancy evident not only in economic life, but also culturally¹⁸ and in the youth movement.¹⁹ That liveliness suggests that there is close cooperation between all sections of the Jewish community, and that this is having a deleterious effect on efforts toward assimilation.²⁰ [...] <1598>

◀198▶

“Political Reports from the Government District Minden, Lippe and the District Hameln-Pyrmont”²¹
Report for the Period 7 January–7 February 1936
N.p., n.d.
StA De, M 1 I P No. 633 Vol. II

General

[...] Things were quiet in connection with the **Jewish Question**. At the

present time, Jewish businesses are being transferred to **Aryan** ownership.²² [...]

Jews

A certain calm has set in with regard to the Jewish Question. It should be noted that work in popular enlightenment is continuing and demonstrating success: the position of the Jew within the people and in economic life is being ever more undermined. But the Jew himself is very little in evidence, and they evidently are attempting to remain as inconspicuous as possible. A number of Jewish firms have once again been transferred to Aryan hands. [...] There has been no special propaganda against the Jews in the month here reported on. The main propaganda comes from the paper ***Stürmer***, which indeed is on display everywhere, and is readily available everywhere in the “***Stürmer* display cases.**” The high tide of newspapers hostile to the Jews, such as the ***Judenkenner*** and others, has now ebbed. These papers are now seen less often at the newspaper stands, and the newspaper sellers also confirm that fewer copies are being sold now than a few months ago. [...] <1672>

◀199▶

SD Main Office [II 121]

Monthly Report for February 1936 on the Left Movement

Berlin, n.d. 1936

BArch, R 58/3082

Communism

[...]

Organizations Under Scrutiny

The illegal organization of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) was weakened once more in February as a result of numerous actions by the Gestapo:

In Berlin, two persons were arrested who had been sent in by the Central Committee of the KPD in Prague with the task of rebuilding the Communist Party in the Reich. Their activity was to explore the creation of new methods for maintaining the KPD since the old form of organization is now outdated. The two taken into custody, one of whom is a Jew, were at the time probably *the highest-ranking Communist functionaries in Germany.*²³ Earlier they were editors of Communist papers and they were in the possession of forged

passports. The Jew received a monthly salary of 400 RM, while the other, in addition to his monthly salary, had the sum of 1,000 RM available every month so as to be able to carry out his assigned tasks.

In addition, actions were carried out in *Berlin* against a number of *sub-districts*, and in the process several neighborhoods of the KPD were thoroughly combed and searched. [...]

One of the neighborhood chiefs arrested was a *Jew*. Behind the gravestone of his father in the Jewish cemetery, he had buried photocopies of a neighborhood newspaper he had published, hiding them in two glass pipes. He did this to prepare for the eventuality that if communism should come to power in Germany, he could prove that even under the National Socialist government, he had fought for communism.

<1673>

◀200▶

Stapostelle Government District Aachen

Report for February 1936

Aachen, 5 March 1936

BArch, R 58/3044 a

General

[...] There were no **individual actions** against Jews of any special importance in the month covered here by the report.

Status and Activity of Efforts Hostile to the State

Marxism and Communism, SAP

Communist Movement

[...]

Condition of the Communist Party of Germany in Organizational Terms

[...] The miner Erich Fluths from Aachen was taken into custody. He had declared in public that Adolf Hitler was of Jewish descent and had assumed a false name in order to conceal his Jewish origin. [...]

Jews

After the attack which cost the life of the leader of the [Swiss] NSDAP **Gustloff**, many Jews in the local district generally remained peaceful and quiet. Only in one case was **protective custody** for a period of 7 days ordered against the Jew Siegfried Schelasnitzki, born 13 October 1902 in Prostken. Schelasnitzki had been accused because during a conversation with his employer, who is likewise a Jew, he is supposed to have expressed his admiration for the murder in Davos. But there was no convincing evidence to substantiate this, so that he soon had to be released. The Jew Schelasnitzki exploited this and tried, by putting up an anonymous postcard, which he probably had also written himself, to cause unrest among the workers and to incite one man against the next.

The Jewish meetings that were planned were prohibited on the basis of the ordinance issued by the Reich Propaganda Minister, dated 6 February 1936.²⁴

The following **individual actions** took place in the month here under review.

At the Jewish cemetery in Mechernich, some 16 gravestones were overturned on 12 February 1936. A more detailed investigation showed that these events had actually come to pass some two weeks earlier. The initial suspicion that this act was the consequence of a political rally proved to be groundless after the culprits were identified. Those responsible are several young school-age boys, 10–11 years old. This indicates that the action did not have a political character, but was rather simply a case of gross mischief.

There was another **cemetery desecration** in Gemünd, Schleiden District. Three gravestones were damaged at the Jewish cemetery there. Here too, the actual deed must have been carried out several weeks before it was discovered. It has not yet been possible to identify the culprits responsible.

During the carnival period, the Jews put on fancy-dress balls in the border town of Vaals (Netherlands) in the Hotel Bellevue, whose owner is also a Jew.²⁵ A heightened border check was carried out during this time. There was no indication of any infractions by Jews of the regulations for passports and foreign currency. It was striking that Jews crossing the border had only small amounts of cash in their possession.

The Jew [name *a* withheld], born in Budapest on 12 February 1910, a citizen of Poland, resident here at [...], was arrested and charged with **race defilement**. [Name *a* withheld] had for a number of years had intimate relations with the saleswoman [name *b* withheld], born 25 December 1910 in Aachen, and had continued with this relationship even after the **Nuremberg Laws** had come into force. The judge issued a warrant for his arrest.

In Eicks, Schleiden District, a sign with the following words was affixed at the entrance to the locality: "Jew, turn around, do not pollute this place!" On my

orders, the sign was removed. <1674>

►201►

Stapostelle Government District Arnsberg

Report for February 1936

Dortmund, n.d.

BArch, R 58/3044 a

Jews

There was an evident increase in activity by Jewish **Zionist associations** in the time period covered by this report. An attempt is being made to promote **emigration** by **retraining** and offering language courses in **Hebrew**. The Reich Association of Jewish Combat Veterans is also keen on establishing an organization to support emigration. The sports group of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans²⁶** is now developing greater activity after having been admitted to participation in the **Olympic Games**. By contrast, the activity of the **assimilationists**, now as before, remains limited to an absolute minimum.

The situation for Jewish business has not changed to their disadvantage in the area of this **Stapostelle**. Rather, customers are flocking to Jewish shops. In the **cattle trade**, the Jew in numerous places dominates the field. It even happens that local leaders of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization and farmers who hold public office sell cattle to Jews. In Kamen, the butcher shop of the Jew [name *a* withheld] was shut down by the police due to a lack of proper hygiene and a risk to public health. In Unna, the Jew Dr. Mond was temporarily taken into custody, since he had engaged an **Aryan** domestic in his employ, in violation of the law of 15 September 1935.²⁷ In Dortmund, the Jew [name *b* withheld] was sentenced to 18 months in prison in a judgment of the Higher Criminal Court after having been found guilty of offenses against morality.

<1676>

►202►

Stapostelle Government District Aurich

Daily Report

Wilhelmshaven, 21 December 1936

StA Au, Rep. 16/1 No. 971

On 12 June 1935 in Norderney, the Jewish precision mechanic apprentice

[name *a* withheld], born [...] in Berlin, suddenly stepped in front of [name *b* withheld] from Esens, who was out for a stroll in her **BDM** uniform in Norderney. Without any external reason, he began to strike her. The girl [name *b* withheld] fell to the ground and injured her hand and knee as a result.

There had been tension between the father of [name *b* withheld] and the father of [name *a* withheld] for a long time. This was due to competitive jealousy, since both men are photographers.

In the meantime, [name *a* withheld] appeared before the District Court in Norden, charged with premeditated assault and battery in coincidence with public insult, and was given a fine of 80 RM. If unable to pay this sum, he was sentenced to one day behind bars for every unit of 5 RM outstanding, and ordered to pay the court costs. The injured party [name *b* withheld] has been granted the authorization to make public the court verdict at the expense of the accused in the paper *Badeanzeiger* in Nordeney and in the *Ostfriesische Tageszeitung*. This has been done. The case has been described in No. 43 of the **Stürmer**, October 1935, with the headline "Jew Knocks BDM Girl to the Ground." <1677>

►203►

Gestapa State **of Baden**

Report **for** February 1936

Karlsruhe, n.d.

BArch, R 1501/127079/44

Jews

The efforts of the Jews to emigrate are continuing.²⁸

Striking is the increase in their activity in associations and meetings.²⁹ It is evident that there is an effort afoot to promote closer ties between all Jews, in order to appear as an integral whole even to the outside.

Agricultural circles repeatedly point to the deplorable state of affairs, where the **cattle trade** still remains almost exclusively in Jewish hands. <1679>

►204►

Bavarian Political Police I 1 A

Report for February 1936

Munich, 1 March 1936

[...]

Jews

The murder by the Jew **Frankfurter** of the national head of the [Swiss] NSDAP **Gustloff** in Davos has not led to violent attacks on Jews.³⁰ Everywhere it was possible to observe that the Jews, evidently under the impression of the crime, sought to exercise greater reserve. In addition, the prohibition on all events and functions of the Jewish **Kulturbund** effectively acted to preclude possible incidents right from the start.³¹

Thanks to the levelheadedness of the German population, the increased influx of Jews on the occasion of the **Olympic Winter Games** did not eventuate in any incidents.

[...] <1680>

◀205▶

Stapostelle State Police District Berlin
Report for February 1936
Berlin, 6 March 1936
BArch, R 58/3044 a

Jews

Within Jewry, a tendency is in evidence toward greater cohesion in order to ward off and combat measures by the state. Thus, a small red-bound book was confiscated whose editor is the **Reich Association of Small and Medium-Sized Jewish Businesses**, located at Nachodstraße 8 in Berlin, W. This book contains a listing solely of the addresses of Jewish craftsmen and shops in Berlin. The book's intention is to persuade and assist Jews to shop only at Jewish establishments, and only to entrust work to Jewish craftsmen.³² [...]

As has been detailed in situation reports in previous months, the measures against the Jews have not had the desired success. An effective rollback is probably only possible through economic measures. An announcement along these lines by the Reich Interior Minister³³ has already sparked considerable consternation among circles of the Jews. The general popularly held view is that the government has avoided incisive measures solely out of consideration for the **Olympic Games**. The expectation of future action has not for the time being generated a mood of pogrom, as could be observed in the first half of 1935.³⁴

Now once again it was possible to note a number of cases where wealthy Jews fled, leaving their economic enterprises in the lurch. [...]

Behavior Hostile to the State

[...] There were 1,360 Jewish events and functions in the period of this report. Of these, 140 were observed.³⁵ On the day the Party member *Gustloff* was buried, 8 February 1936, all Jewish events and presentations were prohibited. To date, some 100 events have come under the prohibition on the functions and events of the Jewish **Kulturbund**.³⁶ Despite this prohibition, 20 announcements of events organized by the Kulturbund were submitted here. On 2 and 3 February 1936, the **Zionist Association of Germany** held its 25th delegate conference in the Bach Hall at Lützowstr. 76. On 9, 11, and 12 February, there was the first nationwide conference of the Association of Polish Jews, held at Joachimsthalerstr. 13. The purpose of the conference was to establish a Reich umbrella organization of the Polish Jews in Germany.³⁷ Both conventions were under surveillance throughout their full duration.³⁸ There were

no complaints. [...] <1681>

►206►

Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf

Report for February 1936

Düsseldorf, 12 March 1936

BArch, R 58/3044 a

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] At an event of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, branch Wesel, Dr. **Salomon**, Cologne, of the leadership of the **State Association Western Germany** in the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, was a featured speaker. [...] He spoke at length about the problem of emigration. Referring to Jewish history, he explained that every individual Jew had to perceive and sense Jewish history as part of himself in order to be able inwardly to sink deep roots once again. Even if the Jew was a guest and sojourner within the German people, there was, Dr. Salomon stressed, something under the sun that no one could take from him, namely the distinctive Jewish way of being and culture. Wherever the Jew might be driven, he would always regain *terra firma* beneath his feet. For that reason, the efforts to build a working relationship and study group between the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans and Zionism were a very welcome and positive development.³⁹ [...] <1683>

►207►

Stapostelle Government District Cologne
Report for February 1936
Cologne, 4 March 1936
BArch, R 58/3044 c

General Situation

General Mood in the Population

[...] The content below of a postcard confiscated at the post office shows that there are still some creatures who in their unbounded hatred for the movement use the case of **Gustloff** for critical outbursts:

“Herrn Robert Wagner, Karlsruhe, Schloßplatz.

Mr. Governor. I think your assertion that the entire German people is mourning for Gustloff is laughable. However, whoever reads the controlled conformist German press can come to that conclusion if he has no idea of just how cunning the propaganda of the Nazis is. But such an idiot doesn't exist. If someone complains about assassinations, he should think first of the 98,823 persons who have been shot while “attempting to flee” since 30 January 1933, and of the 1,265 murdered on 30 June 1934 (That figure does not include seven murdered fags, E. **Röhm** and others).”^{40!} [...] <1695>

◀208▶

Stapostelle Government District Königsberg
Report for February 1936⁴¹
Königsberg, 6 March 1936
BArch, R 58/3044 c

Protestant Religious Movement

Protestant Church Dispute

[...] Preliminary proceedings had to be initiated against the vicar Rugullis in Heilsberg, on the charge of making statements hostile to the state, because in a sermon he openly came to the defense of the Jews, and also criticized other measures of the government in a derogatory manner.⁴² [...] <1696>

◀209▶

District Governor Kassel

Report for January and February

Kassel, 4 March 1936

Klein, Kassel, pp. 772 f.

Jews and Freemasons

Unfortunately, **individual actions** against the Jews did not cease completely during the period here reported on. The negative attitude of the population toward the Jews is based in Kurhesse on economic oppression at the hands of the Jews over the span of centuries. For that reason, it is not always easy to convince people that the National Socialist government, which has all means for the solution of the **Jewish Question** at its disposal, is indeed able and willing to take the necessary measures against the Jews at the proper moment, and also to determine alone what their scope should be. Down to very recently, there was even a widespread view in the population that for reasons of foreign policy and Germany's image abroad, the Führer had to prohibit individual actions against Jews, while in truth he actually was in basic agreement with the idea that every individual should press ahead with the struggle against the Jews on his own, and in the sharpest form and manner.

As a result of orders from the top Party offices and its formations, which expressly prohibit by the Party all individual actions,⁴³ with the threat of penalties for any infraction of these regulations, gradually people are beginning to understand that the authoritative Party offices likewise will not tolerate special measures by individuals or groups of persons against the Jews under any circumstances. Since the police authorities have been repeatedly instructed, in agreement with the relevant Party authorities, to take all suitable measures to prevent such individual actions, there is an expectation that such actions can in future be halted to a very substantial degree. [...] <1719>

County Commissioner Bad Kreuznach
Report for February 1936
Bad Kreuznach, 27 February 1936
LHA Ko, Best. 441/35465

Economic and Agrarian Policy

[...] The Jews still remain predominant in the wine and **cattle trade**. However, certain indications are surfacing that suggest a gradual change under way here too. Observations indicate that many Catholics are doing their shopping at Jewish stores. [...] <1735>

Gendarmerie Butzbach

Report for January and February 1936

Butzbach, 18 February 1936

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 192

The Jews have been excluded almost completely from commerce, and most prefer to disappear gradually by going abroad.⁴⁴ <1738>

►212►

County Commissioner Schwabach
Report for February 1936
Schwabach, 2 March 1936
StA Nü, BA Schwabach No. 8444

Jews, Freemasons

The Jews in the district live completely withdrawn from the surrounding society. Only very rarely can they now be seen in public. They are no longer in evidence in commerce. There are still 28 Jews, including women and children, here in the district. <1770>

Gendarmerie Thannhausen
Report for February 1936
Thannhausen, 26 February 1936
StA Abg, BA Krumbach Abg. 1986 / 360

Jews, Freemasons

The **boards** with the words “Jews not wanted here” have been removed ▶
1774▶
◀214▶

Bavarian Political Police
Report for March 1936
Munich, 1 April 1936
BayHStA, StK 106687

Jews

With revocation of the prohibition on events organized by the Jewish **Kulturbund**⁴⁵ due to the murder of the chief of the [Swiss] NSDAP **Gustloff**, beginning 16 March 1936 there has been an increase in Jewish associational activity in the sphere of culture.⁴⁶ Yet no political activity was evident on the part of the Jews, which is also why, to the extent that can be ascertained based on previous reports, there was no refusal to permit a political gathering by the Jews in line with the prohibition decree that the Commander of the Political Police in the states⁴⁷ had issued in connection with the Reichstag⁴⁸ election. [...] <1778>

Stapostelle Government District Cologne

Daily Report
Cologne, 12 March 1936
BArch, R 58/3870

Freemasons, Jews, Emigrants, Expatriation

1) The Cologne branch of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** called on its members and the families of Jews killed in action to attend a heroes' memorial service in the **synagogue** in Cologne on 7 March 1936, commencing at 5:45 p.m. Some 1,200 Jews came to the service. The head of the local branch, Albert *Süskind*, initially described the bravery and sense of self-sacrifice of the Jews who had died in action. He went on to note that 12,000 Jews had shed their blood and died on foreign soil, and that they were buried together with their comrades, with whom they had fought side by side in close comradeship, in heroes' cemeteries in the areas of combat. All the German soldiers who had fallen in the World War had sacrificed their blood and life for the German fatherland, he said. And it was the duty of all those still living to commemorate in profound reverence the memory of the men killed in action.

After the Jewish choir sang the choral song "Oh God," **Rabbi Dr. Kober** spoke words of commemoration about the Jews who had lost their lives in action. He called them a model for self-sacrifice and loyalty to their fatherland. They, like their Christian comrades, had fought for the greatness of Germany. And they had made the supreme sacrifice, giving their very lives to this end. Kober then commemorated all the dead soldiers of Germany in a common prayer. The celebration ended with an organ rendition of the song "I had a comrade."⁴⁹

2) On Sunday, 8 March 1936, about 11:00 a.m., the local branch of Jewish Combat Veterans placed a wreath at the Jewish cemetery in Cologne Bickendorf at the memorial there. Some 800 persons took part in the ceremony of the laying of the wreath. Both these events were unobjectionable in respect to Gestapo regulations and gave no cause for complaint.

The Cologne **Zionist Association** organized a lecture on 9 March 1936 in the **synagogue** in Cologne. Rabbi Dr. **Prinz from Berlin** gave a talk on the topic "Our Struggle for Land and to be a People." Some 1,200 persons were in attendance.

Dr. Prinz, who has left his post as rabbi of the Berlin Community, and now is busy giving talks and lectures for the Zionist Association, first described the appearance of anti-Semitism in Europe. Poland, a country with a Jewish

population today of still some 3.5 million, has now also adopted legislation on the prohibition of Jewish **ritual slaughter**. He noted that one could expect attitudes hostile to the Jews to surface now in the other countries of the world. For that reason, Dr. Prinz stressed, a Jew in Hungary, England, Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, or America does not know whether perhaps tomorrow there will be an outbreak of hatred directed against the Jews in his country, too. Dr. Prinz called the situation of Jews in those countries very uncertain, while the situation of the Jews in **Palestine** was stable. The speaker then admonished the audience to unity, commenting that they should now finally abandon the mistaken view that they were forced to seek refuge abroad. Only Palestine, he stressed, was the safe place of refuge for Jews for the future. He wished that all countries would open wide their gates to Jewish immigrants. But at the same time he pointed to the fact that the immigrants were venturing toward a very uncertain future. As an example that could serve as a warning, he pointed to **Rathenau**, who had turned away from Jewish life, instead only seeking at all times contact with German nobility. Yet that path was wrong, and spelled ruin. If Rathenau today could speak to the Jews about his impressions, he would openly have to admit: "In these circles, I was always treated as a Jew, and people kept a certain distance." Prinz went on to note that the turn in the changing attitudes [toward the Jews] in the European population was total. People should not expect any amelioration in the fate of the Jews. Jews would have to change and endeavor to come to terms with the suffering that has befallen them. But that, in his view, was only possible in a return to a pure Jewish religion, in Palestine.

Prinz concluded his talk by admonishing his audience: "Jews, be unified and build up your own country. Only then will you be able to say that you have a homeland on this earth."

The police had no complaints about the character of the talk. <1780>

◀216▶

Stapostelle Government District Königsberg

Report for March 1936

Königsberg, n.d.

BArch, R 58/3565

Jews and Freemasons

Jews

[...] It has been noted that traveling salesmen of all kinds, a number in the employ of Jewish companies, are quite inexhaustible when it comes to the telling and inventing of jokes. **Volksgenossen**, even Party members, are doing the business of this disguised propaganda against the state in that by passing on these tales, they help to shape the level of trust of the people, I have taken the necessary measures to fight against this situation. [...] <1782>

Gendarmerie Gunzenhausen

Report for March 1936

Gunzenhausen, 31 March 1936

BayHStA, StK 106412

On 28 September 1935, the Jew (merchant) Julius *Weinmann*, a resident of Altenmuhr, died at the age of 72. After his death, his relatives went to the two cabinetmakers in Altenmuhr in order to have them make a coffin. One of the men, a Party member, declined the requested job. The other cabinetmaker as well, as a nonmember of the NSDAP, inquired at the mayor's office about how to go about making a coffin. The local police told them they were free to engage in the business deal with the Jews as described. The owner of the carriage who drives the hearse in Altenmuhr also contacted the local police. It was suggested to him that he demand good money for transporting the body. The driver refused to consider this, based on his own moral convictions. Finally, the coffin was made by a coach builder resident in Altenmuhr, and the deceased was transported in a hearse from Nuremberg to Gunzenhausen. Earlier on, it was quite common in Altenmuhr for a sizable number of **Aryan** mourners to attend a Jewish funeral. But since the takeover of power, that fact has changed fundamentally. Today in Altenmuhr it is inconceivable that Germans should participate in a funeral cortege for a Jew. [...] <1811>

County Commissioner Mayen
Report for March 1936
Mayen, 28 March 1936
LHA Ko, Best. 441/28266

Jews and Freemasons

The Jews still have far too great an influence on the population, in economic terms and mentally. The blame for this lies with the population itself, since a portion of it appears to be virtually unreceptive to the constant propaganda and instruction as regards the **Jewish Question**. Thus, business deals continued to be made with Jews, and where the Jew can do business he also knows how to make his influence felt in political ways. The people involved are still so used to the individual Jew and do not see the facts: namely that on the stage of world politics, it is only the Jew with his international ideas and money that brings so much disorder into the world. So enlightenment about the true face of the Jew has to continue to be brought to the people, and the population has to be taught to think more profoundly. [...]

Otherwise, one can note that the **emigration** of the Jews is continuing apace. Their destination is mainly America and **Palestine**. <1820>

◀219▶

SD Main Office, II 112
Report for April and May 1936
Berlin, 25 June 1936
BArch, R 58/991

There has been no basic change in the domestic situation of the Jews in the Reich during the period covered by this report. It is only the events in **Palestine** which have created a certain unease in the two camps, which is being energetically exploited by the **assimilationists**, generally as propaganda against Palestine. By contrast, the **Zionists** are endeavoring, through their leading adherents, to step up their campaign on behalf of emigration to Palestine⁵⁰ directed to the Jewish public. Using the motto "Now more than ever," they have tried to downplay the unrest in **Eretz Israel**.⁵¹

Although this agitation generally is having its intended impact, from some parts of the Reich there are reports about efforts to remigrate back to Germany,⁵² and about some reductions in emigration to Palestine.

Department II 1121 (Assimilationists)

Political Associations

For a long time now, the **Central Association of the Jews in Germany** has largely been living a phantom existence. In general, there are no longer any reports about meetings of members. Only in Munich has there recently been an attempt by the CV to call attention to themselves a bit once again. Recently, with notable frequency, there have been many instances in which book lists and advertising literature of the CV have been found in streetcars. The Munich branch has recently been trying to procure free trips for members to Palestine, so that they can see for themselves the facts, and thus be persuaded of the impossibility of the Zionist idea. The **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** has a very different approach [...]

Its main focus of activity at the present moment is in propagandizing and preparing for **emigration** to countries other than Palestine, principally overseas. It recently has, for this purpose, been forging close ties to the **JCA-Jewish Colonization Association**, and hopes that it will assist with effective implementation of its plans. Recently there has also been a similar good understanding reached between the national office and the English-Jewish Legion of War Veterans. The intention is to open up options for emigration to the English colonies. To prepare for emigration, the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** intends to open an vocational retraining farm in Groß-Bressen near Breslau. It is to be used primarily by members of the Reich League of Combat Veterans. [...]

Department II 112 3 (Zionists)

Recent events in Palestine have been noted by the Zionist-oriented Jews. It has already been mentioned earlier that most Zionists in Germany are trying, to the best of their energy and with grim determination, to continue to keep their eyes set on the great goal of **Eretz Israel**, and to continue to work for galvanizing as large an emigration as possible.

The mandatory power England⁵³ has increased the Jewish immigration quota for Palestine, so that the **Palestine Office** of the **Jewish Agency** will also in future likely have more **certificates** be made available to it for German Zionists.

Seen from the vantage point of the adversary, there are three camps developing in Zionism as a whole in Germany, unwanted and unconsciously: the smallest is trying to pull back and restrict emigration, out of fear that its

adherents could meet with the selfsame fate as hundreds of “haverim”⁵⁴ in the recent trouble if they should emigrate; the second and largest is attempting without much thought to downplay the bloody unrest. It admits reasons exist but does not want to recognize the real causes. Then there is the third camp, whose devotees repeatedly agitate, with strong fanaticism, espousing the need to defend Palestine, if necessary by the gun. [...]

Relation to the Olympics

With a certain pride, Jewish athletes associated with the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**⁵⁵ repeatedly stress that they have succeeded in getting Miss Bergmann, who is a pure-blooded Jewess, into the Olympic team for the high jump.⁵⁶[...] <1860>

►220►

Bavarian Political Police I 1 A
Report for June 1936
Munich, 1 July 1936
BayHStA, StK 106687

Jews

[...] Confidential minutes were taken of a session on 7 June 1936 of the members of the Executive Committee of the Jewish association **Agudas Yisroel** in Germany. This organization is largely made up of **East European Jews** who are very strictly **Orthodox**, and who for religious reasons keep their distance from all other non-Orthodox groups. So it is also not a member of the World Zionist Organization. Its Zionism is not ethnic, it is religious. The aim of the Agudas Yisroel is to make **Palestine** once again the religious center for all Jews. The Agudas Yisroel also has its own world organization and its own Palestine construction fund⁵⁷ and a special vocational retraining alliance. As the minutes of the meeting indicate, the Agudas Yisroel in Germany is in close contact with the London Executive and other foreign Jewish organizations. In the meeting, a letter from Jerusalem was also read aloud. It demanded the creation of an independent relief organization for the victims of the Arab disturbances in Palestine.⁵⁸ A resolution was passed not simply to engage in protest meetings in Germany, but rather to organize gatherings where positive things for the Jewish population would be discussed. But what is said there should avoid sharply worded critique against the Arabs. The ultimate aim remains to collect funds.

<1894>

►221►

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate

Report for June 1936

Regensburg, 7 July 1936

BayHStA, StK 106672

[...] Difficulties arose in the town of Weiden after a baptized Jew⁵⁹ was buried in the municipal cemetery. Since the Israelitic **Community** refused to bury baptized Jews, a plot belonging to the municipality was transferred to the cemetery. From now and henceforth, non-Aryan persons considered Jews under the law⁶⁰ will be buried in this part of the cemetery. The government gave approval to the request.[...] <1898>

►222►

District Governor Palatinate

Report for June
Speyer, 8 July 1936
BayHStA, StK 106675

Internal Political Situation and Public Security

Jews

[...] During the month here reported on, there was great commotion in Waldmohr because several **Aryans** also participated in the burial of the Jew Salomon Levy, including the newspaper publisher and chair of the Catholic League of Women, Babette Seitz. The head of the German Red Cross, Waldmohr branch, the druggist Schwerdt, who takes part in all burials in Waldmohr, resigned his post with the German Red Cross in connection with this affair.

There were but a small number of takeovers of Jewish firms by Aryan companies during the month of this report.⁶¹ [...] <1899>

District Governor Swabia and Neuburg
Report for June 1936
Augsburg, 6 July 1936
BayHStA, StK 106682

Jews

[...] The purpose of the vocational retraining camp in Fischach, district Augsburg, is to train Jews wishing to emigrate in agriculture. Unfortunately, small and larger-scale farmers are also endeavoring to obtain workers from this camp. The Bavarian Political Police has been informed.

Along the same lines is the situation in connection with the move by five Jewish males to the localities of Kadeltshofen and Berg (district Neu-Ulm); they are engaged in agricultural work on farms there, presumably in order to train in the vocation of agriculture for future **emigration to Palestine**.⁶² The arrival of a further number of Jews is to be expected. Placement is to be through a Jew named

Weinstein employed as an agricultural worker in Schwaighofen (Neu-Ulm Municipal District), working for **Hechalutz**, a Jewish organization which prepares the Jews in Germany for emigration to Palestine. <1900>

Mayor of Oppershofen
Report for June 1936
Oppershofen, 26 June 1936
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 196

Jewish Question

This problems still remain very serious here. The numerous **Jew friends** refuse to be taught otherwise, despite the presence of **Stürmer** display cases and other sources of propaganda and enlightenment. They have the stubborn idea that the Jewish exploiters are indispensable for **cattle trade**. Many locals here even still lavish a certain amount of attention and care on them as friends of the family. *Thus, the Jewish merchants have set up a veritable branch in the bar and restaurant "Zum Goldenen Stern," proprietor: Franz August Jung, former deputy and a pious member of the Center Party.* The hook-nosed crowd congregates there day in, day out, which proves that they feel very comfortable there. Another item: *The present director of the local Savings and Loan Bank (Cattle Utilization Cooperative) Adam Rayer II is reported (information from the local leader of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization) to have sold a Jew in Nieder-Weidel 2 head of cattle*, and then he brings the beasts (believe it or not) by himself to the Jew's cowshed!!! If the director of a German cooperative in the Third Reich can actually stoop to do such a thing, what example will the other members take when seeing this action? Under no circumstances should such an individual be allowed to remain on as the director of a cooperative. These are only two small extracts that prove that in the area of the **Jewish Question** here in these parts, a huge amount of propaganda work is still necessary. But that turns out to be extremely difficult in practice, since as mentioned above at the beginning, in many instances obstinacy and intentional maliciousness render any success illusory, right from the start. These individuals (for the most part from former circles of the Center Party) are conscious saboteurs of the work of the Führer. <1908>

◀225▶
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for July 1936
Ansbach, 6 August 1936
BayHStA, StK 106677

Protestant Church

[...] Deacon Kübier in Heidenheim, District Office Gunzenhausen, stated in a sermon that it would be better if at their meetings, the men would leave the Jews and the pastors in peace. In his sermons, Kübier always has some very favorable words for the Jews, and attacks National Socialism because of its position on the Jews. He does this sometimes openly, at times in a disguised manner.⁶³

At a missionary festive event in Gunzenhausen, a clergyman from out of town made some statements to the effect that Protestant missionary work should also encompass the Jews, and missionaries had to try to convert them to Christianity.⁶⁴ For that reason, the Jews should not be the object of such strong feelings of hate. [...] <1914>

►226►

Bavarian Political Police I 1 A

Report for August 1936

Munich, 1 September 1936

BayHStA, StK 106688

Spanish Refugees

As in the previous month, in the month of August as well, 20 transports with some 5,000 German refugees from Spain⁶⁵ have arrived in Munich. A political check was carried out on the refugees. Among them are approximately 150 Jews, who were subjected to a thorough investigation. If they were emigrants, they were ordered to leave Germany again immediately.⁶⁶ In the case of the other Jews, the police station at their destination was correspondingly informed. [...]

Border Police

[...] At the external post of the Bav. Polit. Police Salzburg, 650 Jews crossed the border bound as emigrants to **Palestine**. <1932>

►227►

Mayor of Friedberg

Report on Political Matters
Friedberg, 19 August 1936
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 198

The month just passed was completely dominated by the Berlin **Olympics**.

For that reason, it is only natural that under the huge impression of this greatest of all sporting events in the world and of all time, the other events of the day were given only comparatively very sparse attention.

One exception here though are the events in Spain.⁶⁷ The course of the struggle by the Spanish people against the Jewish-Marxist-Soviet bands of murderers is the focus of the greatest attention in all segments of the population.
[...]

Whether it is true, as has been reported, that Jewish grain dealers paid higher prices than the fixed rates for barley and rye in this year's harvest, was impossible for this office to determine. <1938>

Local Court District Hilpoltstein

Police Arrest Warrant

Hilpoltstein, 20 August 1936

StA Nü, Reg. v. Mfr. K.d.J. Abg. 1978 Nr. 1463

The farmer Josef *Bengl*, born 11 August 1891 in Aberzhausen, local court district Hilpoltstein, resident in Untermässing, House No. 16, has been taken into police custody until further notice.

Due to his asocial behavior (nonparticipation in **Winter Relief**) and his business dealings with Jews, a segment of the population is very angry with him, so that his personal safety was deemed in jeopardy. *Bengl* has therefore been taken into police custody for his own protection.⁶⁸ <1939>

Gendarmerie Waischenfeld

Situation Report
Waischenfeld, 31 August 1936
StA Ba, K 8 Nr. 9204

***General Overview of Domestic Political Developments in
the Month Covered by the Report***

[...] The tense relations between members of the local SS training work camp and the population continue. In the most recent period, the population has mainly objected because the SA men, when marching in and out, after the song of the SA man, sing the verse: "SS comrades, hang the Jews, string up the pastors hanging from the wall." [...] The people think this is about religion since the verse mentions the "pastors." <1944>

◀230▶

SD Main Office II 112

The Situation of the Jews **in** Germany at the Moment

Berlin, 13 September 1936

BArch, R 58/956

[...] In the first months of the National Socialist government, there was a strong wave of Jewish **emigration** from Germany. The figure usually cited is some 100,000 persons. From the end of 1933 to the autumn of 1935, relatively few Jews emigrated. In fact, on the contrary, there were even a number of **remigrants** among those who had previously left.

Once the Nuremberg Laws came into force, this development initially changed once again. From that point on, there has been increased emigration.

Up to September 1936, emigration to **Palestine** amounted to some 32,000. As a result of the recent unrest in Palestine, the number of immigrants has declined in some cases. We will have to wait and see what effect (1) the recent settlement of the disturbances and (2) the attitude of the **British mandate** government will have on **Zionist** emigration from Germany. While the emigration to Palestine is being spurred principally by the Zionist organizations, individual Jewish organizations are active in promoting emigration to destinations other than Palestine, such as the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. These in turn are working together overseas with the numerous emigrant relief organizations of world Jewry, and cooperating indirectly via the High Commissioner for Refugees with the League of Nations Council.

Experience shows that the Nuremberg Laws still have not achieved their

intended deterrent effect. Marriages between **Aryan** and Jewish persons are now forbidden. But infractions of the clause on **race defilement** can be repeatedly noted, now as before. In recent months, the number of such cases has even increased quite substantially.

In their struggle against National Socialism, the Jews not only make use of their own institutions, they also work closely together with other adversary groups. Thus, it has recently been possible to establish the existence of good Jewish relations with circles of the Catholic clergy.⁶⁹ The attempt to bring together all non-Aryan Christians in the organization Paulusbund⁷⁰ has increased this danger. Likewise, Jews are still being apprehended today as agents of the illegal struggle of the Communist Party of Germany.⁷¹ <1945>

►231►

Bavarian Political Police IA 1

Report for September 1936

Munich, 1 October 1936

BayHStA, StK 106688

General

The report period was completely dominated by the Reich Party Convention 1936, which will set the bearings for the future work of the people and the state. The proclamation by the Führer at the beginning of the convention and his numerous proclamations were well received by all strata of the population. In particular, the vivid description of the Jewish-Bolshevik world danger was highly effective and strengthened the trust of the people in their National Socialist leaders at the helm of state. [...]

Political Catholicism

[...] In a monthly meeting of the Cath. Workers Association Augsburg Pfersee, on 13 September 1936, city pastor Monsignore Peter Bailéis, born 29 April 1880 in Hausen, also turned to address the topic of the Jews in his talk "A Church-Historical Stroll through Spain." He denounced the Jews as pests feeding on the body of the people and the authors of all revolutions, insofar as world history is familiar with them.⁷² He went on to note that precisely in Spain, the Jews accepted Catholic baptism in large numbers, but did not as a result change their Jewish characteristics.⁷³ Once a Jew, always a Jew, even if he adopts another religion. Commenting on the social relations in Spain in earlier

history, he explained that property was in the hands of the nobility and the monasteries. These unfavorable social conditions led to dissatisfaction among the lower strata, and even though the church had repeatedly pointed to the danger arising from this, the government had neglected to create just laws, and Judas once again was successful. [...] In conclusion, Baileis noted that Germany was finished and done with the Jews, Bolshevism, Communism, and godlessness, and the events today in Spain proved just how correct the actions of the government had been.⁷⁴ The remarks by the city pastor Baileis were loudly applauded by the audience. [...] <1949>



Figure 15. A special train with young Jewish emigrants leaves Berlin heading for Marseille; September 1936. Jewish Museum, Berlin, Sammlung Herbert Sonnenfeld, 106/33.

◀232▶

NSDAP Reich Direction, Main Office for Municipal Policy

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Munich, 10 October 1936
BArch, NS 25/85

Gau Office for Municipal Policy Hesse-Nassau

In the application of the Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor,⁷⁵ and the ordinances subsequent to it,⁷⁶ the following deplorable problems have arisen in concrete practice: according to 3 and 4 of the 1st Implementation Ordinance on this law, marriage between a Jewish **Mischling**⁷⁷ having two pure Jewish grandparents and a citizen of the state of Germany or racially similar blood, or with a Jewish Mischling having one pure Jewish grandparent is forbidden without the explicit authorization of the Reich Interior Minister or the other authorized offices. Likewise prohibited is marriage between Jewish Mischlinge having only one pure Jewish grandparent. Since according to the ordinance of 26 September 1935, in applying, the applicants need submit only the birth certificates of the parents of the bride in addition to the marriage certificates of both the bride's and groom's parents, it is quite possible that a marriage will be concluded in violation of one of the above regulations, though the registrar bears no blame for this oversight. If the parents were for example baptized in the Protestant church before they were married,⁷⁸ then only the religion at the time of marriage will be listed in the marriage certificate, while in actual fact, and such cases have occurred in practice, the birth certificates of the parents show that they are baptized Jews. If in addition the parents have names that sound quite **Aryan**, the registrar would, although adhering to the existing regulations, then perhaps perform a marriage that is forbidden. Taking these enormous consequences into consideration, it would appear necessary to issue regulations to the effect that in addition to the birth certificates of the bridal couple and the marriage certificates of their parents, at the very least the birth certificates of the parents of the bride and groom should be presented to the registrar before the marriage is concluded. [...] <1958>

►233►

District Office Bad Brückenau
Surveillance of the Jews in Bad Brückenau
Bad Brückenau, 9 October 1936
StA Wü, LRA Bad Brückenau 3261

In carrying out the order from Bavarian Political Police of 27 April 1936,

No. 37896 III B and the decree of 25 August 1936 No. 38591 II 1 B, the report of the Gendarmerie Bad Brückenau for the month of September 1936 is presented here. In so doing, the stay of Jews in Bad Brückenau is likely at an end for this year.⁷⁹

Supplementary to the previous numerous reports, it is noted that there was a very large influx of Jews who came to Bad Brückenau.

As has been reported on a number of occasions, the fact in particular that the two Jewish hotels employed non-Jewish personnel has given rise to serious doubts and misgivings among the local population and among a large number of spa guests at the state health resort. It has even among some led to a certain sense of anger. Unfortunately, it is not possible to take formal steps against the employment of Aryan female domestic servants, as was communicated with the decree of 25 August 1936. Despite very strict surveillance, it was not possible to confirm that there was race defilement in the Jewish hotels. Surveillance of these workers is also extremely difficult for the police under the prevailing conditions —indeed one might in fact say, it is virtually impossible.

[...] The assumption that nowadays no Aryan girls apply for work in Jewish hotels has proved to be erroneous. Due to the local Jewish hotels, I intend for the coming year to contact the responsible labor exchange office to ensure that no further Aryan domestics are referred by the office. Because precisely the already mentioned fact, namely that in a time when there is a manifest scarcity of domestics, these girls cannot find another job, has led in the public to a justified sense of anger. In addition, I intend to issue the order for the two Jewish hotels, in accordance with 11 of the Law on Restaurants and Catering, prohibiting them from employing Aryan females. In my opinion, it is possible for the District Office as a licensing bureau to issue such a requirement at any time. <1960>

Mayor of Butzbach

Report on Political Affairs
Butzbach, 17 September 1936
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 199

In the above matter,⁸⁰ I can report that recently here in the shops where a sign is mounted saying "No Jews wanted,"⁸¹ the word "no" was repeatedly painted over with red paint. However, it is impossible to foresee whether the inquiries now in progress will lead to something positive. [...] <1961>

◀235▶

Mayor of Gefell
Situation Report, Economic and Social-Political Affairs
Gefell, 19 September 1936
StA Go, LRA Ranis No. 39

Jews and Freemasons

Activities of the Jews: There is only one Jewish **Mischling**, by the name of Leopold Gutmann, living in Gefell. He does not have a hostile attitude to the state. [...] <1966>

►236►

Stapoleitstelle Munich I 1 A
Report for October 1936
Munich, 1 November 1936
BayHStA, StK 106688

Jews

[...] In the **synagogue** in Kleinwallstadt there was a disturbance to religious services perpetrated by youth after a night of drinking.⁸² The culprits entered the synagogue and then, heckling the worshippers, they shouted loud comments making fun of the service. After they had left, they came back into the synagogue several times in order to start up with the disturbances again. By their loud and despicable talk, they prevented the service from continuing, so that the Jews who had come there to pray left.

An article in the newsletter of the Israelitic **Community** Pirmasens, also containing a call for the **Jewish Winter Relief** 1936/37, notes that more than 83,000 Jews were cared for by the Winter Relief in large communities and in the smallest of towns and villages. Noteworthy in this connection is the discovery that Jewish Winter Relief is not seen just as a means to ease economic hardship, but also proof of the unity of the Jews in Germany. A community that is not based on the close bonds between all its members is lost, the article adds. The Jews know that this year too, the need to promote Jewish Winter Relief has been heard as a clarion call by all Jews in Germany.

Statistics

[...]

Passport and Alien Police

[...] Some 700 Jews emigrated to **Palestine** via the border crossing office in Salzburg in September.⁸³ [...] <1976>

►237►

SD Main Office II 112

Proposal for Consultation by C⁸⁴ with the Reich Interior Minister

Berlin, 20 November 1936

BArch, R 58/979

Intervention in the Jewish Associations

We know from recent experience that the **assimilationist** associations and their representatives in particular are continuing very energetically to propagate the idea that Jews should remain in Germany. In addition, these same organizations are almost all heavily burdened by their political past before 1933 —cooperation with and financing of the Socialist Party, the “Reichsbanner” and the “Iron Front,” and likewise of the Communist Party.⁸⁵ An attempt to intervene in the **associational life** of the assimilationist organizations thus appears to be a highly expedient measure. It is proposed to ban and dissolve the Jewish Central Association (previously: Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith), taking into special consideration the fact that the organization has had almost no functions or activities over the past year, and thus no longer has any reason to exist. The former members should be enjoined from any activity on behalf of the disbanded association or a successor organization. The **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** should, for the same reasons mentioned above, also be dissolved. In this case, care for the Jewish war victims should be passed on to a Jewish welfare organization, perhaps the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction.**⁸⁶ [...] <1995>

►238►

Police HQ Munich
Report for November 1936
Munich, 10 December 1936
BayHStA, StK 106685

Jews

A noteworthy fact is that for quite some time now, the migration of Jews into Munich has overtaken emigration out of the city.⁸⁷ In November of this year, 39 Jews relocated to Munich, while 31 persons emigrated. <1998>

►239►

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for November 1936
Regensburg, 8 December 1936
BayHStA, StK 106672

Special Noteworthy Events

On 12 November, the Staatspolizeistelle⁸⁸ Regensburg was informed that at the stockyards in Regensburg, the **Aryan** dealers were extremely upset with the Jewish **cattle** dealers, and that some violence could be expected.⁸⁹ The Cattle Trading Federation of Bavaria called on the members of the Beef Cattle Qualification Committees to attend a theoretical and practical training seminar on Wednesday, the 11th and Thursday, the 12th of November. The members, numbering some 150, met the morning of 12 November in the slaughterhouse. The growing anger against the Jews had been reported by the head of Regensburg market administration, the market commissioner and District Leader of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization Wolfertseder, to the SD, not the Gestapo. When the Gestapo officers entered the stockyards, the Jews had already retreated to the central administration building. There were some 150 persons standing out in front, there were shouts of "Kill them, hang them! Give them to us. We'll see that they get to Nuremberg." The Jewish dealers had to be regarded as being in some danger, and for their own safety were taken into **protective custody**. [...] <2000>

►240►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for November 1936

Ansbach, 7 December 1936
BayHStA, StK 106677

SPD KPD

[...] In Neuhof an der Zenn (district Neustadt a.d.Aisch) during the night of 13/14 November, a poster announcing a meeting of the NSDAP was defaced by the words: “Long live Redfront—Down with Hitler and his comrades—Germany awake—Long live Judea and Zion!”⁹⁰ [...]

Jews

[...]

3) It was learned that in Hof, since May the turnover in the Jewish-owned Ury **Department Store** has continued to rise.

4) In Bamberg too, a special school for Jewish children has now been established in a side room at the **synagogue**, so that Jewish children are no longer attending any elementary school there.⁹¹

5) People are getting the distinct impression that the Jews now prefer to emigrate to America rather than to **Palestine**.⁹² [...] <2001>

District Office Aichach
Report for November 1936
Aichach, 2 December 1936
StA Mü, LRA 99 497 (Bayern I)

General Political Situation

[...] A complaint was filed by the Gendarmerie on 10 November against Pastor Maximilian *Mayr* in Schiltberg, because in the church he had ordered the mayor *Asam* von Schiltberg, who was at the church to attend the main services, to remove the copy of the *Stürmer* that was in the special *Stürmer* display case. The front page of the paper carried the photo of a Jew. The Jew was holding a book with the words Old Testament. This complaint was passed on to the **Gestapo** Munich, from where it has not yet been returned to this office. <2004>

►242►

NSDAP District Bremen District Propaganda Office

Report on the Prevailing Mood

Bremen, 13 November 1936

StA Br, 2-N.7. No. 162

As I had to note this morning, three Jews were at the Hansa baths, one male and two females.

It is incomprehensible to me how Jews can be permitted to enter there. The attendant said there was no ban on Jews at the Hansa facility.

But it is high time such a prohibition is put into effect there, since in other cities such bans on Jews do in fact exist.⁹³ Maybe this can also be implemented in Bremen. <2009>

►243►

Mayor of Oppershofen

The Political Situation
Oppershofen, 19 November 1936
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 201

The Press and the Jewish Question

[...] The relations that local farmers maintain with Jewish merchants have shown little decline over the past three months. On the contrary: the **cattle Jew** is now more impudent than ever. The notorious ready-to-wear clothing Jews still have a loyal base of regular customers here. The people in our town, who still are engaging in commerce with the Jews, are, despite all the instruction and propaganda to the contrary, lacking in any understanding of the importance of a solution to this question—both as the basis for our people's "to be or not to be," and in the interest of a clean and honest economy, devoid of parasites and exploiters. □2018►

◀244▶

Gendarmerie Unsleben

Monthly Political Report
Unsleben, 28 November 1936
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21907

The political situation in this service district could be termed good, if there weren't certain individual elements here constantly trying to tear asunder the **Volksgemeinschaft**.

The teacher Weinig in Heustreu has taught his children to point out any **Volksgenosse** who has not joined the National Socialist People's Welfare. In addition, he has instructed his school children to throw stones at every Jewish wagon and vehicle that passes through Heustreu. Emanuel Mittel from Unsleben, a 67-year-old Jewish businessman, told me that not only had he just been pelted with stones by the school children, the teacher had also thrown stones at him in the presence of the children.⁹⁴ <2024>

►245►

Stapoleitstelle Munich
Report for December 1936
Munich, 1 January 1937
BayHStA, StK 106688

Jews

On 23 December 1936, there were violent disturbances against Jewish shops and businesses⁹⁵ in Cham. The traditional Christmas market took place in Cham, heavily attended by visitors from the countryside. The rural population made many purchases in Jewish stores. Already in the morning hours, people shopping in the Jewish shoe store Eisfeld were photographed. In the early afternoon about 2 p.m., a large crowd gathered out in front of the store; some of the people were hostile toward the Jewish shop, while others simply stood there, indifferent. A few people also made remarks favorable to the Jews. Persons who wished to shop at this store were instructed not to enter the premises.⁹⁶ Some complied, but a large number of individuals nonetheless went on into the shop. The crowd chanted slogans like "Death to Judas," "Don't shop at Jewish stores," etc. Finally, the Jew Eisfeld voluntarily closed his store. Subsequent to this, a disorderly group of persons formed and proceeded to march through the streets of Cham, chanting slogans such as "Don't shop at Jewish stores," "Whoever shops at Jewish stores is a traitor to the people." They stopped in front of every Jewish shop and demanded that it be closed. At the Jewish shop Fleischmann, a number of young people pulled down the rolling shutters. The consequence of this demonstration was that a huge crowd gathered in front of various Jewish businesses. Up to now, it has not been possible to determine who instigated this action. After the march through the streets, which finished about 2:45 p.m., it was completely quiet once again. The business traffic, which initially suffered from these events, returned to normal. But the Jewish stores remained closed.⁹⁷ [...] <2027>

►246►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for December 1936
Ansbach, 7 January 1937
BayHStA, StK 106677

Jews

1) As a result of transferring children to Jewish schools, the elementary schools in Nuremberg, Fürth, Coburg, Gunzenhausen, and Treuchtlingen are now “judenfrei.” Special classes for Jewish elementary school children were set up in Bamberg (including surrounding rural localities) and in Dinkelsbühl.

A total of 700 Jewish children are now “among themselves” and no longer in the general primary schools.⁹⁸

About 200 Jewish children, scattered at various primary schools throughout the entire government district, are still attending public primary schools along with **Aryan** children. <2031>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for December 1936
Speyer, 7 January 1937
BayHStA, StK 106675

Jews

[...] During the pre-Christmas period in Speyer, Jewish shops were comparatively rather busy. The counter effect remained within modest limits. Nonetheless, the manager *Blühm* of the Jewish shoe store Klein felt it necessary to turn to the Reich Economy Minister, who then sent a telegram requesting that eventual **individual actions** be halted. <2032>

Gendarmerie District Ebermannstadt

Commerce and Contacts with Jews
Ebermannstadt, 5 December 1936
StA Ba, K 8 No. 9204

In recent months, various parties are increasingly voicing complaints that commerce, and most especially the **cattle trade** with Jews, apparently cannot be eradicated. Rather, on the contrary, it is again on the increase. [...] <2038>

►249►

Chief Public Prosecutor Mannheim
Report for November and December 1936
Mannheim, 21 January 1937
GLA Ka, 309/1207

General Crime

[...] I have already given a special report on 23 December 1936 in the court case 4 KLs 53/36-against [name withheld] charged with **race defilement**⁹⁹ pertaining to the unfortunate situation here: on Gutemannstraße, there is a bordello with only **Aryan** girls, run by a Jewish madame, and the idea might arise that perhaps a bordello especially for a Jewish clientele is being tolerated here. <2050>

►250►

NSDAP Local Branch Münster-Rathaus
Report on Activity and the Prevailing Mood
Münster, 24 December 1936
BA Ms, Fremde Provenienzen A 1

Jews

Now in the Christmas period, many **Volksgenossen** appear to have forgotten that there are still stores which are Jewish. Whoever has seen the large crowds pouring into the Hertz **Department Store** will be crimson with anger. It would appear as if all our propaganda on the **Jewish Question** has fallen on deaf ears. In my view, we have to shift tactics again and launch a vigorous and forceful attack. The Volksgenossen who repeatedly shop at these stores, despite all the propaganda and education on this matter, should simply be pilloried.¹⁰⁰

The situation in the **retail shops** with standard pricing reflected the same picture.

►2052►

►251►

Gendarmerie Oberammergau

Political Work Report
Oberammergau, 30 December 1936
StA Mü, LRA 61615

Church Politics

Chaplain Kurt *Eberlein* from Oberammergau, born on 9 August 1908 in Munich, gave a sermon on 27 December 1936 in the parish church in Oberammergau. Once again he was very aggressive. [...] Eberlein spoke about the struggle of religion in the world and in Germany, and criticized the restriction on the freedom of the Catholic press. He then shouted at the top of his voice, addressing the church visitors: “Pastoral letters are subject to extremely strict censorship, but in the other press you have the liberty to call Christ a hooked-nosed and flat-footed Jew.”¹⁰¹

◀2055▶

1. This report was most likely composed in the first half of January 1936, since it mentions the disbanding of the **Association of National-German Jews** by the **Gestapo** as having occurred “last year,” i.e., in 1935. The Section J I/6 in the SD-Hauptamt, on the other hand, was changed to II 112 on orders from **Heydrich** on 15 January 1936, and thus after this report was written.

2. See **Zionist congresses**. A delegation from Germany also participated in this Congress. See the report of the Gestapo Berlin, 27 September 1935, CD ▶ 1201▶.

3. Although the Zionists had indeed seen a large increase in membership since the National Socialist seizure of power, the percentage indicated here appears too high. After tedious lengthy negotiations on Zionist representation in the leading committees of the **Reich Representation**, in August 1936 the Zionists reached 50 percent over all non-Zionist groups (the fifty-fifty principle). The percentage in the population was probably no higher. See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 86.

4. According to the ordinance of 25 July 1935 (see Chronology, 21 May 1935), all **non-Aryans** were barred from active military service. The efforts by the **Association of National-German Jews** and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** had thus come to naught.

5. What is meant here is not the political party of the **General Zionists**, but

rather all the currents represented in the **World Zionist Organization**.

6. See **State Zionist Organization**.

7. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

8. See **Hachshara**.

9. On the abortive attempt by the **Gestapo** to transform the democratic-pluralistic structure of the **Reich Representation** into a centralist-authoritarian organization, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 103 A.

10. Department organized in the winter of 1921 inside the **Joint** (American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee, JDC) for reconstruction work, which together with the **Jewish Colonization Association** dedicated itself to advancing productivization (see **Vocational restructuring**) and **emigration** of the Jews.

11. More correctly, the abbreviation for the Russian *Obshchestvo Remeslenogo zemledelcheskogo Truda*, meaning Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor.

12. Head of the Committee for Jewish and Other Refugees from Germany established by the League of Nations in 1933. McDonald resigned from his post in 1935 as a protest against the failure of the work of the committee.

13. See **ORT Society for the Promotion of Work**.

14. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

15. See Chronology, 22–28 July 1935.

16. See **Nuremberg Laws** and Chronology, 15 September 1935.

17. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

18. See **Kulturbund of the German Jews**.

19. See **Youth organizations, Jewish**.

20. See **Assimilationists**.

21. The reporting office is not indicated and it was not possible to establish this with certainty through an inquiry to the Detmold State Archive. This and other documents of the same origin are only preserved there in carbon copy on paper without a printed letterhead.

22. See **Aryanization**.

23. See **Communism and Jews**.

24. See Chronology.

25. This possibly involved pre-festive celebrations for **Purim**, which began

three days after the report was written.

26. See **Schild**.
27. See Chronology.
28. See **Emigration**.
29. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
30. See **Individual actions**.
31. See Chronology, 5 February 1936.
32. On the struggle of the Jews for economic survival in Nazi Germany, see **Boycott, anti-Jewish**; Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*.
33. On 12 October 1935 in Saarbrücken, Reich Interior Minister **Frick** announced legal measures to limit economic activity by Jews. See Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 117.
34. See Chronology, February 1935.
35. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
36. See Chronology, 5 February 1936.
37. See **Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany**.
38. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.
39. See **Zionist Association of Germany**.
40. See **Homosexuality**.
41. The report refers to all of the province of East Prussia, and thus likewise to the government districts Allenstein, Elbing, and Gumbinnen.
42. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
43. See Chronology, July–August 1935.
44. See **Emigration**.
45. See Chronology, 5 February 1936.
46. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
47. Heinrich **Himmler**.
48. See Chronology, 29 March 1936.
49. Nationalistic soldiers' song based on Ludwig Uhland's (1787–1862) poem "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden" from the period of the Napoleonic Wars.

50. See Aliyah.
51. See Chronology, April 1936.
52. See Remigration.
53. See **British mandate in Palestine**.
54. Hebr.: comrades, friends.
55. See **Schild**.
56. See Bergmann, “*Ich war die große jüdische Hoffnung.*“
57. See Keren Hayishuv.
58. See Chronology, April 1936.
59. See Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime.
60. See Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews.
61. See Aryanization.
62. See **Hachshara**.
63. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
64. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
65. The reference here is to refugees from the Spanish Civil War, which erupted in July 1936. See also **Remigration**.
66. See Chronology, 15 January 1934.
67. See ▲226►
68. See **Protective custody** and CD ▲1940►.
69. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
70. See **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians**.
71. See **Communism and Jews**.
72. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
73. On the contemporary significance for the Third Reich of the historical events described here, see **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**, as well as **Race legislation and religious affiliation of the Jews**.
74. Reference is to the Spanish Civil War, which had begun in July 1936, see ▲226►
75. See **Nuremberg Laws** and Chronology, 15 September 1935.
76. See Chronology, 14 November and 21 December 1935.

- [77.](#) See **Mixed marriages**.
- [78.](#) See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
- [79.](#) See **Spas**.
- [80.](#) The reference is to the Report on Political Affairs.
- [81.](#) See **Signs, anti-Jewish**.
- [82.](#) See **Individual actions**.
- [83.](#) See **Emigration and Aliyah**.
- [84.](#) Reinhard **Heydrich**, abbrev. for “boss” (Ger.: Chef).
- [85.](#) See **Communism and Jews**.
- [86.](#) In actual fact, both the Central Association and the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans remained, right up to their dissolution after **Kristallnacht** and their incorporation into the **Reich Association**, independent organizations.
- [87.](#) See **Internal migration and Emigration**.
- [88.](#) See **Gestapo**.
- [89.](#) See **Individual actions**, and CD [1999](#), [2020](#).
- [90.](#) See **Communism und Jews**.
- [91.](#) See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
- [92.](#) See **Emigration**.
- [93.](#) See **Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities**.
- [94.](#) See **Individual actions**.
- [95.](#) See **Individual actions**.
- [96.](#) See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
- [97.](#) See CD [2077](#).
- [98.](#) See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
- [99.](#) The document was not available to the editors.
- [100.](#) See **Boycott, anti-Jewish** and **Individual actions**.
- [101.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

The “Great Pacification of the Jewish Question” and a New Radicalization

(January–December 1937)

◀252▶

SD Main Office II 112

On the Jewish Problem¹

Berlin, January 1937

BArch, R 58/956

The Jews throughout the world constitute a nation that is not attached to a territory or linked with a people, but rather is bound up with money. For that reason, they are and must forever be an eternal foe of National Socialism. All objections and proposals for reaching some sort of understanding, which can of course be expected, must thus be rejected right from the start as invalid. That rejection is grounded on the recognition that the Jew is one of the most dangerous of all enemies, because he is elusive and never completely within reach.

The guiding conception in the comments below is the need for a “dejudification of Germany.” That can only come to pass if the Jews in Germany are stripped of any basis for an effective livelihood, their possibility for economic activity.

A pressing necessity in regard to the younger generation is to promote **emigration** to areas where the Jews cannot do any harm to the German Reich.

The objection that a concentrated emigration of Jews serves to abet world Jewry, since it provides a new option for Jews to develop and expand their power, must be countered by the argument that the principal need here is for the problem to be solved in a manner favorable to Germany and its interests. That is paramount. Such a solution can only entail their emigration to areas which are not on a high level of culture, where the Jew will be constrained to remain at least for a number of decades, and can only maintain himself by a life of labor

replete with privation. That will prevent the Jews from accumulating new wealth.²

We must proceed from the fact that the previous measures to promote Jewish emigration from Germany were insufficient, or at least at the present time are no longer adequate. Those measures centered on excluding the Jews from spheres of public life, though not the economy, and emigration for “Jewish-ideological reasons” (**Zionism**).

By contrast, we can note, especially in recent months, the emergence of a strong sense of “weariness with emigration.” That is due to the “great pacification of the **Jewish Question**” (as so expressed by numerous Jews) in Germany; the associated complete freedom for Jews to be gainfully engaged in economic life; the difficulties of emigration—to Palestine³ as a result of the unrest in 1936,⁴ and to other countries because of the strict immigration regulations; the huge loss of capital connected with emigration (**Reich flight tax**, the exchange rate for blocked mark accounts, the special **Ha'vara** levy on emigration to Palestine, etc.).

This decline in emigration, which constitutes the sole possibility for a “dejudification” of Germany, can only be successfully countered if

- 1) there is an extensive exclusion of the Jews from the economy,
- 2) political and social pressure is significantly increased, and
- 3) the technical possibilities for emigration are expanded.

Excluding the Jews from the Economy

Jewry in Germany found a highly profitable field for activity in a whole series of economic branches in earlier times, and likewise over the past four years. The task now is to identify these areas of economic activity and to introduce countermeasures.

Camouflaged Enterprises

The camouflaged and nonauthentic “**Aryanization**” of Jewish enterprises—these are almost always profitable firms—is a form that “far-sighted” Jews liked to utilize even shortly before the takeover of power, a practice that reached its high point in 1933. There was a fundamental difference here between enterprises in the large cities, where there was almost no “importunate” questioning, since technically that was hardly feasible due to the large number of firms involved, and those in the province, where camouflaging was generally only temporary. A large-scale operation in cooperation with tax offices, commercial courts,

chambers of commerce, etc., will bring clarity here, and lead to success, if economic legislation is passed that severely penalizes (using fines and confiscation) any manner of camouflaging and “silent partnership” of Jews in **Aryan** businesses. It is precisely in the camouflaged form where the Jew assures himself a secure income, and this keeps him from emigrating.⁵

It is imperative to legally prohibit and halt the *regular and methodical exchange* of Jewish property in Germany for property abroad, where the new owner in most instances is a foreign Jew.⁶ *Registration of Jews in the economy. Under all circumstances, it is important to ensure that the economic section, etc., make a registry by list and card catalog of all Jews in the economy so as to facilitate continuous monitoring during the subsequent process of exclusion. A subsequent summary and continuous supplement in a central card catalog appear to be indispensable. [...]*

The Following Countermeasures Are Desirable

General compulsory licensing for all firms in Jewish hands, especially those that previously were not under an obligation to obtain a license. A useful lever here are the **Nuremberg Laws**, where Jews have been stripped of German civil rights. Applying a stricter legislation on foreigners, which includes an obligation to obtain a license—this can be employed exclusively against Jews. By means of a tightening or relaxing of regulations, the option is available here for revoking a license (and its renewal) so as to exclude Jews from the economy and thus force them out of Germany.

*Visible marking of all businesses,*⁷ either positively in the case of **Aryan** enterprises, or negatively in the case of Jewish firms.

Increasing Political Pressure

If economic pressure is intended to convince the Jews of the wisdom of the idea of emigration for material reasons, pressure from the police will promote this movement to an increased degree. A look at the various stages in the treatment of the Jews over the past four years makes it possible to put together an extensive overview of the measures which are most conducive to achieving the set aims. The year 1937 will be of decisive importance, because on 15 May or 15 July 1937, **minority protection** in the former plebiscite area of Upper Silesia will come to an end.⁸ An aggravation of the **Jewish Question** at the present time will prevent the Jews from Upper Silesia from infiltrating into German life.

Information and Propaganda

Although few now have much appreciation for attacks as launched by the *Stürmer*, since the manner of the paper in struggling against the foe is rejected by the enlightened population as being too primitive and unattractive, useful things could be achieved by propaganda oriented more to “information and objective facts.”⁹ In order to influence popular opinion, an extensive use of statistical data could be employed in the media. The people must come to understand that the Jew can never be in a close bond with the folk. He is and always will remain the international “troublemaker,” and thus an enemy of Germany throughout the world. It is necessary to generate among the populace a widespread attitude hostile to the Jews in order to create a basis for a sustained attack to effectively repel the enemy. General propaganda activity by the Party organization also appears advisable. Its branch leaders and block and cell heads can personally provide the necessary instruction to the inhabitants in their district.

Intimidation

The most effective way to deprive the Jews of a feeling of security is the wrath of the people, as manifested in violence.¹⁰ Although this method is illegal, it has a long-lasting effect, as the “Kurfürstendamm riot”¹¹ showed. The effect was so powerful that even Jews in **Palestine** no longer dared to travel to Germany. Psychologically this is all the more comprehensible, since the Jew has learned a great deal from the **pogroms** of recent centuries, and his greatest fear is of a hostile mood which can spontaneously turn against him at any time.¹²

Restricting the Freedom of Movement

Passports should only be issued if it is definite that the Jew is emigrating. This will prevent Jews from going abroad, as they have previously done, to make use of the small available amount of foreign currency which otherwise might benefit German Volksgenossen, to spread **atrocities propaganda** and to bring back false news and lies from abroad.

Information Service with the Help of the Foreign Office

In principle, the aim should be for a marking of passports that is only familiar internally, on the basis of which it is immediately apparent to officials that the holder of the passport is a Jew. (It is expressly emphasized that such a marking of the document should only be for internal use so as to avoid a

situation where foreign consulates decide to deny a visa to the holder of such a passport.)¹³ [...]

Jewish Welfare Associations

Although the **Relief Organization**, for example, has assisted a large number of emigrants in leaving and is facilitating further emigration, acting in cooperation with foreign sister organizations, a central surveillance office should be set up to monitor this organization and all other Jewish relief associations in Germany. It would exercise surveillance over the assistance being distributed in the country, and generally monitor the activity in the strictest manner possible. In this connection, it is useful to note the fund drive "Mifal Bitsaron"¹⁴ which took place in Germany in the framework of the **K[eren] H[ayessod]**, although this fund-raising campaign had nothing in common with the direct work of the K.H. Noteworthy here was the fact that only in Germany was this drive carried out in a disguised manner.

Promoting Emigration

In the following sections, measures are discussed aimed at an extensive expulsion of the Jews, for the actual purpose:

Of promoting *intensified and secure emigration*. As urgent as the emigration of Jews from the territory of the Reich is, it is imperative that this effort be absolutely single-minded in its determination. In particular, it should be ensured that Jewish emigration remain *concentrated*, i.e., is only to specific countries, so as to avoid creating a hostile camp against us in a number of countries, a group which then constantly agitates the population of those countries against Germany. In looking at emigration as a goal, we must therefore proceed from three decisive questions, namely:

- a) for what countries is mass emigration technically feasible?;
- b) what countries would absorb a larger number of Jews, though without any associated fear that Jews might then migrate elsewhere from there?;
- c) how is emigration being technically promoted? [...]¹⁵

On c.

[...] A regulatory authority is absolutely necessary. There should be extensive concentration here. Although it would appear desirable to deny Jews passports in order to restrict their freedom of movement and to avoid a situation where Jews from Germany who are abroad may engage in "new agitation"

against Germany, as was always the case in the past, the following is recommended. If it can be established beyond any doubt that the person intends to emigrate, then there should be extensive assistance rendered in issuing passports, political certificates of good character, and documents from the tax offices certifying that a person has no outstanding unpaid taxes. In issuing passports, it is advisable to limit their validity to certain countries and to shorten the period of validity by backdating. Issuance for a shorter period might appear suspicious to foreign immigration authorities. In the case of British passports, limitation to certain countries is common practice, and thus would not appear unusual. A *central office* would also be indispensable for checking in this area and direct communication with the authorities.¹⁶ The task of this office to be newly created would be to handle all technical internal German procedures for emigration, to investigate carefully the areas and markets to which Jews are being deported, or to which the Jewish current of emigration should be channeled. It would handle the negotiations (economic and in respect to individuals) with the diplomatic missions of countries open for immigration, and find new avenues for **transferring** the capital of Jewish émigrés abroad. Here there must be a strict maximum amount of capital, which was not the case in the way matters were previously dealt with by Jewish emigration organizations. And above all, it would implement the solution to the entire problem in a National Socialist sense.

[Annex I]¹⁷

Of fundamental importance is the observation that despite a drop of almost 20 percent in the Jewish population in Germany (in regard to Jews by race and religion), Jewish capital, and thus the Jewish influence in Germany in general and in the German economy in particular, has declined by only 2 percent. If you proceed from the fact that despite all restrictions, it was only possible to push out 2 percent of the capital of the Jews from the country, 2 percent of Jewish power, you necessarily must conclude that the influence—and capital always entails influence, at least in economic respects—has remained the same, despite a reduction in the population. It is precisely the reduction in the number of persons which deceives the observer as to the real state of affairs, and people will be only too inclined to assume in general that the Jewish influence has likewise decreased in this proportion. It is clear that this is not the case. At the same time, this shows that the Jew still has not accepted the fact that Germany has been closed to him, now and forever.

The neglect of careful observation of Jewish gold (by which the Jew rules) and its location represents a danger for the stable and secure state of the

domestic economy. The task is to identify the way Jewish monetary policy operates. Here comprehensive knowledge will not be possible until the Jewish influence has been fully recognized and recorded, as proposed in the report.¹⁸ [...] <2063>

►253►

Stapoleitstelle Munich
Report for January 1937
Munich, 1 February 1937
BayHStA, StK 106689

Catholic Press

[...] For some time now, with special emphasis and principally in the churches, the brochure “Truths of the Catechism” is being distributed. The brochure is against the National Socialist philosophy and deals with questions pertaining to the Jews in a manner subservient to them and alien to the German race.¹⁹ In the area of the bishopric of Würzburg, it was even used in religious instruction and sold to the pupils. Acting on a request from the Munich Gestapo, the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Culture has banned distribution of the brochure in schools and barred its use as a text in the classroom. [...]

In addition, issue no. 3 of the periodical *Passauer Bistumsblatt*, dated 17 January 1937, was confiscated. On page 4, an essay entitled “What Does the Church Have to Say about That?” seeks to retrieve the honor of the Old Testament. It is at the same time meant as a response to the article by Dr. v. Leer, in keeping with the National Socialist worldview, “What Does the District Attorney Say?” published in the papers *Donauleitung* and *Ostmark*. The Passau paper dares *inter alia* to make the following statement:

“... Vice versa, the Church can never accept the well-meaning counsel to abandon the Old Testament, or, as someone from the opposite side drastically expressed it: to cleanse the Bible ‘finally, once and for all, of all the Jewish filth and muck.’” <2065>

►254►

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for January 1937
Regensburg, 5 February 1937
BayHStA, StK 105572

Special Noteworthy Incidents

[...] Local incidents against the Jews have been reported from a number of districts.²⁰ In Zwiesel and Bodenmais, the innkeepers had to promise they would not serve any food or drink to Jews, and not provide them with accommodations for the night. The mayor of the Bodenmais municipality issued a declaration on 8 January 1937, stating *inter alia*:

“I hereby expressly prohibit the accommodating of Jews in Bodenmais.

The **Nuremberg Laws** and the interpretations of the Führer at the 1936 Party Convention have probably now made it clear to every **Volksgenosse** just how important the treatment of the **Jewish Question** is. Jews and Bolshevism are two inseparable concepts, and that is why I no longer wish to see any Jews in my town.

This warning is binding on any person offering accommodation, whether the owner of an inn or a private individual...” <2068>

Police Office Bad Nauheim

Report for January 1937

Bad Nauheim, 30 January 1937

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 203

There was nothing else special in connection with the Jews. On 11 January 1937, a Jewish school was opened in the former Israelitic children's home. It was supposedly approved by the authorities.²¹ <2073>

◀256▶

SD Main Office II 112

Report
Berlin, 17 February 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The Situation in Factual Terms

The number of Jews who have emigrated in the period from the takeover of power to the end of 1936 is, according to fairly exact estimates, around 105,000.²² If you take into account the natural decline in the number of Jews in Germany, annually about 4,500 (at the present time in Germany, there is one birth for every five deaths), then you arrive at a figure of an additional 18,000 less. This adds up to some 125,000. These figures should be subtracted from the official census data for 1933, indicating 515,000 Jews by religion. The number of Jews by religion²³ still living in Germany is thus about 390,000.

The Situation Viewed in Regional Terms

A more exact report on the region cannot be given here, since reports were received from only three [SD] Upper Divisions.

In the Upper Division Northeast, there is a clear migration of Jews from the smaller towns into larger Jewish **Communities** and on into the large urban areas of the Reich.²⁴ In particular, there is a strong migration into the area of the Free City of **Danzig**. There is a similar migration to Saarbrücken, which is turning this town into the gradual collection point for the Jews of the **Saarland**. There are also reports from the Upper Division West of strong Jewish migration from the countryside into the larger cities in the Rhine valley. Migration abroad is generally similar in all the areas of the Reich, with a few exceptions.

From the Upper Division Southwest, interesting reports have been conveyed that in Württemberg, for example, there has been a drop in emigration and in the sale and transfer of shops.

The wealth of the Jews has generally declined, especially that of the Jews in large urban areas, while the few Jewish “old-time residents” in rural areas still maintain the same level of net worth, or have been able to increase it.

Relations with Other Opponents

[...]

Church

As a result of the tolerant attitude of the politicizing churches and their

passive attitude toward the Jews, the Jews have quite good relations with them.²⁵ In Danzig, at services of the followers of the **Confessing Church**, one can note a large number of baptized Jews.²⁶ There are reports from the West of the Reich that Catholic parishes there have placed their parish halls at the disposal of Zionist organizations for their meetings (Düsseldorf).

Movement on the Left

There are two very interesting reports on Jewish connections to illegal groups. Arrests in the Upper Division West have proven that Jews are almost exclusively the leaders and organizers of Marxist splinter groups.²⁷ There were even direct ties with an action committee in Paris.

In Danzig, all members of the illegal Communist Party charged with crimes are being defended by Jewish **lawyers**. In the same city, a Jew was active as the director of instruction for an illegal group of Trotskyists. [...]

Relation to Individual Spheres of Life

Cultural Life

As a result of the **Aryan legislation**, Jews are prohibited for all time from engaging in any activity in German culture. Jewish cultural activity is solely in the framework of the Reich Federation of the Jewish Kulturbund, supervised by the Reich Commissioner Hinckel.²⁸

Economic Life

The Jewish role in the German economy remains relatively large. They are especially active in **cattle trade** in the rural areas (Hesse-Nassau, East Prussia, and East Frisia). What effect the decree by the Reich Minister for Food and Agriculture pertaining to “authorization” at all cattle trade enterprises in the Reich will have remains to be seen. More detailed data on the influence of the Jews in the economy are not available, since this question is under the primary competence of II 23.²⁹[...] <2093>

Gestapo Berlin

Report for the Period 1 October 1936–28 February 1937

Berlin, n.d.

GStA, I. HA Rep. 90 P, Vol. 1

Jews

Associational Activity

The new elections for the board of the Berlin Jewish **Community** at the beginning of the year were followed by considerable activity by the Jewish organizations.³⁰ In order to support the Zionist associations³¹ in their propaganda work, in some cases they were permitted to call meetings on Sundays and holidays as well, in deviation from the prohibition on gatherings on those days.

After the new election, the board is made up of three Liberals,³² three **Zionists**, and one Conservative.³³ It was decided not to increase the number of representatives of the Zionists on the board at the expense of the Liberals and Conservatives by measures of the Gestapo, since the Liberals, whose supporters in the Community number some 55,000, declared they would secede from the Community in such a case.³⁴

While the meetings of the Zionist organizations were conducted without any complaints, a prohibition on speaking had to be placed on many speakers of the Jewish **Central Association**, because in open meetings they had called on the members assembled to remain on in Germany, and had done so in a manner not in keeping with the goals of the Reich government.³⁵

In addition, the Central Association is attempting, using all means at its disposal, to preserve Jewry in Germany, by establishing commissions, economic institutions, and offices for legal advice. These must be viewed as a counterweight to the German Labor Front.³⁶ Recently it was learned that the Central Association has set up arbitration and mediation offices, by which it wishes to try to resolve disputes among Jews in an amicable way before bringing a case in a court of law.

As is evident from a circular letter, the Central Association is not limiting its activity here solely to its own membership, but rather is also calling on Jews in other associations to make use of this facility. The Central Association thus clearly indicates that it is likewise trying to exert influence in Zionist circles. So that in regard to these circles, it must no longer be viewed as a separating but rather as a binding element. Consequently, a complaint has been lodged with the

Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police in the Ministry of the Interior to dissolve the Jewish Central Association.³⁷ The misgivings previously expressed by the Reich and Prussian Interior Minister that to dissolve the Central Association might lead to a strengthening of the Jewish opposition are probably no longer justified, since even inside Zionist Jewry, there are sufficient contrasts which can readily deflect the attention of the Jews from interest in other political questions.³⁸

The **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** has been restricted by a decree of 9 October 1936 by the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police to its own area of activity, namely providing care for Jewish victims of war. The Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans is no longer permitted to engage in any other activity, especially in the sphere of Jewish politics, except for providing care for war victims.³⁹ It has also been prohibited from using its customary German abbreviation *RjF*, since that same abbreviation is used by the *Reichsjugendführung*,⁴⁰ Youth Leadership, and can thus give rise to people confusing the organizations.

This measure has been extended to include all the designations of the Party or National Socialist formations, and it is thus prohibited to all Jewish organizations to name their organizations in the same or a similar manner.

In order to consistently and fully implement the basic treatment of Jews and **Mischlinge** based on the **Nuremberg Laws**, the Special Commissioner of the Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda for the intellectual surveillance of the Jews, in keeping with a suggestion by the Gestapo, intends to exclude all “full” Jews and all Mischlinge who are more than 50 percent Jewish from the **Paulusbund** (association of non-Aryan Christians). Those affected will have the opportunity to join the Jewish **Kulturbund**, which will be obligated to accept these Jews and Mischlinge.

Emigration

As a result of the worsening of the economic situation of the Jews, and most especially given the fact of few jobs for Jewish youth in Germany, the number of those wanting to emigrate⁴¹ is constantly on the rise. [...]

In order to make full use of the possibility for emigration to South Africa before new immigration regulations come into effect which are designed to restrict immigration, the **Relief Organization of German Jews**, with the financial support of the Berlin Jewish Community, has rented the ship *Dampfer Stuttgart* of North German Lloyd and can assist another 550 Jews to land in

Cape Town before the deadline for the new regulations. As is evident from the press reports of foreign papers, the further immigration of Jews is also being increasingly declared undesirable by other countries as well, and measures are being proposed to effectively counter and prevent immigration. Significant in this connection is the statement by the Portuguese government that the “Jews who are burdensome for National Socialist Germany are also just as undesirable for Portugal.”

Vocational Restructuring and Retraining

[...] In the interest of emigration and a unified regulation of the associated questions, the Reich Food Administration has abandoned previous misgivings and intends to give the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** an opportunity to train young Jews wishing to emigrate in agriculture.⁴² The training will, in keeping with previous practice, take place in Jewish enterprises and also in a small number of other enterprises, provided that employees with German blood are not forced out of work by this program. After this proposal has been approved by the Reich Leader of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization, it can be expected that annually at least 3,200 *young Jews* will emigrate to **Palestine.** <2095>

◀258▶

NSDAP District Bremen Propaganda Head Office

Report on the Public Mood
Bremen, 19 March 1937
StA Br, 3-N.7. No. 162

Re: *The Jewish Question in the Schools*

It would be very desirable if serious steps were finally taken to implement the separation of **Aryan** and non-Aryan pupils, as announced by Minister Rust for last Easter.⁴³

Aside from the fact that every school class should form an organic community, and we do not want any Jews in that community, and the teachers are in no position to exclude them, it is imperative, specifically for the National Socialist education of children, that we explain the fundamentals of our worldview clearly again and again in the classroom, even if only by pointing this out with a brief reference. It is precisely those “three words,” repeated again and again, which illuminate the **Jewish Question** or the general question of race repeatedly from one perspective or another (always at different points in space and time), that contain a deeper power than occasional detailed lectures, even though the latter are of course likewise necessary. In the meantime, the knowledge gained there must be integrated into instruction (in history, geography, German language, etc.). That is the most important thing! Otherwise everything hovers in the air, insubstantial. For this, all that is usually necessary is an appropriate short reference at the right time. But to make such points, you cannot ask the Jews in the class to leave the room each time. The National Socialist Teachers’ Association is correct in stating: *every* lesson requires some reference to our worldview. The end result of this is that Jews are sent out during each lesson, which over time becomes a disturbing factor, or: many teachers will completely avoid any such references. It is very embarrassing and repugnant for Aryan teachers and pupils if the Jewish Question is brought up in the presence of Jews. But this undermines a good portion of our ideological education, precisely in those classes where it is most necessary, and where the children become acquainted with the Jewish Question in practical terms only through contact with young Jews, who as children are generally still quite innocuous. And where they are often unconsciously influenced by these children in a philo-Semitic direction.⁴⁴ (By the way, also through classes in religion.)⁴⁵ Consequently, some remedy is needed! This question is of great urgency! <2108>

Report for 1–15 March 1937
Berlin, 18 March 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The Situation in Factual Terms

There were no important changes in the period covered here.

Worthy of mention is the concern manifest in almost all Jewish circles regarding the vocational situation of Jewish young people, leaving school on 1 April 1937 (some 5–6,000).⁴⁶ In order initially to postpone a solution to this question, some are suggesting that the period of compulsory schooling be extended by one year. The clarification of this matter appears to be leading to a fundamental dispute between **assimilationist** and **Zionist** circles due to differences of opinion⁴⁷ among the leadership of the Jewish **Communities** and the **youth organizations**. [...]

Activities Concerning Other Adversary Groups (Anti-Semitism)

There are coinciding reports from all areas of the Reich that there has generally been a decline in propaganda work on the **Jewish Question** by means of lectures and meetings.

It is of interest that the educational authorities in Bavaria have ordered the following: beginning with the academic year 1937–38, instruction in Hebrew at secondary schools will be discontinued as an elective subject as well. <2117>

◀260▶
SD Main Office II 112
Report for 1 January–31 March 1937
Berlin, 8 April 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The Situation in Factual Terms

It was possible to observe in the period covered here that the Jews are beginning to come to terms with their situation. The impact of **Zionist** propaganda that has dominated Jewish political life to date has begun to lessen. The reasons for this should be sought initially in the uncertain situation in **Palestine**. The acts of terror by Arab nationalists have damped Jewish enthusiasm a bit for **emigration** to Palestine.⁴⁸ The recommendation of the royal

commission investigating the dispute between Jews and Arabs in Palestine is expected to be made public in April.⁴⁹ There is hope that the commission's recommendation will create a normal situation in Palestine. Instead of propaganda for emigration to Palestine, there is evident increased publicity for Jews to emigrate to other countries. In addition, the social situation of the Jews in general is so favorable that most prefer staying on in the country to emigrating. On the basis of this fact, there has recently been increased activity by **assimilationist** circles, first and foremost by the "Jewish Central Association" and the "Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans."

The activity on the part of the Jewish **Kulturbund**, which is especially noticeable in the larger cities, is slowly leading the Jews into an intellectual and cultural ghetto, a form of living the Jew has been quite familiar with for thousands of years.

The agitation by the New York mayor and Jew La Guardia⁵⁰ has given rise to consternation among German Jewry, since it is feared there will be retaliatory measures by the government against the Jews in Germany.

The Situation in Regional Terms

The tendency for Jews to migrate to the larger cities has continued in the period covered by this report. The only exception are areas where the population is predominantly Roman Catholic. Thus, there are reports from Bavaria and the Catholic Emsland that Jews are moving from towns to the countryside, since they are given extensive support there by the rural population which opposes National Socialism.⁵¹

Nuremberg, the place of publication of the ***Stürmer***, is gradually developing into a center of Jewish life. The **Orthodox** Confederation of **Agudas Ysroel** for Germany moved its main office from Frankfurt am Main to Nuremberg in the period covered by this report.

Programmatic Changes

Organizational Changes

On 30 December 1935, the totally assimilationist Jewish youth organization **Ring League of Jewish Youth** was dissolved and banned by a decree of the Gestapo for the entire territory of the Reich.

In February 1937, the Salo Adler Lodge of the UOBB⁵² in Schneidemühl dissolved itself.

By a decree issued on 15 March 1937, the executive director of the Reich Culture Chamber **Hinkel** excluded all full Jews and three-quarter Jews⁵³ baptized as Christians from the **Paulusbund**—Association of Non-Aryan Christians, with the approval of the **Gestapo** and the Reich Interior Ministry. They will have the opportunity to become members of the Jewish Kulturbund. Thus, only Jewish **Mischlinge** who are Reich citizens as defined under the Reich Citizenship Law⁵⁴ may remain as members in the Paulusbund.

Methods of Struggle

Propaganda

The six-week-long ban on meetings by Jewish organizations,⁵⁵ which expired on 31 January 1937, made it very difficult for the Jewish political organizations to spread their propaganda. After the ban expired, Jewish associational activity quickly resumed once again.⁵⁶

All Jewish organizations energetically publicized the **Jewish Winter Relief**.

Preparatory propaganda is now beginning in the Jewish press for the Twentieth **Zionist Congress**, to be held in August of this year in Basel.

Financing

The Zionist Organization is intensifying its drive for the Palestine Construction Fund through the creation of home savings boxes. The head of the Zionist fund **Keren Hayesod**, Dr. Michael **Traub**, is attempting by his lecture tours to raise money for Palestine from wealthy Jews.

The result of the **Jewish Winter Relief** is extraordinarily satisfactory for the Jews. The final reports are still awaited. But already now it is possible to state that contributions of money and valuables were so substantial that jobless Jews received more from the Jewish Winter Relief than they would have earned by their own labor working in Palestine. [...]

Economic Life

The influence of the Jews in economic life remains exceptionally large, now as before. Only in individual cases are the Jewish businesses feeling the effect of the anti-Semitic propaganda of the NSDAP. By contrast, it was noted that large Jewish companies were able to double their turnover compared with 1933. In individual branches, such as the **cattle** and leather trades, the Jews continue to occupy a leading position. Previous measures by the Reich Food Administration

to eliminate Jews from the cattle trade have not as yet led to any financial success. The Aryan cattle dealers do not have the necessary capital to compete with the Jews. But it is likely that expansion of the cattle utilization cooperatives of the Reich Food Administration will eliminate this deplorable state of affairs.

Especially alarming is the activity by Jewish firms in German rearmament and the expansion of national defense. Thus, for example, a Jewish civil engineering firm from Kassel is currently constructing secret fortifications along the Rhine, a dock and a water gate in Wilhelmshaven, and barracks in Idar-Oberstein.

External Relations

Travel by Jews abroad, especially to Belgium, Holland, and Czechoslovakia, is on the increase. These trips are justified by being termed business trips and trips for information.

Other Matters

Activities Concerning Other Adversary Groups (Anti-Semitism)

Anti-Semitic propaganda has for the moment ceased almost completely. Only after the diatribe by the New York mayor did extended anti-Jewish articles appear in the National Socialist press.⁵⁷

The lack of sufficient training of Party speakers is principally to blame for this standstill. Thus, for example, in **Danzig**, a large-scale anti-Jewish propaganda operation by the Party had no success, because the speakers arrived for their lectures fully unprepared, and armed with arguments that were not factual and to the point. <2118>

►261►

SD Main Office II 112 1
Report for 1–15 March 1937
Berlin, n.d.
BArch, R 58/991

Organizational Changes

The Gestapo Wilhelmshaven has revoked the order of the county commissioner in Aurich for the temporary dissolving of the sports group there of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**.⁵⁸ All confiscated material was

returned.

Propaganda

There are reports from Pirmasens/Palatinate that recently the spouses of the members of the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans have also been invited to their regular evening social get-togethers. This can be seen as an attempt to circumvent the Gestapo order of 7 November 1936. That order clearly stipulates that the tasks of the League of Jewish Combat Veterans are exclusively concerned with looking after Jewish war victims.⁵⁹

In addition, there has been notable increased activity on the part of the Jewish **Central Association** in Upper Silesia.⁶⁰

Relation to the Individual Areas of Life

Cultural Life

Again and again, we see that circles of assimilationists are appropriating the cultural creations of outstanding **Aryans** as their own. More recently, these circles have even begun to translate such works into **Hebrew**. <2119>

►262►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for March 1937

Ansbach, 6 April 1937

BayHStA, StK 106677

Jews

1. On 7 March, the Jewish **Community** in Bamberg organized a special religious-cultural hour in the synagogue at which the **Rabbi Dr. Lazarus** from Wiesbaden spoke on the topic “Alexandria—Granada—Berlin, Three Communities—One Jewish Fate.”⁶¹ The event was under surveillance,⁶² and had a moderate number of persons in attendance.

2. Charges were filed against the Jewish **cattle** dealer Julius Eckmann from Burghaslach, Scheinfeld district, accused of spreading rumors about purported differences of opinion between the local Protestant pastor and the direction of the Jungvolk.⁶³ <2129>

►263►

NSDAP Local Branch Press Officer

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Münster, 4 April 1937
BA Ms, Fremde Provenienzen A 1

Among the **Volksgenossen**, if you listen attentively, very often the question is asked: How is it possible that we still can run into Jews in movie theaters, especially in the Roland Theater?

In the view of the prevailing popular mood, it would probably be useful and appropriate here for the press to use its influence to spread the idea that the motion picture theater owners can no longer demand of Volksgenossen that they watch films as part of an audience together with Jews. <2145>

SD Main Office
Report for 1–15 April 1937
Berlin, 19 April 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The Situation in Factual Terms

On the basis of the agitation launched by international Jewry abroad, which has increased markedly in the recent period, the **Gestapo** has issued a ban for the duration of two months on all Jewish associational activity, with effect from 10 April 1937.⁶⁴ Exempted from this prohibition are only such functions that are religious and cultural in nature, as well as scheduled events of the **Shekel Campaign** (a fund drive among Zionists for the Twentieth **Zionist Congress** to convene in August 1937). [...]

Programmatic Changes

The head of the “**Jewish Central Association**,” Herzfeld,⁶⁵ resident in Essen, spoke in a meeting in Heidelberg about a gradually emerging cooperation between the CV and other Jewish organizations, and he placed special emphasis on the division of labor with the “**Zionist Association of Germany**.” He noted that while the Zionist Association was dealing exclusively with emigration,⁶⁶ the CV was concerned with legal and economic questions in the Jewish community.

Methods of Struggle

Propaganda

The premiere of the film on Palestine *Hatikvah* took place on 13 April 1937 in the Lodge House of the **UOBB**, Berlin, Kleiststr. 10. The film aims to propagate the efforts of the Zionist Association of Germany to promote **emigration**.

There are reports from various places that the focus of Jewish life⁶⁷ is increasingly shifting into the **synagogues**. That can be all the more readily understandable given that religious meetings have not been affected by previous prohibitions on gatherings.⁶⁸

The **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** is attempting to propagate its ideas on behalf of **assimilation** among children who have been released from school by presenting them with a special Memorial Volume for the Fallen Soldiers. [...]

Other Matters

Activities Concerning Other Adversary Groups (Anti-Semitism)

In various parts of the Reich, on the occasion of clearance sales organized by Jewish stores, violent anti-Semitic disturbances erupted,⁶⁹ necessitating for the police to order the closure of these shops.

It is reported from East Prussia that there the ***Stürmer*** is disapproved of in its present form by a large proportion of the population. <2146>

◀265▶

SD Main Office II 112
Report for 15–30 April 1937
Berlin, 4 May 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The Situation in Factual Terms

In the period here reported on, the life of the Jews in Germany was totally dominated by the impact of the general prohibition on associational activity⁷⁰ and the dissolving of the lodges of the Jewish Order of the **B'nai B'rith**.⁷¹ Since the German and Jewish **press** in Germany were not allowed to carry any commentary on these government measures, the only papers to express an opinion were those abroad. The general impression which the sanctions against Jews in Germany have created is summed up by the foreign press with the catchphrase “revenge for La Guardia.”⁷² A few papers go even further, and view the prohibitions as heralding an intensification in the anti-Jewish campaign in Germany. [...]

The Situation in Regional Terms

There is a sense of anxiety among the Jews in Upper Silesia due to the fact that on 15 May 1937, the agreement on minorities will expire. It is well known that the Jews there enjoyed the protection of this agreement.⁷³ One can observe that the Jews in Upper Silesia are attempting to sell their farm land and real estate. It can be expected that a proportion of the Jews in Upper Silesia will leave there before the expiration of the two-month protection period. [...]

Organizational Changes

On 19 April 1937,⁷⁴ by decree of the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the

German Police, the Jewish Independent Order B'nai B'rith, with all its subsidiary lodges and subformations, was banned and dissolved throughout the entire territory of the Reich. Its assets were confiscated by the state. Only the three Upper Silesian lodges of the UOBB, which are under the protection of the agreement on minorities, were exempted from this ban.

For the duration of the operation, the leading members of the lodges were taken into custody. After determining all assets and seizing all written material of the Order, they were then released. The operation was carried out in close cooperation between the **Gestapo** and the Security Service.⁷⁵ There were no incidents anywhere instigated by the Jews. According to information from the Gestapo Office, the value of the confiscated cash and securities alone was likely in excess of 1 million Reichsmark. An overview of the real estate is not yet available.

Relations to Other Adversaries

The Church⁷⁶

In connection with the operation against the UOBB, in house searches conducted in the homes of former UOBB members, a certain number of copies of the Papal Encyclical of 14 March 1937⁷⁷ and the Open Letter of the **Confessional Front** to Reich Minister Kerrl were found [...]

Relation to Individual Areas of Life

[...]

Communal Life

A decision by the High Court regarding the marking of firms as Jewish enterprises⁷⁸ is incomprehensible. According to a report in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 28 April 1937, which has been reprinted in all Jewish papers,⁷⁹ the High Court has ruled that for a competitor to designate an enterprise as a Jewish firm is inadmissible. It constitutes a means of advertising that is offensive to propriety and morality. An individual cannot so claim that by such an act he is serving the aims of the National Socialist world view. Rather, that is a matter solely for the national government and the NSDAP. Only they can determine to what extent it is necessary here to fully remove Jewish enterprises or keep them at a distance from the economy. [...]

Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2

Report for April 1937

Munich, 1 May 1937

BayHStA, StK 106689

Jews

[...] In the course of countermeasures against the agitation mounted by international Jewry, and bearing in mind that in the recent period, there has been an extraordinary amount of activity, especially by Jewish organizations oriented to **assimilation**, the **Gestapo**—Gestapo Office Berlin has issued a decree, with effect from 10 April 1937,⁸⁰ for the duration of two months, banning all events and gatherings, except those that are of a purely religious or cultural nature. [...]

During the month here reported on, there was damage once again to a Jewish cemetery.⁸¹ In the Jews' Cemetery near Zeckern, district Höchstädt a.d.Aisch, fourteen gravestones were overturned, with severe damage to some. In the case of three gravestones, the inscription tablets were smashed. Inquiries have been unable to date to establish the identity of the culprits. Various Jews in Goldbach, district Aschaffenburg, had their shutters and windows smashed during the night of 25–26 March 1937,⁸² and the perpetrators are not known. The parties whose homes were damaged have not filed a complaint. <2149>

►267►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for April 1937

Ansbach, 5 May 1937

BayHStA, StK 106677

Internal Political Situation, Public Security

[...]

German Christians' Faith Movement

The Deutsche Glaubensbewegung⁸³ is also making great efforts to gain ground, though to date it has not been able to achieve any success. There were meetings *inter alia* in Hof (on 11 April, the speaker was Kaerkes from Aachen, attended by about 150 persons), and in Erlangen (on 22 April, the speaker was J. Haus[...],⁸⁴ from Stuttgart, attended by some 60–70 persons).

The speaker in Erlangen expounded on his view that the whole of Christianity was nothing but some sort of drama concocted by the Jews. It was, he said, only a means to stupefy the people, constructed upon an edifice of a great many ceremonies. Christianity, he argued, had to be struggled against because it was founded on the doings and makings of Jews in the Old Testament. But subsumed under this Christianity was not just the Catholic Church. There was also the Protestant Church with its various branches, and even the German Christians were sailing in these waters. He noted that the Conception of the Mother of God by the Holy Spirit was sheer rubbish, she had been nothing more than an old Jewish hag.⁸⁵ [...]

Jews

[...]

2) In Bamberg, the Jew Wiesenfelder was taken into **protective custody** and sent to Dachau⁸⁶ because he had expressed outrageous criticism of economic measures and had insulted the Party District Chief.

3) On 15 April, a Jewish school for continuing education was opened in Bamberg. The municipal vocational school is thus now “judenfrei.”⁸⁷ [...]

7) In the district Hilpoltstein, the Jews are trying to sell their shops⁸⁸ and then to move to larger cities or migrate abroad.⁸⁹ Thus, for example, in Thalmässing the number of Jews over the past year has declined by about one half.

8) *In Erlangen, the Jewish religious teacher Fränkel was arrested by the Gestapo Würzburg on suspicion of having participated in a ritual murder in 1929 in Hofheim a. Main.*

<268>

►268►

Mayor of Amt Altenrüthen

Economic Situation Report

Rüthen, 22 May 1937

StA Ms, Pol. Polizei III. Reich, 353

The Jewish butcher Sally Pollack, resident here, committed **suicide** a few days ago by hanging himself. Since he was well-off financially, it must be assumed that the severe recent restrictions imposed on his allotment for slaughter by the Association for Beef Cattle Utilization led him to this act.
<2178>

►269►

Gendarmerie Heiligenstadt

Damage to Public Property
Heiligenstadt, 13 June 1937
StA Ba, K 8/9204

As is evident from the enclosed letter from the Israelitic **Community** Bamberg dated 10 May 1937, there was serious damage to gravestones at the Jewish cemetery in Heiligenstadt, presumably in the period from 5–9 May 1937.⁹⁰ [...] <2181>

◀270▶

NSDAP District Direction, Münster Municipality

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Münster, 28 May 1937
BA Ms, Fremde Provenienzen A 1

Wehrmacht

[...] Very often one can see soldiers shopping at Jewish stores in Münster. It would be desirable if the Reich War Minister issues a uniform line, stipulating that the soldiers should be informed as to which shops in their locality are Jewish, and it should be made clear to them what the consequences are if they are shopping at these stores.⁹¹ <2183>

Mayor of Wohnbach

The Political Situation

Wohnbach, 20 May 1937

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 207

There is good progress in internal political development, and there have been no evident efforts hostile to the state.

Only the **Confessional Front**, about which I have frequently reported, is continuing with its agitation in a disguised form, i.e., under the cloak of religion. In one of the most recent services, Pastor Lenz interceded in prayer for a pastor who had been taken into **protective custody** because he was baptizing Jews as Christians.⁹² It goes without saying that this does not redound to the benefit of the National Socialist world view. Moreover, L. stated the following: A Jew is just as dear to my heart as a Christian.⁹³ [...] <2186>

◀272▶

SD Main Office II 112

Jews in Danzig
Berlin, 16 June 1937
BArch, R 58/544

The Situation of the Jews in Danzig

The Free State of Danzig is regarded today by international Jewry as the principal bulwark against National Socialism on German soil.⁹⁴ This situation is due to the special character of the Danzig constitution. Although Danzig has a National Socialist government, it is largely dependent on the League of Nations and the signatory powers of the Danzig Statute. For that reason, it has not yet been possible to introduce the **Aryan legislation** in Danzig, nor will it be possible to do that as long as the momentary situation continues. Just how much Jewry makes use of this opportunity is reflected in the action of the Executive Committee of the **World Jewish Congress**, launched in April of this year against the National Socialist government in Danzig. The Executive Committee claimed in a note of protest to the League of Nations and the signatory powers that it was the intent of the National Socialist government in Danzig to introduce the **Nuremberg Laws** there, and that it had already taken the necessary preparatory steps. Reportedly, the World Jewish Congress is thus now expecting that the League of Nations will be prepared to do everything possible to prevent the introduction of these laws.

According to this, Jewry in Danzig is not conceived as an alien body in the people, as is the case in Germany, but is considered to be only a religious group. The Danzig government is forced to continue to keep Jews on as employees in government posts and to conclude business transactions with Jewish firms. Accordingly, the boycott against the Jews⁹⁵ by the Party has relatively little effect. This is compounded by the fact that thousands of Jews from the Reich resettled in Danzig after the National Socialist takeover of power, and their numbers are still growing.⁹⁶ A large number of the Polish Jews emigrating to Palestine also pass through the Free State annually.

Thus, Danzig has become the focal point of Eastern [European] Jewry. In contrast with the situation in the Reich, the Jews in Danzig have a high degree of unity and cohesiveness. That unity is expressed in that fact that in the run-up to elections for representatives, all groups put together a joint list for the Jewish **Community** in Danzig. <2187>

SD Main Office II 112

Report for 1–16 June 1937

Berlin, 17 June 1937

OA Mos, 500/3/316

[...] Among the “Non-Aryan Christians,” the renaming of the **“Paulusbund”** (as mentioned in the previous report) into “Association 1937—Temporary citizens of the Reich not of pure German descent by blood” has caused great consternation and dismay. The reason for that is probably to be sought in the fact that the former name of the organization did not contain any reference to the non-Aryan descent of its members, and thus constituted a welcome possibility for concealment.

The **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** has shown in the course of its existence that it is a reservoir of **assimilationist** Jewry. For that reason, it is necessarily unable to pursue a constructive **emigration** policy for the Jews from Germany. As a consequence, a powerful opposition to the “Reich Representation” arose within the ranks of the extreme Zionists. Their spokesperson is the head of the **“State Zionist Organization,”** bank director Georg **Kareski.** In speeches and articles, Kareski advocates the dissolving or restructuring of the Reich Representation. Such a restructuring is also likely in the near future under pressure coming from the government.⁹⁷ [...] <2188>

Gendarmerie Steinach
Report for June 1937
Steinach, 23 June 1937
StA Wü, LRA Bad Kissingen 1155

[General Political Situation]

In the previous month reported on here, the internal political situation in the service district was quiet. It has come to attention that the Jewish **cattle** dealer families⁹⁸ of Heinrich Straus, Bernhard Frei, Gertraud Frei, and David Frei, from Steinach a.d. Saale, intend to leave this locality by the autumn of this year in order to emigrate to North America.⁹⁹ The above-mentioned fear the possibility of a war with Germany, and that then they would be incarcerated in a **concentration camp**. [...]

<2208>

►275►
SD Main Office II 112
Report for 1–15 July 1937
Berlin, 16 July 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The Jewish public has been anxiously awaiting announcement of the Peel Report in the early days of July.¹⁰⁰

With publication of the report of the Royal Commission on 7 July 1937 and the acceptance of a partition plan for Palestine by the British government, the establishment of a Jewish state after more than 2,000 years is now on the horizon.

The proposal of the Commission, which the British government has accepted in its totality, envisions dividing the country into three parts.

The enclosed draft map¹⁰¹ illustrates the projected borders and the extent of an enclave of Jerusalem to be given as a new mandate to Great Britain, furnished with a corridor to the sea and to the enclave in the southern corner of Palestine on the northwestern coast of the Gulf of Aqaba. This latter enclave will probably be of great strategic importance for Great Britain.

In terms of territory, the Jews will receive the most fertile part of the country, while the Arabs will be allotted the much larger but rather infertile mountainous region. As compensation for this disadvantage, the Jewish state is to pay the Arab state a one-time sum of 2 million pounds sterling.

The report and its proposals will only become binding after ratification by

the Council of the League of Nations. For that reason, the British government requested to present its report and that of the Peel Commission to the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations already on 30 July 1937, so that the matter can be aired in the September meeting of the Council of the League of Nations.

The echo of the partition plan shows there are three tendencies in response among the Jews, aside from their general rejection of the isolation of Jerusalem. A small group agrees unconditionally with the proposal and regards it as the fulfillment of the eternal Jewish longing for a separate state of their own.¹⁰² The other group rejects any partition whatsoever from the outset. The third moderate group is prepared to enter into negotiations on the basis of the given foundation.¹⁰³

In Germany likewise, the recommendation of the Royal Commission was received with mixed feelings. Most especially, it was the low number of **certificates**, to March 1938 a total of 8,000, which led to dissatisfaction and concern. Non-Zionist Jews in Germany doubtless were bolstered in their propagation of migration overseas as a result of the proclamation of the Jewish state and its projected capacity for absorption, which will be extremely limited.¹⁰⁴

The two-month protection period for the end of the agreement on minorities in Eastern Upper Silesia reached its conclusion on 15 July 1937.¹⁰⁵ As a result, a far more strict **surveillance** of the Jews resident in this area is now possible. With strict application of the laws of the Reich now entering into force there, especially of the **racial** laws, a complete separation of Jewry from German life will also be possible in a short time in that formerly protected territory as well.

At the beginning of July 1937, the first issue appeared of the organ of the **“State Zionist Organization,”** the journal ***Das Jüdische Volk***. Using this periodical, the State Zionists are able to propagate their ideas within a significantly broader Jewish circle, and to press forward with the process of penetrating the broad Jewish masses with Zionist ideas, an aim in the interest of the German state.

Until recently, there were still substantial differences of opinion between the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** and the Jewish **Community** in Berlin. These escalated to the level of a genuine atmosphere of struggle¹⁰⁶ as a result of the interference of extreme Jewish organizations.¹⁰⁷

The situation calmed with unexpected rapidity and was clarified subsequent to a fundamental resolution passed by the **Council of the Reich Representation** in its meeting on 7 July 1937.¹⁰⁸

This resolution clearly states that the Reich Representation “represents Jews in Germany vis-à-vis the German authorities and the Jewish aid organizations abroad.” In addition, it decides on how to distribute all funds coming into the Reich Representation, and is the planning authority par excellence for the entirety of the Jewish community in Germany. In addition, the resolution stated that the Reich Representation acts as the umbrella organization for Jewish welfare assistance and welfare work in Germany,¹⁰⁹ and is the responsible authority for all important tasks of welfare in the Reich. At the same time, it was decided to expand the Council of the Reich Representation by inclusion of a representative of the State Zionist Organization and the Independent Orthodoxy.¹¹⁰

A principal demand of the State Zionists was met by the creation of a five-member Budget Committee from the ranks of the members of the Council. Its main task is to oversee the financial conduct of the Reich Representation. As representative of the Berlin Jewish Community, its first deputy head, president of the State Zionist Organization, Director Georg **Kareski**, is now a member of the new committee.

In this way, the State Zionists have been granted an important possibility for monitoring funds, and thus exercising considerable influence on the Reich Representation as a whole.

The situation of Jewry in economic life has not changed much in comparison with the previous month.¹¹¹

The only notable matter in the recent period are increasing efforts by the offices of the county commissioners to deny the Jews a renewal of their permits for itinerant trade due to their political unreliability, and to revoke and take back the **cattle** dealer licenses they have been granted.¹¹²

At the beginning of July 1937, the World Conference for Religious-Liberal **Judaism (World Union for Progressive Judaism)** met in Amsterdam.

There were also Jewish representatives in attendance from Germany.¹¹³ Thus, among others, Prof. Dr. Ismar **Elbogen** (from Berlin) spoke on the problem of Jewish proselytes.¹¹⁴ He emphasized that thorough knowledge of Judaism was necessary in order to build a dam against the movement of people seeking to leave the faith.

More generally, the conference dealt with organizational questions of the World Union and with religious questions. <2210>

Report for July 1937
Munich, 1 August 1937
BayHStA, StK 106690

Jewry

[...] A decree by the Reich and Prussian Interior Minister dated 24 July 1937¹¹⁵ finally specifies guidelines for admission of Jews to spas and health resorts. It states that Jewish visitors to heath resorts where there is a possibility to accommodate them separately from other visitors in Jewish convalescent homes, hotels, guest houses, or boardinghouses should be allowed admission.¹¹⁶ However, a requirement is that no pure-blooded German females under the age of 45 are to be employed in these enterprises.¹¹⁷

The Gendarmerie station Rieneck reports that during the night of 29–30 June 1937) the front door to the Jews' **synagogue** in Rieneck was smashed in.¹¹⁸ Inside the synagogue, a cabinet was broken into containing the six so-called Tablets of the Law. These were removed and scattered on the floor. Inquiries about the identity of the perpetrators have to date yielded no results. [...] <2213>

◀277▶

SD Main Office II 112
Report for 1–15 August 1937
Berlin, 17 August 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

At the Twentieth **Zionist Congress** held in Zurich during the period covered by this report, an authorization resolution was passed (300 voting for and 158 against) expressing agreement with the principle of the partition of **Palestine** into a Jewish and Arab state.

[...] The further Jewish plan is to ensure that the future state to be established will be a member of the League of Nations, in order then, under the slogan of supposed **minority protection**, to be in a position to attend to the interests of the Jews in *all* countries.

These events are the focus of discussion extending over many pages throughout the Jewish **press** in Germany and abroad. They are the topic which has caught the interest and attention of Jews everywhere.

Even if the Twentieth Zionist Congress overshadowed all Jewish political work in Germany during the period of this report, nonetheless, on the 15th of this month, the president of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**,

Dr. Leo Baeck, was summoned to the **Gestapa** and informed that work must begin immediately in the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany on creating special departments for the retraining of Jewish youth,¹¹⁹ an emigration office for Jewish youth, and a processing office for the **emigration** of Jewish prisoners released from **concentration camps**.¹²⁰

The former deputy director of the Berlin Jewish **Community**, Georg **Kareski**, head of the “**State Zionist Association of Germany**,” was forced to resign his office as the result of successful subversive activity by **assimilationist** circles, especially the CV (Jewish Central Association). At the same time, this is once again proof of the disguised yet intensified activity by those circles of the Jews living in Germany who are consciously working against the efforts by the government to promote emigration. The intensified assimilationist influence on internal Jewish affairs goes hand in hand with augmented propaganda by the Jewish Central Association, which is distributing its *CV-Zeitung* at a price below production cost. [...]

On the basis of the fundamental guidelines for the Jewish **press** in Germany issued by the Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda,¹²¹ it is possible now to carry out precise surveillance and control at any time deemed necessary. According to these guidelines, all persons and enterprises active in Jewish journalism in the territory of the German Reich are contained in a registry of the Special Commissioner of the Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, executive director of the Reich Culture Chamber **Hinkel**. The Jewish persons active in the publishing houses and enterprises of the Jewish press are recorded in official lists, and receive a license by means of a certificate or identification card. After 1 October 1937, Jews without such a certificate will no longer be allowed to work in Jewish journalism.

Even though the “**Aryanization** efforts” are continuing now as before throughout the entire territory of the Reich, to the keen satisfaction of the broad public, and have retained their intensity, there is nonetheless still substantial Jewish influence on economic life. However, the lack of proper enlightenment within the offices of the Party and the government is also largely to blame in this respect. [...]

<2232>

Mayor of Bad Nauheim
Report for August 1937
Bad Nauheim, 27 August 1937
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 210

[Jews]

The number of Jewish shops and businesses has declined in the course of this year. There are now only just a few Jewish stores left in Bad Nauheim, but these will disappear as time passes.¹²²

It is regarded as especially positive that the number of Jewish visitors to health resorts has gone down. There used to be a very large number in Bad Nauheim. In the meantime, the lack of Jewish guests has been sufficiently offset by other spa guests.¹²³ <2238>

►279►

SD Main Office II 112
Report for 1–15 September 1937
Berlin, 17 September 1937
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The dispute over the partition of **Palestine** continued to occupy the center of attention of Jewry in Germany and abroad during the period of this report.¹²⁴ The editorials of all Jewish newspapers¹²⁵ published in Germany deal with this matter.

The session of the Council of the League of Nations held in Geneva during the report period accepted the earlier submitted report of the Mandate Commission regarding the partition of Palestine, so that unless unforeseen incidents occur, it will actually come to pass that a “state of the Jews” is created.

In the camp of the Jews in Germany oriented to Zionism, there are now two groups. One has accepted the present situation regarding Palestine, while the other endeavors, by all means at its disposal, to prevent the creation of a “rump state of the Jews.”¹²⁶ Thus, the gap between the adherents of the “Zionist Association of Germany” and the “**State Zionists**”¹²⁷ has become even wider. That is a situation advantageous for our methods of dealing with this in confronting this adversary.

In Upper Silesia, the efforts to remove Jews from all areas of German life are making continuous progress.¹²⁸ Thus, in an area that was under an agreement for minority protection down to 15 July of this year, to date 42 Jewish **lawyers** and

notaries public have been removed from their offices and denied admission to district and local courts.

The cleansing of Jews from the restaurant industry is continuing. But there is still dissatisfaction in the circles of **Aryan** tradesmen regarding the fact that Jews are still receiving permits as itinerant tradesmen. Attempts by local police authorities to refuse Jews such a license usually fail, since the Jews are always successful with their suit before the Administrative Court. [...]

The operation initially carried out in Berlin to determine whether Jews of foreign nationality are employed in Jewish political organizations in Germany was continued during the period of this report. Thus, just in the "Jewish Community Berlin" alone, it was established that 120 Jews with foreign citizenship are employed there as salaried officials, among them even 5 Soviet Russian citizens.¹²⁹ [...]

<2252>

◀280▶

Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2 A

Report for September 1937

Munich, 1 October 1937

BayHStA, StK 106690

German Christians' Faith Movement

The **German Christians' Faith Movement** organized relatively few events. On 1 September 1937. there was an event in the small Wagner Hall in Munich, attended by some 250 persons. Helmuth Neumann from Stuttgart was the featured speaker. Neumann, who spoke on the topic "Is Christianity Jewish?" tried to prove that Christian doctrine is totally saturated with Jewish elements, stressing that the whole history of the Old and New Testaments is of Jewish origin. In the course of his talk, Neumann stated that the Jews were to blame for the violent decline of Germany beginning in 1917 and on down to the seizure of power. He said that the Führer should be thanked for Germany's salvation, and the fact that limits had been placed on the Jewish rabble. Nonetheless, the Church was, in Naumann's view, consciously pursuing a line of propaganda for the Jews that was damaging to the state, extending from Cardinal **Faulhaber** on down to the smallest chaplain, in attempts Sunday after Sunday to beat pure Jewish belief into the brains of the people. He noted that the **race defilers** today are being given heavy penalties, and emphasized that those persons engaged in intellectual race defilement, especially as practiced by the Catholic clergy,

should also be penalized. [...] <2253>

►281►

Police HQ Augsburg
Report for October 1937
Augsburg, 4 November 1937
BayHStA, StK 106686

In the Jewish cemetery in Krumbach, eight gravestones were overturned and damaged between 4 and 11 October 1937.¹³⁰ Pieces were broken off four gravestones. The culprit is not known. The Mannheimer Insurance Company must cover the damage. <2276>

►282►
Stapoleitstelle Munich II 2 A
Report for October 1937
Munich, 1 November 1937
BayHStA, StK 106690

Jews

[...] Especially in the provinces, the Jews are being ejected from commerce and industry with ever mounting success. In National Socialist circles, the view is that the operation against Jewish retail trade in the province will soon come to an end, and perhaps already within a span of six months will be completely liquidated. The means employed in this campaign are: stationing **boycott** sentinels in front of the shops, compulsion to transfer businesses to Aryan hands,¹³¹ denial of a license for commercial activity, pressure for **emigration**, etc. Now the efforts for eradicating the Jews from economic life are concentrated on the branches of industry and **department store** trade. In the current system of public allotment to the individual producer of raw materials available only in very small quantities, the National Socialists have an excellent weapon in their hands to gradually exclude Jews from production.

The gardener Franz Kreitmayer, who employs Jews in his firm for **retraining** for the purpose of emigration, stated: "If we only had Jews in Germany and no one else, then things would be better and more honest. The Jews are more honest people than all of you put together." Charges have been filed against Kreitmayer. In addition, he was stripped of his permit to retrain Jews.¹³² [...] <2277>

►283►
District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for October 1937

Regensburg, 7 November 1937
BayHStA, StK 106672

General Political Situation

Enemies of the State

[...] In the evening hours of 20 October, a red slip of paper was found pasted to a ***Stürmer*** **display case** in Passau, with the following words: “The struggle against the Jews has always been a sign of those cowardly in nature, Nietzsche, Musarion edition, XVII/344.” [...] <2280>

►284►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for October 1937
Ansbach, 8 November 1937
BayHStA, StK 106677

Jews

1) There has been greater activity of the Jewish associations,¹³³ especially those of religious and charitable nature,¹³⁴ when compared with the previous month.

[...]

7) The Bamberg local branch of the Jewish **Kulturbund** put on a concert in Bamberg on 13 October 1937, featuring the Mendelsohn Trio Hella Chitrik, stateless, Leo Schway, and Paul Blumenfeld, all from Leipzig. The event was also granted permission by the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.¹³⁵

In addition, the ensemble of the Jewish Kulturbund Hamburg put on two theatrical performances on 27 and 28 October 1937 in Bamberg. The play performed was *Jean* by Bus-Fekete. These performances were also authorized by the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. <2281>

►285►

District Office Alzenau
Report for October 1937
Alzenau, 30 October 1937
StA Wü, LRA Alzenau 340

[Economy]

[...] The Furniture Factory Lindheim & Co., in Kahl a. M., whose proprietors were previously Jews, has been transferred to **Aryan** ownership, and is now named after the new owner Kübel.¹³⁶ The company employs a workforce of some 120.

<2284>

◀227▶

Gendarmerie Arnschwang

Situation Report

Arnschwang, 26 October 1937

StA Am, BA Cham 5196

Jewish **cattle** dealers have not been seen in the local service district for a number of months. <2285>

►287►

Mayor of Haigerloch

Jewish Burial

Haigerloch, 29 October 1937

StA Sig, Ho 235 I Akz. No. 338

On Thursday, the 28th of this month, at approximately 5 p.m., the funeral took place here of the Jewish merchant Wilhelm Bernheim, who suffered a fatal accident two days earlier at the local train station. The procession went from his home in the neighborhood of "Haag" to the Jewish cemetery. The participants in the funeral were reportedly photographed, as I have learned, by the two employees of the district [National Socialist] farmers' organization Schneider and Stehle, in order to determine which **Aryan** residents of the locality were present in the funeral procession. The direction of local branch of the NSDAP reportedly did not issue such an order. It cannot be ruled out that the photos are to be published, for example in the *Stürmer*. In my view, it is undesirable should Haigerloch once again be mentioned in the press in this manner. <2293>

►288►

SD Main Office II 112

Short Report for C¹³⁷ on Jewry

Berlin, 12 November 1937

BArch, R 58/544

[...]

Statistics on the Jews in Germany

a) February 1933: 515,000 **Jews by religion** (estimate!)

June 1933: 499,000 Jews by religion

b) June 1937: 392,000 Jews by religion (estimate)
107,000 Jews emigrated.¹³⁸

to **Palestine**: 35,000

overseas: 26,000

Eastern European countries: 19,000

Other European countries: 27,000

According to estimates of the director of the Reich Statistics Office, Berlin, the total number of Jews living in Germany is augmented by approximately

120,000 full Jews of non-Jewish faith¹³⁹

and some 160,000 half-and quarter Jews¹⁴⁰
Total 672,000 Jews.
Average emigration per year since 1933: 26,750
monthly: 557.29¹⁴¹

Aims of the Policy on the Jews

Total elimination of **assimilation** and promotion of **emigration**.

In internal domestic politics, what must be overcome are the resistance of the Jews, the intellectual support given the assimilationist Jews by Catholicism and a segment of the **Confessing Church**, who view the solution to the **Jewish Question** in baptism of the Jews,¹⁴² and finally the difficulties bound up with foreign currency and its technicalities.

In foreign politics, the plan to establish a state of the Jews should be taken into account. As a result, the Jews can become a minority, and most countries can close their doors to immigration by Jews.

The Reich has a negative view of the possible creation of a state of the Jews, since Jews could then pursue the boycott against National Socialism more intensively utilizing diplomatic means.¹⁴³ <2299>

►289►

SD Main Office II 112

Report for 1–15 November 1937

Berlin, 18 November 1937

OA Mos, 500/3/316

An incipient weariness with emigration has become evident in recent months in the Reich¹⁴⁴ as a result of continuing anti-Semitic efforts in various countries given preference as countries of immigration by the Jews emigrating from Germany. Another contributing factor is the lack of clarity regarding the situation in **Palestine**.¹⁴⁵ To compound matters, a number of foreign countries (especially overseas) have issued stricter regulations for immigration in 1937. That has given rise to fears about a decline in the number of Jewish emigrants, particularly among indigent Jews. As already reported from several [SD] Upper Divisions, there is a visible tendency among Jews previously not oriented to **assimilation** in Germany to shift into the assimilationist camp. These observations are undoubtedly a consequence of the circumstances alluded to

above.

For that reason, in the second half of 1937 increased pressure was put on the Jewish political organizations concerned with migration so as to step up emigration activity.

The following result emerges from analysis of figures on emigration undertaken during the current report period:

In the first nine months of the year, the number of Jews migrating was about 18,000. The applications and ongoing processing for the last quarter of 1937 indicate that in this period as well, approximately 6,000 Jews are likely to emigrate, so that we can project a total emigration figure for 1937 of 24,000 Jews. In addition, due to natural decline, there is a further loss of 5,000 Jews for 1937. (In 1936, natural decline was 4,000. As a result of the continuous aging of the Jewish population in Germany, this figure will rise from year to year.)

Thus the total figures declined from:

31 January 1937 392,000 **Jews by religion**
to 363,000 Jews by religion.¹⁴⁶

31 December 1937:

Despite the great difficulties alluded to, it was possible to maintain the level of emigration of Jews from Germany in comparison with the previous four years. The great proportion of Jews who emigrated in 1937 were indigent. The rest, Jewish capitalists, handled matters of money transfer via the “**Haavara**” scheme.

To date, it has been determined that there are 343 Jews of foreign nationality working as functionaries and employees in the top Jewish political organizations in Berlin.¹⁴⁷ Of these, 97 Jews, including eight of Soviet Russian nationality,¹⁴⁸ have been removed from their posts. The Jewish organizations were ordered to dismiss the rest, with but a few exceptions, by 15 February 1938. On the occasion of an inquiry by the Executive of the Jewish Community Berlin,¹⁴⁹ following intervention by the Czechoslovak Consul General regarding the dismissal of Czechoslovak nationals, the latter was informed that the reason for this measure was not because the persons in question were of some specific foreign nationality. Rather, the key factor behind the decision by the authorities was solely the behavior of foreign Jews employed in Jewish political organizations during their stay in Germany and abroad [...] <2300>

SD Main Office II 112

Report for 16–30 November 1937

Berlin, 18 November 1937¹⁵⁰

OA Mos, 500/3/316

[...] In sum, it can be concluded that under the currently prevailing circumstances, **Palestine** increasingly is no longer the principal country of absorption for the Jewish **emigrants**, and will remain only “**Eretz Israel**,” an intellectual and cultural center of Jewry.

If, nonetheless, all Jewish organizations in Germany regard emigration as the key focus of their work, and promote it by procuring funds, organizing lectures, and education and information evenings, etc.,¹⁵¹ that is now occurring under constant pressure and with a growing awareness: namely that it is not possible to remain in Germany for the longer term, despite all the temporary improvements. In this respect, the way Jews were dealt with in **Upper Silesia** and **Danzig** has had a favorable impact on developments.¹⁵² Even the “**Agudas Yisroel**,” whose national organizations in Western Europe held a conference in Paris from 31 October to 3 November, have decided to intensify emigration. However, in contrast with other organizations, the emphatic demand was voiced for joint group emigration as the only possibility for settlement, a view already advanced by the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**. The organization is slated to take charge of the emigration office to be established in London. Symptomatic for the behavior of all of Jewry is the resolution by this religious Orthodox organization to give special consideration to South America, North America, and South Africa as destinations for settlement. With assistance from foreign national organizations, it is also planned to facilitate the establishment of a training center¹⁵³ for agriculture and crafts for young Jews from Germany, located either in Germany or abroad. [...]

If numerous Jews from the assimilationist camp nonetheless remain resolute in their will to remain in Germany, that is due in significant measure to the partial preferential treatment being accorded them by the authorities, a circumstance already mentioned several times, and the generally lackadaisical attitude shown by the public toward the **Jewish Question**. People point out again and again that there are still no laws to exclude the Jew from all commercial activity, so that a generally binding basis for a **boycott** of the Jews or their exclusion from the German economy does not exist.¹⁵⁴ [...]

In **Danzig**, further economic measures by the government against the Jews are no longer expected, because after the threats by the Jews, there are now fears

that the large export firms, most under Jewish management, may relocate to Gdingen. This would constitute a serious blow to export commerce in the Danzig port, and would abet Polish designs aimed at paralyzing and shutting down the Danzig port. [...]

The Jews continue to promote cultural matters energetically.¹⁵⁵ Thus, in the present report period, a Week of the Jewish Book was organized. In addition, all organizations and press organs¹⁵⁶ are engaged in strong propaganda work for the **Jewish Winter Relief**, though this effort has not enjoyed the degree of success that it had during the previous year. <2301>

Gendarmerie Cham
Report for November 1937
Cham, 28 November 1937
StA Am, BA Cham 5196

The Jews in town are quiet and are still enjoying their sales to the rural population. The farmers here refuse to be enlightened, and they refuse to grasp the paramount aim. <2314>

◀292▶

County Commissioner Gelnhausen
Report on the Situation in Respect to Jewry
Gelnhausen, 30 November 1937
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 10008

Before the takeover of power, the Jews enjoyed substantial influence on business life in the district of Gelnhausen. That influence has declined markedly since 1933, and today is totally nonexistent. They traded in **cattle**, had stores for ready-to-wear clothing, linen, woolen goods, notions, and shoe stores, as well as wholesale firms for groceries and agricultural produce. They were also active in the crafts, such as bakeries, butcher shops, and shoemaking.

As the figures indicate, the number of Jewish residents here has declined to such an extent that it is now hardly possible to speak here of any business activity by this race. The businesses that were in Jewish hands have passed almost without exception into Aryan ownership.¹⁵⁷ Aside from a few exceptions, commerce with Jews has ceased to exist. But it is notable that a few Jewish **cattle** dealers are still plying their trade. Strikingly, their commerce is restricted in the main to Catholic localities. The favorable attitude toward Jews that can be observed here may also be due in part to financial obligations which bind some residents to the Jews.

But on the whole, it is possible to state that aside from a few exceptions, commerce with Jews has come to a halt. Most of the Jews still resident here are living in poor economic conditions, and some are dependent on the support of their fellow racial comrades.¹⁵⁸ The **Aryan** population no longer gives them any attention and they live withdrawn from local society.

In the recent period, Jews have no longer been guilty of engaging in any larger-scale criminal acts. <2316>

►293►
SD Upper Division North II 112
Annual Report for 1937
Stettin, n.d.
FfZ Hbg., 93121

The Situation in Factual Terms

[...] The mood in the population regarding the **Jewish Question** is very

diverse. In general, it was ascertained that the rural population knows too little about the Jewish Question, and for that reason is not willing to take it seriously. Even if the population, especially in rural areas, rejects the Jew as a matter of instinct, that does not preclude the rural population from supporting the Jew economically, either because of favorable terms of payment or due to old habits. The number of Jews has declined as a result of **internal migration** and **emigration**. Jews in a poor economic situation have suffered great losses, while the Jews who are economically better off were able to maintain the volume of turnover in their businesses or even to increase it. [...]

Internal Adversaries

[...] The Catholic population and the adherents of the **Confessional Front** supported the Jews not only intellectually, but materially as well. That is especially pronounced in the case of the Catholic rural population, which condemns spitefulness toward the Jews as un-Christian.

It was possible to note a connection with the movement both on the left and on the right. Here once again the linkage with the ideas of liberalism plays a role. In a few instances, the connections were visible. While the connections to the left are sought by Jews, reactionaries maintain the connection with the right. Here the nexus between reactionaries and the Confessional Front plays a special role. [...]

Activities Concerning Other Adversary Groups (Anti-Semitism)

There is very scant enlightenment when it comes to the Jewish Question. In some isolated cases, the mood in the population against the Jews was manifested in various ways. In one case, a Party District Chief went too far in an **individual action** against Jews and had to be transferred.

Except for the distribution of the **Stürmer**, anti-Semitic propaganda here has generally come to a halt. <2327>

►294►

SD Upper Division Northwest II 112
Annual Situation Report for 1937
Hamburg, 14 January 1938
FfZ Hbg., 93121

[The Situation in Regional Terms]

The migration to larger and more prosperous Jewish Communities continues unabated, even if there has been a slight decline in comparison with 1936. In the main these are Jewish individuals with low incomes, i.e., the Jewish proletariat, but businesspeople are also seeking a livelihood in the large city, since in the rural countryside they have been stripped of almost any source of income.¹⁵⁹ [...]

In relation to social life, it is already possible today to speak with some justification of an invisible **ghetto** of the Jews.¹⁶⁰ Certain isolated phenomena at odds with that cannot change this overall picture. [...]

The **Jewish Winter Relief** continued its relief work based on the guidelines of the German **Winter Relief**. After the initial organizational difficulties were overcome, there is now a solid basis for the organization to function well. In order to avoid friction between collectors for the Jewish Winter Relief and those of the Party or the National Socialist People's Welfare, such as has occurred in Hamburg, it would be advisable for the Jewish Winter Relief not to solicit contributions on the same "Stew Sundays"¹⁶¹ together with the collectors for the Party. [...]

The *Jewish Kulturbund* gave no cause for complaint with its various events in all the local branches within the area of the Upper Division, since the lecture series is subject to strict censorship.¹⁶²

[Community Life]

[...] The Jewish **Community** Hamburg has now completed renovation of the former Jewish **Lodge** House, and the new Community Center will be opened to the public on 9 January 1938. On the basis of this fact, it is now possible for the local office and **Stapostelle to demand of Aryan restaurant and inn owners that they keep their premises "judenfrei."**

While in Schleswig-Holstein there are 5 Jewish physicians, in Bremen still 14, and in Hamburg even 14 percent of all physicians are Jews, the decree by the Reich Physicians' Leader has been warmly welcomed by the German population, since it orders the health insurance societies to dismiss all Jewish doctors from their service.¹⁶³ [...]

[Activities Concerning Other Adversary Groups (Anti-Semitism)]

The infractions of the **Nuremberg Laws** have increased significantly compared with the previous year.

In many cases, the attitude of the courts to the question of "**race defilement**"

was not in keeping with popular sentiment. On the other hand, it also has to be emphasized that courts which follow the National Socialist idea often condemned race deniers to lengthy prison sentences. [...]

The work in education and enlightenment in regard to the **Jewish Question** has no apparent effect whatsoever among a large portion of the population, since on the whole, the *Stürmeris* rejected as an informative and instructive paper due to its tendentious reporting, while the militancy of the *Schwarzer Korps* generally finds greater approval.

In Catholic regions, such as the Government District Hildesheim, the population has virtually no appreciation for the Jewish Question. That is due to the influence of the Church.¹⁶⁴ The Catholic farmers, officials, and even Party members are often the best customers there, shopping in the Jewish stores.¹⁶⁵ <2329>

◀295▶

SD Upper Division East II 112
Annual Report for 1937
Berlin, 8 January 1938
FfZ Hbg., 93121

[...] Naturally, the disturbances in **Palestine**¹⁶⁶ have had some impact of the emigration movement of the Jews from Germany. Thus, the available figures for migration from Berlin also show a very precipitous drop. In 1937, a total of 8,679 Jews left Berlin. With an in-migration figure of 6,275, there is an emigration surplus of 2,404, or 201 persons per month. Compared with the monthly average of 414 for 1936, there has been a drop of almost 53 percent. The effort by the Jews to remain as inconspicuous and unrecognized as possible has led to a constant stream of migration from the countryside into the larger cities, especially to Berlin.¹⁶⁷ The monthly average for migration to Berlin was 523. [...] <2330>

◀296▶

SD Upper Division South [II 112]
Annual Report for 1937
Munich, n.d.
FfZ Hbg., 93121

Jewry

[...] In regional terms, the year 1937 brought a clearly recognizable development in two Jewish centers in Bavaria. While the Jewish-religious and cultural groups were transferred to Nuremberg-Fürth (indicative of this development was the relocating of the Bavarian regional office of the **Agudas Yisroel** to Nuremberg), the Jewish-political and economic interests are embodied in the city of Munich. In the process, a “Working Group of the Regional Association of Israelitic Communities of South Germany” was established, whose interests are represented by the head of the “Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities,”¹⁶⁸ District Court Councillor¹⁶⁹ rtd. Dr. Neumayer.¹⁷⁰

In Central and Lower Franconia and Swabia, there is a constant movement of the Jewish population from the city into rural communities. The principal Jews involved in this are those with private assets who believe they will suffer less harassment in these smaller communities.¹⁷¹ Another important influential factor here is probably the moral support of the **churches**. That dimension should not be underestimated, and quite naturally is far more pronounced in agricultural areas than in towns and cities.

For all practical terms, **emigration** has come to a halt. Thus, for example, at the beginning of 1937, there were about 9,100 Jews registered. In early December, there were still 8,860 Jews registered. The decline through migration is thus 240 Jews, or 2.2 percent. If one takes into account the **internal migration** contained here, which is quite substantial in Bavaria according to data of the *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt*,¹⁷² coupled with the decline in the Jewish population due to a high mortality rate, it is evident that there was no notable emigration in the year covered by this report. [...]

The “Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities” has come ever more to the fore as the main body for promoting Jewish interests. All retraining and vocational restructuring camps and training centers¹⁷³ in Bavaria are largely dependent on this association, since it bears almost the full burden for financing.

To increase funds, the government allowed the association in the report year to increase the tax for religious communities to 15 percent.¹⁷⁴

The necessary funds were also always available, so that the association was readily able to establish a magnificent and modern training center in Munich in the autumn of 1937.

In the framework of the **Jewish Winter Relief**, Bavaria belongs to a so-called surplus area. Just in the month of October 1937 alone, the sum of some

40,000 RM was raised.

Over the course of the year, the “Jewish **Kulturbund**” moved ever more prominently into the foreground as the principal active body for Jewish cultural life. It turned to the Jewish public, offering a quite comprehensive program. The presentations were generally on a high level, even if the involuntary proof was brought again and again that “Jewish art” alone is not enough. The program was based mainly on the important Aryan composers, aside from some attempts with Hebrew authors and composers, which were generally unsuccessful. Attendance was extraordinarily good, although the activity of the Kulturbund has suffered, since for a long time now, there has been no suitable meeting hall available after the museum hall previously utilized was converted to office space.

Jewish sports activity also saw a substantial increase in the year 1937. Various well-organized events made a strong impression on the Jewish spectators. There were also some quite respectable successes on the playing field.¹⁷⁵ [...] <2331>

►297►

SD Upper Division Southeast II 112

Report for 1937

Breslau, 14 January 1938

FfZ Hbg., 93121

Jewry

[The Situation in Factual Terms]

In general, 1937 did not bring any significant changes for the Jews in their own life. The total number of Jews has only seen a small change in Silesia as a result of emigration and in-migration. The tendency already observed in previous years of people moving from the rural countryside to the larger communities has also continued this past year.¹⁷⁶ This movement was strengthened in Upper Silesia as a result of the expiration of the term of the Geneva Agreement¹⁷⁷ on 15 July 1937. The upshot is that in addition to the Jewish **Communities** in Lower Silesia of Freystadt, Freiburg and Striegau, dissolved in the first half of the year, the Communities in Guttentag, Landsberg, and Rosenberg, Upper Silesia, now face imminent dissolution.

Now as before, the movement of migration continues from the East from Upper Silesia via Breslau to the Reich. [...]

The Jewish educational system has been further expanded in the course of the year. In the spring of 1937, the **Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau** showed its importance for Jewry in the Eastern European countries by presenting prizes to young theologians from the East and Southeast of the continent on the occasion of a celebration in honor of the seminary's founders.

The dispute in the Jewish school system in Breslau between the **Zionist** current, represented in the “**Jewish School Association**,” and the **assimilationists**, whose organization is the “New German School Association,” was resolved in August 1937 when the **Reich Association of the Jews** intervened. The dispute ended for all practical terms with the victory of the Zionist current.

There is a plan to establish district schools for the Jewish children in the countryside. The first of these will be set up in Kreuzburg, Upper Silesia.

In Jewish cultural life, one can note the further growth of the Jewish **“Kulturbund.”** The “Upper Silesian Jewish Kulturbund” was merged in the fall of 1937 with the “Lower Saxony Jewish Kulturbund.” To a greater extent than in the past year, the presentations this year were by Jewish artists themselves. [...]

[The Situation in Regional Terms]

While up to 15 July 1937, the day of expiration of the Geneva Agreement, the Jews had to be treated as a national minority in Upper Silesia, from that point on they are subject to the laws of the Reich. Accordingly, from 15 July or in subsequent months, the Jews were dismissed from all public positions and honorary volunteer functions. Some of the Jews preferred to leave Upper Silesia even before that point in time, and especially to rid themselves of their rural property holdings. But no serious danger to the economic existence of the Jews in Upper Silesia has arisen, all the more so because an exceptionally high percentage of the Jews in Upper Silesia are economically independent. In the first few weeks after the expiring of the Geneva Agreement, there were some attacks on Jews by the population,¹⁷⁸ but these were caused by the provocative behavior on the part of several Jews. A check on the Jewish grocery trade sector in Upper Silesia led to the closing of 37 food stores and saloons. [...]

[Relation to the World Abroad]

The Reich Association of Polish Jews in Germany,¹⁷⁹ with its local branches in the Upper Silesia industrial area and in Breslau, has a special position when it comes to relations of Jews with the world abroad. This association was able to

maintain good connections with representatives of other countries, so that the Breslau branch of the Association was pleased to welcome both the Italian and Czech consuls at their **Purim** celebration in 1937. [...] <2332>

►298►

SD Upper Division Southwest II 112

Report for 1937

Stuttgart, n.d.

FfZ Hbg., 93121

[The Situation in Factual Terms]

[...] The relations of the Jews to economic life have gone through a certain correction in the past year. The number of Jewish retail shops continued to decline in 1937.¹⁸⁰ By contrast, Jewish **cattle trade** can only be eliminated by stages, especially in Württemberg. In the main, there is a lack of defensive measures on the part of the farmers' organizations.

The Aryan cattle dealers are not adept and reliable enough, nor is there adequate financial strength in broader circles of farmers. Their conservative attitude is also a contributing factor. Striking is the degree to which Jews have been removed from cattle trade in Baden. There were 600 Jews active in this branch at the beginning of 1937, but at the end of the year, only 7 still had licenses for cattle trading. By contrast, in the entire Upper Division area in industry and wholesale trade (for example, wood, iron goods, textiles, and tobacco), the Jews still occupy powerful positions. That is true especially in the cities of Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Stuttgart, and Freiburg. Here we have one example of the influence of Jewry in wholesale trade. At a meeting of the wholesalers in textile goods, yarns, and the like held in August 1937 in Freiburg im Breisgau, officially chaired by a representative of the commercial sector, among the 18 participants, 12 were Jews, some 66 percent. The economic situation or business volume of the Jewish wholesalers scarcely changed over the past year. [...]

[The Situation in Regional Terms]

[...] The majority of Jewry in Württemberg was always oriented toward assimilation, and the shift to an absolutely Jewish consciousness is a very slow process. There is no doubt that one reason is the long period of settlement by many Jewish families there and their sound financial situation, corresponding to

the favorable financial structure of the [Württemberg] state. Another factor is also the mentality of the Swabian, who tends to listen attentively to Jewish whispers about “unjust oppression.” The Jewish-political line of the Jews in Württemberg is associated with a certain “forced” recognition of the Zionist idea. The Israelitic Supreme Council of Würtemberg¹⁸¹ can be called **Misrachi** (religious-Zionist) in basic orientation. [...] <2333>

◀299▶

District Governor Palatinate
Report for December 1937
Speyer, 8 January 1938
BayHStA, StK 106676

Jews

In Ludwigshafen a. Rhein, three meetings by the council of the Jewish **synagogue** were subject to surveillance.¹⁸² Recently, there has been constant talk in these circles about the financial situation of the local Jewish **Community** as a result of constant out-migration¹⁸³ of Jews; the situation is becoming ever more untenable. The talk is that Jews are contemplating dissolving the local Community, and it is possible that they will have to take out a mortgage on the synagogue. Among the Jews, there is a general predominant view that probably in the span of two years, there will be no Jews left in Ludwigshafen a. Rhein. [...]

The Jew Moses Mai (formerly a cattle dealer) in Waldmohr died. Twenty-six male and 13 female Jews took part in the funeral. No participation by Germans was observed. <2345>

►300►

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg
Report for December 1937
Würzburg, 10 January 1938
BayHStA, StK 106680

Other Matters

[...] The hardware stores in Mellrichstadt before 1933 were in the hands of three Jewish firms. The property of one—Rosenthal jun.—was bought by the District Savings and Loan bank, thus eliminating this Jews' shop.¹⁸⁴ The proprietor of the other firms—Lindau—(the biggest store) ran off on his own and rejected any negotiations with the mayor for transfer of the store to an **Aryan** owner; he even sold his stock goods to a foreign firm. The mayor of the town succeeded in compensating for this blow to the economy of Mellrichstadt by arranging for the property of the third Jewish hardware store—Rosenthal sen.—to be taken over by a highly capable Aryan businessman. As a result, it will also be possible for Mellrichstadt, which used to have three hardware stores, to obtain the full consignment of hardware goods that it used to enjoy in the past.

Otherwise, this consignment would be allocated to Neustadt or Meiningen. In that case, the economic life of Mellrichstadt would once more lose a source of income. <2347>

►301►

NSDAP District Bremen District Propaganda Office

Report on the General Mood

Bremen, 7 January 1938

StA Br, 3-N.7. No. 162

People think the street name “Sinai St.” is no longer in keeping with the times and request that it be eliminated. <2352>

1. Memorandum of the Jewish Affairs Department of the **SD** for **Heydrich**.

See Kulka, “*Jewish Question*” in the *Third Reich II: Dokumente*, XIII and No. 18, 185–275; idem, “Public Opinion,” 231 f. and in documentation supplement, 272–275; Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*, 32 ff. and Doc. 9, pp. 95–105. This important document was included in our edition since its recommendations for radicalizing policy on the Jews is based on an evaluation of previous SD reports on the mood and activity of the Jews and the attitude of the population toward them.

2. Underdeveloped Palestine was also seen as a country in that category at this time. In 1940, the SD regarded the plan to deport all the Jews in countries in Europe occupied by Germany to Madagascar as the “ideal solution” in this sense.

3. See **Aliyah**.

4. See Chronology, April 1936 and **British mandate in Palestine**.

5. On the application of this recommendation, see Chronology, 4 January 1938 and 22 April 1938.

6. See **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**.

7. See **Marking of the Jews and their possessions**.

8. See Chronology, 30 June 1937, and **Bernheim petition**.

9. On the relations of the Jewish Section in the SD to **Streicher** and his anti-Semitic periodical *Der Stürmer*, see Höhne, *Order of the Death’s Head*, 369 ff., 374 f. and Document 8 in Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*, p. 95, where the “definition of the concept ‘Jews as adversaries ...’ from the standpoint of National Socialism,” conceptualized as ideological and “objective,” is explicated: “The Jew, already qua human being, as evidenced by the difference in his race and thus his folkdom, is a 100-percent adversary of National Socialism. Where he attempts to transpose his work, influence and worldview to the non-Jewish world, he rambles on into adversarial worldviews, such as we

find in liberalism, especially in Freemasonry, Marxism, and also, last but not least, in Christianity. So in a broader sense, these views are in keeping with the Jewish mentality. The prerequisite for this insight is an objective assessment. For that reason, it was necessary in the struggle against the Jews to break with non-objective and fallacious, often downright fantastic views espoused by well-known so-called anti-Semites.” In the text of the document preserved in the BArch R 58/991, the words “and fallacious” were crossed out by hand, evidently due to fears that the anti-Semitic orientation of Julius Streicher here referred to could, by the use of the word “fallacious,” be interpreted as constituting a deviation from the party line defined and promoted by the SD.

10. See **Individual actions.**

11. See Chronology, July 1935.

12. This recommendation to exploit a pogrom-like mood signified a change in the previously negative attitude of the SD toward spontaneous violence, generally initiated by the SA and other party organizations. In actuality, however, it did not contradict the consistently rational thinking of the SD, since the “wrath of the people, as manifested in violence” was regarded at this time as an effective means for the “deJudification of Germany.” The fact that such information from the SD Main Office was intercepted by the Jewish Secret Service and passed on to the Jewish leadership in Germany is evident from the report by Georg Landauer of the **Jewish** Agency sent from Jerusalem to Martin M. Rosenblüth (**Council for German Jewry**, London), dated 8 February 1938, where he notes *inter alia*: “I’ve learned from a very confidential private source, one however that goes back right into the upper echelon of the SS, that there is considerable support for undertaking a large-scale and effective, genuine pogrom in Germany in the near future. The fact that such a bit of information stems from such a source is something our friends in Germany should know. Unfortunately, I do not have any further details. Nor do I claim that this information is correct. But I can expressly point to the quality of the source involved.” See Kulka, “Public Opinion,” documentation supplement, 275. On the stoking of a “pogrom-like mood” in subsequent months, see the SD Report for October 1938, 353▶, and the “Annual Overview of the Central Department II 1,” 1 November 1938, 354▶.

13. It was not until October 1938 that an internal visible marking, clear for all, was included in passports for Jews, though it probably was not in keeping with the sense of this memo; it came about in response to the urging of the Swiss

authorities that such a marking system be initiated. See Chronology, 5 October 1938.

14. This broad-based collection drive, carried out publicly in Palestine and in the Diaspora, had the aim of supporting and strengthening the self-defense of the Jews during the Arab uprising in Palestine since April 1936, which had taken many Jewish lives. See Chronology, April 1936, and **British mandate in Palestine and Aliyah**.

15. Detailed descriptions of various countries for emigration everywhere in the world are included here, along with recommendations on how such emigration could be promoted in technical terms. This present selection gives only a few extracts; the complete text is contained in the CD-ROM complete edition, in CD ▶2063▶.

16. Such a central office headed by **Eichmann** was set up in August 1938, initially in Vienna; see **Central Office for Jewish Emigration**, 3.

17. The pagination in the document ends with page 15. The following sections denoted I and II evidently supplement the document. Here only an extract from Annex I is given. The reprint of the document in Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*, 95–105, omits the headers of “Annex I” and “Annex II” in the original.

18. In this connection, the final observation and related recommendation of the memorandum of the Jewish affairs department II 112 of the previous month to the Main Department II 1 are informative: “Jewry is by no means simply an internal political adversary; the main focus of its work is abroad. For that reason, it would be purposeful if all questions pertaining to the ‘Jews abroad,’ insofar as they involve countries ‘abroad’ only secondarily, should be dealt with by Department II 112.” See “Aufbau der Arbeit der Abteilung II 112 im Jahr 1937,” 18 December 1936, BArch, R 58/991.

19. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

20. See **Individual actions**.

21. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.

22. See **Emigration**.

23. The number of persons in Germany discriminated as Jews from 1933 on included **converts** and so-called **Geltungsjuden**, along with those defined by the National Socialist regime as Jews.

24. See **Internal migration**.

25. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
26. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
27. See **Communism and the Jews**.
28. Correct name: **Hinkel, Hans**.
29. At this time, II was the term for the central department “Ideological Evaluation in the SD Main Office,” 23 was the subsection “Material Life”; see Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*, 75 ff.
30. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
31. See **Zionist Association of Germany** and **State Zionist Organization**.
32. See **Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism**.
33. See **Conservatism**.
34. Such a step would have been based on the law of 1876, which after requests were received from the **Orthodox** minority, permitted persons to leave the Jewish Community and then establish their own independent Community; see **Secession Communities**. The paradoxical fact that within the totalitarian German Nazi state, there were still democratic elections, was a consequence of the fact that the Jews were excluded from the German **Volksgemeinschaft** as “members of an alien race,” and as such enjoyed relative freedom; see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum I*, 31; and **Associational life, Jewish**.
35. See Chronology, 10 February 1935; and **Surveillance**.
36. The establishment of this Jewish office for advice and counseling, after the Jews were banned from using the advisory office of the German Labor Front, can be viewed as a parallel phenomenon, as was also manifest in other spheres. See in this connection the establishment of the Jewish **Kulturbund** in 1933 and the **Jewish Winter Relief** in 1935.
37. The Central Association was not dissolved until after **Kristallnacht**, like almost all other Jewish organizations; it was then incorporated into the **Reich Association of Jews in Germany**.
38. See **Zionists-Revisionists** and **Georg Kareski**.
39. See Chronology, 9 October 1936.
40. **Reich Youth Leadership**.
41. See **Emigration**.
42. See **Vocational restructuring** and **Hachshara**.

43. See **Schools/School system, Jewish.**

44. The expansion of the Jewish schools in the Third Reich was regarded as a way out of the situation the Jewish pupils were suffering under and which was likewise an embarrassment for some German teachers. Jews were not completely excluded from the German schools until after **Kristallnacht**, on 15 November 1938, see Chronology; see also **Schools/School system, Jewish.**

45. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews.**

46. See **Schools/School system, Jewish.**

47. In the following text in the document, there is no discussion regarding the reasons behind these differences of opinion. The motivation of the Zionists to oppose extension of the period of obligatory schooling lay in the fact that in contrast with the assimilationists, they wished to prepare Jewish school-leavers in practical terms for **Aliyah** by providing vocational training, especially agricultural **Hachshara**.

48. See **Aliyah.**

49. On the Palestine Royal Commission of Inquiry headed by Lord Peel, see **British Mandate in Palestine**, and ▶275▶

50. Fiorello H. La Guardia (1882–1947) was the son of a Hungarian Jewish mother from Trieste and an Italian father, a lapsed Catholic, and was raised as an Episcopalian. He was elected to three consecutive terms (1933, 1937, 1941) as mayor of New York City. On 3 March 1937, he vehemently attacked the anti-Semitic policies of Hitler's Nazi Germany. In his speech, he called Hitler a fanatic who was threatening world peace and a man who deserved a spot in the "world's chamber of horrors." The German Embassy in Washington protested and the U.S. State Department then expressed its official apology.

51. See **Internal migration.**

52. See **B'nai B'rith.**

53. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime.**

54. See **Nuremberg Laws** and Chronology, 14 November 1935.

55. See Chronology, 21 December 1936.

56. See **Associational life, Jewish.**

57. On La Guardia's speech of 3 March 1937 and its consequences, see ▶265▶.

58. See **Schild.**

59. This possibly is a later ordinance to the decree by **Himmler**, see Chronology, 9 October 1936.

60. On the special status of Upper Silesia up to May 1937, see **Minority protection**.

61. Hellenistic Alexandria in the first century before and after the Common Era, Granada in Moorish Spain in the eleventh century, and Berlin from the German-Jewish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century were presented in this lecture as symbols of successful Jewish symbiosis in the diaspora in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the modern era. All three shared the fate of a tragic decline. On Alexandria, see JL, Vol. I, cols. 206 f.; on Granada, see JL, Vol. II, cols. 1261–1263. For a summary view, and related to the fate of the Jews in Germany up to the Nazi period, see **Buber**, “Ende der deutsch-jüdischen Symbiose”; on the controversial concept of German-Jewish symbiosis, see also Scholem, “Wider den Mythos vom deutsch-jüdischen ‘Gespräch.’”

62. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

63. See **Hitler Youth and Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

64. See Chronology.

65. See **Herzfeld, Ernst Salomon**.

66. See **Aliyah**.

67. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

68. See Chronology, 5 February 1936 and 5 April 1937.

69. See **Individual actions**.

70. See Chronology, 5 April 1937.

71. See Chronology, 10 April 1937.

72. See ▲260▲, n. 50.

73. See **Minority protection**.

74. See Chronology, 10 April 1937.

75. See **SD, Jewish Affairs Department**.

76. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

77. See Chronology, 14 March 1937.

78. See **Marking of the Jews and their possessions**.

79. See **Press, Jewish in the Third Reich**.
80. See **Chronology**. A similar ban on activity was issued a year prior to that as a sanction against the Kulturbund on 9 February 1936, after the murder of **Gustloff**. See **Chronology**, 5 February 1936.
81. See **Cemetery desecration**.
82. See **Individual actions**.
83. See **German Christians' Faith Movement**.
84. Several letters are illegible.
85. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews** and **German Christians' Faith Movement**.
86. See **Concentration camps**.
87. See **Vocational restructuring** and **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
88. See **Aryanization**.
89. See **Internal migration** and **Emigration**.
90. See **Cemetery desecration**.
91. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
92. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
93. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
94. See **Minority protection, Danzig**.
95. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.
96. See **Internal migration**.
97. On the various attempts by the **Gestapo** and the SD, in part abortive, to restructure the **Reich Association**, see ▷275◁, and Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 103, 318–351. See also ▷340◁, fns. 99 and 100.
98. See **Cattle trade, Jewish**.
99. See **Emigration**.
100. See **British mandate in Palestine** and literature there, as well as ▷260◁ and ▷279◁.
101. The map was not attached to the document available to the editors.
102. See **Zionism**.
103. On the controversy within the Jewish population in **Palestine** and the

ultimate acceptance of the commission's proposal, see Galnoor, *Partition of Palestine*.

104. On the discussion among the German Jews, see Fraenkel, *On the Edge of the Abyss*; Lichtheim, *Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus*; see also the polemics in the Jewish **press** in Germany in this period, especially in the *Jüdische Rundschau* and the *CV-Zeitung*.

105. See **Minority protection, Upper Silesia**.

106. On the crisis in the **Reich Representation** and the heated dispute between it and the State Zionists led by Georg **Kareski** between June and September 1937, in which the entire Jewish public sphere within and outside Germany participated, and in which, as already mentioned in the previous document, the **Gestapo** and the **SD** also had an important role, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum I*, No. 103, 318–351.

107. See **State Zionist Organization**.

108. See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum I*, No. 103 H and J, 339–345.

109. See **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction and Welfare, Jewish**.

110. See **Secession Orthodoxy**.

111. See Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*.

112. See **Cattle trade, Jewish**.

113. The National Socialist regime made it possible for German Jews to maintain relations with Jewish organizations abroad and to take part in conferences (see, for example, the **Zionist Congresses** and the **Evian Conference**), since **emigration** was fostered in this way, especially in material terms. On the World Conference for Religious-Liberal Judaism in Amsterdam, see reports in: *Jewish Chronicle*, 16 July 1937, 20–21; *CV-Zeitung*, 15 July 1937, 7–8. Among the German representatives not mentioned in the report were Max **Dienemann**, Heinrich **Stern**, and Manfred **Swarsensky**.

114. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.

115. See **Chronology**.

116. See **Spas**.

117. See **Nuremberg Laws**.

118. See **Individual actions**.

[119.](#) See **Vocational restructuring** and **Hachshara**.

[120.](#) Like the special departments (committees) for retraining and emigration, long in existence, there was also a Committee for **Youth Aliyah**. These committees of the **Reich Representation** (see **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**) also dealt with the task of retraining of Jewish youth groups in other European countries, such as Holland and Denmark, to prepare them for later emigration, both to Palestine and to other countries in Europe and overseas. It was planned that young people would send for their parents after they had built up a new life there for themselves. The Reich Representation also dealt with possibilities for Jewish prisoners released from the **concentration camps** to **emigrate**. All these activities were intensified after Kristallnacht, and continued during the transition period to the **Reich Association** and down to the official prohibition on emigration in October 1941; see Chronology, 1 October 1941. The **vocational restructuring**, especially in agricultural **Hachshara** groups, continued into the period of mass **deportations**.

[121.](#) See **Goebbels, Joseph**.

[122.](#) See **Aryanization**.

[123.](#) See **Spas**.

[124.](#) On the partition plan, see **British mandate in Palestine** and [275](#)

[125.](#) See **Press, Jewish in the Third Reich**.

[126.](#) On the controversy within the Jewish population in **Palestine** and the ultimate acceptance of the commission's proposal, see Galnoor, *Partition of Palestine*.

[127.](#) See **State Zionist Organization**.

[128.](#) See Chronology, 30 June 1937, and **Minority protection, Upper Silesia**.

[129.](#) See **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**.

[130.](#) See Cemetery desecration.

[131.](#) See **Aryanization**.

[132.](#) On opposed views regarding agricultural training for Jews, see [33](#) and n. 33 there.

[133.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[134.](#) See **Bikkur Cholim**.

[135.](#) See **Hinkel**.

[136.](#) See **Aryanization**.

[137.](#) See **Heydrich**.

[138.](#) See **Emigration**.

[139.](#) See **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians**.

[140.](#) See **Mischlinge**.

[141.](#) The compiler of the report made a mistake in calculating. Over four years or forty-eight months, 107,000 Jews **emigrated**, which is 26,750 per year. Erroneously, the report author divided this annual figure by 48 months, roughly the time period covered by the statistics, which yielded this figure of 557. But he should of course have divided by 12, giving a monthly average figure of 2,229.17 emigrants. According to data of the **Reich Association**, through the end of 1937 there were 412,900 emigrants. The figures of the Reich Association also include **Jews by religion** (*Glaubensjuden*) and **Geltungsjuden**, while the compiler of this report only includes Jews by religion. Likewise, in the complete document (see CD <2299>), the author does not mention the source for his figures.

[142.](#) See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime and Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

[143.](#) See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

[144.](#) See **Emigration**; on “emigration weariness,” see [252](#).

[145.](#) See **British mandate in Palestine**.

[146.](#) For an overview of Jewish emigration from Germany, see Rosenstock, “Exodus 1933–1939” as well as the following, covering the entire period: Blau, “Last Days of German Jewry”; Grossmann, *Emigration*. For a contemporary set of statistics from the **Reich Association**, based on their own collected data, on Jewish emigration from Germany until the prohibition on emigration introduced in October 1941, see YVA, SKH 3997–3999.

[147.](#) See **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**.

[148.](#) On 5 January 1938 (see Chronology), the order was issued deporting all Jews of Soviet nationality from Germany. See **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**.

[149.](#) See **Community, Jewish** and Heinrich Stahl.

[150.](#) The date is probably mistaken. Both the time period for the report as indicated and the content suggest that the report was compiled between 22

November and 1 December.

151. See **Associational life, Jewish**. These “education evenings” involved speakers dealing with questions like the situation in emigration countries and in Palestine, Zionism, and other contemporary topics.

152. See **Minority protection**.

153. See **Vocational restructuring and Hachshara**.

154. The general ordinance on excluding the Jews from the economy was not issued until after the Kristallnacht pogrom on 12 November 1938 (see Chronology).

155. See **Kulturbund of the German Jews and Adult education, Jewish**.

156. See **Press, Jewish in the Third Reich**.

157. See **Aryanization**.

158. See **Welfare, Jewish**.

159. See **Internal migration**.

160. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

161. On order of the Reich government, the people were compelled to eat simple stew meals on the first Sunday of the months October to March, the so-called Eintopfsonntag, at a price not to exceed one Reichsmark per person, also as standard fare in restaurants. The difference in price between this cheaper stew and a regular Sunday meal was to be donated as a contribution to the Winter Relief.

162. See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

163. See Chronology, 17 May 1934 and 1 December 1938.

164. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

165. On the express prohibition for Party members to shop at Jewish stores, see Chronology, 11 April 1935.

166. See **British mandate in Palestine** and Chronology, April 1936.

167. See **Internal migration**.

168. See **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.

169. See **Lawyers and judges, Jewish**.

170. Correct full name: **Neumeyer, Alfred**.

171. See **Internal migration**.

[172.](#) See **Press, Jewish in the Third Reich**.

[173.](#) See **Vocational restructuring**.

[174.](#) Reference is to the Bavarian government and taxing of the members of the Jewish Communities in Bavaria, up until that time calculated at a rate 12 percent of income tax. On the taxing of Jewish Communities in Germany, see **Community, Jewish**.

[175.](#) See **Sports associations, Jewish**.

[176.](#) See **Internal migration**.

[177.](#) See **Minority protection**.

[178.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[179.](#) See **Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany**.

[180.](#) See **Aryanization**.

[181.](#) See **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.

[182.](#) See **Surveillance of Jewish organizations and meetings**.

[183.](#) See **Emigration and Internal migration**.

[184.](#) See **Aryanization**.

The Sudeten Crisis and the Consequences of the Munich Agreement
 (January–October 1938)

►302►

SD Main Office

Situation Report of the Central Department II 1 for the Period 1–31

January 1938

Berlin, n.d.¹

BArch, R 58/999

General Matters

In the course of development, ever more major opponents of the National Socialist world view and the National Socialist state have emerged: such as the political churches and the forces of reaction. [...]

The efforts in the churches to activate the laity have advanced further. The effects of this have been visible in all areas of public life, and are manifest in a strengthening of the ideological commitment of all opposition groups. Promoted by the pro-Jewish attitude of the **churches**, which serves to strip any anti-Jewish propaganda by the Party of its effectiveness within the mass of church followers, the efforts to assimilate² within Jewry are being welcomed today more than at any time since the Party took power. For that reason, we can definitely expect a substantial drop in the level of Jewish **emigration** if we do not succeed in driving out at least the financially less well-off Jews from the territory of the Reich. [...]

Thus, a segment of church followers have been seized by a profound sense of resignation. The reason for that should be sought in the innumerable useless protests of their clergy.

On the other hand, the plan of the higher church leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, is to act to intensify the feeling of resignation on the part of the

believers to the point where it turns to bitterness, and to call for resistance against the state. Someone who has drawn particular attention to himself in this regard is Cardinal Archbishop **Faulhaber** of Munich, who is believed to have especially good relations with the Vatican, but also to the other ideological opponents of the Party in the Reich. There can be no doubt that this church tactic is of considerable advantage for those opponents. At the same time, the forces of reaction have embarked on a degree of activity previously unimagined. Its intent, with all power at its disposal, is to strip the Party and all its formations, especially the SS, of their influence, indeed to remove them completely from public life. In their place, they seek to transfer all power to the Wehrmacht and to place ideological education in its totality in the hands of the churches. [...]

Jewry³

The measures by the Romanian government are starting now to have a growing impact on the Jews resident in Germany.⁴ The fact that almost all countries bordering directly or indirectly on Romania have issued more strict immigration regulations for Jews, and the stricter procedures introduced by several South American countries regarding Jews,⁵ have heightened the desire to emigrate and apprehensions about it, mainly among indigent Jews in Germany. Faced with this changing picture, various leaders of Jewish-political organizations have characterized the situation for Jewish **emigration** from Germany as catastrophic. Among them is the head of the Zionist Association of Germany and the managing director of the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. This general sense of depression pervades the entire Jewish **press** in Germany. [...]

The reports from Palestine are extremely unfavorable for the Zionists. The English government has issued a White Paper on policy for Palestine. It announces the dispatch of a new investigative commission to Palestine which will be active there over the longer term. According to this, the Peel Report, which endorsed partition and the creation of a Jewish and Arab state, has apparently been finally set aside. The dispatch of this new commission points to British delaying tactics in the question of Palestine.⁶ The efforts on behalf of emigration, especially those by the *indigent* Zionists in Germany, who still consider Palestine to be a country of immigration, have also been significantly hampered by this.

In addition, there are ever more complaints by Jewish political functionaries regarding the actions of Jewish capitalists:⁷ namely that they are expediting their capital assets abroad at unprecedented levels, utilizing the option of transfer.⁸

The upshot is that the revenue income from taxes of the Jewish Communities and the membership dues for the Jewish-political organizations have already reached such a low point that the Zionist organizations in Germany must today contend with the greatest financial difficulties they have ever faced. This necessarily results in a significant reduction in the number of indigent Jewish emigrants from Germany.

These reasons doubtless played a more important role in shaping the declaration by the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee** and the **Council of the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** on 12 January 1938.⁹ It initially refers to the work of the Reich Representation in recent years and emphasizes the necessity of emigration. In connection with this, the declaration contains an appeal to the mandatory government in Palestine to clear the way for the indigent Jews from Germany to emigrate to Palestine. It also has another appeal directed to countries overseas to take in a larger number of immigrants from Germany by restructuring the regulations on immigration and engaging in more free and flexible application of these regulations. In addition, the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany points out that a significant proportion of the Jews still present in Germany are at an advanced age, and for that reason are unable to emigrate. Since with increasing restrictions on options for gainful employment these Jews will necessarily have to rely on public welfare to survive, and on the other hand, a proper and orderly emigration under these circumstances is impossible, the Reich Representation feels obliged to request the *Reich government* to halt the process of reducing the possibilities for gainful employment for the Jews in Germany.

This declaration, which constitutes a reaction to the continuing exclusion of the Jews, was given huge attention by the entire foreign press. The *National-Zeitung*, Basel, sees the efforts to oust the Jews from German economic life as the real cause behind the declaration. These efforts have been intensified since the resignation of Reich Minister **Schacht**.

As this declaration proves, the new ordinances regarding the ousting of the Jews from economic life are already beginning to have an expanding effect. Only by means of additional measures here can one simultaneously eliminate the reluctance among the Jews in Germany to emigrate.¹⁰

The observations mentioned at the beginning above regarding the fact that the general situation of the Jews around the world is ever worsening, are determinant for the increase in number and influence of the Jewish **assimilationist** circles in Germany. Already in the previous report year, it was possible to observe in various parts of the Reich that individual Jews had in the

meantime decided to wait for better options for emigrating to emerge, and improvement in their financial situation in Germany. This phenomenon can be seen today in all parts of the Reich. [...]

◀2365▶

◀303▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for January 1938
Ansbach, 8 February 1938
BayHStA, StK 106678

Protestant Church

In the Protestant Church, the report month was quite peaceful, at least to the external observer. The Protestant clergy tried all the more assiduously to enlighten and influence their adherents along the lines of their thinking, both orally and in writing. Their sermons are still heavily influenced by religious differences of opinion. In this sphere, the **Confessing Church** still often puts stress on what divides them, for example, their incorrect understanding of the **Jewish Question**, underscoring this to such an extent that the contrasts in the population are deepened.¹¹ [...] <2368>

◀304▶

Mayor of Amt Anröchte

Economic Situation Report
Anröchte, 25 January 1938
StA Ms, Pol. Polizei III. Reich, 348

Commerce with agricultural products, especially **cattle**, is still largely in the hands of the Jews. Among German **Volksgenossen**, a lack of proper instinctive understanding about the question and a deficient sense of race repeatedly serve to abet the activities of these vermin. Thus, for example, in the course of the past month, charges were brought against a mayor because he had engaged in commerce with a Jewish cattle dealer. <2373>

►305►
Gendarmerie Aufseß

Situation Report
Aufseß, 26 January 1938
StA Ba, K 8/9205 I

As far as the total political situation in the local service district is concerned, it must be described as peaceful. [...] The Jews are also behaving in a quiet manner.

<2374>

►306►
SD Main Office II 112
Report for February 1938
Berlin, 4 March 1938
OA Mos, 500/3/316

The reluctance to emigrate among German Jews, repeatedly mentioned in recent reports, has at times even intensified, taking on the form of a fear of emigrating. In the recent period, it has been possible to significantly limit the impact of that fear by the employment of appropriate counter-measures. For that reason, emigration figures for the first two months of this year present a quite encouraging picture. Up until the end of February, some 3,000 Jews emigrated from Germany. On the basis of the advance notifications for March, it is likely that there will be an emigration of 5,000 Jews in the first quarter of 1938. If the tendency is sustained, the emigration figures for the month of February would be similar to those in previous years for that month. During the report period, the commissioner of the "German Jewish Aid Committee,"¹² London, the Jew Dennis M. Cohnen [*sic*], was given permission to select suitable applicants for emigration to Australia within the Jewish Communities. For this purpose, about 340 indigent Jewish families with a total of some 1,300 persons were selected. They will be assisted to emigrate in the course of the year.

Even group emigration was able to show positive results. Thus, for example, a group of 74 Jewish settlers emigrated from Rexingen/Württemberg, Herb district to **Palestine** in order to lay the foundation stone for a new village there. More settlers from the same village will follow them in the very near future. There are also reports of a notable migration of Jews from the government district Breslau and Oppeln.¹³

In recent months, there was great nervousness among the Jews in Danzig,

especially since there were rumors circulating about supposedly planned new anti-Jewish measures by the government.¹⁴ Thus, for example, some predicted that Danzig would be incorporated into the Reich and then the **Nuremberg Laws** would be introduced there. After 30 January and the Führer speech of 20 February¹⁵ did not bring any change in the situation, a sense of calm is now evident among the Jews. People even believe that on the basis of the declaration of the Führer on Danzig, they can rest assured that the legal status of the Free City of Danzig will not be changed in the foreseeable future.¹⁶ [...]

Happily, during the report period, there have been initial efforts to roll back and repel the previously unbroken Jewish influence on the economic life of the German people. For example, in the Palatinate, about a third of all Jewish **cattle** dealers resident there have been stripped of their licenses. In the Saar Area, Jewish influence has also been on the decline. There are reports from Upper Silesia that the closure of Jewish inns, restaurants, and stores has already reached a certain final conclusion there. Likewise in Lower Silesia, the measures aiming at excluding Jews from the entire life of the German people are already much in evidence. In several districts, the Jews have already lost all economic importance. However, it should be borne in mind here that this is largely bound up with the migration of the Jews to the large cities in the Reich.¹⁷ [...]

Significantly, the well-known **Department Store Schocken** in Cottbus, which had a monopoly for years in the Lower Lausitz area, has been taken over by English owners.

After the decree of 2 July 1937,¹⁸ which gave a summary of the guidelines for the legal status of the Jews in the German school system, it could be noted that a substantial proportion of the wealthy Jews in Germany sent their children abroad to study. An application from the “**Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**” to the Reich Authority for Foreign Exchange Management requesting that the sum of £30,000 made available from abroad for educational purposes be authorized, led to an examination of the Jewish educational system abroad. Aside from the manner of transfer,¹⁹ which poses no particular burden for the Reich, it turned out that 75 percent of these young Jews are studying at foreign schools and universities. Bearing in mind the fact that a distorted image of German character and how Germans see life is necessarily generated by the presence of these Jews abroad, in countries unaware of the importance of race, and that to promote this type of school is tantamount to the breeding of Jewish intellectuals, there are efforts under way at the moment to bring about changes here. [...]

In Poland, a conference of all Jewish organizations in the country was held;

numerous representatives from the U.S., England, and France were also in attendance.

At the conference, the following resolutions also pertaining to Germany were adopted:

- “1) The democratic governments must be supported using all means available, so as to prevent an anti-Jewish government from taking over the helm of state.²⁰
- 2) Examination of the possibilities for emigration for 300,000 German and 1,500,000 Polish Jews. **Madagascar** was rejected as a potential country of migration due to its unhealthy climate.
- 3) Negotiations with the Soviet Union for acceding a specific area for the purpose of establishing a Jewish state.”²¹ <2381>

►307►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for February 1938
Ansbach, 9 March 1938
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews and Freemasons

1) Jews continue to migrate from the government district.²² In Feuchtwangen, the last Jewish family left the town on 1 March 1938, a locality where about 40 Jews were still living in 1933. The ritual objects of the **synagogue** there were taken possession of in order to prevent their being removed and carried off. [...]

<2383>

►308►

NSDAP Reich Direction, Main Office for Municipal Policy

Confidential Extracts from Reports
Munich, 15 April 1938
BArch, NS 25/86

Gau Office for Municipal Policy Saxony

Of the approximately 18,000 Jews resident in Saxony, some 11,000 live in Leipzig. These Jews are subject to the following restrictions: the municipal administration does not engage in any business with the Jews, nor does the procurement office. Any link with Jews which could bring them any economic advantage whatsoever is prohibited. They cannot receive loans either from the savings and loans associations or the clearing banks. As a matter of principle, tenders are never awarded to Jews. In distributing consignments, Jews are not taken into account. Before any such decisions, the opinion is always sought of the Chamber of Trades, Chamber of Commerce, and the Association for Credit Reform. In all the towns and municipalities of the district, Jews are excluded from communal contracts and from the use of public institutions and facilities. Jews are not permitted to enter the following: communal bathing facilities (steam baths, swimming pools, summer swimming facilities),²³ the pawn shop, and the municipal libraries. If they do appear on the premises, they will be brought before the court. Also worthy of mention is the fact that licenses for itinerant trade and identification cards are no longer being issued to Jews. That is because in the prevailing view, the Jews are regarded as unreliable. A decision by the Reich Economy Minister, who is responsible for these questions, is not yet available. In addition, there are the restrictions imposed by the national government: Jews cannot receive child support, marriage loans, or a reduction in radio fees. Moreover, foundation money is, as a matter of principle, never given to Jews. Members of the Israelitic **Community** cannot conduct any ritual ceremonies in municipal cemeteries. The burials themselves must be permitted. Likewise, Jews still have to be supported by public welfare. But they are treated by these authorities with great reserve. Within the whole district, excluding the city of Leipzig, only one single Jew was given assistance by social welfare authorities in the year 1937. This person is being given a level of support far less than that accorded German **Volksgenossen**. Jewish newcomers are housed only in the shelter for the homeless should they have no living quarters. Jews moving from Leipzig are given emigrant assistance. Plots of land are not leased to Jews. In real estate transactions with Jews, a confidential notice is always sent to the **Gestapo** and the commissioner of the regional tax office. [...] As a matter of

basic principle, Jewish children are excluded from the benefit of children's meals. No Jews can be employed any longer at any clinic, full-time or part-time.²⁴ Of the about 11,000 Jews still living in Leipzig currently, 44 are still tenants in apartments owned by the city. There are constant attempts to cancel the existing leases with the Jews. In addition, at the present time a survey is being conducted to locate and register Jews who have offices in municipal buildings. It is also worth noting that at the present time, 120 illegitimate children whose fathers are Jews are being cared for by the city (Youth Authority). After the Party took over power, half of these fathers moved abroad in order to avoid paying maintenance support. In the area of the schools, beginning after Easter 1938, all Jewish children in the elementary schools will be placed in two multi-grade classrooms.²⁵ When those obliged to learn a trade are given training courses, it is also planned to combine classes in one building.²⁶ <2385>

◀309▶

Gendarmerie Garmisch-Partenkirchen

Monthly Work Report
Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 2 March 1938
StA Mü, LRA 61 616

[Jews and Freemasons]

In an effort to help solve the **Jewish Question**, the district head office of the NSDAP was very active during the present month. The high point of activity was a rally in the ballroom in Garmisch on the topic “Tourist Season without Jews.” This manifestation was extremely well attended, and expressed the general consensus that in the district Garmisch/Partenkirchen, Jews are likewise seen as undesirable. There was a very extensive positive response to the call to affix anti-Jewish **signs** to hotels, restaurants, boardinghouses, stores, etc.²⁷ Some business persons, hotels, and the like have still not responded by action to the call.

It is reported from Grainau that the Jews consider these defensive signs to be ridiculous, and that they will not let themselves be deterred by them from entering the shops.

Some business persons are of the opinion that if Jews are already banned from entering German shops, they should likewise not be allowed to travel by means of the German Reichsbahn Railway.

In Ettal, previously a popular destination for Jews, they have stayed away this winter.²⁸ <2391>

Gendarmerie Geiselbach

Monthly Report
Geiselbach, 25 February 1938
StA Wü, LRA Alzenau 340

General Political Situation

[...] The **cattle trade** conducted by Jews is declining more and more, and Jews are becoming ever rarer in the other commercial branches as well. <2392>

►311►

SD Main Office II 112
Report for January, February, and March 1938
Berlin, n.d.
Wildt, pp. 180–185

The situation of Jewry in the past months of the new year is best reflected in the declaration to the government published by the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany on 13 January 1938. There the government is requested to act to halt the reduction in the possibilities for gainful employment for the Jews in Germany.²⁹ It is evident from this that recent measures by the government against the Jews in the area of the economy were very successful from the standpoint of the Reich. On the other hand, however, this has had a powerful impact in restricting the possibilities for emigration for the Jews from Germany.
[...]

Of most drastic importance was probably the “Law on the Legal Situation of the Jewish Communities” of 28 March 1938,³⁰ as a result of which the Jewish **Communities** throughout the entire territory of the Reich, including their associations, lost their “status as statutory bodies” effective from 1 April 1938, “insofar as they previously possessed such a status.” They then became “legal associations in civil law” and thus are required to renew their registration in the registry of associations.

Consequently, they forfeit the tax benefits accorded statutory bodies, and it is not surprising that for this reason, the communities already operating with foreign capital view the law as a major new restriction on their importance in Germany.

With this new legislation, all earlier special laws pertaining to the Jews in the states of the old territory of the Reich³¹ have simultaneously been abrogated.³² The right to issuance of the law for the state of Austria is reserved according to 5

Sec. 3.

The Law on Changing Family Names and First Names of 5 January 1938³³ will in future prevent Jews from casting aside their Jewish names. And it also prevents persons who are pure-blooded Germans from being given Jewish names. The law stipulates that in future, requests by Jews and **Mischlinge** to change their names will, as a matter of principle, no longer be granted.³⁴

Restrictions in the means of livelihood for Jews were introduced especially through the new version of the Income Tax Law of 6 February 1938.³⁵ It stipulates that Jews “who bear an unusual burden as a result of dependent children or other relatives who are Jews” can no longer be accorded tax reductions. Likewise, Jews were also excluded from the enjoyment of reductions in the amount of required school fees. [...]

Finally, the decision by the Association of Sickness Fund Physicians in Germany and the Association of the Free Sick Funds for Employees, effective from 1 January 1938, to exclude all Jewish **physicians** from the health insurance societies, has constituted a substantial blow against the Jewish doctors, who are still heavily represented. Through this measure alone, 991 Jewish doctors in Berlin were affected.

In addition, it has proved possible to reduce the number of Jews engaged in **cattle trade**, formerly completely contaminated by them, to about 1,500 persons. According to Jewish sources, there are no longer any active Jewish cattle dealers in the districts of Electoral Hesse, Saxony, Thuringia, and Weser-Ems, while in the districts, Mecklenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, and Schleswig-Holstein, there are reportedly only 17 persons still working.

Austria

As a result of the incorporation of the state of Austria into the territory of the Reich, some 200,000 Jews by religion were also brought into the Reich. But this figure will likely increase significantly when the Jews by race who have converted to Christianity are also included.³⁶

In connection with the measures against Jews and Jewish organizations after the transfer of power, all **assimilationist** associations, confederations, and so forth were dissolved. This included the Union of Austrian Jews, the Israelitic Alliance, the League of Jewish Combat Veterans of Austria, the Association of Jewish State Zionists of Austria, the Reich Association of Jewish Legitimists of Austria, the Independent Order of the **B'nai B'rith**, with its ancillary organizations and subsidiary groupings, and others. All Jewish associations, alliances, and organizations were prohibited from engaging in any activity for an

indefinite period. [...]

As in the case of the violent excesses against the Jews in Danzig, the Executive of the **Jewish World Congress** in Geneva issued a call to the world immediately after the entry of the German troops into Austria. In it, the Executive referred to the existing treaties, and reminded Geneva of its obligations in respect to minorities³⁷ and Austrian independence. It called for intervention by the international community, especially the League of Nations. In its petition to the League, it asks for clarification about the application of the clause on urgency. In addition, it points to articles 62–69 of the St. Germain Treaty. These stipulate that “every Austrian is equal before the law, and each enjoys the same civil and political rights, regardless of race, language or religion.”

The foreign Jewish papers expressed their disappointment about the actions in Austria against the Jews by publishing **atrocity propaganda** and distorted news. Some English and French papers and radio stations joined in this kind of reportage. There has as yet been no final decision about the future organizational structure of Jewry in Austria.

Danzig

The incorporation of Austria into the Reich also had a very powerful impact on the mood of the Jews in Danzig. A gradual period of calming set in after 30 January and the Führer’s speech on 20 February,³⁸ following a spate of rumors about planned anti-Jewish measures by the Danzig Senate. But the measures of 11 March³⁹ sparked renewed fears among the Jews that Danzig would soon be incorporated into the Reich as well. Just as in the area of the Reich, **assimilation** did not show any particular strength vis-à-vis **Zionism** during the period here under report. Among the Zionist organizations, the New Zionists⁴⁰ were especially active through intensified propaganda, which was supported by a certain military training of the youth. This is being carried out by Jews trained in the Polish army.

Although Jewry in Danzig, under the pressure of the National Socialist government, leads a ghetto existence in political and cultural terms, its economic influence is still very strong. Even if it is gradually withdrawing from retail trade, it is consolidating its position in wholesale trade by representing foreign firms. [...]

The Jewish **Kulturbund** of Danzig is very active and attempting, together with the Yiddish theater, to offer Jews a substitute for participating in German cultural life. <2394>

•312►

State Public Prosecutor Karlsruhe
Report for February and March 1938
Karlsruhe, 7 April 1938
GLA Ka, 309/1204

General Crime

[...] The number of court cases of **race defilement** have continued to further decline. A vivid example of Jewish insolence is the following: a Jew [name *a* withheld] (2KLs 8/36) sentenced by the Grand Criminal Chamber in Mannheim on 21 July 1936 to ten months in prison convicted of race defilement sent the State Public Prosecutor's Office Mannheim a marriage notice in February 1938. It stated that he had entered the state of matrimony with the pure-blooded German woman [name *b* withheld] from Mannheim in February 1938 in London. He had been sentenced to ten months imprisonment by the Court on 21 July 1936 precisely for the crime of race defilement with this same woman [name *b* withheld], and had served his time in jail. The woman [name *b* withheld] traveled abroad on 6 February 1938, using her passport issued in 1935, claiming she had to go urgently to Switzerland. Criminal proceedings have been initiated against her according to 1 and 5 of the **Law on the Protection of Blood**, for the implementation of which the Jew [name *a* withheld] will probably not offer any opportunity (2a Js 189/38). <2396>

◀313▶

District Governor Lower Franconia and Aschaffenburg
Report for March 1938
Würzburg, 9 April 1938
BayHStA, StK 106681

General Political Situation

[...] The violent incidents against Jews which occurred in a number of localities on the occasion of the incorporation of Austria are regrettable.⁴¹ In Adelsberg, Burgsinn Gemünden, Mittelsinn (district Gemünden), the display windows of Jews and windows in private homes and **synagogues** were smashed. In Kleinlangheim (district Nißingen), a Jew was badly hurt by a stone thrown at him, and two of his teeth were knocked out. In Lohr, the smashing of the windows in a Jewish store resulted in damage amounting to 537.70 RM. Just how senseless such violence becomes evident from the fact that such damage

does not hurt the Jews, but rather the German insurance firms, since Jews as a rule are insured against such losses.

<2399>

◀314▶

Hitler Youth Baden

Report
Karlsruhe, 22 March 1938
GLA Ka, 465 d Nr. 115

Excerpt from answers in the Tobacco Factory Workers' Test in Mannheim and Schwetzingen on 5 March 1938. [...]

Despite the *Stürmer* display cases, there was a total lack of knowledge in Schwetzingen about the fact that the Jews are an alien *race*. <2401>

◀315▶

Gendarmerie District Ebermannstadt

Situation Report
Ebermannstadt, 29 March 1938
StA Ba, K 8/9205 I

Jews, Freemasons

The **synagogue** in Hagenbach, which has not been used now for years, is to be put up for sale. There are plans to remodel it into a residential home for the **Hitler Youth.** <2404>

•316•
Gestapa II A 2
Report for April 1938
Berlin, 4 May 1938
BArch, R 58/984

SPD

[...] In the town *Kirchhain*, a group of listeners to foreign radio broadcasts formed at the place of a Jew. Their get-togethers were disguised as recreational evenings for playing skat and other games, and they used the room in the store of the Jew for this purpose. He was even clever enough to have convinced four members of the **Hitler Youth** to participate in listening to the broadcasts and in the discussions. <2409>

•317•

District Governor Upper Bavaria
Report for April 1938
Munich, 9 May 1938
BayHStA, StK 106671

Internal Political Situation

[...]

Jews and Freemasons

[...] The ordinance on the reporting of Jewish assets⁴² and ensuring that they are used for the well-being of the German people has been greeted with a sense of great gratification. <2413>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for April 1938
Speyer, 10 May 1938
BayHStA, StK 106676

Internal Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

[...] In a meeting of the Synagogue Council of the Jewish **Community** in Ludwigshafen on Rhine on 13 April, the Law on the Legal Situation of the Jewish Communities of 28 March 1938 was made public (RGBl. I A. 338).⁴³ The chairman of the meeting noted that the Patria Insurance Co. had informed the Jewish Community Ludwigshafen on Rhine that it could no longer accept any insurance protection for the **synagogue**, effective immediately. [...]

The strong rejection of Jewry, which is now penetrating ever more into all circles of the population, has recently been in evidence as a result of the actions of certain individuals.⁴⁴ In the night of 1/2 April, unknown perpetrators placed an explosive device at about 1 a.m. at the gate of the dwelling of the Jew Richard Mayer in Böchingen (district Landau in der Pfalz) and then exploded it. The explosion shattered 15 windows in the home of Meyer and 5 windows in neighboring houses. The gate to the courtyard was torn from its hinges and damaged, pieces of wood were scattered to a distance of 20 meters. This act is regarded as a public nuisance by the **Gestapo** in Neustadt an der Weinstraße. [...] <2415>

◀319▶

NSDAP District Bremen District Propaganda Office

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Bremen, 6 May 1938
StA Br, 3-N.7. No 162

It is reported as follows:

As a guest in the Bremen Ratskeller inn, I met the manager Volksgenosse Seidel and often had conversations with him. And on one occasion, among other things, I asked Volksgenosse Seidel if it would not be in the realm of the possible for the Ratskeller, as a municipal enterprise, to begin mounting a sign at the entrance with the words "*Jews not wanted.*" In response, Volksgenosse Seidel, in his capacity as manager, then proceeded to lecture me on the impracticality of my suggestion. He stated that Bremen, with its many international guests, could never allow itself to do such a thing. Moreover, he went on, we all still don't know in what way we may have need of the Jews once again at some time in the future. Commentary is superfluous.—The manager of a municipal enterprise makes such statements in the fifth year after the takeover of power. For your further special understanding: Volksgenosse Seidel is Catholic and greets his guests by raising his right arm, and then telling them the time of day. <2420>

•320•

Gendarmerie Hösbach
Events in Goldbach, Special Operations Against Jews
Hösbach, 19 April 1938
StA Wü, LRA Aschaffenburg 2259

In the night of 11/12 April 1938, the spouse of the Jewish **cattle** dealer Heinrich Schönfeld from Goldbach telephoned the local station and informed us that she was being molested by a large group of persons. All the windows and shutters of her dwelling had been smashed. Out in front of her residence, she said, there was a terrible commotion, and people were threatening them.⁴⁵

According to investigation, in the night of 11/12 April 1938, around midnight, the front stairway was torn away from the dwelling of the Jewish merchant Jakob Brandstätter in Goldbach and the Jewish merchant Bernhard Löwenthal from Goldbach. The front stairs from Brandstätter's home were torn down and the stone steps were then piled up before Brandstätter's new property, in front of the front door and rear door, so that the occupants were unable to exit the premises.

In the case of Löwenstein [*sic*], the stairway stone steps were torn out. Two such stones 1 meter in length were thrown through a kitchen window into the kitchen. In addition, two kitchen windows, the kitchen door (rear entrance), and the window shutters and one window in the living room were smashed at the home of Löwenthal. The other stones from the stairway were used to block the rear exit. In the case of Löwenthal, this incident occurred between 1:45 and shortly before 2 a.m.

At the property of the Jewish cattle dealer and disabled combat veteran Bernhard Oppenheimer in Goldbach, shortly after 2 a.m., two shutters and three window panes were smashed.

Subsequent to this, seven windows and shutters of the ground floor apartment of the Jewish cattle dealer Heinrich Schönfeld from Goldbach were smashed. As traces left behind indicate, hammers or axes were used in the act. Damage to Schönfeld's property is in the likely range of 70–100 RM.

All the Jewish victims have reserved the right to file a complaint for willful damage to property. When asked, all the Jews declared they did not know the culprits, or did not wish to name them.

Schönfeld stated that in the night of 11/12 April 1938, there had been a terrible commotion that erupted in front of his property shortly after 2 a.m. A large number of persons were howling and shouting, and with a horrible crashing and banging, all the windows and shutters, which had been closed, were smashed in. Those involved had really gone wild, he said, and had shouted again and again: "The Jew must die, the Jew must come out!" Those involved had been so unruly and had made such a commotion that they had awoken the entire neighborhood, and the neighbors had taken offense at their actions. In the excitement, he stated, he had collapsed and fainted, and was unconscious for a time. Schönfeld said that Löwenthal, Oppenheimer, and Brandstätter had been similarly treated before him. He did not know the culprits. He stated that he reserved the right to file charges. He named Josef Brönnner, Fuchs, and Mrs. Windischmann as witnesses to this incident.

The witnesses Josef Brönnner, pig dealer from Goldbach, married, resident at Aschaffenburgerstr. 53, Mrs. Helene Windischmann, Goldbach, Sachsenhausen 2, and Johann Fuchs, Sachsenhausen 14, were not interviewed as witnesses. If interrogation is deemed necessary, they will be interrogated by the court. That is because, as previous experience has shown, witnesses are reluctant to speak openly to the gendarmerie, and can only be brought to give truthful testimony by means of a judge's interrogation.

Further investigations have not identified the perpetrators. Inquiries will be

continued and if successful, supplementary charges will be filed later. <2427>

•321•

NSDAP District Direction Königshofen-Hofheim

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Königshofen, 2 May 1938
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken No 431

Jewry

In Königshofen during the month here reported on, the last Jewish-owned stores were transferred to **Aryan** ownership.⁴⁶ <2428>

•322•

Mayor of Neuweiler
Jewish Cattle Dealers at Cattle Markets
Neuweiler, 22 April 1938
StA Sig, Wü 65/7 Bd. 2 Akz. Nr. 774

The questions raised in the decree of the county commissioner of the 19th of this month⁴⁷ regarding the exclusion of Jewish cattle dealers from cattle markets in this locality are answered as follows:

Up until today, there has been no exclusion of Jewish cattle dealers from the local cattle market.

The last cattle market in the autumn of 1937 showed that in any event, Jews were no longer present at the local cattle market. [...]

But the presence of Jewish cattle dealers at the rural cattle markets is not at all necessary. Indeed, there is justified concern that public tranquility and security may be disturbed by the presence of Jews, since the effect of Jewish cattle dealers on the majority of the farmers at the market is like a red rag to a bull. Based on these considerations, a prohibition banning Jews from the market could indeed be justifiably enacted. <2430>

Mayor of Unterreichenbach
Jewish Cattle Dealers at Cattle Markets
Unterreichenbach, 21 April 1938
StA Sig, Wü 65/7 Bd. 2 Akz. Nr. 774

Regarding the decree by the county commissioner of 19 April 1938,⁴⁸¹ can report the following:

Jewish cattle dealers are no longer permitted at the local cattle markets.

[...] This position is in keeping with the view that has been adopted by the broadest circles of the population: namely that dealing commercially with Jews is intolerable and immoral to the German mind. This action does not conflict with any prohibition and should not be the object of any formal complaint.
<2432>

◀324▶

SD Main Office II 112
Report for April and May 1938
Berlin, n.d.
Wildt, pp. 186–190

In the area of the Jewish Question, the situation is shaped by the economic ordinances on establishing the amount of Jewish assets and ordinances against support for the camouflaging of Jewish business enterprises.⁴⁹ In the realm of politics, it is determined by the Law on the Legal Status of the Jewish Communities,⁵⁰ already discussed in the last situation report.⁵¹

As a result of these drastic measures, the last hope among Jews in Germany for remaining in the Reich has disappeared, so that the desire to emigrate has been significantly strengthened. It should not be forgotten in this connection ***that the possibilities for emigration have declined in the same proportion as the pressure to emigrate has risen.*** The mounting exclusion of the Jews from German economic life, which has intensified quite substantially under the pressure of the situation alluded to, is leading at the same time to a decline in the Jewish **Communities**, relief, and political organizations. These are the bodies which contribute the greater part of funding for emigration for low-income and indigent Jews.

The events organized by the Jewish organizations, where a general decline was in evidence,⁵² were also cognizant of this situation; all were dedicated to the

topic of emigration. Thus, the Jewish Community Berlin organized a communal evening on 23 May 1938 in the **Synagogue** Prinzregentenstraße under the motto “Liquidation and Construction,” at which the head of the Community Heinrich **Stahl** and the Board member Josef Schneidler⁵³ spoke. In an overview of the financial situation of the Jewish Communities, it was pointed out that a large proportion of the 1,400 Jewish Communities⁵⁴ previously in existence in Germany are hardly in a position to meet their social and financial obligations. And many small and medium-sized Communities are in the process of dissolution or already have been disbanded. “*Most Jews today no longer have a productive income at their disposal*: they either eke out an existence, scraping through on a small savings, or they are dependent on relief aid.”⁵⁵

Despite this recognition, which is exclusively an effect of the economic measures against the Jews, both lectures called for increased concentration on emigration so that the number of Jews emigrating in 1938 might exceed the figure for the previous years.

The head of the Board of the **Relief Organization of German Jews, Max M. Warburg**, spoke along similar lines at an event in Stuttgart on 25 May 1938. He predicted that the main wave of emigration of the Jews still able to emigrate would occur in the coming three years. He called on Jews not only to make contributions, but also that a portion of their assets should be transferred to the Relief Organization in order to further these possibilities. Among new countries of immigration for the Jews, he mentioned the Philippines and British Guyana. Kenya was likely another possibility.

This makes it clear that the will to emigrate, even among Jews who earlier had very deep roots in Germany, was never greater than it is today. Consequently, given sufficient foreign currency, a substantial emigration can be achieved, despite the growing difficulties in the major countries of immigration. Unfortunately, however, specifically in the recent period, the *possibilities for transferring small amounts of Jewish capital, even for furnishing the required amount of cash for indigent Jews to present to customs officials, has continuously declined in the period of this report*. As a result, the most important task now is to create possibilities to better deal with the practical economic consequences of the pressure for emigration. After all, to rely heavily on the financial aid coming from abroad for the Jews harbors a major danger: that emigration will become dependent on the good will of the international relief organizations. Thus, just to support the budget of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**, the **Council for German Jewry**, London promised the sum of £10,000. In addition, foreign currency is to be made available to

strengthen the settlement of Jewish youth in Palestine⁵⁶ in cooperation with the **Jewish Agency**.

While the three above-mentioned ordinances are serving to engender a greater anti-Jewish attitude among the population, there is talk from almost all Upper Divisions, now as before, about *indirect support for the Jews on the part of strict Catholics and Protestants*,⁵⁷ and among farmers.

As in previous months, the tendency of the Jews to migrate to the large urban areas is continuing,⁵⁸ leading to the dissolution of small and medium-sized Communities as a consequence. [...]

The economic measures against the Jews have led to **individual actions** in almost all parts of the Reich. Most of these succeeded in rendering the Jews more reserved and cautious in their behavior. [...] <2434>

►325►

SD District Office Hanau II 112

Action Against Jews
Hanau, 15 May 1938
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 100012

In the course of the night of 13 May (Friday) to 14 May (Saturday), all entrances to the local synagogue [*sic*] were walled up in a quite artful manner,⁵⁹ so that the Jews were unable to enter their synagogue for the Sabbath celebration, and the festivities were shifted to the Jewish communal school. At the present time, the synagogue is still closed, since they have not as yet found a mason to open it up. In addition, an inscription was left there: "FOR SALE." The bricks for bricking in the entrances were taken from nearby construction sites, but the construction firms affected have not filed a formal complaint regarding missing materials.

Last Saturday, an operation against Jewish shops was initiated by the Party; this was similar to actions carried out recently in other towns. By posting sentinels, people were warned not to enter the Jewish shops, and those persons who entered despite this warning were photographed upon leaving. These individuals were then held up to public ridicule by signs stating: "I bought from the kike," "Whoever shops at a Jewish store is a traitor to the people," or "I'm a **Jews' lackey.**"⁶⁰ Several persons were forced to carry such signs, accompanied by **Hitler Youth** members, and led through the city. This operation was enthusiastically received by the population, and the hope is that the remainder of the Jewish firms will soon disappear. The operation was carried out with a high degree of discipline, and there were no excesses of any kind. It was necessary to note that the customers in Jewish shops are primarily from the rural population, and secondarily from the so-called better families of the town. The operations are to be repeated on Corpus Christi, and on the Saturdays before Pentecost.
<2435>

◀326▶
SD District Office Hanau II 112

Action Against the Jews

Hanau, 23 May 1938

HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 10011

The action against the Jews was continued on Saturday, beginning in the early morning. All the Jewish shops were pasted over with posters reading "Kike Shop" and with a **Star of David**.

On this day it proved possible to keep customers away from almost all the Jewish shops. There were only a few exceptions where customers came to the shops.⁶¹ Among other places, at the firm of Sponsel, a woman was spotted doing her shopping despite the warning, and was photographed. She is the wife of an old Communist Party informer who spent a long time in a [concentration] camp. The woman declared that she always shopped at the store and would continue to do so, and this triggered a protest action among the persons present. In no time, a large crowd formed around the woman, and she had to be brought to her apartment under the protection of several civilians. Unavoidable was an incident where several individuals threw rotten eggs at her.⁶²

Otherwise the action went off without offense and as far as is known, it will be continued. As has also been learned, two Jewish stores have already begun sale negotiations which are to be brought to a conclusion as speedily as possible.⁶³

In the meantime, the **synagogue** that had been walled up was reopened. To the annoyance of the public, the firm of Schmidt and Jüngling was active in this. This firm receives contracts from the government, and a contract with the firm has reportedly been cancelled. A report on the further course of the action will follow.

<2436>

►327►

SD District Office Hanau II 112

Action against the Jews
Hanau, 27 May 1938
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 10013

Supplementary to the reports on the walling up of the **synagogue**⁶⁴ is the following:

In connection with the above, the Jew Josef Strauß, Hanau. M., resident on Schloßstr., was taken into custody. He, the **Community** elder, supposedly was instrumental in having the masonry removed. According to statements by the artisan, he told him under false pretenses to go ahead with the work, stating that the police had ordered the syngogue [sic] opened. A boycott has also been placed on the company, and it has been stripped of government contracts. On the basis of a complaint from the company and the police, charges were filed, and the Jew was brought before the local court in an accelerated fast track trial. Unfortunately, the proceedings ended with the acquittal of the Jew, who was however taken into **protective custody** for his own protection, since there is a danger that in the event of his release, he could be attacked by the population.⁶⁵ There is a sense of great outrage here over this Jew, and this measure had to be taken in order to prevent violent excesses. Enclosed is a special report from the **Stapostelle** Hanau.⁶⁶

It has also been announced that the local glaziers here have refused to put new glass in the synagogue windows. After these events, probably hardly a craftsman could be found who would undertake a job for the Jews. <2437>

District Governor Main Franconia
Report for May 1938
Würzburg, 7 June 1938
BayHStA, StK 106681

General Political Situation

[...] There is a report about two unacceptable **individual actions against Jews** from the district of Alzenau. Crowds formed and there were violent excesses which were only possible to halt by taking the Jews temporarily into **protective custody** for their own security. [...]

Other Matters

The **Aryanization** of Jewish firms and Jewish property has been intensified under pressure of the ordinance of 26 April 1938⁶⁷ on declaring Jewish assets and the related order of the same day. There are already a substantial number of applications on file for a permit to sell land and factories. <2441>

►329►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for May 1938
Ansbach, 8 June 1938
BayHStA, StK 106678

Internal Political Situation

[...]

Jews

1) In the month of May 1938, the Jews did not hold any special events or meetings. On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Jewish association "**Hechalutz**," there was a meeting in November attended by some 200 persons. Dr. **Josephthal** from Berlin gave a lecture on the "Tasks and Aims of Hechalutz." He emphasized that all Jews should support this association, so that a large number of young Jews could be trained and sent to **Palestine**.⁶⁸ [...] <2443>

•330►

NSDAP District Direction Königshofen-Hofheim

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Königshofen, 30 May 1938
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 431

Jewry

In the past, Königshofen was totally infested with Jews. In the year 1935, the Jews here were still behaving like lords. On what is today Adolf Hitler Square, there was almost no house that did not belong to a Jew, or at least have Jewish residents. Today the Jews have not only disappeared completely from public life, but Adolf Hitler Square is also “judenfrei,” and the former Jewish houses and stores all over Königshofen are now without exception in **Aryan** hands.⁶⁹ A number of the facades of the houses themselves have a completely new face, or will by the time that the county assembly convenes. Most of the Jews have emigrated and moved away.⁷⁰

<2452>

•331►
SD Main Office II 112

Brief Report
Berlin, 20 June 1938
BArch, R 58/992

Marking Jewish Shops

The **marking** of Jewish shops by painting the word “Jew” on the display windows or a **Star of David**, or marking the section of sidewalk in front of the shop, was extended between Saturday and Monday to the entire area of the city. Except for large crowds of people, as far as is known, there have not been any violent clashes. <2457>

►332►

SD Main Office II 112

Report
Berlin, 1 July 1938
BArch, R 58/996

Refugee Conference in Evian

The international conference called upon Roosevelt's initiative to discuss constructive plans for the housing of Jews from Greater Germany will convene in **Evian** (France) on 6 July 1938. The official representatives of 29 countries are participating in the conference, which, due to the fact that the League of Nations is not involved, could lead to comprehensive resolutions.

The negotiations will not be on the basis of the expansion of the various quotas for emigration. Rather, its aim is to encourage the immigration countries to adopt a more liberal approach to dealing with immigration regulations, in order in this way to facilitate full utilization of the quotas. [...]

Jews'Action in Berlin

Beginning on 10 June 1938, a Jews' action was carried out in Berlin, initially only in a few sections of the city. All formations of the Party participated, as instructed by the Gau Leadership. The operation reached its high point on 20/21 June 1938, when all the Jewish shops in Berlin and the signs of the Jewish **lawyers** and **physicians** were painted over with the word "Jew" and the **Star of David**. In the course of the action, there was some destruction and plundering of Jewish shops, as well as physical assaults. The action ended on the afternoon of 21 June 1938. It was carried out with authorization by the local Berlin police authorities. For the future in such cases, the decision about individual measures⁷¹ remains the personal⁷² prerogative of the head of the Security Police. <2458>

SD District Office Kochem
Report for April, May, **and** June 1938
Kochem, 26 June 1938
Brommer, Vol. 1, p. 95 f.

Department II 112: Jewry

On points A and B including IV,⁷³ there is nothing to report in the local area.
[...]

Other Matters

Activities Concerning Other Adversary Groups (Anti-Semitism)

The new measures against all of Jewry announced by the government for the future are already sparking interest, even if there is as yet no clear picture about the way they will be implemented concretely.

In many instances, the total **boycott** of the Jews has achieved laudable success. Thus, Jews who intended to emigrate were forced to repeatedly postpone the sale of their property,⁷⁴ since at the scheduled auctions, there were no offers forthcoming. This delaying tactic meant that in almost all cases, the objects for sale fell far below their market price. In conclusion, it can be stated that the **Jewish Question** is no longer an acute problem here in the district. In cases where individuals still have a viable means of survival, it is only a matter of time until that disappears.

<2460>

•334•
Gestapo II A 2
Plans for Assassination in Jewish Circles⁷⁵
Berlin, 27 June 1938
BArch, 1701/246 (Film 185)

1. Assassination Plans in Jewish Circles

The resurgent boycott measures against Jewry have given rise to a powerful stir within Jewish circles in Berlin. The Jews have generally understood that the previous lull⁷⁶ in the **Jewish Question** did not reflect a shift in thinking within

the German people. Rather, in the view of leading Jewish circles, it represented nothing but a posture of restraint dictated by the NSDAP. From the onset of the operation, there has been discussion in Jewish circles about the implementation and suitability of assassination attempts on the lives of leading political personalities. Speaking in similarly minded circles, the chairman of the "National Association of German Jews,"⁷⁷ Dr. Bruno ***Glaserfeld***, Berlin W 30, resident at Martin Luther Str. 11, has rejected the illegal work carried out up to now, since it excludes any possibility for overthrow of the regime. Instead, he is propagating the idea that sudden bomb attacks at gatherings of National Socialist leaders, such as sessions of the Reichstag, **Gau** conventions, the Reich Party convention, etc., would constitute an impressive response by world Jewry to the agitation against the Jews. Independent of the position voiced by *Glaserfeld*, the Jewish representative Günther *Salter*, resident in Berlin W 30, Freisingerstr. 14, likewise stressed that such assassination attempts were the only effective political means of struggle against the Third Reich. Thus, he recommended observation of the frequently used routes as the primary initial task: for example, the route taken by the Führer to the airport, the birthday of the Führer, large gatherings before the Reich Chancellery. After detailed observation, *Salter* also recommends renting an apartment or room to be used as a locus for further organizing of activity. In his eyes, the return of the Führer from Italy afforded an especially favorable opportunity, as he was driven through totally darkened streets, specially illuminated by searchlights, to the Reich Chancellery. *Salter* stated that such an opportunity should not be allowed to slip by again unutilized, especially since, thanks to the total darkness, the assailant would even have been provided with possibilities for escape.

Glaserfeld and *Salter* are unanimous in declaring that these ideas are not mere idle flights of fancy. Rather, these plans derive from the desperate situation of the European Jews. It is believed that the declining dominance of European Jewry can only be brought to a halt by these means.

2. German Freedom Party

The appointment of Freiherr v. Fritsch to lead a German regiment is viewed in circles of the illegal Freedom Party as the revocation of an earlier demotion. They attribute this to a strengthening of the illegal Freedom Party, which is advised by high-ranking military figures and economists. It is believed the Party and its influence reach far into the moderate wing of the NSDAP. According to a rumor circulating in circles of the Freedom Party, several high-ranking officers have presented the Führer with three demands:

- 1) Revocation of legislation on the Jews
- 2) Elimination of the **concentration camps**
- 3) Substantial restrictions on the powers of the **Gestapo**.

A further demand is that the economy minister Funk be replaced by an individual named Brinkmann (?) [sic].

In pursuing these goals, it is believed that the illegal freedom movement is working in close cooperation with the English government, from which it is also obtaining substantial financial support.

3. Illegal Efforts by the Social Democratic Party

[...] <2461>

«335»

Stapoleitstelle Frankfurt/M.

Daily Report
n.p., 18 June 1938
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 10009

During the night in Gelnhausen, several stones were piled up, blocking entry to the synagogue and to a Jewish shop.⁷⁸ No formal complaint has been filed. The stones blocking entry to the synagogue were removed by several Jewish members of the **community**. In addition, children and teenagers smashed a number of windows in the synagogue.

The identity of the perpetrators has not yet been established. Police inquiries are continuing. <2462>

►336►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for June 1938
Ansbach, 7 July 1938
BayHStA, StK 106678

Internal Political Situation

[...]

Jews

1) Jews continue to move away. In the report month, 47 left the government district.⁷⁹ Just from the town of Hof alone, seven Jews have left. According to the report of the Hof Police HQ, it is evident that Munich has recently become the preferred destination for residence. In Schopfloch, district Dinkelsbühl, the head of the Jewish **Community**, Herz, informed Mayor Hähnlein that all Jews would leave Schopfloch on 4 July 1938, with the exception of two old women, who would be placed in a home for the elderly. Mayor Hähnlein had advised the Jews that for reasons of security, the Community should leave as soon as possible.

2) In Gunzenhausen, a textile goods shop was transferred to Aryan ownership. In Burgkunstadt, district Lichtenfels, a shop for sausage casings was taken over by Aryan owners.⁸⁰ In Altenmuhr, district Gunzenhausen, two Jews sold their houses.

3) On 15 June 1938, the Israelitic Community in Nuremberg convened an

extraordinary meeting of the members of its general administration. It was announced at this meeting that in the framework of implementation of the Law on the Redesign of German Cities, the Main Synagogue⁸¹ in Nuremberg would have to be torn down. This announcement came as devastating news for the Jews present. But it was generally clear to them that objections to this measure would be fruitless.⁸²

4) On 19 June 1938, a meeting of the “Free Conference of the Rabbis in Bavaria” took place in Nuremberg, attended by 14 **Rabbis**.⁸³ At the center of deliberations was the necessary restructuring, in connection with the law of 28 March 1938,⁸⁴ of the Israelitic Communities, transforming them into registered associations. In particular, the rabbis voiced their concerns about their legal situation and remuneration. They intend to propose to the Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities⁸⁵ in Munich that life insurance be arranged so as to guarantee salaries for the rabbis, since there are fears that as the number of Community members declines, the basis for paying the salary of the rabbi is no longer guaranteed. In addition, a model set of bylaws for Jewish Communities that is to be generally implemented was also discussed. It was announced that in Munich⁸⁶ and in Nuremberg, one synagogue in each city will have to be torn down. In order to allow the **Liberal Jews**, who have used these synagogues up to now, some possibility to continue with religious services, it was suggested that the existing synagogues of the **Orthodox** direction would have to be shared. Then, a portion of these synagogues would be available to the Liberals for their use, and the remainder would be available to the Orthodox. This proposal met with general approval. In conclusion, other religious matters were discussed, such as the burial of **half-Jews**, organizing courses, etc.

5) On 26 June 1938, the Jewish Youth League “**Habonim**” held a lecture for its members in Nuremberg, meant as an introductory course. The lecture was given by Dr. Ludwig **Feuchtwanger**, Munich. His remarks on the topic of “Jewish History” were religious in focus and gave no reason for complaint. 25 persons took part in the event.⁸⁷

6) In the course of crime prevention, the district office Dinkelsbühl arrested three Jews with substantial previous criminal records. Two were incarcerated in the **concentration camp** Dachau.⁸⁸

7) The former director of the Jewish **department store Tietz** in Bamberg, Siegfried Simon, resident in Berlin, was remanded into custody on suspicion of large-scale illegal dealings in foreign currency.

8) [Name withheld] from Nuremberg was sentenced to three years’ imprisonment for the crime of **race defilement** with a Jewish woman. <2464>

Gendarmerie Freudenberg

Situation Report
Freudenberg, 23 June 1938
StA Am, BA Amberg 1037

Jews, Freemasons, Beggars, and the Jobless

There are no Jews or **Freemasons** here. <2469>

◀338▶

Gendarmerie Oberammergau

Political Work Report
Oberammergau, 29 June 1938
StA Mü, LRA 61616

Jews, Freemasons

No Jew has yet been seen this year among the alien persons here. <2470>

◀339▶

Gendarmerie Thannhausen

Situation Report
Thannhausen, 29 June 1938
StA Abg, BA Krumbach Abg. 1986/360

Jews and Freemasons

There are none here. Jewish cattle dealers are no longer coming to the district.

<2472>

•340•

SD Main Office II 112

Report: The Organizations of the Jews, Their Connections, and Political Importance

Berlin, n.d.⁸⁹

BArch, R 58/956

I. Old Territory of the Reich⁹⁰

A. The Jewish Organizations in Germany

1. General and Historical Matters
2. Jewish Political Groups
 - a. Assimilationists
 - b. Orthodox
 - c. Zionists

3. Associations of Jewish **Communities**

4. The Reich Associations

II. Austria

III. The Relations of the Organizations to World Jewry

B. Structure and Political Importance of Jewry in Countries in Europe and Elsewhere

- I. America

- II. England

- III. France

- IV. The Organizations of World Jewry

- V. Organizations for the Building of Palestine⁹¹

I. Old Territory of the Reich

A. The Jewish Organizations in Germany

1. General and Historical Matters

Until the seizure of power by National Socialism, internal Jewish life in Germany was dominated almost exclusively by the ideas of the so-called “**German-Jewish** organizations.” Alongside this there were a large number of Jewish welfare associations and burial societies⁹² as well as Jewish scientific institutes and associations.⁹³

Naturally, at that time the main activity of the major Jewish organizations lay in the struggle against anti-Semitism and the advancement of civil equality. There was also very close cooperation with the “system parties,” from the State Party⁹⁴ and the Social Democratic Party to the Communist Party of Germany. That can be demonstrated in particular for the work of the “Jewish Central Association” and the “Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans.”

In actuality, the year 1935 should have spelled an end to such aims.⁹⁵ But the facts prove that it was not until mid-1937 that Jewish organizations apparently finally turned away from their special goals, and a certain orientation gained ground that was geared to the idea of **emigration**. Yet even today, it is not possible to speak of a total fading of Jewish ideological boundaries.

The main currents within Jewry in Germany, as more generally, can be divided into three main groups:

- A. Assimilationists,**
- B. Religious Orthodox** and
- C. Zionists.**

The **Assimilationists**, whose outlook was absolutely dominant up to 1933, espouse the view that Jews should adapt to the respective host people, and if necessary completely assimilate with that people. They advocate the “German-Jewish” idea and proved adept, especially the extremists among them, in exerting a certain misleading influence on those circles of the population which had not endeavored in any way to deal with the question of race, or refused to do so. For example, such attempts by the “**Association of National-German Jews**” led to the dissolving of this league in December 1935.

Likewise in the assimilationist camp, the Jewish Youth League “The Ring-League of Jewish Youth” (formerly “**League of German-Jewish Youth**”), which structurally was totally imitative of the **Hitler Youth**, and advocated purely German-*völkisch* tendencies, was dissolved a year later in December 1936.

Jewish **Orthodoxy** is best viewed as a Jewish religious current with less of a general political tendency. Along with deepening the sense of religion and fostering adherence to Jewish religious laws and traditions, the organizations in this group deal with resolving tasks associated with charity.

In order to lead Jewry—or, more precisely, a portion of the Jews in Germany—back to Jewish nationalism, as is embodied by **Zionism**, what was first necessary were the dramatic events of 1933. Until that juncture, the number of Zionists in Germany was totally insignificant. It surged rapidly to an unanticipated degree after National Socialism took power. But here it turned out that a very large proportion of the momentarily enthusiastic Zionists were only “sham Zionists,” devoid of any real connection with the ideas of Zionism.

[...] The differences between these three Jewish orientations are especially evident when it comes to the differing solutions to the problem of migration:

Here we have settlement in Palestine, there the propagation of Jewish group settlement abroad, partially on a religious foundation, partially on a so-called “German-Jewish” foundation.

The *organizational formations* within Jewry in Germany can be divided into three groups, aside from a Jewish-political distinction:

1. the Jewish-political groups,
2. the Jewish associations of **Communities**⁹⁶ and above them,
3. the Jewish Reich associations.

It should be mentioned here right from the start that the latter have been subjected to a complete restructuring as a result of the Law on the Legal Restructuring of the Jewish Communities of 28 March 1938.⁹⁷

2. Jewish Political Groups

a. **Assimilationists**: the main representative of Jewry in Germany down to 1933 was the “**Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith**,” which today bears the name “Jewish Central Association.” [...] After its associational activity was reduced to a bare minimum, the “CV” is now attempting to exert influence on the broad Jewish masses by means of providing “consultation” in the consultation offices set up in the larger localities. The advice given is frequently utilized in order to render the idea of remaining in Germany a proposition still acceptable to people in comparison with emigrating abroad. There are some 35,000 members organized in 16 regional associations with some 500 local groups, thus representing what still remains a quite sizable Jewish organization.

But the CV had to surrender its leading role in the assimilationist camp after 1933 to the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans, established in 1919, whose founder and national director is the Jewish air force Captain (Ret.) Leo **Löwenstein**, resident in Berlin. This “Combat League” also concentrated initially on the main task of struggling against anti-Semitism, and then moved on to counter the charges that Jews had shirked wartime combat duty by setting up a special office to deal with this. The result of this work was the Memorial Volume for the Fallen Soldiers published in 1932, in which 12,000 Jewish dead soldiers are listed by name. [...]

A total of some 20,000 members are organized in 16 regional associations and 365 local groups. (According to an ordinance of the Gestapo, only genuine combat veterans are permitted membership in the League.) [...]

The “**Association for Religious Liberal Judaism**” is small in size, and its membership is drawn primarily from assimilationist circles; [...]

b. *Orthodoxy*: The Jewish Orthodox groups have less political importance within Jewry in Germany. In actual fact, their activity is limited to the maintenance and observance of religious customs,⁹⁸ such as at funerals, and in charitable work.⁹⁹ [...]

c. *Zionists*: The largest single factor today in Jewish life is the “**Zionist Association of Germany**,” the ZAG, which is part of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) and has some 90,000 members. It runs numerous retraining camps¹⁰⁰ and youth groups in Germany. Its largest retraining organization is the “**Hechalutz**” (= The Pioneer). [...]

3. Jewish Community Associations

An important part of Jewry in Germany are the Jewish **regional associations**. They are legal associations under the Civil Code and have great importance for Jewish political life in view of the tax revenues they gather. (Until 28 March 1938, they were still statutory corporations.) The largest state association is that in Prussia, which contains four-fifths of all the Jewish Communities in the Reich. In addition, there are Israelitic Higher Councils in Baden and Württemberg, regional associations in Bavaria, Hesse, and Saxony, and the Greater Hamburg [Jewish] Community.

4. The Reich Associations

The “**Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**” is the only body of the Jews living in Germany representing them to the national government. Until

1933, the “Reich Representation” was solely the federation of the Jewish religious regional associations, and was expanded only then into its present form by taking in representatives from all Jewish political camps. At the moment, consultations and negotiations are still being conducted on the basis of the law of 28 March 1938 with the aim of unifying the regional associations and the Jewish Communities in one organization. The apex will be the “Reich Representation” termed **“Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany”**¹⁰¹ as a registered association. The available version of the draft statutes¹⁰² envisages dissolving the Prussian State Association, whose social tasks are to be taken over directly by the Reich Association, and a restructuring of the other regional associations into so-called district organizations, i.e., intermediary associations of the Reich Federation. The disputes that have arisen in this connection and have been dragging on since April of this year are clear proof for the slow pace of a democratic principle of administration and the total failure of the Jews in the area of administration—even in those crucial moments when questions of their own existence are at stake.

This highest-level Jewish body can only be brought to do productive work by constant pressure from the state. One success of this kind is the creation of a **“Central Migration Committee”**¹⁰³ in the “Reich Representation,” to which representatives of all Jewish organizations interested in migration belong.

In this connection, it is also useful to mention the Jewish emigration offices, which are independent bureaus:

The **“Palestine Office”** of the **“Jewish Agency”** in Berlin is responsible for distributing the Palestine **certificates** issued by the mandator [sic] power England¹⁰⁴ to the relevant organizations.

Jewish **emigration** to countries other than Palestine is handled by the **“Relief Organization of German Jews”** based in Berlin. It is connected with the numerous Jewish relief organizations abroad and examines projects for Jewish emigration, especially overseas.

Various Reich committees, charged with consolidating and representing Jewish sports,¹⁰⁵ Jewish youth,¹⁰⁶ and Jewry in Germany in respect to cultural matters,¹⁰⁷ are directly subordinate to the “Reich Representation.”

The **“Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations”** is the responsible body representing Jewish sports to the Reich Sports Leader. Under its aegis are the Zionist “German Maccabee Circle,” founded in 1898, with some 20,000 members, and the sports league **“Schild”** of the **“Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans”** with approximately 22,000 members, as well as the group of Jewish sports associations in Bavaria, considered to be neutral in respect to

Jewish politics. Although the “Schild” has only been in existence since 1933,¹⁰⁸ it is the largest and most significant organization in Jewish sports. That is by no means a welcome fact, and serves once more to demonstrate that Zionist ideas have still not taken hold among a very substantial portion of Jewish youth and will not achieve acceptance among them. [...]

All of Jewish cultural life is under the surveillance of Department II A of the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, earlier the **Hinkel** Office. Already in 1933,¹⁰⁹ the existing Jewish cultural associations at the time were brought together to form the “*Reich Federation of the Jewish Kulturbund*,” based in Berlin. All Jewish cultural organizations are required to join this “Kulturbund,” which is permitted only to perform Jewish cultural material composed by Jews for Jews. Each and every lecture and event must be authorized by Department II A.¹¹⁰

Quite naturally, given the very extensive exclusion of the Jews from German cultural life, the “Kulturbund” represents a substantial Jewish central focus.

The actual financial instrument of the “Reich Representation” is the “**Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction.**” At the same time, this committee administers the “**Jewish Winter Relief**” separated since the winter of 1933/34¹¹¹ from the **Winter Relief of the German People**; it has been doing excellent work.

In a listing of the Jewish organizations in Germany, there is no useful purpose in detailing each and every group, even the smallest, since this only serves to obscure the overall view. But it should be mentioned that alongside the organizations mentioned, there are likewise numerous associations of Jews from a particular region, student associations, and many small groupings that cannot be included among the groups mentioned earlier, though they do not have any fundamental political importance.

In conclusion, it is useful to mention the “Association 1937”—formerly the **“Paulusbund”** or the “Association of Non-Aryan Christians.” Earlier on, numerous Full Jews¹¹² of the Christian faith¹¹³ had belonged to this league, principally individuals who were likewise in leading positions. On 18 May 1937, it was ordered that all members who are Jews as defined in the Reich Citizenship Law must quit the organization, and are provided an opportunity to join the “Jewish Kulturbund.”

Just like the “Jewish Winter Relief,” the “Kulturbund” is obliged to care for Jews in the sense of the law¹¹⁴ and to accept them as members.

By means of this measure, it becomes possible to make a clear distinction between those belonging to Jewry and those who later may at some time become

Reich citizens. <2508>

•341►

SD Main Office II 112

Report for July 1938

Berlin, n.d.

OA Mos, 500/3/316

The situation of the Jews in Germany is being shaped by the anti-Semitic boycott operations¹¹⁵ during the report period, by legal measures which are depriving the Jews in Germany ever more of their basis for existence, and the results of the **Evian Conference**, which attracted the attention of the Jewish population and awakened so many great hopes and wishes for success.

The operations against Jewish shops and firms, which have been carried out throughout the territory of the Reich, have in many cases advanced the process of the **Aryanization** of the Jewish businesses. In order to protect themselves against further measures by the population, some of the Jewish business owners have, acting on their own, visibly marked their own firms. In other cases, they were forced to engage in **marking** their businesses by police order.¹¹⁶ Thus, for example, for the entire duration of the gymnastics and sports festival in Breslau, all Jewish firms, as authorized by General Field Marshal **Goring**, were marked by the presence of a yellow poster bearing the words "Jewish enterprise." As a result of the assessment of assets,¹¹⁷ more Jewish firms, residences and the like were put up for sale, since the Jews feared either to be expropriated or forced one day to have to surrender their property at give-away prices far below market value.

The idea to emigrate and the will for **emigration** have been significantly strengthened by these above-mentioned measures and other measures of the Gestapo. The number of applications for emigration has once again risen somewhat, a process where in the main Jews with more capital at their disposal are most heavily involved. The principal countries of emigration are the United States of America, Argentina and the rest of South America.

The change in the legal situation of the Jewish Communities¹¹⁸ has shown that the financial basis of the Jewish **Communities** has been weakened, and that means are no longer available for the support of poorer Jews wishing to emigrate. In order to counter this, Jewry in Germany established the **Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany** on 27 July 1938 so as to organize all of

Jewry in Germany and all forces for emigration. The individual Communities are to be integrated into this framework. The draft statutes are now under examination. The attempt is to be made to largely eliminate the difficulties arising from issuance of the Law on Changing the Legal Situation of the Jewish Communities.¹¹⁹

Jewry in Germany has followed the international conference of governmental representatives from 32 countries meeting in Evian from 6–15 July with great anticipation. The problem of accommodating Jews from the territory of the Greater German Reich¹²⁰ migrating to other states occupied the attention of these representatives for a full week. As expected, this did not lead to any result that would help facilitate a solution to the migration question for the Jews. In the first resolution adopted, it is stated that an Inter-Governmental Committee is to be created based in London, which will continue with the work begun. The committee will commence operations on 3 August 1938. Most of the points in the decisions taken in Evian are theoretical in nature. But it is worth noting that Point 5 of the first resolution expressly states that the governments represented in the Inter-Governmental Committee require cooperation of the country of origin of the emigrants. And it notes: “we are convinced that this will make a useful contribution, since it allows involuntary emigrants to take along their property and possessions and to emigrate in an orderly fashion.”

The future of the emigration policy pursued up to now will thus be dependent to a very high degree on the regulation as formulated by the Inter-Governmental Committee.

Under the pressure of current circumstances, Jewish political life¹²¹ has substantially slackened. That is evident particularly in the small number of events and gatherings that have taken place.

The ousting of the Jews from all areas of public life has taken another step forward by the agency of new national laws. The Reich law of 6 July 1938¹²² stipulates several changes in the Trade Regulations for the German Reich. According to this legislation, Jews and statutory corporate Jewish enterprises are prohibited from engaging in the following trades: security services, commercial provision of information on assets or personal matters, sale of land, transactions by intermediary agents for real estate contracts and loans, and the branches of house and land administrators, commercial marriage bureaus, and the business of tour guides. A license for peddling also cannot be granted if the applicant is a Jew. An ordinance of 26 July 1938 has introduced a general official domestic identification card.¹²³ The law states that Jews as defined in the Reich Citizenship Law¹²⁴ who are German citizens have until 31 December 1938 to

apply for issuance of a valid I.D. card at their local police authority. This provides an opportunity for the first time to determine the number of Jews in the sense of the law.¹²⁵ A new ordinance in the Reich Citizenship Law has ordered Jews excluded from the medical fraternity of physicians.¹²⁶ The appointments of all Jewish **physicians** expire on 30 September 1938. From that point on, no Jewish doctor in Germany will be permitted to treat a pure-blooded German.

According to an ordinance of the Reich Interior Ministry, all streets or parts of streets named after Jews or Jewish **Mischlinge** of the first degree are to be renamed.¹²⁷

In order to completely prevent the camouflaging of Jewish commercial enterprises, the Reich interior minister has issued a circular on the practical implementation of making lists of Jewish firms. It helps determine which firm should be regarded as Jewish.¹²⁸

Worthy of mention is a supplement of the Reich interior minister to his guidelines on regulating foreign Jewish guests to German resorts and **spas**. It is stated there that as a matter of principle, the task of regulation is to be carried out by the person or body responsible for the spa facilities. [...] <2473>

►342►

SD Main Office II 1

Extracts from the Daily Information of I 12, 4 August 1938

Berlin, 5 August 1938

BArch, R 58/992

The beginning of work on razing the Nuremberg **Synagogue** on Hans Sachs Square is to serve as an occasion for a large-scale operation against the Jews. On Saturday, 6 August 1938, the first public meeting will be organized. In the course of this rally, Gauleiter **Streicher** will himself remove the first stone from the synagogue.¹²⁹ The plot of land which becomes available after the tearing down of the building will reportedly be used for constructing an anti-Semitic museum. [...]

<2493>

►343►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for August 1938

Ansbach, 7 September 1938

[...]

Jews, Freemasons

In the report month, a number of Jews have again left the government district. In the district of Lauf, many Jews are preparing their **emigration**. The **Aryanization** of Jewish businesses is also progressing well.

1) Nuremberg, the city of the Reich Party conventions, experienced a memorable day on 10 August 1938: Julius **Streicher** gave the sign for the tearing down of the main **synagogue** at Hans Sachs Square, which had to be removed in order to carry out work in urban development. Tens of thousands of **Volksgenossen** were present at the historical hour. See the monthly report for July 1938, p. 7, no. 6!¹³⁰

Shortly before the razing of the synagogue, Jews secretly had a massive stone weighing 250 kg. removed from the synagogue and transported to the Jewish cemetery. It bore an inscription in remembrance of the first synagogue in Nuremberg, which burned down 500 years ago.¹³¹ The removal of the stone was arranged by the Nuremberg master builder Fritz Frisch, who did not join the NSDAP until 1937. Frisch was immediately dismissed from the Party, and his lack of character was fittingly branded in public. [...]

6) The Judenschule in Schwabach,¹³² which was also used as a synagogue, was purchased by a Schwabach brewery as a storage facility for barrels. <2498>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for August 1938
Speyer, 12 September 1938
BayHStA, StK 106676

Internal Political Situation and Public Safety

[...]



Figure 16. Julius Streicher, speaking at the mass rally before the demolition of the Nuremberg Main Synagogue on Hans Sachs Square; 10 August 1938. Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem.

Jews

[...] The **synagogue** in Kaiserslautern has been purchased by the municipal administration in order to be torn down. As a replacement, the Israelitic **Community** has been given a municipal property located on Ritter von Eppstraße. Work on razing the synagogue has already begun. [...] <2499>

►345►

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for July 1938
Regensburg, 8 August 1938

Jews

[...] A Czech Jew previously resident in the Viechtach district has returned to his homeland.¹³³ A Jewish **cattle** dealer in Schwandorf killed himself by hanging.¹³⁴

<2480>



Figure 17. The workers assigned to the razing of the synagogue during the speech by Streicher; 10 August 1938. Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem.

•346•

SD Main Office II 112
Report for 1–31 August 1938
Berlin, 8 September 1938
OA Mos, 500/3/316

Jewry

The situation of Jewry has constantly worsened as a result of the ordinances on exclusion which have been regularly issued since the beginning of the year. Aside from the **marking** of Jewish businesses, which has been handled locally

in different ways, there are consensual reports from all parts of the Reich pointing to a rise in the **Aryanization** of Jewish firms. [...]

Along with the familiar measures through laws and ordinances,¹³⁵ the steps taken by the police against the Jews especially in Berlin the last few months are worthy of mention. The instructions from the head of police in Berlin pursue the aim of rendering it so difficult for the Jews to stay on in Germany that despite their difficult financial situation, new impetus will be given to their wish for **emigration**. For that reason, Jews ready to emigrate will be given every possible support in obtaining the documents necessary for emigration. [...]



Figure 18. The “Jews’ stone” (Judenstain), from the old synagogue destroyed in 1499, secretly brought to safety before the demolition of the Nuremberg Main Synagogue. It bears the inscription in Hebrew “Keter Torah” (Crown of the Torah) and originally formed the gable top of the Holy Ark where the Torah scrolls were kept. Courtesy of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Nürnberg.

The “**State Zionist Association**” with all its subformations in the old territory of the Reich was dissolved in the report period,¹³⁶ because it was possible to establish that it maintained ties to Jewish organizations of the **Jabotinsky** group abroad which were deleterious for the German Reich. The assets of the association were confiscated. The inquiries initiated after the operation showed that the leading figures did not know about the activities of their subordinate leaders, nor were they aware of how the revenues and contributions were utilized.

A circular by the interior ministry on 18 August 1938¹³⁷ stipulated that Jews with German citizenship or stateless would only be permitted in future to bear

the specially designated Jewish first names. Insofar as they already use other first names, they are required, with effect from 1 January 1939, to make use of an additional first name. Males must employ the first name Israel, and women the first name Sarah. “The additional first name must always be used for legal and business purposes wherever it is customary to give one’s name.”

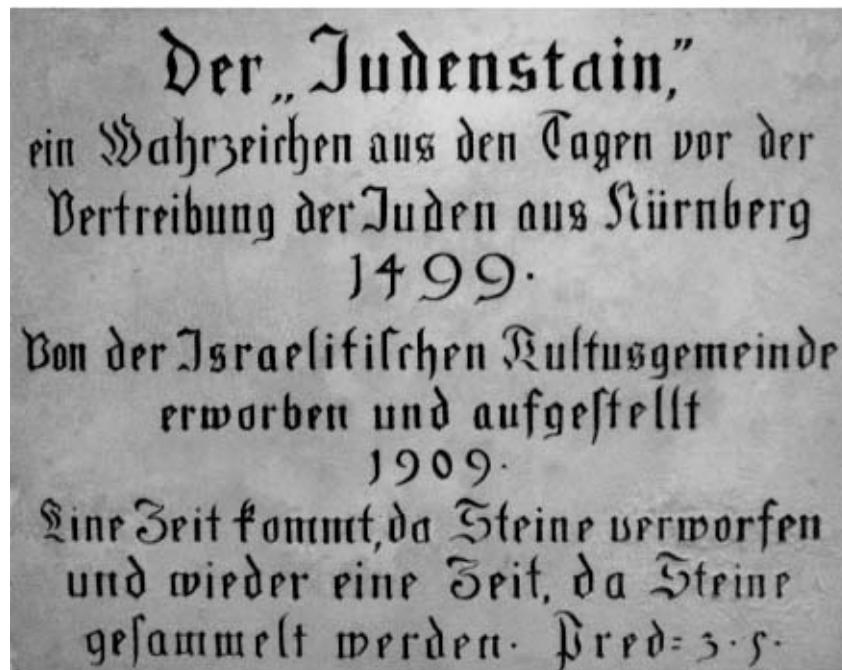


Figure 19. The memorial plaque for “Jews’ stone” (*Judenstain*) from the year 1909, likewise secretly brought to safety before the razing of the Nuremberg Main Synagogue. The plaque reads: “The ‘Judenstain,’ a landmark from the time before the expulsion of the Jews from Nuremberg 1499. Acquired and mounted by the Jewish Community 1909. A time will come when stones are cast away, and a time when stones will be gathered. Ecclesiastes 3:5.” Courtesy of the *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Nürnberg*.

Activity by Jewish **sports associations** was placed under a final restriction by a decree of the Gestapo of 24 August 1938, in agreement with the Reich Sports Office.¹³⁸ [...] <2494>

►347►

SD Main Office II 112
Report for September 1938
Berlin, 8 October 1938



Figure 20. The new memorial plaque for the “Jews’ stone” (Judenstain) from the year 1987. The plaque, mounted next to the Torah shrine in the new Nuremberg synagogue, reads: “Rescued from the destroyed synagogues of 1499 and 1938, returned to its place in 1987. ‘Behold, this stone shall be a witness against us, it shall be therefore a witness against you, lest ye deny your G-d.’ (Jos. 24/27).” Courtesy of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Nürnberg.

The mood of the Jews in the Reich was determined in the past reporting period almost exclusively by the crisis situation in foreign policy,¹³⁹ which gave rise to all kinds of rumors about how Jews might be dealt with should war break out. There is a general fear among the Jews that they may be placed in concentration camps or disposed of [*unschädlich gemacht*] in some other way.

The effect of this psychosis was manifest in the very low level of activity of the organizations¹⁴⁰ (Berlin was the only place to report an increase in the number of events), which were all in the form of religious celebrations for the Jewish New Year holiday. For that reason, the “Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany” issued a call pointing out the necessity of employing all available strength and energy to the task of constructing the new Jewish homeland. The call peaked in the statement: “We Jews are the tribe which is certain of eternity. As we are with God, so he will be with us.”¹⁴¹



Figure 21. Memento postcard with the Nuremberg Main Synagogue in the background. Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Simon Brückheimer Sammlung.

In concrete practice, this attitude leads to a situation where—with few exceptions, and despite all the difficulties—there is productive work on the implementation of **emigration**. The numerous instances of illegal crossing of the border in this connection have sparked severe counter-measures by the countries bordering on Germany. These have either introduced a compulsory visa¹⁴² or threatened to impose such a requirement if Germany does not finally succeed in quelling the illegal emigration from its territory.

These defensive measures from abroad are also the reason that, in individual cases, a certain tendency to remain in Germany is discernable.

Parallel with the continuing **Aryanization** of economic life, the Jewish **Communities** and organizations are sinking ever deeper into poverty. That has a negative impact in particular on welfare activities.¹⁴³ Thus, more and more Jews are living on social welfare,¹⁴⁴ and if they are fit to work, are being deployed together with German workers in public works jobs.

The deepening pauperization has continued to have an impact on the decision by many smaller Jewish Communities in the countryside to dissolve,¹⁴⁵ and on small organizations, which in general are joining hands with the large associations¹⁴⁶ active in promoting emigration. [...]

Under the impress of developments abroad, the mood of animosity against the Jews in the population has intensified. The upshot is that together with the constant Aryanizations being carried out, now the turnover in Jewish businesses would appear to be in decline. In a few localities, the dislike of the Jews was again expressed in violence against Jewish synagogues and individuals.¹⁴⁷

<2509>

•348►

SD Lower Division Wiesbaden, Police Informer (74301)

Report for 27 September 1938

n.p., 30 September 1938

HStA Wi, Abt. 483 No. 7032

On 27 September 1938, about 9 p.m., a large crowd gathered in Nassau/Lahn against the Jews resident there. The Jews had come together, led by the Jew *Walter Rosenthal*, Nassau, at the house of the Jew Hofmann, resident in Nassau. The house was surrounded by the crowd, and windows and shutters were subsequently smashed.¹⁴⁸ The Jew *Walter Rosenthal* was taken into protective custody by the police for his own safety. A further report will soon follow.¹⁴⁹

Another incident occurred in Rauenthal/Rhg., where a Jew and Jewess commented on the current foreign situation in some remarks to the residents. They said that in two years they would once again be in power. The following night the people dragged these two individuals from their beds and, whips in hand, forced them to march in their nightclothes through the streets of the town.

<2510>

•349►

State Public Prosecutor Karlsruhe
Bi-Monthly Situation Report
Karlsruhe, 30 October 1939
GLA Ka, 309/1204

General Crime

In a judgment handed down on 17 August 1936, the 49-year-old pure-blooded German shoemaker [name a withheld] was sentenced by the Criminal Court Mannheim to one year, seven months in prison, reduced by two months already served in investigative custody. He was charged and convicted of **race defilement** with a Jewish woman with whom he had maintained a relationship since the spring of 1934. He was also accused of insulting an officer and resisting arrest. He finished serving this sentence on 17 January 1938. After his release from prison, he immediately resumed his relation with the Jewess, for which he had already been found guilty and sent to prison. And he had sexual intercourse with her repeatedly once again in the months June and July 1938 (Case Js 238/38). A copy of the complaint has already been filed there on 19 September 1938. In the meantime, [name a withheld] has been sentenced for the crime of race defilement by a verdict of the Criminal Court Mannheim of 4 October 1938 (I Kls. 26/38) to two years and six months imprisonment, less seven weeks served in detention in investigative custody, and has in addition been sentenced to five years' loss of civil rights.

The Jewish race défiler [name b withheld] mentioned in the last situation report of 13 September 1938 committed suicide after the bill of indictment was presented to him,¹⁵⁰ thus eluding a final sentencing (6 Js 205/38). <2512>

District Governor Main Franconia
Report for September 1938
Würzburg, 10 October 1938
BayHStA, StK 196681

General Political Situation

[...] In Mellrichstadt on the evening of 30 September, the interior of the **synagogue** (benches, ritual objects, chandeliers, etc.) was totally destroyed. It was not possible to apprehend the culprits. It would appear that the first attack involved a small number of individuals, and that then people from the growing crowd chose to join in on the destruction. In the cloth goods shop Mantel, the shop windows were broken and the window displays were looted. In addition, windows were smashed in four Jews' residences.¹⁵¹ [...] <2513>

◀351▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for September 1938
Ansbach, 7 October 1938
BayHStA, StK 106678

Internal Political Situation

[...]

Jews

In the days when the threat of war was increasing,¹⁵² the nasty disposition of the Jews was made very manifest. The Jews displayed a behavior that was haughty and provocative, emerging from their otherwise customary sneaky reserve and conniving shyness. One could notice that they were waiting for war, which in their calculations was to bring about the destruction of the Reich.

As a result of the murders and atrocities perpetrated against Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, there was great indignation in the market town of Bechhofen, district Feuchtwangen, and in Wilhermsdorf, district Neustadt a.d.Aisch. It was directed against the local Jews. The Jews then left Bechhofen and Wilhermsdorf. These localities are now completely "judenfrei," like the

entire district of Feuchtwangen.

And otherwise, the migration of the Jews and **Aryanization** of Jewish properties continued in its previous scope.¹⁵³ [...] <2515>

◀352▶

Chief Public Prosecutor Waldshut
Report for August and September 1938
Waldshut, 30 September 1938
GLA Ka, 309/1208

Crimes Involving Foreign Currency

Five new court actions were initiated. There were special reports on the charges against the Jewish married couple [names withheld] from Frankfurt, who attempted to cross the open border with Switzerland near Lottstetten, carrying on their person assets of more than 10,000 RM, and on the **suicide** of the wife [name withheld] in the court jail Waldshut.¹⁵⁴ <2528>

•353•

SD Main Office II 112
Report for October 1938
Berlin, n.d.
OAMos, 500/3/316

Jewry

The general situation in October lay under the powerful shadow of the Munich Agreement.¹⁵⁵ Jewry had still been hoping in September for an improvement in their situation in the event of a conflict, which could, in the opinion voiced by numerous Jews, only end with defeat for Germany.¹⁵⁶ But the peaceful resolution of the Czech question sparked a strong sense of resignation. That was manifest principally in an otherwise unaccustomed lull in activity such as meetings,¹⁵⁷ and an especially pronounced lack of any interest in the events organized by the **Kulturbund**. In addition, another factor was that subsequent to an attack in Antwerp on a group of German tourists, a four-week ban on activities was issued for all Jewish organizations in Berlin. The festivities for the two Jewish holidays of the **Day of Atonement** on 5 October and the **Festival of Tabernacles** in the period from 10 to 16 October were celebrated very quietly.

The intention of smaller Jewish associations and **Communities** to disband on their own, as announced in the previous month, continued to be manifest. On the occasion of the opening of the **Jewish Winter Relief**, the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany issued a call in which they urged even greater effort than

in the previous year. In the opening ceremony on this occasion, the Director Heinrich **Stahl**, as head of the Jewish Community in Berlin, stressed that there had to be ever more emphasis placed on psychological assistance for Jews in distress along with meeting their material needs.

The deteriorated economic situation of the Jews, further worsening, led to continued mounting **Aryanization** and the liquidation of Jewish firms.

The intensified anti-Jewish attitude in the population, engendered primarily by the provocative and insolent behavior on the part of some Jews during the period of the crisis in foreign policy, had its most powerful expression in actions against the Jewish population. In the south and southwest of the Reich, this violence at times took on the character of a pogrom. In a number of towns and localities, the **synagogues** were destroyed or set on fire, and the windows of Jewish shops and homes were destroyed. In the **Gau** Franconia and in Württemberg, the Jews in a few localities were in some instances forced by the population to leave their residences immediately, taking with them only the barest essentials. These actions, encouraged by Party branches or Party District Chiefs and carried out by formations of the Party,¹⁵⁸ had in most instances a purely local character.¹⁵⁹ It was possible to note that the Catholic population generally disapproved of these actions.¹⁶⁰

The Jewish population was also extremely agitated by an expulsion order from the **Gestapo**¹⁶¹ for all Jews of Polish nationality, limited to two days up to 29 October, 24:00 hours. This had become necessary due to an order issued by the Polish interior ministry regarding the renewal of consular passports issued abroad. Some 75,000 Jews were affected by this decree. The Jews were transported to the border by special trains and buses. Since the technical procedure could only be completed to a very limited extent in the time available, many Jews had to be taken into custody by the local police authorities. After intervention by the Polish government, the Polish Jews arrested were again set free, and the Jews not yet expelled over the frontier were brought back to their places of residence. Representatives of the two governments entered into negotiations to reach a final resolution of the question.¹⁶²

The relation of the Jews toward the German people was further impacted by a series of new laws and executive order for valid laws.¹⁶³ [...]

The 5th Ordinance on the Reich Citizenship Law of 27 September 1938, published 14 October 1938, deals with the removal of Jewish **lawyers** from the bar, effective by 30 November.¹⁶⁴ In the former territory of the Reich, 1,753 Jewish lawyers are affected by this measure.¹⁶⁵ [...]

The Activity Report of the “**Relief Organization of the German Jews**”

presents a general overview of the scope of Jewish **emigration** from the old territory of the Reich¹⁶⁶ for the period from 1 January to 30 September 1938. It shows that in this period, 5,187 persons were given financial aid and assisted to emigrate. The number of emigrants not supported is estimated to be double this figure for the same time period, thus amounting to some 13–14,000 individuals. This means there was a total emigration from the old territory of the Reich of about 19,000 Jews.

The emigration of the Jews from Germany continued to be made more difficult by the fact that once again a number of countries during the report month imposed a total or partial stop on immigration. These include the following countries:

USA	Mexico
Central American Rep.	Cuba
Trinidad	Colombia
Ecuador	Argentina
Brazil	Uruguay
Venezuela	Paraguay
Bolivia	South African Union
Portuguese East and	Egypt
West Africa Belgian	Congo
Lyberia [sic]	Australia

If these countries have not completely closed their borders to Jews, they have increased the so-called “cash-in-hand” requirement to the point where immigration can only be considered as an option by especially wealthy Jews.
[...]

Danzig

During the critical days of tension, Danzig Jewry was relatively quiet.

In the work of Jewish organizations, there has been a significant decline compared with the previous year.¹⁶⁷ The work in particular of the Zionist Organization¹⁶⁸ was impaired due to the lack of clarity in the situation in **Palestine**. On the whole, there is a notable lack of participation evident in Jewish political events.

Now as before, the government continues to press ahead vigorously with the **Aryanization** of Jewish firms.

While the laws on racial protection have not yet been previously applied in Danzig,¹⁶⁹ action was taken for the first time, at the instigation of the **Gauleiter**, against Jewish **race defilers** and their pure-blooded German paramours. [...]
<2529>

►354►

SD Main Office II 1

Annual Overview of the Central Department II 1¹⁷⁰

Berlin, 1 November 1938

BArch, R 58/956

Jewry

The solution of the **Jewish Question** in the territory of the Reich was supported by issuing a large number of ordinances and laws which aimed to exclude the Jews from the professions, while at the same time acting to prevent the higher rates of crime that this generates.¹⁷¹ Laws and ordinances served to exclude the Jews from the following professions:

Auctioneering

Security companies

Commercial provision of information on assets or personal affairs

Real Estate

Commercial agents for property contracts and loans

Commercial marriage bureaus, tour guides

Peddling and itinerant trade

Physicians and doctors

Activity as a **lawyer**

The ordinance against support for camouflaging Jewish business enterprises of 22 April 1938¹⁷² served to eliminate the abuses in the representation of Jewish firms by **Aryans**. The Ordinance on the Declaration of Assets owned by Jews of 26 April 1938 ensures determination of existing Jewish capital.

In order to prevent Jews from concealing their identity by assuming non-Jewish names, the Law on the Changing of Surnames and First Names was issued on 5 January 1938. It was supplemented by a decree of the interior ministry that stipulates, effective from 1 January 1939, Jews must use the additional first names of Israel or Sarah, unless they already have a purely Jewish first name.

Finally, the passport decree of 7 October 1938 stripped Jews of their domestic passports. The foreign passports issued on the basis of the regulation of 16 September 1937 are marked by the letter "J."

The organizational form of Jewry in the old territory of the Reich underwent a fundamental change as a result of the Law on Changing the Legal Situation of the Jewish Communities of 25 March 1938.¹⁷³ It stipulates that the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**, and the future Religious Associations (formerly Communities) to be subordinated to it, should be registered as associations, and are subject to the regulations of civil law. Responding to a local request [by the SD], the State Zionist Association¹⁷⁴ was dissolved due to its connections with Jewish organizations abroad extremely hostile to Germany. The Main Office Security Police issued a decree expelling Jews of Polish nationality. This led to considerable complications with the Polish government.¹⁷⁵ At the initiative of the **SD**, a cleansing was undertaken of functionaries with foreign nationality in Jewish organizations, in order to prevent the formation of an intelligence network hostile to Germany.¹⁷⁶

In cooperation with the **Gestapo**, there was an extended process of dissolving and merging of Jewish organizations. The attitude of the population toward the Jewish Question was manifest in the very numerous **individual actions** especially in recent months, which in most instances were promoted by the local Party organizations.

Addition to I 2: Jewry

At the initiative of the SD, all Jewish organizations of an **assimilationist** character were dissolved in the **Ostmark**, and all other organizations were centralized. These only were allowed to continue to exist if they are able to contribute financially or in terms of organization to **emigration**.¹⁷⁷

In order to prevent Jewish organizations from interfering in the activities of Jewry in the Ostmark, organizational restructuring was undertaken separately from the old territory of the Reich.¹⁷⁸ By creating a **Central Office for Jewish Emigration**, the entire work in the Ostmark dealing with emigration was united in one hand, that of the SD. <2549>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for October 1938
Speyer, 9 November 1938
BayHStA, StK 106676

Internal Political Situation and Public Safety

[...]

Jews

The **synagogue** in Albersweiler (district Bergzabern) was bought from the **Community** for 2,000 RM. It will be demolished, and a **Hitler Youth** home will be built in its place. The Jewish Youth League in Speyer has disbanded, effective from 1 October 1938, since it lacked members.

According to a report of the District Office Bergzabern, it was noted that emigrating Jews¹⁷⁹ who come from the Ostmark are sent back by the French border authorities immediately after they cross the frontier. They were deported during the night across the border.

In Rülzheim (district Germersheim) almost all Jews' houses had slogans written on them with red paint during the night of 29/30 October 1938, such as: Hang the Jews, Warmongerers, Death to the Jews.¹⁸⁰ The Jews removed these slogans, but did not file a single report. In the night of 30 September/1 October, stones were thrown at several Jews' houses, smashing a number of shutters and windows. The Jews filed reports with the gendarmerie, but did not wish to press charges. The reason for these actions by the population lay in their observation that when there were high levels of tension, the Jews showed demonstratively by their behavior that they wished for a war.¹⁸¹

During the night of 9/10 October 1938, the **synagogue** in Leimersheim (district Germersheim) was broken into and various objects were destroyed.

In Gauersheim (district Kirchheimbolanden) there were violent excesses against Jews, as has already been reported as a special occurrence. In these incidents, the windows of Jewish homes were smashed, the courtyard gate was forced open, and people broke into the house. Inside the house, various objects were damaged, and silver objects were reportedly stolen. In another house, the roof of a stable and a toilet were smashed in.

The reason for all these events lies once again in the behavior of the Jews during the period of high tension.

In the night of 22/23 October 1938, the synagogue in Odenbach (district Kusel) was damaged. The entrance door was broken and the light fixture was smashed.

In the Jewish cemetery in Busenberg-Erlenbach (district Pirmasens), some 100 gravestones have recently been toppled and damaged in the process.¹⁸²

On 2 October 1938 in Erlenbach (district Pirmasens), there was a demonstration against the Jews. Stones were thrown at the house of the Jewish **cattle** dealer Pfeiffer. The Jew now claims that on 6 October 1938, furniture items, linen, etc. were stolen from the premises, amounting to a value of some 1,000 RM.

It was impossible to apprehend the perpetrators behind all these incidents, which arise spontaneously from the popular will of the entire population. The population desires the departure of the Jews from the villages, and seeks to avenge itself in this way for the insolent behavior of the Jews during the critical period in September. This justification for the actions of the population runs through all the reports.¹⁸³

In the expulsion operation against the Polish Jews on 27 and 28 October,¹⁸⁴ 213 persons were deported in a special train. [...] <2538>

1. On the date of the writing of this document, see n. 3.

2. See **Assimilation**.

3. The report of Department II 112 in the SD Main Office on “Jewry” was sent with an accompanying letter signed by Adolf **Eichmann** and dated 4 February 1938 to the Central Department II 1 (Ideological Evaluation). It was then reproduced verbatim in this “Situation Report of the Central Department.” The original report of Department II 112 is housed in the Osobyi-Arkhiv in Moscow at 500/3/316.

4. See Chronology, 29 December 1937, and Stillschweig, “International Protection of Human Rights.”

5. See Avni, “Latin America and the Jewish Refugees,” and Ben-Dror, *Catholic Church and the Jews*, esp. chaps. 6 and 8.

6. See **British Mandate in Palestine**.

7. See Certificates.

8. See Ha’vara.

9. See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 112. The declaration was passed by

the Council of the Reich Representation on 13 January 1938.

10. On the connection between measures to “oust the Jews from the German economy” and “promote emigration,” with the aim of “de-Judaizing Germany,” see Memorandum of Department II 112 for Heydrich, January 1937, ▲252▲.

11. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

12. See **Council for German Jewry**.

13. The **Minority protection** for Jews in force since 1922 in the two government districts

14. On the special situation of the Jews in Danzig, see **Minority protection**.

15. See Domarus, Hitler. *Speeches and proclamations*, II, 1019–1034.

16. On the text of the calming declaration in Hitler’s above-mentioned speech in respect to Danzig and the “ever more friendly ties in the course of these years” to Poland, see *ibid.*, 802.

17. See **Internal migration**.

18. See **Chronology**, 2 July 1937.

19. See **Ha’vara**.

20. This resolution evidently was based on the successful intervention by the League of Nations against the anti-Semitic measures of the new Goga-Cuza government in Romania, which abrogated the equal civil status of the Jews anchored in the **minority protection** treaty and declared anti-Semitism an official government program. On the rise and fall of the Goga-Cuza government, see **Chronology**, 29 December 1937.

21. See **Madagascar Plan**.

22. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.

23. See **Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities**.

24. See **Physicians, Jewish**.

25. Reference here is to multiple grade and multi-age classrooms.

26. On separate Jewish school organization and the situation of Jewish pupils under National Socialism, see **Schools/School system, Jewish**.

27. See CD ▲2382▲.

28. See **Spas**, and CD ▲2382▲.

29. See ▲302▲, n. 9.

30. See Chronology.
31. See **Altreich**.
32. On the far-reaching importance and lasting impact of this law for the process of transformation of the entire system of Jewish organization in Germany, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, Nos. 114,117, and 120.
33. See Chronology, 1 January 1939.
34. This ordinance was supplemented in the course of 1938 by a “marking” of all Jews, male and female, by means of a “Jewish first name” (see Chronology 17 August 1938 and 1 January 1939).
35. See Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 41, No. 143.
36. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
37. See **Minority protection**.
38. See ▶306▶.
39. Hitler’s ultimatum to Austria one day before the **Anschluß** (see Chronology 12 March 1938) and the brutal persecution of the Jews which was immediately initiated there also gave rise to fears among German Jews that the next step taken could be against the Jews in Danzig.
40. The reference is to **Zionists-Revisionists**.
41. See Chronology, 12 March 1938 and **Individual actions**.
42. See Chronology, 26 April 1938.
43. See Chronology.
44. See **Individual actions**.
45. See **Individual actions**.
46. See Aryanization.
47. See CD ▶2421▶ and ▶2423▶.
48. See n. 47.
49. See Chronology, 22 and 26 April 1938.
50. See Chronology, 28 March 1938.
51. See ▶311▶.
52. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
53. Correct name: **Schmeidler**.

54. This figure corresponds to the situation in 1935, see Jewish **Community**. It can be assumed that between 1935 and 1938, a number of small Communities had to disband due to internal migration, emigration, and financial difficulties.

55. See **Welfare, Jewish**.

56. See **Aliyat Hanoar**.

57. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

58. See **Internal migration**.

59. See **Individual actions**.

60. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

61. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**.

62. See **Individual actions**.

63. See **Aryanization**.

64. See xyz325►.

65. See **Individual actions**.

66. That report was not available to the editors.

►328►

67. See **Chronology**.

68. See **Aliyah**.

69. See **Aryanization**.

70. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.

71. See **Individual actions**.

72. See **Heydrich**.

73. Reference is to the points “A General Overview,” and the points “I Programmatic Changes,” “II Organizational Changes,” “III Methods of Struggle,” and “IV Relations with Other Opponents of Point B.”

74. See **Aryanization**.

75. The accompanying letter of the same date from the **Gestapo** to its subdepartments contains the following information on the author and the content of the full report: “S 3 reports on: a) plans for assassination within Jewish circles, b) the German Freedom Party, c) Illegal efforts by the Social Democratic Party.” The following memo from the subdepartment II G 2 to Section II A, 7 July 1938, notes: “returned with the remark that the matter of assassination plans

of the Jews Dr. Glaserfeld and Günther Salter, mentioned in the report, is being dealt with by Department II G on orders from the head of II.” In the framework of the present edition of primary source materials, it was not possible to deal in greater depth with this matter.

76. See [252](#).

77. Reference is probably to the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith**. Bruno Glaserfeld was the chair of the State Association Greater Berlin.

78. See **Individual actions**.

79. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.

80. See **Aryanization**.

81. The building in question was the synagogue of the Reform Community at Hans Sachs Square, dedicated in 1874 (see **Reform Judaism**).

82. On the details of the destruction of the Great Synagogue in Nuremberg and its importance for National Socialist policy on the Jews, see Chronology, 10 August 1938; on the rescue operation by the Jewish Community to salvage its historically most valuable objects, see [343](#).

83. See **Rabbincical associations**.

84. See Chronology.

85. See **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.

86. The Munich **synagogue** was torn down on personal orders from Hitler on 9 June 1938; see Chronology.

87. The lecture evidently took place in the framework of the **Jewish Lehrhaus**, which Feuchtwanger headed until it was finally closed in early 1939.

88. See Chronology, 13–18 June 1938.

89. The present text was evidently composed in the second half of July 1938 by the then director of the Jewish affairs department II 112 in the SD Main Office, Herbert Hagen. It was intended as an in-service education lecture for higher-level party functionaries and SS leaders. The lecture was based on preceding SD reports from within and outside Germany, and was presented initially on 18 August and again on 25 August 1938 in the Education Center for Foreign Policy of the NSDAP and the SD Academy Bernau, respectively. See Tätigkeitsbericht II 112,1 July to 31 December 1938, in: BArch, R 58/991. The editors have placed this very informative document in the present volume of

selected texts following the reports in June, and thus before the dramatic changes in the situation of the Jews in Germany during the fateful months July to November 1938. The same manuscript was used again later for educational purposes at least until early 1939, and is stored with handwritten emendations (for example, correction of the term “Reich Representation” to “Reich Association”) in the same file in the Bundesarchiv (R 58/956).

90. See **Altreich**.

91. The portion of the text reproduced here contains only the section in Chap. A dealing with the **Altreich**.

92. See **Welfare, Jewish; Chevra Kaddisha**.

93. See **Lehrhaus, Jewish; Rabbinical seminaries**.

94. State Party (Staatspartei) is short for Deutsche Demokratische Partei (DDP).

95. See **Individual actions** and the “new anti-Semitic wave” there, as well as **Nuremberg Laws**.

96. See **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.

97. See Chronology.

98. See **Chevra Kaddisha**.

99. See **Welfare, Jewish**.

100. See **Hachshara**.

101. See Chronology, 27 July 1938.

102. See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 117c.

103. See **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration**, 1; Chronology, 13 December 1937.

104. See **British Mandate in Palestine**.

105. See **Sports associations, Jewish**.

106. **Youth organizations, Jewish**.

107. See **Center for Jewish Adult Education**.

108. In 1933, the “Schild,” established in 1925, was reorganized and its activities intensified.

109. Here a mistake. The various different groups of the Kulturbund were not consolidated into the Reich League of the Jewish Kulturbund until April 1935;

see Chronology, 27/28 April 1935.

110. See **Surveillance**.

111. Here a mistake. The separation from the **Winter Relief of the German People (WHW)** did not take place until 15 October 1935; see Chronology.

112. See **Geltungsjuden**.

113. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.

114. See **Nuremberg Laws** and Chronology, 14 November 1937.

115. See **Boycott, anti-Jewish**. Like in the spring and summer of 1935 (see Chronology, February 1935), the numerous boycott actions taking place at the time of this report were marked by violent demonstrations and excesses. See **Individual actions** and Chronology, September 1938, and esp. ▲353.

116. See Chronology, 14 July 1938.

117. See Chronology, 26 April 1938.

118. See Chronology, 28 and 29 March 1938.

119. On the prolonged process of transformation of the central organization of the German Jews from the **Reich Representation** into the **Reich Association** between March and July 1939, see Chronology, 4 July 1939, and the comprehensive documentation on this in Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum I*, Nos. 114, 117, and 120. The draft statutes of the Reich Association mentioned in the text are reproduced there in No. 117c.

120. See **Altreich**.

121. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

122. RGBI I, 823.

123. Here a mistake. The law was promulgated on 23 July; see Chronology, 23 July 1938.

124. See **Nuremberg Laws**.

125. In the census of June 1933, the Jews were listed according to religious preference (see **Jews by Religion**). Not until May 1939 was there a census according to racial criteria; see Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 9 f.

126. See Chronology, 25 July 1938.

127. See Chronology, 27 July 1938.

128. On the ruling by the Reich Economy Ministry on preventing the

“camouflaging of Jewish business enterprises,” see Chronology, 4 January 1938.

129. In actuality the razing took place on 10 August 1938, see Chronology.

130. See CD ▶2482▶ Jews.

131. The so-called “Jews’ stone” mentioned here originally formed the pediment of the Holy Ark of the Torah with the Hebrew inscription “Keter Torah” (crown of the **Torah**) in the late Gothic **synagogue** in Nuremberg, which was destroyed in the expulsion of the Jews in 1499. The stone came into private possession and was reacquired by the Jewish Community in 1909 and placed as a memorial stone together with a commemorative plaque in the vestibule of the main synagogue in Nuremberg, dedicated in 1874: “*Der ‘Judenstain’/ein Wahrzeichen aus den Tagen vor der/Vertreibung der Juden aus Nürnberg/1499./Von der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde/erworben und aufgestellt/1909./Eine Zeit kommt, da Steine verworfen/und wieder eine Zeit, da Steine/gesammelt werden. Fred. 3,5*” (“The Jews’ stone/an emblem from the time before the expulsion of the Jews from Nuremberg/1499. Acquired by the Israelitic Community and set up 1909.1 A time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together. Ecclesiastes, 3:5”). After the Jewish Community was informed in June 1938 about the impeding destruction of the synagogue on 10 August 1938 (see ▶336▶), the Community executive board decided to rescue the stone and its commemorative plaque secretly and then to bury the stone according to ancient Jewish custom in the Jewish cemetery. (See the similar act of rescue before Kristallnacht in Bad Kissingen, ▶384▶, and the note there on the “Geniza.”) After the war, the “Jews’ stone” was dug up and stored in the Municipal Museum. Since the Jewish New Year (see **Rosh Hashana**) on 23 September 1987, the restored stone has been located in the reconstructed new synagogue, set in the wall next to the Holy Ark, with an additional second commemorative plaque memorializing the six million victims of the Shoah, among them some 1,700 Nuremberg Jews. See figures 16–21 (pp. 324–329).

132. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**. “Judenschule” is the common earlier German term for a **synagogue**.

133. See **Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship and Remigration**.

134. See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.

135. See Chronology, 23 and 25 July 1938.

136. See Chronology, 31 August 1938.

[137.](#) The ordinance was actually issued by the interior ministry on 17 August 1938; it was published in the *Ministerialblatt* on 18 August; for more detailed information, see Chronology, 17 August 1938 and Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, No. 174,50.

[138.](#) See **Gestapa** and Walk, *Sonderrecht*, Part II, No. 531,238.

[139.](#) See Chronology, September 1938.

[140.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish.**

[141.](#) The impressive quote reproduces the final sentences of the declaration by the “**Reich Representation** on **Rosh Hashana**” that was published in all the important papers of the Jewish **press**; see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 118, 430. It is instructive that while the lewish press still uses the earlier name of the lewish central organization “Reich Representation,” the SD Main Office is already making use of the new designation for the organization created by the Reich Representation as its successor on 27 July, the “Reich Federation.” See *ibid.*, No. 117, introduction, and the following documents. One can see here *de facto* a recognition of the new frame of the organization by the SD, which later was transformed into the “**Reich Association**.” See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 120.

[142.](#) See Chronology, 5 October 1938.

[143.](#) See **Welfare, Jewish.**

[144.](#) On public welfare and Jews in the Third Reich, see Gruner, “Poverty and Persecution.”

[145.](#) The process of small Jewish Communities choosing to dissolve was not a specific phenomenon of the Third Reich. It had already begun in the nineteenth century, and was given powerful impetus under the National Socialist regime from the second half of the 1930s; see Kober, “Jewish Communities” and Internal migration.

[146.](#) See **HIAS, Relief Organization of German Jews, Palestine Office**, and **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**.

[147.](#) See **Individual actions** and Chronology, September 1938 and [351▶](#), [353▶](#).

[148.](#) See **Individual actions** and [347▶](#).

[149.](#) The report was not available to the editors.

[150.](#) See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich.**

151. See **Individual actions** and 348.
152. On the so-called Sudeten Crisis and the Munich Agreement, see Chronology, September 1938 and 29–30 September 1938.
153. See **Emigration** and **Internal migration**.
154. The report was not available to the editors.
155. See Chronology, 29–30 September 1938.
156. See 347.
157. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
158. Especially the SA.
159. See **Individual actions**; on the wave of violence against Jews, which peaked in the November pogroms, see Kulka, “Public Opinion,” 135 ff.: “The Munich Crisis and the Kristallnacht.” See also the “Annual Overview” of the SD Main Office II 1, of 1 November 1938, written ten days before **Kristallnacht** and covering the preceding ten months, 354, and the previous reports on the local, regional and national levels in 348, 353.
160. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
161. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.
162. The following text, according to local information, comes from a slip of paper in the same file, but it bears no letterhead or date of composition. It was presumably written sometime in November 1938: “The negotiations between the German and Polish government for the purpose of acceptance of the Jews of Polish nationality expelled from the territory of the Reich on 27 November 1938 [sic, the correct date is 27 October 1938] have not yet reached a conclusion. The number of Jews it was possible to expel to Polish territory is said to be in the range of 17,000. The Polish side is demanding that these Jews be taken back into Germany, while the German side has proposed the possible return of 1,000 Jews, provided the expatriation orders issued for Germans in Poland are revoked. The return transport of those Jews it was no longer possible to expel, and the release of Polish Jews arrested in the Reich, led to a certain sense of alarm in Jewish life here at the beginning of the month.”
163. See, for example, Chronology, 3 and 5 October 1938, and Walk, *Sonderrecht*.
164. See Chronology, 27 September 1938.
165. See Göppinger, *Juristen jüdischer Abstammung*.

[166.](#) See **Altreich**.

[167.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[168.](#) See **Zionist Association of Germany**.

[169.](#) See **Minority protection**.

[170.](#) The present “Annual Overview” on the first ten months of 1938 is evidently a draft that was to be supplemented at the end of the year. In view of the **Kristallnacht** violence unleashed eight days later and its immediate consequences, this report would appear to be totally outdated (see Chap. 8 and the annual reports for 1938 there). But precisely this document, composed on 1 November, shows clearly that Kristallnacht was preceded by a rising tide of pogrom-like excesses over several months: see the SD report for October 1938 ▶ 353▶.

[171.](#) On the following laws and ordinances of the previous report months, see Chronology January–October 1938, and Walk, *Sonderrecht*.

[172.](#) For this day and following dates mentioned in this report, see Chronology.

[173.](#) Correct: 28 March 1938, see Chronology.

[174.](#) See **State Zionist Organization**, and Chronology, 31 August 1938.

[175.](#) See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.

[176.](#) See **Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship**.

[177.](#) On the Nazi policy on the Jews in Austria, see Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung*.

[178.](#) See “Die Reichsvertretung und der Anschluß Österreichs,” in Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum I*, No. 113.

[179.](#) See **Emigration**.

[180.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[181.](#) See Chronology, September 1938.

[182.](#) See **Cemetery desecration**.

[183.](#) See ▶347▶, ▶350▶, ▶351▶, ▶353▶ and ▶354▶

[184.](#) See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.

The Kristallnacht Pogrom and the Year 1938 in Retrospect

(November-December 1938)

◀356▶

SD Main Office II 112
[Report for November 1938]
Berlin, 7 December 1938
OA Mos, 500–3–316

*Jewry*¹

In the month of November, the situation of Jewry in Germany was marked primarily by three factors:

- 1) The effects of the expulsion of the Jews of Polish nationality ordered on 27 October 1938 from the territory of the Reich.²
- 2) The operations against the Jews on 9 and 10 November throughout the entire territory of the Reich in the wake of the murder of the legation secretary vom Rath in Paris.³
- 3) The laws and ordinances issued as a result, which aim at a total and complete exclusion of the Jews from the community of the German people.⁴

The atonement operation against the Jews of Germany began uniformly throughout the entire territory of the Reich during the night of 9/10 November. The activists in the operation were in general the Political Directors, members of the SA, the SS, and in individual instances also members of the **Hitler Youth**. The civilian population participated only to a very limited extent in the operations. In general, the mode of action was also uniform in all areas of the Reich.

After **synagogues**, prayer houses, and offices of the Jewish **Communities** and organizations had initially been destroyed or set ablaze, there were actions against Jewish shops and later also against Jewish private residences.

In connection with the expansion of the violence against Jewish property, especially after the conclusion of the operation, politically dubious elements also became involved. As a result, there were violent excesses against individual Jews and plundering in numerous localities. However, some members of the Party and the formations also participated in these actions. Through the immediate intervention of the **Gestapo**, in cooperation with police authorities and the SD, it proved possible in general within a short period of time to put a stop to such excesses and plundering. Most of the persons involved in this were taken into custody, and in several cases have already been tried and sentenced. Party members or members of the SA and SS were expelled from the Party in a summary procedure before being arraigned before a judge.

The number of synagogues destroyed amounts to some 360 in the entire territory of the Reich. In addition, more than 31 department stores were completely destroyed by fire or demolition. The total amount of damage as a result of the destruction of material goods and property is estimated at approximately 990 million RM. [*Here handwritten comment in the margin: “? requires survey”*] The number of pure-blooded German employees rendered jobless by the closing of Jewish firms is reported to be about 14,000.

Simultaneous with the demolishing of Jewish property, there was an arrest operation against Jews, directed by the Gestapo. The number of Jews taken into custody is some 24,000. The number of reported deaths presently stands at 36, of those injured 58. [*Here handwritten comment in the margin: “new figures”*]

The attitude of the population to the actions, which initially was positive, changed fundamentally when the extent of material damage inflicted became generally known. It was repeatedly emphasized that action against the Jews as atonement for the murder of the legation secretary vom Rath met with approval. However, persons stressed that the destruction of firms, offices, and private dwellings was incompatible with the requisite measures called for to implement the Four-Year Plan. In addition, it was noted that this all-too-blatant action against the Jews could lead to new difficulties in foreign policy. There was particular condemnation by members of the armed forces of the methods used against the Jews.⁵

The clear rejection of the entire operation in uniformly Catholic regions proves that the internal political adversaries are exploiting this mood. Commenting that the synagogues were “the Lord’s houses”—which previously were never especially seen as such by the Catholic Church—the attempt was made to upset the population, and fears were articulated that a similar fate now awaited the churches.⁶ This action by the Catholic clergy led in some instances

to the population in various solely Catholic areas distancing itself from participation in the operation against the Jews, or even demonstratively expressing its sympathies for the Jews. Thus, for example, in Vreden, most of the population the following day went ostentatiously to shop at the Jewish stores still open and operating. On the other hand, the windows were also smashed in the homes of Party branch heads, whom people held responsible for the operations. In addition, contributions for Stew Sunday⁷ and collections by the National Socialist People's Welfare were rejected, with people commenting on the disgraceful character of the operations against the Jews. In the Ruhr, leaflets were distributed calling for putting the Party heads and officers who had participated in the operation up against the wall. [*Here handwritten comment in the margin: "precise proof? p. 2"*]

The attitude abroad to the operation was uniformly negative. Despite publications by the German press to the contrary, the opinion of foreign journalists and official representatives of countries was basically that the operation had most likely been prepared and implemented, accompanied by acquiescence from the highest echelons of power. The embassies and legations had instructed their consulates to report continuously on the course of the operation. This resulted in various interventions on behalf of Jews of foreign nationality who had been affected.⁸

The laws and ordinances from all departments issued against the Jews in Germany in the wake of the operation, as well as those still in preparation,⁹ are aimed at achieving the final exclusion of Jewry from all areas of life, with the ultimate goal of their removal from the territory of the Reich, by all means necessary, and in the shortest amount of time.¹⁰

In general, in no case has immigration to a country where immigration by Jews is at all possible been made any easier.¹¹ [...]

Danzig

When the attack in Paris became known, there was initially no special reaction in Danzig. Not until the events in the Reich became a matter of public knowledge as a result of the press and radio did larger-scale demonstrations occur, but these were carried out in a manner lacking any organization.¹² The mood among the population was similar to that in the Reich.

Effective from 23 November 1938, an ordinance of the Senate was published on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor. The text and executive orders are very close to those in the **Nuremberg Laws**. But it is also notable that the ordinance likewise expressly applies to the Jews of Polish nationality

resident in Danzig.¹³[...] <2550>

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Stapostelle Bielefeld II B 2

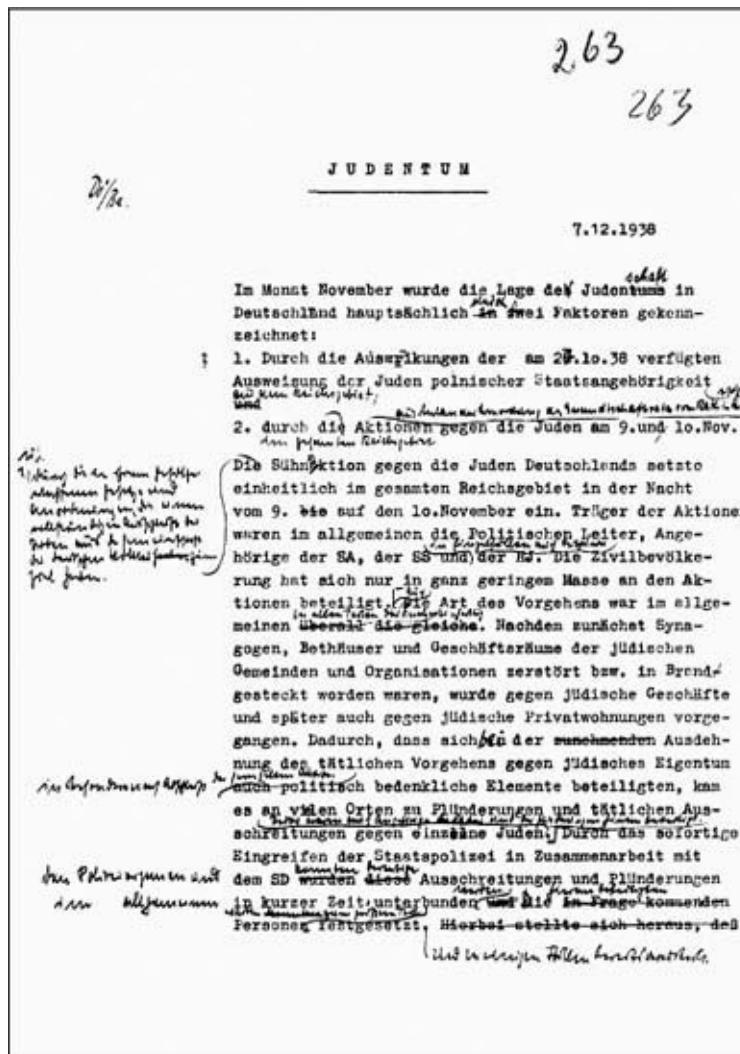
Circular Directive
Bielefeld, 14 November 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

Urgent!

Circular Directive No. 224/38¹⁴

Re: Operation against Jews, 10 November 1938.¹⁵

Item: My telephonic directives of 10 and 11 November 1938



Figures 22a, 22b, 22c. Facsimile of document #356. Yad Vashem Archives,

- 2 -

~~unter ihnen eine ganze Anzahl Parteimitgliedern und SA- und SS-Angehörige befinden.~~

Die Anzahl der zerstörten Synagogen beläuft sich im gesamten Reichsgebiet auf ca. 360. Weiter wurden über 30 Warenhäuser durch Brand oder Demolierung vollständig zerstört. Der ~~schätzungsweise~~ durch die Zerstörung von Sachwerten entstandene Gesamtschaden wird auf ca. 50 Mill. RM geschätzt. Die Zahl, der infolge der Schließung jüdischer Geschäfte erwerblos gewordener deutschblütigen Angestellten wird mit ca. 14.000 angegeben.

Gleichzeitig mit der Aktion lief die Verhaftung von ~~jüdischen~~ Juden durch die Staatspolizei. Die Zahl der verhafteten Juden beläuft sich auf ca. 24.000. Die Zahl der Toten ~~wurde~~ Fälle sind z.Zt. mit 56, die der Verletzten mit 58 angegeben.

Bemerkenswert ist noch, daß in Düsseldorf über die allgemeine Durchführung der Aktion hinaus unter der Führung einiger Pg. der Gauleitung zu einer Demonstration gegen den inzwischen zurückgetretenen Regierungspräsidenten Schmidt kam.

Die Stellungnahme der Bevölkerung zu den Aktionen, die anfänglich zustimmend war, änderte sich grundlegend als der angestellte Sachschaden allgemein zu überschreiten war. Es wurde immer wieder besonders betont, daß ein Vorgehen gegen die Juden als Sühne für den Mord an dem Gesandtschaftsrat vom Rath wohl genehmigt werde, die Zerstörungen von Geschäfts- und Wohnräumen sich nicht mit den Grundsätzen des Vierjahresplanes vereinbaren liesse. Außerdem wurde zum Ausdruck gebracht, daß dieses allzu krasse Vorgehen gegen die Juden neue ausßenpolitische Schwierigkeiten bringen könnte. Insbesondere wurden die angewandten Ma-

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*(diesen Vorgang gegen Juden wurde im Gegensatz zu den beiden
thoeh durch Kreis der Wehrmacht verurteilt.)*

*Die jüdische Bevölkerung wurde gegen die Wehrmacht verurteilt.
Sie nicht anders zu verhalten, erfuhr das Vorgehen
gegen Juden gegen die katholischen Gegendien sowie
eindeutige Ablehnung. Die Protestaktionen wurden
zu einem neuen Angriff auf den Nationalsozialismus
benutzt. Unter dem Hinweis, daß die Synagogen
"Gotteshäuser" seien, als die sie vorher insbesondere
von der katholischen Kirche nie angesehen wurden,
wurde versucht, die Bevölkerung zu beruhigen. Dieses
Vorgehen der katholischen Geistlichkeit hatte teil-
weise zur Folge, dass die Bevölkerung in verschiedenen
Orten ~~Wiederstandsbewegungen gegen die Judenaktionen~~
~~widerstand~~ so tätig z.B. in Witten der größte
Teil der Bevölkerung am nächsten Tage ostentativ
seine Einkäufe in den noch ~~bestimmten~~ ganz ga-
blichen jüdischen Geschäften, andererseits wurden
auch bei Ortsgruppenleitern, die man für die Aktionen
verantwortlich mache, die Fenster eingeschlagen.
Leiter wurden Eintopfpenden und Sammlungen der NSV
unter dem Hinweis auf die Schande der Judenaktionen
abgelehnt. Im Ruhrgebiet wurden Flugblätter verteilt,
in denen aufgefordert wurde, die an der Aktion be-
teiligten Parteiführer und Beamten an die Wand zu
stellen.*

*Anna Krupp
J. L.*

*Die Stellungnahme des Auslands zu der Aktion war
einheitlich ablehnend, trotz der gegenteiligen Ver-
öffentlichungen der deutschen Presse ging die Meinung
der ausländischen Journalisten und offiziellen Ver-
treter der Staaten dahin, daß die Aktion wohl vor-
bereitet und mit Zustimmung höchster Stelle durchge-
führt worden ~~war~~. Die Botschaften und Gesandtschaften
hatten ihre Konsulate angewiesen, laufend über den
Verlauf der Aktion an sie zu berichten. Die Folge war-*

I request a report in duplicate by Friday, 18 November 1938, 6 p.m., on all occurrences in the operation against the Jews, especially regarding the following:

- 1) Where did **synagogues** burn down? Where were synagogues destroyed or damaged? To what extent? Type of damage? Amount of monetary damage?
- 2) Where were firms or commercial offices set ablaze, destroyed, or damaged? To what extent? Type of damage? Personal data of the owners? Amount of monetary damage?
- 3) How many workers and employees have been rendered jobless as a result of the destruction of the business enterprises? How many of those persons have already found employment elsewhere?
- 4) Where and in what way have steps been taken to ensure continued operation of the businesses, or their **Aryanization**? Have authorized agents or

trustees been appointed? Personal data? Have the measures been reversed in the meantime?

5) Where were private homes burned down, destroyed, or damaged? To what extent? Type of damage? Personal data of the owner? Amount of monetary damage?

6) Where were apartments destroyed or damaged? Extent, type, and amount of the monetary damage? Personal data of the occupant?

7) Who—personal data—lost his or her life? In what way? Who—personal data—was injured or maltreated? Type of injury? Culprit?

8) Where did criminal acts take place? Of what kind, such as theft, plundering, and extortion? Were the culprits arrested? Personal data? Any incidents should be reported here immediately.

9) Number and designated type of weapons discovered, etc.?¹⁶ Personal data of the former owners?

10) Where was archival material found? What, how much? Where is it now?

¹⁷

11) Where and in what amount were cash, bank accounts, valuable objects, or other items discovered? Who is the owner? Has the item in the meantime been returned to its rightful owner?

12) Which destroyed or damaged synagogues, businesses, commercial offices and rooms, private houses, and apartments were insured? Type of insurance? Amount of insured sum? Have those affected already filed a claim for compensation with their company? For what amount?¹⁸

13) Are the families and other dependents of the Jews arrested now in distress? Has some assistance been arranged? In what way?

14) How does the population view the operation? Impact on the popular mood? Where and what negative comments—if possible verbatim—have become known? Personal data of the persons involved? Has this person ever called attention to himself or herself? What measures were not accepted or not understood? What negative effects are to be feared?

Please respond to this letter with special care and attention. You should report frankly on your observations, conclusions, and experiences, without whitewashing, absolutely truthfully. <2558>

Lord Mayor of Bielefeld

Action against the Jews on 9/10 November 1938

Bielefeld, 22 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

The questions asked were answered as follows:¹⁹

On 1) In Bielefeld, the **synagogue** burned down to its outer walls. The condition of the ruined building requires a comprehensive demolition.

At the time of construction, the synagogue in its bare brickwork frame cost 350,000 Mk. It contained an organ, which is said to have cost 28,000 Mk. The plot of land on which the synagogue stands is in the center of town and represents substantial value. The building and an adjoining building, which will be treated in particular under 5) below, are insured for the sum of 439,000 RM by the firm Coloniaversicherung, whose district office is located here in town, at Körnerstrasse 3. No insurance claims have yet been filed.²⁰

On 2)[...]

i) *Louis Mosberg, work clothes, Breitestrasse 44.*

Owner Alfred Levy, Detmolderstrasse 104.

Two panes of glass in display windows were broken, damage 1,000 RM. The seven employees in the firm are continuing at their jobs. The firm was taken over some four weeks ago by the clerk Borgstedt, resident at Am Schildhof 5 (Aryan).²¹ Insured with Vaterländische Feuerversicherungssozietät, mutual, Rostock. Damage has been reported, the Levy family is not in dire distress.

k) *Rudolf Rose, butcher shop, Hagenbruchstrasse 7, resident in Düren, Bergsstrasse 35.*

Leaseholder Richard Rose, Hagenbruchstrasse 7.

Two panes of glass in display windows were broken, along with several smaller windows. Damage 300 RM. The two non-Aryan employees will soon be jobless. Negotiations on **Aryanization** have not as yet been carried out. Damage is insured as in f). The insurance firm has been informed. The family of R. is not in distress. [...]

5) Along with the synagogue, there was a two-story house, Turnerstrasse 7, where the custodian of the synagogue—Heine—lived with his family. This house was burned down together with the synagogue, and only the outer walls remain standing. The legal owner is the Jewish **Community**. There is a reply under 1) above regarding the amount of damage and the other questions.

6) The apartment of the person named under 5) located in the administration

building of the synagogue, Turnerstrasse 7, and the premises of the inn, where Heine operated a small restaurant on his own, were completely destroyed by fire. Heine, who in the meantime has been taken into **protective custody**, as well as his wife and domestic servant (Jewess), were only able to save their own lives. Furniture, linen, and clothing of all the persons were consumed in the flames. Frau Heine is now at the home of her brother-in-law Max Sieger, Kavalleriestrasse 16. The domestic servant is also accommodated there. Frau Heine and the servant have no income or cash. They are supported by Sieger. The damage Heine suffered is insured by the Allgemeine Feuer-Allianz, and has also been reported to the company. However, the damage has not as yet been assessed.

7) Negative report

8) Items stolen:

I. In the firm Koch, Niedernstrasse 18, men's clothing, part of which has already been returned or located. These events have been reported to the **Stapo**.

II. Firm Adolf Heine, Ritterstrasse, several items of household goods were stolen, valued at about 70 RM. Culprits unknown.

III. Firm Berta Münz, Oberntorwall 25, items of men's clothing and a typewriter were taken. Value of the stolen items is about 1,000 RM. The culprits are still unknown. [...]

10) In the synagogue, there was supposedly archival and other material. It supposedly has also been located.²² But we are unable to report anything positive about this. Where the material is located is likewise not known to us. [...]

14) In the population in Bielefeld, there is definitely understanding for the need to struggle against Jewry. It is likewise generally regarded as self-evident that if Jews are to be disposed of, extremely severe measures will have to be employed. On the whole, there were few objections to the destruction of the synagogue. But the manner in which Jewish shops, or the displays in Jewish shop windows, were attacked—and the resulting destruction of material assets which might otherwise have passed into Aryan ownership after a certain amount of time anyhow²³—have generally not met with approval among the population. This fact was registered by a negative shake of the head or a chilly silence. Moreover, it was well known in the population immediately that this was not an action of spontaneous indignation among the people. Rather, it was something that had been organized in advance.

Negative comments were not heard, but there was an evident expression of displeasure in the form indicated above. The population has formed its own

opinion on the basis of events. For that reason, I believe people will take little or no stock in reports of a different nature. This doubtless is an effect that could in subsequent cases of a different kind make itself felt in a disadvantageous way.
<2622>

•359►

County Commissioner Halle/Westphalia

Operation Against Jews

Halle in Westphalia, 18 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

On the individual questions, the following was reported:²⁴

1) The **synagogue** in Versmold went up in flames on 10 November at 6 p.m. It burned out completely. Only the outer walls are still standing. Damage to the small building is estimated to be about 1,500 RM. The interior decoration and furnishings were insured at a value of 2,100 RM. The synagogue in Werther did not burn down. A fire there would have endangered the neighboring houses and the apothecary. The interior decoration and furnishings were demolished. Chandeliers, cabinets, benches, the altar, and ritual objects were seriously damaged. The windows were smashed. Flammable objects such as carpets, plush covers, and curtains were removed by the mayor from the synagogue in order to prevent them from being used to start a fire. He ordered the damaged chandeliers seized as part of salvageable material. Damage was estimated at 400 RM. [...]

5) On 11 November this year about 10 p.m., the house and nearby stables belonging to the former **cattle** dealer Nathan Hurwitz, born 20 January 1874 in Levern, Lübbecke district, resident at Brockhagen No. 220, went up in flames. The house burned down, with only the outer walls left standing. According to information from the Isselhorst Fire Insurance, damage amounts to some 23,000 RM. Action on the spot by the county commissioner who visited the locality of the fire that night prevented a house owned by Hurwitz's son-in-law, an **Aryan**, from burning down. [...]

7) No one was injured, maltreated, or killed.

8) According to a sister of Steinfeld mentioned in 2) and 5), objects were stolen or have disappeared. The perpetrators have not as yet been apprehended. [...]

10) Archival material was not seized.

11) Cash, etc., was likewise not seized.

12) It has not yet been established whether the synagogue in Versmold (premises) was insured. The interior decoration and furnishings were insured at a value of 2,100 RM by the Westph. Provincial Fire Insurance Society in Münster. The claim filed was for this amount. [...]

The individual Hurwitz in Brockhagen mentioned under 5) para. 2 has reported fire damage to the Isselhorst Fire Insurance Co. in Isselhorst concerning the property, insured for 12,700 RM, and the furnishings, insured for 11,924 RM.

However, he has as yet not made a claim for a specific amount.

The mayor of Werther has informed me that it is not possible to answer the question under 12) until the damaged parties have been questioned. Bearing in mind the confidential nature of the directive, the mayor initially has decided not to deal with relevant inquiries coming from among the Jews.

13) No Jew is living in distress.

14) The mayor of Versmold reports:

“Generally, the population was noticeably quiet in its response. To the extent that I can assess the prevailing mood among a large segment of the population, it seems that reprisals for the cowardly murder are recognized as justified,²⁵ but people do not understand the destruction of public property of the German **Volk**. This is regarded as incompatible with the aims of the Four-Year Plan.”²⁶

The mayor of Halle reports the following:

“There was a relatively small crowd of onlookers that gathered at the scene of the fire in Brockhagen; persons stood there watching in silence.”

The mayor of Werther reports:

“A large part of the population does not approve of this operation, most especially of the manner in which it was carried out. [...] It is generally assumed that schoolchildren were instigated by adults to these destructive actions, since the children stood and watched the destruction without raising any objection. The reputation and authority of the police have been badly shaken, and public trust in the police significantly weakened, by the fact that despite the order to cease with all operations, broadcast by radio on 10 November, etc., and despite the SS guards posted by the police in accordance with orders during the night of 12 November, a number of important **Volksgenossen** forced their way into the locked and bolted synagogue and continued with acts of destruction. It was likewise extremely unpleasant for the police that other authorities were given instructions for the destruction already on the evening of 9 November, while the police did not learn of the measures and their toleration until the morning hours of 10 November. I was thus placed in the unenviable position of having to take steps on two separate occasions against persons engaged in acts of destruction who were only acting under orders.

It cannot as yet be determined what negative consequences should be feared as a result. Along with damage to the reputation and authority of the police, locally it is possible to discern an undeniable brutalization among youth and certain other elements.

As per orders, I have reported truthfully, frankly, in response to the questions, and without attempting to gloss over anything. I am fully aware of the

responsibility involved here, but feel obliged as a matter of conscience not to remain silent about anything that I deem useful knowledge for assessing the operation. Many Volksgenossen, including Party members, do not approve of this operation, but are extremely cautious in voicing criticism, because they are afraid of being called Jew friends and of suffering economic and other disadvantages as a result.” [...]

◀2657▶

◀360▶

County Commissioner Höxter

Operation Against the Jews
Höxter, 18 November 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

[...]²⁷

*On 14: [...] The arrest of the male Jews initially met with approval in the moment of popular rage sparked by the incident in Paris.²⁸ But once various rumors began to come in about abuse that had occurred, particularly from localities outside the district, and as the public forced transport of these more or less miserable-looking individuals continued, it was possible to observe that the population harbored no sympathy for this operation. The population was in a serious mood and depressed. There were clear signs here and there of pity. The destruction of material assets, especially the incidents [in] Pömbsen, met with total condemnation. There were very serious doubts about the damage inflicted on the **synagogues**, since the Catholic population specifically, in its well-known respect for external sacred structures, viewed these synagogues as religious sites rather than as the bulwark of Judaism. In various localities, suspicions were voiced that someday a similar operation might also befall the **churches**. Very generally, the operation has shown that the preponderant majority of the rural population does consider such an operation to be compatible with the reputation and dignity of the Germans. And at the present time, this impression still casts its shadow over the current sense of satisfaction as regards the solution to the economic dimension of the Jewish Problem.²⁹ <2671>*

City of Minden

Report for 10 November 1938

Minden, 18 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

1. In Minden, the **synagogue** was gutted to its outer walls.³⁰ The interior of the synagogue was destroyed by fire. The amount of total damage has not as yet been assessed. According to information from the Tax and Revenue Office, Minden, the combined value of the land and building is 15,500 RM.

2. The following shops or businesses premises were destroyed or damaged:

[...]

14. In the population, the operation was expressly applauded by many. On the other hand, during the morning hours of 10 November, at the weekly open market and other places, individuals here and there were especially reserved in their remarks. <2705>

Mayor of Atteln

Operation Against Jews on 10 November 1938

Atteln, 17 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

The questions are answered as follows.³¹

On 1: The **synagogue** in Haaren, located in the house of the Jew Otto Emmerich, no. 97, was totally destroyed. The interior decoration and furnishings were demolished and thrown through the second-floor window out into the street. [...]

On 14: Particularly in the first few days after the operation, the population was actively engaged in discussing the operation. People do not object to the arrest and removal of the Jews. On the contrary: that has been welcomed by various circles. In general, the only thing the population took exception to was the material destruction. <2600>

Mayor of Amt Neuhaus

Operation Against Jews on 10 November 1938

Neuhaus, 17 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

[...]³²

On 14) The reports of two Gendarmerie police sergeants from Neuhaus whom I questioned show just how varied the assessment by officers (who, after all, have some training) is of how the population has reacted to the operation. Their comments are given verbatim below:

1st report: at/from Neuhaus, 15/17 November 1938—419/38—with the report that the operation against the Jews on 10 November 1938 was viewed with satisfaction by the population in my service district. There were no negative comments about the operation.

2nd report: The attitude of the population toward the operation finds little understanding [*sic*], since the population largely feels pity for the Jews, and on the other hand is politically too ignorant, and still closely attached to the view of the former Zentrum Party and other party cliques. There are no fears about possible negative consequences. I have heard no derogatory comments of any kind.[...] <2712>

◀364▶

[SD District Office Hofgeismar]³³

Operation Against Jews

Hofgeismar, 17 November 1938

HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 10024

On 1) In the local district, only the **synagogue** in Meimbressen was demolished. Unfortunately, the synagogues in Hofgeismar und Grebenstein had already passed earlier on into **Aryan** hands, so that destruction in their case was inappropriate.

On 2) In Hofgeismar district, a total of 8 stores were destroyed. In addition, windows were broken in three private residences. According to a preliminary estimate, total damage in the district is put at approximately RM 4,200 (insurance agents were not contacted for confirmation).

On 3) In several cases, Jews considered to be particularly objectionable had their asses kicked in. The next day they then were forced, with black eyes and aching limbs, to clean the street.

On 4) There was no plundering in the local district.

On 5) In the local district, a total of 7 Jews were taken into custody.

On 6) No ritual objects or archival materials were seized. Most of this was either burned or destroyed. However, the account books of the Jews were confiscated, and they are at the moment being examined by competent authorities.

On 7) Unfortunately, there were no **suicides** or deaths among the Jews during this period.

On 8) It is planned to renovate the building of the demolished synagogue in Meimbressen and to convert it into several apartments. The remaining shops or residential buildings are already in Aryan hands, or will be so transferred.³⁴
<2764>

County Commissioner Paderborn
Operation Against the Jews on 10 November 1938
Paderborn, 23 November 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

[...] As I see it, even if during the first days after the deed, more thought was given to legal measures against the Jews, once Legation Secretary vom Rath died, the active operation³⁵ against the Jews was warmly welcomed. However, the overwhelming proportion of the population, which is still under the influence of [former] Zentrist Party and ecclesiastical circles,³⁶ rejects the operation against the Jews. These circles, which are, as a matter of fundamental conviction, especially opposed to the National Socialist state due to their political-churchly ties, are particularly angered by the fact that the “houses of worship” of the Jews³⁷ were set on fire. Apparently these circles, which still regard Jewry as a religious community and not as an alien race, are spreading the horror story that later a similar operation could perchance also be unleashed against other “religions.” <2720>

◀366▶

County Commissioner Bielefeld
Operation Against the Jews on 10 November 1938
Bielefeld, 18 November 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

I hereby report the following on the events in the operation against the Jews:³⁸

[...]

On No. 14: The operations against the Jews throughout the entire territory of the Reich have had a lasting impact on the population. A portion of the population has responded to the operations with a general sense of gratification and understanding. Another segment, especially those oriented to the church (both Catholic and Protestant) and most especially members of the Confessional Front, were cautiously criticizing the burning of the synagogues. According to reports, very church-minded individuals are said to have asserted that now that the synagogues have been burned down, the churches would be next in line for burning. [...]

◀2620▶

◀367▶

Mayor of Lemgo
Report on the Operations Against the Jews
Lemgo, 17 November 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

Re: report on the Jews' Operation:³⁹

On 1: The local synagogue was destroyed the night of 10 November 1938, the door was forced open and the interior decoration and furnishings were totally demolished, along with the windows. On 10 November at noon, the ruins were set ablaze and burned out completely. All that is standing is the bare wall, devoid of any roof. The furnishings were insured for 7,800 M with the National Insurance Corp., Inc. Stettin, agency Fritz Finne in Lemgo, Mittelstraße 134. The building was insured for 14,000 M with the Regional Fire Insurance Agency Detmold. Damage to the building is estimated to be in the range of some 5,000 M.

On 2: During the night of 10 November 1938, the interior of the photographic studio of the Jew Erich Katzenstein, Mittelstr. 107, was totally demolished. This was a single rented room. Damage is estimated to be between 200 and 300 M.

On 3: No blue-collar employees or workers were made jobless.

[...]

On 11. The heavy iron gates of the Jewish cemetery were seized on orders from the mayor on 10 November 1938. On the basis of this directive, one iron gate and 10 iron supports were also removed and seized from the concrete wall surrounding the old Jewish cemetery. These items have reportedly been handed over to the SA for scrapping. They have not as yet been returned.

On the basis of the directive, the old Jewish cemetery has been razed. Twenty-eight gravestones, some damaged, have been placed for storage at the Filierbruch, an open area in the city of Lemgo.

*At the new Jewish cemetery, 7 monuments were overturned during the night of 9 and 10 November 1938.*⁴⁰

[...]

On 13: In distress are the following: the family of Walter Frenkel, Echternstraße 70,

the family of Ludwig Davidsohn, Schuhstraße 28,
the family of Josef Ostwald, Hellestraße 28,
the family of Adolf Abraham, Heiligegeiststraße 10.

The wife of Josef Ostwald has filed a formal application for support with the Welfare Office here. Support has not yet been paid out. The spouses of Adolf Abraham and Ludwig Davidsohn have requested support verbally at the Welfare Office, but a formal application for support has not as yet been received. The three women were born German and are only married to Jews.⁴¹ To date, the Jews have not filed applications for support.

On 14: A portion of the population had no understanding for the destruction of the synagogue. They were of the view that the building could have been usefully put to use in [sic] or something similar. The damage to the Jewish cemeteries was also received with mixed feelings. There were no individuals who drew particular attention to themselves in this connection as a result of negative comments. There are no fears about possible negative consequences.
<2693>

Mayor of Amt Borgentreich

Operation Against the Jews on 10 November 1938

Borgentreich, 17 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

On the decree by the Gestapo Bielefeld of 14 November, re: operation against the Jews, the following is reported from the district of Amt Borgentreich:⁴²

[...]

14.) In many instances, the population has no understanding for the operation, or better, did not wish to understand it. The Jews were also the object of pity. Especially because their property had been damaged and the male Jews had been taken to a **concentration camp**. This mood in the population was certainly not the general feeling, but I would estimate that at least 60 percent of the population here was thinking along these lines. [...] 2624>

►369►

Stapostelle Bielefeld II B 2

Protest Operation Against Jews on 10 November 1938⁴³

Bielefeld, 26 November 1938

StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1714

In the Gestapo District Bielefeld, a total of 37 **synagogues** were destroyed on the occasion of the protest operation against Jews. Of these, 19 were destroyed by fire and 18 synagogues by other means. Total damage is in the range of some 450,000 RM.

There were a total of 102 shops and offices destroyed. Of these, five were destroyed by fire and 97 by other means. Total damage is in the range of some 420,000 RM. A total of 32 employees were rendered jobless by the destruction of the firms, and three of these persons have since found other jobs. The rest can very soon be provided with employment elsewhere.

A total of 110 private dwellings were destroyed or damaged. Of these, 7 houses were completely burned down. The other houses were damaged to an appreciable or lesser extent. In every case, it is possible to recondition the damaged houses. Damage is in the range of 200,000 RM.

The interior decoration and furnishings of 47 residences were totally destroyed. 57 residences were damaged to an appreciable or lesser extent. Total damage to the residences destroyed amounts to approximately 250,000 RM.

In the operation, 2 individuals lost their lives, namely

a) the Jew David *SMesinger*, born 20 November 1880 in Albaxen, resident in Albaxen, No. 10. After his arrest, Schlesinger jumped from a jeep of the SA and suffered a skull fracture, from which he later died,

b) the Jewess Miss Julie *Hirschfeld*, born 29 September 1856 in Horn im Lippischen, resident in Horn im Lippischen, Nordstr. 11. Hirschfeld is nearsighted and for that reason fell down the stairs. She later died of her injuries in the hospital in Detmold.

Five persons were injured during the operation [...]

In the course of the operation, there were robberies at 21 places in Jewish businesses and homes. Goods and other material assets were stolen, amounting in value to some 60,000 RM. In addition, approximately 3,000 RM in cash was taken. A few of the stolen items have since been recovered. Inquiries are still under way.[...]

Archival materials were seized in 17 synagogues and passed on to the SD for evaluation.⁴⁴ [...]

In general, the Jewish families in which male family members were arrested are not in material distress. Yet some isolated cases where families are in genuine need have come to attention, and public welfare had to be contacted for assistance.

To date, there have been four deaths among the 406 Jews arrested here and sent to the Buchenwald **concentration camp**. On request from here, 45 Jews have been released up to the present from the Buchenwald camp.

All Jews are resolute in their intention to emigrate.⁴⁵ All Jews who own businesses wish to **Aryanize** or liquidate.

In general, the operation of 10 November 1938 has had a rather unfavorable impact on the popular mood. The destruction of the synagogues has been criticized only by circles of the church, both Catholic and Protestant.⁴⁶ Likewise, the smashing of windows in Jewish businesses and private residences has generally not given offense. By contrast, there is open criticism in all segments of the population, but most especially among the workers, regarding the destruction of material assets. The workers in particular cannot comprehend this act. Again and again, they compare the economy measures and collection of waste and the like in the framework of the Four-Year Plan,⁴⁷ and the willful destruction of property assets.

Since implementation of the operation was in the hands of the Party, something which of course is well-known within the population, the prestige of the movement has suffered a blow. That was due to the fact that in many places, youths were enlisted to carry out the operation.⁴⁸ Thus, in a number of cases it was noted that children of school age took part in smashing windows or even setting fires, destroying items of furniture, and the like.

In this context, it should also be noted that people generally found the manner of reporting on the course of the operation in the press to be offensive. Since, as mentioned, in virtually no cases did the population take active part, the repeated assertion by the press that this constituted a spontaneous indignation on the part of the people appears downright ridiculous. In particular, because it was patently evident that the initiative had been organized from above, given the general uniform implementation of the operation.

By contrast, the Expiation Laws⁴⁹ issued by General Field Marshal **Göring** have been positively received by the population everywhere. Likewise, few voices were raised against the arrest of the Jews. <2559>

◀370▶

Gestapo II A 4

Report for November 1938

Berlin, 8 December 1938

BArch, R 58/3060

Illegal Communist Movement

State of Illegal Work

General Remarks on Organization and Tactics

[...] Along with an intensified propaganda campaign for the efforts of the united front, during the report period the communist movement has seized on the Jewish Problem and the most recent events⁵⁰ as a welcome occasion for developing a very active agitation in almost all parts of the Reich. In their general statements, the communists declare their solidarity with the Jews.⁵¹ The operation against the Jews is pictured as a “weapon of fascist war policy” which is designed to mislead people and deflect attention from the internal and external difficulties of the Reich. For communist word-of-mouth propaganda, the events served as an occasion for their debates and a basis for their activity. The feelings

of solidarity which the communists have for the Jews were given animated support by bourgeois elements, and most especially by clerical circles. Thus, it was possible to note that the communists, together with the other circles opposed to the state, influenced public opinion and found willing support among the population. The latter reject the Jews but did not approve of the events of 9/10 November. The destruction of material assets and the contradiction that arose here with the Four-Year Plan⁵² was mobilized for communist ends in a bid to attack the National Socialist state ideologically.

In this connection, the Gestapo *Berlin* has pointed out that the **Jewish Question** has been given too little importance in training material of the **“German Labor Front”** over the years. But thanks to the German press and radio propaganda after 10 November, today there is also far greater appreciation of the Jewish Problem, even in workers’ circles.

The mood report presented by the management of a large firm in Berlin, which deals with the position of the employees on the recent political events, states the following:

[...] A revival of the familiar activities of left-wing circles was first noted in connection with the well-known measures against Jewry. We have to rely on our circle for information when we assert that these seditious impulses have reached a high point rarely seen in recent years. In addition, they have even found an unexpectedly broad basis. Many officials and Party members showed they were unable to cope with the situation that had arisen, which made it possible for the elements supporting the Jews (united front extending from the communists to the Catholics) to largely gain a hearing for their cause. [...] <2554>

SD District Office Kochern
Report for November 1938
Kochem, 25 November 1938
Brommer, pp. 115–161

Department II 112: Jewry

The operation against the Jews on 10 November⁵³ placed this problem on an entirely new basis. This is also having an extended impact in the local area. Even if many Jews emigrated over the course of time,⁵⁴ so that there were few intact groups left, or those that existed had little importance, in the field of **cattle trade** and wine there were still a number of Jews with a quite prosperous business.

In those localities where it was implemented in a thoroughgoing manner, the success of the operation showed that the Jews had been stripped of any possibility to continue in their commercial transactions. Thus, a Jew and wine dealer in Kochem, whose equipment was totally destroyed, dissolved his business immediately after this measure.

In the course of the operation itself, it became evident that most Jews already intended to emigrate. They had already taken corresponding preparatory steps. [...] In this context, it is interesting to learn that the rural population in the vicinity of Koblenz is engaged in large purchases of furniture and household goods from the Jews.

[...] There are already reports elsewhere about the position of the clergy in both denominations. But there have also been statements from the population expressing pity for the Jews in many instances. Yet in such cases, the persons involved are under the influence of some clergyman.⁵⁵ By contrast, it is necessary to comprehend to some extent the one question that repeatedly emerged: namely that people think it wrong that so much property that was destroyed could have been passed on to the poor **Volksgenossen**. Here in any case, proper enlightenment will soon generate the requisite clarity and insight.

In this connection, a further question requiring a uniform explanation has arisen. In most instances, the Jews living in the apartments of Aryan landlords have signed leases that are long-term and protect Jews from sudden eviction. The operation induces landlords to look for an option to act in accordance with healthy common sense—if not on the basis of conviction, then by dint of constraint—and to throw Jews out into the street, or to make sure that they move in with one another in their own separate apartments.⁵⁶ In this connection,

another question arises: can we expect an Aryan landlord to tolerate Jews under his roof any longer, or can some possibility be created for relevant positive influence to be exerted by some authority? [...]

Department II 1131: Roman Catholicism

[...] The measures carried out against the Jews naturally provided the church with a welcome occasion for counter-propaganda. This was implemented in a totally concealed and external harmless form. During religious services on the Sunday after the operation, many sermons dealt with the topic "Love thy neighbor," a love which is unconditional. They developed the principle that it was a duty to act in accordance with the phrase "live and let live." In general, this form of agitation was correctly recognized for what it was, even though the Jews were never explicitly thought of or expressly mentioned.⁵⁷ [...]

Department II 1133: Protestantism

Like in the Catholic Church, the operation against the Jews provided an occasion for statements by the clergy that were very similar in form among the Protestants as well. In sermons and devotionals, there was repeated mention of Christian brotherly love which is unconditional, and must also be given to strangers. A parson (Karl Johannes in Pleizenhausen, Simmern district) reportedly went so far in a devotional within a small closed group of persons to say a common prayer for the persecuted and oppressed Jews. In Simmern itself, the superintendent, Pastor Gillmann, lent a Jew whose porcelain had been smashed in the operation some dishes. The consequence was that the pastor's windows were broken; in the process, he was slightly injured. It was well-known that this pastor had purchased milk from this Jew until a short time before. His friendly attitude toward the Jews sparked huge indignation in broad circles.

<2552>

►372►
Stapostelle Aachen II A 4
Report for November 1938
Aachen, 30 November 1938
BArch, R 58/446

The Situation in Regional Terms

[...] People are trying to convince the population by word-of-mouth propaganda that the actions against the Jews are unjust. It is also being said that it was not the folk but the government which ordered and implemented the operation against the Jews.⁵⁸ Such expressions meet with the enthusiastic approval of the local Catholic population. In addition, a slogan is quietly spreading: today the **synagogues** were set ablaze, tomorrow it will be the Christian churches. <2555>

Stapostelle Magdeburg
Report for November 1938
Magdeburg, 30 November 1938
BArch, R 58/446

Marxism

In the report month of November, there was no discernable change in the situation in the circles of the old Social Democrats either. By contrast, the battle against the Jews sparked very lively discussions, specifically led by these **Volksgenossen**. Although the Social Democrats by no means have a uniform view in assessing this question—some even welcomed the action, though they disapproved of the manner in which it was carried out—they nonetheless made use of the current more active political participation in order, through word-of-mouth propaganda, to agitate against this operation. Although their arguments were quite threadbare, they nonetheless knew how to awaken the impression among many poorly educated Volksgenossen that the blow struck against the Jews actually spelled the beginning of the end of the Third Reich. The displeasure began to dissipate and disappear slowly only as a result of the wave of meetings that immediately set in, and especially because of the profuse propaganda in the papers. By making use of the necessary factual material, writers there were adept at awakening a highly negative impression of the Jews. It was observed that former Social Democrats, who on the basis of the accomplishments of the Nat. Soc. government had openly embraced National Socialism, once again became very unsteady and vacillating in their opinion in the wake of the operation against the Jews. [...] <2570>

Stapostelle Government District Merseburg

Report for November
Halle, 29 November 1938
BArch R 58/3825

Communism

In circles of former communists and Marxists, the operation against the Jews stirred mixed feelings.⁵⁹ These circles still regard the Jews as comrades in suffering, and thus sympathize with them. In addition, they are saying that Jewry will take revenge, and that the danger of war is now greater than before.

In the local area, in the course of the report month a number of persons were arrested for derogatory comments about the measures by the Party and state against the Jews, and the incorporation of the Sudeten Gau.⁶⁰ <2571>

Stapoleitstelle Munich
Report for November 1938
Munich, n.d.
BArch, R 58/2060 a

Communism

After the peaceful solution of the Sudeten German Question, there was a powerful sense of depression within left-wing circles, but in the second half of the report month, the mood improved markedly once again in connection with the incidents in the Jewish Question.⁶¹

According to confidential reports, the working population did not approve of the destruction of Jewish stores, *etc.* [...]

These events were a welcome occasion for the communist-oriented elements to glorify communism and make National Socialism appear contemptible. They believe that these incidents also had an impact on the population and will convince them that the National Socialist government does not hesitate to commit the greatest outrages. [...] <2572>

District Governor Minden
Secret Order of 28 November 1938
Minden, 5 December 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1714

[...] The population, in part willingly, accepts a number of difficulties in today's style of living, and the far-too-great regimentation of the all-too-numerous authorities within the Party and the state; in part, people have some reservations, but do not completely reject them *in toto*.

By contrast, there is embarrassed silence, as if by common agreement, regarding the operation ordered by the Party on 9 to 10 November.⁶² Expression of a frank opinion is rare. People are ashamed. [...]

The Party was thoroughly informed about the operation ordered against the Jews and directed its implementation. The state authorities were not informed until the morning hours of 10 November, by means of a decree of the Gestapo sent to the Gestapo Office Bielefeld. By that time, the operation was in high gear and could hardly be contained.

In my government district, all **synagogues** were destroyed, some only the day after the permitted operation. [...]

The virtually suicidal destruction of a large number of goods which Germany urgently needs for its market, the senseless ordered destruction of Jewish private residences, accompanied by excesses that arise quite naturally in connection with such operations, the acts of arson, otherwise a crime with a severe penalty, bolster forces which point, secretly and cautiously, to the similarity between such methods and those of anarchistic states.

There is a sense of depression weighing down on the popular mood and broad circles of the Party. In particular, the workers reject the destruction of consumer goods. [...]

All Party members and German men mindful of state policy are dismayed over the divergence evident in the echelons of the state's leadership.

It is a matter of great urgency to prove to the people that neither the General Field Marshal⁶³ nor the Führer have anything to do with the operation. The people are waiting for this because it does not wish to believe it. But they continue to wait![...] <2580>

Report for November 1938
Regensburg, 8 December 1938
BayHStA, StK 106673

Jews

During the operation carried out the night of 9/10 November, the 5 **synagogues** in the Government District in Regensburg, Amberg, Straubing and Sulzbürg bei Neumarkt were destroyed. [...] The Jewish men, and some females, were arrested during the night. All told, in the subsequent period, 224 men from the Government District were sent to the Dachau **concentration camp**. Some have since been released. In Regensburg, all men were marched through the city on the morning of 10 November before being transported off in a closed railroad train. They were forced to carry a large placard declaring "Exodus of the Jews." [...]

After these events as described, it remains to be seen to what extent the number of Jews still in the Government District, now 752 (including 53 foreigners, as of 1 October) will be reduced in the foreseeable future.⁶⁴ [...] <2582>

◆378◆

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for November 1938
Ansbach, 8 December 1938
BayHStA, StK 106678

School and Church

[...] In the course of the protest operation against the Jews, two Protestant clergymen and one Catholic priest, who are considered "**Jews' lackeys**," were brought by the angry crowd to the police station and temporarily taken into custody. A number of windows were smashed in the parsonages.

Protestant Church

[...] Municipal Pastor Koch pointed out in his sermon in St. Gumbertus Church in Ansbach that the Old Testament is already today no longer recognized in certain corners, and various teachers in the schools are already no longer telling the children about the Old Testament, because supposedly the Jewish

people is glorified there.⁶⁵ Yet when the community schools were set up, it was expressly emphasized that nothing would be changed in religious instruction in the schools. [...]

Jews

In the course of the protest operation against the Jewish pack of murderers, 772 Jews were taken into custody in the Government District, of whom 389 are still under arrest. In addition, according to the report of the Gestapo Nuremberg-Fürth, 17 **synagogues** were burned down, 25 synagogues were demolished, 115 Jewish businesses were destroyed; a further 39 Jewish shops were only shut down. In 594 Jewish residences, the interior decoration and furnishings were destroyed or damaged. In addition, the business of a pure-blooded German woman was damaged because the population was aware that the proprietor had engaged in **race defilement** with a Jew. [...] <2584>

◀379▶

NSDAP Reich Direction, Main Office for Municipal Policy

Confidential Report Extracts
Munich, 15 January 1939
BArch, NS 25/86

Gau Office for Municipal Policy Franconia

Social Welfare. Subsequent to the measures of retribution against the Jews,⁶⁶ an *Initiative for the Registration of Jews' Residences* was begun in cooperation with the Gau Head Office, the Association of Homeowners, and the Welfare Bureau (Housing Aid). This was to assist **Volksgenossen** with inadequate living quarters, especially families with many children. The homeowners were initially ordered to give all Jewish tenants notice,⁶⁷ but then the operation was restricted to residences up to a maximum rental of 115 Reichsmark. [...]

Gau Office for Municipal Policy Electoral Hesse

[...] In an earlier report, we mentioned the efforts of the *city of Fulda* to gain possession of the *old Jewish cemetery* there, which is no longer being used. The city had not succeeded in this venture despite having made an offer to buy it. In the course of the operation on the occasion of the political assassination in Paris, this cemetery was in part demolished by the aroused wrath of the population.⁶⁸ In subsequent negotiations with the Jews, the city gained possession of the land without payment of any compensation. The city intends to level the plot located in the city center and then, in the spring, to create a suitable square or park in order to address a pressing felt need in the municipality. [...] <2589>

►380►

NSDAP Main Office for [Ideological] Training
Extracts from Reports on the Ideological Situation
Berlin, 18 January 1939
BArch, R 58/4215

Report by the Party Branch Leader Gotha, Delitzsch district:

“The events in conjunction with the Jewish act of murder in Paris⁶⁹ have not met everywhere with full approval.” People dare to explicitly state: “The Führer most certainly does not want that.”

This fact, hand in hand with the knowledge that in the period 1934–38, countless Germans were still accustomed to shop in local Jewish-owned stores or to go for treatment to Jewish **physicians**, is sufficient proof that the ideological position is still far from solid in its anchorage. A more profound program of training about the **Jewish Question** will in future be necessary. Not only will radio and the press have to be mobilized for this propaganda work, but also **film** and all other sectors of education and leadership training. Looking at reports on the opinion of the broader population regarding the Jewish Question, there is a striking noteworthy fact: broad circles still place the moral justification and authority of the state and its measures unconditionally over and above those of the Party. They thus lack any semblance of mature political thinking. Here too further training will be necessary.

Gau Hesse-Nassau

Let it be noted marginally that the clergy of the Catholic and **Confessing Church**, which in numerous localities are organized by districts, are *praying for the Jews*, and have also organized active assistance for them.⁷⁰

Gau Silesia

The operation against Jewry in the German Reich was viewed completely positively in almost all circles in the Party. By contrast, the assessment of that operation within the German people is quite ambivalent. A large proportion of the **Volksgenossen** are critical of this operation, pointing to the destruction of material goods and assets. [...] <2590>

#x25C4;381►

Gendarmerie Adlkofen
Report for November 1938
Adlkofen, 22 November 1938
StA La, Rep. 164, Verz. 10 Nr. 3873

[General Political Situation]

The mood within the population is quite quiet. [...]

A large segment of the rural population has not completely grasped the measures adopted by the national government for the solution of the **Jewish Question**.⁷¹ Where the opportunity arose, attempts were made to propagandize. [...] ◀2591▶

Gendarmerie Amberg
Report for November 1938
Amberg, 24 November 1938
StA Am, BA Amberg 1942

General Situation

The political situation can be described as unchanged since the last report. There were no activities hostile to the state. The spontaneous actions of retaliation against the Jews have been quietly accepted by the population, with an inner sense of joy. The **Jewish Question** is, by the way, the focus of general discussion after the anger of the German people over the murder in Paris was discharged in corresponding expiation actions against the Jews.⁷² That was followed by the laws and measures issued by the German government.⁷³ <2596>

•383•

NSDAP Direction of the Women's Organization, Gau Baden

Activity Report
n.p., November 1938
GLA Ka, 465 d Nr. 115

Ideological Education

The topic “*Germans Become a Volk*” was featured as a focus this month as well. Since our district department heads have been trained to think and act independently, the **Jewish Question** was treated spontaneously following the political murder in Paris.⁷⁴ The various topics are evident from the monthly reports:

- “The Jewish Question”
- “International Jewry”
- “Judaism and Freemasonry”
- “The Impact of the Jews”
- “World Jewry”
- “Racial Awakening”

[...]

Lörrach: at the moment, treatment of the Jewish Question is a very central issue here. The influence of the border is quite strong and people here feel very sorry for “the poor Jews”!!! <2601>

Criminal Investigative Division Bad Kissingen
Burials at the Local Jewish Cemetery
Bad Kissingen, 11 November 1938
StA Wü, LRA Bad Kissingen 1219

In the night of 9/10 November 1938, a number of local Jews had to be taken into **protective custody** for reasons of personal safety. This was due to the general outrage in the population over the assassination attempt against the legation secretary in Paris.⁷⁵

In carrying out this measure, it became know that some time ago, certain incriminating material was buried here in the local Jewish cemetery.

For that reason, on 10 November 1938, during the course of the afternoon, at a designated spot in the Jewish cemetery, excavation work was started. Six Jews were mobilized to assist in the digging. In this operation, some 30 sacks were exhumed from a shaft about 2 meters deep. These were filled with Jewish writings, books, scrolls and the like.⁷⁶

The entire mass of materials, which still must be sifted through, was taken temporarily for storage to the air raid shelter in the basement of the District Center.

As the prisoners in **protective custody** were being escorted from the local court jail to the Jewish cemetery, during digging there and on the way back, the population of Bad Kissingen made clear and unambiguous comments against the Jews.

►2604►

►385►

Mayor of Bad Lippspringe

Operation Against Jews
Bad Lippspringe, 17 November 1938
StA Det, M1 I P Nr. 1106

[...] The overwhelming proportion of the population failed to understand the operation against the Jews⁷⁷ and condemned it, saying that such a thing should not be allowed to happen in a civilized country.

The population was especially indignant over an incident that occurred on the second night, where a resident (Aryan **cattle** dealer) who was on his way home was stopped and accosted by several persons on the street, since he purportedly had been doing some business with Jews. This is deplored all the more so because the man in question is 72 years old. In the meanwhile, quiet has returned. Up to now there are no signs of any greater effects as a result of the operation against the Jews.

◀2609▶



Figure 23. The Jewish Cemetery in Bad Kissingen, dedicated in 1801, where prior to the “Kristallnacht” pogrom the Jews had “buried various incriminating materials,” according to the report of the Criminal Police, 11 November 1938. “For that reason, on 10 November 1938 [...] with the deployment of 6 Jews, digging work was carried out at a designated spot in the Jewish cemetery. In the process, some 30 sacks, filled with Jewish writings, books, scrolls, etc., were brought to light from a shaft about 2m deep.” Stadtarchiv Bad Kissingen, Beck,

Hans-Jurgen, und Walter, Rudolf. Judisches Leben in Bad Kissingen, S.34.

◀386▶

NSDAP Bremen District, District Propaganda Office

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Bremen, 12 December 1938
StA Br, 3-N.7. Nr. 162

Re: Jewish Question

Assuming that the **Jewish Question** is proceeding very rapidly toward a further radical solution, so that in Bremen in the near future there will be hardly any Jews left, it has been suggested that the Jewish cemetery in Hastedt be kept available so that a sports ground can later be set up there for the SA.

Likewise, a large part of the cemetery remains unoccupied. Later on perhaps a playground for children could be constructed there (possibly for the National Socialist People's Welfare). <2625>



Figure 24. Gravestone of a priest (cohen) in the Jewish Cemetery in Bad Kissingen; after 1945. The motif of two hands, palms facing the viewer, each divided with two sets of two fingers, is an ancient Jewish symbol of the priestly

blessing, indicating that the deceased was a cohen, in the line of descent of the ancient Temple Priests. Stadtarchiv Bad Kissingen, Beck, Hans-Jurgen, and Walter, Rudolf. Judisches Leben in Bad Kissingen, S.34.

District Office Ebermannstadt
Report for November 1938
Ebermannstadt, 2 December 1938
Broszat, pp. 124 f.

Figure 25. “In recent months, the Jews resident in Urspringen have been presenting a true face of piety [...]” See 579. Rudolf Dillenberger, mentioned in this report by the Gendarmerie Urspringen, dated 19 September 1941, was, according to this excerpt from the evacuation list (no. 708), deported in April 1942 together with the last Jews from Urspringen in the course of the Final Solution. Staatsarchiv Würzburg (Gestapo-Stelle Würzburg 18876).

General Overview of Internal Political Developments

Today the most important topics in conversation still continue to be the

retaliation measures against the Jews,⁷⁸ and the shortage of pork. [...]

In terms of the popular mood, the first topic is viewed by the overwhelming majority of the population as follows: the levying of the expiation⁷⁹ was completely appropriate and correct. It would have been much better to increase this amount further in conjunction with the subsequent ordinances, likewise welcome, issued on excluding the Jews from commercial life,⁸⁰ etc. That would have been preferable to having material assets destroyed. Consequently, the plundering and destruction are condemned, and not just for this reason. Rather, because the consciousness of what is lawful began to waver as a result. Such a basic mood then provides the suitable soil for rumors that the clergy and church property are next, and will suffer a fate similar to that of the Jews and their property.⁸¹ It also provides the basis for a criticism that these actions against the Jews were very maladroit in respect to foreign relations, since one result was that the danger of war, only recently averted, was conjured up anew. And we have been pushed back once again from a favorable position, achieved with great difficulty, for resolving the colonial question.



Figure 26. Drawing of popular traditional motifs on a Torah binder (wimpel), Urspringen, 1815. Such binders were used to wrap and bind the Torah scrolls together. Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Simon Bruckheimer Sammlung.

I would like to add the following from the standpoint of the police: the people can only allow the designated organs of the state to carry out measures of retaliation against individual **Volksgenossen** who have sinned against the people.⁸² [...]

Jews

Should the District Governor not as yet have been informed in detail by the **Gestapo** about the measures of retaliation against the Jews, I take the liberty

here to present below a short summary of these events.

The **synagogues** in Hagenbach and Wannbach, which have long since ceased being used for religious services, were destroyed. In the same localities, and in Aufseß as well, a total of six Jewish dwellings were substantially damaged. Total damage is estimated to be in the range of some 3,000 RM. The damage caused to the castle at Pretzfeld is far greater—it will probably amount to about 20,000 RM. Moreover, this castle belonged to an Englishman, the Jew Max Wimpeler, and the Protestant Jewish **Mischling**, the graduate engineer Fritz Herrmann in London.⁸³ Numerous art objects, including valuable old ovens, were destroyed here. The wine cellar was also plundered. Other selfish acts of enrichment occurred, such as when debtors forced their Jewish creditors, using physical intimidation, to sign receipts for the supposed payment of the debt prepared in advance. Yes, even the ownership of plots of land with buildings was transferred in this manner, without any corresponding payment.

Such infractions of the established limits have transformed the purpose and value of the measures of retaliation into their very opposite. [...] <2635>

◆388◆

[NSDAP] District Direction Eichstätt

Report for November 1938

Eichstätt, 30 November 1938

StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 7

[...] In the operation against the Jews,⁸⁴ the Party could do whatever it wanted with the people. There is unanimous approval for the fact that propaganda is not being limited to defense, and that it has shifted to an attack mode, especially vis-à-vis England and America.⁸⁵ This is why the buoyant mood has continued unabated. <2638>

◆389◆

Gendarmerie Furth i.W.

Situation Report
Furth i.W., 27 November 1938
StA Am, BA Cham 5196

[Jews and Freemasons]

There are no Jews or **Freemasons** here. Here too, there was great indignation in the local population over the murder of the Legation Secretary vom Rath.⁸⁶ But there were no incidents, as occurred in other localities, because there were no Jews.

◀2647▶

◀390▶
District Office Garmisch-Partenkirchen

Actions Against the Jews

Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 10 November 1938

StA Mü, LRA 61616

[...] In the course of the morning hours today, all Jews still present in the district (some 40 persons) were summoned to the office of the Party District Chief, where they submitted a declaration of their intent to leave the district immediately, never to return, and to give up their local land and residential property by selling it to new owners.⁸⁷ During the afternoon, subsequent to this declaration, all Jews departed from the district. [...] <2648>

►391►

Constabulary Grünstadt

Report for 10 November 1938

Grünstadt, 19 November 1938

LA Sp, H 33 Nr. 1268 III

The Jewess [name *a* withheld], born [...], daughter of Julius and Jenny, born [...], born [...] 1888 in Meiningen, Israelite, spouse of Albert [name *b* withheld], last resident in Grünstadt [...] No. 49, was taken into **protective custody** on 10 November 1938 in the hours of the morning, at 11:45 a.m., in connection with the Jewish protest operation, by the uniformed police Grünstadt on the order of the mayor of the city of Grünstadt, and was placed in the Local Court jail in the city.

The arrest of [name *a* withheld] was exclusively for her own security, since it was assumed that in the course of the protest operation, no guarantee whatsoever could be assumed for the safety of [name *a* withheld], since through her provocative behavior against every Volksgenosse, she had become the most hated Jewess in the entire population. That same day it became evident that her protective arrest was justified, as the enraged population stormed her villa and destroyed its entire furnishings. There certainly would have been acts of violence against [name *a* withheld] if she had still been at liberty.

The issuance of an order for protective custody against [name *a* withheld] appears absolutely necessary and proper in the interest of public safety and order in this city, since it can be assumed that if [name *a* withheld] is released, she will be exposed to the danger of violence and harassment by the population, and for that reason there can be no guarantee for her safety. This appears all the more

understandable, since Grünstadt presently is “judenfrei,” and the dwelling of [name *a* withheld] is likewise uninhabitable as a result of the destruction inflicted there.

The Jewess [name *a* withheld], who until today was in the jail of the Local Court in Grünstadt, had to be rushed today at 1 p.m. by the medical convoy here, on orders of the prison doctor Dr. Decker, to the clinic in Heidelberg, since she had attempted to commit suicide⁸⁸ in the early morning hours by a self-inflicted wound to her left hand. There is no danger to the life of [name *a* withheld]. [...]

◀2653▶

◀392▶

District School Commissioner Hechingen
Protective Custody of the Jewish Teacher Spier in Haigerloch
Hechingen, 13 November 1938
StA Sig, Ho 235 I Akz. Nr. 1423

The director of the Jewish elementary **school** in Haigerloch, Gustav Spier, was taken on 10 November of this year into **protective custody**. As I was able to directly determine, in the hall used as a school, the windows and window frames have been smashed, the furnishings are in great disorder and the premises are in a state of chaos.⁸⁹ The school is attended by 9 children. A woman came to me to cancel the registration of two children, since her family obtained permission to travel abroad and will leave Haigerloch in the next few days. But since her husband has also been taken into protective custody, there is a danger that her departure will not be possible.⁹⁰ The 7 or possibly 9 children could be admitted to the Protestant school, which has 25 children, and offers sufficient room for 32 or 34 children. However, there are very serious reservations against this. As was generally confirmed to me, many of the pupils, most especially the boys in the T. class in the Catholic elementary school, are extremely agitated. Indeed, there is a downright hostile attitude against the Jewish children. Already years ago the recess periods for these children were changed and the Jewish school later had to be relocated to another building altogether. But now the situation has significantly worsened, very particularly under the influence of the events of the past week. For that reason, the deputy mayor is of the opinion, in which I also concur, that the best solution, in the interest of the school and community, would be if the teacher Spier were released from protective custody and could once more assume his post as director of the school. If this is not possible, then the school Haigerloch is facing difficult days. [...] As it appears to me, the teachers no longer have proper control of their children in this regard, especially the older boys, since in the course of time, as a result of constant cohabitation with the Jews in the same town, other influences have gained an upper hand. These are stronger than those of the school. That is why I fear, with justification, that the school is scarcely in a position to guarantee the Jewish pupils the necessary protection over the longer term. <2663>

•393•

NSDAP Office for [Ideological] Training, District Lahr

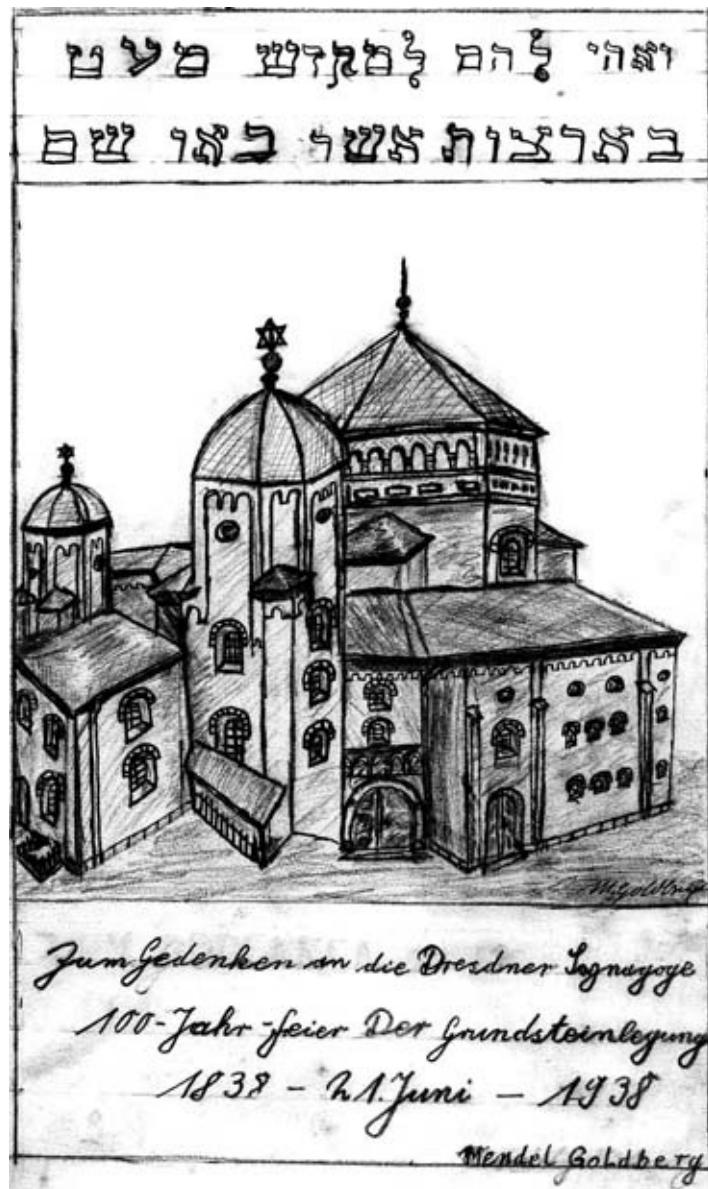
Ideological Report
Lahr, 2 December 1938
GLA Ka, 465 d Nr. 158

The *Jews' Operation*,⁹¹ which was also carried out in our district, did not find approval in the eyes of many people. That is proof of the extent to which broad circles of our population, indeed even extending to party members and political leaders in the NSDAP, still are helpless when confronting the **Jewish Question**. In large circles, there was in particular no understanding regarding the destruction and demolishing of material assets and property of the Jews. A particular criticism was voiced that young people were "forced" to take active part in this operation. A number of persons who were later questioned about this expressed that criticism.

[...]

From Kürzell: [...]

The Protestant, clergyman appears at the moment to be one of the worst agitators in the district. [...] Commenting on the Jewish Question, he stated that the Germans will not succeed in destroying the Jew, because the Jews are God's Chosen People, and God will watch over them.⁹² <2690>



Following Page: Figure 27. Drawing of the Old Dresden Synagogue in a class album at the Jewish Elementary School; the lower caption reads: "To commemorate the Dresden Synagogue 100th anniversary of the laying of the foundation stone 1838—21 June 1938"; June 1938. Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Simon Drückheimer Sammlung.

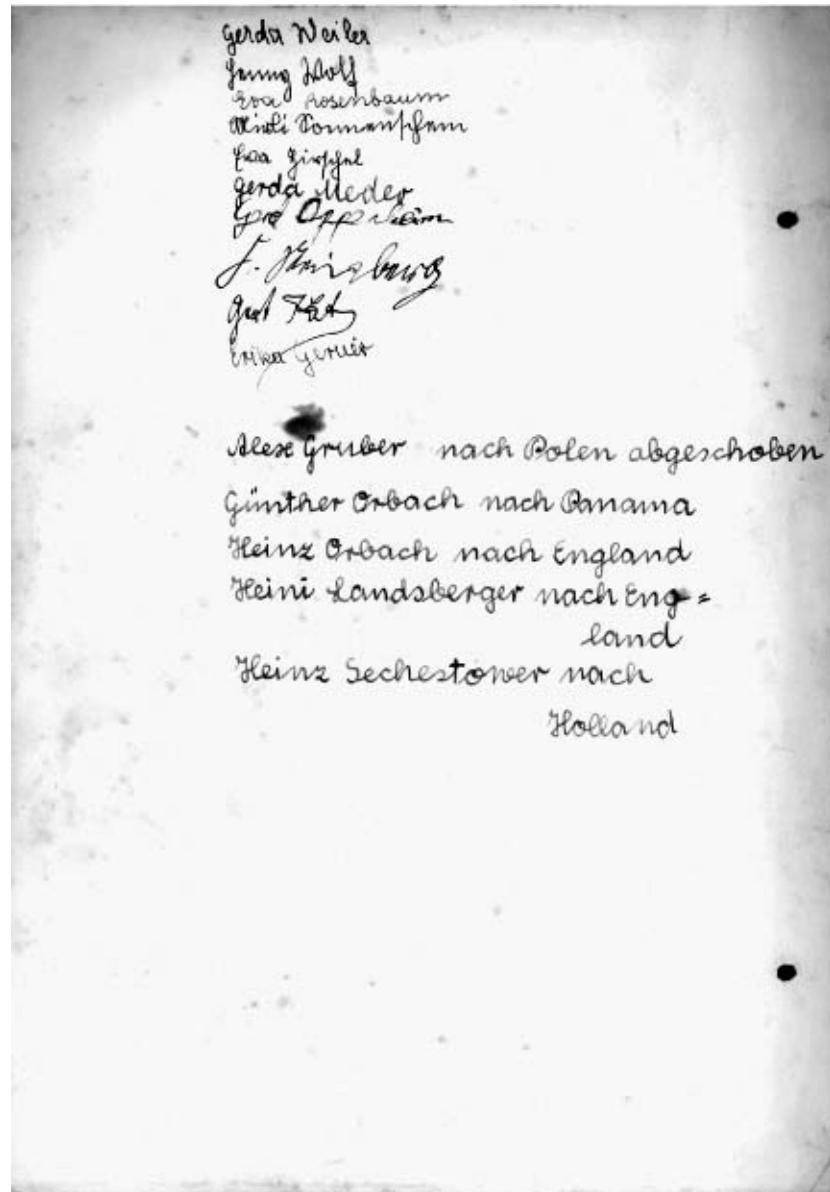


Figure 28. A page from the class album with signatures of the pupils still in Germany, with addition of the names of those pupils who had already been deported to Poland or had emigrated to various countries; after October 1938. Yad Vashem Archives, Jerusalem, Simon Drückheimer Sammlung.



Figure 29. Final page of the album with the motto “Loyalty for loyalty!” in German and the farewell in Hebrew: “Be strong and courageous! Until we meet again in our land [of Israel].” Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem, Simon Bruckheimer Sammlung.

JÜDISCHES GEMEINDEBLATT

ORGAN DER ISRAELITISCHEN
RELIGIONSGEMEINDE DRESDEN

DRESDEN

MITTEILUNGSBLATT DES „SÄCHS.
ISRAEL. GEMEINDEVERBANDES“



Angemeldet beim Sonderbeauftragten des Reichsministers für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda
betr. Überwachung der geistig und kulturell tätigen Juden im deutschen Reichsgebiet

XIV. Jahrgang

Dresden, den 15. Juni 1938

Nr. 12



Im Freitagsabend-Gottesdienst am 24. Juni 1938, der umsonstens um 21 Uhr stattfindet, wird durch eine Predigt des Tages gedacht, an dem vor 300 Jahren die Grundsteinlegung unserer Synagoge stattgefunden hat (27. Juni 1738). Ein alle Gemeindemitglieder ergeht hiermit Einladung, diesem Gottesdienst beizutreten.

Im Sitzungssaal des Gemeindehauses am 26. Juni 1938 sollen die Gemeindemitglieder im theologischen Seminar einen Vortrag über den Zeit der Grundsteinlegung hielt haben der Camondo statt.

Figure 30. Picture of the Old Dresden Synagogue in the community biweekly Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt on the occasion of its hundredth anniversary; June 1938.



Figure 31. Ruins of the Old Dresden Synagogue destroyed during the Kristallnacht pogrom; Winter 1938–39. Yad Vashem Photo Archive, Jerusalem.

Chief Public Prosecutor Mosbach
Bi-Monthly Situation Report
Mosbach, 24 November 1938
GLA Ka, 309/1208

In connection with the operation against the Jews on 10 November 1938, the wife of the **rabbi** in Mosbach and her father, aged 86, were arrested on charges of resisting a police officer; they had resisted the arrest⁹³ of the rabbi by the Gendarmerie Mosbach, and were sentenced to 4 and 3 weeks imprisonment, respectively.

◀2707▶

◀395▶

Gendarmerie Muggendorf

Situation Report
Muggendorf, 26 November 1938
StA Ba, K 8/9205 I

[General Political Situation]

In respect to the recent operation against the Jews,⁹⁴ the population is of two different opinions. One segment is of the view that conscious action, with its concomitant associated arrests and destruction, was still far too mild in its effect. However, the other segment of the population, far larger, thinks that this destruction was improper and unwarranted. Although the other measures against the Jews meet with approval, the prevailing view when it comes to destruction is that the property destroyed should have been preserved, and ought to have been put to good use elsewhere for the benefit of the German people, because taking the property away from the Jews would have been just as painful for them as its destruction. In this connection, it is likewise useful to note that the question was repeatedly raised in the population as to whether those who took part in the operation will also be brought to justice and punished. [...] <2711>

National Socialist Teachers League Weilheim

Report

Weilheim, 19 November 1938

StA Mü, NSDAP 983

From the ranks of teachers:

[...] There is no understanding for the fact that teachers are still required to teach Bible studies, Old Testament as a subject. It is impossible to talk about Moses from 8 to 9 a.m. and then in the next lesson to preach ideas of National Socialism.⁹⁵ [...] <2757>

SD District Office Gotha
Report for October to December 1938
Gotha, n.d.
HStA Wei, BArch NS 29/77, Bd. 1

[...]

II 112 [Jewry]

General Jewish Activity

Connections between the mood in the population and the subject area

The great political events have led to a situation where finally those segments of the population which, as was noted in the last situation report,⁹⁶ were still regular customers at Jewish shops, increasingly have begun to see the error of their ways, so that the Jewish shops previously in existence in Gotha came to have ever fewer customers and less business. Naturally, the departure of the Jews was particularly noticeable after the greatest historical events had come to pass, namely the return of Austria to the fold⁹⁷ and the incorporation of the Sudetenland⁹⁸ into Greater Germany. But when the news was received of the cowardly murder of the Legation Secretary vom Rath,⁹⁹ the mood against the Jews also reached a high point here too. As throughout the Reich, a general operation against the Jews was carried out in Gotha during the night of 9/10 November 1938.¹⁰⁰ During this action, in the municipality of Gotha and the surrounding district, a total of

52 male Jews were arrested, of whom

28 were placed in the Weimar-Buchenwald **concentration camp**.

While the arrests were being carried out, the Gotha **synagogue** burned to the ground. [...]

This operation resulted in feelings of immense satisfaction among the population of Gotha. However, here too there were some exceptions, people who found that the actions against the Jews were too harsh. Yet it is noteworthy in this regard that voices in favor of the Jews did not come from the workers or farmers, but rather from the so-called “better” circles in the population.¹⁰¹ [...]

Economy

As a result of the **Aryanization** of Jewish businesses carried out throughout the Reich, the larger proportion of Jewish **department stores** and shops in Gotha were also transferred to Aryan hands. Likewise, Jewish medical practices were terminated down to the appointed deadline without any incidents. Most Jewish businesspersons and **physicians** also dissolved their households. Some have emigrated or moved elsewhere.¹⁰² The capital resulting from the sales and dissolving of Jewish firms is so large, as determined by the authorities, that for example the portion to be contributed to the Expiation Measure¹⁰³ of the Reich by the Jews formerly resident and now resident in the municipality and the Gotha district amounts to approximately 1 million RM.

[...]

[Movement on the Right]

[...] The operation against the Jews took the reactionary camp by great surprise. Precisely in these circles, they are repeatedly talking about the “poor Jews,” who for the most part however lived in a totally harmless and secluded manner. <2769>

District Court President Trier
Report for October, November, and December 1938
Trier, 22 December 1938
HStA Du, Ger. Rep. 255 Nr. 173

The report period includes the Czech crisis,¹⁰⁴ the Führer Order for accelerated expansion of the Western fortifications, and the murder of vom Rath,¹⁰⁵ with its well-known consequences. [...]

Extensive damage was caused, likewise, to the **synagogue**. No fire was set, probably because of the potential danger for the neighboring buildings.

The population completely agreed with taking severe measures against the Jews. But it was adamantly against the demolishing of the Jewish shops and the private belongings of the Jews, and was indignant. The upshot of noninterference by the police is now a general feeling of insecurity regarding law and order. They say that what happened to the Jews can also happen at any time to other groups in the population, people who have made themselves the object of dislike because of some event or other. They also do not understand how the demolition of household belongings, often the most valuable, can be deemed compatible with the slogan “fight waste.”¹⁰⁶ [...] <2790>

◀399▶
District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for December 1938
Regensburg, 9 January 1939
BayHStA, StK 106673

General Political Situation

[...]

Jews

Of the 224 Jews from the government district arrested on 9/10 November 1938 and incarcerated in the Dachau **concentration camp**, some 170 have since been released.¹⁰⁷ A small number of these have already emigrated. The rest intend to leave Germany in the foreseeable future.¹⁰⁸ In general, based on estimates of the **Gestapo** Regensburg, some two-thirds of the Jews formerly

resident in the government district will emigrate. A former Jewish vocational restructuring center located in Regensburg is being dissolved.¹⁰⁹

The transfer of Jewish businesses to Aryan hands¹¹⁰ or the dissolving of these firms is occurring in orderly fashion and will soon be completed. In connection with the sale of Jewish-owned land, there are in some cases several potential buyers competing, who fight bitterly among themselves and would like to eliminate one another from contention. In the city of Straubing, the Jewish-owned real estate and land was Aryanized on 24 November. The city achieved a noteworthy increase in capital as a result. In response, the NSDAP District Direction Straubing was promised a sum of 250,000 RM as a gift for constructing a District Center. [...]

At the moment, the Gestapo is busy investigating several cases of plunder and theft connected with the operation against the Jews. These were only reported afterward. [...]

Economy

[...]

Trade, Industry, Crafts, Commerce

General Business Situation, Labor Market

[...] The *Pencil Factory* Eberhard Faber in Neumarkt (298 workers) would have a good turnover, but unfortunately, as described in the previous monthly report (p. 13), it has been suffering from export difficulties (due to the boycott of the Jews).¹¹¹

[...]

Raw Materials—Export

[...] In general, there is no sign of any particular worsening of export difficulties in comparison with previous months. However, the export of kaolin from the Amberg district has reportedly come to an almost total standstill, presumably because of Jewish influence. <2785>

District Governor Upper Bavaria
Report for December 1938
Munich, 9 January 1939
BayHStA, StK 106671

Internal Political Situation

General Overview

[...] In internal politics, the situation, temporarily disturbed as a consequence of the operation against the Jews,¹¹² has been restored to normal. There is now very little discussion about the action against the Jews, and then if critique is voiced, people only say that it would have been possible to achieve success using far less drastic measures. The ordinances for the planned dejudification of the German economy¹¹³ were viewed with satisfaction by the population. The daily discussion of the **Jewish Question** in the radio before the latest news broadcast has proven to be an excellent means of instruction. Only those circles influenced by the church are still in disagreement regarding the Jewish Question.¹¹⁴

◀2786▶

◀401▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for December 1938
Ansbach, 7 January 1939
BayHStA, StK 106678

Internal Political Situation

General Matters, Public Security

[...] Agitation from abroad against the German people is correctly seen as hatred and the struggle of world Jewry against the Third Reich. But in an unshakable faith in the Führer, people generally have a strong conviction that this new assault will also fail, foiled by the strong hand and resolute will of the Führer. [...]

Protestant Church

[...]

2) Charges were brought against Pastor Kübel of Untersteinbach, Stadtsteinbach district.¹¹⁵ [...] When he explained (likewise during classes preparing children for confirmation) that through baptism, Jews and heathens could also become Christians, a pupil expressed a powerful and well-deserved rebuff when he said: "But Pastor, if you pour six buckets of water over the head of a Jew, he's still a Jew."¹¹⁶ [...]

Jews

It is very evident that the protest operation of 10 November had a powerful impact on the Jews.¹¹⁷ They generally were in a depressed mood and tried to remain as inconspicuous as they could. The effort to emigrate is very great.¹¹⁸ In the month of December 96 Jews emigrated, compared with 75 in the previous month.

On the basis of decrees issued, the larger proportion of the Jews arrested during the protest operation have been released. Aside from **combat veterans**, those released were primarily Jews whose presence was needed to complete procedures for transferring their businesses to Aryan ownership.¹¹⁹ In addition, some of those released have made preparations for emigration and reached the point where they will finally be able to emigrate in the coming weeks.

Classes have resumed at Jewish **schools**. **Jewish Winter Relief** was not impaired in its work. The Jewish **Communities** are also continuing their activities. In Nuremberg, the Israelitic Community has set up a special advisory office for emigrants that is trying to promote the emigration of the Jews. There were no events put on by Jewish associations.¹²⁰

1) A request has been submitted to revoke the German citizenship of eight Jewish emigrants living abroad.

2) In the trial against the Jewish foreign currency profiteers Wertheimer, Löwenstein, Strauß, Marx, and Ullmann, the District Court Nuremberg-Fürth has handed down prison sentences from 2 to 6 years, and fines between 10,000 and 100,000 RM.

3) On 25 November 1938, the lawyer Dr. Dehler in Bamberg was temporarily taken into custody on instructions from the Gestapo Nuremberg-Fürth. Dr. Dehler, himself an **Aryan**, but married to a Jew,¹²¹ prefers to represent

Jews. After the operation against the Jews became known, he warned by telegram a Jewish **lawyer** who was abroad not to return to Germany. [...]

Other Matters of Importance

As was already briefly noted in the monthly report for November 1938, p. 2, no. 3, para. I,¹²² immediately after the operation against the Jews in November 1938, teachers throughout the government district, with only a very few exceptions, declared they were no longer prepared to give classes on religion. By 15 December 1938, of 3,257 Protestant teachers, 2,749 (= 84.4 percent) and of 1,699 Roman Catholic teachers, 1,273 (= 74.93 percent) had refused to continue giving classes on religion. In a few cases, some teachers have said that they only refuse to deal with the topic of the Old Testament in the subject of religion. But generally, they categorically refused to teach religion as a subject, without any proviso. Some of the teachers did this “to protest against the Jewish crime of murder in Paris,”¹²³ while others indicated they were no longer willing to present the criminal Jewish people described as the “Chosen People of God” to young people in religion classes, or to teach the history of the Jews. The impetus for this whole movement apparently came from the National Socialist Teachers League, which encouraged its members to cease teaching religion as a school subject.

By contrast, the Superior School Inspection Authorities have repeatedly pointed out in the subsequent period that religion as a regular subject in the curriculum should, as a matter of principle, be taught, and that for the National Socialist teacher who has declared his willingness to teach religion, there could be no doubt that in teaching religion, especially pertaining to the presentation of the Jews and Judaism, nothing would be demanded of him that would be at odds with the principles of National Socialism. So that a teacher’s refusal to teach religion would accordingly be justified from the National Socialist perspective only if there were genuine qualms of conscience.¹²⁴ <2787>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for December 1938
Speyer, 7 January 1939
BayHStA, StK 106676

Internal Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

In the month of December, things have become quieter in matters pertaining to the **Jewish Question**. Most of the Jews who were in **protective custody** were released at Christmas and have returned to their families. A portion of the Jews who returned home are preparing for **emigration**, others are trying to move in with family members in larger towns and cities.¹²⁵ The destination for emigration is largely Central and South America. As the district office Pirmasens has reported, it is striking in this connection that a number of Jewish families have received an invitation from the Consulate of the Dominican Republic in Cologne to report to the Consulate in preparation for emigration. However, here too, entry has reportedly been frozen or placed under restriction. According to the report from the same office, transports of Jewish children to Holland¹²⁶ have for the moment been halted.

Only in the districts Landau (Palatinate) and Ludwigshafen am Rhein were there also small operations conducted against Jews in the last report month.¹²⁷
[...]

◀2788▶

◀403▶

District Governor Swabia and Neuburg
Report for December 1938
Augsburg, 7 January 1939
BayHStA, StK 106683

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

- a) The commotion in broad circles regarding the operations against the Jews¹²⁸ has generally subsided. The Jews arrested have for the most part been released, at least those who were **combat veterans** or who are active in preparing **emigration**. The two Jews who were resident in Dillingen/Donau have moved abroad, so the city and district of Dillingen/Donau are now “judenfrei.”
- b) According to the report of the county commissioner in Donauwörth, there is a lack of clarity among some doctors about the extent to which they should, and are permitted to, provide Jews with medical assistance. According to reports, the Medical Association (Dr. Knaupp-Burgheim) has forbidden them to provide assistance. On the other hand, the **Gestapo** Berlin has reportedly given its fundamental support, according to information from the Gestapo Augsburg, for the express duty of **Aryan** doctors to provide medical services to Jews. This should be endorsed, simply in terms of medical policy concerns regarding epidemics, insofar as Jewish **physicians** are not present or readily available. Given the importance of the question, perhaps a general ruling is advisable.
<2789>

Gendarmerie Bad Reichenhall
Suicide of the Fairground Entertainer's Wife and Jewess “[...]

in Bayerisch Gmain by Poisoning
Bad Reichenhall, 15 December 1938
StA Mü, LRA 29654

On 13 December 1938, at 8 p.m., the Jewess [name **a** withheld], born on 15 December 1871 in Mannheim, and resident since 1 May 1921 in Bayerisch Gmain, presently at the Villa Edelweiß in Bayerisch Gmain, house no. 8 1/5, died as a consequence of intentional self-poisoning by Veronal.¹²⁹ The deceased moved on 1 May 1921 from Karlsruhe to Gmain and was the owner of the Villa Edelweiß. Her spouse [name **b** withheld] was of **Aryan** descent and a showman by profession. He passed away on 26 December 1924. Since his death, the deceased lived in very secluded circumstances in Bayerisch Gmain. As was learned, she formally left the Jewish **Community** in the year 1907.¹³⁰ The deceased was very upset about the recent measures against the Jews in Germany, and lived with a certain fear that some harm would be done to her again. She repeatedly stated that she would not leave her villa alive should she be forced to do so.

Her only pillar of support was her maid [name **c** withheld], born 7 December 1911 in Neubeuern, Rosenheim district, who had been in her employ since 1931.

According to inquiries and statements by [name **c** withheld], on 9 December 1938¹³¹ at about 5 p.m., a placard was pasted on the front door of [name **a** withheld] with the words "All Jews finally out of here!" The maid [name **c** withheld] gave this placard the same evening to her mistress [name **a** withheld], who was already in bed, since the preceding day she had stumbled and suffered a slight injury. The deceased [name **a** withheld] became extremely agitated about this new measure against the Jews, asking her maid [name **c** withheld] again and again when she would have to leave her villa and what was going to happen. That same evening, about 8 p.m., she asked [name **c** withheld] for a cup of tea, expressly emphasizing that she wished to have very sweet tea. Her wish was also fulfilled by [name **c** withheld]. The next morning, 10 December 1938, [name **c** withheld] found her mistress [name **a** withheld] lying unconscious in bed. [Name **c** withheld] immediately informed several doctors in Reichenhall, but they refused to treat [name **a** withheld], telling her to contact instead the Jewish **physician** Dr. Ortenau resident in Reichenhall. Dr. Ortenau then took over treatment of [name **a** withheld].

On the morning of 10 December 1938, in the drawer next to her bed, two empty small vials of Veronal were found. Accordingly, it was concluded that she had taken the Veronal the evening before together with the tea.

The deceased [name *a* withheld] never regained consciousness, and died on 13 December 1938 at 8 p.m. According to the medical report, she died as a result of poisoning. The cause for this act was a nervous breakdown as a consequence of the measures taken against her as a Jewess. <2796>

◀405▶

NSDAP Local Branch Castrop-Rauxel

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Castrop-Rauxel, 20 December 1938
StA Ms, NSDAP Kreis-und Ortsgruppenleitungen Nr. 54

List of Volksgenossen in the Local Party Branch Frohlinde-Schwerin who have shopped from Jews:

1. Frau Lipperheide	Castrop- Rauxel	Mühlenkamp
2. Weber	"	
3. Mikoleitschak	"	Moltkestr. 32
4. Feck	"	" 16
5. Frau Wilde	"	"
6. Wehner, Party member (Party legal proceedings)	"	Bismarckstr.
7. Höfling	"	"
8. Beisenherz	"	Dortmunderstr. 192

Farmer Wilhelm Degenhardt: Castrop-Rauxel, neighborhood Deininghausen on 6 October 1938, sold a cow. Value 570 RM

Farmer Wilhelm Grollmann:

on 2 May 1938,	sold a cow.	Value 580 RM
on 8 September 1938,	" "	Value 520 RM

Farmer Wilhelm Menken:

on 7 April 1938,	bought a cow.	Value 510 RM
on 26 August 1938	" "	Value 575 RM

Farmer Otto Dingebauer:

on 8 August 1938,	bought a cow.	Value 540 RM
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Farmer Heinrich Köster, Leader, Young Farmers:

on 21 June 1938,	bought a cow.	Value 560 RM
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Widow of the farmer Hoerdemann:

on 29 April 1938 and 2 November 1938, sold one cow on each of these days.

Value 550 RM

Value 600 RM

Farmer Wilhelm Klüsener:

on 2 November 1938, bought a cow. Value 600 RM

Farmer Josef Sträter:

on 4 November 1938, and 13 October 1938, dealings with 5 cows: Value 610 RM

“ 650 RM

“ 610 RM

“ 650 RM

“ 675 RM

All these farmers had commercial dealings with the Jew Rosenberg in Mengede.

<2799>

Gendarmerie Maxdorf

Monthly Report
Maxdorf, 27 December 1938
LA Sp, H 33 Nr. 1268 III

Police and Internal Political Matters

[...]

Popular Mood

The popular mood is good and confident. The measures by the government against the Jews¹³² are welcomed and one can generally hear the comment "that should have been done a long time ago": now people are slowly beginning to realize that the Jews have only been a source of misfortune for Germany.
<2808>

Gendarmerie Muggendorf

Monthly Report
Muggendorf, 26 December 1938
StA Ba, K 8/9206 I

[Church Policy]

On 29 November, Pastor Schilffarth in Streitberg spoke in the classes for confirmation pupils about baptism and being reborn. In this connection, he declared: "If Jews and heathens are baptized, then they are Christians like us." One boy responded: "But Pastor, if you pour six buckets of water over the head of a Jew, he's still a Jew."¹³³ A large proportion of the population in Streitberg was very angered by such instruction. On the other hand, some in Oberfellendorf hold the opposite view and think that the pastor cannot be reproached for this. As has been reported on several occasions, most of the population in Streitberg belongs to the **German Christians' Faith Movement**, while that in Oberfelldorf is affiliated with the **Confessional Front**. <2809>

◀408▶

SD Upper Division East II 112
Annual Report for 1938
Berlin, 13 January 1939
FfZ Hbg., 93121

Jewish Life

Organizations

There was a total change in the situation of Jewish organizations¹³⁴ as a result of the Law on the Legal Situation of the Jewish **Communities** of 28 March 1938, since this law stripped the Jewish Communities of their status as statutory corporations.¹³⁵ By means of the ordinance of 29 March 1938,¹³⁶ the tax obligation of the Jewish Communities introduced as a result of this legislation was made binding retroactively from 1 January 1938.

There were further changes as a consequence of the exclusion of foreign and stateless Jews from the Jewish organizations¹³⁷ in January 1938: there was the compulsory disbanding of the **State Zionists** who had their main office in Berlin, and the dissolving on their own initiative of 150 groups of Jewish associations, 126 of these in Berlin and 24 in the district of Frankfurt/Oder. The

table below gives a precise overview of the development in a number of Jewish organizations. Among these, in *Berlin* there were:

1933 = 990 Jewish Organizations

1936 = 450 " "

1937 = 347 " "

1938 = 221 " "

In *Frankfurt/Oder* there were:

1937 = 42 Jewish Organizations

1938 = 18 " "

The figures refer to the government district of Frankfurt/Oder.

While activity among the Jewish associations in the province has virtually ceased, a relatively substantial degree of activity was noted in Berlin, even though the number of events is less than the previous year. In the first half of the report period, there were an average of some 20 events daily, and later only about 8–10. This contrasts with a daily average of some 70 events in 1937.

After the most important central offices of the Jewish organizations were shut down on 10 November 1938,¹³⁸ such as that of the **Central Association, the Zionist Association of Germany, and the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, the Jewish organizations ceased all activity completely. One exception is the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans, whose task is to care for the Jewish victims of the war. The office rooms of the League will be reopened in January 1939 for taking care of the most important welfare assistance in this connection. [...]

Emigration

As mentioned above, **emigration** is being considered as a serious option only by a minority of the Jews. That explains the relatively low number to date of actual persons who have emigrated, and another unfavorable factor in connection with the capital Berlin is the constant influx from the rural areas.¹³⁹ The table appended gives a picture in the relation between out-migration and in-migration. It indicates that the total number of emigrants in the period 1 August 1935 to 30 November 1938 was 39,677, while in-migration from the provinces totaled 21,438 persons.

Preparation for emigration in the service district is handled by the nine existing preparation and retraining camps.¹⁴⁰ [...]

Jewish Press and Writing

Like all institutions with a separate Jewish life of their own, the Jewish **press** is also likely to develop in complete independence. The Jews responded to this generosity on the part of the National Socialist state with articles propagating, in a more or less disguised form, **assimilationist** ideas. Consequently, right at the beginning of 1938, a one-month ban on publication was imposed on the paper “*Jüdische Rundschau*”



Figure 32. Newspaper stand in Berlin before the prohibiting of the public sale of Jewish newspapers in September 1935; the issue of the *Jüdische Rundschau* bears the headline: “Back to Being a Jew!” See ▶33▶ (“The Jewish Press”).

Jewish Museum, Berlin, Simon Drückheimer Sammlung.

In this area as well, the first drastic measures did not come until after 9 November.

Circulation figures for the Jewish papers have shown a tendency to decline since the takeover of power. The following figures are available for the individual Jewish papers:

“Jüdische Rundschau”

Circulation: 4th quarter 1935 = 38,000 copies

 3rd quarter 1938 = 25,000 “

“CV-Zeitung”

Circulation: 3rd quarter 1935 = 40,000 copies

 1st “ 1938 = 37,715 “

 2nd “ 1938 = 38,232 “

 3rd “ 1938 = 39,519 “

“Israelitisches Familienblatt”

Circulation: 4th quarter 1935 = 35,000 copies

 3rd quarter 1938 = 26,500 “

The number of subscribers to the “Israelitisches Familienblatt” in Berlin fell from 9,000 in 1935 to 6,800 in 1938.

“Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin”

Circulation: 4th quarter 1936 = 50,000 copies

 3rd. quarter 1938 = 39,000 “

Since 9 November, all the Jewish papers have ceased publication, and the previous subscribers are now receiving the new **Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt** instead.

Relations of the Jews to Various Spheres of Life

Economics

In the measures put into practice to oust Jews from various spheres of life, the economy has been the most affected area. While the Jews reached financial heights in the economy at the end of 1937, after just under a year, all Jews had been removed from the public economy. The figures available here on Jewish turnover in retail trade show a steep upward curve. A frequent sight was that the doors of Jewish businesses had to be shut because of “overcrowding.” These facts, of course, did not escape the notice of the politically active segment of the population. This condition was perceived to be humiliating, especially for the Party members. And so already last year, but in greater numbers during the report period, **individual actions** were noted. These initially involved the smashing of display windows and defacing of Jewish businesses with slogans. These measures which the population¹⁴¹ took on its own reached their high point in the months of May/June, when rooms of the Jewish **Community** were also destroyed, though without bringing any changes in the existing conditions.

The ordinance prohibiting the concealment and masking of Jewish businesses, issued on 22 April 1938,¹⁴² was welcomed by broad circles since people hoped that this would lead to a separation between the Jewish and the **Aryan** business worlds. With the exception of Berlin, however, where a **marking** of the Jewish shops by a sign was instituted, this ordinance remained without any effect. On the contrary: as a result of a lack of uniformity in its implementation, there was an increase in uncertainty, noticeable especially at the local Party branch leadership level.

Consequently, a practical exclusion of the Jews from the economy did not really begin in earnest until the change in the Trade Regulations of 6 July 1938, when Jews were forbidden to work as tour guides, security personnel, or in real estate sales. Cancellation of licenses for peddlers and traveling salesmen also came under these new regulations.¹⁴³—It is notable in this context that 9,446 plots of land in Berlin are still owned by Jews; of these, 8,242 are in the hands of domestic Jews, 1,204 in the possession of Jews from abroad.

If before this time there was but a slow process of pushing Jews out of this important branch of life of the German people, the events after the murder in Paris¹⁴⁴ led on 31 December 1938 to the total elimination of the Jewish influence from the German economy. One exception is the Jews of foreign nationality; even after 31 December 1938, they are permitted to practice their trade. In Berlin, 3,767 retail shops are affected by the ordinance on exclusion of the Jews from economic life and the supplementary implementation ordinances.¹⁴⁵ Of these, only 1,200 are to be transferred to Aryan ownership¹⁴⁶

in order to avoid the transfer of individual commercial branches. At the present time, 700 businesses have been Aryanized; in the case of the remaining 500, negotiations are ongoing.

Racial and National Health

In the area of racial and national health, the year likewise brought a decisive change. As a result of the 4th, 5th, and 6th implementation ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, Jewish **physicians** were excluded from practice. In Berlin, 1,561 Jewish physicians were affected by the ordinances, and in the district Frankfurt/Oder, 25 doctors. The percentage of Jews in this occupation was still 22.4 percent on 1 July 1938.

The number of cases of **race defilement** is much larger than in the previous year. While 1,342 cases were dealt with in 1937, there were already 1,718 cases of race defilement by 31 October 1938, so that the total figure for 1938 is likely to exceed 2,000. The figures are for Berlin.

A problem still unsolved is that of the Jewish prostitutes, who number ca. 70 in Berlin. About half of them have already been involved in race defilement court cases. But they were sent to a **concentration camp** only if the males accused in such cases were tried and found guilty.

The Legal System

After the 5th implementation ordinance on the Reich Citizenship Law removed Jewish **lawyers** from the legal system, and the 6th implementation ordinance removed Jewish patent lawyers, 72 of the lawyers affected were given permission to practice as "legal consultants."

In adjudication, a judgment handed down outside the district has caused a great stir and has been the object of differences of opinion in the legal profession. It involved a case of a Jewess charged with violating 218 (abortion), and she was acquitted. The grounds given in the judgment are that 218 is intended to protect the blood heritage of the German people, but not of the Jewish people.

Cultural Life

In this area, of special note is the order of the Reich propaganda minister of 12 November 1938,¹⁴⁷ stating that Jews are prohibited from attending cultural events. The impact of this order was especially manifest in the motion picture theaters in the West, which have seen a drop of between 30 and 50 percent in

attendance figures since this time. For Jewry itself, this order means increased interest in the events organized by the **Kulturbund**.

Education

The ordinance of the Reich education minister of 30 November 1938¹⁴⁸ prohibited the Jews from attending schools under the direct authority of the minister, after the Jewish children had earlier been ousted from the elementary and middle schools. The Jews obligated to attend vocational school have also been removed from their classes. Since the 27 Jewish schools in Berlin¹⁴⁹ had a larger drop in pupils in 1938 in any event, the admission of those removed from their schools will not entail any difficulties.

In sum, it can be noted that the **Jewish Question** has, for the first time since the takeover of power, reached a decisive phase in the report period. In regard to excluding Jews from the various spheres of life, it has entered a final phase.

Through a large number of ordinances, great restrictions have been placed on the Jews in connection with their personal freedom. Jewish **associational** life has come to a complete standstill. For Jewish **emigration**, the various directions of Zionism no longer play any role, nor does the destination chosen for emigration. A simplification of the formalities demanded for emigration would in a short period of time significantly raise the emigration figures. The Jewish **press** has been shut down except for a central organ,¹⁵⁰ and now only plays a subordinate role.

The various spheres of life have been cleansed of all Jewish influence by the drastic measures. The only unresolved question to date is the question of the Jewish dentists.

No judgment can be made at the present time yet about the shape of future developments, since a large proportion of the laws and ordinances issued were simultaneous with the end of the report period. [...] <2773>

◀409▶

City President of the Reich Capital Berlin
Special Report on the Dejudification of Retail Trade in Berlin
Berlin, 5 January 1939
BArch/MA, RH 19/2374

Dejudification of Retail Trade in Berlin

With the disappearance of the Jews from retail trade, the ordinance of the

Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan of 12 November 1938 on excluding the Jews from German economic life (RGB. I S. 1580)¹⁵¹ brought the result which I had suggested as an urgent necessity in my basic report of 9 March 1938—I 4a Allg. (5) 36.37.¹⁵² Since the summer of 1938, it had indeed been possible, on the basis of the decree by the Reich economy minister of 5 July 1938—III Jd. 2818/38,¹⁵³ to apply the principle of economic interest in considering the granting of permission for an **Aryanization**, beyond the principles of the Law on the Protection of Retail Trade. But there had been no possibility to exclude Jewish retail traders apart from applications for Aryanization.

The developments threatened to become very stormy in Berlin on the basis of the ordinance of 12 November. According to official Party documents, Berlin had no less than 3,700 Jewish retail shops, distributed differentially among the various neighborhoods in the city. In the marginal districts on the periphery, there were few such shops. In the districts City Center and Kreuzberg, the number rose to over 1,100 Jewish retail stores. Districts in the city's west, such as Wilmersdorf and Zehlendorf, together still had almost 300 such shops, while the number in Charlottenburg and Spandau reached nearly 400. The districts Schöneberg and Tiergarten were heavily represented, with more than 600 Jewish retail firms there. The very heavily populated districts in the north of the city, Horst Wessel¹⁵⁴ and Prenzlauer Berg, had almost 700 such shops. Two very urgent questions had to be solved:

- 1) to work out a well-regulated utilization of the stock of the Jewish warehouses,
- 2) to prevent unsuitable or inferior elements from worming their way into retail trade.

To achieve the first, I suggested in the Reich economy ministry to initially regulate the warehouses according to the type of confiscation of bankruptcy assets, this so as to prevent any possibility for an unregulated sell-off. However, this did not occur until much later with the ordinance of 23 November (RGBI. I S. 1642), by appointing liquidators and prohibiting freehand sale to final customers.¹⁵⁵ I would like to leave open for the present the question of whether perhaps a large quantity of such goods from Jewish hands has indeed already traveled down an unknown path. I have a suspicion that there was a certain tendency to undervalue the amount of goods still present in Jewish hands. According to new information from the Department of Retail Trade at the Chamber of Industry and Commerce, just for Berlin alone, goods worth six million have been offered by Jews at the industry sector group retail trade. However, according to the estimate by an appraiser, the value of these goods was

deemed to be 1.5 million less, only 4.5 million Reichsmark. In the meantime, the greater proportion of these goods has been placed with German firms by the respective industry sector group; only a small portion was left to the Jews to be disposed of freely. The total amount of these goods will doubtless increase, since about one-fourth of the offer is still pending. I also am informed that Jewish proprietors of smaller firms have asked persons who have some interest to come to their homes. And it is only regrettable that there are still a large number of German **Volksgenossen** who evidently think it correct and proper, shortly before Jews are cleansed from the German economy, to purchase goods specifically from Jews. This observation brings us to the second point, the protection of retail trade from infiltration by unsuitable elements.

It soon became clear that the selection of the applicants could not be solved by using the necessarily time-consuming form of the checking of applicants according to the Retail Trade Protection Law of 1933. Immediately after the events of the night 9/10 November 1938,¹⁵⁶ there was such a flood of inquirers that, for example, officials in the district City Center were completely busy the entire day just with providing information to applicants and handing out forms. The first wish of the applicants was usually to be given credit for taking over a Jewish retail shop. For the many applicants who were well informed not only about the financial side but also had a solid knowledge of the specific branch, the second question arose from this. They asked: where could I get some "information" on a good Jewish shop? This too was proof of what sorts of individuals outside the profession had an interest in Jewish businesses. Persons from such circles also suggested to me that I should assemble a central list for the Berlin municipal area of businesses suitable for **Aryanization**. That was a wish that ultimately amounted to turning my office into a kind of agency. Let me mention as a curiosity, though with a certain serious background, a rumor that surfaced in mid-December throughout the Reich: it said that the municipality would compile a central list of Jewish firms for the entire Reich. The consequence of that rumor was that applicants traveled a long distance (from Gleiwitz, Rhineland) to seek out my office. Strangely enough though, they contacted my two school departments, which are located in an office building on Schicklerstraße 5/6 (near Alexanderplatz), and not in the Town Hall. I was never able to learn how this rumor originally came about, and above all, why it contained a reference to the address of my department at the school.

Generally, at least 3–4 applicants were available for each Jewish retail firm. Among the retinues, several different groups formed that declared themselves in favor of the various different applicants and sought to support them by numerous

visits to the offices and authorities more or less responsible, while among one another they accused themselves of being Jew friends. [...]

In general, there is very little desire to exchange one's job in connection with the dissolving of Jewish businesses.

In order to bring a certain degree of order into the ranks of the innumerable applicants, an agreement was worked out with the Reich economy ministry, the Berlin offices of the Party, and my office to make substantial use of the Berlin Party District Chiefs for selecting the applicants. The Gau Economic Advisor issued guidelines which set up a sequence according to which applicants should be dealt with in connection with proposals by the Party District Chiefs. Preference should be given to longtime and deserving Party members who had suffered an injury during the period of struggle. After them come the Party members who wish to start their own businesses and to work self-employed, but it is necessary that they have economic experience. Next come the victims of urban renewal (in connection with the redesigning of Berlin), and finally longtime employees in Jewish firms, as long as these persons are not "**Jews' lackeys.**" On the details of admission, the county commissioner, the District Economic Advisor, the District Head of Commerce of the German Labor Front, the District Chief of the retail trade representation in the Chamber of Industry, and Commerce Berlin will decide together with the district mayors. [...]

Welfare Payments for Jews

[...] The number of craft enterprises in Jewish hands was surprisingly large in Berlin. The Crafts Chamber counted about 2,600. The Jewish artisans are found mainly in the needle trades for gentlemen and ladies (625 + 351), the furrier and milliner trade (364 + 268), shoemaking (181), watchmakers (114), and goldsmiths and silversmiths (49). <2782>

◀410▶

SD Upper Division South II 112

Annual Report for 1938

Munich, n.d.

FfZ Hbg., 93121

Jewry

[...]

Jewish Associational Life

Below is a survey of Jewish organizational activity¹⁵⁷ in the territory of the SD Upper Division. Organizationally, the central office for all Jewish life in Bavaria is located in Munich, anchored in the Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities¹⁵⁸ and the Jewish **Kulturbund**.

The following picture emerges in regard to the political Gau districts:

[...]

Swabia

[...] An internal organizational problem for Jewry was the implementation of the Reich Law on Legal Relations of the Jewish Communities of 28 March 1938.¹⁵⁹ Alongside other aims, the Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities sought to achieve a reordering of the entire sphere of Jewish associational life. While preserving self-determination, it wished to bring together the Bavarian Jews in the pursuit and promotion of their religious interests. The following points were put forward as part of the agenda:

- 1) The promotion of general and social matters, in particular of the traditional religious functions of the **Community**,
- 2) the provision of financial assistance to Communities in the Association which are below performance levels in efficiency,
- 3) provision of advice for Communities regarding affairs of administration,
- 4) provision of welfare for the **rabbis**, teachers, cantors, and other officials of the Community,
- 5) mediation in disputes, employing conciliatory proceedings or arbitrage,
- 6) representation of the Communities to the central authorities in matters relating to the relation between the Community and the state, and
- 7) a general representative function for the Bavarian Communities within the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**. [...]

Given the present decline, it will no longer be possible for the Israelitic Communities to deal properly with their requisite tasks for much longer. For that reason, a financial collapse is likely in the near future. Consequently, the decree stripping the Jewish organizations of their status as statutory bodies appeared to be a significant blow against all of Jewish associational life. As a result of the decrease in subsidies mentioned, and the increase in apathy and disinterest, some organizations were no longer able to continue in operation. Some of the corresponding associations for men and women halted all activities or merged

into a single organization.¹⁶⁰

The confusion within Jewry caused by this initially gave people the impression that the Law on Changing the Legal Relations of the Jews would suffice to break the back of their resistance. Through close contact with one another, however, they managed to recover from this blow. Several religious events were held to show their fellow co-religionists that close cohesion among the Jews was indispensable. The customary discussions within the associations were then soon brought to a halt. After a ban of eight days on meetings, the **associational life** of the Jews stabilized once again. Only the action in November 1938¹⁶¹ brought with it a renewed and profound interruption. After the overwhelming majority of the functionaries of the Jewish organizations were incarcerated in the Dachau **concentration camp**, all organizational activity ceased. Only the **emigration** camps and vocational restructuring camps¹⁶² resumed some of their activities in part. Likewise, the Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities in Munich recommenced its work, seeking to provide advice on emigration (supervised by Dr. **Weiler**) and give assistance to more indigent Jews through the Relief Office.¹⁶³ In general, the Jewish organizations are waiting to see what resolutions are passed in Berlin.

Alongside the general work of the individual Jewish associations and organizations, there is no actual propaganda in the strict sense, since the only outlet for this was the Jewish papers,¹⁶⁴ and these are strictly censored. The Jewish Community paper *Für den Verband der Kultusgemeinden in Bayern*,¹⁶⁵ 16 pages per issue, attempted to help mitigate disagreements in the various associations, which initially were ridden with discord. The Jewish paper *Die jüdische Rundschau* continued to publish, and it dealt likewise only with general questions. In the main, studies were published about the situation in **Palestine**, accompanied by other short reports on vocational training for youth as a preparation for emigration.

In order to bolster efforts to encourage emigration, the Community organized language courses and lectures about questions associated with the problem of emigration. There were also a few evening events put on, featuring concerts and lectures on Jewish authors. An attempt was made here to present Jewish cultural creativity as something attractive for the Jewish people, stressing that Jewish cultural life was at least equal in its antiquity to that of the host country. Symphonies, concerts, solo performances, string quartets, piano concerts, and light music were likewise able to promote Jewish cultural creativity as milestones.¹⁶⁶ However, it was noted that most of the performances in the city, up to the time when attending German cultural facilities and events was

prohibited, had a very low attendance, since performances in German theaters were thought to be of greater quality. In addition, the Zionist organizations¹⁶⁷ in the entire area of the Upper Division organized various evening lectures. These dealt in depth with the question of emigration and the possibilities for settlement in Palestine. As a result of the political conflict in Palestine,¹⁶⁸ however, there was no faith in the notion that the envisioned goal could be achieved. [...] <2774>

◀411▶

SD Upper Division West II 112
Annual Report for 1938
Düsseldorf, n.d.
FfZ Hbg., 939121

The situation of Jewry in 1938 is marked by a catastrophic decline in all areas and all previous spheres of influence. [...]

Already at the beginning of the year, the will among older Jews to emigrate was stronger as compared with previous years. Earlier, only younger Jews registered voluntarily for **emigration**, driven to migrate abroad by worries about their future profession. [...]

The expulsion of the Polish Jews¹⁶⁹ caused a considerable stir. This was due to the unexpected measures of force employed, especially in the circles of the foreign Jews living here. They viewed the expulsion as the beginning of a general initiative against foreign Jews.¹⁷⁰ People expressed the view that the expulsion was meant as a trial balloon launched by the German government to determine whether and how countries abroad would view these events. In the local Upper Division, about 3,000 Jews were removed and deported to other locations.

Large segments of the population participated in the events of 9/10 November 1938¹⁷¹ only in the larger towns and cities in the local area. In the smaller towns, and especially in the countryside, the population was not involved. Nonetheless, the action was generally viewed with satisfaction, at least at the beginning. The reliable portion of the population approved of the directives ordered by Prime Minister **Göring** against the Jews.¹⁷² It was stressed that the action doubtless was a certain positive step forward, and had advanced the foundation for a total solution of the **Jewish Question** in Germany.

However, people in most circles were not in agreement with the manner in which the action was carried out. Very disapproving was the largely religious

segment of the population. Pastors of both denominations used the protest action to attack National Socialism.¹⁷³ The destroyed **synagogues** were called violated and disgraced “houses of worship,” a term that earlier had never been applied to them. People openly called the action a cultural disgrace and persecution of religious belief. Suspicions were voiced that now they had started burning down houses of worship, in a short time the same fate could befall the Christian churches. It was proclaimed from the pulpit that in those localities where the synagogues had been destroyed, there would never be peace and happiness again. As an expression of this view, there were protest rallies against the Jews’ action in various places. Thus, for example, in Vreden, the greater part of the population shopped quite demonstratively on the day after the Jews’ action at Jewish stores, which were still relatively undamaged and intact. In other localities, the windows were smashed of heads of local Party branches, who were thought to be responsible for the action. People rejected contributing for “Stew Sundays”¹⁷⁴ and the food collections of the National Socialist People’s Welfare, referring to the Jews’ action as a reason. In the Ruhr, leaflets were distributed calling for the execution of those Party leaders and state officials who had stood idly by as the protest actions and destruction progressed. In the district Aachen, flyers were seized stating that 99 percent of the population wanted nothing to do with these “disgraceful acts.” Another flyer found in the same government district referred to the Reichstag burning in connection with the destruction of the synagogues. [...]

One individual case is of some interest: a Jew, Hirsch-Dunker, attempting along with many others to flee to Holland, was stopped at the border in an automobile. In his possession he had a passport and a personal letter from Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia, authorizing him to use the car of the prince to drive to Holland.

As a result of the protest action and the arrests of leading Jewish personalities,¹⁷⁵ the activity of the Jewish organizations and associations, still in some cases very active at the beginning of the report year,¹⁷⁶ gradually declined ever more as a result of the external circumstances. Subsequently, these activities ground to a complete halt for the remainder of the year. [...] <2777>

◀412▶

SD Upper Division Elbe II 112

Annual Report for 1938

Chemnitz, 18 January 1939

FfZ Hbg., 93121

The year 1938 was characterized by an intensification of anti-Jewish attitudes within the Party, the state, and the population. Under the impression of the deed committed by Herschel **Grynszpan**, those attitudes reached a high point through anti-Jewish actions by the Party and its formations, taking on dimensions never before witnessed.¹⁷⁷

In the Gau Saxony, the year 1938 began on a note of promise, with anti-Jewish rallies. On the initiative of the **Gauleiter**, a protest rally was organized on 31 January 1938 in Dresden, at the spa *Weißen Hirsch*, directed against the Jewish spa guests staying there.¹⁷⁸ The success was immediate: 150 Jews took flight and disappeared. In February 1938, the customer card catalogues of the larger Jewish firms in Saxony were subjected to an inspection process, aimed at ferreting out Aryan customers. A larger proportion of these customers then avoided shopping any more at Jewish stores. At the beginning of March in all localities in Saxony, most especially in the large cities with a Jewish population, there was a wave of meetings, with hundreds of rallies under the slogan “Peace among nations or Jews’ dictatorship,” in some cases featuring prominent national speakers of the NSDAP.

In the other Gau districts in Thuringia, Halle-Merseburg, and Magdeburg-Anhalt, an attempt was made to crush the influence of Jewry, employing anti-Jewish measures, especially in the field of the economy. In a general move, **signs** of various kinds were put up in order to mark Jewish firms as such for the shopping public. In some cases, there were also violent incidents against Jewish retail trade shops,¹⁷⁹ such as in Leipzig against the UWO branch. It was then closed by the authorities. If as a result of these measures, the Jews nonetheless did not step up efforts to sell off their businesses,¹⁸⁰ this only indicates that these Jewish firms were likewise participating in the general economic upswing. A portion of the Jewish proprietors tried to pass on their firms *pro forma* to front men, or to Aryanize them with the help of Aryan relatives. To counter such attempts to conceal true ownership, the Ordinance Against Support for Concealment of Jewish Trade Firms was issued on 22 April 1938.¹⁸¹ A further blow on a national scale occurred on 23 April 1938¹⁸² with issuance of the Ordinance on the Registration of Jewish Assets.

Even if initially no direct harm was done to Jews by this registration, it created a quite substantial element of insecurity, since at first it was not known what purposes this registration of assets would serve. Further ordinances and laws followed one after the next, shaking the foundations of the very existence of a large proportion of Jewry. On 6 July 1938, the Law on Changing the Trade

Code for the German Reich (restrictions of commercial activity by Jews) was enacted.¹⁸³ This was followed a short time later by the exclusion of the Jewish **physicians**. The heaviest blow which all of Jewry suffered was the ordinance of 12 November 1938 on eliminating the Jews from economic life.¹⁸⁴ All previous laws and decrees, and all measures by Party offices or the population, had only resulted in stripping certain individual Jews of their livelihoods at the given moment, and they tried to find another source of income. But with the ordinance of 12 November 1938, all options vanished, totally and completely. So the law and ordinances badly affected Jewish economic life, or destroyed it, and also induced an almost total isolation of the Jews from the rest of the German population. [...]

Quite automatically in the course of the year, the focus of Jewish work had shifted to the **Communities**. From the beginning up to the middle of the year, the Communities tried to increase their influence on all of Jewry by individual measures, such as neutral evening get-togethers, lectures of a general nature, and open support for the **Relief Organization** regarding questions of emigration.¹⁸⁵ Already by the second half of the year, some Jewish organizations were unable to keep operating without the financial help of the Communities. Naturally then, the influence of the Communities on the organizations also came to be felt, in each case in line with the orientation of the leading Community chairmen. It was striking that in a majority of the Communities, the **assimilationist** element gained the upper hand through members of the **Central Association**, and a division of labor was introduced between the Community and the CV. Emigration consultation, and all the various and sundry work for emigration on the whole, shifted ever more onto the shoulders of the Communities and the Relief Organization under their wing, while the CV had seized control of consultation in the area of the economy. [...]

After all of Jewish life had lain fallow, without exception, from 10 November to mid-December, from that time on a small number of Jewish Communities have gradually begun to resume operations. Their most important task is providing support for indigent Jews¹⁸⁶ and the handling of **emigration** affairs. [...]

In general, however, one can note that Jewry in its organizations, and most especially the Jewish Communities, does not make a move without the knowledge of the local government offices. In all their actions, they protect their backs by asking questions first. [...]

The deportation of the Jews of Polish nationality came as a total surprise.¹⁸⁷ It was generally known that Poland wanted to deprive the majority of Polish

Jews living abroad of their citizenship. The reaction among these Jews of Polish nationality to the projected Polish measures varied. Some tried by all possible means to get their passports in order so that they could remain Polish citizens, because they believed that in the event of anti-Jewish measures by the Reich, they could be placed in a category for treatment as an exceptional case. Another segment did not reject the prospect of losing their Polish citizenship. They were of the view that a stateless person would not be so easily deported. In any event, none of the Jews had expected that the state would intervene before the expiration of the deadline. On the whole, the upshot of this was that localities were emptied of their Jewish-Polish population in one fell swoop. Except for Leipzig, that is. Here the "Polish Jews" were so heavily concentrated that it was simply not possible for the local police to proceed against them relying on the element of surprise. So a large number of Jews managed to disappear from their homes and go off into hiding somewhere. On the basis of the various arrest actions that have taken place, the Jew knows very well that after two or three days, a certain calm returns in the situation, and that he has nothing more to fear.

As always, in this instance as well, the Polish consul in Leipzig played a role that was highly questionable. In any event, in Leipzig it was only possible to apprehend and send off about 1,600 (50 percent) Jews of Polish nationality. It was precisely the most prominent among them who took refuge in the Polish Consulate. And there are strong suspicions that the Polish consul had prior knowledge of the upcoming action, and then warned the Jews through middlemen.

An interesting aspect that emerged in connection with the removal of the Jews of Polish nationality was the advanced extent to which Polish citizens are related by marriage to Jews of other nationalities or stateless Jews. In many cases, the families had to be divided and separated, since only some in the family had Polish citizenship.

In the initial transports, the mood was extremely depressed. But in the final transports, the mood had changed. From a train from Nuremberg passing through Leipzig, several Jews called out to fellow racial comrades standing on the platform: "We'll be back again soon!" The fact that a large majority of the expelled Jews did think of returning is evident from the circumstance that already after a short period of time, some of the Jews deported actually did turn up again. It is also reflected in the fact that a substantial number waited until the last minute at the station to ask relatives, acquaintances, or some organization or other to take over the settlement of their business affairs and households, or to continue to maintain them. The CV was especially active in accepting such

requests for assistance. [...]

The non-Jewish population had a very mixed reaction to the Grynszpan case and its consequences. In the working class and middle class, the action (burning of synagogues, Atonement Tax of 1 billion RM, elimination of all basis for a livelihood, etc.) met with approval, but people pointed to all the destruction of property and assets which could have been utilized in the framework of the Four-Year Plan.¹⁸⁸ A segment of the so-called “educated” circles expressed strong criticism of these measures, as they did of almost all others directed against the Jews. The reports in the press on this action, with headlines reading “Spontaneous popular rallies against Jewry,” “Enraged crowd sets fire to synagogue,” etc., failed completely to achieve their intended effect. In general, such articles were read with a smile, because people knew quite well who had organized and carried out these actions. The view that the Jews’ action of November, like the Jews’ boycott 1933,¹⁸⁹ was a tactical error is becoming accepted by ever more people. There is a statement from Party circles that with its claim of “spontaneous rallies,” the press has given the Reich a slap in the face. Because if spontaneous rallies were still possible today, it would certainly be in the realm of possibility that such “spontaneous rallies” could some day turn against circles of the Party. The comments on Jewry by leading personalities broadcast before every newscast on the radio since then are given virtually no attention, let alone any discussion. One can hear the view expressed that the corresponding legal measures have been taken against the Jews, and so the problem has been taken care of.

The Jews themselves were doubtless extremely alarmed when they heard of the assassination attempt and believed already from the first day that there could be counter-measures by the authorities or even by the national government. But when such measures initially did not occur, they breathed a sigh of relief, and thought that this time they would be spared any harsh blow. By no means had they expected that the deed in Paris would lead to such radical consequences as manifested in the November action, and these came largely as a surprise. Suddenly, even the most stubborn among the Jews showed an intention to **emigrate**. Each individual pulled out all the stops and used all the means at his disposal in order to be able to make his emigration a reality. But already after a relatively short time, the first signs emerged of a depletion of energy. Wealthy Jews think they will be able to live in Germany on their assets for the rest of their lives, and believe that will not be possible abroad, eking out a life on the pittance they will be left with should they emigrate. This is especially the case for older persons. The great mass of the less well-off Jews and those who have

been affected by the elimination of the Jews from the economy are beginning to contemplate the future with a certain sense of fatalism. It is true that they do go to the consultation offices for emigration and arrange all the forms and papers necessary for emigration, but all that is done with a certain dislike and indifference. The greatest concern of the Jewish offices is to get children out of the Reich in the form of so-called children's transports. At the present time, the principal countries accepting such children are England and Holland.¹⁹⁰ **Palestine** at the moment is excluded because of the conflict with the Arabs¹⁹¹ there, and countries overseas are for the present not practicable because of the transportation costs and lack of space on passenger ships.

Thus, Jewry in Germany found itself at the end of 1938 in complete dissolution. In order to hasten a full clarification of and solution to the Jewish Question, and to bring it to as advantageous a resolution as possible for the Jews, the Jewish leadership,¹⁹² today locally in the hands of the former **Communities**, finds itself compelled to gather together the remainder of their racial compatriots, and to begin with the task of constructing Jewish work on a totally new basis. This endeavor can recognize only two goals. Its foremost and principal objective is emigration, its second, the securing of what is most necessary for maintenance of those who remain behind. Pastoral activity is out of the question except in a very small number of cases, since the synagogues and prayer halls have been destroyed, aside from a very few exceptions. And Jews most probably will not be able to rent any rooms for these purposes from **Aryans**. [...]

II 112 1 Assimilationists

At the beginning of 1938, there was a widespread impression that the *Jewish Central Association e.V.* had brought its activity almost to a complete standstill. It called on its membership to come to events only in the most exceptional of cases, and then at the most, only in working groups in larger localities with relatively strong local associations. Only in the course of 1938 did it become ever clearer that the actual real work of the CV was not taking place on a public stage. Probably almost no other Jewish organization was as tightly structured as the CV. And for taking care of its membership and its type of work, no one needed to appear in public so little as the CV. Because the individual local associations of the CV in the Upper Division were fused together in a state association, and that body had full-time personnel in its main administrative positions, it was possible with the help of these full-time staff members to carry out intensive individual work. In addition, these staff members were almost all

highly competent Jews. Especially the general counsel Kurt **Sabatzky** and the first chairman, District Court Judge (Ret.) Cohn,¹⁹³ were on the road traveling to and within various localities most of the time. Jews seeking assistance and advice were provided information in so-called consultation hours. This information was almost 100 percent about legal matters. Striking in this regard is especially the fact that questions pertaining to emigration were not dealt with as such. Rather, only questions of the transfer of wealth or other matters that had to be taken care of legally in some way were dealt with and an answer found. With the November action, this activity of the CV was halted. It is of interest that the chairmen of the CV, after their release from the **concentration camp** as former combat veterans, immediately contacted the **Gestapo** and demanded the possibility to continue their activity. [...]

In the course of the year, the **Relief Organization of German Jews** continued to expand its organizations in this territory, setting up local organizations and support bases in almost all localities with a larger Jewish population. That was all the more possible for the organization since it was very energetically supported in its work by the Jewish Communities. Its spread was made much easier by the fact that it dealt mainly with advice for emigration, and had already taken over a number of existing emigration advisory offices that were not purely Zionist in orientation, and particularly their staff members. Along with the Jewish Communities, the Relief Organization is the Jewish organization that resumed its work most quickly after the November events. However, its activity is no longer independent as was the case before, but rather takes place in the framework of the Israelitic Communities. From the Relief Organization, it took over only the forms and documents necessary for emigration, and the experienced personnel.

The **Jewish Winter Relief** had a satisfactory balance sheet for the winter 1937/38 everywhere. But the beginning of the winter 1938/39 was less pleasant for the organization as far as the results of collecting were concerned. In the course of the year, the number of people to be given assistance has increased, the number contributing has declined. Among the wealthy Jews, almost nowhere was it possible to obtain donations on the previous scale. One simple reason was that these Jews no longer can dispose so freely of their assets as was possible before. Already at the end of October, at the time of the deportation of Jews of Polish citizenship,¹⁹⁴ in various localities, but especially in Leipzig and Dresden, the first exceptional demands were made of the Jewish Winter Relief. Since the train stations in these two cities were transit stations for a large proportion of the trains from the west and south of the Reich, the Jewish Winter Relief had set up

soup kitchens in the stations. On 10 November 1938, all activity at the Jewish Winter Relief ground to a sudden halt, including collections and provision of support. In most localities by far, the Jewish Winter Relief has resumed its work. However, it too was transferred and absorbed into the general work of the Jewish Communities, and temporarily exists for the moment mainly just as a name, not an organization.

II 112 3 Zionists

Likewise in 1938, the **Zionist Association** has not been able to regain the importance it had enjoyed in the years after the National Revolution of the German People. The ever greater disinterest among its members was attributable in the main to the events transpiring in Palestine. Many adherents understood that it was easier to emigrate overseas and to other countries of immigration than to Palestine, especially when it came to the more elderly. This was not reflected so much in members resigning from the Zionist Association, and was manifest much more in the fact that a large number of its members, in relation to the total number of emigrants, opted to go to countries other than Palestine. The fact that members, despite their disappointment, seldom turned their backs on the organization as long as they were in the country is due to their make-up: most of the Zionists came from a circle of persons opposed to assimilation, at least in their overwhelming majority. [...]

The work of the branches of the **Palestine Office** had declined to a minimum as a result of the small number of **certificates** allocated Germany. Now their work consisted primarily solely in advice on possible **retraining**. In general, they were compelled to work ever more hand in hand with the emigration offices of the Relief Organization. The trained personnel of the branches of the Palestine Office carry out their activities today together with the emigration clerks of the Relief Organization in the framework of the temporary activity of the Jewish Communities.

◀2768▶

◀413▶

SD Upper Division North II 112
Annual Report for 1938
Stettin, 20 January 1939
FfZ Hbg., 93121

The report year witnessed a total reorientation in the thinking of the Jews in Germany. Because the developments which transpired during this year impressed even on the most stubborn **assimilationists** that the Jews have no future in Germany. Yet at the end of the previous year, the situation seemed to suggest that the Jews who hoped to have a secure basis of existence even in National Socialist Germany were correct in their assessment. [...]

But the greatest incentive to remain on in Germany sprang from the development of the economy, which was favorable for the Jews. The struggle against Jewry appeared to slacken, and measures by the state brought few real obstacles for Jewish life. On the contrary: certain measures taken by the government, such as imposition of quotas, even promoted the Jewish economy unintentionally.

But all that changed in the course of the year here reported on. The Jewish problem once again moved into the foreground of general interest. The various measures taken by the state—registration of Jewish assets,¹⁹⁵ cancellation of licenses for peddlers,¹⁹⁶ revocation of **physicians'** licenses to practice, dissolution of the profession of Jewish **lawyers**, and the **marking** of Jewish firms—halted the economic upswing the Jews were enjoying this year, and prompted them once again to seriously contemplate the option of emigration.

To the extent that possibilities for an ordered life dried up for the Jews, the Zionist current¹⁹⁷ within Jewry came ever more to the fore. On the other hand, the representatives of the assimilationist current as well, the **CV** and **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, increasingly all busied themselves with preparations for the emigration of the last of the remaining Jews. The strongest impetus for this development emerged in the aftermath of the Jews' action¹⁹⁸ and the subsequent laws in the wake of the murder of legation secretary vom Rath.¹⁹⁹ The new restrictions stripped the Jews of their last options for life in Germany and forced them to emigrate at any and all cost.

The Jewish percentage of the population here in the Upper Division is small and declined during the course of the year. The largest segment, about 50 percent, lives in Stettin. The decline in Mecklenburg was especially heavy.

As in most regions in Germany, Jewry is markedly over-aged in the area of the Upper Division North as well. Thus, in Mecklenburg there are hardly any Jews younger than 30. This is also explained by the fact that the younger and more active Jews already left Germany earlier on.

The mounting emigration led to a profound change in the structure of the Jewish **Communities**. A large number of Communities were no longer viable because of the great loss in membership. This led to various Communities

banding together to form so-called District Communities. Since with few exceptions only the poorer Jews had remained on in Germany, the economic situation of most Communities became ever more difficult, especially since **welfare** assistance inside the Communities demanded ever larger sums. A compounding factor was that the Communities in some cases had to ensure that their more indigent members were able to emigrate. However, this situation helped to strengthen the sense of cohesion in a way never seen before. [...]

In this year as well, the attitude toward the **Jewish Question** among broad circles of the population was quite unsatisfactory. Even leaving aside those who for ideological reasons reject the struggle against the Jews, there were still broad circles of the population which proved to be indifferent and unenthusiastic about the struggle of the German people against the Jew. The rural workers in particular still continued to shop at Jewish stores. But since they otherwise do not oppose National Socialism, there was a defect here in the level of necessary enlightenment. Even within the Party and the other organizations, there appears to have been a lack in some cases of necessary indoctrination on this question, since in the takeover of Jewish firms, it was noted that members of all Party formations and organizations were found to be doing their shopping at such Jewish stores. Under the impact of government measures, the Jewish problem moved into the limelight again during the year. The new laws were much applauded. But attitudes toward the Jews' action differed. Even some circles within the Party were not prepared to back the action fully and unequivocally. People welcomed the thoroughgoing solution of the questions by means of legislation enacted on the heels of the action, but for economic reasons rejected the destruction of material assets.

In this matter, the various ideological enemies again came to public attention. But in no case was it possible to establish direct ties with Jewry. All concurred in their rejection of the measures against the Jews; however, there were various reasons mustered to motivate this attitude. The representatives of liberalism condemned the events for reasons of humanity and the impression it had made abroad. The reactionary camp had a similar view. All churches likewise completely rejected these measures, condemning in particular the burning of the **synagogues**.²⁰⁰ A few pastors even remembered the poor persecuted Jews in their prayers. During the year, the cultural concerns and needs receded into the background within the ranks of Jewry.²⁰¹ In the first part of the year, events of this kind were organized in Stettin and Rostock. The prerequisites for this were lacking elsewhere. Along with evening get-togethers for reading poetry and singing songs, there were religious celebrations. In addition, some meetings

were scheduled so as to present lectures pertaining to various questions of emigration. Later this activity in Jewish life ceased completely. [...]

The planned promotion of emigration is viewed as the most important task for dealing with Jewry in the coming weeks and months. In particular, it must be ensured that the Jews who leave Germany are not just the prosperous, but that Germany is finally rid above all else of the numerous poor Jews. Special care will have to be taken so that in procuring the documents necessary for emigration, the difficulties are eliminated which have appeared in the recent period as a result of the lack of comprehension on the part of certain authorities. However, the final solution of the Jewish Question will depend on whether the governments which always support the interests and concerns of the poor persecuted Jews will now also have positive contributions to make to the resolution of this question by making available their colonial areas, in part unpopulated, for the planned and ordered resettlement of the Jews from Germany.²⁰² <2770>

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SD Main Office II 1

Report for 1938

Berlin, n.d.

Boberach, pp. 7, 20–32, 60, 64, 72 f., 74, 134, 172 f.

General Overview

Activity by the various groups of ideological opponents in 1938 was basically under the powerful influence of the consequences of the major events in foreign policy: the annexation of Austria²⁰³ and the Sudeten German territories²⁰⁴—in domestic policy, the greatest factor of influence was the array of measures against Jewry taken by the Party and the state. [...]

Jewry

Germany

In the report year 1938, the **Jewish Question** in Germany came to a formal conclusion to the extent that it is amenable to regulation by means of legislation. Two periods can be clearly identified: While the attempt was made from 1 January to 8 November 1938 to finally eliminate the Jews by means of laws and ordinances from all areas of German life,²⁰⁵ the complete and total exclusion of

the Jews from all areas of public and private life became a reality by the action of 9/10 November 1938.²⁰⁶

The situation went through changes as a result of the incorporation of the **Ostmark** and the Sudeten German territories, increasing the number of Jews resident in the territory of the Reich by between 200 and 250 thousand Jews of the Mosaic faith.

The measures against the Jews led to an extensive realignment of all Jewish organizations, aside from a few exceptions, now geared to preparation or implementation of **emigration**. At the same time, small and medium-sized Jewish **Communities** and numerous organizations with a purely religious or **assimilationist** orientation were dissolved. In this process, the "**Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**," together with the Jewish Communities that continued in existence and the institutions affiliated with the Reich Representation for promoting emigration, became the organizational hub of Jewry.

The mounting process of eliminating the Jews from gainful employment, and the emigration of formerly wealthy Jews, led to an increase in the impoverished Jewish proletariat. At the end of the report year, they far outnumbered the wealthy Jews or those earning their own living. The consequence of this development was increased relief assistance by Jewish organizations,²⁰⁷ though that was rendered far more difficult by the simultaneous falling revenues of these organizations. In the previous year, with a total number of some 370,000 Jews of the Mosaic faith²⁰⁸ (the Reich Statistics Office estimates the figure for 1 January 1938 to be 365,000) in the older area of the Reich,²⁰⁹ there were some 42,000 persons receiving regular social welfare aid. In the report year, the number of those on regular welfare assistance was approximately 40,000 (12.5 percent of the total), and this despite the decline in the total number of Jews of the Mosaic faith in the Altreich to some 320,000. In addition, in the months October to December 1938, the **Jewish Winter Relief** assisted 73,976 persons, 23.12 percent of the total number.

For the same time period, the number of Jews in the Ostmark given relief assistance by the Jewish Winter Relief was about 30,000. If we assume a total number of 106,000 Jews of the Mosaic faith, this constitutes 28.3 percent of this total at the end of the report year. The Israelitic Community Vienna even gives a figure of more than 60,000 for those individuals registered and receiving regular welfare assistance, constituting 56.6 percent of the total.

It was not possible, at least in the old territory of the Reich, to increase the emigration of the Jews to the extent that would have been desirable for the Jews

themselves under the pressure of the circumstances. Thus, the statistics put together by the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany only indicate an out-migration of 46,000 persons (= 12.43 percent), as compared with 25,000 the previous year. By contrast, the emigration of Jews from the Ostmark was given strong impetus by the activity of the “**Central Office for Jewish Emigration**” established in August of the report year. The total number of Jews of the Mosaic faith and not of the Mosaic faith²¹⁰ who emigrated legally and illegally²¹¹ from the Ostmark is estimated to be some 79,000 persons = 42.7 percent. This result is all the more significant since Jewry in the Ostmark had to work in a far more unfavorable financial and domestic political situation. Funding to offset the lack of necessary finances was procured by making greater financial use of foreign Jewish organizations, especially the “**Council for German Jewry**” in London.²¹²

The greater proportion of Jews both from the Altreich and Ostmark went to countries overseas, mainly to North America, while **Palestine** was a destination only to a minor extent, especially for indigent Jews.

Despite the number of emigrants, which seems relatively high, it must be pointed out that emigration toward the end of the report year declined substantially as a result of the reluctance of countries abroad to allow Jews to immigrate, and the lack of sufficient foreign currency reserves. Insofar as the old territory of the Reich is concerned, emigration almost ground to a halt. Another contributing factor was the profound sense of resignation among the Jews, whose organizations continue to fulfill their task only under the heightened pressure of the authorities.

Here the November action brought fundamental change. In the Ostmark, the desire among Jews to emigrate had risen to a high point as a result of the measures taken there after the assumption of power.²¹³ Now the radical actions against the Jews during those days in November had a similar effect in the old territory of the Reich. But these intentions to emigrate were not realized, since in the aftermath of the November action, the activity of the Jewish organizations working for emigration was also restricted, especially as a consequence of the substantial change in the financial situation of Jewry (the obligation for damages and special levies).²¹⁴ However, down to the end of the report year, it was not yet possible to create the requisite centralization in the sphere of Jewish organizational activity, or stimulate greater readiness on the part of foreign countries to accept larger groups of emigrants. These conditions are the prerequisite for continuing increased emigration from the old territory of the Reich.²¹⁵

Compared with this development, the organizational changes within Jewry already mentioned were of less significance. In the old territory of the Reich, aside from some temporary bans on activity, the only organization that still had to be forcibly dissolved by the government was the “**State Zionist Organization**,”²¹⁶ since Jewish associations and leagues had disbanded themselves. In the Ostmark, organizations went through fundamental restructuring immediately after the **Anschluß**. But it should be stressed that there was no attempt to annex the Jewish organizations in the Ostmark and link them to the existing Jewish organizations in the territory of the Reich, so as to avoid increasing the circle of the latter organizations, and their possibilities for influence.²¹⁷

All assimilationist organizations were disbanded and banned, while the organizations serviceable for emigration, after a temporary cessation of activity and requisite restructuring, were permitted to function once again. In this sphere of activity, a key position is occupied by the “**Israelitic Community Vienna**” as the largest communal organization of Jewry in the Ostmark. It is responsible for organizing emigration, welfare, and schooling, so that it is also responsible for obtaining the necessary foreign currency from foreign Jewish organizations (**Council for German Jewry**) for the maintenance of indigent Jews and the promotion of emigration.

The Jewish organizations taken over with the incorporation of the Sudeten German territories were not confirmed, especially since there was no necessity for their continued existence after the migration of most of the Jews to Czechoslovakia.²¹⁸ The Jews remaining are to be provided services by the organizations in the old territory of the Reich. [...]²¹⁹

Old Territory of the Reich

Situation of and Changes in Jewish Organizations

In the introduction above, it was already pointed out that the Jewish organizations in the old territory of the Reich were significantly affected by the ongoing decline in the number of Jewish Communities, the drop in living standards, and the associated downturn in revenues from religious taxes and the like. The picture was dominated by dissolutions, especially among the **Orthodox**, and in part among former **assimilationists**. For that reason, the impact of the law of 28 March 1938²²⁰ on Changes in the Legal Situation of the Jewish Communities was all the more drastic. It stripped the Community of its status as a statutory body, transforming it retroactively from 1 January 1938 into

an association. The extra tax burden led to an increase in the budget, which in the case of the Berlin Community amounted to some 1.5 million. On the other hand, these sums were deducted from the finances for emigration and social welfare.

The **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** tried to adapt to the legal situation created by this. It proposed the establishment of a “**Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany**,” in which all Jewish communal structures were to be centralized, while eliminating the previous Jewish **regional associations** (central bodies of the Jewish communities in the various states). At the same time, this was to bring all Jewish finances together under one roof in order to carry out distribution from central offices to the Communities, which for the most part were not able now to cover expenses from their own revenue intake. The “Reich Federation” was not confirmed, since the conclusions drawn from the November action made other measures necessary, as have been already mentioned.

For the same reason, a restructuring of the other Reich associations affiliated with the “Reich Representation” did not materialize. They continued to exist in the old form, while their activity was restricted to emigration and social welfare.

The Political and Religious Organizations

Since 1937, basically nothing has changed in the structure of the Jewish organizations of all currents, aside from the cessation of their activity after the November action. But there was a continuous drop in their number and membership as a result of the migration of Jews out of the country. Except for the associations in the large cities, activities in organizing meetings and events²²¹ declined markedly, restricted mainly to preparation for emigration (**vocational retraining** courses, language study, etc.) and cultural activities (**Kulturbund**).

Only in a few areas of the Reich did the “**Jewish Central Association e.V.**” attempt, through its work in consultation on legal and economic matters, to protect Jews from all organizations from the effects of the Jews’ laws, and thus indirectly to act against their emigration. But that activity as well was finally stopped by the November action.

In this framework, worthy of special mention is solely the dissolution of the “**State Zionist Organization**” on 31 August 1938, after it had been established that its Berlin group of Jewish National Youth “*Herzlia*” belonged to the “New Zionist World Organization” (Jabotinsky).²²² Due to the small size of the organization (approximately 1,000 members), no notable assets were discovered.

The elimination of Jews with foreign citizenship from the governing boards of Jewish organizations, a procedure begun in the previous year, was finally brought to a conclusion in the year here under report.²²³ In Berlin alone, this action affected 189 individuals, some in important positions. From 1 January to 8 November 1938,²²⁴ Jews were ousted from the following occupations through various laws and ordinances:

auctioneers,
security personnel,
commercial provision of information on assets and personal affairs,
commercial agents for leases and loans,
commercial marriage bureaus and tour guides,
itinerant peddling,
physicians, professional health-care personnel,
lawyers, patent lawyers, notaries public.²²⁵

In addition, it is important to stress the Ordinance Against Supporting the Disguising of Jewish Commercial Firms of 22 April 1938,²²⁶ designed to eliminate abuses in the representation of Jewish firms by **Aryans**. The Ordinance on the Registration of the Assets of Jews of 26 April 1938²²⁷ ensures disclosure of Jewish capital. In order to prevent the disguising of Jews by assuming a non-Jewish name, the Law on Changes in Family Name and First Name was issued on 5 January 1938. This regulation was supplemented by a decree of the Reich interior ministry specifying that effective from 1 January 1938,²²⁸ Jews must take on the additional first names of Israel or Sarah if they do not already have a purely Jewish first name.²²⁹

Finally, the passport decree of 7 October 1938 [sic]²³⁰ stripped Jews of their internal passports. At the same time, they were ordered to apply to their local police authority for issuance of an I.D., which is regarded as an official internal identification card. The passports for foreign travel issued on the basis of the regulations of 16 September 1937 are marked by the letter "J," a measure in response to the complaints by foreign countries that the Reich was supposedly silent in condoning illegal Jewish emigration.²³¹

The Action Against the Jews on 9/10 November 1938

The foundations of Jewish life and its organization were completely transformed by the actions against Jews throughout the Reich subsequent to the murder of the legation secretary vom Rath in Paris by the Jew with Polish citizenship, Feibel [sic] **Grynszpan**.

The action was manifested in general in the destruction or burning down of the **synagogues** and the demolishing of almost all Jewish firms and shops, which were forced as a result to halt their sales operations. In a number of cases, the residences of the Jews were also affected by the action. Valuable archival material and art treasures were destroyed as a result of the imprudence or ignorance of those involved. Acting in self-defense against the Jews, a number of the latter were killed or injured.

In order to heighten pressure for emigration, at the same time some 25,000 male Jews were incarcerated in **concentration camps**, in part temporarily.

After conclusion of the November action, legal measures were enacted against the Jews in the form of laws and ordinances. In this connection, a principle was emphasized to the effect that a Jew could no longer be in a senior position, but could function only as a subordinate, and that he could no longer take part in the community life of the **Volk**. The ordinance of the Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan,²³² General Field Marshal **Göring**, of 12 November 1938,²³³ served this end in particular. With effect from 1 January 1938, it prohibited Jews from operating retail shops, mail-order businesses, agency offices for taking orders for large mail-order firms, or a workshop run as a self-employed business. A Jew cannot work as a managing director or senior executive.

The Ordinance on the Employment of Jewish Assets of 3 December 1938²³⁴ also stipulated that the proprietor of a Jewish factory or an agriculture or forestry enterprise can be ordered to sell or liquidate the firm within a specified period. Jews cannot acquire land as property or any rights thereto attached. Within one week after this ordinance became law, the Jews had to deposit all their stocks, shares in mining companies, fixed interest-bearing bonds, and similar equities in an account at a foreign currency bank. Access to such deposited equities and removal of stocks and bonds from such accounts require special permission from the Reich economy minister. Jews are also prohibited from acquiring or freely selling objects made of gold, silver, or platinum, or precious stones.

Other regulations effected a ban on Jews for possessing firearms,²³⁵ the final elimination from participation in German cultural life²³⁶ and in education.²³⁷ In addition, the Jews were levied with a tax of 1 billion RM for compensation of damages incurred in connection with the action. This is to be paid through a levy of 20 percent on Jews with assets totaling over 5,000 RM.²³⁸

In summary, it can be stated that the Jews, both subjects of the German state and stateless, have thus finally been eliminated from all areas of German community life,²³⁹ so that Jews have only one option left for ensuring their

further existence, namely emigration.

Statistics

[...]

a) Jewish Population

Old area of the **Ostmark:**
Reich:²⁴⁰

Jews of the Mosaic faith ²⁴¹	Jews of the Mosaic faith on
on	
1 Jan. 1938–	11 March 1938–
370,000	185,000
Jews of the Mosaic faith on	(according to the Stat. Yearbook 1938
31 Dec. 1938–	on 1 Jan.
320,000	1938=191,000)
(assuming a mortality of 4,000)	Jews of the Mosaic faith on
	31 Dec. 1938=
	106,000

[...]

d) Age structure

According to data of the “**Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**,” the age structure of the Jews in the old territory of the Reich on 31 December 1938 provided the following picture:

Years	Male	female	Absolute	percent
-6	3,500	3,500	7,000	2.19
6-14	10,000	10,500	20,500	6.41
14-20	11,500	12,500	24,000	7.50
20-35	18,000	20,000	38,000	11.87
35-45	20,000	25,000	45,000	14.06
45-50	15,000	16,000	31,000	9.69
50-65	38,000	41,500	79,500	24.84
65 and older	34,000	41,000	75,000	23.44
	150,000	170,000	320,000	100

Accordingly, 57.97 percent of the Jews in general are no longer suitable for direct emigration, since the maximum age for immigrants in most countries is 45 years old.

e) Children of school age

Old area of the Reich: Ostmark:

Total no. (12 Nov. 1938) ca. ca. 6,622
20,000

(80% of these attend
grammar schools)

[...]

Development of Emigration

The development of **emigration** of the Jews from the old territory of the Reich differed considerably from that of the Jews from the Ostmark. In the old Reich, it progressed with cooperation of the majority of the political and religious organizations of Jewry, placed in the hands of the "Reich Representation" and the "Relief Organization of German Jews" affiliated with it. These also took care of procuring the necessary foreign currency from sources abroad for emigration. But when it came to arranging the required documents for emigration (political statement that the individual has no criminal record, statement that no taxes are owed, passport, etc.), then the emigrant himself had to take care of this, unless part of a group transport. The work overload for the authorities which this caused led to a major delay in the implementation of emigration. It became evident that such a procedure could not properly handle the needs of mass emigration.

These shortcomings which appeared in the old Reich were avoided in the

Ostmark by concentration of the entire organizational structure on emigration, and the establishment of a “Central Office for Jewish Emigration” (26.8.1938),²⁴² headed by an inspector from the Security Police. This “Central Office” brings together all authorities active in connection with Jewish emigration so that it is generally possible to procure all papers necessary for emigration for a Jew wishing to emigrate in a period of from 6 to 14 days. In addition, the Central Office, together with the Vienna Foreign Exchange Office and the “Israelitic Community,” decides about distribution of the foreign currency provided by Jewish organizations abroad. That arrangement made it possible—for the first time on a large scale, and in a carefully planned manner—to implement the emigration of the poor and indigent at the expense of wealthy Jews.

The figures for emigration below (estimates) for the old Reich and the Ostmark clearly prove the advantage of the procedure used in the Ostmark, whose introduction on a revised basis is now also planned for the old Reich.

Old territory of the Reich	Ostmark:
Total emigration, 1 Jan.–31 Dec. 1938	11 March–31 Dec. 1938
46,000 = 12.43%	79,000 = 42.10%
(including the Jews with Polish citizenship expelled to Poland) ²⁴³	(including Jews not of the Mosaic faith) ²⁴⁴
The 12,248 Jews who emigrated with the help of the Reich Representation proceeded to the following destinations:	The 66,848 Jews who emigrated legally from the Ostmark proceeded to the following destinations:
North and Central America	2,926 North America 14,787
South America	2,937 Central America 1,660
Asia	593 South America 4,844
Palestine	2,413 Asia 8,771
Africa	156 (to China and Manchuria 8,009)
Europe	2,754 Palestine 4,095
	Africa 2,432
	Australia 999
	*Europe 29,260

*England 8,113; France 3,002; Switzerland 3,100; Czechoslovakia 3,556; Italy 1,801; Finland 1,627; Greece 1,111; Romania 993; Luxembourg 950; Hungary 949; Holland 945; Portugal 736; Belgium 695; Poland 626; Latvia 462.

Destinations in the rest of Europe and illegal emigrants not listed,²⁴⁵ ca. 12,000.²⁴⁶ [...]

Danzig²⁴⁷

At the beginning of the report year, Jewry in Danzig, some 12,000 strong, was under the direction of the **Community**, whose members (university graduates, merchants, and the like) stuck to their **assimilationist** position and did not deviate from it up to the end of the year. Rather, they endeavored to strengthen their influence on the shaping of Jewish life by the formation of a Committee for Economic Assistance (February 1938), which helped support Jewish tradesmen and small-scale commerce, and by establishing a court of arbitration affiliated with the Community (May 1938).

Despite the use of foreign financial means and the facilitation of the emigration of **East European Jews**, this intention proved abortive. The reason for that lay less in the developments in Danzig itself and more in the restructuring of the entire question as influenced by conceptions from the old Reich. The November action,²⁴⁸ which continued in Danzig on 14 November in an unplanned manner, led to the introduction there of the Nuremberg Laws (23 November). Even before they were introduced, the dissolution of assimilationist Jewry had been heralded when their central social organizations, the Jewish Social Association Zoppot, and the Borussia Lodge of the UOBB,²⁴⁹ disbanded independently in July and November, respectively. This organizational restructuring continued in the emigration of the wealthiest and most influential Jews among the assimilationists.

Now the reins of leadership in Jewry were taken over by the **Zionists** or the **State Zionists**, who decided in a mass meeting on 17 December to emigrate as a group in the fastest way possible.

Insofar as there are statistics for the very uncertain situation in connection with Danzig Jewry, the following picture emerges:

The total number of the Jews²⁵⁰ resident in Danzig on 1 January 1938 decreased in absolute terms by some 2–3,000 Jews to the end of the year, so that the total figure for the number of Jews on 31 December 1938 was approximately 9,700. Of these, 5,700 were foreign nationals. [...]

Social Democracy

Activity of the SPD and its Splinter Groups

[...] Again and again, the Social Democratic leaders hoped that complications in domestic or foreign politics could lead to the desired crisis and finally to the downfall of National Socialism. [...] More recently, they harbored the hope that the **Jewish Question** would bring about the collapse of the National Socialist state. In order to mobilize the middle classes in this sense as well, the notion was popularized that the “Jews’ pogroms” would be supplemented by the persecution of the Christians (churches and monasteries). [...]

Liberalism

General Overview

[...] The liberal enemy expressed new and very vehement opposition on the occasion of the measures against Jewry.²⁵¹ A campaign of agitation and boycott propaganda²⁵² expanded in scope was to make up for the previous failures. [...]

Liberalism in Domestic Politics

[...] A war psychosis began with the Czech mobilization in May. It was not put to rest until the Munich Agreement.²⁵³ [...] As directly as these pacifistic phenomena had surfaced during the crisis, they disappeared again subsequent to the Munich Agreement. The last effects of this psychosis were reflected in the fact that the actions against the Jews in November were very badly received in the population. Criticism varied according to the position of the individual. Circles in the economy pointed to the damage caused by the actions, others criticized the legal measures. And the middle class, its fears about war only recently dispelled, pointed to the dangerous consequences it might have abroad. When the reactionary camp abroad then articulated its views in wild agitation campaigns and boycott measures,²⁵⁴ these liberal-pacifist circles deigned to agree with this foreign opinion, denouncing the measures taken as “barbaric” and “uncivilized.” Given their basic liberal viewpoint, many believed they had to openly express their support for the Jews. The destruction of the **synagogues** was called irresponsible. People denounced the plight of the “poor, oppressed Jews.” Observations indicated that the measures against Jewry meet with far stronger rejection in the south (with the exception of the Ostmark) and the west (Catholic, more densely populated, largely an urban population) than in the north (Protestant, less densely settled, rural population). [...]

Right-wing Movement

[...] In response to the Jews' action in November 1938, one could note once again, in all groups on the reactionary right, a pronounced uniform negative view. The measures that had been taken were uniformly characterized as unjust and beneath the dignity of a civilized nation. [...]

Education

Schooling

[...] The question of classes in religious instruction in the schools was not resolved in 1938. The advisory issued by the National Socialist Teachers' League in connection with the murder of the legation secretary in Paris,²⁵⁵ namely that teachers should refuse in writing to teach classes on religion, given the Jewish intellectual content in the Old Testament, did not advance matters. Rather, it led to the formation of various fronts among the teachers and, after the failure of the action, seriously damaged the reputation of the National Socialist Teachers' League and trust in the organization.²⁵⁶ [...]

Economy

Domestic Trade

[...] There was a significant change in the previous direction in regard to Aryanizations as a result of the November events. It must be noted in connection with the November events that the destruction of substantial economic value in the context of the Jews' action has not met with the approval of broad sections in the population. By contrast, the legislation introduced subsequent to the action has been well received.

On the basis of the Ordinance on Elimination of the Jews from German Economic Life of 12 November 1938,²⁵⁷ the Jews have now been totally excluded from retail trade including mail-order businesses, or agency offices for taking orders from mail-order firms, effective from 1 January 1939. Likewise, Jews are no longer permitted to be members of cooperatives. The retail trade sector welcomed with especial gratification the fact that the dejudification of the German economy, insofar as it affected retail trade, was now being carried out consciously in the context of the guided process of the existing transfer [of firms to Aryan ownership]. Insofar as can be presently assessed, the dissolving of Jewish retail trade and the transfer to Aryan ownership was likely completed in the main by the end of 1938. In Greater Berlin, for example, of 3,750 retail trade businesses that were tallied on 1 August 1938, 3,050 have been liquidated, so

that only 700 firms were subject to Aryanization.²⁵⁸ [...] <2766>

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Annual Report for the SS Lieutenant Generals' Conference, 26 January 1939

Berlin, 7 January 1939

BArch, R 58/956

Jewry

In the development of the **Jewish Question** in the territory of the Reich in 1938, two clear time periods can be identified. The first stage encompasses the span from 1 January to 8 November; the second stage, the period from 10 November to 31 December. While the attempt was made in the first period to finally settle the Jewish Question by application of laws and ordinances, eliminating Jews from all occupations,²⁵⁹ and at the same time preventing the possible emergence of an associated rise in the incidence of criminal acts, after the revolutionary action of 9 to 10 November, the entire problem was put once more on the agenda, now in completely new terms.²⁶⁰ [...]

9 November–31 December 1938

[...] By intervention on the part of the Reich, there was a temporary halt imposed on all organizational activities of the Jews, and such activities have only been resumed in part up to today. Since the most important task in regulating the Jewish Question is the final **emigration** of all Jews and securing of social welfare for the economically weaker Jews and those unable to work, the SD Main Office, in consultation with the **Gestapo**, has made suggestions to the General Field Marshal²⁶¹ on establishing a central office of all Jewish organizations, in the form of a **Reich Association**. While the General Field Marshal gave his basic assent to the idea, approval for the various proposals made in consultation with the Gestapo still must be obtained.

Likewise, during the action, all archival materials in the possession of Jewish persons and organizations were seized by the SD.²⁶² Suggestions have been presented to the General Field Marshal as to what should be done with this material in future. A final decision is now awaited.

In summary, it can be stated that the Jews—insofar as they are subjects of the German state—have finally been eliminated from all spheres of German life, and the only option still open to them is emigration. Certain difficulties will arise in

the maintenance of the Jews still resident on the territory of the Reich until their final emigration. [...] <2767>

1. The present document from the Special Archive Moscow (Osobyi-Arkhiv) is preserved in a typewritten version with numerous corrections and changes written in by hand, which probably represented the final version of the report (see the facsimile of the first three pages of the preserved, nine-page report, figure 22, pp. 344–346). Here we reproduce the corrected text with footnotes. The German edition also gives the original typescript version in parallel without the later supplementary emendations.

2. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.

3. See **Grynszpan, Herschel** and **Kristallnacht**.

4. See Chronology, 9–29 November 1938, especially the ordinance of 12 November on the Exclusion of the Jews from German Economic Life.

5. This is one of the rare instances in which an SD report speaks about the mood in the army, and in particular pertaining to the regime's policy on the Jews.

6. On the attitude of German Catholicism to the regime's policy on the Jews, see Repgen, “German Catholicism and the Jews” and **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

7. On order of the Reich government, the people were compelled to eat simple stew meals on the first Sunday of the months October to March, the so-called *Eintopfsonntag*, at a price not to exceed one Reichsmark per person, also as standard fare in restaurants. The difference in price between this cheaper stew and a regular Sunday meal was to be donated as a contribution to the **Winter Relief**.

8. See **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**.

9. See Chronology for December 1938 and January 1939.

10. See in particular Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, chap. Ill: The “Fateful Year” 1938.

11. See **Emigration** and the section “Danzig” in **414** and **416**, and Strauss, “Jewish Emigration from Germany.”

12. See **Individual actions**; the **Kristallnacht** pogrom took place in Danzig on 12–14 November. Two **synagogues** were set on fire and two others were devastated.

13. Seen. 8. On the basis of Danzig's special status of a Free City after World

War I, under the supervision of the League of Nations, the anti-Jewish legislation of the Third Reich was not officially introduced there until after the November 1938 pogrom. In fact, however, the discrimination of Jews in every life had, as in the “**Altreich**,” been stealthily introduced there too incrementally from 1933 on. The attempts by the Danzig Jews to maintain their rights in the framework of **minority protection** guaranteed by the League of Nations proved abortive. See Lichtenstein, *Juden der Freien Stadt Danzig*.

14. This circular directive was sent to all lord mayors, mayors, and county commissioners in the government district Bielefeld, and to external offices of the Gestapo in Detmold and Bückeburg. The archive file contains a total of fifty-nine responses, which are all reproduced in the CD-ROM complete edition. There they were ordered chronologically on the basis of date of composition or in accordance with the office reporting, and placed in the respective group of documents. From this unique documentation, twelve of the reports requested in the circular directive have been chosen and arranged consecutively (358► to 369►). Summary report of the Stapostelle Bielefeld, 26 November 1938, to Gestapo Berlin, see 369►.

15. See **Kristallnacht**.

16. See Chronology, 11 November 1938.

17. The order for seizing archival material in **synagogues** and **Community** offices was communicated in the express letter sent out by **Heydrich** during the night of 9/10 November 1938 at 1:20 a.m. to all Gestapo head offices and Gestapo offices, SD Upper Divisions and SD Lower Divisions. The written material that had been seized was to be handed over to the respective SD offices; see IMT, PS 3051.

18. On the “solution” to the problems arising from the insurance of destroyed Jewish property by reimbursement from the Atonement Tax levied on the Jews of one billion RM, see Chronology, 12 November 1938, meeting in **Göring’s** aviation ministry.

19. The structure of this document and the numbering of the paragraphs derives from the questions posed in 357►, answered in this report.

20. See 357►, n. 17.

21. See **Aryanization**.

22. See 357►, n. 17.

23. See **Aryanization**.

24. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357, n. 14.
25. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
26. See Chronology, August 1936 and **Schacht, Hjalmar**.
27. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
28. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
29. See Chronology, 12 November 1938.
30. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
31. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
32. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
33. The report was sent to the SD Lower Division Kassel.
34. See **Aryanization**.
35. See **Kristallnacht**.
36. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
37. See **Synagogue**.
38. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
39. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
40. See Cemetery desecration.
41. See Mixed marriages.
42. On the schematic structure of the report, see ¶357.
43. Comprehensive report of the Bielefeld Gestapo to the Berlin **Gestapa**; see also ¶357 and the introductory footnote there.
44. See ¶357, n. 17.
45. See **Emigration**.
46. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
47. See Chronology, August 1936 and **Schacht, Hjalmar**.
48. See **Hitler Youth**.
49. See Chronology, 12 November 1938.
50. See **Kristallnacht**.
51. See **Communism and Jews**.
52. See Chronology, August 1936 and **Schacht, Hjalmar**.

53. See **Kristallnacht**.
54. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.
55. See **Churches and National Socialist Policy on the Jews**.
56. See **Jews' houses**.
57. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
58. See **Kristallnacht**.
59. See **Communism and Jews**.
60. See Chronology, 29–30 September, and 1–10 October 1938.
61. See **Kristallnacht**.
62. See **Kristallnacht**.
63. See **Göring**.
64. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.
65. See ▶401▶ under “Other Matters of Importance,” and **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
66. See **Kristallnacht**.
67. See **Jews' houses**.
68. See **Cemetery desecration**.
69. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
70. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
71. See **Kristallnacht**.
72. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**, and **Kristallnacht**.
73. See Chronology, 11–19 November 1938.
74. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
75. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
76. The “incriminating” material that was salvaged from destruction by the Jews in Bad Kissingen is from the *geniza* (storage place for sacred writings and ritual objects that can no longer be used) of the synagogue set on fire in the early morning of 10 November. According to ancient Jewish custom, writings especially in Hebrew lettering are normally buried at the Jewish cemetery and not discarded. This is done in particular to avoid destroying any paper or parchment bearing the name of God. Like the Community in Nuremberg (see ▶

343►), the heads of the Jewish Community in Bad Kissingen learned already on 10 October from the district head office of the NSDAP “that the existence of the synagogue was only a matter of time”; see Ophir, *Pinkas Hakehilot I: Bavaria*, 423. The written materials from the *geniza* of the synagogue were removed and buried at the Jewish Community cemetery during the period from 20 October to the **Kristallnacht**. See figures 23–26 (pp. 372–375). On the *geniza*, see JL, Vol. II, 1014 f.

77. See **Kristallnacht**.

78. See **Kristallnacht**.

79. See Chronology, 12 November 1938, meeting in **Göring’s** aviation ministry.

80. See Chronology, 12 November 1938, Ordinance to Exclude Jews from German Economic Life.

81. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

82. On the difficult situation in which the police found itself during various anti-Jewish violent excesses, and especially during **Kristallnacht**, see **Individual actions**.

83. See Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship.

84. See Kristallnacht.

85. See Kley, “Hitler and the Pogrom of November 9–10, 1938.”

86. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.

87. See Aryanization.

88. See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.

89. See **Kristallnacht**.

90. See **Emigration, Protective custody, and Concentration camp**.

91. See **Kristallnacht**.

92. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

93. See **Protective custody**.

94. See **Kristallnacht**.

95. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**, ◄393►, and ◄401►, “Other Matters of Importance.”

96. The report was not available to the editors.

97. See Chronology, 12 March 1938.
98. See Chronology, 1–10 October 1938.
99. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
100. See **Kristallnacht**.
101. Term in the situation reports for the liberal educated middle class.
102. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.
103. See Chronology, 12 December 1938, meeting in Göring's aviation ministry.
104. See Chronology, 20 May 1938 and 31 May 1938.
105. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
106. “Kampf dem Verderb,” a campaign launched against waste and food spoilage in 1936.
107. See Kristallnacht.
108. See Emigration.
109. See Vocational restructuring.
110. See Aryanization.
111. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.
112. See **Kristallnacht**.
113. See Chronology, 12 November 1938.
114. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
115. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
116. 116. See ▶407▶.
117. See **Kristallnacht**.
118. See **Emigration**.
119. See **Aryanization**.
120. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
121. See **Mixed marriages**.
122. See ▶378▶.
123. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
124. See chapter *Schulerziehung* (Schooling) in the Jahreslagebericht 1938,

Sicherheitshauptamt CD ▶2766▶.

[125.](#) See **Internal migration**.

[126.](#) Similar to emigration of children and youth to **Palestine** (see **Aliyah**), emigration was facilitated, especially after **Kristallnacht**, for children and youth going to England, Holland, and Scandinavia with the plan that their parents were to follow them later on.

[127.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[128.](#) See **Kristallnacht**.

[129.](#) See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**. Veronal was a brand name for Barbital, a common barbiturate used as a sleeping aid, and lethal in high doses.

[130.](#) See **Geltungsjuden**.

[131.](#) See **Kristallnacht**.

[132.](#) See **Kristallnacht**, and Chronology, 12 November 1938.

[133.](#) See ▶401▶, paragraph on the Protestant Church; also CD ▶2787▶.

[134.](#) See **Associational life, Jewish**.

[135.](#) See Chronology, 28 March 1938 for details.

[136.](#) See Chronology.

[137.](#) See **Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship**.

[138.](#) See **Kristallnacht**.

[139.](#) See **Internal migration**.

[140.](#) See **Vocational restructuring**.

[141.](#) See **Individual actions**.

[142.](#) See Chronology.

[143.](#) See Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 232, No. 500.

[144.](#) See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.

[145.](#) See Chronology, 12 November 1938.

[146.](#) See **Aryanization**.

[147.](#) See Chronology.

[148.](#) Here evidently an error. The correct date for the ordinance was 15 November 1938; see Chronology.

[149.](#) See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.

150. See **Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt**.
151. See Chronology.
152. The report was not available to the editors.
153. See Chronology.
154. The city borough of Friedrichshain, renamed by the Nazis.
155. See Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 271, No. 92.
156. See **Kristallnacht**.
157. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
158. See **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.
159. See Chronology.
160. See **Chevra Kaddisha**.
161. See **Kristallnacht**.
162. See **Hachshara**.
163. See **Welfare, Jewish**.
164. See **Press, Jewish in the Third Reich**.
165. See **Bayerisches Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt**.
166. See **Kulturbund of the German Jews, Lehrhaus, Jewish and Center for Jewish Adult Education**.
167. See **Zionist Association of Germany**.
168. See **British mandate in Palestine**, and Chronology, April 1936.
169. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.
170. See **Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship**.
171. See **Kristallnacht**.
172. See Chronology, 12 November 1938, meeting in **Göring's** aviation ministry; and Chronology, 12 November 1938, Ordinance on Exclusion of the Jews from German Economic Life.
173. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
174. On order of the Reich government, the people were compelled to eat simple stew meals on the first Sunday of the months October to March, the so-called Eintopfsonntag, at a price not to exceed one Reichsmark per person, also as standard fare in restaurants. The difference in price between this cheaper stew

and a regular Sunday meal was to be donated as a contribution to the **Winter Relief**.

175. See Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 119 E.
176. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
177. See **Kristallnacht**.
178. See **Spas**.
179. See **Individual actions**.
180. See **Aryanization**.
181. See Chronology.
182. An error here; the correct date for the ordinance was 26 April 1938; see Chronology.
183. See Chronology.
184. See Chronology, 12 November 1938, Ordinance on the Elimination of the Jews from German Economic Life.
185. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
186. See **Welfare, Jewish**.
187. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.
188. See Chronology, August 1936 and **Schacht, Hjalmar**.
189. See Chronology, 1–3 April 1933.
190. See **Emigration**, and **Aliyat Hanoar**.
191. See **British mandate in Palestine**.
192. See **Reich Representation of the German Jews** and **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.
193. See **Cohn, Kurt**.
194. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1939.
195. See Chronology, 26 April 1938.
196. See Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 232, No. 500.
197. See **Zionism** and **Zionist Association of Germany**.
198. See **Kristallnacht**.
199. See **Grynszpan, Herschel**.
200. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

- 201. See **Associational life, Jewish.**
- 202. See **Evian Conference.**
- 203. See Chronology, 12 March 1938.
- 204. See Chronology, 1–10 October 1938.
- 205. See Chronology, 4 January–8 November 1938.
- 206. See **Kristallnacht.**
- 207. See **Welfare, Jewish.**
- 208. See **Jews by religion.**
- 209. See **Altreich.**
- 210. See **Geltungsjuden.**
- 211. On illegal emigration, see **Aliyah.**
- 212. See also **Joint Distribution Committee**, and **ICA, HIAS, HICEM**, and for Germany, **Emigration organizations.**
- 213. On the brutal measures of persecution against the Austrian Jews that set in immediately after the *Anschluß*, and the massive pressure to emigrate, see the references under **Ostmark** and **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration**, 2.
- 214. See Chronology, 12 November 1938, meeting in Göring's Aviation Ministry.
- 215. See **Evian Conference.**
- 216. See Chronology, 31 August 1938
- 217. On these abortive attempts by the **Reich Association**, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 113.
- 218. See Chronology, 1–10 October 1938.
- 219. The chapter *Ausland* (Abroad) is not reproduced here.
- 220. See Chronology.
- 221. See **Associational life, Jewish.**
- 222. Correct: Jabotinsky, Vladimir Zeev.
- 223. See **Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship.**
- 224. See Chronology.
- 225. See Chronology, 6 July 1938, 25 July 1938, and 27 September 1938.

[226.](#) See Chronology; likewise in later laws and ordinances up to 8 November 1938.

[227.](#) See Chronology.

[228.](#) So reproduced in Boberach, and Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*, corresponding to the error in the original document (BArch R 58/1094, Bd. I des Jahreslageberichts, 32). It must be 1 January 1939; See Chronology.

[229.](#) See Chronology, 17 August 1938.

[230.](#) As in n. 125. The correct date of the decree was 5 October 1938; see Chronology, and Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 52, No. 177; Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 244, No. 556.

[231.](#) See Chronology, 5 October 1938.

[232.](#) See Chronology, August 1936 and **Schacht, Hjalmar**.

[233.](#) See Chronology, meeting in Göring's aviation ministry.

[234.](#) See Chronology.

[235.](#) See Chronology, 11 November 1938.

[236.](#) See Chronology, 12 November 1938, Order of the President of the Reich Culture Chamber.

[237.](#) See Chronology, 15 November 1938.

[238.](#) See Chronology, 12 November 1938, meeting in Göring's aviation ministry.

[239.](#) See **Volksgemeinschaft**.

[240.](#) See **Altreich**.

[241.](#) See **Jews by religion**.

[242.](#) See **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration**, 2, and Chronology.

[243.](#) See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.

[244.](#) See **Geltungsjuden**.

[245.](#) See **Aliyah**, “illegal emigration to Palestine” there.

[246.](#) Evidently this data was for the Altreich and Austria taken together.

[247.](#) As in the case of other annual reports of the SD Upper Divisions, the short, summary subchapter on Danzig in the present annual report of the SD Main Office is based on the corresponding subchapter of the SD Lower Division North-East. The very extensive and instructive report devotes two-thirds of its

total text to Danzig. Among other things, it provides valuable insight into the changes in the mood and activity of the Danzig Jews and their associational life, as well as economic and political aspects, and precise information on this. The document is not reproduced here but can be found in full on the CD-ROM complete edition under <2771>.

248. See **Kristallnacht**.

249. See **B'nai B'rith**.

250. On developments in the Jewish population in Danzig, see EJL, Vol. 1,419 f. There the figure for 1924 is 9,239, and for 1937 (in agreement with the SD report), 12,000.

251. Reference is to **Kristallnacht** and the measures introduced immediately thereafter; see Chronology, 11 November 1938 to approximately the end of the year.

252. See **Atrocity propaganda**.

253. See Chronology, 29–30 September 1938.

254. See **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**.

255. See Grynszpan, Herschel.

256. See ▶378▶ and ▶401▶.

257. See Chronology.

258. See ▶409▶.

259. See Chronology, 1–8 November 1938.

260. See **Kristallnacht**.

261. See **Göring**.

262. See express letter of **Heydrich**, 10 November 1938, 1:20 a.m., to all State Police Regional Offices, State Police Offices, SD Upper Divisions and SD Lower Divisions, in IMT, PS 3051.

The Situation of the Jews in the Third Reich up to the Outbreak of the War
 (January-August 1939)

«416»

SD Main Office II 1

Report for January, February, and March 1939

Berlin, n.d.

Boberach, pp. 215 f., 221–226, 232–235

General Overview

[...] In respect to the **Jewish Question**, the creation of the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia¹ led to a new state of affairs: some 87,000 Jews have been now been included in the boundaries of the Greater German Reich. However, the Reich did not intervene immediately to solve the Jewish Problem in Bohemia and Moravia. Three factors were basically decisive for the situation of Jewry there:

- 1) The consequences of the November action²
- 2) The failure of the Palestine Conference in London
- 3) The events of global-political significance in southern Europe. [...]

Jewry

Three factors were decisive for the situation and development of Jewry during the report period:

- 1) The consequences of the November action³
- 2) The failure of the Palestine Conference in London
- 3) The events of global-political significance in southern Europe.

It was possible to regard the legal regulation of the Jewish Question as a

matter that had been brought to its conclusion with the laws and ordinances⁴ issued in November and December. The subsequent months saw certain final closing supplements. Thus, for example, the 8th Implementation Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law⁵ was issued on 17 January 1939, with effect from 31 January 1939. It revoked the licenses to practice of Jewish doctors, veterinarians, and druggists. In this way, Jews were cleansed from the entire area of health care.⁶

A decree of the Reich Transport Ministry dated 23 February 1939 banned Jews from using the sleeper and dining cars on all train routes throughout the Greater German Reich. Since it was decided not to publish this decree, Jews were informed of this directive via their central organizations.

The prohibition on the free sale of objects made of gold, platinum, and silver, as well as precious stones and pearls (14 of the Ordinance on the Use of Jewish Assets of 3 December 1938⁷) was changed into a binding obligation to hand in these items by the III. Directive on the basis of the Ordinance on Registering Assets of 21 February 1939.⁸ The final date for handing over valuables was 31 March 1939.

On 6 February 1939, a further decree on the dejudification of immovable property was issued by the Reich economy minister. Although firms with foreign Jews as proprietors were exempted from the ordered closing of retail trade shops and workshops, here too there was almost always an inspection or the business was dissolved. It should be borne in mind in this regard that on the basis of international trade agreements, German **Volksgenossen** are permitted to engage in commercial dealings abroad, but there is a danger that their situation may worsen as a consequence of the internal German measures mentioned.

The dissolving of Jewish business enterprises made many Jews jobless. In numerous localities, it became necessary to set up collective work camps for Jews so as to keep them from becoming a burden for public welfare. Nonetheless, the social welfare offices often found they were compelled to provide assistance to Jews. In regard to employing Jews in German firms, the labor offices basically agreed this was unobjectionable as long as the Jews were accommodated in separate quarters.

Simultaneous with the elimination of the economic basis of the Jews in Germany, their wealth continued to decline. Especially in the so-called Jewish middle class, it is possible to speak of direct pauperization. In these circles, virtually the only prevailing view is that **emigration** from Germany is the sole option left. These Jews have also welcomed the *Order on a Tax on the Assets of Emigrating Jews*. They hope that with the help of incoming funds procured from

this source, they can receive financial support for their emigration. The order mentioned was issued by the Head of the Security Police on 25 February 1939. It intends to create a special fund within the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** now being established.⁹

In the course of the creation of the "*Reich Association in Germany*," numerous Jewish organizations in the territory of the Reich have disbanded. With the exception of the Palestine Fund¹⁰ and the **Palestine Office**, which are to be included in a cooperative fashion, all Jewish organizations are being brought together in this way; their energies are being concentrated, and there will be a substantial saving of funds. The "Reich Association" will encompass all Jewish organizations in the Altreich including the Sudeten Gau, while the "Israelitic Community Vienna" will bear sole responsibility for the **Ostmark**.

The November action rekindled the will to emigrate among the Jews living in Germany, similar to 1933. Up until that time, the Jews had preferred to earn their money in Germany rather than abroad, despite the extensive restrictions placed on them before 8 November 1938. The intensified pressure to emigrate that set in after this juncture makes it necessary to centralize emigration and regulate it, based on careful planning. Since previously the issuing of passports and the regulating of all associated questions required a great deal of time, available possibilities for immigration often could not be taken advantage of in time, and thus were lost. In order in future to guarantee a smooth process in the procurement of documents necessary for emigration, the "*Reich Office for Jewish Emigration Berlin*"¹¹ was created on 27 February 1939, following the example of the **Central Office for Jewish Emigration**, Vienna. All central offices for Jewish emigration in the Altreich are directly subordinate to this new Reich office. The Berlin Central Office, up to now the only such one in the Altreich, began operations at the beginning of March. It receives some 200 applications a day from Jews.

The Reich Central Office is occupied with obtaining possibilities for immigration and foreign currency, with the assistance of the "Reich Association" and the "Jewish Community Berlin." [...]

One can no longer speak of a division of the Jews in Germany along Jewish political lines¹² or a predominance of **Zionism**. Everywhere the view is becoming accepted that any kind of emigration serves the purpose and is unavoidable, no matter what country the destination is. The failure of the Palestine Conference convened in mid-February in London, which lasted 6 weeks, has contributed significantly to this now generally prevailing view. [...]

Danzig

The struggle against the Jews of Danzig and their treatment are not in keeping with the methods applied in the territory of the Reich, but are in accord with the principle. There is a planned effort to dissolve the Jewish **Communities** and induce the Jews to emigrate. Even the executive board of the Jewish Community, which after its restructuring is now dominated by Zionists, believes the only solution to the most burning questions lies in shipping large segments of the existing East European Jewish proletariat¹³ to Palestine. Since this is legally impossible, illegal transports are being sent.¹⁴ Of these, the first, with 500 Jews, departed on 4 March 1939, and despite the threat by the British Consul-General delivered to the Danzig Senate, it landed in Palestine. Three further transports of 400 Jews each are now being prepared.

All the Jewish organizations in Danzig, with the exception of the “**Relief Organization for Jewish Emigrants**,” have dissolved and disbanded. As a result, the Community has become the sole responsible body for Danzig Jewry and its representation. The aforementioned Relief Organization is promoting the emigration of individuals overseas, in cooperation with the Jewish relief organizations the “**Joint**” and “**HICEM**.”

In order to prevent wealthy Jews from emigrating without paying their contribution to solving the financial questions, as was the case in 1937 and 1938, the Senate of the Free City of Danzig issued an ordinance on 3 March 1938. It brings all Jews together in a community of limited liability. This encompasses all Jews living in Danzig, including foreigners, unless special international agreements prevent this.¹⁵ In implementing this ordinance, the entire domestic assets of the Jews in Danzig are placed under a prohibition: they cannot be sold, nor are they freely at their disposal. A special central office has been set up in the Economic Section of the Senate to implement this. It decides on the release of assets and the allocation of foreign currency. The block on accessibility was also extended to include all Jewish bank accounts.

On 14 March, the Senate issued an additional ordinance, according to which the rights of the Assembly of Representatives of the **Community** are transferred for a certain transitional period to the executive board. At the same time, as a result of this ordinance, the officials of the Community are no longer deemed to have the status of officials. Subsequent to the handing over of the **synagogues** to the municipality, all religious activity of the Jews has ceased.

In the field of the economy as well, the influence of the Jews has been further reduced. In certain economic branches, such as trade in wood and herring, and the fur industry, the presence of Jews still has to be tolerated, for

reasons of expediency. For these Jews still regarded as indispensable for the moment in commerce in Danzig, the Senate has permitted an exemption from the measures enacted against the Jews. **Lawyers** have generally been denied admittance to the courts. Only one Jew was retained as a legal consultant. In the territory of the Danzig state, 3,000 to 3,200 Jews are still resident. After the transports have been implemented, and given the general predominant and very keen interest in emigration, it can be assumed that by the end of 1939, only about 1,000 Jews will remain. [...]

Political Churches

[...] The question concerning the separation between church and state¹⁶ raised by the Führer's speech on 30 January 1939 sparked renewed concern within German Protestantism. About the beginning of March 1939, the campaign of the "People's Church Working Group"¹⁷ was regarded as a failure. After this, a complete change in the situation came about as a result of the contact sought and finally established by the Reich church minister with the head of the National Church Unification (Thuringia: **German Christians**). Initially various discussions took place in which the program of the Thuringian German Christians was laid out, involving issuance of a tolerance ordinance and a code for discipline and for officials. On 22 March 1939, the heads of the regional congregations of the Thuringian German Christians headed by Leffler met in Berlin. The resolution was adopted that in view of the worsening situation of the church, all previous reservations should be cast aside: it was necessary to join hands and work again with the church mainstream in pursuance of the goal of reconstructing the church.

On 24–26 March in Godesberg a. Rhein, a discussion was held between church leaders. [...] The following "Key Questions in the Religious Confrontation" constitute the essence of the declaration that emerged from this:

- a) What is the relation between politics and religion? What is the relation between the National Socialist worldview and Christian faith?

Our answers:

National Socialism is struggling against any political claim to power by the churches, and strives to make the National Socialist worldview, so naturally suited to the German people, to be an outlook binding on all. Consequently, it is continuing the work of Martin Luther in regard to its political dimensions, assisting us once again to proceed toward a true understanding of the Christian faith.

- b) What is the relation between Judaism and Christianity? Did Christianity

develop from Judaism, and is it therefore its continuation and completion, or is Christianity at odds with Judaism?

To this we answer:

Christian faith is the religious antipode to Judaism, and the gap is unbridgeable.¹⁸ [...]

Other plans include:

a) Participation in the Institute for Research on the Jewish Influence on the Religious Life of the German People, and the Struggle Against This. [...]

The Confession bishops Meiser, Wurm, and Marahrens, together with the head of the German Pastors' Associations, Klingler-Nürnberg, likewise held a conference in Berlin at the end of March 1938, where misgivings were expressed about the new direction. Consequently, it will be necessary to wait and see whether the new plan can be completely realized. No consideration has been given here to the fact that support for the plan cannot be expected from the radical **Confessional Front**. As a precursor of this programmatic change in the German Protestant Church, laws were issued already in February and March by the German-Christian regional churches pertaining to the position of Jews baptized as Protestants within the regional church. These laws prohibit accepting Jews into the church, the administering of churchly rites to Jews on church premises, and levying a church tax on these non-Aryan Protestant Christians.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the Confessional Front has still not made any statement on these laws. [...]

The relations of the Confessional Front to the Jews were repeatedly touched on in occasional remarks by clergy. Thus, for example, a Protestant pastor warned the congregation during services that they should pray "for the Christian brothers from the House of Israel." The "Church Assistance Office for Protestant Non-Aryans"²⁰ formed within the church is further proof of the positive Jew-friendly attitude of the Confession Church regarding the question of race. Despite the fact that Protestant clergymen had been repeatedly denounced because they had performed baptisms of Jews, such rites nonetheless still continue to be administered.

<2851>

►417►

SD Lower Division Württemberg-Hohenzollern

Report for **January, February, and March** 1939

Stuttgart, 1 April 1939

Jewry

General situation with special consideration of developments in foreign policy and measures of defense taken by the state and the Party. Foremost in the minds of the Jews in this Lower Division is doubtless the question of **emigration**. One can note that in contrast with previous times, the most elderly are now those pressing for emigration. In general there is little or no discussion of events abroad, aside from a few exceptions, which especially in the time of crisis, are calling attention to themselves as a result of imprudent statements. However, it is quite clear to the great majority of Jewry that no matter whether there is war or peace, their situation in Germany will not improve. Worthy of mention is a notion among Jews asserting that they will starve to death in Germany in the event of war. An unpleasant compounding factor for the Jews arose as a result of the incorporation of Bohemia and Moravia and the Memel territory, since it put the German immigration quota for the U.S., which must be viewed as the vital nerve for Jewish emigration, under heavy additional pressure. The United States now has included the Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Memel as part of the German quota, yet has not increased that quota.

The measures of defense adopted by the Party and the state, which follow one another in rapid succession, do not allow the Jews to regain any equilibrium. One can note a definite hysteria spreading among Jewish women and men. The sense of hopelessness is perhaps best characterized by the remark of a Jewess from Ludwigsburg, stating that she "would have committed suicide long ago if she didn't have any children."

Internal Jewish Life

a) Jewish associations.²¹

There were 46 Jewish organizations in Württemberg-Hohenzollern at the beginning of November 1938. Of these, only the Union Club Stuttgart was dissolved, for reasons of national security. None of the other Jewish organizations has been formally dissolved; nonetheless, they consider themselves to have been disbanded.

b) Number of the Communities dissolved since November 1938.

To date, 24 Jewish Communities have been dissolved (out of a total of 40); their authority was transferred to the Supreme Council of the Israelitic Religious Community of Württemberg.²² Authorization from the interior ministry for the dissolution is still pending.

c) Jewish Winter Relief.

Funds received:

Funds received:	
October 1938:	RM 30,464.67
Nov./Dec. 1938:	RM 56,759.01
January 1939:	RM 13,053.48
February 1939:	RM 8,109.81
Persons receiving assistance:	
October 1938:	502 families, resp. 1,107 individuals
Nov./Dec. 1938:	542 families, resp. 1,179 individuals
January 1939:	589 families, resp. 1,266 individuals
February 1939:	611 families, resp. 1,296 individuals

d) Jewish Homes for the Elderly

There are at the present time four Jewish homes for the elderly in Württemberg-Hohenzollern; two of these are in Stuttgart, one in Sontheim/Neckar, and one in Herrlingen.

The number of residents in these four homes is 248 persons; 250 persons have been registered for admittance to the existing homes for the aged, or those to be constructed; a further 487 persons wish to consider admittance to a home for the elderly as an option within the next 5 years. This means that there could be nearly 1,000 residents in Jewish homes for the elderly within a year. [...]

Signs of Advancing Proletarianization

The most striking signs of a progressive proletarianization of the Jews is the rising number of **suicides**, the rapid decline in contributions for **Jewish Winter Relief**, the constant rise in the number of Jews turning to the Jewish welfare offices,²³ the growing wave of emigrants, the mounting number of Jews seeking employment, the rapid rise in the lack of housing, the collapse of the schools, the dissolution of the Jewish **Communities**, the constant siege of the Emigration Consultation Offices, and the increase in the homes for the elderly. [...]

◀418▶

SD District Office Kochem

Report for January 1939

Kochem, 24 January 1939

Brommer, p. 468

Shortly after the Jews' action,²⁴ Pastor Kalthoff went to the county commissioner in Simmern and asked him to issue a gun license. When asked by the commissioner why this gun license was needed, K. stated that he was concerned about his personal safety. He said that in Simmern, people had tried to attack the superintendent since he still maintained contacts with Jews.²⁵ However, the request was denied, since the county commissioner thought there was no necessity for this. The fact is that there were demonstrations against the superintendent, since he was openly friendly toward the Jews. [...] <2816>

◀419▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for January 1939

Ansbach, 8 February 1939

BayHStA, StK 106678

[...]

Jews

The emigration of Jews abroad continued unabated in the report month as well. 98 Jews emigrated. [...]

The Israelitic **Communities** and the Jewish Emigration Consultation Offices set up at the Jewish Communities have resumed operations, and are attempting to accelerate the **emigration** of the Jews from Germany.

There were no events put on by Jewish organizations²⁶ during the report month. [...]

Economic Situation

Agriculture

General

[...] In addition, there are complaints that the sale of breeding cattle and animals for slaughter has become difficult. People attribute this slowdown to the fact that the Jews have been eliminated,²⁷ but that in numerous instances other cattle buyers have kept their distance from the countryside. [...] <2821>

«420»

NSDAP District Direction Augsburg—Municipality

Report on the Prevailing Mood for January 1939

n.p., n.d.

StA Abg, NSDAP Gauleitung Schwaben 1/19

[...]

Reichstag Speech of the Führer²⁸

[...] His view regarding the **Jewish Question** was so clearly articulated that it shattered the hopes of those who still believed that the Führer did not approve of the measures taken against the Jews.²⁹ [...]

Political Situation Report

Jewry

The Jews have by and large disappeared from the scene. But it is striking that since the time their own vehicles were taken from them, they are making very great use of taxis. <2825>

«421»

Chief Public Prosecutor Mosbach

Report for December 1938 and January 1939

Mosbach, 24 January 1939

GLA Ka, 309/1209

[...] An old Jew resident in Sennfeld was recently sentenced by the Special Court Mannheim to five months in prison because he pinned a Zionist badge

onto a **Hitler Youth** member in Sennfeld. [...]

The hotel owner Karl Friedrich in Mosbach has filed charges against the Jew Dr. Max Kowalsky from Frankfurt for trespassing, because the latter took a room at his establishment. He did so even though in the upper left corner of the police registration slips given to each guest to fill out by the plaintiff, there is the following notice: "I would like to call your attention to the fact that Jews are not permitted to stay on these premises." But the plaintiff had to admit that on the day the Jew was present, a sign with the words "Jews not wanted," which usually was hanging affixed to the entrance door to the hotel, was not in its place. The plaintiff regarded this act as trespassing, because the Jew had taken a room there despite the above-mentioned notification on the police registration form. The proceedings were halted because of a lack of internal facts to substantiate the case, since the accused may not have been sufficiently aware of the fact that the plaintiff, on principle, did not rent rooms to Jews. The plaintiff is a Party member and did not file charges until one week after the incident, after guests had informed him that the said hotel guest was a Jew. [...]

<2831>

◀422▶

Gendarmerie Schmidmühlen

Report for January 1939

Schmidmühlen, 25 January 1939

StA Am, BA Burglengenfeld 18047

[...] Day in, day out, a substantial segment of the population is singing its lament about those good upstanding Jews who have done nothing to anyone, and who are so very very honest, like no one else. [...] <2833>

◀423▶

Stapostelle Government District Düsseldorf

Report for February 1939

("Emigration of the Jews")

Düsseldorf, 14 February 1939

HStA Dü, RW 36–19

No measures were taken in the area of my jurisdiction that gave significant support to promoting Jewish **emigration**. The chairman of the local Jewish

Community, with whom contact was established in this regard, declared that in various cases where indigent Jewish families had emigrated, the expenses had been split 50–50 between the Jewish Community and the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. To further promote emigration by indigent Jews, Felsenthal recommended using the procedure applied in Frankfurt a. Main and Hamburg, where a certain percentage of the taxes on Jewish assets be put aside and used to assist the emigration of penniless Jews.³⁰ For the municipality Düsseldorf, I recently instructed the Jewish foreign currency adviser Dr. Max Israel Mendel, resident in Düsseldorf, Schadowstr. 26, not to reject indigent Jews who consult him on matters pertaining to emigration, but rather to advise them cost-free. [...] <2837>

◀424▶

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for February 1939
Regensburg, 7 March 1939
BayHStA, StK 106673

Jews

The **emigration** of the Jews is proceeding more slowly than originally expected. Emigration from some individual localities, such as Erbendorf and Floß, district Neustadt a.d. Waldnaab, has made certain progress, along with the dejudication of economic life.

The number of Jews in the government district on
1 October 1938 was: 752,
of these, 53 foreigners,
on 1 January 1939: 688,
of these 48 foreigners.

<2839>

◀425▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for February 1939
Ansbach, 7 March 1939
BayHStA, StK 106678

Protestant Church

[...] The Protestant pastor Hermann Seggel in Mistelgau (district Bayreuth) was accused on 28 February 1939 of violating 130 a of the Reich Criminal Code (RStGB) and 2 of the Law Against Treacherous Attacks Against the Party and the State.³¹ On 16 November 1938 (Day of Penance and Prayer), Seggel spoke in defense of the Jews in his sermon in Mistelgau and in the branch church in Glashütten. Among other things, he stated: The actions of rage³² carried out against the Jews in previous days (8, 9, and 10 November 1938) because of the murder of the Legation Secretary vom Rath had to be condemned from a Christian standpoint and could not be condoned. A Christian did not do such things, these were subhumans.³³ [...]

Jews and Emigrants

There were no events organized by Jewish organizations during the report month.³⁴

The Israelitic **Communities** and the Emigration Consultation Offices set up there continued their activities to the necessary degree required. The Jewish Emigration Consultation Offices are attempting to accelerate the **emigration** of the Jews.

In February, Jewish emigration maintained the pace of previous months (96 individuals as compared with 98 in January, 96 in December).

Papers were filed to revoke the German citizenship of 30 Jewish emigrants living abroad.

The Criminal Division of the District Court Nuremberg sentenced the Jew Kurt Leeser, 38, of Nuremberg, to 8 years imprisonment for **race defilement**.

Special Happenings

[...] The **Gestapo** Nuremberg is conducting an investigation at the present time into events on 9 November 1938 in Wunsiedel. In the course of the Jews' action, three Protestant clergymen were hauled by a large crowd to the police station, where they were taken temporarily into custody. The [Bavarian] state bishop Meiser has filed criminal charges against the culprits through the agency of the lawyer Feyler in Hof. The extensive inquiries—21 accused and 12 witnesses were interrogated—have not as yet been concluded. <2840>

Border Police Substation Geldern

Report for February 1939

Geldern, 28 February 1939

HStA Dü, RW 36–19

Recently here in the district, Jews coming from the **Ostmark** have repeatedly appeared at the border who had received legal passports from the proper authorities shortly before their departure from the Ostmark enabling them to emigrate from the German Reich, even though they cannot present a valid visa or a permit of residence for a foreign country.³⁵ Although the Jews have foreign currency permits and tax certificates from their local internal revenue office stating that they owe no unpaid taxes, they are disappointed to be detained at the border and not permitted to emigrate. I humbly request a careful decision as to whether these Jews should be dealt with in accordance with the Gestapo decree of 23 December 1938—II B 4 A 220—J,³⁶ or whether they should only be turned back. Some are elderly persons who can no longer be sent to a camp.

<2845>

▲427►

Bavarian State Ministry of Economy

Report

(“RE: dejudification of the Economy”)

Munich, 27 March 1939

BayHStA, StK 106412

In pursuance of the order of 3 March 1939, the district governors were instructed to accelerate the reporting process, as decided on 6 March 1939. The reports have been available since 27 March, except for that of the District Governor of the Palatinate. In sum, they provide the following picture:

1a) The dejudification of the commercial sphere³⁷ has progressed to the point where in a short time, at the most several months, it is likely that this process will be concluded. In the government district Lower Bavaria/Upper Palatinate, only 2 firms remain to be Aryanized; in the government district Swabia there are three firms left requiring **Aryanization** or dissolution.

b) The dejudification of immovable property is still under way. Numerous applications have been submitted to all regional governments; for example, the government of Upper Bavaria currently has 600 such applications.

Implementation of the procedure was substantially delayed by the fact that it was necessary to wait for the executive orders to the ordinance of 3 December 1938³⁸ on the use of Jewish assets (RGBL. IS. 1709). Since issuance of the Implementation Decree of 6 February 1939, which *inter alia* also contains regulations on the compensation levy to the Reich, the procedures for dejudification of immovable property can now also be completed more quickly.
[...] <2858>

◀428▶

Gendarmerie Aufseß
Report for March 1939
Aufseß, 26 March 1939
StA Ba, K 8/9205 II

[Jews]

There are only three Jewish persons still resident here; they intend to emigrate to America.³⁹ <2868>

◀429▶

Gendarmerie Ebermannstadt
Report for March 1939
Ebermannstadt, 27 March 1939
StA Ba, K 8/9205 II

Jews etc.

The three Jewish families in this service district were taken into **protective custody** on 10 November 1938.⁴⁰ They were released a long time ago, but did not return to their homes here. It is reported they are staying in Nuremberg. Several weeks ago, they turned to their local police authorities in Wannbach and Hagenbacht seeking assistance, claiming they were supposedly penniless. After receiving a negative reply there, they have to date not made any further request. <2873>

«430»

NSDAP Cell H (Herne)

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Herne, 13 March 1939
StA Ms, Kreis-und Ortsgruppenleitungen Nr. 60

After the Jewish assassination in Paris, the Jewish Problem has emerged into the limelight on the world stage.⁴¹ A special chapter in this are Jews living in German apartments.

It is well known that there continues to be an urgent need for housing, almost everywhere in the Reich, but especially in the large cities. That is the case particularly for the category of medium-sized and small apartments. The people have long felt it to be intolerable that members of the Jewish people should possess huge apartments while German working families go homeless or are living in the most primitive of conditions. Thus, the question arose whether important reasons might permit revoking of a lease with Jews. One very important reason is the **Volksgemeinschaft**, one of the demands of the state. This means that the tenants should, among themselves, nurture the spirit of National Socialist community. But a house community can only be formed by German-thinking persons of **Aryan** descent. It is impossible in the case of individuals of Jewish origin. Consequently, the demand must be that landlords be given the right to order tenants of Jewish origin to vacate their apartments.⁴² It would even be proper to remind the landlords of apartments rented to Jews of their duty as Germans. There are still house owners (former supporters of the Zentrum Party) who are pursuing common interests together with the so-called Chosen People. <2874>

◀431▶

NSDAP Local Branch Herne-Castrop-Rauxel
Report on the Prevailing Mood
Herne, 23 March 1939
StA Ms, NSDAP Kreis-und Ortsgruppenleitungen Nr. 28

Both in February and March, it became evident that an excess of events and meetings by the Party itself and the various different organizations had a very negative effect on the political work of the local party branch. [...] In the past week, an event had to be cancelled, the lecture arranged by the Gau on questions of race,⁴³ since not even 40 persons came to attend the lecture. That same evening, a concert of the Reich Symphony Orchestra took place, along with an

event of the municipality (speaker Dr. F. A. Beck), as well as several classes on air-raid protection.

<2875>

◀432▶

Gendarmerie Hornhausen
Report for 16/17 March 1939
("Special Occurrence")
Hornhausen, 17 March 1939
LHA Ma, C 30 Oschersleben A Nr. 371

In reference to my report by telephone today to the county commissioner and the **Gestapo** Magdeburg, regarding damage to the building of the Jewish family [name a withheld] in Hornhausen, I wish here to report that the unmarried Jewess [name a withheld], resident here at Hauptstraße No. 26, came today to my apartment between 1:30 and 2 p.m. She stated that in the night of the 16th to 17th of the present month, windows were smashed by stones and an entry gate was demolished.⁴⁴ Before I could proceed to the scene of the crime, it was perhaps between 2 and 2:30 p.m., I received a call from the state public prosecutor in Halberstadt. The woman [name a withheld] had sent his office a telegram saying that the family [name a withheld] was in danger and that the local police and gendarmerie were not giving them any protection. I then went together with the Gendarmerie Cpt. Stradtmann to the property of [name a withheld], where we found a large number of school children and women gathered nearby. Almost all the windows in the building of [name a withheld] were broken, and the entry gate had been demolished. In the hall of the workshop of [name a withheld], where a furniture factory was formerly housed, and tools were still kept there, tools had been thrown into the neighboring courtyard. In the workshop itself, benches and cabinets had been overturned and damaged. In the office, the desk had been knocked over and damaged, and all the papers and other documents lay scattered around the room.

Inquiries to establish the culprit(s) responsible for the breaking of the windows facing the street and the demolishing of the entry gate have as yet yielded nothing. Additional damage is reported to have been done by school children. Whether any person(s) instigated the children to take this action, and if so who, likewise has not as yet been established. Inquiries are continuing together with the officers of the Magdeburg Gestapo who have arrived in the meantime.

The family [name a withheld] and the property are under police guard here, and the family [name a withheld] is being given police protection. <2876>

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for April 1939
Ansbach, 6 May 1939
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

In the report month, there were no meetings or other events organized by Jewish associations and organizations.⁴⁵

During the month here reported on, the Jewish offices dealing with **emigration** of the Jews (Jewish Communities and Emigration Consultation Offices) also sought to promote and accelerate Jewish emigration.

In the month of April, emigration increased once again compared to the previous month. In April 1939, 212 Jews emigrated abroad, compared with 137 in March. The district Ebermannstadt is now likewise "judenfrei."

The Gestapo in Nuremberg-Fürth has filed to revoke the German citizenship of 24 emigrants living abroad.

On 24/25 April 1939, 335 of the total of 400 gravestones at the Jewish cemetery in Ansbach were overturned and damaged. In addition, the windows of the mortuary located in this cemetery were smashed, the doors and shutters were demolished, and the furnishings in the mortuary were destroyed.⁴⁶ The suspected perpetrators of these acts are several pupils 16–17 years of age, who live in Ansbach and belong to the **Hitler Youth** or the German Jungvolk (DJ)⁴⁷ there. The perpetrators acted with excessive zeal and without forethought, and claim they were not incited by anyone to carry out these acts. <2884>

▲434►

SD Main Office II 112
Report for May 1939
Berlin, 25 May 1939
BArch, R 58/992

[...] The Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda⁴⁸ requested the Führer to make a decision regarding the further employment of 21 stage and film actors who are not full **Aryans** or who have Jewish family relatives. On the basis of the Führer's decision, *inter alia* the **half-Jew** Henckels, who is married to a Jewess, and the Aryan Max Lorenz, likewise married to a

Jewess, have been confirmed as full-fledged subjects of the Reich Culture Chamber. In this connection, it became know that their Jewish spouses have been accorded the rights of Aryan wives in regard to attendance at theaters, in hotels, etc.⁴⁹ <2896>

◀435▶

District Governor Palatinate

Report for May 1939

Speyer, 9 June 1939

BayHStA, StK 106676

Jews

In Ludwigshafen/Rhine, various Jewish charity organizations⁵⁰ have disbanded of their own accord. There are still difficulties in regard to where the Jewish elementary **school** can be accommodated. The municipal administration Ludwigshafen a. Rhein is opposed to relocating the Jewish home for the aged from Neustadt an der Weinstrasse to Ludwigshafen am Rhein. <2903>

◀436▶

Gendarmerie Maßbach

Report for May 1939

Maßbach, 24 May 1939

StA Wü, LRA Bad Kissingen 1157

[...] Again and again, from time to time **individual actions** are undertaken against the domiciles of Jews under the cover of darkness. In these actions, shutters and windows are damaged. The identity of the perpetrators is not known. The Jews are unperturbed in the face of these actions.⁵¹ <2909>

◀437▶

SD Main Office II 112

Report

Berlin, 9 June 1939

BArch, R 58/992

Dr. Auerbach, an employee of the Association of Polish Jews in Germany,⁵² and the executive board member of the same organization, the Jew of Polish nationality Lustig, traveled at the beginning of this week to London in order to work out possibilities there for Jews holding Polish citizenship deported from Germany to enter England.⁵³ Negotiations are being conducted with the Jewish organizations and also with members of the government.

The Jew of Polish nationality Rosenfeld from the same association has left for Warsaw to conduct negotiations with the Jewish deputies in the Polish Sejm. The aim is for Jews of Polish nationality deported from the Reich to be accepted in Poland by the Polish government without any difficulties. <2913>

▲438►

Gestapo II A 4

Report April to July 1939

(“Situation Report on the Illegal Communist and Marxist Movement in Germany”)

Berlin, 31 July 1939

BArch, R 58/582

Soviet Russians and Russian Emigrants

Soviet Citizens in Germany

Of the Soviet Jews⁵⁴ expelled from Germany, 21 persons left the territory of the Reich in the second quarter of 1939, so that the total number of Soviet citizens of the Jewish race who have left Germany to date has risen to 253.

47 went to France, 28 to the former Czechoslovakia, 20 to Palestine, 11 to England, 11 to Latvia, and the remainder to other countries. Only three Soviet Jews returned to the USSR. <2934>

▲439►

SD Main Office II 112

Report⁵⁵

Berlin, 15 June 1939

BArch, R 58/956

Jewry in Germany

Legal Solution

Subsequent to the November action against Jewry,⁵⁶ the Jews resident in Germany were excluded by legal means from all occupations.⁵⁷

Emigration

In this way, the will and intention to emigrate on the part of individual Jews and organizations have been strengthened. It was utilized already from August of last year by the **Central Office for Jewish Emigration** in Vienna, and since February 1939 likewise by the “Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration” (under whose supervision central offices for Jewish emigration are to be established in several localities in the territory of the Reich). While the Central Office in Vienna has been able, since taking up formal operations last August, to assist some 110,000 Jews to emigrate, the success figures for the Reich Central Office are substantially lower. Thus, for example, the total number of applications for **emigration** received in Berlin at the Central Office in the months of April and May amounted to only 6,187. The reasons for this constant decline lie on the one hand in the lack of adequate organization in the structure of the Reich Central Office and the planned Jewish “Reich Association” (which will encompass all Jewish organizations), and on the other in the increasing tendency for all countries of immigration to impose ever more restrictions on immigration.

In the last two months, the prime preferred destination was China. For temporary migration, England, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark were popular interim destinations. Legal emigration to **Palestine** was an option chosen only by very small number of Jews.

Social Situation

As a result of the elimination of the Jews from all occupations, the financial situation of Jewry has grown steadily worse concomitant with a reduction in the number of taxpayers able to pay. Meanwhile, the percentage of those on social welfare is rising.⁵⁸ Thus, in Berlin this past winter, 25,851 needy Jews were given support. In this connection, it should be noted that revenue from the **Jewish Winter Relief** has generally declined by two-thirds compared to the previous year.

For that reason, deployment of Jews as conscript laborers was welcomed, but for the time being has only been implemented on a very small scale. The best mode has proved to be group deployment, which also made it possible to

segregate the Jews from the pure-blooded German workers.

Associations

There was no activity in organizations,⁵⁹ with the exception of those active in promoting emigration and the events of the **Kulturbund**. All Jews are now awaiting the final establishment of the "**Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**."

Statistics

(The figures are estimates as of 31 December 1938 and take only Jews of the Mosaic faith into account.)⁶⁰

Total		
Old territory of the Reich	320,000	
Ostmark	106,000	
Danzig		9,700 ⁶¹
Age structure		
Old territory of the Reich		
0–20 years	51,000 = 16.1%	
20–45 "	83,000 = 25.93%	
45 and above	185,000 = 57.97%	
Children of school age		
Old territory of the Reich	ca.	20,000
Ostmark	"	6,600
Jewish Welfare		
	Regular recipients of social welfare	Recipients of Winter Relief aid
Old territory of the Reich	40,000 = 12.5%	73,976 = 23.12%
Ostmark	60,000 = 56.6%	30,000 = 28.3%
Jewish assets as of 1 April 1938 (registration of Jewish assets):		
gross =	8,531,000 RM	
debts =	1,408,000 RM	
Total =	7,123,000 RM	
Liquid assets as of 1 April 1938:	4,881,000 RM.	< 2914 >

◀440▶

SD Main Office II 112

Report for June 1939

Berlin, 8 July 1939

OA Mos, 500/3/316

Jewry

The existing intention and will of all of Jewry to emigrate were significantly strengthened at the beginning of June by the expulsion of Polish Jews and Jews who had lost their Polish citizenship.⁶² Even those Jews on whom the events of November⁶³ and the subsequent total exclusion of Jews from all areas of public life had no genuine lasting effect due to the time now lapsed have been forced by the most recent government measures to recognize that the National Socialist government is determined to press on relentlessly with the ultimate solution (*endgültige Lösung*) of the Jewish problem in Germany. These Jews likewise are now stepping up their efforts to prepare for **emigration**:

So the constant pressure in the country is necessarily leading to an intensified will among the Jews to emigrate. The possibilities for creating safety valves to discharge this mounting pressure are becoming ever more limited. Restrictions on emigration are reported from almost all countries that might be a possible destination for emigration, and these restrictions are often clearly aimed at Jewish immigration. A further compounding difficulty is that recently, foreign shipping lines have frequently been demanding that at least half of the passages booked be paid in foreign currency, an almost insurmountable obstacle, given the well-known shortage of foreign currency. Another circumstance making Jewish emigration extremely difficult is that the shipping companies are at the same time demanding that passengers cover return trip costs in order to have a form of insurance against a possible prohibition on docking. Some individual ocean carriers are extremely reluctant to accept transport of Jews and are prepared to do so only after having been given extensive assurances. The practical effect of this is a huge scarcity of shipping space.

The following case can serve to illustrate these difficulties. The Hapag liner *St. Louis*, with 937 passengers on board, was caught by surprise by the new Cuban immigration regulations while en route to Cuba. It was forced, since the Jews were not permitted to disembark, to return to Europe without any result, with all passengers still on board. The *St. Louis* arrived on 17 June in Antwerp once again. Through the mediation of the “**Joint**,” all the passengers found accommodation in England, France, Belgium, and Holland.⁶⁴ Another steamer, the *Orinoco*, was reached in time while still in the Antwerp port, and it was still possible to order it to return to Hamburg. The passengers were permitted to reenter the German Reich without any difficulty.

Thus, the cautious attitude, in particular on the part of the foreign shipping companies, can be readily understood.

Even if the difficulties are kept squarely in mind, Jews in future must not

gain any impression that the state is now beginning to go easy and relax its grip. Previous practice has shown that only when the Jews in Germany are clearly put under pressure do the Jewish relief organizations⁶⁵ really provide positive assistance.

Despite all the obstacles as indicated, a small increase in Jewish emigration was evident in the report period. (It is of interest that recently among the Jewish emigrants, a large percentage have been persons with an average age of 45 and older.) The Jewish Emigration Consultation Offices likewise often had nearly 50 percent more persons seeking advice.

Activity in Jewish organizations⁶⁶ continues to be at a total standstill. There are only isolated events put on by the "Jewish **Kulturbund** in Germany." But these, as is reported from various places, are also not enjoying the attendance they previously were accustomed to, even though German films can also be shown there along with purely Jewish films.

In the realm of the economy, Jewish firms continue to be disposed of in cooperation with the state trustees.⁶⁷ However, when this entire complex will be completed is difficult to assess, given the often difficult situation. In accordance with an agreement between the Reich government and the Polish government,⁶⁸ at the present time all retail trade shops and craft enterprises owned by Jews holding Polish citizenship are in the process of being dissolved. As is stipulated in the agreement, the proprietors are required to return to Poland.

The deployment of Jews as conscript labor, ordered due to the growing shortages of German workers, is now in high gear.⁶⁹ However, in the old territory of the Reich, it has become clear that the number of Jews fit and fully able to work is very small compared to the number on welfare.⁷⁰ Consequently, the Jews deployed as conscript laborers stem in many cases from the Ostmark, where the age structure is more normal than in the Altreich. In labor deployment itself, difficulties have arisen in those firms where Jews have to work directly together with Germans, although separate lunch rooms and locker rooms for the Jews have been provided. It was noted here, once again most especially in Catholic areas, just how little the National Socialist views on race have actually penetrated into the thinking of the people.⁷¹ In the case of larger-scale construction projects, the deployment of Jews as conscript laborers was smoother; it entailed fewer problems when the Jews were housed in camps, where they could be kept totally separate and segregated from the surrounding population.

The Law on Leases with Jews of 30 April 1939 enables landlords of the German race to give notice to their Jewish tenants to vacate, adhering to the

legally specified period for such notification.⁷² In this regard, it is reported that often a protest by German tenants living in the same building is first required in order to induce the lessor to give notice to vacate to the Jews.

As a result of their rapidly progressing pauperization, the Jews are conforming to the will of the lawmaker to restrict them to the smallest possible living space; several Jewish families are now often renting a larger apartment jointly, with each family occupying a single room.

During the report month, there were no new government measures against Jewry in the form of promulgated legislation. In this connection, the sole matter worthy of mention are the regulations on Jews as guests at **spas** issued by the Reich Interior Minister in consultation with the Reich Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.⁷³ The guidelines stipulate that Jews can only be admitted as guests in spas and resorts with therapeutic baths if they have been prescribed treatment by a physician, as indicated by a medical certificate in their possession, and if in addition they can be accommodated there separately. Certain local and temporal restrictions can also be placed on such spa guests. With the exception of members of diplomatic corps, these regulations apply without distinction to both domestic and foreign Jews.⁷⁴

Again and again, we see that Jewish **Mischlinge** of the first degree who have not been granted a permit to marry are nonetheless living together in a state of matrimony with their pure-blooded German spouses. Intervention in such cases is impossible, due to the absence of a proper national regulation for the Reich in this regard.

In the 1st and 2nd Implementation Ordinance to the Law on the **Hitler Youth**, it is stipulated that Jewish Mischlinge can belong as members to the General Hitler Youth, but are excluded from the Cadre Hitler Youth. [...]

Danzig

In Danzig at the moment, the **Jewish Question** has totally receded into the background. That is due on the one hand to the prevailing political tension in Danzig since the Führer's speech of 28 April, and on the other to the anticipated future political events unfolding abroad.⁷⁵ After their elimination from Danzig's economic life, the Jews there are exercising a certain modicum of self-restraint; the upshot is that they rarely appear any longer in public.

At the present time, there are still some 2,000 Jews in Danzig (not counting Jews with Polish citizenship).

Of the entire population of Jews in Danzig, only about 160 are still actively employed. These are so-called "**Protected Jews**," whose activity for the

moment is tolerated for reasons of economic utility.

About 1,000 persons are being provided support by the **Central Welfare Office** of the Jewish Community in Danzig. The others are living on their private assets, or from funds arising from the sale of their furniture and valuables. The Jewish **Community** can only provide this extensive support because the “**Joint**” regularly provides subsidies for implementation of the social relief program.⁷⁶ However, since the number of welfare recipients is on the constant rise, the Jewish Community has started to cut back substantially on cash assistance, providing food aid by setting up soup kitchens. To assist the Jews who do not yet qualify for social welfare, these soup kitchens have been supplemented by a special “middle-class canteen.”

The former Jewish sports hall is increasingly becoming the hub of Jewish life in Danzig. Religious services are held⁷⁷ there, and meals are distributed. The large garden serves the Jews as a site for recreation and relaxation.

After the total failure of the illegal Palestine transport,⁷⁸ it has not as yet been possible to arrange a new transport bound for Shanghai.⁷⁹ <2915>

«441»

SD Main Office II 112

Report
Berlin, 11 July 1939
BArch, R 58/992

The expulsion of Jews with Polish citizenship, or of Jews whose Polish citizenship was revoked,⁸⁰ which commenced anew at the beginning of June, reached a deadlock today and was halted. Deportation of the expelled Jews across the border illegally, or their accommodation in countries which previously could be considered as destinations, has now for all practical purposes become impossible. So a situation arises where the expelled Jews must be allowed to continue to stay on in their current place of domicile. <2933>

▲442►
SD Man from Bulky
Report for June 1939
Bulky, 5 June 1939
Brommer, p. 477

I was unable to ascertain anything about the existence of an organized church security service.

However, I did learn that in connection with the destruction of the **synagogue** in Zell during the Jews' actions⁸¹ the past year, the Catholic church in Zell was under guard. Those who stood guard in the church were members of the choir and the church managing board.⁸²

I did not make any further observations. <2917>

▲443►
SD Lower Division Württemberg-Hohenzollern
Report April to July 1939
Stuttgart, 1 July 1939
StA L, K 110 Bü 46

Jewry

General Situation

Jewry in the area of the Division is constantly shrinking on a large scale. An

average of 150 persons per month are leaving. On 1 May 1939, the number of Jews was 5,624 persons, while on 1 December 1938, 6,389 persons were tallied. The question uppermost in people's minds is the planning of as rapid an **emigration** as possible, with as little material loss as is feasible.

Internal Jewish Life

The decline of Jewish religious life is also continuing inexorably. In the month of July, all Israelitic **Communities** are to be dissolved by the Israelitic Supreme Council,⁸³ Stuttgart, and will be merged with the Jewish Religious Community Stuttgart into a Greater Stuttgart Community. The Jewish **schools** are likewise declining in size, both as a result of the emigration of pupils, principally onward to England, and also as a consequence of the very small birth rate within Jewry in the area of the Division. The ratio of Jewish individuals in the age bracket up to 25 years, to persons over 15 years, stands at 1:15 [sic].

Emigration

Since 1 April 1939, the local office has been supervising the emigration of the Jews according to plan. In April, the "Jewish Emigration Office" for Württemberg and Hohenzollern was established. At the present time, it has a staff of 129 full-time Jewish employees dealing with emigration affairs, and is under the regular supervision of the Lower Division. Just in the month of May alone, 980 persons consulted this Emigration Office; in June, that figure rose to 1,197.

At the end of June 1939, the total amount of the emigration taxes which the Jew leaving the territory of the Reich has to give to the Jewish Emigration Office reached RM 318,022.⁸⁴ An arrangement was worked out so that the United States Consulate General in Stuttgart and the Consulate General of Great Britain in Frankfurt/M. refer individuals to the Jewish Emigration Office in Stuttgart in matters pertaining to emigration.

Emigrated Jews are sending back reports on the prevailing mood from their countries of destination; addresses of foreign relatives of the Jews left by those who have emigrated are being requested in order to establish connections for the purposes of obtaining guarantees, etc. [...]

Other Matters

It is noteworthy that there are no signs whatsoever of any kind of war psychosis in Jewish circles in the area of the Division. <2918>

◀444▶

NSDAP Local Branch Ebersdorf

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Ebersdorf, 15 June 1939
StA Ba, M 33 Nr. 154 III

[...] There are no Jews here, but there is an active struggle against Jewry both spoken and written. [...] <2923>

◀445▶
County Commissioner Günzburg
Report for June 1939
Günzburg, n.d.
StA Abg, BA Günzburg 9935

[...] In Ichenhausen, the local propaganda chief has made a formal request for Jews to be assigned a local tavern for their exclusive use. A detailed report on the matter was sent to the Munich **Gestapo** and a copy was presented to the government. [...] <2925>

◀446▶

NSDAP District Direction Offenbach
Report on the Prevailing Mood for June 1939
Offenbach, n.d.
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 11218

Jewry

Volksgenossen interested in acquiring Jewish property and already negotiating with the competent authorities are generally complaining about the slow pace of the procedure.⁸⁵ <2929>

◀447▶

District Governor Main Franconia
Report for July 1939
Würzburg, 11 August 1939
BayHStA, StK 106681

General Political Situation

[...] A swastika was drawn on the display window of a former Jewish shop in Bad Neustadt a.d. Saale, preceded by a question mark, and followed by a hammer and sickle, clearly intertwined. [...]⁸⁶

In the night of 11/12 July 1939, at about midnight, the hearse of the Jewish **Communities** in Obbach and Niederwerra was set afire in Euerbach (district Schweinfurt). The identity of the perpetrators is still unknown.⁸⁷ The catafalque was removed from its storage room at a distance of some 100 m and burned outside the locality. The probable reason behind this was that until recently, an Aryan resident of the village had been transporting the Jewish bodies to the Jewish cemetery.

<2936>

◀448▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for July 1939
Ansbach, 8 August 1939
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

[...] The Bamberg Jury Court sentenced the Jewish female **physician** [name *a* withheld] to seven years in prison after conviction for attempted procurement of abortive agents. In addition, the civil rights of the accused were revoked for the same time period. Continued custody was ordered. The district attorney had demanded 10 years imprisonment. [...] <2938>

◀449▶

District Governor Palatinate
Report for July 1939
Speyer, 10 August 1939
BayHStA, StK 106676

Internal Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

[...] On 13 July in Ludwigshafen am Rhein, the Council of the Jewish **synagogue** met in session, headed by Professor *Koburger*. In his remarks, he dealt with the question of Jewish families moving in with each other in the buildings still in Jewish possession,⁸⁸ and also with the question of school instruction for the Jewish children.⁸⁹ He announced that in accordance with official regulations, Jewish schools were only allowed to function in the Palatinate in two cities, Kaiserslautern and Speyer. The consequence is that Jewish children in Ludwigshafen am Rhein in future will have to attend school in Speyer. The travel costs will be covered 50–50 by the **Regional Association** and the **Reich Federation of the Jews**.

On 16/17 July, at the Jewish cemetery in Neustadt a.d. Weinstraße, 22 or 23 gravestones were overturned.⁹⁰ There was no damage. The perpetrators are reported to be young boys. The identity of the perpetrators is not known. The **Gestapo** was informed about this act.

In Dahn (district Pirmasens), during the hours of the night, young persons attacked the house of the Jew *Levy*, always insolent and provocative in his behavior. They demanded of the Jew that he leave Dahn with his family immediately.⁹¹ Several boys later transported him by car to Pirmasens. Subsequently, several persons forcibly entered the Jew's house, stealing food and other items. Because of this, three persons were arrested. [...]

On 20 July, the former Jewish teacher Simon Israel Schwarz hung himself in the cellar of his residence in Zweibrücken.⁹² [...] <2939>

«450»

District Governor of Swabia and Neuburg
Report for July 1939
Augsburg, 7 August 1939

Jews

Three more Jews have emigrated, from Fischach, district Augsburg. A Jewish couple moved from Harburg, district Donauwörth, to Augsburg, in order to emigrate from there to the United States.⁹³ The district Donauwörth is now completely "judenfrei." [...] <2940>

►451►

SD Lower Division Thuringia

Report for August 1939

Erfurt, 5 September 1939

HStA Wei, Reichsstatthalter Thüringen 168

The Opponents Presented in Figures

General Overview

Jews

It is not as yet possible to clearly discern the impact of recent events on the situation inside Jewry. Doubtless Jewish **emigration**, which declined significantly in the recent period, has likely suffered a further slowdown.

As a result of the changes in the political situation abroad, there is probably a very strong influence on the mood of Jewry as well. The Jews fear the war, even though at the same time they hope that this war, and a possible defeat of Germany, will lead to the destruction of the regime they so despise. The threat of a collapse of Jewish communal finances has at least been delayed somewhat by the reorganization of the Jewish **Communities** (10th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law).⁹⁴ Jewish communal life has achieved some modicum of stability, Jewish children are once again being provided regular instruction,⁹⁵ etc. And in general, one can note once again greater interest on the part of the Jews in the life of the Communities.⁹⁶ [...]

Events of Special Importance

Further decline or standstill in Jewish emigration. <2952>

►452►

Gendarmerie Ichenhausen
Report for August 1939
("Economic Situation Report")
Ichenhausen, 27 August 1939
StA Abg, BA Günzburg 9940

Remarks on Individual Subject Areas

[...]

Supply Situation in Raw Materials and Manufactured Goods

[...] There is no lack of housing. Many apartments stand empty as a result of the **emigration** of Jews.⁹⁷ <2961>

◀453▶

Gendarmerie Waischenfeld
Report for August 1939
Waischenfeld, 25 August 1939
StA Ba, K 8/9205 II

[General Political Situation]

[...] The conclusion of the German-Russian Nonaggression Treaty⁹⁸ came as a surprise for most people. Most were of the opinion that now there was no longer any danger of war. [...] Some assert that Stalin removed the Jews from his government, etc., and that for that reason, there are no longer any antagonisms between Germany and Russia. <2963>

1. See Chronology, 14–16 March 1939.
2. See **Kristallnacht**.
3. See **Kristallnacht**.
4. See Chronology.
5. See Chronology.
6. See **Physicians, Jewish**.
7. See Chronology.
8. See Chronology.
9. On the genesis of this law on the basis of initiatives by large Jewish Communities and the Reich Association, see Chronology.
10. See **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael** and **Keren Hayessod**.
11. See **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration**.
12. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
13. See **East European Jews**.
14. See **Aliyah**.
15. See **Discrimination of Jews of non-German citizenship**.
16. See Domarus, *Hitler. Speeches and proclamations*, III, 1437–1465; see also Scholder, “Judaism and Christianity,” 194.
17. Volkskirchliche Arbeitsgemeinschaft.
18. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

19. See **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians**.
20. See **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians**.
21. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
22. See **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**.
23. See **Welfare, Jewish**.
24. See **Kristallnacht**.
25. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
26. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
27. See **Cattle trade, Jewish**.
28. Reference is to the speech by Hitler of 30 January 1939 (see Chronology). For the text of the speech, see Domarus, Hitler: *Speeches and proclamations*, II, 1047–1067, esp. 1057 f.
29. Here evidently there is reference to the assertions circulating during **Kristallnacht** that the Führer knew nothing about the initiative of the “Jews’ action” and in no way condoned the course they had taken. In the much-quoted “prophecy” of Hitler, which he later repeatedly postdated to the day World War II broke out, 1 September 1939, he ranted: “Today I wish to be a prophet: in international finance Jewry should succeed, within and outside Europe, in plunging the nations once more into a world war, the result will not be the Bolshevization of the Earth, and thereby the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe.” See also the speech of 30 January 1942, Domarus, Hitler: *Speeches and Proclamations*, IV, 2573 ff. and n. 43 there; as well as its reception by the German population **in 418**.
30. See **416**, n. 9 and esp. Chronology, 25 February 1939.
31. See Chronology, 21 March 1939.
32. See **Kristallnacht**.
33. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
34. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
35. See **Emigration**.
36. This is possibly a Gestapo decree issued on the basis of the circular decree of **Göring** of 23 December 1938; see Chronology.
37. See Chronology, 12 November 1938 on the elimination of the Jews from German economic life.

38. See Chronology.
39. See Emigration.
40. See Kristallnacht.
41. See **Kristallnacht**.
42. See **Jews' houses**.
43. See **Nuremberg Laws**, **Race defilement**, and **Race legislation vs. religious affiliation**.
44. See CD 2877 and 2878, and Individual actions.
45. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
46. See **Cemetery desecration**.
47. On German Jungvolk (DJ), see **Hitler Youth**.
48. See **Goebbels, Joseph**.
49. These are so-called “privileged mixed marriages”; see under **Mixed marriages**.
50. See **Welfare, Jewish**.
51. See CD 2905.
52. See **Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany**.
53. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938.
54. See Chronology, 5 January 1938.
55. The document is probably the draft of the 2nd Quarterly Report 1939 of the SD Main Office, Department II 112. The text served possibly as the basis for training sessions, which the department organized for various Party and government offices.
56. See **Kristallnacht**.
57. See Chronology, 12 November 1938 until the end of the year.
58. See **Welfare, Jewish**.
59. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
60. See **Jews by religion**.
61. “5,700 are foreign nationals.”
62. On the fate and number of the Jews who after the expulsion operation (see

Chronology, 27–29 October 1938) still remained in Germany or had returned there, see Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch*, 97–104; and Weiss, *Deutsche und polnische Juden vor dem Holocaust*, chapter 7.

63. See **Kristallnacht**.

64. On the fate of the Jewish passengers on the *St Louis*, See EH, Vol. IV, 1412 f.

65. See **Relief Organization of German Jews**.

66. See **Associational life, Jewish**.

67. See **Aryanization**.

68. The reference is to agreements after the expulsion of Jews with Polish citizenship from Germany; see Chronology, 27–29 October 1938 and early June 1939.

69. See **Forced laborers, Jewish**.

70. See **Welfare, Jewish**.

71. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

72. See Chronology, 30 April 1939.

73. See **Goebbels, Joseph**.

74. See **Discrimination of Jews with non-German citizenship**.

75. See Domarus, Hitler: *Speeches and Proclamations*, III, 1561–1596. In this speech before the Reichstag, some six weeks before German troops invaded the rump of Czechoslovakia, Hitler declared his next demand for territory, this time vis-à-vis Poland: “1. Danzig returns as a free state to the German Reich; 2. Germany receives a road and railroad line through the corridor, for its own disposal, extra-territorial in character,” *ibid.*, 1578. One can see this as the prelude to the coming war.

76. See **Welfare, Jewish**.

77. Despite the destruction of the synagogues and prayer halls during **Kristallnacht**, Jewish religious services were not prohibited, since National Socialist persecution was on a racial basis, not a religious one; see **Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews**.

78. On illegal immigration into Palestine, see **Aliyah**; and Danzig in the EH, Vol. 1, 344–347.

79. See Shanghai in the EH, Vol. IV, 1346 f.

80. See Chronology, 27–29 October 1938, and early June 1939.
81. See **Kristallnacht**.
82. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
83. See “High Council of the Israelitic Community of Württemberg” in **Regional associations of Jewish Communities**.
84. See Chronology, 25 February 1939.
85. See Aryanization.
86. See Individual actions.
87. See Desecration of religious symbols of the Jews.
88. See **Jews' houses**.
89. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
90. See **Cemetery desecration**.
91. See Individual actions.
92. See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.
93. See **Emigration**.
94. See Chronology, 4 July 1939.
95. See **Schools/School system, Jewish**.
96. See **Associational Life, Jewish**.
97. See **Internal migration**.
98. See Chronology, 23 August 1939.

Part II

The War Years (1939–1945)

10

The New Reporting System of the SD

The Early Years of the War and the First Improvised Deportations (September 1939–August 1941)

◀454▶

SD Regional Division Leipzig

Mood in the Population
Leipzig, 12 September 1939
StA Lei, 21117 SD-Abschnitt Leipzig

Opponents' Work of All Kinds

II 112

On 11 September 1939, the Leipzig **Gestapo** began to confiscate radios owned by the Jews. The operation has not as yet been completed.

A report will be presented in due course about the effects of the curfew on Jews (effective from 8 p.m.) put into force on 12 September 1939¹. ▲2964►

▲455►

SD Regional Division Leipzig

Mood in the Population
Leipzig, 15 September 1939
StA Lei, SD-Abschnitt Nr. 1

Opponents' Work of All Kinds

II 112

As a result of the evacuation of the Saar area, there are some 70 Jewish refugees in Leipzig. These refugees are housed on the premises of the Jewish **school** and are being cared for by the Israelitic **Community**.² <2965>

◀456▶

SD Regional Division Leipzig

Report on the Domestic Situation
Leipzig, 21 September 1939
StA Lei, SD Abschnitt Leipzig Nr. 1

Opponents' Work of All Kinds

[...]

II 112

In the recent period, Jews have been constantly appearing at the Office for the Promotion of Housing Construction of the City of Leipzig. These Jews claim they stem from the evacuated zone and are trying to find housing in Leipzig. Yet they are unable to present any housing certificates or the like when requested to do so. Since the evacuation of the zone in question is also being carried out in collective transports for the Jews as well, and these Jews are being cared for as a group by the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**, there is a likely suspicion that the Jews are moving to localities that are not at all in the zone in question.

To prevent this in-migration and/or register these Jews who are illegally relocating,³ an application was made to the **Gestapo** to introduce appropriate measures.

It is also noted in this connection that already prior to 1 September, Jews from the West were seeking accommodation in Leipzig by spending the night in hotels and/or staying with relatives or acquaintances. <2967>

SD Regional Division Leipzig

Report on the Domestic Situation
Leipzig, 25 September 1939
StA Lei, SD Abschnitt Leipzig Nr. 1

Opponents' Work of All Kinds

II 112

Jewish **emigration** has come to a complete halt as a result of the war. Emigration to the countries at war has become impossible. In particular, this means England, which recently played a certain role as an interim destination for emigrants. But immigration to the neutral countries is now possible only in a small number of individual cases. As far as can be assessed at the moment, the consulates of the neutral countries are still issuing a few immigration visas; however, these are much more difficult to obtain than before.

Visas for immigrants to the United States are being handled in the same restricted numbers. The South and Central American countries appear to be continuing to operate in the same manner as before.

But implementation of emigration is almost completely impossible as a result of the huge shortage of ship passage due to the cancellation of sailings or limitations on many shipping lines. A compounding factor is that it is impossible to book passage on a ship by payment in Reichsmark.⁴

This circumstance has become an even greater hindrance, since as a result of the introduction of foreign currency rationing in England and France, foreign currency for the payment of ship passage can no longer be obtained from these countries. Likewise, as a consequence of the poor postal links to countries overseas, a substantial amount of time is required for obtaining transfer of foreign currency from relatives or friends resident there.

The possibility of travel to Italy as an interim destination during emigration has now also disappeared as an option. <2968>

◀458▶

SD District Office Worms
Political Report on the Prevailing Mood
Worms, 14 September 1939
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 7117

Once again, uniformly throughout virtually the entire service area, after days

of temporary quiet, criticism is being voiced about the attitude of the Jews. In Worms, segments of the population found it exceedingly unpleasant to observe that the Jews are shopping once more in all stores, with their food ration cards; their comportment is marked by a striking air of security and confidence. In all cases, the business people have treated the Jew in a normal fashion, and served him immediately.⁵ In one case in Worms, a Jew, not yet identified by name, replied to reprimands by **Volksgenossen** with the words: "Now we're getting the upper hand again." Public rejection of the Jews is being pursued most actively at the present time in the Alzey district. Without any sufficient objective reason, the intention and wish are repeatedly expressed there to take measures of self-help.⁶

The story was circulating in Bingen that various old Party stalwarts had spoken to the Party District Chief regarding a Jews' action they were planning, but were advised against that in no uncertain terms. <2972>

◀459▶

Gestapo II A

Input for Situation Reports

Berlin, 14 September 1939

BArch, R 58/3065

On 10 and 11 September, several flyers were found in the center of Leipzig, mimeographed, with the following text:

"Victory is certain! All the oppressed, the Jews and Christians, can be helped only by the Communists!⁷ They alone are fighting against oppression and hardship and will smash the system of the rich! Despite all slander and lies, progress shall be victorious!"

<2975>

◀460▶

Stapostelle Cologne
Allocation of Special Food Shops for Jews
Cologne, 29 September 1939
BArch, R 58/544

The allocation of special food shops for Jews⁸ was already implemented here on 25 September 1939. A total of 50 shops has been proposed, with an average number of 40–60 Jews as clientele per shop. Since it was thought that one could not expect a merchant to do without his **Aryan** customers as a result of this assignment, the circle of shops included had to be made quite large. The Jewish customers will be accommodated only during a specific time frame, from 8 to 9:30 a.m. Some difficulties have arisen in that various shop owners have refused to serve Jewish customers. They were informed by the Political Organization that there would be no disadvantages for them as a result of this measure. I will report there in due course on the effect of this allocation. [...] <2978>

◀461▶
District Governor of Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for September 1939
Regensburg, 9 October 1939
BayHStA, StK 106673

Jews

The Jews were not conspicuous here in any way. In Weiden, where the Jews used to have a very large community, many have emigrated or relocated, leaving about 15 still remaining.⁹ These Jews are to be housed together in a municipal building.¹⁰[...] <2980>

◀462▶
NSDAP District Direction Kitzingen-Gerolzhofen

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Kitzingen, 4 September 1939
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 8

The Jews throughout the district are behaving in an impudent manner. Apparently they are listening to foreign radio stations. It's about time to put all the Jews in a **concentration camp** and to confiscate their radios.¹¹ <2986>

«463»

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for September 1939
Ansbach, 6 October 1939
BayHStA, StK 106678

General

Mood in the Population, Public Security, Etc.

[...] In September. A total of 63 persons were taken into **protective custody**: Polish Jews¹² [...]

Jews

1) There were no meetings or other events organized by Jewish associations and organizations in the month of this report.¹³

2) All male Jews with Polish citizenship were arrested on the basis of the decree by the Chief of the Security Police issued on 7 September 1939.¹⁴ There were 28. At the same time, the relatives of these Jews were ordered not to leave their place of domicile without the express consent of the **Gestapo**. The assets of the Jews with Polish citizenship were seized.

3) By a decree issued by the Chief of the Security Police on 9 September 1939,¹⁵ a curfew was imposed on Jews after 8 p.m. In addition, the order was given to inform the Jewish **Communities** that they were obligated to construct air raid shelters for themselves.

4) Effective from 25 September 1939, Jews resident in the cities of Nuremberg and Fürth were assigned specially designated retail shops for the purchase of foodstuffs (bread, meat, milk, groceries, fruit and vegetables). This regulation was arranged in consultation with the Gau Head Office Franconia of the NSDAP and the Association for Retail Trade. It stipulates that Jews are

permitted to shop Monday to Friday between 3 and 5 p.m. in the designated stores, and these only. In addition, milk can be purchased on Saturday and Sunday in the first morning hour of business. A total of 60 retail trade shops in Nuremberg and 20 in Fürth have been designated as stores authorized for selling to Jews. On average, each such shop is responsible for sales to between 150 and 200 Jewish individuals specifically designated by name.¹⁶

5) On the basis of a decree by the Chief of the Security Police of 20 September 1939,¹⁷ the radios of the Jews were confiscated on 23 September 1939. As a result of this measure, some 400 radio sets were seized in the government district, and placed in the safekeeping of the Gestapo Nuremberg-Fürth or the offices of the county commissioners.

6) The Jews still resident in the government district generally conduct themselves in an inconspicuous manner, and comply with the orders and directives issued against them. The Jewish **Communities** and the Emigration Consultation Offices associated with them also sought in the report month to promote the **emigration** of the Jews still living in the country in the framework of the task assigned to them. Difficulties arose in emigration due to the fact that the shipping companies were forced to halt operations in the North and Baltic Seas due to the state of war. Jews recently have centered their efforts to emigrate from Germany by proceeding abroad via neutral countries, especially Italy and Hungary. However, moving on from these countries, possibilities for travel to Africa and overseas likewise still remain very limited. Nonetheless, the number of emigrants in the report month showed a slight increase over the previous month. In September 1939, 164 persons (Jews) emigrated, while in August 1939 the corresponding figure was 102 Jews.

<2981>

District Governor Palatinate
Report for September 1939
Speyer, 10 October 1939
BayHStA, StK 106676

Jews

It is reported from the Germersheim district that a substantial number of the Jews still resident there have relocated to neighboring large cities, such as Mannheim, Frankfurt am Main, or Wiesbaden.¹⁸

The Jew [name withheld] hung himself in his prison cell in Ludwigshafen a. Rhein.¹⁹ He was in investigative custody charged with **race defilement**.
<2982>

«465»

NSDAP District Office for [Ideological] Training Lahr

Ideological Report
Lahr, 3 October 1939
GLA Ka, 465 d Nr. 158

Bearing in mind the ongoing war, there was quite a large attendance at the religious services. Here and there older persons in particular made comments to the effect that the war was a punishment for the way the Jews were being treated. One can see in such remarks the influence of the oppositional clergy.²⁰
<2984>

«466»

NSDAP District Direction Kitzingen-Gerolzhofen

Report on the Prevailing Mood

Kitzingen, 1 September 1939
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 8

[...] Currently, as in days past, the attitude of the Jews has sparked the indignation of many **Volksgenossen** and most particularly of Party members, since they are very demonstrative in showing their pleasure in anticipation of the “day of revenge” that is perhaps now on the near horizon. <2985>

◀467▶

NSDAP District Direction Kitzingen-Gerolzhofen

Report on the Prevailing Mood

Kitzingen, 11 September 1939

StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 8

There were violent incidents against the Jews in Kitzingen and Marktbreit over the weekend.²¹ In Kitzingen, the notorious Jew Moses Meier was attacked and beaten. The perpetrator was taken into **protective custody**, but immediately released upon the insistence of the Party. Charges were not filed.

In Marktbreit, an angry crowd of more than 100 persons gathered in front of the house of a Jew. People forced their way in and brought out the Jew's housekeeper, a German from Veitshöchheim. Several windows and other small parts of the building were destroyed. The Jew himself was unhurt. Within an hour, the irresponsible housekeeper's son picked her up by car.

Nonetheless, notable now as before is substantial spying activity on the part of the Jews. The Jews continue to hang out near and in the railroad station a great deal, and are present in the main traffic arteries, which are being utilized by troops in transit through the area. The Jews are also traveling from village to village, and in some localities are once again frequenting the village inns. [...]

As I see it, the time has now come to gather all Jews together, confined in a **concentration camp**, so that they really will no longer be able to have contact with German **Volksgenossen**. [...] <2988>

◀468▶

Gendarmerie Sandberg
Report for September 1939
Sandberg, 28 September 1939
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21908

[...] Everywhere people have understood that only the Jew, and he alone, bears responsibility for the war. [...] <2990>

◀469▶

Gendarmerie Unsleben
Report for September 1939
Unsleben, 28 September 1939
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21908

During the night of 23/24 September 1939, several culprits illegally entered the apartment of the Jewish merchant Max Donnerstag in Unsleben, and then proceeded to physically abuse him.²² Formal charges were filed in this office.

<2991>

◀470▶
Contact Person of the SD²³ in the Münster Area
Report on the Prevailing Mood in the Population
n.p., 5 September 1939
StdA Ms, Amt 43 E Nr. 18

General Mood

[...] [People are saying that] all Jews will be concentrated together, and according to one statement all Jewish males will even be shot. <2992>

◀471▶
Contact Person of the SD²⁴ in the Münster Area
Report on the Prevailing Mood in the Population
n.p., 6 September 1939
StdA Ms, Amt 43 E Nr. 18

Jews

In recent days, a feeling of great bitterness against the Jews has spread in the population, even in [...], so that individual actions are very likely. People are already talking about locking the Jews up, or putting them up against the wall to be shot, 10 Jews for every German killed in combat. <2993>

◀472▶
RSHA, Dept. III (SD)

Report on the Domestic Situation

Berlin, 23 October 1939

Boberach, pp. 381 f.

Opponents

[...] The assistant preacher Riedesel, Königsberg, who is a member of the Confession Front, preached a sermon and said in connection with the parable of the Good Samaritan: "A wounded man lies in the ditch, an elegant car passes by, inside is a man in a beautiful uniform. He holds many offices in the government or the Party. He does not help the wounded man because he would lose valuable time if he did so. Another car passes by, and likewise gives no assistance. Finally, a third person comes along, a Jew with a folding hand truck. He takes pity on the wounded man and places him on the truck." (Gestapo informed.)
<2995>

◀473▶

RSHA, Dept. III (SD)

Report on the Domestic Political Situation

Berlin, 25 October 1939

Boberach, pp. 390 f.

Opponents

[...] The *resettlement of the Jews* has commenced in the **Ostmark**. Some 3,000 Jews were sent with the first three transports to Poland.²⁵ They received tools and equipment from the Israelitic **Community** in Vienna for the construction of a barracks village in Poland, and the German authorities permitted them to take food supplies along for the first four months. In Meppen, Jewish **cattle** dealers tried to participate again in the cattle markets in an unofficial manner. (Inquiries by the Gestapo are currently under way.) <2996>

◀474▶

SD Regional Division Leipzig

Report on the Domestic Situation
Leipzig, 13 October 1939
StA Lei, SD Abschnitt Leipzig Nr. 2

Opponents' Work of All Kinds

In general, a lack of clarity prevails as regards the **emigration** of the Jews from Germany. Actually, the number of Jews suitable for this is small. The **Gestapo** places no obstacles in the path of emigration, while the Foreigner Registration Office makes difficulties as a result of the slow pace of processing papers, thus putting emigration in question. Since transfers of funds have ceased,²⁶ the emigration costs are being borne by relatives abroad.

Recently it has also become possible to obtain small amounts of foreign currency through the **HICEM** in Paris. Jews here wishing to emigrate must provide the equivalent sum in RM to be used for the work of the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**.

For reasons of state security, the question arises, given the momentary circumstances, whether Jewish emigration, which in any case is insignificant in scope, should be promoted at all. A clear decision regarding this matter is absolutely necessary, since if the processing of their emigration papers is delayed by any office whatsoever, the sum of money raised abroad for this purpose lapses, and is thus withdrawn for financing of emigration.

Expenses for emigration are on the substantial rise as a result of an increase in the cost of boat fares. Thus, the Dutch shipping lines are demanding a war surcharge of 40 percent, the Swedish lines 60 percent and the Norwegian companies almost 100 percent for the passage, to be paid in foreign currency.
<2997>

▲475▶

SD Regional Division Leipzig
Report on the Domestic Situation
Leipzig, 22 October 1939
StA Lei, SD Abschnitt Leipzig Nr. 1

Opponents' Work of All Kinds

In consultation with the Lord Mayor of the Reich Trade Fair City Leipzig and county commissioner of the NSDAP, Leipzig, measures for regulating shopping by Jews in designated stores have now been implemented.²⁷ The lists

of households are collected and sent directly to the Office for Promotion of Housing Construction Leipzig, which then centrally arranges the issuing of food ration cards to Jews. Cards are also issued for foreigners. Domestic Jews, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, and their Aryan domestic servants receive the food ration cards stamped with the letter "J," while the foreign Jews receive cards lacking this letter. It should be noted that in the event of **mixed marriages**, the procedure adheres to regulations on the Law on Leasing to Jews,²⁸ i.e.:

- 1) If the head of the household is an **Aryan**, and his wife Jewish, and if there are no children, then the household is considered Aryan.
- 2) If the head of the household is a Jew, his wife Aryan, and there are no children, the household is considered to be Jewish.
- 3) If one of the parents is Jewish and the other Aryan, and there are children who are Germans, **Mischlinge** of the 1st degree (i.e., not raised in the Mosaic faith), then the household is considered Aryan.
- 4) If one of the parents is a Jew, the other an Aryan, and there are children who are being brought up in the Mosaic faith, then the household is considered Jewish, even if the man is Aryan. [...] <3000>

◀476▶

SD Regional Division Leipzig
Report on the Domestic Situation
Leipzig, 25 October 1939
StA Lei, SD Abschnitt Leipzig Nr. 1

Situation in the Various Spheres of Life

[...]

II 22²⁹

In legal circles, various persons are of the opinion that the Implementation Ordinance on the Atonement Tax of the Jews of 19 October this year³⁰ (RGBl, I No. 207) is merely a means to create new sources of revenue for the Reich; the surrender of assets amounting to RM 1,000,000,000³¹ has long since been collected in full from the Jews. <3001>

◀477▶

Stapostelle Cologne

Expulsion of Jews
Cologne, 10 October 1939
HStA Dü, RW 18–3

It has been established that in recent months there has been a substantial relocation by Jews, moving into the Cologne municipality and the surrounding area. For national political, military, and most particularly economic reasons, the in-migration of these undesirable elements is intolerable.

Consequently, I have ordered the Jewish **Community** in Cologne to ensure that all Jews who have relocated into Cologne and the surrounding area after 1 July 1939³² be instructed of the obligation to vacate their new place of residence by 20 October 1939. If Jews from the government district Cologne have relocated here, they must return and be registered in their former place of domicile. Jews from outside the government district Cologne who have relocated here are also prohibited from staying on, for the previously mentioned reasons. I hereby instruct the local police authorities and registration offices to reject in future all Jews from outside the area seeking to register, on the ground that relocation is not permissible.

Jews aged 16 and above who nonetheless relocate to the government district Cologne and refuse to depart, are to be arrested immediately by the district police in the counties. Any such arrest is to be reported to this office immediately. In the municipal districts of Cologne and Bonn, arrest and detention in **protective custody** is the responsibility of the **Gestapo**. <3007>

▲478►
District Governor Upper **and** Central Franconia
Report for October 1939
Ansbach, 7 November 1939
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

There have been no meetings or other events by Jewish associations and organizations.³³

The assets of the Jews with Polish citizenship³⁴ seized on the basis of the decree by the Chief of the Security Police of 7 September 1939 have almost been exhausted, utilized for the payment of tax arrears and costs for the maintenance of the relatives of those arrested.

The radio sets of the Jews confiscated on the basis of the decree of the Chief of the Security Police of 20 September 1939³⁵ were, as per orders, passed on to the offices of the Wehrmacht.

During the report month, a number of Jews evacuated from the Rhine Palatinate and Baden have arrived in Nuremberg. They come from the Evacuation Zone West and have been put up in the apartments of Jews living here.³⁶ The Jewish **Community** Nuremberg is responsible for the care and maintenance of these Jewish refugees. The comportment of Jews still resident in the government district is inconspicuous and in compliance with the regulations in force against them. During the report month, the Jewish Communities and associated Emigration Consultation Offices also attempted to promote the **emigration** of the Jews still in Germany within the framework of their assigned tasks. But considerable difficulties arose in this regard, because immigration is now closed almost everywhere. In the case of North America and **Palestine**, which still permit Jews to immigrate, there are at the moment virtually no shipping lines operating. As a result of this situation, there has been a sharp fall in the number of Jewish emigrants in the present report month. In October 1939, 19 Jews emigrated, while in the previous month, 164 had emigrated. The existing applications for an emigration permit prove that Jews are still striving to leave Germany as soon as possible.

In the report month, the Gestapo Nuremberg-Fürth filed requests against 71 Jewish emigrants living abroad for revocation of their German citizenship.

<3010>

District Governor Swabia
Report for October 1939
Augsburg, 8 November 1939
BayHStA, StK 106683

Jews

[...]

2) In Ichenhausen, district Günzburg, individual actions were perpetrated against Jews under cover of darkness by unknown assailants. These involved disturbing the peace, material damage to property. and also the pilfering of food. This is a reaction to the atrocities perpetrated against the Germans in Poland.
[...]

<3012>

«480»

SD District Office Bad Kissingen

Report

Bad Kissingen, 27 November 1939

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 11/1

At the present time in Bad Kissingen, there is animated discussion about the problem of the former Polish territories. *Inter alia*, the story is being circulated that the Jews, the whole lot of them, are being resettled in the territory between the San and Bug rivers around Lublin. This area is reportedly about 300 km² in size. Jews from Austria and the Czech state are already reported to have arrived here.³⁷ Word has it that each Jew was only permitted to bring along RM 150 in cash, and that their remaining assets have been confiscated and are being redistributed to needy Jews. These latter Jews likewise received the *amount of* RM 150 from the confiscated funds of their fellow Jews. In addition, they were permitted to bring along a packet of linen to the area of settlement. At the same time, people say that all Gypsies and vagabonds living in Poland are being deported and relocated to this area, and that there is no possibility for return, unless the residents of this settlement area are attempting to emigrate to Russia.

These measures have been welcomed by members of the Party and a large proportion of the Volksgenossen, and proposals have been advanced that the Jews who still live within Germany should likewise begin to relocate to this area.

<3025>

«481»

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for November 1939

Ansbach, 7 December 1939

BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

1) The district Hilpoltstein, previously free of any Jews, has now received 100 Polish Jewish POWs. They are being deployed on construction of the Rhine-Main-Danube canal. They are housed in a camp and have been segregated from other Poles. Non-Jewish Poles complain angrily about these Jews, declaring that they and they alone were responsible for the outrages committed in Poland against Germans and German prisoners.

2) After the attempted assassination in the Bürgerbräukeller,³⁸ there were **individual actions** against Jews in Adelsdorf and Mühlhausen, district

Höchstadt a.d.Aisch. After the population, which would like to rid itself of the Jews, was given immediate instruction about such actions, peace and quiet were restored.

3) There have been no meetings or other events by Jewish associations and organizations in the report month.³⁹ 30 Jews from the evacuation area who arrived in Nuremberg and Fürth were placed by the Jewish **Communities** in the apartments of their fellow racial compatriots.⁴⁰

The number of Jews resident here who are emigrating rose in the present month to 100 (as compared with 18 in October).

Requests were filed against 58 Jewish emigrants living abroad for revocation of their German citizenship.

4) On 4 November, in accordance with an order of the Chief of the Security Police of 29 September 1939,⁴¹ the Jewish organizations still in existence in Bamberg were dissolved, and these are:

- 1) Israelitic Burial Society, Bamberg,⁴²
- 2) Israelitic Women's **Chevra Kaddisha**, Bamberg,⁴³
- 3) Israelitic Athletic and **Sports Association**, Bamberg.

The associations:

- 1) Israelitic Orphans Association, Bamberg and
- 2) Israelitic **Women's Association**, Bamberg were incorporated into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** in accordance with the above order.

<3029>

◀482▶

NSDAP District Direction Würzburg
Report on the Prevailing Mood for November 1939
Würzburg, n.d.
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 8

Coupons and General Economic Questions

[...] Many **Volksgenossen** are complaining about the fact that Jews are still allowed to take the bus. There has as yet been no national legal regulation issued banning the transport of Jews by train, plane, ship, streetcar, etc. As long as there is no such injunction, the transport of Jews in buses must be tolerated, whether one likes it or not.⁴⁴ <3039>

◀483▶

Contact Person of the SD in the Münster Area
Report on the Prevailing Mood in the Population
n.p., 3 November 1939
StdA Ms, AMt 43 E Nr. 18

General Mood

The mood in the population continues to be good. No one believes there will be peace with England, because everyone tells himself that the war is not the direct wish of England. Rather it is the desire of world Jewry and the Jew-infested British government, under any and all circumstances. <3040>

◀484▶

[SD Main Office] II 112

Individual Actions Against Jews
[Berlin], 13 November 1939
StA Wü, LRA Mellrichstadt 1577

According to reports from the Gestapo, there have recently once again been **individual actions** against the Jews. It is reported that these actions are intended to cause Jews to accelerate leaving their previous places of domicile.

It is requested that more attention be accorded this matter anew, and in the event of any individual actions, to report this *immediately* to this office, if possible by telephone.⁴⁵ <3041>

◀485▶

Report in Reply to an Inquiry
Nordheim, 16 November 1939
StA Wü, LRA Melkischstadt 1577

In Nordheim v. d. Rhön, subsequent to a statement by a female teacher in school that the Jews were behind the assassination attempt on the Führer in the Bürgerbräukeller,⁴⁶ school children smashed the windows of several Jews.⁴⁷ The attempt by some older persons to storm the Jews' houses in the evening was thwarted by the mayor's alert intervention. <3041a>

◀486▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)
Report on the Internal Political Situation
Berlin, 6 December 1939
Boberach, p. 541

Administration and Law

[...]

Non-Application of Amnesty for the Civilian Population, 9 September 1939, to the Jews

In the course of the summer, there was a growing number of cases where various Jews did not heed the third announcement on the obligatory identification card of 23 July 1938,⁴⁸ shortening the name Israel to the simple

abbreviation "I," and also failing to give their ID number and indicate they were Jews when dealing with the authorities. To the extent that such cases became known, this information was routinely passed on to the public prosecutor for prosecution. Recently, in such a case, the Municipal Court Leipzig halted proceedings against Jews, referring to the amnesty of the Führer for the civilian population. In National Socialist legal circles, this decision is regarded as highly questionable. In order to prevent a repetition of similar cases, they are recommending that an ordinance be issued specifying that the amnesty⁴⁹ is not applicable in the case of Jews. <3042>

◀487▶

SD Regional **Division** Bielefeld

Report
n.p., 20 December 1939
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 5

Administration and Law

Law

There have been proceedings before the Great Chamber of the Criminal Court Bielefeld against several SA members. During the Jews' action⁵⁰ last year, they stripped a Jewish woman naked and then forced her to dance. This was reportedly prompted by a "bonus" of RM 50 offered by the local Party branch head. The case has been closed on the basis of the Führer amnesty.⁵¹ To date, no consequences of this decision have been noted in the population and its reaction. <3044>

◀488▶

Stapostelle Bielefeld

Daily Report
Bielefeld, 3 January 1940
StA Det, M 1 IP Nr. 637

[...]

Other Matters

[...]

On 28 December 1939,

1) the local leader of the [National Socialist] farmers' organization Franz *Husemann*, b. 24 November 1881 in Frohnhausen, resident in Frohnhausen, at No. 35, district center Marburg, and

2) the unmarried Jew Hermann *Israel Löwenstein*, b. 20 August 1891 in Frohnhausen, resident in Frohnhausen, at No. 33, district center Marburg were arrested. Husemann provided civilian clothing to a Polish POW in his employ during the employee's hours of work. At the same time, he provided food to the POW together with three German soldiers quartered there, along with a farm laborer, all sitting at one table, while he and his family had their lunch meal at another table. Moreover, on 21 December 1939, he allowed the Jew to have lunch together at the same table with the soldiers and the POW. In addition, he has been on friendly terms with the Jew Löwenstein up to the recent past; on 20 December 1939, he allowed him to spend the night at his home, and also gave him food. Husemann is thus in serious violation of the guidelines for treatment of POWs and has offended popular sentiment. He has to date not done anything that might be deemed politically negative or questionable in terms of criminal law. He has been a member of the NSDAP since 1937.

I have temporarily taken Husemann into custody, and will reach a further decision after inquiries in the case have been concluded. [...] <3045>

◀489▶

Emigration Consultation Office Cologne⁵²
Report for October, November, and December 1939
Cologne, n.d.
HStA Dü, RW 36–20

The volume of persons making use of the Emigration Consultation Office

has declined by half compared with the previous year, due to the war situation and the associated reduced possibilities for emigration. But it is difficult to make a comparison, since two months of the previous quarter fall in the period before the war. [...]

In numerous respects, the Jews' **emigration** has been rendered more difficult by the current situation. But through good contacts with the most varied and diverse offices, we have been successful in promoting the Jews' emigration in the manner desired; among other things, we were able to help with procurement of documents. Thus, for example, after having changed their places of residence, Jews often encountered difficulties in obtaining certificates of good conduct, certificates that no back taxes were owed, birth certificates, marriage certificates, and similar documents from the authorities in whose area of competence they had previously lived. As a rule, the applicants had been summoned to a consulate for issuance of a visa and were already close to the date when they had to appear, but were still without the necessary documentation for obtaining the visa. Through our intervention, it was then possible to adhere to the scheduled date of appearance.

Again and again, we noted that passport and other offices were of the opinion that, due to the contemporary situation, the Jews' emigration could not be implemented. Consequently, they made difficulties for this reason. [...]

The Christian **non-Aryans** are a separate problem in itself. Racially they are Jews, and considered as such by the authorities. But they are not recognized by their Jewish tribal compatriots, and thus also cannot expect any assistance from the Jewish side. The St. Raphael Association assists Catholic non-Aryans, certain Protestant offices do the same for Protestants.⁵³ We were able to provide passport recommendations for a number of non-Aryans of the Christian faith, since their emigration seemed ensured in the near future. [...]

A statistical survey on Jews by religion done in October 1939 in the Altreich and Sudeten Gau produced the following main findings:

1) More than 185,000 persons were included in the Altreich and the Sudeten Gau: more than 77,000 males and nearly 108,000 females,⁵⁴ primarily **Jews by religion**. Since, especially in the large urban areas, not all Jews could be reached by the questionnaires, and if one includes the non-Aryans who are not part of the Jewish faith, the total number of Jews in the sense of the **Nuremberg Laws** probably amounts to about 240,000. The figure for Berlin is likely ca. 95,000.

2) Among the districts where the most Jews live, after the city of Berlin, are Cologne (Rhineland, Westphalia) and Frankfurt a/Main (Hesse and Hesse-Nassau). The next group includes Hamburg (Hansa towns, Schleswig-Holstein,

Mecklenburg, Hanover, and Braunschweig), Breslau (Silesia), Munich (Bavaria), and Stuttgart (Baden, Württemberg, and Palatinate). The third group encompasses Leipzig (Province of Saxony, Thuringia, Saxony, and Sudeten Gau). Finally, the areas with the smallest number of Jews are the districts Königsberg (East Prussia) and Berlin—without the city of Berlin—(Brandenburg and Pomerania).

The survey has also provided data of interest on the question of whether, and if so, to what extent, Jews living dispersed, in some cases in very small numbers, should be included in the broader context of the larger **Communities**. Less than 10 percent of the total live dispersed in 1,800 localities, while more than 90 percent have their residences in 200 localities.

3) For Jews by religion, the excess of deaths to births in recent years is in the range 36–38,000. Thus, nearly a quarter of a million Jews emigrated from the Altreich during this period. Just in 1938 and 1939 alone, probably more than 100,000 Jews have left Germany.

In the light of this, there were a total 10,280 males and 13,342 females for the Rhine Province and Westphalia, amounting to 23,622 persons. In terms of numbers, this district is second right after Berlin, and accounts for 12.74 percent of the total number of Jews in the Altreich including the Sudeten Gau.

Based on our experience, in our area of competence we must add a sizable number of individuals so as to arrive at the final figure for Jews in the sense of the Nuremberg Laws. The persons so added are Jewish freethinkers, converted Jews, and pure-blooded German women married to Jews but without any children. Consequently, probably a few thousand more should be added to the figure of 23,622 persons. <3049>

Stapostelle Bremen
Report on the Prevailing Mood and Situation
Bremen, 8 February 1940
StA Br, 3-M.2.h.3 ad Nr. 8

Jews

In January 1940, a number of Jews were stripped of their citizenship. The Jews still remaining in Bremen were placed under strict surveillance; among other things, they were forbidden from listening to radio programs. All radio sets owned by Jews were confiscated.⁵⁵ In order to facilitate better surveillance of the Jews, a curfew for Jews was instituted from 8 p.m.⁵⁶ Violations of this curfew were punished by arrest.

<3051>

◀491▶

Stapostelle Darmstadt

Inquiry⁵⁷

Darmstadt, 15 January 1940

YVA, 0.51/331

Jewish Associations, Federations, and Foundations, Etc.

The Jewish associations, federations, and foundations, etc., are transferred on the basis of the 10th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law of 4 July 1939⁵⁸ into the **Reich Association**, and if the Gestapo has reservations about them, are dissolved.

Since all organizations, etc., have to be registered and reported to the Reich Security Main Office, I hereby request a report in order to check on the following matters:

- 1) a) what Jewish associations, federations, foundations, and other organizations still exist,
b) what Jewish associations, etc., were still in existence after 1933 and purportedly dissolved,
- 2) what foundations and associations with equal representation still exist, i.e., those in which both Jews and pure-blooded Germans are taken care of,
- 3) present board (in the case of organizations dissolved, the former board),
- 4) assets, real estate, etc., insofar as this can be determined.

I ask you to treat this matter as urgent, since I must present a report in the near future. [...] <3052>

District Governor Main Franconia
Report for January 1940
Würzburg, 10 February 1940
BayHStA, StK 106681

The **Gestapo** has filed charges against the Ordensburg⁵⁹ Officer [name withheld], resident in Gotha, for the crime of **race defilement**. [Name withheld] had sexual relations with a Polish Jewish waitress. Five members of the Wehrmacht also had to be charged for violations of the **Law on the Protection of Blood**.

<3055>

◀493▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 16 February 1940
Boberach, 768

Cultural Areas

[...]

Masterpieces of German Art in Private Jewish Ownership

Persons in Berlin artists' circles are saying that there are still masterpieces of German fine arts in private Jewish hands. These circles are advocating that the Jews be required to report their art holdings, and that a inspection then be undertaken by experts. If works of national importance are in Jewish possession, these must be transferred to the authority of the state or placed in state museums. <3064>

«494»

Stapostelle Bremen
Report on the Prevailing Mood and Situation
Bremen, 6 March 1940
StA Br, 3-M.2.h.3 ad Nr. 8

Jews

As a consequence of the war, possibilities for Jews to travel abroad have been exceptionally reduced. However, thanks to the activity of the Jewish **Relief Organization** in cooperation with the **Reich Association of Jews in Germany**, it has been possible to procure foreign currency and possibilities for entry for 26 Jews resident in Bremen, and to arrange for their **emigration** via Holland or Italy. [...]

<3066>

«495»
Stapoleitstelle Stettin
Daily Report
Stettin, 16 February 1940
AP Stet, Polizeipräsident Stettin 69

Jews

Temporarily arrested and in custody:

[...]

b) On 13 February 1940, the Jew Hermann Israel *Lewinsky*, b. 15 March 1882 in Grajewo, district Prosken, and his wife Frieda Sara Lewinsky, née Jakobsberg, b. 22 September 1885 in Neustettin, both resident in Neustettin, at Friedrichstr. 25, were arrested, because during the Jews' action on 13 February 1940,⁶⁰ they were discovered in the apartment of the Jew *Hettmann*, scheduled to be deported, in Stettin, Philippstr. 17. L. and his wife had been staying at Hettmann's apartment since 19 December 1939. At that time, they had registered with the police.—II B 4—

c) On 13 February 1940, the Jew Leo (Israel) *Steinberg*, b. 2 June 1880, in Stettin, RD [Reich German], married, resident in Berlin NO 55, Woldenbergerstr. 28 II, was taken into custody: during a check at a train station, he was unable to prove that he had permission to reside in Stettin. [...]
<3067>

◀496▶

SD Regional **Division** Bielefeld

Report
Bielefeld, 3 April 1940
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 5

Administration and Law

Law

The *Höxtersche Zeitung* that is published here in the area carries a report of a ruling of the Labor Court Velbert in its edition of 28 March 1940. That ruling rejected the *complaint of a Jew demanding pay for the two days of Christmas and New Year*. His complaint was based on the directive issued by the Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan where Jews are not expressly excluded. In the published opinion for the judgment, it is stated *inter alia*: The directive cited says in its introduction that co-workers involved in the work of construction of the Führer should get paid holidays. The pay for holidays is not conceived as extra money but as actual payment for this cooperative work. But since a Jew, whose race is an irreconcilable enemy of the work of the Führer, can never be deemed a co-worker of the Führer, and in addition does not recognize the holidays as such, this benefit is out of the question for him. Moreover, the plaintiff cannot base his case on the argument that the Jews are not expressly excluded in the directive. The opinion states that at the time of the issuance of the directive, so few Jews were employed in Germany on the basis of hourly wages or piecework that it must be assumed for this reason as well that the Jews have not been expressly mentioned in the directive. [...] <3080>

►497►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for March 1940
Ansbach, 7 April 1940
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

1) In the month just passed, **emigration** of the Jews has remained in the same general framework as before. In March 1940, a total of 30 Jews emigrated (the previous month 40). The applications still being received for issuing emigration passports prove that Jews are continuing to seek to emigrate from Germany as quickly as possible.

In the report month, applications were filed to have the German citizenship of 61 Jewish emigrants living abroad revoked. [...] <3083>

◀498▶

District Governor Swabia
Report for February 1940
Augsburg, 9 April 1940
BayHStA, StK 106683

Jews

At the Jewish cemetery in Ichhausen, district Günzburg, on 25 March 1940, three boys observed from afar, whose identity has not yet been established, overturned 10–12 gravestones.⁶¹ <3085>

•499►

Gendarmerie Ebermannstadt
Report for March 1940
Ebermannstadt, 29 March 1940
StA Ba, K 8 & 9205 III

Jews, Freemasons

On the external wall of the castle courtyard in Pretzfeld, there was a copper memorial plaque for the painter Curt Herrmann, Berlin, b. 1854, d. 1929, mounted there in 1934. Herrmann, who was also a professor at the Academy, created many of his works in this castle. For years, this plaque had irked the nationalist-minded circles, since Herrmann was the son-in-law of the Jewish doctor Hertz in Berlin. During the night hours of 26 April 1940, this plaque was removed by persons unknown. In any case, this measure was taken for reasons of nationalist conviction. Most probably, the plaque will be added in a changed form to the contribution of [scrap] metal in honor of the Führer's birthday.

<3087>

•500•

**NSDAP, Office for Public Health, Gau Munich-Upper Bavaria
Activity Report**

Wolfratshausen, 20 March 1940

StA Mü, NSDAP 145

The view prevalent in a number of circles that now during the war people should go easier in regard to the question of the Jewish **Mischlinge** was strongly rejected. In this connection, I found that the county commissioner in particular was a very effective source of support.<3091>

•501•

**RSHA, Office III (SD)
Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 10 April 1940
Boberach, pp. 976, 979**

Opponents

In recent days, reports have come in once again from various areas of the

Reich regarding a continued *insolent manner of comportment* and disagreeable behavior on the part of *some individual Jews*. Largely due to *hoarding*, there were repeated arrests. Thus, two Jews were arrested in Hamburg because they had repeatedly sent letters to a large number of persons living abroad, begging them to send them regular shipments of foodstuffs, such as butter, cheese, etc., in small quantities.

Jews are reacting to the rumors about **deportation** of Jews to the Generalgouvernement that have been in circulation for some time now, especially in the eastern regions of the Reich, by relocating to the large cities of Berlin, Breslau, and Leipzig.⁶² The reason the Jews give for this is that they will have better opportunities for **emigration** abroad from the cities. [...]

Cultural Areas

[...]

Quoting of Jewish Authors in Dissertations

As reported from academic circles, the implementation of the ministerial directive stipulating that wherever possible in dissertations, Jewish authors should not be cited, and in the bibliography separate lists for Jewish and non-Jewish authors should be maintained, is encountering certain difficulties, since the authors of dissertations do not always know whether the author is Jewish or can be included under the concept of Jew. In connection with scientists of the postwar period, and even more so in the case of those in the nineteenth century, it is stated that often it is very difficult to establish whether the individual has a Jewish background. For that reason, university academic circles are proposing that the Reich Ministry for Science, Instruction and People's Education should prepare official lists of Jewish scientists and scholars. These could then be consulted not only in the writing of dissertations, but in all other scientific work. This is especially the case for **lawyers** and judges, who often use Jewish commentaries without citing the author.

<3094>

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 22 April 1940
Boberach, p. 1036

Cultural Areas

Negative influence of Catholic pastoral care on the overall mood

[...] Closely associated with these sermons, which suggest to believers the possibility that National Socialist Germany could collapse, are other sermons which refer in a crafty manner to contemporary events. [...] *Kassel* reports on the sermon by a Dominican where he stated: “The Jewish people did not want to believe in the Messiah and had to atone for this, paying a high price. Most of those today in government also permitted unbelief to exist, and have allowed their subjects to fall prey to sin.”⁶³ [...] <3096>

Stapostelle Bielefeld

Daily Report
Bielefeld, 29 April 1940
StA Det, M 1 IP Nr. 637

On 26 April 1940, the Jew Sally Albert *Blum*, b. 19 May 1888 in Schrimm, unmarried, resident in Bielefeld, Koblenzerstr. 4, was arrested. In August 1939, Blum had been admitted to the Municipal Hospital Bielefeld with a foot injury which he had incurred on the job at his place of work. When admitted to the hospital, he neglected to give his Jewish first name "Sally."⁶⁴ For this reason, Sally was placed in a room together with other pure-blooded German patients. When his personal data were elicited once again about 8 days later, Blum then indicated that he is part of the Jewish religious community. Only at this time did it become known that Blum is a Jew. He was then immediately relocated to a room segregated from the pure-blooded German patients. [...] <3099>

•504•
District Governor Main Franconia
Report for April 1940
Würzburg, 10 May 1940
BayHStA, StK 106681

The following are of interest among those apprehended for statements or behavior derogatory or detrimental to the state:

- 1) the arrest of the wife of the senior teacher Hermine Zwick in Bad Kissingen. She is accused of continuing to maintain a friendship that existed even before 1933 with a Jew living in her home, despite repeated warnings and cautioning on the part of her husband. Likewise in her relations with the Jew in public, she showed no restraint and reserve.
- 2) the arrest of the District Court judge (Ret.) Dr. Lohmiller, in Würzburg. He is accused of having defended the Jews in a conversation in a coffee house, and to have stated that the persecution of the Jews was only a National Socialist sham.

<3100>

•505•
NSDAP Munich District, Office for Racial Policy
Activity Report

Munich, 23 April 1940

StA Mü, NSDAP 145

A certain gap in the **Law on the Protection of Blood** has come into greater prominence since the beginning of the war. A substantial number of Jewish **Mischlinge** of the 1st degree are serving as soldiers at the front. Most of them are now attempting to file applications for a marriage permit in accordance with 3 of the 1st Implementation Ordinance to the Law on the Protection of Blood.⁶⁵ These are applications even previously rejected. As a rationale, they argue that they cannot be denied permission to wed if on the other hand they are also doing their duty as soldiers on the front line. In numerous cases, children are also involved, because as is well-known, only a formal marriage is forbidden. Permits for matrimony are not being granted. It is not always easy to make clear that to do without a formal marriage has to be accepted in the interest of the preservation of blood purity, if on the other hand reproduction actually cannot be prevented. <3106>

►506►

Gendarmerie Ober-Erlenbach

The Political Situation

Ober-Erlenbach, 16 April 1940

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 224

Jews

There were no interventions by Jews in the economy noted in the past month. Likewise, there were no violations by Jews of the **Nuremberg Laws** in the past month. No Jews have recently emigrated.⁶⁶ There were also no violent excesses against Jews.⁶⁷ Jews handed in items for inclusion in the contribution of metal objects. <3107>

►507►

Mayor of Bad Nauheim

The Political Situation

Bad Nauheim, 22 May 1940

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 225

[Jews]

A majority of the Jews have sold their property in Bad Nauheim at the insistence of the **Gestapo**.⁶⁸ Some have since left Bad Nauheim or found shelter in the Jewish Home for Men and Women. Recently, the number of Jews present in town has declined substantially as Jews have moved away. Provision of food for the Jews is likewise handled by the Gestapo,⁶⁹ so that the Jewish element is no longer a notable presence in public transport and in economic life. As a result of the new curfew laws,⁷⁰ they are forced to remain more or less out of sight in the city. They are strictly forbidden from entering the public park grounds.

<3116>

•508►

Mayor of Rodheim

The Political Situation
Rodheim, 21 May 1940
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 225

[Jews]

The only Jew here is a Jewish woman aged 65, married to a Christian; there are no concerns or misgivings about this. <3122>

•509►

Mayor of Schwandorf
Report for May 1940
Schwandorf, 31 May 1940
StA Am, BA Burglengenfeld 18048

Political Situation

[...]

Jews

As already reported, there are only three Jewish hags left here. They too will soon disappear. <3124>

►510►

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 27 June 1940
Boberach, pp. 1317 f.

Individual Report

On 48 of the Law on Drafting Wills and Contracts Affecting the Devise of Property of 17 March 1938

Potsdam reports that the decision by a district court has sparked lively critique. The decision involves a case where a probate judge has confirmed to a Jewess in the inheritance certificate she requested that she is the *sole heir* of an estate left behind by a female decedent of *German blood*.

[...] **Volksgenossen** who learned of the decision by the probate judge strongly rejected it, arguing that the choice of a Jewish heir by a pure-blooded German testator can never be in harmony with healthy sentiment of the **Volk**. Even if, as in the present case, there were no available relatives of the decedent, it should have been the sense of duty felt by a Volksgenosse conscious of his responsibility to the **Volksgemeinschaft** to give priority to the community to which he is bound by blood—over and above a member of an element of the population which is alien by blood and Volk. The report notes that in any case, people are at a genuine loss to grasp why the judge in question did not find some possibility to prevent the Jewess from becoming a legal heir. It would have at least been appropriate to investigate the possible existence of distant relatives of the decedent, and if such inquiries were to prove nugatory, to allow the estate to become property of the state. <3126>

►511►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for June 1940
Ansbach, 8 July 1940
BayHStA, StK 106678

Internal Political Situation

[...]

Jews

- 1) The **emigration** of the Jews has remained within the limits prefigured by

the war situation (35 in June contrasted with 54 in May).

The emigration of the Jews must now be channeled via the Baltic states, Russia, and Japan, since in addition to the German ports, the Italian ports likewise can no longer be used for passage to North, Central, and South America. The Jews are also resolute to embark upon this long and burdensome route as well, and wish under all circumstances to finally leave Germany as soon as possible.

2) Applications were filed to have the German citizenship of 104 Jewish emigrants living abroad revoked. At the same time, steps were taken to effect the confiscation of their assets still within the country.

3) The city of Lichtenfels intends to close down the Jewish cemetery and to remove those buried in recent years for reburial in Burgkunstadt. The cemetery grounds, which are a beautiful natural area, will then become available for other uses.

4) In the Jewish cemetery near Lisberg, district Bamberg, the greater majority of the gravestones, about 36, were overturned by force, and in the process a number were badly damaged.⁷¹ The material damage is between 200 and 300 RM. There is as yet no trace whatsoever of the perpetrators. <3129>

Mayor of Heldenbergen

The Political Situation

Heldenbergen, 15 June 1940

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 225

In regard to the Jews, I have now ordered that they be relocated and concentrated in larger Jews' apartments,⁷² with a deadline for completion by 20 June 1940. The apartments vacated will serve to accommodate several Aryan families with numerous children; these families were living in very cramped quarters in their last places of domicile. <3132>

•513•

National Socialist Women's Organization, Munich District

Activity Report
Munich, 1 July 1940
StA Mü, NSDAP 145

13 June 1940: Lecture in the local branch of the National Socialist Women's Organization, Ismaning.

20 June 1940: Lecture in the local branch of the National Socialist Women's Organization, Munich-Thalkirchen.

The lectures opened with an explanation of the situation in Germany as regards population policy.—Growth of the population in Germany and France since 1870—Consequences for the current war. France's "niggerring"—The entire upper social stratum permeated by Jews—Consequences for the war—Agitation in the press—Best pictorial instructional material for Germany. The question of POWs and foreign workers. Interest on the part of Italy in the question of race for maintenance of its own national culture. Intensive education of our youth for inculcating racial pride and a racially aware attitude. Examples from the war showing the high caliber of our race. Urgent appeal to pass on the best genetic qualities of our **Volk**. [...]

In the photographic material, there was an emphasis on counterposing alien national culture to contrast with Germans of all tribes, using photos of Jews, Poles, Negroes, etc. [...] There was great evident interest among all women in attendance, the questions asked were given very positive answers. An average of some 100 persons were in the audience at each lecture. <3135>

•514•
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for July 1940
Ansbach, 7 August 1940
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

On 1 July 1940, the Jewish Community Nuremberg organized a lecture for its members. Under the auspices of the "**Reich Association of Jews in Germany**," Jewish artists also paid a visit to Nuremberg in the course of their lecture tour.⁷³ Songs and poems were presented at the event.

At the end of the previous month, 35 gravestones were overturned and damaged at the Jewish cemetery in Zeckendorf, rural district Bamberg.⁷⁴ The

damage caused is estimated to be between 400 and 500 RM. Inquiries initiated indicate that the culprits are four boys still in their youth, who explained their action by their "antipathy to the Jewish race." [...]

Since Jewish **emigration** is now possible only overseas (to the Americas) and it is impossible to sail from Central European and West European ports, the outward voyage must now be via the Baltic countries, Russia, and Japan. This route is decidedly longer and more difficult than the earlier one, and elderly persons are ill-suited for such a journey. That is probably the main reason for the quantitative drop in the number of Jewish emigrants from the local service area.

No Jews were arrested in the month here reported on. <3139>

Mayor of Bad Nauheim

The Political Situation
Bad Nauheim, 3 August 1940
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 228

[Jews]

A further number of the Jews still resident in Bad Nauheim have moved away.⁷⁵ The remainder are almost all housed in the Jewish homes for the elderly, and are not out on the streets. <3141>

•3141►

NSDAP Gau Munich-Upper Bavaria, Office for Racial Policy

Activity Report
Munich, 15 August 1940
StA Mü, NSDAP 145

[...]

Memorandum

Today, 10 June 1940, the Jew *Levinger* appeared. He is married to a pure-blooded German woman, and their children are half-Jews.⁷⁶ The children are members of the **Hitler Youth**; in addition, he claims to be disabled, war-blind (which was not verified here). He wished to be examined by a German doctor. The University Polyclinic declined his request.

The incident proves one again the fact that acceptance of **Mischlinge** of the 2nd and likewise of 1st degree into the Jungvolk⁷⁷ induces Jewish parents to make demands which we cannot by any means intend to fulfill. <3144>

•517►

City of Münster
Report from the Chronicle of the War
Münster, 2 July 1940
StdA Ms, Amt 43 E Nr. 33

One of those in the crowd that had gathered said to us: "Just look at that! This first bomb is lying right out in front of the building where a few years ago the **Gau** Air Raid Defense Headquarters was set up. I know that the two Jews Dr. Rose and Dr. L. Gumprich got a permit to emigrate to England. Who else should have reported on the location of the 'Gau Air Raid Defense Headquarters' but such Jews. This war is certainly a Jewish war, with the help of English soldiers, against Germany. That's pretty evident already from the bomb [that hit] next to the Gau Air Raid Defense Headquarters." Furthermore, he stated that he did not consider the suspicion that immigrant Jews were behind the bombing raids to be nervous old-wives' tales. Anybody who assumes that knows nothing about the spitefulness of the Jewish psyche. He said that this bomb dropped on Ludgeri Square was proof for him that the British know very exactly that when the Jews left here, this is where the Gau Air Raid Defense Headquarters was located. <3145>

Gendarmerie Hammelburg
Report for August 1940/doct
Hammelburg, 29 August 1940
StA Wü, LRA Hammelburg 4881

General Political Situation

[...] The Jews are very reclusive, withdrawn from society. They fulfill the required obligations for reporting to the authorities. They earn their livelihoods by occasional jobs in the villages and on farms. <3157>

•519•

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 26 August 1940
Boberach, pp. 1505 ff.

Cultural Areas

Impact and Reception of General Propaganda, Press, and Radio in the Period 23–26 August 1940

[...]

5. The population is dealing relatively frequently with press reports about the *relation of the Generalgouvernement to the Reich* subsequent to the speech by Reich minister Dr. Frank (e.g., Kiel, Breslau, Dresden, Weimar). In a number of instances, the desire was expressed for more information about internal developments in the Generalgouvernement (for example, solution of the **Jewish Question**).

<3149>

►520►

[SD Main District or District Office in the Bielefeld Area]

Report
n.p., 1 September 1940
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 6

Folkdom and Public Health of the Volk

Folkdom

[...] There are rumors that the preponderant majority of the *Jews still resident in Poland* are deployed in constructing an Eastern Wall against the Soviet Union, and that due to the climatic and other prevailing conditions there, up to 50 percent will perish in the course of the summer. An additional substantial percentage, it is rumored, will likely fall victim to the same conditions in the course of the coming winter. The *Poles* themselves, it is said, are being sent in the *Generalgouvernement* in collective transports to wild forlorn areas, and there will likewise fall prey to certain death. It has not to date been possible to identify those who are spreading this rumor. The local **Gestapo** office has been informed by this office. <3162>

◀521▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for September 1940
Ansbach, 6 October 1940
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

- 1) The Jewish teachers in Bavaria held a conference in Nuremberg that dealt with instruction in the **schools**.
- 2) The Jewish medical practitioners⁷⁸ licensed in Nuremberg and Fürth had a discussion together with a representative of the “**Reich Association of the Jews** in Berlin.” It dealt solely with questions of medical care for the Jews and accounting.
- 3) A segment of the Jews from the western evacuation areas have returned in the course of the month to their former places of domicile. In Nuremberg and Fürth, there are some 60 Jews from the **Saarland** who have not as yet been permitted to return.⁷⁹
- 4) In the report period, 20 Jews have emigrated (compared with 11 in July and 10 in August). Recently, several Jews emigrated to America via Spain and

Portugal without any special difficulty. If this option for departure also remains open in the future, it is likely there will be increased **emigration**, since many Jews shy away from the difficult route via Russia and Japan.

5) Papers were filed to have the German citizenship of 35 Jewish emigrants living abroad revoked. At the same time, steps were taken to effect the confiscation of their assets still within the country.

6) There were no arrests of Jews in this period. The Jews in general behaved in a reserved manner. There were no reported cases here of provocative behavior on their part. <3165>

Emigration Consultation Office Cologne
Report for July, August, and September 1940
Cologne, n.d.
HStA Dü, RW 36–20

[...] The Jews wishing to emigrate who consulted this office in the report period were largely the elderly, wives now living alone, some with children, desirous of reuniting with family members who have preceded them abroad. As already mentioned, Jewish **emigration**, oriented due to the current situation almost exclusively to countries overseas, the Far East, and in a few instances also to **Palestine**, faces exceptional barriers as a result of the unfavorable transport links. Especially those emigrating to America are often placed in an awkward situation, since the outward journey via Russia and Japan has recently become more difficult. As the report has noted, Japan cannot or will not provide more space on ships, and Soviet Russia is creating difficulties in connection with a transit visa, which even when a note verbale from the Foreign Office is available, is not always issued. Applications for obtaining a note verbale have thus declined markedly. A total of 37 applications were completed and sent via the national office to the Foreign Office; in 33 cases, the destination was the United States, in two cases Brazil and two bound for Shanghai. The 37 applicants had 31 accompanying relatives.

Recently a new option for departing for America has opened up via the West. American passenger ships are providing transit from Lisbon to North, Central, and South America. [...] <3168>

SD District Office Bielefeld

Situation Report
Bielefeld, 8 October 1940
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 14

Film

In the realm of **film**, everyone is talking about the superb motion picture *Jud Süß*.⁸⁰ All segments of the population are enthusiastic in their praise for the dazzling performance of Ferdinand Marian as Jud Süß; *especial* recognition is expressed for the outstanding and brilliant empathy of Werner Krauß with the difficult role of the secretary Levi and the **Rabbi**, who both embody the filthy type of Eastern Jew.⁸¹ It is actually superfluous to say anything about the content of the film, since it is totally in keeping with current popular sentiment. Proof of that is a comment by a worker: "Why weren't we shown such movies earlier? Here you see the Jew in reality as he actually is. I felt like wringing his neck."

By comparison with this stellar event in the field of cinematic production, all films being shown in the other theaters quite naturally pale into insignificance.

<3176>

•524•

SD District Office Bielefeld

Situation Report
Bielefeld, 15 October 1940
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 14

Film

If attendance at the **film** *Jud Süß* last week could be called outstanding, now it surpasses all expectations. Probably no film has ever had such an effect on broad circles of the public like this one. Even **Volksgenossen** who before today have rarely if ever set foot in a movie theater are keen not to miss this film. It is imperative for the movie to continue to be shown in Bielefeld for one or two more weeks after the present extension. <3177>

◀525▶

Stapostelle Bielefeld

Daily Report
Bielefeld, 18 October 1940
StA Det, M1 IP Nr. 638

Other Matters

[...] In the night hours of 14/15 October 1940, a number of handwritten handbills were found again in Bad Oeynhausen in various streets, entrances to shops, and placed in mailboxes.

The paper was probably taken from an ordinary notepad. The slips of paper have the following written in pencil:

“Flyer. We Jews are not mass murderers like Adolf Hitler, who is chasing millions into a war. Down with the mass murderer.”

“Adolf Hitler is the murderer of the German people, Adolf the Ripper. We Jews are not.”

“What has this man Hitler brought us? Adversity and calamity. What more will he bring us? Death. That is Hitler’s plan. Hail to Moscow.”

The back side of this handbill has an inscription: “Flyer from Hamburg.”
[...]

<3178>

►526►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for October 1940
Ansbach, 6 November 1940
BayHStA, StK 106678

Jews

[...] In Bamberg, the engraver Josef Friedrich Aigner was arrested. Aigner, originally a Roman Catholic, converted in 1921 to Judaism⁸² and also had himself circumcised. He then married a Jewish woman. His two children were also baptized in the Jewish manner [sic] and brought up as Jews. In 1939, he returned to the Catholic faith. Without a political security check, he managed to find work in an armaments factory, special class. He was arrested because when Aigner was employed, attention should have been given to the possibility that he might utilize the knowledge gained in work at the armaments plant to the detriment of Germany.

<3180>

Mayor of Lindenfels

Report for October
Lindenfels, 8 November 1940
HStA Wi, 483/6317

The film *Jud Süß* is a big hit and it is only regrettable that it takes such a very long time until such films are shown to the rural population. <3183>

•528•

NSDAP Gau Munich-Upper Bavaria, Office for Racial Policy

Report

Munich, 14 October 1940

Broszat, Vol. I, pp. 482 f.

[...] The present utilization of our office hour by Jews and **Mischlinge** led us some time ago to prepare a card catalog for Mischlinge along with the catalog for Jews.—As a result of experience gained here, it has proved to be desirable that we gain information and come to conclusions extending beyond the person inquiring, and bring our experience to the attention of head offices of other **Gau** regions. In this way, the most comprehensive and complete registration of Jewish Mischlinge will become practicable to the extent that these Jews are interested in our legislation. Since there is often an attempt to mask the degree of Jewish genetic background, the creation of such a catalog for Mischlinge comprising the entire Reich is of special value.—Thus, the catalog will not only include Jews who appear as Mischlinge of the 1st degree, but also Mischlinge of the 2nd degree who would like to be taken as pure-blooded German persons. [...]

Recently, we have noted in our office hour that Jewish Mischlinge regularly show a great interest in the currently valid regulations regarding their marriage or changes soon to be expected. [...] <3184>

♦529♦

[SD Main District Office or District Office Bielefeld Area]

Report
n.p., 31 October 1940
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 4

Administration and Law

Administration

[...] The Detmold municipal administration wished, as the city of Berlin enacted in its police ordinance of 28 June 1940, to fundamentally regulate the ***shopping time of the Jews***, in order to prevent a situation where German women are forced against their will to have to do their shopping simultaneously together with Jewesses. In the draft of a police ordinance for Detmold, the shopping time for the Jews in all stores was designated to be 3–4 p.m., and at the weekly open market, from 12 to 1 p.m. However, the issuance of this police ordinance was rejected by the responsible county commissioner.

Since the complaint that the shopping time for Jews has not been set for specific designated hours has often been voiced from other quarters as well, the wish is frequently expressed that such a regulation should be enacted with uniform validity for the entire Reich. <3187>

◀530▶

[SD Main District Office or District Office Bielefeld Area]

Report
n.p., 30 November 1940
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 4

Administration and Law

Administration

[...] In the city of Brakel, a *Jew* married to an **Aryan** wife⁸³ was allotted a ration of *pure coffee*. After objections from the population, the municipality, referring to the decree of the Reich Minister for Food and Agriculture of 11 March 1940—Gesch.Z. II C 1–1940—declared that it had no possibility for excluding this Jew from the coffee allotment. The population then expressed its clear dissatisfaction with this regulation, and people expect that it will be altered in a form which does proper justice to the actual prevailing conditions.⁸⁴
<3197>

◀531▶

RSHA, Office **III** (SD)

Report

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 28 November 1940
Boberach, pp. 1810 ff., 1818 ff.

Cultural Areas

[...]

On the Current Films in the Theaters

1) According to similar reports from everywhere in the Reich, the movie *Jud Süß* continues to enjoy popularity and has been received by the public with an exceptional degree of positive concord. Seldom has the general opinion about a film been so uniform as in the case of *Jud Süß*. Admittedly, it goes unusually far in its realistic portrayal of disgusting episodes, but is completely convincing in its artistic conception, and compelling, its plot literally “keeps you on the edge of your seat.”

The overall impact of the movie on the popular mood is well expressed in the spontaneous remark: “You feel like you want to wash your hands.” In reports from Leipzig, Breslau, Oppeln, Salzburg, Potsdam, Reichenberg, Karlsruhe, Troppau, Dortmund, and elsewhere, it is pointed out that parents and teachers are in virtual total agreement on the question as to whether it is good to bring *young people* to see this movie. Because of its exceptionally strong psychological impact, they nearly all say “no, not for the young.” Reports are also in agreement that in the case of this film, as contrasted with the majority of the other movies currently in the theaters, people are primarily emphasizing and discussing the *artistic performances* put in by the actors. These, as a report from Nuremberg puts it, are “alarmingly genuine” as far as the portrayal of Jews is concerned. Precisely in this respect, *Jud Süß* is deemed to be far more powerful and convincing than the movie *Die Rothschilds* (Berlin). Aside from the rape scene, among the scenes that have most caught the attention of the population is the one featuring the entry of the Jews, with bag and baggage, to Stuttgart. Following this scene in particular, there have repeatedly been open *demonstrations against Jewry* during the showing of the film.⁸⁵ Thus, in Berlin, there were shouts of “Chase the Jews from the Kurfürstendamm! Let’s get the last Jew out of Germany!”

The popular view regarding the personal character of the *Duke of Württemberg* is divided. Based on previous observed statements, the predominant view is that the duke is almost as dastardly as *Jud Süß*, and that his

death is a just punishment, though unfortunately it comes too early in the film. Because of that, it was quite impossible to instruct him as to the necessary view he should have of Jud Süß and Jewry. [...]

Administration and Law

[...]

Jews as Judgment Creditors

National Socialist legislation prohibits *Jews* from owning or acquiring land in Germany. Subsequent to these regulations, almost all land previously in Jewish hands in Germany has been Aryanized.⁸⁶ But in numerous cases today, *Jews* are still *confiscation creditors of German land*, either as first creditor or as intervenor creditor in compulsory auction sales. So the strange situation exists that *Jews* in Germany are no longer permitted to own or acquire land, yet can keep land held in confiscation, and are thus able to arrange for a parcel of land to be sold by forced auction.

According to available reports, experts think it is proper to put an end to this situation. A district court has dismissed such an intervenor proceeding brought by a Jewish creditor still resident in Germany who did not agree to a voluntary retraction of his application for compulsory auction. The court was of the opinion that it was at odds with popular sentiment to allow a Jewish creditor even to impose a garnishment on German land. [...] <3188>

Emigration Consultation Office Cologne
Report for October, November, and December 1940
Cologne, n.d.
HStA Dü, RW 36–20

Due to the effects of the war in Europe and overseas, the Consultation Office has experienced a further declining tendency in the number of persons seeking its services. In the report period, a total of 253 (590) cases were dealt with and concluded, of these 101 through oral contact and 152 in writing. The figures for the individual months are as follows, and show little variance: October 71, November 95, December 87 cases. 165 = 65 percent of all cases involved Jews. In the previous quarter, the Jewish percentage was still 90 percent.

Comparing consultation figures for the separate quarters of calendar 1940 yields the following results:

	1st quarter	2nd quarter	3rd quarter	4th quarter	Total
Oral	525	750	320	101	1,696
Written	378	268	270	152	1,068
	903	1,018	590	253	2,764
Of these, Jews	733	926	514	165	2,378
					= 86%

<3203>

<3203>

State Public Prosecutor Karlsruhe
Report for August to November 1940
Karlsruhe, 6 January 1941
Schadt, pp. 296, 298

General Crime

[...] During the deportation of the Jews from Baden (22 October 1940),⁸⁷ there were a number of **suicides**. In Mannheim, there were eight such cases. [...]

<3190>

•534►

Chief Public Prosecutor Mannheim
Report for October and November 1940
Mannheim, 10 December 1940
GLA Ka, 309/1210

Other Matters

On the morning of 22 October 1940, the Jews in Mannheim were removed by the **Gestapo**.⁸⁸ In this connection, there were a number of **suicides** in the eastern neighborhoods of the city. On that morning, the following persons took their own lives:

1. and 2. the married couple Gustav Israel *Lefo*, 74 years old, factory owner, and Luise Sara *Lefo*, née Lindemann, 65 years old, in Mannheim, Werderstr. 20, poisoning by coal gas;



Figure 33. Street scene, mass deportation of the Jews from Baden and the Palatinate to the Gurs (France) concentration camp on 22–23 October 1940. Stadtarchiv Mannheim.

- 3) and 4) Klara Sara *Scharjf*, née Strauss, 64 years old, and her brother Otto

Israel Strauss, 54 years old, in Mannheim, Hildastr. 6, poisoning by coal gas.

5) Olga Sara Strauss, née Simons, 61 years old, wife of the **lawyer** Dr. Sigmund Israel Strauss, in Mannheim, Renzstr. 3, poisoning by sleeping tablets; her spouse Dr. Strauss also attempted suicide, but was not successful;

6) Jenny Sara Dreifuß, 47 years old, single, professor (Ret.), in Mannheim, Lameystr. 13, poisoning by sleeping tablets;

7) Nanette Sara Feitler, née Süßmann, 73 years old, widow, in Mannheim, Hebelstr. 21, by hanging from the lavatory door;

8) the merchant Alfred Israel Bodenheimer, 69 years old, single, in Mannheim, Hildastr. 6, poisoning by sleeping tablets. [...] <3195>



Figure 34. Deportation of the Jews from Baden and the Palatinate to the Gurs (France) concentration camp on 22–23 October 1940. “In this connection, there were a number of suicides.” See 4534. Photo of an elderly woman. Stadtarchiv Mannheim.

•535•

RSHA, Office **III** (SD)

Report

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 20 January 1941
Boberach, pp. 1917 ff.

Cultural Areas

[...]

Reception of the Political Enlightenment Film Der ewige Jude

According to reports from all parts of the Reich, the documentary **film** *Der ewige Jude* was awaited by the general public with a great sense of anticipation as a result of the detailed advance notices in the press and on radio. According to the numerous available reports, members of the audience repeatedly stressed that the pictorial documents of this film, with its broad panorama of the life and dealings of the Jews, fully satisfied the high level of expectation, and that the film's impact was more enlightening, convincing, and compelling than many anti-Jewish tractates and writings. All recognized the superb artistry in the film in molding the available pictorial material into an integral whole. Audiences responded in a particularly positive way, as reported from Munich, Koblenz, Schwerin, Danzig, Halle, Königsberg, Kiel, Neustadt/Weinstraße, Leipzig, Karlsbad, Potsdam, and Berlin, to the *cartographic and statistical presentations* on the spread of the Jews (the comparison with rats was emphasized as being especially compelling), and the extension of their influence in all spheres of life and all countries around the world. The pictures of Jews in the United States were the object of particular interest. People were surprised how openly Jewish influence and their positions of power in the U.S. were presented (Schwerin, Karlsbad). Especially impressive were those scenes in which the Jew was shown "in the original," and then "in a European version" as man of the world (Leipzig). Indeed, the *contrasting* images juxtaposed (Jewish ghetto—procession of German youth at the Reich Party Convention) were exceptionally striking in their effect. According to a report from Munich, there was an outburst of enthusiastic applause, buoyed by a sense of liberation, during the film when the *Führer* was shown at one point in a speech where he predicted that a new war could only lead to the end and destruction of Jewry.

Especially convincing for all was the *description of the development of the family Rothschild*, and particularly the proof that the individual family members became naturalized citizens in a number of countries, thus gaining a foothold as recognized citizens in the world's most important states. As was evident from

numerous conversations, this presentation and these contrasts of types of Jews in all parts of the world made it strikingly clear that “once a Jew, always a Jew,” despite all external adaptation to states, languages, and areas of life.

On the basis of the exceptionally great promotion for the movie and the impressive artistry of its documentary pictures, the initial screenings of the film enjoyed *unusually large audiences*. But it was reported that interest among the population often soon flagged in some localities, since the film had come all too quickly on the heels of the major cinematic work *Jud Süß*.⁸⁹ Because a large proportion of the population had seen the movie *Jud Süß*, people very often assumed, on the basis of the existing reports, that the documentary *Der ewige Jude* could not offer anything that was essentially new. For example, reports from Innsbruck, Dortmund, Aachen, Karlsbad, Neustadt/Weinstraße, Bielefeld, Frankfurt/Main, and Munich agree that often only the politically more active segment of the public attended the showing of the documentary film, while a number of typical moviegoers stayed away, and in some places there was word-of-mouth critique of the film and its powerfully realistic presentation of Jewry.

In conversations, the disgusting character of what was presented as such, and most particularly the **ritual slaughter** scenes, were repeatedly cited as the main reason not to see the movie. The film was described again and again as a terrible “strain on the nerves” (Neustadt/Weinstraße). Thus, film attendance dropped off considerably in some places, especially in northwestern, western, and southern Germany, and in the **Ostmark**. According to reports from western Germany and also from Breslau, individual members of the audience often left the theater in sheer disgust during the projection. Statements were made such as “OK, we saw *Jwd Süß*, and now we have more than enough of all this Jewish filth!” In certain instances, women and even some males are reported to have fainted during the showing of the ritual slaughter scenes. Frequently people said that *Jud Süß* had already portrayed Jewry in such a convincing way that there had actually been no need for these more gross proofs presented in the documentary film shown immediately thereafter. By contrast, very numerous statements are reported, principally from politically active circles of the population, stressing that the movie was an exceptionally impressive and compelling documentation, received with great gratitude by a thankful public. <3205>

•536•

SD District Office Höxter

Film Program

Höxter, 7 February 1941

The film *Jud Süß* shown a short time ago in Höxter has recently also been projected in the other cities in this area. The attendance figures were everywhere far in excess of the average, and in some places broke all records. The only criticism came from some women who stated that the hangman's scene had been too realistic in its portrayal. It was, some said, enough to make a person's flesh creep.

The movie *Der ewige Jude* was very poorly attended in the other localities as well. Because it was only a documentary and not a feature film, people said it did not strike any particular positive chord. What was presented was well and good, correct, but in the form chosen seemed a bit boring. <3215>

•537•

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for January 1941

Ansbach, 6 February 1941

BayHStA, StK 106679

Jews

1) In the framework of **Jewish Winter Relief**, the Israelitic **Community** Nuremberg organized a so-called "Spiritual Winter Relief" on 5 January for the Jews in its care in the gym of the Jewish grammar school in Nuremberg. Some 350 persons, most elderly, were in attendance. Members of the Jewish Community sang songs and recited poetry.

2) In the period of this report, 5 Jews emigrated (compared with 2 in the previous month).⁹⁰

3) Papers were filed to have the German citizenship of 22 Jewish emigrants living abroad revoked. At the same time, steps were taken to effect the confiscation of their assets still within the country.

4) Arrests: *Flörsheim*, Gustav Israel, Jew by race and religion, in Bayreuth, for reasons of forbidden contact with a POW; and *Bohm*, Karl Israel, Jew by race and religion, in Hof/Saale, because of violation of 4 and 2 of the 2nd Ordinance for Implementation of the Law on Changing Family and First Names of 17 August 1940,⁹¹ due to prohibited commercial activity.

Charges were filed against the following:

Jurzmann, Julius Israel, Jew by race and religion, in Fürth i.B., because he

attempted to send a letter via Switzerland to an enemy country abroad.

Silberthau, Ernestine Sara, née Böhm, Jewess by race and religion, in Nuremberg, due to violation of the Ordinance for Implementation of the Law on Changing Family and First Names of 17 August 1940.⁹²

Warnings were given to the following:

Schmidt, Erna Sara, née Goldreich, divorced Silbermann, Jewess by race and religion, in Nuremberg, because, without obtaining a formal exemption from the obligatory curfew, she went out during the night hours to an inn together with her pure-blooded German husband, who is at present serving in the Wehrmacht.⁹³

<3208>

•538•

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia Report for February 1941

Ansbach, 5 March 1941

BayHStA, StK 106679

Jews

The Israelitic **Community** Nuremberg organized a closed event of the Jewish **Kulturbund** on 24 February 1941 in the Jewish sports hall in Nuremberg. The event was attended by 400 Jews, in the main schoolchildren.⁹⁴

2) On 3 February 1941, there was a meeting of the Jewish teachers of northern Bavaria in the school building of the Israelitic Community Nuremberg. The head of the Jewish School Department Berlin, Paula Sara *Fürst*, spoke about educational work in the Jewish **school** and its preparation for Jewish migration overseas and promotion of the idea of settlement. There were ca. 36 persons in attendance.

3) In February, 11 Jews emigrated. The number of telegrams from abroad dealing in their content with Jewish **emigration** has risen substantially. The emigration quota of the U.S. Consulate for Jewish emigrants has been significantly increased, so that an increase in the number of emigrants in the foreseeable future is likely.

4) The Jew by race and religion *Wurzman*, Julius Israel, formerly a merchant, was sentenced in a judgment handed down by the District Court Fürth of 31 January 1941 to a fine of 100 RM for violation of 2 and 4 of the Ordinance on Communication of 2 April 1940. In November 1940, he attempted to send letters

to relatives in a hostile country abroad.

5) The Jew by race and religion [name withheld], Nuremberg, was sentenced to four years in prison by a judgment of the County Court Nuremberg-Fürth of 27 September 1937, found guilty of the prolonged crime of **race defilement**. He served his sentence up until 4 February 1941 in the prison in Hammeln.

Since in his case it can be safely assumed that despite this punishment, he will likely seek to continue with his activity of race defilement, he was placed in **protective custody**. <3218>

•539•

SD District Office Kitzingen

Situation Report

Kitzingen, 28 March 1941

StA Wü, SD Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 17

From the town of Dettelbach, there is a complaint against *the behavior of Volksgenossen toward Jews*. Jews are supposedly being supplied with poultry by contacts behind the scenes. In some instances, Jews take milk directly from the farmer. Some suggest that a regulation be enacted stipulating that Volksgenossen, in particular females, must cease any and all contact with Jews.⁹⁵ <3227>

•540•

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 6 March 1941
Boberach, pp. 2075 ff.

Cultural Areas

The Situation in the Area of Popular Music

In recent months, there have been more and more reports, independent of each other, coming in from the most diverse offices in the Reich, that bands are increasingly playing jazzlike music similar to the type of Jewish jazz from the System Era.⁹⁶ [...]

Initially several examples:

[...] In *Düsseldorf*, the band *Carlo Minari*, that performs live in the Coffee House Mainz, was the object of complaints, especially by *members of the Wehrmacht*. Among other negative voices expressing critique, one soldier writes about the band as follows:

“I visited Coffee House Mainz on Sunday afternoon, where the Minari band was playing Jewish music and hot stuff like crazy. The wild ‘Tiger rag’ was announced. As a German musician and Wehrmacht soldier, I protested that when we soldiers come in looking for some relaxation and decent, pleasant music, what’s offered to us in German restaurants with live music is some decadent Jewish-English pseudo-art.” [...]

From *southern Germany*, it is reported that Party circles and circles in the population that enjoy music have recently been indignant about the fact that popular songs with a definite Jewish beat are repeatedly on offer in popular music. [...]

<3222>

•541►

NSDAP District Office for [Ideological] Training Lörrach

Activity Report
Lörrach, 25 March 1941
GLA Ka, 465 d Nr. 123

Books

[...] The collection of books by the NSDAP for the Wehrmacht had a satisfactory result. [...]

A whole stack of items from Jewish ownership, one can't exactly say "books," was delivered to the district head office. The really good books left over after the Jews were removed were soon auctioned off and were gone. What still remains has to be handled with gloves and a protective mask. In the main, these are prayer books and legal texts. The "material," including some prayer scrolls,⁹⁷ is stored down in the basement of the district head office. As soon as time permits, I will proceed to sift through this material in order to separate a portion for the **Gau** archive. <3228>

•542►

City of Münster

Report for War Chronicle
Münster, 22 March 1941
Std Ms, Amt 43 E Nr. 33

Today many have finally come around to the correct view of the Jews, persons who earlier thought quite differently. A dentist is furious that the Jewish tenants in his house still have not been evicted. He asks what can be done to achieve that.—In the evening over a glass of beer, the master painter said that today he's going to try to get a Jew out of his house. He says it is clear to him now that the Jews were responsible for almost every war. His contention is that you can't expect that any upstanding person who understands this can continue to live under the same roof with these people. So he thinks it's high time to haul together all the Jews still around Münster and to put them in a **ghetto**. Better still, it's time to remove them all from Münster. He told me his father said that in an earlier era, Münster did not permit any Jews at all inside the city. <3232>

•543•

SD District Office Königshofen
Report on Rumors and Political Jokes
Königshofen, 28 April 1941
StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg 18

Jokes

[...] The Führer is Standing at the coast and gazing out to sea. Along comes a Jew and asks him: "What are you looking at there? Bet you probably don't know how you can get across, right? If you had let us stay in Germany, we'd have revealed to you the mystery of the Red Sea."⁹⁸ <3234>

•544•

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for April 1941
Ansbach, 6 May 1941
BayHStA, StK 106679

General

[...]

Jews

1.) There were no meetings or other events organized by Jewish associations or organizations in the month of April.⁹⁹

Seven Jews emigrated (as compared with five in the previous month).¹⁰⁰

Papers were filed to have the German citizenship of 18 Jewish emigrants living abroad revoked (31 the previous month). At the same time, steps were taken to confiscate their assets still within the country. [...]

3.) In mid-April, some 90 gravestones were knocked over and damaged at the Jewish cemetery in Erlangen by perpetrators whose identity is still unknown.¹⁰¹

<3241>

◀545▶

Gendarmerie Oberthulba
Political and Economic Situation in the Service District
Oberthulba, 30 April 1941
StA Wü, LRA Hammelburg 4881

General Political Situation

[...] Jews are punctual in fulfilling their obligation to report. Their behavior is reserved so that they are generally unobtrusive. <3245>

•546►

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 12 June 1941
Boberach, pp. 2393, 2397

General Matters

[...]

On reactions to the Weekly Newsreel in the Theaters from 17–23 and 24–30 May 1941¹⁰²

[...] A number of people commented on the pictures showing *Jews deployed in clearing operations in Belgrade*, saying it was high time to teach the Jews—who were finally getting some direct physical experience of what people understand by work in Germany—some “German tempo” on the job (Dresden).¹⁰³ Over and beyond a bit of hilarious laughter following various reports, it was these pictures in particular that again sparked sharp criticism of the Jews remaining in Europe, with whom the German authorities in the occupied territories now have to deal.¹⁰⁴ <3253>

◀547▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 16 June 1941
Boberach, pp. 2407, 2411 f.

General Matters

[...]

On the State of the Return of Stolen German Cultural Goods from the Occupied Territories

[...] The *return of cultural goods from Jewish ownership to Germany* has, it is stated, nearly been completed. In this connection, on the basis of the protest from the French government, there has been repeated discussion about whether there are formal legal reservations regarding this repatriation of goods, or whether the essential political viewpoints are what is decisive. An associated question that has also been broached concerns compensation to France for cultural goods brought to Germany. In terms of the decisive political viewpoints, the salient aspect is that all Jewish property in France must be viewed as assets belonging to an enemy adversary. For this reason, its transfer to the possession of the German Reich can never be via any mode of payment, but rather only by means of *confiscation*. An advance payment is likewise not an acceptable solution, since this would mean that French or Jewish claims to ownership are recognized. In the view of the experts, a purely businesslike assessment of the value of the Jewish collections entails huge difficulties, due to their large volume, and even a cautious appraisal of value would result in very substantial sums of money. It is stated that now a decision is deemed necessary to finally clarify this question as well. <3254>

«548»

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 26 June 1941
Boberach, pp. 2450 f.

Administration and Law

[...]

Reports on attempts by Jews to conceal their origin by claiming they were illegitimate children

Recent reports suggest that Jews increasingly are trying to conceal their Jewish origin by maintaining that they were the offspring of an extramarital union (for example, *Munich, Dresden*). Prague has also reported something similar, noting that for the area of the Protectorate, a general observation is valid: namely that women of **Aryan** descent married¹⁰⁵ to Jews or already divorced from them have given sworn testimony in court that children they had given birth to were not fathered by their Jewish spouse, but rather were the product of an extramarital relation with an Aryan male. In addition, Jewesses married to Jews were trying to prove that their children were not fathered by their Jewish husband, but rather by some Aryan man, a person no longer possible to locate or already deceased. [...]

<3256>

►549►

Gendarmerie Aufseß
Report for June 1941
Aufseß, 26 June 1941
StA Ba, K 8 Nr. 9206 I

The entire population feels confident about the new military complications with the Soviet Union. The National Socialists welcome with a sense of joyous anticipation the defeat of Bolshevism and thus of international Jewry,¹⁰⁶ and consider it of great world-historical importance. <3260>

►550►

Mayor of Herchen
Consolidating Jews Under One Roof

Herchen, 25 June 1941

HStA Dü, RW 18–18

In the town of Herchen, only the Blumenthal family is still in residence, consisting of the married couple and their two daughters, both minors. They are living in an **Aryan** house. I have learned that in the town of Rosbach, there is a Jews' house with a still vacant apartment. I consulted the mayor Richter there; he rejects the idea of Jews moving to the area. His rationale is that he already has enough Jews living in his district. I hereby wish to request that the office there instruct the mayor in Rosbach to release the apartment so that the Jews' family here can relocate and move in.¹⁰⁷ <3261>

•551►

Mayor of Ober-Erlenbach

The Political Situation
Ober-Erlenbach, 30 June 1941
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 238

[Jews]

Still no decision regarding the dejudification by compulsion.¹⁰⁸ <3262>

◀552▶

Mayor of Siegburg

Consolidating Jews in the City of Siegburg Together Under One Roof

Siegburg, 4 June 1941

HStA Dü, RW 18–18

Currently in the city of Siegburg there are still 82 Jews in residence, living in 21 Jewish apartments and houses. [...] To eliminate this insufferable situation, I hereby request that Jews be consolidated, employing requisite measures of the Gestapo, in five Jews' houses. The Aryan tenants still residing in these five Jews' houses have declared their readiness to move out, especially since better living quarters can be offered to them in the Jewish places of residence to be vacated. I have initiated negotiations on this and it is probable that there will be no difficulties. In implementing this measure, 16 houses where Jews now live would become vacant for the general housing market. They would then be available exclusively to Aryans.[...]

For the rest, with reference to my discussion with Detective Inspector Pitz of this morning, I request authorization to carry out the planned measure regarding consolidation of the Jews in the city of Sieburg. <3263>

•553•

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 10 July 1941
Boberach, p. 2505

Cultural Areas

Reception and Impact of the General Guidance of Propaganda, Press, and Radio in the Period 8-10 July 1941

From all parts of the Reich, reports have been received that the *realistic coverage of the atrocities of the Bolsheviks* as given in written reports and photos has had a profound effect on the population and generated a sense of disgust (for example, in Königsberg, Bremen, Chemnitz, Cologne, Karlsruhe, Frankfurt/Main, Munich, Salzburg, Breslau, Potsdam, Vienna, Thorn, Düsseldorf, Posen, Innsbruck, Allenstein, Weimar, Troppau, Liegnitz). That is especially true in the case of the murders of the Ukrainians in Lvov. It is reported that the impression is being heightened ever more by the fact that *field post letters* confirm the presentations in the press and on radio, and in some cases go even further than the propaganda. There are various reports that especially among women, there is heartfelt concern that their husbands and sons could fall victim to the concerted sniper war being waged by the Bolsheviks. Frequently people ask what fate may befall our soldiers who are taken prisoner, and how we are dealing with the Bolsheviks ("They are no longer even human beings"). Based on the view that the Jews are the real ones pulling the strings behind the scenes,¹⁰⁹ demands are being voiced in some quarters that the Jews in the Reich be dealt with in a radical way.¹¹⁰ <3266>

◀554▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)
Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 17 July 1941
Boberach, pp. 2530 f., 2535 ff.

Cultural Areas

[...]

The Reception of the Weekly Newsreel of 12–18 July 1941¹¹¹

[...] All reports received confirm that the *images of the victims of Bolshevik*

terror in Lvov have been the object of the greatest discussion, since in their gruesome realism they far exceed the effect of previous press and radio reportage on the Bolshevik atrocities. In numerous available statements, it is noted that only a small number of these pictures approach what women consider to be the external limit of what is tolerable. By contrast, *the by far most common conviction* expressed is *that precisely such pictures of the true nature of Bolshevism and Jewry, in all their realistic horror, must today be shown again and again*, so that each and every **Volksgenosse** may be convinced, through this cool and objective factual material, of the danger which Jewish Bolshevism¹¹² harbors, and be given a palpable visual impression of the ultimate meaning and import of the German struggle. [...]

Administration and Law

The Jews in the Sphere of Legislation (see “Reports from the Reich,” 24 April 1941)¹¹³

As has already been reported before, there is repeated criticism in the population and in expert circles about the legal position of the Jews. They say that in various respects, this has not as yet been regulated in a manner in tune with popular sentiment. In recent reports as well, there has been reference to the unsatisfactory legal situation of the Jews in regard to certain questions. And it is noted that precisely now, when the population has developed a clear picture of the ultimate consequences of Jewish world domination, it is impossible for people to comprehend and condone the legal equality that still partially exists between German **Volksgenossen** and Jews.

One of the points repeatedly criticized by the population is the lack of uniformity in legal judgments on the *question of whether Jewish workers have a right to a vacation*. The population initially was pleased to learn from the paper that certain courts, such as the Labor Court in Cologne, have clearly rejected the idea of according Jewish workers any legal claim to a vacation. [...]

In contrast, a report notes that only very recently, the Labor Court in Berlin has once again ruled in precisely the opposite way, granting Jewish workers in a National Socialist firm a legal right to a vacation. [...]

The report emphasizes that in the view of National Socialist plant managers, and mindful of these disgraceful consequences, it is no longer acceptable to leave the decision on the granting of a right to vacation for Jews to the courts. The plant managers who must employ Jews emphatically demand that this question be resolved by introducing a regulation which must clearly express the

status of the Jews as racial aliens¹¹⁴ within the German order of labor. [...]

As is also reported, according to statements from the population and expert circles, people likewise deplore the fact that Jews are still permitted to file a formal complaint under the dispensation of *Poor Law*. It is stressed that the German **Volksgemeinschaft** has no interest in allowing Jews to make use cost-free of the apparatus of justice. [...] <3267>

◆555◆

RSHA Amt III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 24 July 1941
Boberach, pp. 2563 f.

Reception of the Weekly Newsreel of 19–26 July 1941¹¹⁵

According to reports received from all areas of the Reich, strong popular interest in the *Weekly Newsreel from the eastern zone of combat* continues unabated within the population. Numerous reports speak of *jam-packed special showings* of the Weekly Newsreel (Kattowitz, Leipzig, Kiel, and elsewhere). Many say that the new Weekly Newsreel has achieved what was almost impossible, and is fully the *equal* of its predecessor. [...]

The images of the *arrest of the Jews involved in the murderous actions* have met with enthusiastic approval, and people say that the Jews here are being treated with far too much leniency. The *series of pictures on the forced deployment of the Jews in clearing operations* were greeted everywhere with great delight. According to a report from Lorraine, these scenes also met in many instances with appreciation even among the local Lorraine population (Metz). Reports note that the lynch justice of the population of Riga¹¹⁶ directed against its tormenters has been accompanied by shouts of support from the audience. <3268>

►556►

RSHA, Office III (SD)
Reports from the Reich (No. 206)
Berlin, 31 July 1941
Boberach, pp. 2592 f.

Cultural Areas

Reception and Impact of the General Guidance of Propaganda, Press, and Radio in the Period 29–31 July 1941

[...] Reports on actions by the United States are being followed with intense interest. Increasingly, people are saying that this war is expanding into a real world war. [...] The excerpts and commentary on the book by the Jew Kaufmann¹¹⁷ show that this war is really one where the stakes are life or death. The plans that Kaufmann outlines were a genuine shock even to the most inveterate grumbler and complainers. Ever more loudly people question how

long the war is going to last.[...] <3270>

►557►

Wehrmacht Supreme Command War Economy and Armaments Office

Staff Ia

Travel Report on a Visit to the Section Army Group Central

n.p., 21 July 1941

BArch-MA, RW 19/473

According to a report from Major Frantz, 2,600 Jews were recently shot in Bialystok. He drove through a street that had been closed off by the police, and asked a German police officer: "Are Jews being deported here?" "No," he replied, "but they're being shot."¹¹⁸

The day before, they shot 2,600 Jews, the next day 6,000 were to follow. Supposedly all Jews between the ages of 15 and 60 are being shot. According to the police officer, the operation is being carried out daily, each day by a different century of men on duty.¹¹⁹ Several police officers who are no longer able to take part in such operations because of nervous breakdowns have reported ill to a German physician on duty there. As yet there has been no execution of Jews in Baranawitschy.¹²⁰ <3275>

►558►

NSDAP District Direction Münster

Report of the Prevailing Mood for the Period 13–20 July 1941

Münster, 23 July 1941

StA Ms, NSDAP Kreis-und Ortsgruppenleitungen Nr. 125

Mood in the Population and Rumors

There is talk in the population that the patients in the sanatoriums and nursing homes, including among others the Provincial Sanatorium in Lengerich, are being used for gassing experiments. This rumor has been spread by the parson Veerhoff, in Lengerich, and others. The fact is that at the same time, some 240 inmates of the Provincial Sanatorium Lengerich were transported elsewhere, and there was no information about their destination.¹²¹

Following air raids on the **Gau** capital city of Münster, five Jewish persons arrived in the municipality of Hopsten,¹²² seeking refuge with their racial compatriots still resident in the town. The residents in the municipality of Hopsten are enraged about this, especially since the Jews arrived in town, on top of it all, in a private car, loaded down with baggage, crates, etc. Unfortunately, it was impossible to ascertain who the driver of this vehicle was. The Jews refuse to give any information whatsoever about this. The residents of the municipality

of Hopsten were very well-disposed toward Jews before the Jews' action.¹²³ Only after intensified instruction about the Jews and the realization that those who actually started this war are the Jews, did people in Hopsten adopt a different attitude toward the local Jews resident there. The population of Hopsten now has a correct picture, and is very upset about the appearance of the Jews from Münster in their town. The demand is for them to leave. People do not understand why the Jews are not being removed in their entirety from the small municipality of Hopsten. <3279>

◀559▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 14 August 1941
Boberach, pp. 2645 ff.

Cultural Areas

[...]

Reception of the Weekly Newsreel for 9–16 August 1941

From all the areas of the Reich, there are similar reports about the constant *intense interest* on the part of the population in the Weekly Newsreel.¹²⁴ [...]

In all parts of the Reich, the viewing of the *March of the Jews*, with its emphasis on distinguishing individual types, provoked comments of disgust; a number of persons asked what would actually be done in future with these hordes.¹²⁵

<3284>

◀560▶

SD Main District Office Bielefeld

Mood Against the Jews
Bielefeld, 5 August 1941
StA Det, M18 Nr. 16 Bd. I

On 30 July 1941,¹²⁶ the local daily papers reported that Jews are not to be compensated for any war damages incurred. The measure was generally applauded.

There had been repeated reports here recently about growing dissatisfaction among the population regarding the provocative behavior of the Jews. As was already communicated, the population took such a negative attitude toward the Jews that the municipal administrations in Minden and Bielefeld decided it was necessary to bar Jews from entering the weekly open-air market¹²⁷ so as to avoid physical confrontations and assaults.¹²⁸ However, this measure is by no means sufficient in the eyes of the population. People are demanding that compulsory marking to identify Jews be introduced,¹²⁹ similar to the measure in force since the beginning of the war in the Generalgouvernement, so as to prevent Jews from avoiding compliance with existing relevant orders and regulations. Given the proverbial impudence and rudeness of the Jews, people fear that they will continue to shop at the weekly open-air markets. That has already been observed in the case of movie theaters and other amusement places, where Jews tried to enter the premises despite a ban. On the other hand, if there were a visible **marking of the Jews**, this would prevent a situation where German **Volksgenossen** who are not fully **Aryan** in appearance are mistakenly regarded as Jews when they enter restaurants, inns, and such establishments, and then are correspondingly subjected to abuse. This has occurred on a number of occasions.

Even in Paderborn, where due to the extremely strong Catholic influence, one could scarcely speak of any hatred of the Jews,¹³⁰ on account of the increasingly impudent behavior of the Jews, people are demanding that Jews and Poles be served in the shops either only after all the German customers have been taken care of, or that these members of guest peoples be assigned special stores for their shopping.¹³¹ In National Socialist circles, statements are being made that people will seek to take matters into their own hands, perhaps by resorting to violence against Jews and Poles¹³² if requisite measures are not taken immediately by the authorities.

<3286>

SD District Office Bielefeld
Report for 16–23 August 1941
Bielefeld, 25 August 1941
StA Det, M18 Nr. 14

III B3 (Race)

About a week ago, upon the recommendation of the District Head Office of the NSDAP, and the mayor of the city of Bielefeld as competent district police office, a regulation was issued forbidding Jews from entering the weekly open-air market.¹³³ [...]

In order to ensure that this order by the mayor will enjoy genuine success, people in the local population are repeatedly demanding that Jews be given a special marking badge, as is already common in the Protectorate,¹³⁴ so that they can readily be recognized as members of the Jewish race.¹³⁵ The **Volksgenossen** think it insufferable that in the streetcars, in buses, and elsewhere in public transport, they are forced to stand next to members of a people who bear the major guilt for the present war, and whose racial compatriots are trying in every way to destroy Germany.¹³⁶

Rumors are circulating here that Jews will soon be denied their ration of shaving soap. <3288>

SD District Office Minden

The Demands of the Population for Measures Against the Jews

Minden, 28 August 1941

StA Det, M18 Nr. 11

Again and again, the impudent behavior of the Jews in this area is evident. Thus, it was observed that a Jewess rudely intervened in a conversation between a woman and an SS man in uniform. Since she was not readily identifiable as a Jewess, she also joined in the conversation. When another woman who knew the Jewess made a comment regarding her background, the Jewess quickly disappeared. [...]

In the population, people find fault with the fact that steps were not taken long ago to give the Jews a special badge to identify them, just as was done with the Poles. Then such incidents, they say, would be impossible. A Jewish star on the lapel of the dress or an arm band would be the proper badge.¹³⁷ <3290>

►563►

Wehrmacht Supreme Command War Economy and Armaments Office

Staff la

Travel Report on a Visit to the Section Economic Inspection North

n.p., 11 August 1941

BArch-MA, RW 19/473

The Jewish Question has scarcely been dealt with in any way in Riga. The Jews wear a yellow star for marking them and are deployed in clearance work and labor on the streets.¹³⁸ By contrast, in Libau (Liepaja) several thousand Jews have already been “liquidated,” in part by the German authorities, but to the greatest extent by the Latvians.¹³⁹ They accuse the Jews of having made a pact with the Bolsheviks at the expense of the Latvians during the time of the Russian rule here. Until now, no Jewish women have been shot. There was talk that later on they would be disposed of by gassing.¹⁴⁰ <3297>

•564•

County Commissioner Sieg District

Report
("Consolidation of the Jews")
Siegburg, 6 August 1941
HStA Dü, RW 18-18

In implementing the previously mentioned directive,¹⁴¹ I can report that the consolidation of the Jews in the Sieg District, as has already been communicated by long-distance phone, has been completed in its entirety. Except for the Jews' family of eight members of David Israel Cohn in Quirrenbach near Oberpleis, all Jewish apartments in Aryan houses have been vacated. The above-mentioned apartment could not be vacated up to now because Jewish houses do not exist in the local district Amt Oberpleis. The local labor office reports that at the present time, due to labor deployment needs, Cohn cannot be relocated; thus, for that reason as well, it is impossible to accommodate the family Cohn in another local district. Moreover, their dwelling is a small dilapidated apartment, and can only be used by an **Aryan** after it has been thoroughly renovated. For the above reasons, it is advisable to allow the said Jews' family to remain for the time being in the Aryan apartment.

<3300>

►565►
NSDAP District Direction [Münster Area]
Mood in the Population and Rumors
n.p., 21 August 1941
StA Ms, NSDAP Kreis-und Ortsgruppenleitungen Nr. 125

It was evident that the level of dissatisfaction among the Catholics over the closing down of various monasteries has declined somewhat in recent days.¹⁴² But by contrast, a further sermon by the Bishop on **euthanasia** has been read in several Catholic churches.¹⁴³

This document states among other things that the Bishop, in several cases knowing where the mentally ill were put to death in sanatoriums, has felt the obligation to file charges of murder with the State Public Prosecutor at the District Court in Münster, in accordance with regulations in the Penal Code. It goes on in a vile way to say that people must think with great concern of the victims of the present war (wounded soldiers). These sorry victims will also have to reckon with the possibility that some day they too will be regarded as

unproductive individuals, and will be eliminated in the familiar manner. It emphasizes that the same fate will await invalids, victims of labor, or other persons elderly and frail. [...] <3301>

1. See Chronology, 1 September 1939.
2. See Internal migration, after outbreak of the war.
3. See Internal migration, after outbreak of the war.
4. A large part of the financing of **emigration** was handled by using foreign currency from the **Reich Association** and other **emigration organizations** in Germany, and foreign relief organizations such as **HIAS**, **HICEM**, and especially the **Joint Distribution Committee**.
5. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.
6. See Chronology, 7 September 1939, decree of the Gestapo to prevent excessive violence, and **Individual actions**.
7. See **Communism and Jews and Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
8. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.
9. See **Emigration and Internal migration**.
10. See Chronology, 30 April 1939.
11. See Chronology, 20 September 1939.
12. See **East European Jews**, and **Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany**.
13. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
14. See Chronology.
15. See Chronology, 9 September 1939, Decree of **Heydrich**.
16. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.
17. See Chronology, and CD **2986**.
18. See **Internal migration**.
19. See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.
20. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
21. See **Individual actions**.

22. See Individual actions.
23. The letterhead consists of a combination of numerals. The SD coded its contact persons by special numbers.
24. See n. 23.
25. See Chronology, 18–27 October 1939.
26. See Ha’vara.
27. See Chronology, 12 September 1939.
28. See Chronology, 30 April 1939.
29. Department for Community Life, SD.
30. See Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 307, No. 23.
31. See Chronology, 12 November 1938.
32. See **Internal migration**.
33. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
34. See Chronology, 7 September 1939, Decree of **Heydrich**.
35. See Chronology.
36. See **Internal migration**, after the outbreak of the war.
37. See Chronology, 18–27 October 1939.
38. See Chronology, 8 November 1939.
39. See **Associationallife, Jewish**.
40. See **Internal migration**, after the outbreak of the war.
41. See Chronology.
42. See **Chevra Kaddisha**. In Bamberg, established ca. 1722. See FJGV, 270.
43. See **Chevra Kaddisha**. In Bamberg, established 1847. See FJGV, *ibid*.
44. The “pressure from below” to introduce these restrictions emerged almost two years prior to the official regulations. See Chronology 18 September 1941 and 24 April 1942.
45. See Decree of **Heydrich** to prevent excesses and **Individual actions**, and Chronology, 7 September 1939.
46. See Chronology, 8 November 1939.
47. See **Individual actions** and n. 45.
48. See Chronology.

49. See Chronology, 9 September 1939.

50. See **Kristallnacht**.

51. See n. 49.

52. Former branches in Cologne and Düsseldorf of the Reich Migration Office. Area of competence: Rhine Province and the Westphalian government districts of Münster and Arnsberg.

53. See **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians**.

54. According to the census of 17 May 1939, there were 233,646 Jews in the sense of the **Nuremberg Laws** then living in the Altreich (in the borders of 1937), 52,005 **Mischlinge** of the first degree and 32,699 Mischlinge of the second degree. See Statistik des Deutschen Reiches, Vol. 552, No. 4; quoted in Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 10.

55. See Chronology, 23 September 1939.

56. See Chronology, 1 September 1939.

57. This inquiry from the Darmstadt Stapostelle is evidently directed to its subordinate offices in the government district. The data demanded were to serve for compiling regular reports to the Gestapo in Berlin.

58. See Chronology.

59. The National Socialist Ordensburg was an elite training school or “educational castle” for future leaders, and its pupils were termed Ordensjunker.

60. See Chronology and **Deportation of Jews**.

61. See Cemetery desecration.

62. See **Internal migration**.

63. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

64. See Chronology, 1 January 1939. The name Sally appears in the list of “Jewish first names” prepared by the interior minister; see Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 51.

65. See Chronology, 14 November 1935.

66. See **Emigration**.

67. See **Individual actions**.

68. See **Aryanization**.

69. See Chronology, 12 September 1939.

70. See Circular Decree of Heydrich, Chronology, 9 September 1939.
71. See Cemetery desecration.
72. See Jews' houses.
73. See **Kulturbund**.
74. See **Cemetery desecration**.
75. See Emigration and Internal migration.
76. See Mischlinge, Mixed marriages.
77. See Hitler Youth.
78. See **Physicians, Jewish**.
79. See **Internal migration**, after the outbreak of the war.
80. See **Films, anti-Semitic, in the Third Reich**.
81. See **East European Jews**.
82. See Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime.
83. See **Mixed marriages**.
84. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.
85. See **Individual actions**.
86. See **Aryanization**.
87. See Chronology.
88. See Chronology, 22 October 1940, and Deportation.
89. See **Films, anti-Semitic, in the Third Reich**.
90. See **Emigration**.
91. Here apparently an error. The ordinance was issued on 17 August 1938.
See Chronology.
92. As in n. 91.
93. See Chronology, 1 September 1939 and 9 September 1939, and **Mixed marriages**.
94. See **Associational life, Jewish**.
95. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**, and Chronology, 24 October 1941.
96. Derogatory term for the period of the Weimar Republic.

- 97.** See **Torah**.
- 98.** The allusion is to Hitler's intentions to land German troops in England (Operation Sea Lion), planned for 1940–41.
- 99.** See **Associational life, Jewish**.
- 100.** See **Emigration**.
- 101.** See **Cemetery desecration**.
- 102.** See Films, anti-Semitic, in the Third Reich.
- 103.** See Forced labor by Jews in the Third Reich.
- 104.** See Deportation of Jews, and “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.”
- 105.** See **Mixed marriages**.
- 106.** See **Communism and Jews**.
- 107.** See **Jews' houses**.
- 108.** See Deportation of Jews.
- 109.** See **Communism and Jews**.
- 110.** See **Deportation of Jews** and “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.”
- 111.** See **Films, anti-Semitic in the Third Reich**.
- 112.** See **Communism and Jews**.
- 113.** On 24 April 1941, no *Meldungen aus dem Reich* (Reports from the Reich) were issued. The *Meldungen aus dem Reich* (No. 181) are dated 25 April 1941. See CD ▶3233▶.
- 114.** See **Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews**.
- 115.** See **Films, anti-Semitic in the Third Reich**.
- 116.** See “Riga” in: EH, Vol. III, 1276–1279.
- 117.** See Benz, “Judenvernichtung aus Notwehr?” The book by Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!* (Newark: Argyle Press, 1941) outlines a comprehensive plan for the extinction of the German nation and the dissolution of Germany to achieve a lasting peace. It is available online: <http://www.ihr.org/books/kaufman/perish.html> (accessed 8 September 2009).
- 118.** In the German original, a parallelism in the verbs: “*Werden hier Juden abgeschoben?*” “*Nein*”, *sagte dieser*, “*aber abgeschossen*.”
- 119.** See “**Final Solution of the Jewish Question**,” and “Bialystok” in: EH, Vol. I, 210–214, literature there; Bender, *The Jews of Bialystok*.

[120.](#) On the fate of the Jews in Baranawitschy (Baranowitschi) 1939–1943 and the mass executions between June 1941 and December 1942, see EH, Vol. I, 147 f.

[121.](#) See **Euthanasia**.

[122.](#) See **Internal migration** during the war. The small town of Hopsten is located about 60 kilometers north of Münster.

[123.](#) See **Kristallnacht**.

[124.](#) See **Films, anti-Semitic in the Third Reich**.

[125.](#) The “March of the Jews” refers to the forced march of the Jews expelled by the Romanian regime from the Romanian city of Balti in Bessarabia to a transit camp. Striking footage from the Film Archive of the Bundesarchiv of what is likely this very newsreel is preserved and can be viewed online at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum site: http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/media_fi.php?lang=en&ModuleId=10005472&MediaId=2335 [accessed 8 September 2009]. It may chronicle the expulsion and march to the Rautel transit camp established on 17 July 1941, located 12 kilometers from Balti.

[126.](#) See Chronology, 20 July 1941.

[127.](#) See CD [3271](#).

[128.](#) See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews and Individual actions**.

[129.](#) See Chronology, 1 September 1941; and **Marking of the Jews**. The “pressure from below” at the grassroots was perceived and reported on to superiors here, one month before the publication of the law in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* on 5 September 1941, effective from 19 September 1941.

[130.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

[131.](#) In addition to the already existing restrictions on shopping times for Jews, their extension to the Poles as well was demanded here. Apparently the Poles referred to were POWs or forced laborers.

[132.](#) These restrictions had been in force for the Jews since September 1939. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews and Individual actions**.

[133.](#) See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.

[134.](#) See Chronology, 14–15 March 1939.

[135.](#) See Chronology, 1 September 1941 and **Marking of the Jews**. On the prior “pressure from below,” see [▲560▶](#), n. 129.

[136.](#) Here too, the “pressure from below” also preceded the order of the Reich Transport Minister of 18 September 1941; see Chronology.

[137.](#) See Chronology, 1 September 1941 and **Marking of the Jews**. On the prior “pressure from below,” see [▲560▶](#), n. 129.

[138.](#) See “Riga” in EH, Vol. III, 1276–1279.

[139.](#) See “Latvia” in EH, Vol. III, 849–852.

[140.](#) See “Libau” in EH, Vol. III, 874–876.

[141.](#) On 12 May 1941, the Stapostelle Cologne issued a directive II B–586–41. This was not available to the editors. Evidently it dealt with “consolidating the Jews” in so-called **Jews’ houses**.

[142.](#) On the elimination of the monasteries by the **Gestapo** and the protests of the Catholic Church leadership in the summer of 1941, see Witetschek et al., *Kirchliche Lage in Bayern* II, 378, n. 6; 388, n. 4 and literature there.

[143.](#) Reference is to the Bishop of Münster, Clemens von Galen; see EH, Vol. I, 537 and literature there. Compared with his courageous and effective protest against euthanasia, his reaction to the **deportations** and the mass murder of the Jews was total silence, and has remained an open question in historiography and the discussion about the struggle between the church and state and the persecution of the Jews; see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

11

The Marking of the Jews and the Initial Wave of Systematic Deportations “to the East”

(September 1941–February 1942)

◀566▶

SD District Office Bielefeld

Report
Bielefeld, 13 September 1941
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 14

III B 3 (Race)

There is favorable reception in keeping with the prevailing mood regarding the police order that says Jews, effective beginning 19 September 1941,¹ are required to wear a marking badge in public.

It is not exaggerated to assert that this police order has been received with genuine satisfaction in all strata of the population. This order constitutes the main topic of popular conversation in the population over the weekend. Again and again you can hear people saying that at long last, finally every option for possible disguise is being taken from the Jews in Germany. Generally people stress that only through this police order have all the restrictive measures for Jews, such as the ban on motion picture theaters, restaurants and inns, and weekly open-air markets,² now become truly and fully effective. Many persons are now demanding that the Jews must likewise be excluded from using local public transport, such as buses and streetcars. In general, the pervasive hope is that now the last Jew will very soon leave the German fatherland.³ <3307>

•567•
SD District Office Höxter
Marking of the Jews
Höxter, 25 September 1941
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Marking of the Jews with the **Star of David** has generally been warmly welcomed by the population here. Even if there have not been longer discussions on this matter, general agreement with the measure was immediately expressed. And the necessity for instituting this regulation was later recognized and acknowledged all the more clearly when it was disclosed that a number of persons were in fact Jews. These are individuals about whom it was not known before that they were Jewish, and who had up to now managed to conceal their true racial affiliation. What eludes comprehension in this connection and is at odds with popular sentiment is the fact that Jews married to **Aryans** are not required to wear this star.⁴ Here two such cases are particularly striking. In Beverungen, a Jew married a female Aryan after 1933 shortly before the

introduction of the **Nuremberg Laws**. There are now 3 children born to this union. In sentiment within and in his external appearance, the husband is very much a Jew. And the woman, because she married her spouse after 1933, is despised by the population and spurned. For that reason, it is all the more incomprehensible to the **Volksgenossen** that at least the man, as a Jew, is not being required to wear the star. In Warburg, the second case involves an Aryan male married to a Jewess. Here she is the one who does not have to wear the star. Now the fact is that in the town of Warburg, the Jews are not allowed to use the sidewalks, but must walk next to them in the street.⁵ If this Jewess uses the sidewalks, she gravely annoys those persons who know her. But if she walks in the street next to the sidewalk, she causes a disturbance, because she is not wearing a star, so that this loophole in the legislation is all the more striking, leading to disapproval by the Volksgenossen.⁶

By the way, it should be noted that *no other* previous measure against the Jews has affected them quite so strongly as the introduction of external marking. The Jews are also trying to hide this as much as possible by carrying a purse, briefcase, or otherwise suitable object in such a way as to conceal the badge. A small number of male Jews, however, remain unperturbed by this requirement, and in one case a Jew even said that he now has one more additional medal he can wear.⁷ It should be noted that this Jew is in the possession of several decorations from the World War. He enjoys a certain respect in the population dating from a time when he owned a large business selling manufactured goods and household items, where the working population used to shop with satisfaction and economically. And where his Aryan employees earned far better salaries than in similar Aryan stores. That situation has ceased to exist in the store since it was transferred to Aryan ownership.⁸ So now when people shop, they are stimulated to make repeated comparisons, where the Jew always comes out in a more favorable light. In this individual case, people tend to feel more sorry for the Jew in question rather than rejecting him.

In general, many think that the Jews should also be required to wear such a badge on their back. It is suggested that then these last remainders of the Jews, still in our midst, would also try all the more quickly to disappear from Germany.

<3309>

►568►

SD District Office Minden

Marking of the Jews

Minden, 26 September 1941

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

There are many voices of complaint in the population about how the **marking of the Jews** is being implemented in concrete practice. According to the ordinance, for example, it is not required in the case of **mixed marriages** for the Jewish spouse to display the badge.⁹ As a result, people have come to think this arrangement is absolutely impossible and unacceptable. Either we have got Jews, and they are Jews too, even if married to **Aryans**. Or we don't have Jews. There's a popular expression now making the rounds: we've got two kinds of Jews, Aryan and non-Aryan.

This situation can be illuminated by looking at an especially glaring example. The upholsterer *Brandtmüller* lives in Minden. He is married to a Jewess. This man is now making propaganda all over the place that he's a double combat veteran. He served in [19]14/18, and also more than a year in the present war. And he says that he has special rights regarding his wife. Doesn't that just take the cake, what gall! He says a state that demands obligations could also grant a few rights. He says that his wife can go freely wherever she wishes to. And he can even go to the movies with her. And he says: his wife doesn't have to wear the **Star of David** either.

The entire behavior of this man is such a public provocation it is likely that he soon will be properly taken to task and reprimanded. Yet it appears as if he actually does have the special status he is describing. The population simply cannot understand such an ordinance. For example, it is known that this man B. was planning a trip abroad with his wife. For some reason or other, he hasn't been able to arrange this journey yet. But now people say: if this man were actually outside the country, he would turn against Germany.¹⁰ It is certain, people think, that because he is a former combat veteran and present **Jews' lackey**, he would agitate in the most crude and disgusting manner against Germany.

Another case is the Jewish wife of a doctor. She behaves in such a shameless manner in public that the population repeatedly must take offense. Specifically because these Jews wear no marking badge, they are becoming ever more shameless. The people say: how would they probably behave if all Germans had to wear a marking badge? Then these Jews no doubt would not mark themselves as Germans, if they thought it were better for them not to.

For that reason, in all circles the demand is being voiced to force all Jews, without any reservations, to wear the Jews' marking badge. The [Party] District

Head Office, mindful of the popular mood, is also reporting along these same lines to the **Gau** Head Office. People think it is completely impossible under these circumstances to reach a clear and correct determination as to whether a person is or is not in fact a Jew. It is noted that this state of affairs is having an ever more negative impact in all spheres of daily life. <3310>

•569►

SD Main District Office Bielefeld

Report

Bielefeld, 30 September 1941

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 16 Bd. II

Marking of the Jews

In the Situation Report of 16 September,¹¹ it was noted that the police ordinance stipulating that Jews now must be marked by a **Star of David** has been received with satisfaction in all strata of the population. Now, however, criticism is being voiced regarding individual aspects in connection with the regulations for implementation.

Broad segments of the public cannot understand why Jews married to **Aryan** women, or vice versa,¹² are not required to wear this identifying badge. People are already saying there are two kinds of Jews in Germany, Aryan and non-Aryan. A few glaring examples can serve to illuminate this situation, which in the view of broad circles in the population is untenable.

The upholsterer Brandtmüller lives in Minden. He's married to a Jewess. He tells the story everywhere that as a double combat veteran—he served in the Great War, and was also drafted into service for a year in the present one—he has special rights regarding his wife. He says this is only natural, a matter of course. Because if the state demands obligations, it should also accord him certain rights. For that reason, he thinks his wife is permitted to go where she pleases, freely. To restaurants, movie theaters and the like. And, he says: she doesn't have to wear the **Star of David**.

The entire behavior of this man is such a public provocation it is probable he soon will be taken to task by the population and given a proper warning. To characterize B. more specially, it is worth noting that he was planning before the war to leave Germany with his wife. But for some reason or other not known here, he decided not to go. **Volksgenossen** who were aware of this plan that B. once entertained now wonder: if B. had managed to emigrate back then, would he be out agitating today against Germany?¹³

In Beverungen, a Jew married a female Aryan shortly before the introduction of the **Nuremberg Laws**. There are now 3 children born to this union.¹⁴ In sentiment and in his external appearance, the husband is a Jew in the most pronounced way. And the woman, because she married her spouse after 1933, is despised by the population and spurned. It is simply incomprehensible for the population of Beverungen why the husband, as a **full Jew**, is not being required to wear the star.

In Warburg, an additional case is reported where the Jewish wife of an Aryan male likewise is not required to wear the Jews' badge. Here the loophole in the ordinance on **marking of the Jews** is especially glaring, since the Jews in Warburg are forbidden from using the sidewalks there. If this Jewess walks on the sidewalks, she gravely annoys those Volksgenossen who know her. But if she does not use the sidewalk, she causes a disturbance, because she is not wearing the Star of David.¹⁵

The population is demanding that this loophole in the ordinance on the marking of the Jews be closed as soon as possible, and that all Jews, whether they are married to Aryans or not, be required to wear the Star of David. Especially since, as has been repeatedly observed, all Jews, aside from a few isolated exceptions, find it quite unpleasant to be marked and identified in this manner. [...] <3306>

•570►

Stapostelle Würzburg

Report

Würzburg, 29 September 1941

StA Wü, Slg. Schumacher 16/4

Instruction to the County Commissioner in Marktheidenfeld

Herewith the addition, that according to a decree of the Berlin Gestapo¹⁶ of 9 March 1939, there are no objections to permitting Jewish **Communities** from holding Jewish religious services in the still existing **synagogues** and prayer halls or other Community facilities. If Jews there gather without a permit in private apartments, then they are in violation of the law on gatherings, so that criminal charges can be pressed against them, or action taken by the Gestapo. If the Jews in Urspringen wish to hold services, then they must beforehand request permission from the county commissioner, indicating the proposed venue. Cleaning of the local streets by Jews on Sundays is to be forbidden to them if that is not generally the customary practice there. For the rest, I refer to my circular of 30 November—39 II B—11507/39—according to which Jews can be taken into **protective custody** if they violate any ordinance or display behavior that is provocative or deemed damaging to the state. <3315>

•571►

District Governor Augsburg

Report for September
Augsburg, 8 October 1941
BayHStA, StK 106684

Jews

According to the report of the mayor of Augsburg, the **marking of the Jews** has been received by all **Volksgenossen** with a great sense of gratification. However, the question of shopping options for Jews needs to be clarified, since not every businessman wishes to tolerate the Jews so marked in his shop, since that can be an occasion for possible disagreements. That also holds in respect to the weekly open-air market, due to the larger crowds of shoppers there.¹⁷ Most probably, the obligation for Jews to wear an identifying badge will necessarily lead to a situation where special sales outlets exclusively for Jews for buying foods and daily household items will have to be created.

According to the report of the county commissioner in Neu-Ulm, the numerous and diverse interdependent links between the towns of Neu-Ulm and Ulm make it necessary to accord Jews there a mutual right of entry according to 2 a of the police ordinance on the marking of Jews of 1 September 1941.¹⁸
<3316>

►572►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for September 1941
Ansbach, 7 October 1941
BayHStA, StK 106679

Jews

1) As could be noted in some individual cases, Jews are attempting to circumvent the **marking** as stipulated by the police ordinance of 1 September 1941¹⁹ as follows: although they wear the **Star of David** sewn to their clothing as per regulation, they cover and thus conceal this by carrying a briefcase or purse or large shopping bag. The marking of the Jews was implemented without any incidents. And the appearance of Jews so marked in public has not as yet led to any disturbances. By contrast, there are more and more anonymous or open charges being brought by the pureblooded German population against supposed Jews, or those who by regulation are exempted from the obligation to mark themselves as such.²⁰

2) During the report period, 15 Jews emigrated (in the previous month, 23).²¹
[...] <3319>

•573•

NSDAP, Reich Direction, Reich Women's Leadership
Report on the Prevailing Mood for September 1941

Berlin, n.d.

BArch, NS 22/vorl. 860

Gau Baden

The physical examination for female labor service in Alsace also sparked discontent. The influence of the Catholic Church was very strong here. Some of the girls refused to sign that they were of **Aryan** descent, saying that the pastor had stated: "we are all equal before the Lord" or "we all descend from the Jews."²² [...]

Gau Berlin

People in the Gau Berlin are exceptionally pleased that Jews are being marked by obligatory stars,²³ because here it frequently was still possible for them, if they did not look Jewish, to acquire certain advantages illegally. People still cannot comprehend the regulation that Jewesses married to an Aryan, or formerly in such a state of matrimony, are not required to wear a star if children were born from this union.²⁴ [...]

Gau Hesse-Nassau

The **marking of the Jews** has been enthusiastically welcomed, especially in Frankfurt/Main, where unfortunately there are still a substantial number of them. But there is no understanding among the people for the measure that full Jewesses married to Aryans do not need to wear this badge, and thus can appear everywhere freely.²⁵ <3321>

•574•

NSDAP District Direction Augsburg-Stadt

Political Situation Report
Augsburg, 10 October 1941
StA Abg, NSDAP Gauleitung Schwaben 1/11

Other Matters

The marking of the Jews must absolutely be extended to include those persons married to **Aryans**.²⁶ Similarly, the Aryans married to Jews should likewise be rendered identifiable. <3322>

Gendarmerie Bad Neustadt

Monthly Report
Bad Neustadt, 28 September 1941
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21908

Since 19 September 1941, the Jews present here are wearing the **Jews' Star**, and have no compunctions about going for a walk in the park (Neuhaus).
<3323>

•576•

Mayor of Forchheim

Report

Forchheim, 30 September 1941

StA Ba, K 6/8704

The mayor of the city of Forchheim felt obliged, for the reasons detailed below, to initiate a change of domicile for the Jews still remaining in the town. It should initially be noted that this change in living quarters did not entail any worsening of the previous living conditions of the Jews in question. It is a political necessity to remove the Jews from the main traffic in our city, because most of them still reside opposite the Paradeplatz, the busiest square in town, on Adolf Hitlerstraße. When they leave their homes, they immediately come into contact with our population—a population that is anti-Semitic and does not try to conceal this. The fact that the Jews are still resident in the downtown area constitutes in itself a constant provocation. The local branch heads of the NSDAP have repeatedly pointed out this situation and suggested that the Jews be relocated,²⁷ because it is incompatible with their responsibility that as a result of the presence of the Jews in town and their appearance in public, the mood among our population is constantly and repeatedly affected to its marked detriment. It is also absolutely necessary to take into proper account the feelings of the parents and wives who have sons and husbands at the front in the battle against world Jewry and Bolshevism. I have therefore taken steps to propose to the Jews that they relocate to quarters on the edge of town. The Jews have recognized this necessity, with none contradicting. Only one legal consultant, Israel Baum from Bamberg, spoke with me in connection with this matter. I explained to this Jew that the change in living quarters which we wish to effect will not entail any worsening in living conditions. Rather, it is for the sake of expediency and in the interest of all parties affected. I emphasized that this action would not affect or be in connection with any legal measures or other ordinances.²⁸ In the meantime, the Jews in Forchheim have adapted to the new situation and have already taken steps so that the change in apartments can be completed by 1 October of this year.

By the way, the municipality also has an interest in acquiring ownership of the two Jews' houses that will become available by this move, so that the **Aryanization** of Jewish property can be brought to a full and total conclusion.
[...]

I request approval for my proposed measures, and permission to acquire ownership of the two Jews' houses for the municipality of Forchheim. <3324>

Gendarmerie Oberthulba
Report for September 1941
Political and Economic Situation in the Service District
Oberthulba, 23 September 1941
StA Wü, LRA Hammelburg 4881

General Political Situation

[...] The local Jews are complying with their obligation to report. They behave in such a manner that they cause no offense anywhere. Since 20 September 1941,²⁹ they have all been wearing their Soviet star [sic] without the necessity of any further order to this effect. <3326>

•578•

NSDAP Local Branch Leader **Trier**
Report on the Prevailing Mood
Trier, 22 September 1941
Heyen, pp. 151 f.

The **marking of the Jews** which has been implemented here has left one question open and unanswered. There has been no binding decision yet on whether **half-Jews** also have to wear the **Star of David**. Information pertaining to this is urgently required for achieving a uniform regulation of the ordinance and **surveillance** by the Political Leaders.—The wearing of the Star of David has one small disadvantage. It makes it impossible for anyone to recognize a Jew from behind. As a result, it may easily come to pass that a stranger, without any bad intent, may unknowingly speak to a Jew if he needs some information. I propose to sew another star on the right side of the back of the Jews, and to permit them to go out into the street only during prescribed hours. Above all, these bearers of pestilence must vanish from the main streets. <3329>

•579•

Gendarmerie Urspringen
Behavior of the Jews in Urspringen
Urspringen, 19 September 1941
StA Wü, Slg. Schumacher 16/4

In recent months, the Jewish inhabitants of Urspringen have shown great piety, to the annoyance of some of the local residents. Thus, the resident male Jews proceed every Saturday morning about 9 a.m. to the homes of Rudolf Dillenberger and David Rothfeld, where they recite their Hebrew prayers.³⁰ At 10 a.m. they return home, dressed in their Sunday [*sic*] best. In this way they keep their **Sabbath**; some also go out for a walk before dusk.

The population wonders how it is that Jews today still have a right to gather together for such Talmudic [*sic*] prayers.³¹ In so doing, the Jew gives those of other faiths an example of piety, awakening pity in the population. They are induced to think that he is after all just a poor, harmless person and does not wish to do anything wrongful or improper. Recently, it was even remarked that the Jews are gathering together every morning to pray. In any event, for the victory of the Bolsheviks.³² [...] <3330>

•580•

NSDAP District Direction [Münster Area]

Mood in the Population and Rumors

n.p., 2 October 1941

StA Ms, Kreis-und Ortsgruppenleitungen Nr. 125

Last Sunday (28 September 1941) another pastoral letter of the Bishop of Münster³³ was read in the Catholic church in the district. In this letter, the bishop noted among other things that the Catholic Church had always fought against Bolshevism and rejected its activities. He stated that in these days, when soldiers were risking their lives to defeat Bolshevism, care had to be taken to avoid undermining the front as a result of internal reprehensible events, as had occurred in 1917/18. In connection with these reprehensible events, he cited the killing of the mentally ill, the elimination of unproductive persons, and thus also of wounded soldiers.³⁴ It also states in this epistle that the bishop is unaware of any instance where the Catholic Church had ever caused harm to any nation. If people do not wish to support the church, they should at least grant the Catholic Church the right to exist. It is the internal enemies of Christianity who are undermining the military front.

Once again, the basic thrust of this pastoral letter was extremely Jewish-Jesuit. In several churches, a few visitors left the church when the passages in the epistle were read dealing with **euthanasia**, etc., and expressed their astonishment over the machinations of the bishop. <3332>

►581►

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)

Report on Important Events of Interest to the Gestapo

Berlin, 24 November 1941

BArch, R 58/198

Jews

[...] The Stapoleitstelle³⁵ Dresden arrested the Jews

Julius Israel *Kornblum* (b. 29 April 1868 in Golkowitz, district Rybnik),

Isidor *Stern* (b. 4 April 1888 in Eperies/Hungary) and

Ernst Israel *Mathias* (b. 27 December 1871 in Glogau).³⁶ Among themselves, these persons exchanged a pastoral letter written by the Bishop of Münster which contained statements hostile to the state.³⁷ <3367>

►582►

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Report

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 9 October 1941
Boberach, pp. 2847, 2849

General Matters

[...] The *Ordinance on the Marking of the Jews* was warmly welcomed by the preponderant majority of the population and received with satisfaction, especially since such a marking had been awaited by many for so long. Only to a limited degree, particularly in Catholic and bourgeois circles,³⁸ were there isolated voices expressing compassion. There were also some isolated comments about "medieval methods." Principally in these circles, there is apprehension that hostile countries abroad can mark the Germans living there with a swastika and introduce further repressive measures against them. Everywhere there was keen interest in the first appearance of Jews so marked in public. People were astonished to see just how many Jews there actually still are in Germany.

<3334>

•583•

SD District Office Paderborn

Report
Paderborn, 11 October 1941
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Attitude Friendly Toward the Jews in Religious Circles

Recently it has been possible to observe that the **marking of the Jews** has been viewed critically and rejected, although solely in circles of older persons with a strong connection to the Church. In their criticism, these individuals stressed that the Jews are also human beings and consequently, from the Christian standpoint, must not be the object of contempt.³⁹ [...] <3340>

Stapostelle Wilhelmshaven Daily Report

Wilhelmshaven, 7 October 1941

StA O, Best. 289 Nr. 186

Jews

On 4 October 1941, the **full Jewess**, domestic worker Henni Sarah *Waldstein*, b. 3 October 1884 in Rawitsch/Poland, resident in Wilhelmshaven, at Neue Straße 8, was temporarily taken into custody because she was not wearing the **Jews' star**. She stated that she thought she was obliged to wear the Jews' star only after first being formally instructed by an office to do so. She also expected to be summoned by an office to come in and pick up such a Jews' star. The Jewess also apologized, saying that already back in 1899,⁴⁰ she had had herself baptized, and since that time had had no further social contact with Jews.

<3344>

•585•

Stapostelle Wilhelmshaven

Daily Report

Wilhelmshaven, 25 October 1941

StA O, Best. 289 Nr. 186

Jews

On 23 October 1941, 122 Jews were evacuated from the city of Emden.⁴¹ They are being relocated to a larger city in the East where they will be kept together as a group. With this action, the Stapostelle Wilhelmshaven has been rendered "judenfrei," except for the 23 Jews in need of care living in the town of Varel. <3346>

•586•

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate

Report for October 1941

Regensburg, 8 November 1941

BayHStA, StK 106674

Jews

While two officers of the Customs Investigation Office Munich were carrying out a house search at the home of a merchant in Landshut, the spouse of the said merchant jumped from the second story of the building into the courtyard, where she died of injuries sustained in the fall.⁴² <3348>

•587•

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for October 1941

Ansbach, 6 November 1941

BayHStA, StK 106679

Jews

1) In the month of October, 13 Jews emigrated (in the month of September 15).⁴³

2) In Nuremberg, a Jew was arrested because a short time before he had exchanged bed linen with a pureblooded German female vegetable seller, bartering it for some fruit and vegetables. During a house search, 18 large packages of linen, woolen goods, and dry goods were confiscated, along with

hosiery.

3) In addition, a Jewess was taken into custody for violation of the obligation on marking,⁴⁴ a male Jew was arrested for treasonous statements and behavior deemed a gross public nuisance, and a Jewess was arrested for violating the Law on Malice.⁴⁵

<3349>

•588►

Mayor of Butzbach

Report on Political Matters
Butzbach, 16 October 1941
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 242

[Jews]

In the meanwhile, the number of Jews has continued to decline as a result of **emigration** and moving from the town.⁴⁶ The Jews still remaining here were recently consolidated in 2 **Jews' houses**, so that such persons no longer live together with German **Volksgenossen**. <3353>

►589►

NSDAP District Direction Lübeck

Report on the Prevailing Mood

Lübeck, 10 November 1941

LA Sch, Bestand LA, NSDAP Gauleitung Schleswig-Holstein,

Abt. 454 Nr. 4 I

The Jews and the Housing Shortage

The housing shortage in the area of the district cannot get any worse. Indeed, it can be described as catastrophic. I am aware of the fact, for example, that more than 200 families are registered with the local communal police who are living in substandard quarters, some of which are not fit for human habitation. They wish to be legally classified as homeless, while a number of the Jews still resident here continue to occupy quite good apartments. Thought should be given to whether it is conceivable to deport these unpleasant fellows to the East,⁴⁷ so that they might disappear completely from the townscapes of our Gau. <3355>

►590►

City of Münster

Report from the Town Chronicle
Münster, 2 October 1941
StdA Ms, Amt 43 E Nr. 33

At the city hall, two officials standing on the main stairway are talking about field post letters they have just received from Russia. They say no one can imagine just how fierce the combat is. The Soviet Russian is dangerous, due to his lack of conscience and the absence of any sense of chivalry. For this reason, apparently the Jews were consciously able to destroy religion and ethics. Russians now, they stated, were ruled solely by a blind fear in the face of the Jewish commissars. The Russian was trying to defend himself, biting wildly like a frightened beast. This, they said, was what Jewry had made of the Aryan peoples of Russia. They have raised up their power against the Aryan peoples, and upon the bayonets of the Mongolian regiments [*sic*]. Even in times of peace, they stated, a large percentage of the masses of Russian soldiers had been pure Mongolians. The Jews have mobilized Asia against Europe.—In the paper today are two photos where Jews are wearing the Star of David on their left chest. In this way, they are marked as the agents of incitement among their host peoples and as parasites preying upon their environment. Yesterday I heard someone say: it's good that all Jews from the age of 6 and older now have to wear a yellow star, because for a lot of them, it is difficult from looking at their face to tell anything about who secretly is in the camp of our enemies. <3356>

♦591♦
RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 24 November 1941
Boberach, pp. 3020 ff.

Cultural Areas

[...]

Attempts by the Church to Undermine the Anti-Jewish Attitude in the Population by Means of Religious Counterwork⁴⁸

The police ordinance of the Reich interior minister of 1 September 1941,⁴⁹ which forbids Jews from appearing in public without wearing a Jews' star on the left side of the chest affixed to the outermost piece of clothing, has not only led to surprise in the larger cities over the large number of Jews in the population. It has also drawn the attention of churchgoers to the large number of *baptized Jews*⁵⁰ among those in attendance at the Sunday religious services.

After the ordinance went into effect, on subsequent Sundays various churchgoers complained to their local clergy. They demanded a ban on the Jews from being allowed to attend the common religious services, and they stated that they could not be expected to receive communion kneeling next to a Jew.

The attitude of the clergy of the **Confessional Front** is characteristically expressed in a flyer that a female municipal vicar in Breslau authored, and which was then distributed in various parts of the Reich:

“It is the duty of the Christian not to exclude them (the Jews) from religious services because of the **marking**. They have the *same right to be in the church as the other members of the congregation* and have special need for consolation from the word of God.

There is a danger for the congregations that they may allow themselves to be led astray by elements that are not truly Christian and they may endanger the Christian church by behavior that is not Christian. Here they must be given pastoral assistance by reference to Luke 10:25–37 (‘And who is my neighbor?’) and Matthew 25:40 (‘Inasmuch as ye have done [it] unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done [it] unto me’).”

At the same time, there were practical suggestions to solve this question:

“Thought should be given to the question whether the church officials, preachers, and others should not specially attend to the needs of these marked members of the congregation, and if necessary, provide them with special places to sit. Perhaps as time passes *special places to sit should be arranged for every*

religious service, so as to protect them from being chased away by *un-Christian elements*. But in order that this cannot be seen as some non-Protestant form of separation, it is *necessary for loyal members of the congregation* (for example, members of the Congregation Church Council, the Women's Aid, and the vicarage) likewise to *sit* on these benches as well *next to and among the non-Aryan Christians*. Thought should also be given to the idea of perhaps *picking up* these specially marked Christians in the initial period to accompany them to services.”

In the meantime, the Protestant Consistory of the Ecclesiastical Province of Silesia has felt constrained, in the light of the negative attitude of the population and the position of the Party, to distance itself from this document, that was supposedly prepared without its agreement. There is as yet no similar assessment of this “Treatment of the Jewish Christians” from other areas of the Reich.

In *Roman Catholic congregations* in the larger cities, the plan appeared to bring together all the Jewish Catholics in a Jewish Christian Congregation with their own religious services—in order to avoid any inconvenience for the rest of the Catholics. This solution, proposed both from within certain segments of the population and also by some clergy, prompted the chair of the Fulda Bishops' Conference, Cardinal Bertram, to express his special position in a circular (17 September 1941) on the *appearance of the Jews in churches and church buildings, and likewise his views on actions to resettle them*.⁵¹

“The impact of the police ordinance in regard to the attitude of the Catholic population on the Catholics of Jewish descent appearing at church services will be different in different places, because of the differing strength of the influence of the views widespread in public opinion.

1) For that reason, hasty instructions which *can be regarded as demeaning* for Jewish Catholics are to be avoided, such as the introduction of special benches for Jews, segregation during the administering of the sacraments, the introduction of special church services.

2) *Orders to segregate the non-Aryans is contrary to Christian brotherly love.* For that reason, it must be avoided as long as that is possible. The parsons will suggest to these Catholics that if possible they should attend the early religious services.

3) A *warning* issued (to churchgoers) to show *an attitude of Christian brotherly love* and to avoid any condescending treatment of the Catholic non-Aryans marked by the star is desirable only after disturbances have erupted and made themselves felt.

4) Only if there are greater difficulties (officials, Party members, and others staying away from services, demonstrative departure of persons from the church services), is it then to be deemed appropriate, together in consultation with the Catholic non-Aryans themselves, to *consider conducting separate special religious services*.

5) If a warning is considered necessary, it could have the following formulation:

In view of the difficulties that have arisen for the Jews living in Germany as a result of the police ordinance of 1 September 1941, the Catholics are admonished to show the Christians of Jewish descent the consideration due to every Christian, in accordance with the principles which St. Paul proclaimed as the duty of all Christians:

All who believe in Christ will not come to ruin. *There is no distinction between Jew and Greek*, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all who call upon him; For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ have put on Christ.

There is neither Jew nor Heathen, there is neither bond nor free: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.” [...] <3362>

►592►

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 27 November 1941
Boberach, p. 3035

Cultural Areas

[...]

Reception of the Weekly Newsreel⁵² of 22–28 November 1941

[...] As reports from all parts of the Reich confirm, the *expressions of opinion on the pictures of Jewish prisoners* reflect the clearly negative attitude among the population about the Jews. As is often reported, there have been comments here and there such as “it would be better to just take these rascals and shoot them.”⁵³ [...]

<3363>

◀593▶

SD Main District Office Bielefeld

Report
Bielefeld, 4 November 1941
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Use of the Third-Class Carriages on the Reichsbahn by the Jews

Although the ordinance on the use of public transport by Jews⁵⁴ has generally been well received, the ordinance in particular stipulating that when Jews travel on the Reichsbahn, they must use third-class carriages, has led to substantial criticism in some segments of the population.

In these circles, people are of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary that Jews have been forbidden from using first-class and second-class carriages and the sleeping car. But they cannot comprehend why the use of the third-class facilities is still permitted to the Jews. It is an insult to travelers in third class, who are in the main workers and soldiers who are not part of the officers' ranks, when it is demanded of them that they continue to travel together with Jews in a single compartment. In this connection, it is instructive to note a report published in the press on 30 October 1941. It states that in Slovakia, effective from 1 November 1941, the Jews are only allowed to use compartments that are specifically so designated for their use. For the reasons mentioned, it is deemed appropriate that a similar ordinance also be introduced and implemented in the German Reich. Only in this way will a true separation between Germans and Jews also become possible in the sphere of public transport.

In addition, in broad circles in the population, there is the imperative wish that Jews should categorically be forbidden from using local public transport, such as streetcars, buses, and the like, unless they are traveling to work, which they are then required to prove by means of personal identification papers.⁵⁵
<3364>

•594•
RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)
Reporting of Important Events Hostile to the State
Berlin, 26 November 1941
BArch, R 58/198

Jews

The **Stapostelle** Leipzig arrested the following Jews charged with distributing the agitational pamphlet "Correspondence of the Bishop of

Münster⁵⁶ with Reich Minister Dr. Lammers":⁵⁷

Wilhelm Israel *Frey* (b. 24 February 1892 in Pless/Upper Silesia),
Frieda Sara *Frey*, née Rosenthal (b. 16 August 1882 in Berlin),
Moritz Israel *Odenheimer* (b. 14 March 1884 in Heideisheim),
Rosa Sara *Becker*, née Goldberg (b. 16 August 1882 in Berlin),
Franziska Sara *Hirschfeld* née Rosenthal (b. 25 January 1869 in Kassel) and
Franziska Sara *Salm* née Chan (b. 24 December 1869 in Kassel). <3368>

Stapostelle Bremen

Report

Bremen, 11 November 1941

StA Br, 3-M.2.h.3 Nr. 264

General Mood in the Population

[...] While the politically educated segment of the population generally welcomes the imminent **evacuation** of **the Jews**,⁵⁸ church and commercial circles in particular have no understanding of this measure and today still believe they have to lend support to the cause of the Jews.⁵⁹ Thus, there have been strong expressions of commiseration for the plight of the Jews in Catholic and Protestant circles of the **Confessional Front**.—In a confessional congregation made up almost exclusively of so-called bourgeois circles of the intelligentsia, many members of the congregation even provided material assistance for Jews.⁶⁰ In the world of business, there is no understanding for this in particular in firms that employ Jews and constantly submit applications to keep Jews in their employ. Even respected firms do not hesitate to point out in their applications that they will be unable to continue operating if their Jewish employee is evacuated. <3371>

Stapostelle Bremen

Report

Bremen, 3 December 1941

StA Br, 3-M.2.h.3 Nr. 264

Special Individual Cases

[...] In the course of action against members of the Confessing Congregation⁶¹—St. Stephanie Süd—charged with collecting for Jews to be evacuated,⁶² the following persons were taken into brief custody:⁶³

1. Congregation assistant Maria *Koeppen*, b. 18 March 1917 in Oldenburg, resident in Bremen, Weizenkampstr. 200,
2. Mrs. Maria *Maack*, née Richter, b. 9 October 1910 in Bremen, resident in Bremen, Würzburgerstr. 9,
3. Commercial clerk Margarethe *Schierenbeck*, b. 19 September 1910 in Bremen, resident in Bremen, Neuenstr. 7,
4. Au pair assistant Marie *Michael*, b. 20 May 1908 in Bremen, resident in Bremen, Mathildenstr. 9,
5. Mrs. Anna *Schröder*, née Wehmann, b. 4 June 1881 in Bremen, resident in Bremen, Ingelheimerstr. 47,
6. Mrs. Emma *Gerhold*, b. 15 November 1889 in Forsthaus near Echzell, resident in Bremen, St. Paulistr. 3,
7. Teacher Maria *Schröder*, b. 16 April 1901, in Ammetzove/Togo, resident in Bremen, Ingelheimerstr. 47,
8. Dr. Gustav *Meyer*, b. 16 October 1900 in Geestemünde, resident in Bremen-Lesum, Bargup 5,
9. Caregiver Anna Sara *Ringsdorff*, née Abraham, b. 6 July 1900 in Bremen, resident in Bremen, Buntentorsteinweg 635,
10. Worker Ernst Israel *Abraham*,⁶⁴ b. 19 January 1911 in Bremen, resident in Bremen, Timmerstr. 7.

Due to the letter sent by the head of the congregation to the incumbent Lord Mayor, Dr. Gustav Meyer was given a sharp warning and requested to pay a fine of RM 1,000. M. sent a similar letter to the Church Minister and the Chancellery of the German Protestant Church, with copies to the bishops **Wurm**, Marahrens, and Meiser and the pastors Rott in Berlin and Harmanus in Wuppertal.⁶⁵ The congregation members who also had a hand in the letters were each fined RM 500:

Senior teacher Elisabeth *Forck*, b. 18 January 1900 in Seehausen, DR

[German Reich], resident in Bremen, Hildesheimerstr. 37,

Senior teacher rtd. Magdalene *Thimme*, b. 3 November 1880 in Lohe, DR
[German Reich], resident in Bremen, Riensburgerstr. 69. <3372>

•597►

Stapoleitstelle Magdeburg

Behavior by PureBlooded Germans vis-à-vis Jews

Magdeburg, 11 November 1941

LHA Ma, Rep. C 30 Oschersleben A Nr. 371

Recently it has become known that persons who are pureblooded Germans continued to maintain friendly relations with Jews and appear with them in public in a manner that draws special attention.⁶⁶ Since the pureblooded Germans in question proved by such behavior that even today, they do not have any conception of even the most elementary basic concepts of National Socialism, and their behavior should be viewed as a sign of disrespect for government measures, I hereby request that in such cases the pureblooded German person(s) and the Jews should be taken into **protective custody**.

I request that the minutes of the interrogation be forwarded to me in duplicate.

<3373>

•598•

Stapostelle Regensburg

Behavior by PureBlooded Germans vis-à-vis Jews

Regensburg, 4 November 1941

StA Am, BA Neumarkt 3318

[...] I hereby request that the social contacts of the Jews resident in the official area there, including those who are not subject to the regulations in the Ord. on the **Marking of Jews** of 1 September 1941,⁶⁷ be placed correspondingly under surveillance. In cases where it is learned that friendly contacts exist between pureblooded German individuals and Jews,⁶⁸ I request immediate notification.

<3375>

►599►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for November 1941

Ansbach, 7 December 1941

BayHStA, StK 106679

Jews

1) In the course of the Jews' evacuation,⁶⁹ a special train transporting 1,001 and nine children left Nuremberg for Riga on 29 November.⁷⁰

Presumably out of fear of the imminent evacuation, three Jewesses committed suicide. [...]

In the night of 15/16 November, in front of the town hall in Windsbach district Ansbach, a gallows was erected with the words "For the Jewess" in protest against the only Jewish person still resident in the district, the spouse of the watchmaker Reuter.⁷¹ <3376>

►600►

District Governor Swabia
Report for November 1941
Augsburg, 10 December 1941
BayHStA, StK 106684

Jews

During the report month, three Jewish families with a total of 16 members were removed from the city of Augsburg.⁷²

According to a report of the county commissioner Nördlingen,⁷³ in recent weeks before the introduction of the freeze,⁷⁴ Jews were in an especially great hurry to obtain their identification papers for emigration. <3377>

◀601▶

Gendarmerie Forchheim
Evacuation of the Jews to the East
Forchheim, 27 November 1941
StA Ba, K 8/8704

The Jews to be evacuated⁷⁵ from here to the **Ostland**—*Abraham*, Leo Israel, *Abraham*, née Gröschel, Jenny Sara, *Braun*, Gottlieb Israel, *Braun*, née Asch, Rosa Sara, *Israel*, née Braun, Ilse Sara, *Heller*, Flora Sara, *Schönberger*, Ida Sara, and *Zeidler*, Grete Sara—were transported today at 9 a.m. by truck to Bamberg.⁷⁶ From Bamberg they will be sent by train to Nuremberg and from there on 29 November 1941 by freight train to Riga.⁷⁷ As escorts, Police Capt. Neuner and SS man Lindner were assigned to accompany them. While they were being readied for transport at the local Paradeplatz, a large number of local residents gathered, who watched them being sent off with great interest and satisfaction. The remaining 7 Jews still located here are elderly and sickly, and they are expected to be sent in the coming days to an old people's home in Bamberg.

The apartments of the Jews evacuated were closed and sealed. The keys are deposited with the Municipal Administration Forchheim.

It is certain that Forchheim will be “judenfrei” by Christmas 1941. <3380>

◀602▶

Gestapo [Essen] II B 4

Report

Essen, 28 November 1941⁷⁸

HstA Dü Gestapoakten 37467

Please find enclosed two copies of a confidential letter, for your attention. Author of the letter is the Jew Dr. Staumel (or Samuel), resident in Berlin-Köpenick, Mahldorferstr. 94.⁷⁹ The letter is addressed to the Jewish preacher August Felix Israel Katzenstein,⁸⁰ born 13 September 1876 in Jesberg, and resident in Essen, Lindenallee 61.

The content of the letter is of likely interest to the **Gestapo** since the author, from educated Jewish circles, provides an atmospheric picture of the situation of the Jews still resident in Germany.

Berlin-Köpenick,

Mahldorferstr. 94, [Berlin, 19 November 1941]

My dear friend Katzenstein!

This morning I received your letter, so moist with tears, its content so weighty.⁸¹ I still am incapable of completely grasping the misery it describes. Now it should be up to me to provide you with some consolation and encouragement. But where can I find the courage for that? Much has also transpired here, and in my immediate direct vicinity, which is exactly the same as what you describe. But what strikes the sons and daughters of my dear old **Community** with such infinite severity is more painful to me than all else. Why didn't you, why didn't we rescue ourselves in time from the clutches of this hell? Or why did persons living abroad who understood not reach out to pluck them from the engulfing fire, even against their own will, as long as there was still a possibility to do so? We among the last to have remained behind certainly had numerous reasons to stay on here. But it is clear that these were foolish sham reasons which we should have seen through for what they in reality were. We foolishly did not believe that such a thing was possible. As if, especially in a horrible war, there was anything impossible for the dehumanized fighters. We were blind and deaf and listened to the voices of Sholomm (?) [sic],⁸² as in the time of Jeremiah—where peace, the Peace of God, treuga Dei,⁸³ had long since been rescinded. And we had clearly been outlawed and declared enemies of the state. My dear friend, this folly and blindness contained more than just a mistake. It was a form of self-destruction, to which the intransigent individuals who hate us are only now putting the finishing final touch. And we had all our senses about us, we had experience, our wits and reason. There were even preachers who foresaw and predicted correctly what was in the offing. But we

didn't listen to them, because they were powerless, and they seemed to us like misguided dreamers. Now we must tolerate to receive from the hand of our former fellow compatriots what otherwise people are wont to suffer only at the hands of their enemies in war. And all this on behalf of the phantom notion that the new Germany—no, the new Europe—cannot tolerate any Jews within its midst if its well-being and good are to be rendered secure!!

Can that provide any consolation in our horrible situation? I don't know. But this much is certain: *I myself* feel that our punishment has befallen us because of *our* blindness. Whoever does not wish to listen must feel. And we relied far too much on help from the outside, and that help could have been more powerful and sustained. We from the **Altreich** should have all been saved. We could have all been saved. But that does not exonerate us completely. Those persons ultimately are also only selfish individuals. Prepared to help only when it does not touch their own actual interests too much. How many Russian and Polish Jews did we Germans allow to perish in the decades between 1830 and 1930?

Yet for that reason, our God remains what He was. As history teaches, He very often left our forefathers over to similar ruination, keeping alive the remainder as His most faithful. For a long time, we believed we were that remainder. But our ordeal of suffering is evidently still not at an end. We are unable to say why we belong to the "chosen ones" who once again must suffer the most horrible pain and injury on their own bodies. This fact is so terrible that our thoughts shrivel and vanish. And yet we must remain brave and hold ourselves erect: because the eye of God which is the eye of history watches over us. It rests upon us. Nothing that people do to us escapes the sight of that watchful eye. And nothing of how we ourselves bear up under its brunt.—I hope from the bottom of my heart, and with confidence, that *you* and your children will be spared from the transport! Please write me, do so soon, telling me whether a new group is now to be brought onto the bitter path of suffering. Here too, everything is in a swirl and flux, and no one knows what will become of the old people's homes.

I am and remain,

With faithful greetings and wishes
From one house to the next
Your Staumel <3383>

▲603►

SD District Office Minden

Attitude of the Population to the Evacuation of the Jews

Minden, 6 December 1941

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

The now factual **evacuation⁸⁴** of the Jews from this area is viewed by a large segment of the population as a matter of great concern. There are two aspects here of greatest importance for most people. For one, they fear that as a result of this, the many Germans in still neutral foreign countries, especially in America, could suffer anew. People point to 9 November 1938⁸⁵ once again, which harmed us more everywhere abroad than it benefited us here at home.

The second point is that it is probably very questionable to ship the people specifically to the East now, during winter with all its dangers. It is quite likely that many Jews will not survive the transport. And people point out that all of the Jews evacuated now are people who have been living for ages in this region. People think that for many Jews, this decision is too harsh. Even if this opinion is not shared by a great many, it can be encountered in a large segment of the population, especially among the financially better-off circles. Here too, older persons are in the overwhelming majority.

But **Volksgenossen** who are well informed about the **Jewish Question** are absolutely in favor and approve of this action. [...] <3387>

▲604►

SD District Office Minden

Report

Minden, 12 December 1941

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Jews' Action in Minden

Regarding the current Jews' action⁸⁶ now in progress, many here are saying that most of the Jews have already been sent off. Their property has reverted to the possession of the state. People are telling one another that the Jews have all been deported to Russia. Transport is by railway carriage to Warsaw, and from there onward in cattle cars of the German Reichsbahn. They say the Führer wants to have a report by 15 January 1942 stating that there are no longer any Jews whatsoever inside the borders of the German Reich.⁸⁷ They say that in Russia, the Jews are being deployed at labor in former Soviet factories, while the more elderly and frail Jews are to be shot. As a result of such talk, the glands of compassion of various persons of Christian persuasion are flowing profusely. They say it is inconceivable that people are being treated with such brutality. Whether Jew or **Aryan**, in the end all are God's creatures. Here and there one can see Jews laden down with household goods trudging through the streets. There is no trace of any dejection whatsoever. Many in the population are saying that all Germans in the United States are being forced to wear a swastika on their left chest to identify them, along the same lines as the Jews here in Germany are visibly marked as Jews.⁸⁸ They say the Germans in America are being made to suffer and painfully atone for the fact that the Jews in Germany are being treated so badly. <3388>

◀605▶

SD Main District Office Bielefeld
Report for 10–16 December 1941
Bielefeld, 16 December 1941
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 17

Transport of 400 Jews from the Government District Minden

On Thursday, 11 December 1941, the action began here locally to transport⁸⁹ the first Jewish families to Riga.⁹⁰ About 10 a.m., the first Jewish families arrived in Bielefeld and were taken to the Kyffhäuser Hall at the Kesselbrink to be housed there. After two days, used for searches, checking of baggage, and the like, the transport left on Saturday at 3 p.m.

Although this action had been kept secret by the **Gestapo**, the fact that the Jews were being sent off was the object of discussion in all segments of the population. Accordingly, there were also a number of statements reflecting the prevailing mood. It should be noted that the action was welcomed and approved by the preponderant majority. Individual statements suggested that people were grateful to the Führer for liberating us from the pestilence of Jewish blood. One worker said: “They should have done this with the Jews 50 years ago. Then we wouldn’t have had to go through a world war or the present war we’ve got.” Many in the population were astonished that the well-appointed public buses belonging to the local transport company were used to transport the Jews to the train station.

As was a common feature in response to all government operations, the only voices of criticism and rejection came from religious circles.⁹¹ Yes, people even went so far as to use this action to spread the wildest of rumors.⁹² Thus, it was stated that the Jews were all being deported to Russia. The transport was to be by railway carriage to Warsaw, and then in cattle cars from there on to Russia. They said the Führer wanted to have a report by 15 January 1942 that there was no longer a single Jew in Germany.⁹³ In Russia, people were saying, the Jews were being deployed for labor in former Soviet factories, while the elderly and frail Jews were to be shot. It was, some said, inconceivable that the Jews could be treated so brutally. Whether a Jew or an **Aryan**, we’re all the children of God.



Figure 35. Deportation of the Jews from Bielefeld on 11 December 1941. “The transport was to be in railway carriages to Warsaw, and then in cattle cars from there on to Russia [...] In Russia, people were saying, the Jews were being deployed for labor [...], while the elderly and frail Jews were to be shot.” See ▲ 605▶. Yad Vashem Archive, Jerusalem.

In order to heighten the emotional effect of their rumors, many people in religious circles are saying that all Germans in America are being required to wear a swastika on their left chest to identify them.⁹⁴ They say the Germans in America are being made to suffer and painfully atone for the fact that the Jews in Germany are being treated so badly.⁹⁵ ▲ 606▶ <3386>

SD District Office Minden

Report

Minden, 19 December 1941

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Difficulties Pertaining to Responsibility in the Utilization and Disposal of Jewish Assets

Differences of opinion have arisen in regard to the competence of individual offices in respect to the utilization and disposal of the Jewish assets of the recently **evacuated Jews**. The previous practice was that the Party had to give formal approval in connection with the sale of Jewish plots of land. Now the revenue administration takes the view that all this lies within its sphere of competence alone. The previous course of the entire procedure was as follows: first the local police authorities had to carry out the order from the **Gestapo** to seal the living quarters. A few days after the sealing, the Revenue Office contacted the local police to ask for the keys for the sealed apartments. But since the mayors as the highest local police authorities had no authorization from the Gestapo for this, they refused to hand over the keys. The Revenue Office, on the other hand, claims it has instructions from the Reich finance minister authorizing them to have the right of disposal over the furnishings and the apartments. By contrast, the mayor in Minden, for example, refers to the Law on Renting to Jews, *Reichsgesetzblatt*, p. 864 of 30 April 1939,⁹⁶ where it expressly states that the right to utilize Jewish apartments is reserved exclusively for the municipalities. [...]

As a result, especially here in Minden, we have a situation where the Revenue Office, to which the right of utilization and exploitation of furnishings can be transferred, now is first busy taking care of its own wishes, utilizing the apartments for itself. Since in this procedure there is no approval by the Party, the general suspicion is that within the ranks of the officials in the Revenue Office, a system of favoritism is developing. [...] <3389>

Stapostelle Regensburg

Individual Actions Against Jews
Regensburg, 22 January 1942
StA Am, BA Neumarkt 3320

As was reported here, in December 1941 unknown perpetrators ripped the shutters off a window in the property of the Jewess Weil in Sulzburg, smashing the windowpanes with stones and tearing the curtains.

According to a Secret Decree of the Reich interior minister, **individual actions against Jews** must categorically be halted, on order of the Führer.⁹⁷ In accordance with the decree, persons who take part in individual actions, or instigate such actions, will be regarded and treated as provocateurs, rebels, and enemies of the state.

I hereby request to contact the responsible bearer of sovereignty of the NSDAP to explore whether he would not perhaps wish to instruct the Party members and **Volksgenossen** accordingly, on the occasion of organized evening discussions. There must be no reference here to the said decree of the Reich interior minister.

If the perpetrators of the actions described above are apprehended, I request to be apprised of their personal data. <3393>

•608•

Stapostelle Magdeburg
Jews in Attendance at Cultural Events
Magdeburg, 12 December 1941
LHA Ma, C 20 I, Ib Nr. 119

Recently, there have been repeated complaints on a significant scale via phone calls from German **Volksgenossen** saying that they are compelled to attend movie shows together with Jews. In one case, the owner of a motion picture theater was forced to extract a Jew from the screening.

In order to prevent excesses by the pureblooded German population against Jews,⁹⁸ today I have instructed the Jews in Magdeburg, through the head of the Jewish **Community**, that effective immediately, they are forbidden from attending motion picture theaters and other showings of movies.⁹⁹ <3394>

•609•

Higher Provincial Court President, Nuremberg

Report for December 1941

Nuremberg, 5 January 1942

BArch, R 22/3381

The **Aryanization** of Jewish real estate is proceeding unabated. In Nuremberg, more than four-fifths of the real estate then transferred to the former deputy **Gauleiter** Holz has been Aryanized. The number of Jews still present in Nuremberg was substantially reduced in the report period by the **evacuation** in December 1941 of about 500 Jews.¹⁰⁰ Further transports of Jews are reportedly planned for the coming months. However, the severe housing shortage in Nuremberg will scarcely be improved by those actions. <3396>

►610►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for December 1941

Ansbach, 5 January 1942

BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

The Jewess by race and religion Margarete Sara *Bamberger*, a packer in Fürth, was taken into **protective custody** charged with violating the police ordinance on the **marking of the Jews**. <3397>

►611►

District Governor Swabia
Report for December 1941
Augsburg, 12 January 1942
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

In Augsburg, an ordinance of the Lord Mayor set the **shopping time** for Jews as the first hour of business. They are prohibited from going to the open-air city market. The Lord Mayor reports that this regulation was warmly welcomed by the population. However, it has already been established that now non-Jewish persons are doing shopping for the Jews at the weekly open-air market, where the Jews already earlier were “registered” as clients with the weekly market merchants. The Lord Mayor believes that people will simply have to accept this fact as long as there are no separate shopping options available for Jews.
<3398>

◀612▶

Party District Chief Göttingen
Report to Göttingen Gestapo
Göttingen, 19 December 1941
BArch, R 187/240

Accommodation of Jews' Families in Göttingen

Since the intention to remove Jews by transport¹⁰¹ from Göttingen in the near future has already become common knowledge among the population, the district head office is being swamped by requests for assignment of apartments.

In order to acquire some approximate picture of just how many apartments will be vacated by this action and which of these apartments can be rented out by the **Aryan** landlords, or assigned by you, I hereby request that you provide me with a list of these apartments, with their corresponding size. At the same time, this would give me an accurate picture of how many Jews are still resident in Göttingen, and where.

I would be very grateful if you could send me this list at your earliest

convenience.

<3400>

◀613▶

City of Münster

Report from the War

Chronicle Chronicle Notes and Photos

Münster, 1 December 1941

StdA Ms, Amt 43 E Nr. 43

I'm someone who still frequents two taverns and mingles among the guests at the bar. [...] So listening to talk in the second tavern on Aegidüstraße, standing there among middle-level officials, craftsmen, and merchants, I hear that all Jews have to be out of the city of Münster by the 13th of this month.¹⁰² There is a very lively discussion about this bit of news. Most of the people at the bar are pleased with this measure. The word is that the Jews will all be sent to large labor camps in the East, both so they can be put to work there, and also so that they will vacate urgently needed living space in Münster. Good, that's right, that's right. This is the repeated positive reaction of the people standing there when they learn that in this way, there is also a plan to ease the housing shortage.

In the other tavern, the talk is about Christmas trips and Christmas vacation. [...] Two who walk home with me repeat a rumor that probably the Jews will all be transported next week to the East.—At home under the oil lamp I hear the same rumor. The women in town also seemed to be keenly interested in the rumors about the transport of the Jews. Only a few remarked that they had pity for the Jews, because the Jews are the ones who fomented this war. <3401>

Mayor of Vilbel

Political Situation

Vilbel, 30 December 1941

StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 244

In supplying Jews with articles for daily consumption, certain difficulties are being encountered, since the retailers refuse to sell Jews any goods. A uniform regulation is required here.¹⁰³ <3403>

«615»

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 29 January 1942
Boberach, pp. 3229 ff.

[...]

Administration and Law

The Jews in the Legal Sphere

The more completely the Jews are eliminated from the whole of the life of the **Volk**, people are all the more unwilling to accept the necessity, as evidenced by numerous reports from **Volksgenossen** and legal professionals, that German courts must continue, now as before, to deal with purely Jewish legal matters, at the expense of substantial time and money. [...]

The reports express the fact that the current way of regulating legal matters and affairs of the Jews, especially in regard to their place in civil law, is still very far from being in accordance with the place of the Jews politically in National Socialist Germany. For that reason, people argue, the judge often must decide against his own better political conviction. On the one hand, it is recognized that the law must be in harmony with the political necessities. But on the other, the judge is required in his judgments to strictly adhere to the law. If, operating on the basis of his political convictions, he brushes the law aside, he must expect that his rulings will be overturned by higher courts, or even rejected by the legislators. The reports note that this circumstance constrains him not only in his decisiveness, but also exposes him to constant misinterpretations by political offices and among the population. Why? Because, for example, politically minded **Volksgenossen** today simply cannot comprehend that Jews can still file a suit under Poor Law. Indeed, that in general they still enjoy almost the same legal protection as German Volksgenossen.

For that reason, as the reports suggest, people are demanding with ever greater urgency that the legal status of the Jews be adapted as soon as possible to the political situation now prevailing, likewise in respect to civil law. And given the ever greater difficulties with personnel in the justice system, people find it now unacceptable that the system of German administration of justice should remain at the Jews' disposal to the extent that was previously common. Here lies a possibility for simplification. Precisely at the present juncture, its utilization will be warmly welcomed both among professionals and in the broader

population. [...]

<3406>

◆616◆

SD District Office Höxter

Store Hours for Selling to Jews

Höxter, 19 January 1942

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Here in the local area, shopping time in the stores for Jews was stipulated in the period from 8 to 9 a.m. Now a new decree of the district governor valid for the entire government district of Minden permits the Jews to shop during the hours from 11 a.m. to 4:30 p.m.¹⁰⁴ This measure has triggered a storm of indignation, especially among housewives, sparking the expression of a great diversity of opinions. Of these perhaps the most crude comment is that Germany must be in a pretty bad situation if it is deemed necessary to grant the Jews privileges once again. Because if the German woman does not wish to stand in line with Jews in the shop, she either has to go shopping early in the morning or in the evening. And these are the coldest hours during the day, while the Jews' hags can take care of their shopping in the more tolerable hours around noon and in the early afternoon. [...] It is true that some people had their doubts when the Jews were obligated to do their shopping between 8 and 9 a.m., because then they were the first in the stores in the morning, and under certain circumstances maybe were able to buy a portion of some goods available only in small quantities, while the German mothers who came to the shop later had to do without them. But compared with the new regulation, that was the lesser evil, which the attitude of the merchant could also have helped to influence. [...]

Based on all observations to date, seldom has an official regulation been so at odds with public opinion as in the case of this new regulation on shopping hours for Jews. <3407>

◆617◆

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)

Reporting on Important Events of Interest to the Gestapo

Berlin, 12 January 1942

BArch, R 58/200

Jews

The **Stapoleitstelle**¹⁰⁵ Berlin has arrested the following individuals:
the stateless Jew *Arkade Israel Munwes* (b. 24 July 1894 in Minsk, resident in Berlin-Grunewald),
the Jewess *Herta Sara Prenzlau*, née Prenzlau (b. 17 June 1892 in Hamburg, resident in Berlin-Charlottenburg), and
the Jew Meyer *Israel David* (b. 19 February 1869 in Korlin, resident in Berlin).

Munwes had purchased a forged Turkish passport for himself for the sum of 2,000 RM, removed his **Jews' star**, and then falsely presented himself to the Police HQ in Berlin and his local precinct as a Turkish citizen. The Jewess *Prenzlau* was aware of the machinations of *Munwes*. She herself had been intending to marry a Turkish national in order to acquire Turkish citizenship, and thus be able to transfer her assets abroad.

David is accused of having harassed and mocked a seriously wounded Wehrmacht soldier in the most crude manner.

The Stapoleitstelle Berlin has also arrested the following persons:

Privy Councillor Richard *Hähn* (b. 22 February 1876, in Halberstadt),
Lawyer Dr. Martin *Remmicke* (b. 30 May 1898 in Kattersmauendorf), and
Merchant Bruno *Brandt* (b. 5 October 1897 in Ahrensbrück)
—all resident in Berlin—.

The above-mentioned individuals have been found guilty and confessed to having approached Jews and told them under false pretense that they could have them deferred from **evacuation** if each Jew would pay the sum of RM 5,000 for such deferment. In this manner, *Hähn*, in whose apartment the negotiations with the Jews were conducted, has gathered together a total sum to date of RM 16,000 from the Jews. Of this amount, he passed on RM 1,000 to *Remmicke* and RM 3,000 to *Brandt*.

In addition, up until the very recent past, *Hähn* concluded various larger-scale loan agreements with Jews, supposedly in order to finance business deals important for the political economy. Here too he had intimated that by providing the loan, it would be possible to arrange deferment for the Jew from evacuation. He also assured the Jews that they would no longer need to wear the Jews' star and that they would be **Aryanized**.¹⁰⁶ The accused were brought before the examining magistrate.

◀618▶

RSHA, Office **III** (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 2 February 1942
Boberach, pp. 3233 ff., 3245

General Matters

The mere announcement that the *Führer* would speak to the German people this year again on January 30 was received by the entire population with great interest and joyous emotion. This all the more so, since due to the hard battles in recent weeks and the lack of clarity about the real situation in the East that is still dominant in many quarters, numerous **Volksgenossen** feel the definite need to hear once again the voice of the *Führer*, in order to draw new strength and confidence from his words. The *Führer's speech* itself made a powerful impression on all segments of the population, influencing in a positive way the popular mood, once again on the upswing as a result of the special reports in recent days. [...]

The renewed *denunciation of the Jews* and the emphasis on the phrase from the Old Testament “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,”¹⁰⁷ were interpreted to mean that the *Führer's* struggle against Jewry will continue with relentless consistency until it is completed and soon the last Jew will be expelled from European soil.¹⁰⁸

[...]

Administration and Law

The Impact of the Police Ordinance on the Marking of the Jews of 1 September 1941

According to reports now available from all parts of the Reich (Berlin, Weimar, Darmstadt, Würzburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt/Main, Breslau, Oppeln, Bielefeld, Wiesbaden, Fürth, Bremen, Braunschweig, Augsburg, Schwerin, Halle, Königsberg, Dessau, Hamburg, Cologne, Koblenz, Stettin, Katowice, Leipzig, Neustettin, Dresden, Karlsruhe, Linz, Munich), the issuance of the ordinance on the **marking of the Jews** has in general had a favorable impact in the population. It is emphasized everywhere that this ordinance is in keeping with a wish long present among broad circles of the population, especially in localities where there are still a relatively large number of Jews.¹⁰⁹

But reports also agree that the special treatment accorded Jews married to pureblooded Germans¹¹⁰ has led to astonishment and reluctance among the

population. The exceptions stipulated in the ordinance have even been criticized by **Volksgenossen** as a “halfway measure.” In particular, it is evident from everywhere that among the general public, there is more understanding for a radical solution of the Jewish Problem than any compromise, and in the broadest circles, people want a clear external distinction to be made between Jewry and the German Volksgenossen. It is significant that many regard the ordinance on marking not as a final measure of some sort, but rather only as the prelude to further, more drastic ordinances, with the goal of a final resolution of the **Jewish Question.**¹¹¹

[...]

The large number of available reports agree that the measures already taken should not be viewed as final. In particular, there is a general expectation that all special regulations in favor of the Jews and the Jewish **Mischlinge** and **Aryans** married to Jews will be revoked as soon as possible. The population also wishes to mark the apartments of the Jews in an appropriate manner.¹¹² But most of all, they say, **deportation** in the near future of all Jews from Germany would be warmly welcomed.¹¹³ <3417>

◀619▶

SD District Office Minden

Report

Minden, 21 February 1942

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Behavior of Unmarked Jews

Everywhere people are saying they cannot comprehend at all why Jews married to an **Aryan**¹¹⁴ spouse are not required to wear the **marking** as a Jew. It is precisely these Jews (in the main females) whose behavior in public toward **Volksgenossen** is such that this situation cannot be allowed to continue. People say: today it is possible that an Aryan woman who goes shopping may be obliged to share some scarce item with a Jewess, since the Jewess is not recognizable as such. People say it is a huge mistake if special consideration is given to combat veterans or other men who have some special merit and are married to a Jewess. Talk is that if an Aryan today has still failed to understand what the Jew actually is, then he doesn't need any special consideration from the German people. He is just like a Jew and ought to declare his full support for

that race. [...]

People think this loophole in the law has to be closed. Whether a Jew or **half-Jew**, it's all the same, they're all the same sort. What would the Jew do with us if he could control things again in Germany the way he used to? But today there are two kinds of Jews, the Aryan and the **non-Aryan** Jews. If you talk with combat soldiers from the East, you'll see that the Jews here in Germany are still being treated far too humanely.¹¹⁵ The correct approach, people say, is to destroy the whole pack of them. This is what people are commenting about the differential treatment Jews receive in respect to marking. <3421>

◀620▶

Mayor of Ober-Erlenbach

The Political Situation
Ober-Erlenbach, 26 February 1942
StA Da, G 15 Friedberg Q 246

[Jews]

In regard to the sole Jews' family still living here, any and all means should be used to remove them. Please provide me with instructions as to how this can be accomplished. <3431>

1. See Chronology, 1 September 1941.
2. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.
3. The present text is contained verbatim in the report of the SD Main District Office Bielefeld of 16 September 1941, so that it was decided not to reproduce that report either in the printed volume or in the complete edition on CD-ROM.
4. See **mixed marriages** and the special conditions for exemption from the requirement of wearing the "Jewish Star" (under "privileged mixed marriages").
5. These and similar especially humiliating measures were introduced in various places on the basis of local initiatives such as municipal ordinances.
6. See CD 4306.
7. See on this the often-quoted essay by Robert Weltsch, "Tragt ihn mit Stolz, den gelben Fleck" (Wear It with Pride, the Yellow Badge), in the paper **Jüdische Rundschau**, 4 April 1933 (see Chronology), published immediately after the nationwide **Boycott** Action of 1–3 April 1933 (see Chronology).
8. See **Aryanization**.
9. In actuality, the Jewish spouse was only exempted from the obligation to wear a badge if the marriage was under the category "privileged mixed marriage."
10. See 4569.
11. See 4566.
12. See **Mixed marriages**.
13. See 4568.
14. See **Mischlinge**.
15. See 4567.

16. See **Gestapo**.
17. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.
18. See Chronology, 1 September 1941, and 19 September 1941.
19. See Chronology.
20. See ▶569▶.
21. See Emigration.
22. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
23. See **Marking of the Jews**.
24. See **Mixed marriages** and “privileged mixed marriages” there.
25. See ▶567▶ and ▶569▶.
26. See **Mixed marriages**.
27. On 24 September 1941, the heads of the local Party branches of the NSDAP in Forchheim (Altstadt and Bahnhof) sent a letter to the mayor (StA BA, K 8/8704), demanding that he vacate Jews by force from the building at Paradeplatz 4. That letter is not reproduced here.
28. Oddly, the Law on Renting to Jews of 30 April 1939 (see Chronology) is not applied here. According to this legislation, special **Jews' houses** were to be established in German towns.
29. See Chronology, 1 September 1941, and **Marking of the Jews**.
30. The **synagogue** in Urspringen, built in 1803 and renovated in 1932, was totally destroyed during the **Kristallnacht** pogroms. It was impossible for the Jews remaining in the town to use the synagogue again down to their **deportation** in February and April 1942. (See EJL, Vol. III, 1363).
31. See **Talmud**.
32. See **Communism and Jews**.
33. See von **Galen**.
34. See **Euthanasia**.
35. See **Gestapo**.
36. See **Protective custody**.
37. On the pastoral letter by the Bishop von **Galen** against **euthanasia**, see ▶580▶.
38. On the critical but often also ambivalent attitude of the two great

denominations and their members, see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**. The term “bourgeois” or “better circles” in the situation reports refers to the liberal middle classes.

39. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
40. See Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime.
41. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.
42. See Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich.
43. See **Emigration**.
44. See **Marking of the Jews** and Chronology, 1 September 1941.
45. See Chronology, 21 March 1933.
46. See **Internal migration**.
47. See Deportation of Jews and Chronology, 14 October 1941.
48. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
49. See Chronology.
50. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
51. **Deportation of Jews**.
52. See **Films, anti-Semitic in the Third Reich**.
53. As a matter of fact, all Jewish POWs of the Soviet army were shot in the POW camps immediately after their capture or after they had been identified as Jews. By contrast, Jewish POWs from armies of the Western Allies were basically treated like their non-Jewish fellow soldiers in captivity. See Krakowski, “Fate of the Jewish POW.”
54. See Chronology, 14 September 1941.
55. See Chronology, 18 September 1941, and further restrictions for Jews in the utilization of public transport, 10 October 1941, 24 April 1942, and 7 July 1942, which sought to respond to these demands by the population.
56. See von **Galen**.
57. See **Protective custody**.
58. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.
59. See **Jew friend**.
60. As a punishment for this type of friendly behavior toward Jews and provision of support in their extreme misery, if this occurred “in public,” the

decree of the **RSHA** of 24 October 1941 is clear and unequivocal (see Chronology) in its threat of protective custody or three months of imprisonment in a concentration **camp** “for purposes of reeducation.” On the concrete consequences of this decree, see the following document of the Gestapo Bremen

◀596▶

61. See **Confessing Church**.

62. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

63. See on this Chronology, 24 October 1941, and ▶595▶.

64. On Anna Sara Ringsdorff, née Abraham (under 9) and Ernst Israel Abraham (under 10), both members of the Protestant Confessing Congregation, who as **converts** or **Geltungsjuden** probably were forced to take the first names Sara and Israel, see Chronology, 1 January 1939, and **Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews**.

65. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

66. See **Jew friend**, and Chronology, 24 October 1941, and ▶595▶, ▶596▶

67. See Chronology.

68. Seen. 66.

69. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

70. On the deportation of the Jews from Germany to Riga in November–December 1941 and their fate (including mass shootings), see Lozowick, “Documentation: ‘Judenspedi-teur’”; and Cohen, *Antisemitism XIII*, Nos. 2523–2527; and EH, Vol. III, 1276–1279; Ghettos in the National Socialist period.

71. See Individual actions.

72. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

73. The document was not available to the editors.

74. See Chronology, 1 October 1941.

75. See **Evacuation** and Chronology, 14 October 1941.

76. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

77. See ▶599▶ and n. 70 there.

78. The report was evidently sent to the Stapoleitstelle Düsseldorf as an authentic report on the prevailing mood dealing with the situation and mood of the Jews at the time of the first **deportations** and mass executions (see Chronology, 14 November 1941).

79. The correct name of the author was not Staumel but Samuel (see Lowenthal, *Bewährung im Untergang*, 145 ff.).

80. Although the first names given here and the year of birth do not agree with those for the teacher and preacher Salli Katzenstein born in Jesberg, it is possible that he is the person meant, or at least a family member of the Essen family Katzenstein so prominent in Jewish life; see Walk, *Kurzbiographien*, 187 f.

81. The letter by Katzenstein is not contained in the report.

82. Probably “Shalom,” Hebr. peace.

83. Treuga Dei (Lat. the peace of God), a medieval concept for a temporary ceasefire. Here evidently some reference is made to the “closed season” before the beginning of **deportations** and mass murder in October 1941.

84. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

85. See **Kristallnacht**.

86. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

87. On Hitler’s order of mid-September, “that as soon as possible, the **Altreich** [...] should be emptied and liberated of Jews,” see Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 309ff.; idem, 311, on the mass shootings of deported German Jews after their arrival in Riga; see ▶605▶, n. 90.

88. See **Marking of the Jews**.

89. See **Deportation of Jews**, and Chronology, 14 October and 25 November 1941.

90. On the deportation of the Jews from Germany to Riga in November–December 1941 and their fate (including mass shootings), see Lozowick, “Documentation ‘Judenspedi-teur’”; Cohen, *Antisemitism* XIII, Nos. 2523–2527; and EH, Vol. III, 1276–1279; **Ghettos for Jews in the National Socialist period**.

91. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

92. In the report from the SD District Office Minden of 12 December 1941 ▶604▶ underlying this report it states only: “People are telling one another that the Jews have all been deported to Russia.”

93. See n. 87.

94. In the report of the SD District Office Minden quoted in n. 92, it states more concretely: “Many in the population are saying that all Germans in the

United States are being forced to wear a swastika to identify them on their left chest, along the same lines the way Jews here in Germany are marked as Jews.” See **Marking of the Jews**.

95. On the opinion expressed in a number of situation reports, mainly from the year 1943 (after Stalingrad) that “the German people will have to suffer and painfully atone for the crimes committed against the Jews, or already [have] paid for it during the war,” see Hauschild-Thiessen, *Hamburger Katastrophe*, 230. There a contemporary document states: “Despite all the indignation against the English and Americans for the inhuman way they are waging this war, it is necessary to note very objectively that the simple ordinary people, the middle classes and the other remaining circles, made statements on their own again and again privately in confidence, and even in a larger circle, that designated the attacks a reprisal for our treatment of the Jews.” (For the reference to this document, we are grateful to Dr. Uwe Lohalm, Scientific Director, Research Center for Contemporary History in Hamburg.)

96. See Chronology.

97. It was not possible to find any more details on the Secret Decree mentioned here. See the similar decree by the **Gestapo** immediately after the beginning of the war, Chronology, 7 September 1939.

98. See **Individual actions**.

99. See Chronology, 12 November 1938.

100. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

101. See Chronology, 14 October 1941.

102. See **Deportation of Jews** and Chronology, 14 October 1941.

103. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.

104. See **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**.

105. The report was sent from the Berlin Stapoleitstelle to the central office for the entire Reich, the Gestapo.

106. See **Aryanization**.

107. See Hitler speech of 30 January 1942, in: Domarus, Hitler: *Speeches and Proclamations*, IV, quote 2574.

108. On the possible interpretation of this declaration, see n. 112.

109. On the actual “pressure from below” to introduce a marking of the Jews

before the ordinance of 1 September 1941 (see Chronology), see ▶560▶.

[110.](#) See **Mixed marriages**.

[111.](#) The key concept “final resolution of the Jewish Question” can be understood in this report as the **Final Solution of the Jewish Question**, already in operation since the end of July or end of October 1941 (see Chronology, 22 June 1941 and 14. October 1941) as systematic deportation and mass annihilation of the Jews, both from the **Greater German Reich** and the indigenous Jewish population in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union. Both the local Jewish population and the Jews deported from the Greater German Reich fell victim to the mass killings. See also esp. the documents ▶604▶ and ▶605▶, Herbert, *National Socialist Extermination Policies*, and Friedländer, *Years of Extermination II: Mass Murder*.

[112.](#) See Chronology, 13 March 1941.

[113.](#) The reference is probably to the **deportations** to the East which began on 14 October 1941 (see Chronology) (see ▶599▶, ▶601▶, ▶603▶, ▶604▶, ▶605▶), and the above-mentioned reports “from all parts of the Reich,” on which this report is based.

[114.](#) See **Mixed marriages**.

[115.](#) See Chronology, 22 June 1941.

12

“Dejudification of Germany”

Deportations and Suicides
(March 1942–March 1943)

◀621▶

Emigration Consultation Office Cologne
Activity Report for the First Quarter 1942
Cologne, n.d.
HStA Dü, RW 36–20

If in the previous quarter, utilization of the Emigration Consultation Office spontaneously surged once more in the first two months (October, November), and then rapidly dropped off in the third month (December),¹ in the present report period it has reached its low point to date. A total of 443 cases were dealt with in the previous quarter (163 in October, 220 in November, 60 in December), while the quarter here reported on has only 53, with 23 in January, 18 in February, and 12 in March. [...] Since the **emigration** of the Jews came to a halt in December,² only 3 Jews are now among the applicants. So the activity of the Emigration Consultation Office as a consultant in matters of passports for Jewish emigrants has thus also come to an end. [...] <3455>

◀622▶

SD Main District Office Bielefeld III A 1
Special Report on All Fundamental Questions on the Attitude and Mood in the Population
Bielefeld, 15 March 1942
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 19

General Matters

Attitude of the Population Toward the War

Meaning of the War

Concomitant with the increasing expansion of war, initial doubts about its necessity have been eliminated almost everywhere. For example, during the first year of the war, under the impact of the air raids, one could still hear now and then complaints such as the following, principally from among the local Roman Catholic population here: "Just because a few bigwigs on both sides can't stand one another, we have to go to war." But the experience gathered by combat soldiers at the front in Russia has had such a therapeutic effect that today every **Volksgenosse** is completely convinced about the necessity of this war. Extremely small segments of the population, people who must in every respect be considered among the opponents, cannot detract from that total picture in any way. Virtually all Volksgenossen have realized that the Jew is the real instigator of this war. And that is largely due to the exceptional influence of the propaganda. It is he who bears responsibility for the unspeakable misery that this war has brought for so many Volksgenossen. An important recent factor for bringing such broad circles of the population to this realization has been the distribution of the manuscript by the American Jew **Kaufmann**.³ <3437>

◆623◆

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)

Reports on Events of Importance for the Gestapo

Berlin, 18 March 1942

BArch, R 58/202

Political Catholicism

[...] The priest Karl Golda (b. 23 December 1914 in Tichau, resident in the Salesian monastery Auschwitz) and a member of a religious order, was arrested by the **Stapostelle** Katowice. G., who had delved into secret matters of the **Auschwitz** camp, is under immediate suspicion of having intended to evaluate the intelligence he gathered for propaganda purposes hostile to Germany.⁴ <3449>

◆624◆

NSDAP Local Branch Mainberg
Report for March 1942
Mainberg, n.d.
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 676

Combating of the Jews

It has repeatedly been observed that soldiers coming from Warsaw⁵ and Litzmannstadt⁶ are talking in public about the way Jews are being eliminated in these cities; they may be exaggerating. These descriptions in the main aim to belittle and denigrate the nobility of our Wehrmacht in combat.⁷ The population is likewise disturbed by this, and it serves to bolster enemy propaganda. <3456>

◀625▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for March 1942
Ansbach, 7 April 1942
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Matters

[...]

Jews

a) In the framework of the **evacuation** action, a special train with 990 Jews left Nuremberg on 24 March, its destination Lublin-Izbica.⁸ There were no associated incidents.

The Jew Dr. Martin Israel Offenbacher avoided evacuation by committing **suicide** (coal gas).

b) In March 1942, 38 applications were submitted (previous month, 46) to determine the decline in the value of assets held by Jews on the basis of the 11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law of 25 November 1941 (RGBl. I, p. 722).⁹

c) The Jew by race and religion [name *a* withheld] in Nuremberg was sentenced to death for an especially serious violation of the ordinance against the folk pest in connection with the crime of **race defilement**, according to the Law on the Protection of Blood.¹⁰ The co-accused [name *b* withheld] née [...] was sentenced to two years imprisonment for the crime of perjury. <3452>

◀626▶

District Governor Swabia

Report for March 1942

Augsburg, 10 April 1942

BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

Toward the end of the month, there were extensive transports of Jews¹¹ from Augsburg and Kempten (Allgäu), and from the districts Günzburg, Krumbach, Lindau (Bavaria), Memmingen, Nördlingen, initially to Munich (some 360). In Augsburg, a Jew was arrested and charged with creating a public nuisance.

<3453>

◀627▶

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate

Report for March 1942

Regensburg, 10 April 1942

BayHStA, StK 106674

Jews

In the city of Weiden, a Jewish pupil (born 1927) was arrested for posing as a 1st lieutenant in the Wehrmacht and making statements detrimental to the state. Since he is on the list to be evacuated, he was released. <3451>

◀628▶

SD [Main District Office Erfurt] (Observer)¹²

Report in the “Völkischer Beobachter” About the Deployment of the SD in the East

Erfurt, 30 April 1942

ThHStAW, NS 29/53, Bd. 4

The *Völkischer Beobachter* of 30 April 1942 carries a detailed report by the SS war correspondent Schaal on the deployment of the SD in a small Soviet city.

This report has caught the attention of readers. As a result of repeated publications in the press and visual reports in the Weekly Newsreel¹³ on the area of activity of the German Security Police and the SD, people say they have learned more about these formations. There is talk about the use of the **Gestapo** in the occupied territories in the East, but they say they have not been able to put together a clear picture of the area of activity of the German Security Police, since the wildest rumors are in circulation about them.¹⁴ Thus, people are saying that the Security Police has the task of exterminating the Jews in the occupied territories.¹⁵ They say Jews are being rounded up by the thousands and shot after having first been forced to dig their own graves. There is talk that shootings of the Jews are of such proportions at times that even the members of the execution squads are suffering nervous breakdowns. The talk is that these rumors have caused the population to form a gruesome picture of the activity of the Security Police. They say that for that reason, there is special interest when the press or weekly newsreels in the theaters also report on these police formations. [...] <3463>

◀629▶

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)

Reporting on Events of Importance for the Gestapo

Berlin, 13 April 1942

BArch, R 58/203

Jews

The Staatspolizeistelle¹⁶ Frankfurt a.M. has learned that Jews are attempting to emigrate illegally from Frankfurt a.M. via Cologne, Brussels, and France to Spain or Portugal,¹⁷ and that the contact point for this in Cologne is being run by the Jew Eduard Israel *Haas* (b. 18 July 1884 in Trier, resident in Cologne). He is providing Jews with the possibility for illegal departure for the fee of 1,200 RM.¹⁸ On the basis of inquiries that have been initiated, four Jews have now been taken into custody together with the Jew Haas. Intending to depart illegally, they had gone from Frankfurt a.M. to Cologne and met there with the said Jew Haas. A search was made and it was determined that each Jew had a sum of at least 1,200 RM on his person. Further inquiries in this matter are being conducted by the Stapo Stelle Cologne. <3468>

◀630▶

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate
Report for April 1942
Regensburg, 8 May 1942
BayHStA, StK 106674

Political Situation

[...]

Enemies of the State

[...]

Jews

213 Jews were deported to the East.¹⁹ In the city of Landshut, 5 Jews (2 men and 3 women) killed themselves by gas immediately prior to the implementation of this measure.²⁰ <3471>

◀631▶

District Governor Lower and Central Franconia
Report for April 1942
Ansbach, 5 May 1942
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

On March 24, 781 Jews were **evacuated** to the East, on April 25, 105 Jews were deported. There were no disturbances aside from several **suicides** and attempted suicides. <3472>

◀632▶

District Governor Swabia
Report for April 1942
Augsburg, 9 May 1942
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

In recent weeks, some 430 Jews have been removed from the government district for the purpose of resettlement.²¹ Of these, 131 are from the city of Augsburg. Before resettlement, a young Jew attempted **suicide**. <3473>

◀633▶

County Commissioner Bad Neustadt/Saale
Report for April 1942
Bad Neustadt/Saale, 29 April 1942
StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21909

General Political Situation

[...] The removal and transport of the Jews²² proceeded without incident. But the level-headed among the population were offended by the fact that a large group of schoolchildren, hooting and jeering, accompanied the procession of Jews down to the train station, and continued their howling until the train departed.

<3475>

◀634▶

Criminal Investigative Division Forchheim

Jews' Evacuation

Forchheim, 23 April 1942

StA Ba, K 8/8704

According to a communication in writing and by phone from the Criminal Investigative Division Bamberg (Inspector Bezold), additional Jews are being **evacuated** to the East on 24 April 1942. From Forchheim, the only Jew designated for evacuation is the Jewess *Rosa Sara Tiesler, née Becker*, widow of a merchant, b. 15 May 1875 in Zempelburg, district Flatow, Protestant,²³ widowed by Paul Heinrich Tiesler, daughter of Salamon [sic] and Fritze Becker, née Friedländer, resident at Hornschuchallee No. 4 here in town.

According to official entries in the local Registry, the Jewess Tiesler was born on 30 May 1895. But she claims she was born on 15 May 1875.

Tiesler was informed about the evacuation and given the necessary instructions on how to fill out the assets declaration and what items she should bring along with her. She will be removed on 24 April 1942 and sent by the undersigned to Bamberg.

<3476>

◀635▶

Constabulary Neumarkt/Oberpfalz

Evacuation of the Jews
Neumarkt, 6 April 1942
StA Am, BA Neumarkt 3316

Attached please find a list of the assets declarations of the Jews being evacuated here, as well as data on the money confiscated and the travel money:
[...]²⁴

Further confiscations were not made. The evacuation proceeded smoothly and without incident. The above-mentioned amount of money in cash was delivered to the Gestapo-Staatspolizeistelle *Regensburg* on 3 April 1942 together with the above-mentioned objects. The passports of the following persons were seized: Landecker, Berthold Israel; Baruch, Hermann Israel and Baruch Kurt Israel. They are enclosed and submitted here. <3477>

◆636◆

NSDAP Local Branch Schonungen

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Schonungen, 24 April 1942
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 676

[Jewry]

Finally the last Jews have left Schonungen. We noted this fact with satisfaction. Nonetheless, there are still some Volksgenossen who have a mistaken pity for this race. <3479>

◀637▶

SD [Main District Office Erfurt]²⁵ III A 4
Reports from the Area of District Offices
[Erfurt], 8 May 1942
ThHstAW, NS 29/53, Bd. 4

Education

[...]

Conventions of School Directors in Weissensee and Straußfurt on 27 and 28 April 1942

In both these conventions, Schools Inspector Dr. *Borchers* gave a lecture entitled “What does the teacher have to know about Bolshevism to be able to instruct the children about this in class?” [...]

The speaker showed that the Jews in Europe had begun to emancipate themselves beginning on 21 September 1892.²⁶ The words of Abraham “In Abraham’s seed shall all kindreds of earth be blessed” and of Moses “You will be my people and I will be your God” have been made a reality by consistent adaptation to all the world’s peoples. Always mindful of the Jewish saying “It makes a difference whether I assimilate *me* or *myself* into the population,”²⁷ Jewry penetrated into the civilized peoples of Europe, infecting them with its pestilential breath.

It was demonstrated historically that Judaism, Marxism, communism, and Bolshevism all strove for the same goal,²⁸ to gain political and economic power in Europe, and proceeding from there throughout the world. The means serving this end were: protection of what is inferior, physical and mental terror, war,

deluding the masses of workers, revolution, strikes, political murder, and making a laughing stock of everything that is of racial and ethical value. Proceeding from Russia, the Jew attempted to realize the revolutionary International in all civilized countries. [...]

The first person to have relentlessly revealed and propagated the intellectual connection between Bolshevism and Judaism was the Führer. It is Germany's great good fortune that Adolf Hitler recognized the goals of Bolshevism early on, and then oriented his politics along these lines. <3480>

►638►

SD [Main District Office]²⁹ III A 4
Reports from the Area of District Offices
[Erfurt], 20 May 1942
ThHStAW, NS 29/54, Bd. 1

[...]

Administration

Dispute Between the Lord Mayor and Gestapo in Erfurt in Connection with the Jews' Evacuation

[...] After the evacuation of more than 100 Jews in Erfurt, a new dispute has arisen because of the apartments which have been vacated. The **Gestapo** closed and locked these apartments until the furnishings, etc., left behind had been removed. Since even before it had taken care of this matter, it was flooded by persons interested in an apartment, the Gestapo initially informed inquirers that the apartments were under the jurisdiction of the Gestapo. This was communicated to the Municipal Housing Office and the Lord Mayor in such a form that the impression arose as if the Gestapo desired to finally take control of these apartments for the needs of its followers, or to assign them as the Gestapo desired, to privileged parties of their preference. Without consulting with the Gestapo, the Lord Mayor then sent a further complaint by express letter to the Reich interior minister. Soon after this letter had been dispatched, he learned that it was not the intention of the Gestapo to pass over and ignore his authority in housing allotment. Rather, the (temporary) confiscation by the Gestapo had only been a preventive measure to keep the crowd of apartment seekers at arm's length.

Aside from the superfluous administrative work that has arisen as a result of Lord Mayor Kiessling's rather strong complaints, which could have been avoided if there had been the customary open channels of contact between offices, this case demonstrates just how easily, once the unity of administration is destroyed, superfluous difficulties and frictions can develop as a direct consequence. However, there is no intention here to doubt the necessity for an independent secret state police.

<3481>

◀639▶

SD [Main District Office]³⁰ III A 4
Reports from the Area of District Offices
[Erfurt], 27 May 1942
HStA Wei, BArch, NS 29/54

Education

[...]

Magazine “Der Untermensch,” edited by the Reichsführer SS SS Main Office

The Reichsführer SS,³¹ SS Main Office, has published the periodical *Der Untermensch* in the Nordland Publishing House, after editing by the SS Main Office, Educational Office, in cooperation with the Graphics Working Group Jupp Daehler. In recent days, political circles have been eager to purchase this magazine, and have been discussing it intensely. People have noted that its presentation was a superb success and gave a clear picture of the Jewish-Bolshevik subhuman species. They say the photos highlighting the charm of the individual peoples of Europe as contrasted with the Bolshevik peoples were especially successful. They stressed that this magazine provided a clear presentation of the horrific misery of the Soviet Union, Jewish art and trashy culture, and Bolshevik murder. <3483>

◀640▶

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)
Reporting on Events of Importance to the Gestapo
Berlin, 27 May 1942
BArch, R 58/204

Communist Party of Germany and Other Marxist Groups

[...] The Stapoleitstelle Berlin³² has been successful in penetrating an illegal communist group which was set up together with the Soviet Union shortly after the outbreak of the war. Until quite recently, this group had been occupied with producing and distributing material for agitation, had carried out communist slogan painting in Berlin, and had formed a group to spy and eavesdrop. This group had also planned acts of sabotage, and finally on 18 May³³ had perpetrated an attack on the exhibition “The Soviet Paradise” in the Lustgarten grounds in Berlin, where incendiary devices had been placed in several exhibition rooms. However, greater damage was avoided by timely intervention. In the action against this group, 22 persons have to date been arrested and are given by name in the appended list, including 7 Jews or **Mischlinge** of the 1st degree. Apprehended as the intellectual mentor and leader of the illegal group is the technical specialist of the AEG in Berlin, Joachim *Franke*, who was very active on behalf of the KPD already before the seizure of power, especially as a literary writer. Working together, Joachim *Franke*, Herbert **Baum**, *Steinbrink*, and Hans *Vötter* wrote, edited, and distributed the following brochures, which have recently appeared:

“An die deutsche Ärzteschaft”

(see Meldung No. 3, 8 April 1942, p. 3),

“Der Ausweg”

(see Meldung No. 7, 15 December 1941, p. 4) and

“Der Weg zum Sieg”

In addition, the persons under 1) to 11) named in the appendix participated in the attack on the exhibition.

Steinbrink was identified as the person who had made the incendiary devices. [...]

Appendix

Arrests by the Staatspolizeileitstelle Berlin.

- 1) Franke
Joachim, technical specialist
(b. 8 January 1905, Eisleben),
- 2) Mannberg
Hans, printer
(b. 24 December 1912, Neukölln),
- 3) Bernecker

- Walter, accountant
(b. 29 March 1907, Königsberg),
- 4) Steinbrink
Werner,
laboratory assistant
(b. 19 April 1917, Berlin),
- 5) Jadamowitz
Hildegard, office assistant
(b. 12 February 1916, Berlin),
- 6) Meyer
Gerhard *Israel*, toolmaker (b. 12 January 1919, Berlin),
- 7) Wesse
Susanne, translator
(b. 16 January 1914, Calais),
- 8) Kochmann
Sara née Rosenbaum, day nursery teacher
(b. 7 June 1912, Rzeszow),
- 9) Baum
Herbert *Israel*, electrical technician
(b. 10 January 1912, Moshin),
- 10) Baum
née Cohn, Marianne *Sara*
(b. 9 February 1912, Saarburg)
- 11) Walther
Irene, office worker
(b. 23 January 1919, Neukölln),
- 12) Franke, née Vieth, Erika, housewife
(b. 7 September 1911, Mariendorf),
- 13) Lehmann
Else, clerk
(b. 25 October 1911, Insterburg),
- 14) Vötier
Hans-Georg, typesetter

- (b. 6 July 1901, Leipzig),
- 15) Vötier
née Kappermann, Charlotte
(b. 19 July 1903, Schwedenhöhe),
- 16) König
Karl, bookbinder
(b. 24 September 1877, Weimar),
- 17) Adler
Anna, widow Mannaberg, née Schulz
(b. 6 November 1884, Berlin),
- 18) Meyer
Hanny *Sara* née Lindenberger,
- 19) Illgen Arthur, illustrator
(b. 22 May 1905, Berlin),
- 20) Wesse
Richard, engineer
(b. 3 November 1911, Berlin),
- 21) Corvey
Erich, machinist
(b. 7 July 1902, Essen),
- 22) Schaumann
Werner, commercial clerk
(b. 2 February 1908, Berlin)
—all resident in Berlin—.³⁴
- [...] <3485>

District Governor Upper Bavaria
Report for May 1942
Munich, 9 June 1942
BayHStA, StK 106671

Foreigners, Jews

[...] On 9 May, the Gendarmerie station in Petershausen (district Dachau) arrested the full-Jewish married couple Wilhelm and Wanda Lowinsky from Berlin, and handed them over to the custody of the **Gestapo**. Both had taken lodgings in Petershausen and had been renting quarters there disguised as **Aryans** since August 1941, although they had no permission to leave their place of residence. <3489>

►642►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for May 1942
Ansbach, 6 June 1942
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

- a) The following persons have been arrested:

The **cattle** dealer Hermann Israel Dingfelder in Fürth i.B., who had been warned in November 1941 by the Gestapo regarding his friendly relations with pure-blooded Germans,³⁵ was taken into **protective custody** after he secretly passed on a package of cake to a farmer with whom he earlier had done business; the medical practitioner³⁶ [name a withheld] in Fürth/Bavaria, on suspicion of having maintained sexual relations with a German woman.

b) In April, the Staatspolizeistelle³⁷ Nuremberg-Fürth dealt with 39 applications (in May, 106) to determine that the assets of Jews had fallen [to the state] in accordance with 8 No. 1 of the 11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law.³⁸

c) The Jew [name b withheld] sentenced by the Special Court Nuremberg to death for **race defilement** (see p. 10, Monthly Report for March 1942)³⁹ was put to death on 3 June. <3490>

◀643▶

NSDAP Local Branch Euerbach

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Euerbach, 15 May 1942
StA Wü, NSDAP Mainfranken Nr. 676

Within the area of the local branch, the Jews have all been transported, except for seven, who are over age 65.⁴⁰ The population regards their removal as a great benefaction. <3491>

◀644▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 22 June 1942
Boberach, pp. 3854 ff.

Cultural Areas

[...]

On the Development of Art Auctions During the War

According to reports available here, there is much discussion throughout the Reich among the public and in professional circles about the recent *art auctions* at C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, Hans W. Lange, Berlin, Weinmüller, Munich, Eugen Pongs, Düsseldorf, Achenbach, Berlin, and others. [...]

Occupying a special position are discussions in the public and in professional circles about commerce involving the *works of Jewish artists*. While the works by Jewish authors are on the list of banned books, pictures and prints by Jewish artists can be dealt with commercially without any restrictions, as long as they are not degenerate art. However, it is not permitted for a dealer to put them openly on display. People are wondering what circles today are still interested in Jewish art. They ask: why are such persons still given an opportunity to invest money in such works? Jews are not allowed to participate in auctions where pictures by Jewish artists are repeatedly on offer. But people note that Jewish works are not only achieving noteworthy prices—they are also passing into the hands of **Aryan** buyers. At an auction held at the firm of Achenbach, three paintings by Max **Liebermann** were purchased at RM 8,000, RM 5,000, and RM 3,000. No doubts could be expressed regarding the propriety of the auctioning of these paintings, because there is supposedly no order pertaining to the sale or public auctioning of Jewish objects of art. The paintings by the Jew Liebermann mentioned were purchased by Galerie Gurlitt in Berlin. These are paintings it reportedly later wishes to exchange for “art works of Aryan origin of equal value” in Switzerland. When an ad looking for paintings by the Jewish painter Liebermann was published in the art magazine *Weltkunst*, an action which likewise was the object of complaint, the word was spread among interested parties that there is no legal regulation in force against the buying and selling of works by deceased Jewish artists. The auctions of the pictures by the Jewish painter Lesser Ury, whose name was listed in the catalog of the auction in question, also evoked some surprise in circles of persons interested in art. In

Catalogue No. 28 of Hans W. Lange Auctions in Berlin, the Jew Max E. Friedländer was listed as an expert. People noted that even today, in individual cases the art trade still values Jewish expertise. <3492>

■645■

SD [Main District Office Erfurt]⁴¹ III A 4

Reports from the Area of District Offices

[Erfurt], 17 June 1942

ThHStAW, NS 29/54, Bd. 2

Administration

[...]

Municipal Official Found Guilty of Violating 2 of the Law on Malice⁴²

The former Municipal Inspector in the Municipal Housing Office, Erfurt, Ewald *Westermann*, born on 4 March 1891 in Langenbogen, Mansfelder Seekreis, married, no previous criminal record, one adopted son, killed in combat, resident in Erfurt at Humboldtstraße 21, a soldier from 1909, wounded in the Great War, was decorated with the Cross of Honor I and II. He was employed in municipal administration of the city of Erfurt since 1920, and active as a municipal inspector from 1934 on. He belonged after World War I to the Freikorps Thuringia, was a member of the German National Party and the Young German Order. After the takeover of power, he joined the National Socialist People's Welfare, serving as a block captain from 1935, and joined the RLB [Reich Aerial Defense League]. When he married in 1922, his wife brought a son from another union into their marriage, whom he adopted. This son was killed in action on the eastern front on 21 July 1941. On 3 March 1942, Westermann met a typist at the central post office who had been working with him years before. She expressed her condolences to him on the death of his adopted son, and then they left together. Walking on the street, they spoke among other things about the war. According to the bill of indictment (the judgment has not been issued yet), Westermann allegedly stated approximately the following:

This whole thing, the beginning of the war, wasn't necessary. He stressed: we alone are to blame for the starting of the war, because we had rearmed so heavily. It would have been no great feat to have wiped out unemployment after

the takeover of power. Hitler was financially at a point of collapse with his party at the end of 1932. The big industrialists supported him with money and he promised them in turn to start a war. It's not certain that the Russians would ever have invaded Germany. He went on to say that we have brought unhappiness over all of Europe. In Greece the people are dying of hunger in the streets. The Nazis made the people so stupid by all the radio and press that they didn't know any longer what was going on. Who knows what was happening in June 1934? In the **Röhm Revolt**, they shot about 1,000 people. But that was not reported, it was not let out. They also did not let people know what was being done with the Jews. In the East, Westermann said he knew this from an eyewitness, pits were being dug and 60,000 Jews shot, for example, on a single day. Jews are also human beings. Everything they're telling us, Westermann said, is a lie. The criminal stands up on Christmas Eve and asks for woolen goods for the front.⁴³ But the Germans, Westermann is reported to have said, are a flock of sheep. Because if he stands there for two hours and talks, then they responded with "our Führer, our Führer."⁴⁴ He stressed that people have to read between the lines. Westermann said: first the man said that we have enough ammunition, we can shut down production. But now he says: "Make ammunition for me, make me weapons!" In the Wehrmacht, Westermann said, there were big differences of opinion. Brauchitsch had left.⁴⁵ The big fight between the Wehrmacht and SS was coming. The SS was being strengthened all the time. What was coming would be horrible.

Westermann commented explicitly that he wasn't just saying those things because his son had been killed at the front. You just have to read something about these things, he said. He mentioned Switzerland as the source for his knowledge.

The accused denied he had made such statements in this form, but was sentenced to two years in prison on 30 May 1942 by a Special Court for violating 2 of the Law on Malice.⁴⁶ The severity of the penalty suggests that he basically was proven guilty of the crime. As a result of the judgment, effective immediately, Westermann was dismissed from his position as an official and forfeited all associated rights and claims.

Among the officials, there has already been misleading discussion about this case. They said that Westermann, whose son had been killed in action, remarked the following about his death: "We can thank the Führer for that." And that for this negligible little remark that sprang only from his grief, he was punished by a sentence of two years behind bars and loss of his career. As a result of these inaccurate stories, the false impression has arisen here that his sentence has been

much too harsh. <3493>

•646•

SD [Main District Office Erfurt]⁴⁷ III A 4
Reports from the Area of District Offices
[Erfurt], 24 June 1942
ThHStAW, NS 29/54

Political Church

Annual Festival of the Sect “Landeskirchliche Gemeinschaft” in Erfurt, Taschengasse 2.

On 21 June 1942, the sect “Landeskirchliche Gemeinschaft” celebrated its 43rd annual festival in Erfurt, and invited its members and friends to a special ceremony at their prayer hall. [...] After several psalms were read aloud in the customary manner, and a few Christian hymns with musical accompaniment had been sung, Dr. Berg from Neustrelitz went to the podium and delivered a short sermon. At the beginning of his remarks, Berg asserted that the Bible was the book of prophecies where everything was written that the world and humanity had to expect. [...] A further example he cited was that Frederick the Great had once asked a pastor whether he could give convincing proof in three words for the truth of the Bible. The pastor had answered: “Majesty, the Jews!” In the Bible it says that after the initial concentration of the Jews in **Palestine**, they would be scattered throughout the world, and this had also come to pass. It is also written: “The huntsmen are coming!” And this prophecy is fulfilling itself in our time, because the Jews are being expelled from all their host peoples, since today the Jew is no longer suffer-able in the eyes of Christians, and will first have to be purified by the fire of Christian faith. [...]

Literature

Situation in the Book Trade, Undesirable Literature

The *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, No. 127, 1942, p. 118, contains the following announcement:

“Announcement by the President of the Reich Literature Chamber. Re: Executive order for Order No. 70 (see Annex):⁴⁸

In accordance with 1 of my Order No. 70 of 15 April 1940, harmful or undesirable literature can neither be kept in stock nor distributed. However, especially as a result of the purchase and auction of Jewish libraries, such literature has frequently come into the possession of bookshops (used and rare books).

I therefore issue the following regulations:

1) Harmful and undesirable literature is to be immediately removed and set aside, and should be reported in the form of a list with precise bibliographical data (author, title, no. of pages, publisher, year of publication) to the Deutsche Bücherei in Leipzig.

2) The books demanded on the basis of these lists are to be sent to the Deutsche Bücherei; shipping costs will be refunded. The remainder of the books must be turned to wastepaper without delay.

3) Violations will be punished in accordance with 5 of the Order.

Berlin, 10 June 1942

President of the Reich Literature Chamber Hanns Johst."

Already immediately after publication of Announcement No. 70, book retailers pointed out that it is senseless to have a list of harmful and undesirable books at the Reich Literature Chamber, which to a certain extent is maintained as a secret list, but is applied as a criterion in searches. They stated that the book retail trade has a right to see this list in order then to be able to sort out harmful and undesirable literature from its stocks. Likewise, the retail trade is interested in receiving the list mentioned in 2 of the Announcement regarding books not suitable for young people and which are forbidden from being put on display. And the retail trade also points out that 4, which stipulates that all works by authors who are full Jews or half-Jews are likewise forbidden, even if they are not included in the list, can only be complied with if a list of the authors who are full Jews and half-Jews is made available.

They state that the numerous collections or series, such as "Sammlung Göschen," "Aus Natur-und Geisteswelt," "Reclame Universal-Bibliothek," etc., certainly contain some books by "Jewish or half-Jewish authors." They suggest that it is the obligation of the publisher to announce the numbers of these collections which were written by such authors, or which otherwise are deemed undesirable or harmful. They stated that the publishers would doubtless tend to be better informed about the assessment of the book or the racial affiliation of its author than the book retailers. Such an assessment cannot be carried out solely on the basis of whether a name sounds Jewish or not. Who would suspect, for example, that Georg Misch, who authored an introduction to philosophy

published by B. G. Teubner, Leipzig, was a Jew, and that this introduction to philosophy should be regarded very specifically as a *Jewish* introduction to philosophy par excellence.⁴⁹ <3494>

◀647▶

District Governor Swabia
Report for June 1942
Augsburg, 9 July 1942
BayHStA, StK 106684

Jews

In Augsburg, a Jew 75 years old committed **suicide** due to imminent **evacuation.**

<3498>

◀648▶

SD District Office Detmold

Deportation of the Jews
Detmold, 31 July 1942
StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

It is reported from Lemgo that the **deportation** of the final Jews has created a sensation in the population. Before being transported, the Jews were gathered together in the market square in Lemgo. This fact provided the population with cause to congregate in large numbers to the market square. It was possible to observe that a large proportion of the older **Volksgenossen** (and it is said that among them were also members of the Party) generally had criticism for the measure to transport the Jews from Germany. People expressed their negative views about this deportation more or less openly, giving various arguments in support of their position. Thus, some said the Jews were doomed to die out in Germany anyhow, and that this measure, which for the Jews was especially severe, was thus superfluous. Even those Volksgenossen who earlier on every occasion, suitable and nonsuitable, had emphasized their National Socialist outlook, in this respect expressed their support for the interest of the Jews, or Volksgenossen who were connected with the church. Within the circles connected with the church, people said: "We only hope that one day the German people will not have to face the punishment of the Lord."⁵⁰ Volksgenossen who are firm in their National Socialist outlook are attempting to explain to those who think differently that this action is completely justified and likewise absolutely necessary. Others argued against this, saying that the elderly Jews could no longer harm us here, because they "wouldn't hurt a fly." And they stressed that there were also many many Jews among them who had done much good, and who were by far not as bad as the "**white Jews**." Those latter should be taken away and sent to a camp. A characteristic case of support for the Jews took place during the transport of the Jews in Sabbenhausen. Here the wife of the teacher *Heumann* tried to bring the Jews some sausage and other food. According to the report of the Party local branch head Schlichting, Frau Heumann was arrested. A review of this case has been initiated, and a further report will follow after a careful investigation of the matter. <3508>

Report
Münster, 16 July 1942
StA Det, M 1 IP Nr. 639

[...]

4) Arrested,⁵¹ the Jew Heinz Israel *Mann*, b. on 15 June 1895 in Bublitz, single, Mosaic religion, DR, resident in Rastorf, district Osnabrück, charged with violating the Ordinance on the **Marking of the Jews.**⁵² [...]

21) Arrested, for suspicion of **race defilement**:

a) armaments worker [name *a* withheld], b. on 17 August 1898 in Lage i.L., single, Protestant, DR, resident in Ahrbergen,

b) Jewess [name *b* withheld], b. on 23 January 1909 in Bösingfeld i.L., resident in Bösingfeld, at Nordstr. 199.

[Name *a* withheld] and [name *b* withheld] were engaged from 1929 to 1935. In 1935, they were arrested and taken into **protective custody** for three weeks because of their relationship. In the subsequent period, [name *a* withheld] repeatedly visited the Jewess in her parental home, spending much time with her. The last visit was on 2 June 1942.

Protective custody has been requested in the case of both individuals.

◀3510▶

◀650▶

Stapostelle Wilhelmshaven

Daily Report

Wilhelmshaven, 29 July 1942

StA O, Best. 289 Nr. 187

Jews

On 23 July 1942, the inmates of the Jewish Home for the Infirm in Varel were **evacuated to Theresienstadt**. The area of the **Stapo** Wilhelmshaven has now been completely cleansed of Jews subject to compulsory **marking**. Only a few other Jews are present, living in a privileged **mixed marriage** and not required to wear a **marking badge**. [...] <3511>

◀651▶

District Governor Swabia
Report for July 1942
Augsburg, 11 August 1942
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

In the report period, new resettlements⁵³ of Jews were carried out. In Augsburg, an elderly Jew committed **suicide**; 3 elderly Jewesses attempted suicide; one of these later died in hospital.⁵⁴ <3513>

◀652▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 10 August 1942
Boberach, pp. 4058 ff.

Race Policy

On Changing the Certificate of Origin of Full Jews or Jewish Mischlinge of the 1st Degree

Numerous reports from throughout the Reich note the astonishment, and in some cases indignation, felt in the population in response to a situation where persons who generally were known to be Jews and who said they were so in public, have repeatedly succeeded in obtaining a decision from the **Reich Kinship Office** recognizing them as **Mischlinge** of the 1st degree in the sense of the Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor.⁵⁵

The path taken by these Jews is almost always identical. The Jew or Jewess suddenly claims that his or her previously legally recognized Jewish father is not the real biological father. Rather, their mother had had [intimate] relations with an **Aryan** man, and this one was the real father. Reports note a striking feature: in most cases, these purported Aryan fathers are no longer alive. Nonetheless, the offices accede to these applications for reexamining racial origin and an attestation of racial genealogy is obtained. Almost always, these attestations substantiate a person's origin only with a certain degree of probability. Nonetheless, on the basis of these attestations, according to the principle *in dubio pro reo*, generally the Jew is formally recognized as a Mischling of the 1st degree. [...]

From the reports pertaining to these circumstances, it is clear that people are bewildered by a practice where based on weak evidence, such as photos, there can be changes in certificates of origin. There can be no doubt that these full Jews and Mischlinge of the 1st degree raised questions about their previous racial origin solely for economic reasons. Reports stress that there is evidently a loophole in legislation if even after decades, a claim can be filed against a certificate of origin that previously was always recognized as valid, especially when the purported father is now deceased. <3515>

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Leipzig, 25 August 1942
IWM, Aus deutschen Urkunden 1933–1945, pp. 260 ff.

General Matters

[...] To illustrate the actual prevailing mood, enclosed below for your attention is the report of a local contact man.

Report of 19 August 1942

On the occasion of a trip in Saxony (Meißen, Dresden), I had the opportunity on various occasions to listen to people from Berlin. Here are some of their remarks in as literal a form as possible: [...]

8. Hitler was also able to solve the **Jewish Question** in a different way.⁵⁶ In a more humane way! This [present] way was not necessary for him! And on top of it, our Germans in America have to suffer for this.⁵⁷ No one has the right to wish to exterminate a people. Certainly, the Jews did us a lot of harm, but they were allowed to leave between 1933 and 1941.⁵⁸ <3518>

◀654▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for August 1942
Ansbach, 8 September 1942
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

1) There are preparations under way to evacuate a number of Jews once again, this time to **Theresienstadt**. In addition, efforts have begun to clear the Jews' apartments, which have been designated as quarters for persons bombed out of their previous dwellings.

2) The Jewess Ida Sara Wendliner was arrested in Nuremberg charged with forbidden contact with pure-blooded Germans.⁵⁹

3) Since it was determined that in the depositing of cloth fiber goods⁶⁰ several weeks ago, the Jews withheld large quantities of material, there was a

post-check conducted on 11 August among Jews in Nuremberg-Fürth. That yielded another 7,530 kg of underwear and garments, and these have been placed at the disposal of the commissioner of the regional tax office in Nuremberg.
<3520>

◀655▶

District Governor Swabia
Report for August 1942
Augsburg, 9 September 1942
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

As a result of further resettlement measures, several Swabian cities and localities have been rendered “judenfrei,” such as Ichenhausen, Nördlingen, Fischach. In Oberstdorf, an elderly Jewess poisoned herself⁶¹ out of fear of the impending transport. <3521>

◀656▶

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)
Reporting on Events of Importance for the Gestapo
Berlin, 11 September 1942
BArch, R 58/207

Illegal Communist Party and Other Marxist Organizations

[...] Die Stapoleitstelle Berlin⁶² has in the meantime taken the additional persons named below into **protective custody**, charged with illegal activity in the communist group of the Jew Herbert Israel **Baum**, a group composed principally of Jews:⁶³

Office worker Hildegard Sara Loewy, b. 4 August 1922 in Berlin,
Worker Lothar Israel Salinger, b. 8 May 1919 in Berlin,
Worker Helmut Israel Neumann, b. 29 July 1921 in Berlin,
Worker Lotte Sara Rotholz, née Jastrow, b. 25 September 1923 in Bentheim,
Technician Gustav Paech, b. 11 October 1905 in Berlin
All are resident in Berlin—.⁶⁴ <3525>

◀657▶

Stapostelle Aachen Contact Man

Pastoral Hours

Aachen, 2 September 1942

HStA Dü, RW 35–9

With the beginning of the new school year, the *pastoral hours* were resumed in all the parishes. Before the vacation—May to July—attendance at the pastoral hours was extremely sparse. People attributed poor participation by children to the constant air raid alerts. [...]

In the pastoral hours, the fairy tales of the “Old Testament” are repeatedly utilized as instructional material. This leads to hopeless confusion in the assessment of the **Jewish Question**, especially among pupils in the higher grades. In the pastoral hours, there is emphasis placed again and again on “God’s chosen people.”⁶⁵ <3526>

◀658▶

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate

Report for September
Regensburg, 8 October 1942
BayHStA, StK 106674

Jews

The final 117 Jews still housed in Regensburg are being transported to **Theresienstadt**.⁶⁶ <3527>

►659►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for September 1942
Ansbach, 7 October 1942
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

Evacuated to Theresienstadt:

On 10 September 1942, 1,000 Jews, on 23 September 1942, 563 Jews = 1,563 Jews.

The remaining Jews of Nuremberg and Fürth who are in **mixed marriages** are being consolidated at the moment in a building in Fürth.⁶⁷ <3528>

►660►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for October 1942
Ansbach, 5 November 1942
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

The Jewess by race and religion Bella Sara Eberhardt was arrested⁶⁸ in Nuremberg for attempting to leave the territory of the Reich illegally⁶⁹ crossing over into Switzerland. <3531>

◀661▶

Mayor of Bad Brückenau

In-Migration and Out-Migration of the Jews in the 2nd and 3rd Quarter 1942

Bad Brückenau, 1 October 1942

StA Wii, LRA Bad Brückenau 12908

On 1 April 1942, there were three Jews resident in Brückenau. In the meantime, the following changes have occurred.

Tannenwald Lothar Israel, born on 8 October 1894 in Brückenau, single and
Tannenwald Klara Sara, born on 3 May 1891 in Brückenau, both moved on 22 April to Würzburg for **evacuation**.

Tannenwald Lina Sara, born on 19 March 1863 in Würzburg, widow, moved on 20 August 1942 to Würzburg, Dürerstr. 20.

As a consequence, since 1 October 1942, Brückenau and all its incorporated sections of town are “judenfrei.”⁷⁰ <3532>

◀662▶

NSDAP District Direction Augsburg City

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Augsburg, 11 December 1942
StA Abg, NSDAP Gauleitung Schwaben 1/19

Church Questions

Aside from the fact that the two main Christian denominations, the Catholics and Protestants, are continuing quite animated activity, now a third denomination must be added, namely the German Christians. In the main, they invite the public to lectures on the extent to which Judaism and Christianity are antipodes, and stress the necessity in a German-Christian community of striving to eliminate the Jewish element from this doctrine.⁷¹ <3538>

◀663▶

SD District Office Minden

Report

Minden, 11 December 1942

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

Placement of a Death Notice for a Jew in a National Socialist Newspaper

The population was extremely critical of the death notice published on 28 November 1942 of the musician-sergeant (Ret.) Otto Lewin in the *Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten*, local edition Minden.

Lewin, they stated, was a **full Jew** and married to an **Aryan** woman.⁷²

The day before the death notice was published in the paper, this woman, in a heavy veil, had come to the ads department of the *Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten* and had given the notice for publication. The young woman in the ads department naturally did not know that this involved a Jew, and allowed the death notice to pass on through. The next day the notice appeared in the WNN.

It is reported that the Minden population, which knew the Jew Lewin, is incensed, and its interpretation of this whole matter is that this could only happen in the first place because Jews married to an Aryan are permitted to go freely in public without any marking badge.⁷³ They say that here you can see once again just how these Aryans married to Jews are behaving. They have learned all the tricks and ruses from the Jews. They say it is also true that an Aryan married to a Jew is also sullied by something Jewish, contaminated. Talk is that people don't really understand why the wife of the Jew Lewin went specifically to the paper *Westfälische Neueste Nachrichten*, which is known everywhere to be National Socialist and a Party paper. Why didn't she go to the local *Mindener Tagblatt* (a non-Party newspaper)?

On this, the following was heard: it turns out that as a result of non-marking of the Jews with an Aryan spouse, they can move freely everywhere. That would no longer be possible if they had to wear the "Star of Zion."⁷⁴ They say the Aryan spouse should not be protected. Let it be known that he or she has married a Jew, male or female. If this is adopted and put into practice, then it will be a big question whether an Aryan with his or her marked spouse will venture out in public. Where there is talk of this among the population, all the families [of mixed marriages] resident in Minden are immediately criticized in this respect. People make mention in this context of the butcher Menges, the upholsterer Brandtmüller,⁷⁵ the senior civil servant Zentz, etc. <3544>

SD District Office Schwabach
Report for December 1942
Schwabach, 23 December 1942
StA Nü, LRA Hilpoltstein Abg. 1971 Nr. 1972

General Prevailing Mood

At the beginning of the month of December, there was generally a depressed mood in the local area among the population, especially due to the stories being told by soldiers at the front. [...]

One of the most powerful sources of alarm in circles connected with the church⁷⁶ and in the rural population are at the moment tales from Russia which speak about the shooting and extermination of the Jews.⁷⁷ This news leaves a sense of great anxiety, emotional distress, and worry among many in the circles of the population mentioned. As broad circles of the rural population see the situation, it is not as yet certain that we will win the war, and if we do not, when the Jews return some day, they will take a horrible revenge.

Contrasted with this influence by the church on the mood among the rural population, the general mood in the urban population, where the influence from the church is not as strong as in the countryside, differs. <3545>

◆665◆
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for December 1942
Ansbach, 8 January 1943
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

In several localities in the western part of the rural district of Dinkelsbühl, bordering on Württemberg, there were rumors circulating that Jews who emigrated who used to live in Württemberg are now serving as commissars in the Soviet army, and as such have helped German POWs from the Württemberg area to escape. Thus, a Jewish **cattle** dealer from the Ellwang region and a

former horse dealer from Crailsheim are said to have been active in this way.
<3546>

►666►

SD Main Office

Report
Berlin, n.d.⁷⁸
PA, Inland ID 17/9 (R 98833)

The Christmas address of the Pope this year⁷⁹ was preceded by the publication of an entire series of papal documents to prepare the public. Since the summer of 1942, the Vatican Cardinal Secretariat of State has been issuing a number of old papal documents, some of which were written already back in 1929/1930 by Pius XI. In all these documents, the principles of Catholic action are explained, using pedagogical examples. All these documents reveal the foundations the Pope wishes to see for constructing a new world order after the current war.

The Pope rejects a new order on the basis of National Socialism. The manner of his rejection here is uncharacteristic for him. The radio address of the Pope is a masterpiece of ecclesiastical falsification and undermining of the National Socialist philosophy. National Socialism or the National Socialist world view are not mentioned anywhere, and nonetheless, the entire address constitutes an intellectual dispute and settling of accounts with the most exalted values of the National Socialist world view. All that is sacred to National Socialism is exposed here as supposedly valueless and confused. [...]

The Pope discusses all spheres of human life and activity. Proceeding from the national **Volksgemeinschaft**, on to education, nurturing of the individual personality, the economy, and the legal order of a people, the Pope presents the Church's conception of the state. It appears in sharp contrast with the conception of the state in National Socialism and all authoritarian states. [...]

The National Socialist principles of the new order of the Volksgemeinschaft are here designated to be social heresies and errors, a self-created chaos, or false ideas, forgetful of God or hostile to him, a welter of darkness and a curse. [...]

In the realm of law, he argues the proper point of departure and goal are not the Volksgemeinschaft, anchored in blood and bound to the soil, but rather natural law, unchanging, eternal, grounded on God. He contends that if a legal order is to correspond to the principles of the Church, then it cannot be based on natural fundamental values such as **Volk**, blood and soil, race and community. It must be protected from any human interference. In the eyes of the Church, the legal order of human society makes necessary an "unchanging sacred bond of obligation and duty to realize unalterable goals of mankind." And here too ultimately, the supernatural legal order, grounded on God, becomes once again a protective structure for the personal human rights of the Jewish people.

Christendom is called upon, in an ethos reminiscent of the Crusades, to overcome the flood tides of the day and the errors of the current era. Here the mask falls away. Now we see what interpretation the Pope gives to the present war: a “crusade by the most noble members of Christendom, responding to the call ‘this is God’s will and wish’ to overcome the errors of the times.” Thus, the Christmas message of the Pope is in truth a crusading sermon, calling for a struggle against the modern “errors of the times.” The aim of the crusade is for “the star of the Jewish city of Bethlehem to rise up on high as the symbol of a better tomorrow over all of mankind.” [...]

It is a mockery of all the mortal sacrifices of this war when toward the end, the Pope calls on “all who are magnanimous and well meaning” to join together “in a solemn pledge to guide life in community toward the immovable center point of its circuit, Divine Law.” And there he calls on all who are “prepared to serve personality and community ennobled by God.” This solemn pledge is meant exclusively as something at odds with the new order of the future Europe on National Socialist foundations. That is proven by the remark that mankind owes this pledge to all those persons “who lost the soil of their homeland through this war, and who, personally without blame, are doomed to death or a progressive pauperization, at times only because of their nationality or origin.” In these words, the Pope accuses the German people of having committed an injustice against the Poles and Jews, and he assumes the role of the advocate and champion of these men, war criminals in the truest sense of the term.⁸⁰ <3549>

◀667▶

SD Main District Office Bielefeld III B 3

Baptism of a Full Jewess in the Cathedral in Paderborn in 1942

Bielefeld, 24 February 1943

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

On 28 June 1942, the Jewess Elise Krebs, née Freudenberger, b. on 31 December 1902 in Barby/Elbe, resident in Barby, was accepted into the Catholic Church and baptized in Paderborn by the Cathedral Parish Office.⁸¹ The inquiries initiated by the **Gestapo** in Magdeburg confirm this fact. However, the identity of the priest who performed the baptism rite could not be established. In circles of Party members who had contact in some official capacity with this matter, people are greatly astonished about this action by the Catholic Church. They say that the clergy here has intentionally, behind the back of the Führer,⁸² carried out a stab in the back⁸³ against the National Socialist worldview. <3551>

◀668▶

SD District Office Höxter

Jew Hartwig Israel Stein, b. 11 July 1907 in Brakel, resident in Brakel, Am Markt

Höxter, 27 February 1943

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

The annex contains copies of letters from the Local Branch Brakel to the District Head Office, and letters of the mayor in Brakel to the **Gestapo** in Bielefeld, sent there for their information.⁸⁴

Because Stein is married to an **Aryan**, he was at the time not sent to the East.⁸⁵ In January of this year, Frau Stein passed away. It now appears to be high time to transport the Jew likewise to a Jetto [sic],⁸⁶ especially since, as is evident from an anonymous letter to the head of the Party Local Branch Brakel (enclosed here for your information), he still is the object of certain positive sympathies in the Aryan population. [...] <3552>

◀669▶

SD District Office Schwabach
Report for February 1943
Schwabach, 3 March 1943
StA Nü, LRA Hilpoltstein, Abg. 1971 Nr. 1792

Treasonous Statements by the Catholic Priest Heller in Titting

On 7 February, the Cath. priest Heller in Titting stated the following *inter alia* in his sermon: he declared that the Catholic Church had nothing more to say, it had no deputies in the state parliament and national Reichstag, and no longer had any newspapers in which it could express its views. Now the time had come, Heller said, for the Church to start taking some action again. In a hundred years, people will laugh about the current plunder, it will be scattered to the winds and thrown on the scrap heap. Today's faith is supposed to be a belief in race. Heller remarked that it was not true that Jesus was an **Aryan**—Jesus was descended from the Jews. So it was not right to persecute and exterminate⁸⁷ the Jews, because the Catholic faith was grounded on the very same foundation.⁸⁸ <3553>

►670►
District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for March 1943
Ansbach, 7 April 1943
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

1) Arrested:

Jakob Israel Emden in Nuremberg, charged with violating the police ordinance on the **marking of the Jews**.

2) The action to collect metal and scrap metal from Jewish cemeteries in Nuremberg was concluded. A total of 3,340 kg of brass and copper and 4,050 kg of cast iron were collected. <3561>

District Governor Swabia
Report for March 1943
Augsburg, 10 April 1943
BayHStA, StK 196684

General Political Situation and Public Security

[...]

Jews

The few Jews still present in cities have now been **deported**,⁸⁹ or at least removed from the cities. In Augsburg, during implementation of the last measure, a number of Jews avoided removal by committing **suicide**.⁹⁰ <3562>

1. This may be in connection with the fact that Germany and Italy had declared war on the United States, as a result of which the war waged in Europe became a world war (see Chronology, 11 December 1941).

2. The **emigration** of the Jews from the **Greater German Reich** was already prohibited by a decree of **Himmler** on 1 October 1941 (see Chronology), but was not sent on to the **RSHA** until 23 October. Nonetheless, according to data of the **Reich Association** of 8 November 1941, between 29 October and 3 November 1941, a total of 150 Jews were able to emigrate to Spain or Portugal with the final destination the United States, and thus escape the systematic **mass deportations** which had already commenced (see Chronology, 14 October 1941). See Kulka, “*Jewish Question*” in the *Third Reich II*, Documents, No. 57, 561 f. “Anlage: Übersicht über die Sondertransporte jüdischer Auswanderer nach Spanien und Portugal.” On attempts after the ban on emigration to emigrate illegally from Germany to neutral Spain or Portugal, see ▲629.

3. See also Chronology, 23 July 1941.

4. On the dissemination of knowledge about **Auschwitz** as a **concentration and extermination camp**, see also ▲687▶

5. On the annihilation of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto, see Gutman, *Jews of Warsaw*; “Warsaw,” in EH, Vol. IV, 1598–1625 and literature there.

6. On the ghetto in Lodz, renamed under German occupation Litzmannstadt, see Barkai, “German-Speaking Jews”; EH, Vol. III, 900–909.

7. On the involvement of the Wehrmacht in the murder of the Jews in Eastern Europe, see Streim, *Zur Eröffnung des allgemeinen Judenvernichtungsbefehls*, and extensive literature on the discussion regarding the exhibition “War of Annihilation: Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941–1944.”

8. On Izbica and the deportations of the Jews from Germany in 1942, see “Izbica” in EJL, Vol. I, 554.

9. See Chronology, 25 November 1941.

10. See [642](#).

11. See **Deportation of Jews**.

12. In the copy available to the editors, it only mentions that the observer belongs to the Security Service, but not what specific office. Since it was drafted in Erfurt, it is likely it was connected with the SD Main District Office Erfurt.

13. See Films, anti-Semitic in the Third Reich.

14. See Einsatzgruppen.

15. See Chronology, 22 June 1941, and “Final Solution of the **Jewish Question**.”

16. See Gestapo.

17. See Chronology, 1 October 1941 and literature there, and [621](#) and n. 2 there.

18. See Chronology, 1 October 1941.

19. See **Deportation of Jews**.

20. See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.

21. See Chronology, 5 April 1942.

22. See **Deportation of Jews**.

23. See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.

24. The following list is not reproduced here.

25. The report is addressed to the SD Main District Office Weimar. The letterhead is not present in the copy available to the editors. However, the content suggests this is a report from the SD Main District Office Erfurt.

26. Here is quite evidently a mistake by the correspondent. The speaker probably cited the year 1792. In actuality, emancipation of the Jews in Europe was ruled on for the first time in 1791 by the French National Assembly, and

approved for a portion of the French Jews. In 1792 it was granted all French Jews. See also **Emancipation of the Jews**.

27. The phrase, difficult to translate because it relates to mistakes in German grammar, means whether I learn the language well where I try to assimilate, or only assimilate superficially, and make basic mistakes in the language and remain uneducated in the culture, even if materially successful. The reference in German is to typical errors in personal pronouns (*mich, mir*) made supposedly by Jews who may speak Yiddish and acquire and use German, a common negative stereotype of the time, reflecting a linguistic anti-Semitic prejudice.

28. See **Communism and Jews**.

29. On the reporting office, see ▶637▶, n. 25.

30. On the reporting office, see ▶637xyc, n. 25.

31. See **Himmler**.

32. See **Gestapo**, and Stapoleitstellen there.

33. See Chronology, and **Baum group**.

34. On the arrest of other Jewish members of the group, see ▶656▶.

35. See Chronology, 24 October 1941.

36. See **Physicians, Jewish**.

37. See **Gestapo**.

38. See Chronology, 25 November 1941.

39. See ▶625▶.

40. See **Deportation of Jews**.

41. See ▶637▶, n. 25.

42. See Chronology, 21 March 1933.

43. See Hitler's appeal "To the German People," on Collecting Winter Clothing for the Eastern Front, 20 December 1941 in: Domarus, Hitler: *Speeches and Proclamations*, IV, 2556. On 5 January 1942 (see Chronology), this was followed by the order of the **RSHA**, stipulating that Jews had to hand in their furs and woolen goods by 16 January "in the framework of the collection for the Eastern Front."

44. Here there is probably an allusion to Hitler's long speeches on 30 January 1942 (see ▶618▶), and on 12 and 24 February 1942, which as usual were broadcast by radio. See Domarus, *ibid.*, IV, 2582–2587; 2600 f.

[45.](#) On Hitler's statements on 20 January 1942, in which he blamed the Supreme Commander of the Army von Brauchitsch, dismissed on 19 January, for the failure of the Russian campaign before the gates of Moscow, see Domarus, *ibid.*, IV, 2569 and n.28 there, and 2602 f.

[46.](#) See Chronology, 21 March 1933.

[47.](#) See [637](#), n. 25.

[48.](#) Not reproduced here.

[49.](#) See also SD Report, 22 June 1942 ([644](#)), on trade with works of Jewish artists.

[50.](#) See [692](#), and **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

[51.](#) See **Protective custody**.

[52.](#) See Chronology, 1 September 1941.

[53.](#) See [648](#).

[54.](#) See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.

[55.](#) See **Nuremberg Laws**.

[56.](#) See "Final Solution of the Jewish Question."

[57.](#) See [605](#).

[58.](#) See Emigration.

[59.](#) See Chronology, 24 October 1941.

[60.](#) See Chronology, 5 January 1942.

[61.](#) See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.

[62.](#) See **Gestapo**, Stapoleitstellen there.

[63.](#) See also [640](#).

[64.](#) See **Communism and Jews**.

[65.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**, and **Faulhaber**.

[66.](#) See "Final Solution of the Jewish Question."

[67.](#) See Jews' houses.

[68.](#) See Protective custody.

[69.](#) See Chronology, 1 October 1941.

[70.](#) See "Final Solution of the Jewish Question."

- [71.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
- [72.](#) See **Mixed marriages**.
- [73.](#) See **Marking of Jews**.
- [74.](#) See **Star of David**.
- [75.](#) See [569](#).
- [76.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.
- [77.](#) See Chronology, 22 June 1941, and “**Final Solution of the Jewish Question**.”
- [78.](#) In the accompanying letter of the **Head of the Security Police** and the SD, the following “Report” on the “radio message of Pope Pius XII on 24 December 1942” was sent on 15 January 1943 to the Foreign Office. This is its first publication in the original and in English translation. The document bears no heading. It has no date and therefore must have been written sometime between 25 December 1942 and 15 January 1943. For identifying and photocopying the document, as well as the associated diplomatic correspondence between the Foreign Office of the Third Reich and the Vatican (not reproduced here), the editors are grateful to Dr. Maria Keipert of the Political Archive, Foreign Office, Berlin.
- [79.](#) Pius XII.
- [80.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**. The last paragraph, and particular the last sentence of Pope Pius XII and its reference to the persecution and mass annihilation of the Jews, became a topic of public discussion over many years and the focus of scholarly controversies. The key question was the extent to which the words of Pope Pius XII were intended and understood as an open protest and unambiguous condemnation of the “Final Solution.” The final sentence of the SD commentary provides a clear answer to the question of how the SD understood these words of the Pope. On the above-mentioned controversy, see *inter alia* Friedländer, *Pius XII and the Third Reich*; for an opposing view, see Rhodes, *Vatican in the Age of Dictators*. Rhodes quotes a few sentences from this document in English translation, but heavily distorted, with an incorrect date and archival number. Here, too, the editors wish to express their gratitude to Dr. Maria Keipert for her kind assistance (seen. 78).
- [81.](#) See **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**.
- [82.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

83. The term “stab in the back” was in use since the end of World War I in anti-Semitic, right-wing radical publications and proclamations. In this “Dolchstoß” legend (see Benz, *Legenden, Lügen, Vorurteile*, 55 ff.), the Jews appeared, as a result of supposed treason and an anti-German conspiracy, to be the ones truly responsible for the German defeat in the war. In this document, the reporter uses the anti-Semitic “Dolchstoß” legend in order to accuse the Catholic Church of treason against the “Führer” and the “National Socialist worldview.”

84. These letters are not reproduced here.

85. See **Mixed marriages and Deportation of Jews**.

86. See **Ghetto for Jews in the National Socialist period**.

87. See **“Final Solution of the Jewish Question.”**

88. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

89. See **Deportation of Jews**.

90. See **Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich**.

<672►

RSHA, Office III (SD)
 Reports from the Reich
 Berlin, 5 April 1943
 Boberach, pp. 5064 f.

Cultural Areas

Reception and Impact of General Propaganda, Press and Radio Guidance in the Period 2–5 April 1943

[...] In past years, the German people has been instructed very emphatically about the mendacity of news emanating from the enemy during World War I, its fallacious nature, and the underlying reasons and intentions of the Jewish press in the System Era.¹ And since the outbreak of the present war, there has been in turn a *relentless effort to clear up illusions* about the hostile enemy press. This has had a specific *side effect*: *most of the population now does not entertain such a naïve unbiased view of propaganda such as it may have had in the past*. Also in connection with our own press (and radio), people are largely conscious of the fact that the news and commentaries are always written from some specific standpoint. <3564>

<673►

NSDAP Local Branch Nuremberg-Maxfeld

Ideological Situation Report
Nuremberg, 9 April 1943
StA Nü, NS Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 82

Ideological Situation

[...]

Jewish Question

The people are voicing criticism: the Jews shouldn't have been allowed to leave the Reich. They say that if the Jews had been retained as hostages, then we would have had an effective bargaining chip against the air raids. Propaganda should express some position about this from the most authoritative level! <3582>

◀674▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Report

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 19 April 1943
Boberach, pp. 5144 ff.

General Matters

In the *discussions within the population on the general war situation, no new viewpoints* have appeared in recent days. According to reports, the position held by many **Volksgenossen** continues to be characterized, now as before, by a reduced level of interest in the individual results at the front, and by the persistence of certain fixed unchanging views: [...]

In this situation, news of the *discovery of the mass grave in the Katyn² forest* has sparked great interest as a sensational bit of news among a large proportion of the Volksgenossen. The especially numerous reports now available agree in the following:

1) The *feelings of hatred and fear* of Bolshevism, which grew weaker among a large number of Volksgenossen recently as a result of slogans such as “the Soviets are not as bad as they’re made out to be,” have once again been significantly intensified. The fate of these 12,000 Poles is seen as an example of the fate that might befall large sections of the German people if the Russians were to emerge victorious.

2) Among *the relatives of the soldiers at the Eastern Front*, especially officers missing in action since Stalingrad, there was *extreme distress and worry* that the Soviets would deal with the German POWs as they had in the past with Polish officers.

3) By the way, a large *proportion of the population interprets* the liquidation of the Polish officer corps *viewed from a humanitarian viewpoint*, and thus concludes that it was “odd” or even “hypocritical” that German propaganda has now “discovered a soft spot in its heart for the Poles.” In this connection, people point out on the one hand that the Poles murdered 60,000 Volksgenossen in Bromberg and other localities; on the other hand, people are saying: “we have no right to get upset about the measures of the Soviets because the Germans eliminated Poles and Jews in far greater numbers.” Using these latter arguments, there is agitation, especially in intellectual circles and circles oriented to the church,³ against “*exploiting*” the discovery in the Katyn forest “*for purposes of propaganda.*” [...]

Cultural Areas

Reception and Impact of General Propaganda, Press, and Radio Guidance in the Period 16–19 April 1943

Reports from all areas of the Reich agree that interest in the press and radio has been significantly heightened by two topics: the mass murder in Katyn and reports about the Atlantic Wall. [...]

1) The treatment of the mass murder at Katyn has enjoyed a strong response from the entire population. The facts detailed in the reports came as a powerful shock for many Volksgenossen, especially women. Mention is being made of articles such as that in the *Kieler Zeitung* on 15 April, entitled “GPU Murder in the Katyn Forest,” or the article in the paper *Freiheitskampf* on 15 April, “Insight into the Spirit of the Jewish Race.” Among the abundance of reports, which after identical observations substantially reduce their mutual effect if they contain no new facts, one report was especially impressive for many: the eyewitness radio report by Major Balzer. Numerous Volksgenossen reportedly experienced “some difficulty in continuing to listen,” given how ghastly these descriptions were. And in particular after this report, many expressed their *great anxiety and concern* about the fate of the German POWs in the Soviet Union. The discovery of the bodies at Katyn has doubtless given all segments of the population new occasion to reflect on the actions of Bolshevism and the Jews. And many Volksgenossen expressed their disgust with these methods of domination, abominations because of which our struggle convincingly takes on new meaning and justification.

The by far preponderant portion of the population holds the view, over and beyond the facts as reported, that seen from the perspective of German propaganda abroad, the discovery of the mass graves is a veritable “gift from heaven.” It is, people say, a boon which can help us to effectively present our views about Bolshevism and the Jews.⁴ Generally they voice the associated hope that this time, utilizing this material, we may well succeed in significantly influencing the neutral and hostile countries abroad to better understand our viewpoint. For that reason, it is reported that people are prepared to “endure” this propaganda action in which the dead of Katyn “are being exploited using all the tricks in the book,” and they accept as part of the bargain that the Katyn murders are being “served up in every news broadcast,” where the Soviets, the English, and the Jews are all held responsible in the same way. Here and there, people insinuate “with a wink” that when it comes to propaganda, “everything does not have to be 100 percent perfectly accurate.” However, the extensive utilization of the foreign press, the visitations arranged by the Poles, and the demand for the Red Cross to become involved, along with the response to date

from the Bolsheviks, the English, and the Polish exile government in London, suggest that we have very "solid evidence" in hand with respect to the murders at Katyn. Reports suggest that in regard to opinion abroad, it is probably necessary to have some "sensational reporting" by the press and radio, and that the press is publishing articles with formulations which actually seem "barely tolerable" to the reader, as for example when the *Oberdonau-Zeitung* on 15 April carried a further report subtitled "The Shot-in-the-Neck Orgy at Katyn."

With a further wink of the eye, people agree that German propaganda is "not providing any weak point" in utilizing the dead Poles against the Soviets and the Jews, although we ourselves admittedly have "not been exactly fastidious" in the way we dealt with Poles, Jews, and Bolsheviks. One statement notes, for example: "If I didn't know that in the struggle for survival of our people every means is legitimate, I'd find this hypocrisy in the supposed compassion for the murdered Polish officers intolerable." It was evident that where such thoughts surface, people make judgments in a very thoughtless way, and that even Volksgenossen who have a positive view simply make external comparisons that see such matters as equivalent. That renders it relatively easy for oppositional circles to agitate and seize on this point, since even among Party members, people generally have no ready arguments at hand to respond to such objections. <3567>

◀675▶

SD District Office Bad Brückenau **III A 4**

Mood and Situation

Bad Brückenau, 16 April 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg 12

The main event of recent days, the discovery of the bodies in the forest of **Katyn**, has generally been received with a fair amount of indifference, and if there is discussion, then from quite diverse viewpoints. The predominant view is that the emphasis on the discovery of the [bo] dies⁵ in the press and on radio is intentional propaganda vis-à-vis [the enemy]. Many also express the view that the elimination by [force] of the Polish officers by the Bolsheviks was also good for us too, since [in this way] a core for possible resistance [in] occupied Polish territory has been eliminated for the German occupying troops. There are some isolated voices, [especially] from among farmers, saying that we would not have acted differently with [the] "Jews" either, but rather also would have sought to forcibly eliminate a dangerous adversary. <3570>

«676»

SD District Office Bad Brückenau **III A 4**

Report

Bad Brückenau, 22 April 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg 12

In recent days, the Bolshevik mass murder at **Katyn** was also a topic of more animated and intense discussion even among **Volksgenossen** who previously had shown scant interest. In rural circles, some Volksgenossen express a certain repulsion, regarding the murder as an outrageous atrocity, and say they no longer can believe in God, because Providence could not allow such an abomination to occur. On the other hand, a large section of the population sees the elimination of the Polish officers, as already mentioned in the previous report,⁶ as the radical liquidation^{]7} of a dangerous adversary, something that simply can[not] be avoided in a war. This can be compared as analogous to the air raid attacks by the English and Americans on German [cities], and finally our own struggle of annihilation waged against Jewry. Reports from Catholic regions say that many Volksgenossen find it noteworthy that the Catholic Church has maintained total silence on the mass murders of the Bolsheviks.⁸ <3571>

◀677▶

SD District Office Friedberg III A 4

Mood and Situation

Friedberg, 23 April 1943

StA Abg, NSDAP Gau Schwaben, SD Unterabschnitt Schwaben 2/1

There is only a modicum of additional discussion on the murder in the forest near **Katyn**. One can even hear the view that this matter has been exploited far too much by us for its propaganda value. Here and there, some say that our enemies would also find mass graves in the eastern territories we have conquered. These are not Poles, but rather Jews who have been systematically murdered by our troops. So one shouldn't make so much ado about such matters, especially since before this, there used to be a lot of constant comment about how inferior the Polish people were. "The Russians know precisely what they want. They annihilate a stratum of the people completely because they dislike it. They think out everything right down to the last detail, and don't stop in the middle of things, like us!" (comment by a very well-read armaments worker). <3572>

◀678▶

District Governor Swabia
Report for April 1943
Augsburg, 10 May 1943
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

The Popular Mood and Attitude

[...] The discovery of the Bolshevik mass crime in the **Katyn** forest has once again demonstrated to the whole world and our people what fate shall await you should Bolshevism emerge victorious. However, the propaganda campaign utilizing the Katyn case, which has been going on now for several weeks, has had another consequence: many relatives of soldiers missing in action or believed to be in Russian captivity now have more serious thoughts and worries about their possible fate.⁹ According to the report of a county commissioner, the propaganda over Katyn has also “triggered discussions about the treatment of the Jews in Germany and in the eastern territories.” It is reported that since the abominations of Katyn have become known, a number of farmers are now treating Polish and Russian workers better than our own fellow Germans.
[...]¹⁰ <3577>

NSDAP District Direction Nuremberg

Report on the Letter of 1 April 1943¹¹

Nuremberg, 15 April 1943

StA Nü, NS Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 82

I have learned the following from the Pretzfeld area: a member of a Franconian contingent of troops who was able to escape from Stalingrad, while on his journey back and searching for contact with German troops, suddenly heard his name called out in a village. When he turned toward the man calling out his name, he saw he was a Jew. The Jew asked him whether he knew and remembered him, stating that he was so and so, and that he had sold him a lot of cattle from the stable back in his home town.¹² The Jew, a Bolshevik commissar, asked the German soldier where he was headed. And the soldier replied that he was trying to connect with German troops. The Jew then pointed out to him and his buddies the direction he should go in, and allowed him to depart without any trouble. It is also said that this same Jew stated: people had nothing against the Bavarians, only against the Prussians. And that mainly they were most bitter about the SS.—

This patent rumor of spying, which undoubtedly stems from a foreign spying source, has recently been making the rounds, recounted by persons in that strongly Catholic region around Pretzfeld, Forchheim, etc. <3580>

◀680▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Report

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 6 May 1943
Boberach, pp. 5217 f.

Cultural Areas

Reception and Impact of General Propaganda, Press, and Radio Guidance in the Period 4–6 May 1943

[...] 4) As reports suggest, the case of **Katyn** is now known in even the most remote rural and mountain villages. Almost without exception, people are convinced that the reports about the discovery of the bodies are true. The minutes of the International Commission of Court Doctors made a good impression. The reports all agree that now for us ourselves, enough has been written and spoken about. But people concur that it would be suitable to treat this topic further for an international public, especially the neutral countries in Europe. Our newspaper readers repeatedly state that such “propaganda steamrollers” tend to induce them to put the paper aside. Locally, people especially disliked the article “Jewish business deal planned with Katyn,” published in the *Oberdonau-Zeitung* on 3 May. The purported statement it quotes by the U.S. ambassador Bullit—to the effect that the mass murder of Katyn would be hushed up if the Soviets were to promise to declare war on Japan—sounds downright absurd, and people say it can hardly be assumed that the enemies accorded these matters such a major political importance. <3583>

◀681▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

Reports from the Reich
Berlin, 13 May 1943
Boberach, pp. 5241 f.

Among the Volk

Impact of the Case of Katyn on the General Mood Among Polish Civilian Workers in the Reich

Reports from all over the Reich agree [...] that the news of the Bolshevik crime at **Katyn** has awakened *strong but differential interest* among a large portion of the Polish civilian workers deployed in the Reich.¹³ [...] Even if reception of this Bolshevik atrocity is not uniform, *it is nonetheless significant that the majority of Polish civilian workers believe the truth of the news disseminated by the Germans about Katyn.* [...]

The reports comment that it is also noteworthy that many Poles think the Jews should be blamed and bear responsibility for this mass murder (Münster, Saarbrücken, Bayreuth, Weimar, Halle, and Stuttgart). <3584>

◀682▶

SD District Office Bad Brückenau III A 4

Mood and Situation

Bad Brückenau, 7 May 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg 12

There are reports from various localities in our area that recently, there has been a great deal of sharp criticism of the person and measures of the Führer. They say that the Führer is still playing too much with his cards on the table. For example, from 1936 up until today, he always declared Bolshevism to be world enemy no. 1, stating that the future of the German people lay in the East. But in so doing, people say, he only provoked the resistance of the Soviets. Here and there people once again are also expressing the view that the measures against the Jews in 1938¹⁴ were wrong. They say the property destroyed at that time is something we badly need today. <3586>

◀683▶

SD District Office Friedberg III A 4

Mood and Situation

Friedberg, 14 May 1943

StA Abg, NSDAP Gau Schwaben, SD Lower Division Swabia 2/1

It is reported that the enemy only wants to destroy Prussia. The objection that Bavarian cities have also been subjected to air raids is countered by the assertion that there are simply too many Prussians living in Munich and Nuremberg. They say that Augsburg, for example, will never be attacked. The very existence of the **synagogue** still preserved in Augsburg is, they contend, a guarantee that the enemies will spare Augsburg. <3587>

◀684▶

SD Regional Division Halle/S. III C 4

General Guidance of the Press

Halle/S., 22 May 1943

BArch, NS 6/153

There was strong interest in publications stating that the attacks on dams were caused by Jews.¹⁵ This plan by the Jews triggered a heightened anti-Jewish mood. Some characteristic statements from workers in Delitzsch about this: "All the Jews still in Germany today ought to hang from the rafters for this." "Kill the Jews." On the other hand, some in the population hold opposite views. Some persons speaking from Halle state that it was irresponsible on the part of the government and the NSDAP to engage in such measures toward the Jews. The Jews' revenge now on its way will, they say, be terrible when it comes, and only the government is to blame. If the German side had not attacked the Jews, we would already have peace. <3588>

◀685▶

SD Regional Division Linz **III C 4**

Press

Linz, 14 May 1943

BArch, NS 6/409

Effect of Guidance of the Press and Radio in the Period 5–8 May 1943

[...] Further reports on **Katyn** were followed only by a small percentage of politically interested readers. The overwhelming majority of the readers did not wish to hear any more about anything connected with Katyn, and, bored with the topic, skipped over relevant articles.¹⁶ In circles of political opponents, the volume of the German propaganda on this matter is interpreted in line with an analysis that says the following: the murder of the Polish officers did not take place until after the conquest of Smolensk by German troops, and now was being blamed on the Soviets. Thus, a pastor stated: “Since German propaganda has seized on Katyn, I hear more and more people saying they’re convinced that these murders were committed by Germans.” Another German clergyman states: “People who have the murder of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Poles, Serbs, Russians, and others on their conscience have no right to be indignant when others do on but a small scale what they themselves practice on a regular basis.”¹⁷ [...] <3589>

District Governor Swabia
Report for May 1943
Augsburg, 10 June 1943
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation and Public Security

Mood Among the People and Popular Attitude

[...] The shock of Stalingrad has still not completely dissipated. In many circles, there are fears that the men taken prisoner there by the Russians could be killed as revenge for supposed mass executions of Jews by Germans in the East.¹⁸ <3592>

►687►

NSDAP Party Chancellery II B 4
Extracts from Reports of the Gau Head Offices and Other Offices
Munich, 8 May 1943
BArch, NS 6/415

On the case of **Katyn**, there is a report from the **Gau** Head Office Upper Silesia. It states that our propaganda on this matter has had a substantial impact not only on the German but also on the Polish population. At the initiative of the **Gauleiter**, the news has been published in great detail, including names, as a special supplement in the Polish-language paper. This has had a positive effect on the Polish population. However, in recent days the counter-propaganda of the Polish resistance movement has made itself felt. Thus, in the industrial area, the following slogans have appeared in many places: "Russia-Katyn," "Germany-Auschwitz." Reference is to the **concentration camp** Auschwitz generally well known in the East. <3594>

►688►

NSDAP Party Chancellery II B 4
Extracts from Reports of the Gau Head Offices and Other Offices
Munich, 29 May 1943
BArch, NS 6/415

On the Situation

[...]

The bombing of the dams¹⁹ has sent a shock wave through the population of the Reich.

[...] “In general, it is also shocking news that the enemy was able to destroy the dams in the Ruhr area. The success which the English-American air force was able to achieve by destroying the dams has led our propaganda to present the matter as an atrocity inspired by the Jews. People generally reject this kind of propagandistic interpretation. They say that the dams were certainly a prime target for striking at the war economy, and that they were destroyed because of that. It is very regrettable that the civilian population has to suffer because of this success by the enemy, but seen within the fate of the war as a whole, it is unavoidable” (Halle-Merseburg) [...]

“In press reports on the English air raids on the dams, there is mention that these attacks are the brainchild of a Jew. The population is highly critical of this report. People say that it is only natural for dams, sluices, and other installations to be reckoned among prime targets important for the war. If attacks on installations of this kind have not been carried out in England to date because we first had to await the sudden flash of genius of a Jew, then the men responsible are incompetent. The population has very strong criticism of two points:

- 1) The destruction of the dams is an exceptional success by the English, and the falsifying of this justifiable attack on an installation of prime importance for the war, alleging it to be an attack designed solely to terrorize, is not understood, and
- 2) in connection with the preceding, the emphasis there on the role of a Jew is quite incomprehensible.” [...]

Propaganda

[...] In general, the propaganda is viewed as being too rigid and inflexible. It is well known that the best propaganda is when people do not even notice that it is propaganda. By contrast, they argue that our propaganda works by constant repetition, hammering away at points. Slogans issued are spread so fast through the press and by radio that every individual notices immediately what the basis is here: a slogan issued from somewhere. Undoubtedly this does not have such a good impact psychologically. For example, the anti-Jewish attitude in the press began so suddenly and is so exaggerated that probably the impact will be lost, at least on the German people. <3595>

◀689▶

NSDAP District Direction Nördlingen

Political Situation Report
Nördlingen, 10 May 1943
StA Abg, NSDAP Gauleitung Schwaben 2137

General Matters

The attitude among the population can be described as good, now as before, i.e., people are aware that victory must be ours. However, it is unfortunately evident that the mood continues to be repeatedly subject to fluctuations. [...] For that reason, it cannot be stressed too often and emphasized by Party propaganda to make it clear to people what is at stake: and that in these decisive times, when it is a matter of Germany's future survival, personal matters and concerns must play a secondary role.

On the other hand, people cannot quite grasp why Jews are still running around today, or even, as in a case personally known to me, that a Jew is working in Munich as a truck driver. You don't have to be surprised if rumors are repeatedly spread, because it is likely that specifically from among circles of Jews, public opinion is being stirred up against Germany, and there is very strong support among them for spreading rumors. <3597>

◀690▶

NSDAP District Direction Bad Neustadt/Aisch

Report on Ideological Attitudes
Bad Neustadt/Aisch, 17 June 1943
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 81

Ideological Situation

[...]

[Jewish Question]

The **Jewish Question** has become more topical once again. There is more talk in public about it again. The reason for this is the “case of **Katyn**,” and then heightened remarks in all training sessions, meetings, and evening discussion get-togethers regarding the aims of the Jews and their dangerous nature.²⁰ Finally, [there is] also the continued reportage in the papers about the rise in anti-Judaism in England and the United States. [...] <3606>

◀691▶

NSDAP District Direction Rothenburg/T.

Report on Ideological Attitudes
Rothenburg/T., 21 June 1943
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 83

Jewish Question

There are always still some **Volksgenossen** around who do not wish to believe that the Jews wanted this war and thus bear the blame for it. <3609>

►692►

NSDAP Party Chancellery II B 4
Extracts from Reports of the Gau Head Offices and Other Offices
Munich, 12 June 1943
BArch, NS 6/415

Activity of the Church

[...] “The SD District Office Lübbecke reports about the lack of sound political instinct in certain circles connected with the church:²¹

Religious groups expressed the following position in response to reports of the terrifying murder in the **Katyn** forest:

The National Socialists have no right whatsoever to be indignant about the bestial slaughter. In combating the Jews in the East,²² the **SS** has, they stated, employed similar methods of slaughter. The awful and inhumane treatment meted out to the Jews by the SS clearly calls for the punishment of our people by the Lord. They state: if we do not have to pay the bitter penalty for these murders, then there is no longer any Divine justice! The German people has taken upon itself such a burden of bloodshed that it cannot hope for mercy and forgiveness; there is bitter revenge for everything. Due to these barbaric methods, humane warfare by our adversaries has now become impossible. [...]” (Westphalia-North). <3604>

►693►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for June 1943
Ansbach, 7 July 1943
BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

[...]

Jews

[...] The confiscation of the entire wealth and assets of the “**Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**,” ordered by the **RSHA** Berlin for 10 June,²³ was carried out smoothly in the association’s offices in Nuremberg and Fürth.

On June 18, the final Jews by race who were not currently or in the past living in a German-Jewish **mixed marriage** were **evacuated** from the government district. Of these, 86 Jews were deported to the East and 36 to **Theresienstadt**.

There are a total of 242 Jews still resident in the government district Upper Franconia-Central Franconia, of whom 153 live in a privileged mixed marriage, and 63 in a nonprivileged mixed marriage.²⁴ The rest consists of 23 **Geltungsjuden** and 3 foreigners. Twenty-two Jews are at the moment under arrest²⁵ or in a **concentration camp**. Of the 242 Jews mentioned above, 167 are resident in Nuremberg, 33 in Fürth, and the rest in the rural towns and villages.

<3603>

◀694▶

Gendarmerie Sandberg

General Report

Sandberg, 28 June 1943

StA Wü, LRA Bad Neustadt 21910

Since persons from Barmen-Wuppertal who were bombed out of their quarters have been living in the localities here, the total attention of the public in regard to the events of the war is concentrated on the British-American air strikes on German cities. Again and again all you hear is the question: Where did the enemy strike last night? How many were probably **killed?**

In describing their experiences, those who have been bombed out intimate that only the Jew, he and no one else, is the cause behind such barbarism. They say that he is upset because his former property in Germany is now controlled by someone else. <3610>

1. Derogatory term for the period of the Weimar Republic. 614

2. See Chronology, 13 April 1943.

3. The term “intellectual” (or also frequently “better circles”) refers in the situation reports to the liberal bourgeoisie. On “circles oriented to the church,” see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

4. See **Communism and Jewry**.

5. Several words in the copy are illegible.

6. See **675**.

7. Several words in the copy are illegible.

8. See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

9. Reference here is to the numerous German POWs after the defeat at Stalingrad; see **686**.

10. The report continues here with a subheading *Jews* since the reporting draft outline obliged the reporters at this time to likewise say something explicitly on the topic *Jews*. The reporter had nothing to report and marked that fact with “—.”

11. This letter was not available to the editors.

12. See **Cattle trade, Jewish**.

13. See Chronology, 13 April 1943.

14. See **Kristallnacht**.

[15.](#) See Chronology, 16–17 May 1943. Reference is to the “Dambusters,” a new type of bombing that was the brainchild of the British scientist Barnes Wallis, and was used by the English on the night of 16–17 May 1943 against the dams of the Ruhr Valley. This attack was termed by the Germans an “act of Jews’ revenge.”

[16.](#) See Chronology, 13 April 1943.

[17.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

[18.](#) See the report for the previous month from Augsburg, [678](#).

[19.](#) See [684](#), n. 15.

[20.](#) See Jewish Question.

[21.](#) See **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

[22.](#) See Chronology, 22 June 1941.

[23.](#) See Chronology.

[24.](#) See **Mixed marriages**; “privileged mixed marriages” there.

[25.](#) See **Protective custody**.

14

The “Dejudified” Third Reich

(July 1943–March 1945)

◀695▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

SD Reports on Domestic Questions

Berlin, 8 July 1943

Boberach, pp. 5448 f.

Comments on the Bombing of the Cologne Cathedral

[...] There are also comments which link the bombing of the Cologne Cathedral and other German churches with the *destruction of the synagogues in Germany*.¹ So they say that now what is happening is the “punishment from God.”² Now and then some people even express the view that the Roman Catholic Church condones this retaliation against the German churches, especially because over the course of the war up until the present, the Germans have also destroyed churches in enemy territory. <3616>

◀696▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

SD Reports on Domestic Questions

Berlin, 26 July 1943

Boberach, p. 5531

Reports on the Development of Public Opinion Formation

[...] Among the current recent reports, under the impression of events at the combat fronts, only scant attention has been given to the report of the *discovery of mass graves in Vinnitsa*.³ You can often hear the view expressed that we likewise were relentless in eradicating all elements of opposition in the East, especially the Jews. Stories from soldiers and other persons deployed in the East play a large role in this. In addition, the reports indicate that with the almost daily loss of life by enemy bombing in the West and North, the population today shows little willingness to take any special interest in the Ukrainian victims of Bolshevism. <3618>

◆697►

SD Main District Office Würzburg III A 4

General Mood and Situation

Würzburg, 27 July 1943

BArch, R 58/1130

There are ever more doubts about a counterattack. The most curious things are still being reported about its preparations and launch. Given the progressive destruction of our industry, people thus can no longer see any path forward to victory. The effect is evident among older **Volksgenossen** and in Catholic circles in certain comments being made: "They should just give in, before all of Germany is razed to the ground," or "Why should we go on working if perhaps by tomorrow we will be left with nothing, or perhaps not even be alive." The Catholic circles, especially in the countryside, are also convinced "that National Socialism is to blame for everything, and if that had not happened in Germany, our enemies would not be so spiteful toward us. The Jews should not have been expelled, then today they would not be working so actively against us."

<3621>

◀698▶

Higher Provincial Court Bamberg
Report on the General Situation in the Districts
Bamberg, 2 August 1943
BArch, R 22/3955

In view of the large number of victims of the bombings, who, often scantily clothed after having lost all their possessions, arrive at the home of their new hosts, recently the question has been raised more frequently: should we in future have recourse to the private property of those who have remained spared up to now, so as to supply the homeless with the barest necessities? In this connection, the question repeatedly surfaces: what happened with all the furnishings and household goods, etc., of all the many Jews who up to a few years ago were resident in Germany, and who belonged largely to the wealthier strata? These furnishings would be sufficient in order to adequately take care of all those who have been victims of the bombings. In the main, the furnishings would just have to be made available for this purpose. People say: it is unacceptable if individuals back at that time took possession of the property of the deported Jews, for little money and without any compelling reason, and now can sit undisturbed on their loot. <3624>

◀699▶
SD District Office Würzburg

General Mood and Situation

Würzburg, 3 August 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg 23

[...] In Ochsenfurt the rumor is circulating that Würzburg will not be attacked by enemy planes since no synagogue was set afire there.⁴ But others say that now the planes will be coming to Würzburg too, since the last Jew left the city a short time ago. Before his transport,⁵ that Jew declared that Würzburg now would also come under air attack. [...] <3628>

◀700▶

NSDAP Local Branch Weigolshausen

Report on the Prevailing Mood
Weigolshausen, 13 August 1943
StA Wü, NSDAP Gau Mainfranken Nr. 677

[...] Recently within certain well-known circles, there has been talk that the German cities and churches are being subjected to a hail of fire because a few years ago "they" burned down the synagogues in Germany.⁶

In a conversation lasting more than three hours that I had last Sunday evening with a farmer, a very pious man, certain tendencies were evident which predominate in this camp: Without Hitler, no war—Our fight against the Jews brought the present deterioration of the war, Bolshevism is not as dangerous as it is made out to be—doubts about victory—and, should something be changed in religion, there would be an uprising in the country. [...] <3635>

►701►
SD District Office Würzburg

General Mood and Situation

Würzburg, 31 August 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg 23

[...] The appointment of Himmler as Reich interior minister was given less attention than expected, but the population is nonetheless talking about this. Among the intelligentsia, the view can be encountered that this shift expresses a weakness in the government, one that they are attempting to remedy by appointing a strong man equipped with extensive powers and authority. [...]

For that reason, they want to regard the Reichsführer SS Himmler as a man much more fierce, because he is blamed for all the measures taken against the Jews.⁷ Consequently, fears are being voiced that he will not hesitate to use any means necessary. On the other hand, in circles that have a positive attitude toward the state, you encounter the view that it could only have turned out this way, and no other. [...] <3629>

◀702▶

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for August 1943

Ansbach, 7 September 1943

BayHStA, StK 106679

General Matters

Jews

The Jew by race and religion Dr. Daniel Leopold Israel, single, a medical practitioner⁸ in Fürth in Bavaria, was arrested for having attempted, on 18 June 1943, to flee so as to avoid **evacuation** to the East. He was incarcerated in the Fürth court jail as a police prisoner, where he then hung himself on 30 August 1943.⁹ <3631>

◀703▶

Gendarmerie Burglengenfeld

Monthly Report
Burglengenfeld, 27 August 1943
StA Am, BA Burglengenfeld 18051

Political Situation

[...] No efforts hostile to the state were identified. There are no Jews living in the area of this post. [...] <3633>

►704►

NSDAP District Direction Weißenburg/Bavaria
Report on Ideological Attitudes, 21 June–20 August 1943
Weißenburg, n.d.
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 85

Jewish Question, Bolshevism

In broad strata of the population, the view is gaining alarming ground that it is all the same whether the German people falls under the domination of the English, the Americans, or even the Bolsheviks, if only this horrible war finally comes to an end. There can be no doubt that the descriptions by evacuated **Volksgenossen** from destroyed cities contribute a great deal to this attitude. Those descriptions are not exactly exaggerations, but sometimes are intentionally provocative and inciting. One thing is correct: it is all the same whether England, the U.S., or the USSR takes over power in Europe, because behind all these three power groups stands the Jew. Unfortunately, within the people no attention is given any more to the Jew and the danger associated with him. But through ideological indoctrination, it must be made clear to the people that the Jew, if he should succeed to break back into Europe and seize power, will not restrain his Old Testament hatred, especially toward the German people.¹⁰

The **Volk** must recognize that there will not be and must not be a second 1918. Then the Jew would assume dominion over the world for all eternity.
<3636>

►705►

SD District Office Kitzingen

General Mood and Situation

Kitzingen, 13 September 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 17

Increasingly, *derogatory remarks* are being reported from the Kitzingen Foundry, voiced by former communists. Examples: [...]

Clerk: “The rotten thing about our leaders is that after they exterminated the Jews,¹¹ they pounced on their houses, making themselves at home, and put their **Aryan** asses in between the Jewish blankets. It is after all well known how in the dead of night they hauled the expensive carpets, furniture, and silver from the Jewish homes.” <3644>

SD District Office Schweinfurt

General Mood and Situation
Schweinfurt, 6 September 1943
StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 22

General Mood and Situation

In all strata of the population, both in urban areas and the rural countryside, daily conversation is still occupied with the raid on Schweinfurt. A number remain in deep shock, especially those who have lost relatives and all their belongings. The mood among these people is still depressed and not very rosy. Often you could hear people say that this was retribution for what we did to the Jews in November 1938.¹² People only wish and hope there is no second attack. Nonetheless, generally that attack is expected. <3647>

◀707▶

SD District Main Office Würzburg III A 4

General Mood and Situation

Würzburg, 7 September 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 37

Rumors have been spreading among workers and elsewhere about an ultimatum from the Anglo-Americans with a threat of a massive attack on the entire territory of the Reich, and an ultimatum from Stalin with a demand to surrender the Ukraine.

Regarding the bombing war, one can hear the opinion voiced that it is retaliation for our action in November 1938 against the Jews.¹³ People are also wondering whether the Jews will take possession of their homes once again after the war is lost. There is talk that cities with a large Jewish population in the past (Fürth, Frankfurt, etc.) were spared from attack.¹⁴ <3648>

◀708▶

SD District Office Bad Neustadt

General Mood and Situation

Bad Neustadt, 15 October 1943

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 14

According to a rumor from Münnerstadt, the enemy powers sent an inquiry to the Führer via the Red Cross, asking about the whereabouts of the Jews who used to live in the Reich.¹⁵ After that, the Führer had the Jews dug up and their remains burned, so that with a further retreat in the East, the Soviets do not get hold of any propaganda material like that discovered near Katyn,¹⁶ etc.¹⁷

<3652>

◀709▶

NSDAP District Office for [Ideological] Training Rothenburg/T.

Report on Ideological Attitudes
Rothenburg/T., 22 October 1943
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 83

Ideological Effects of Measures of Propaganda and Current Affairs

[...] The terror acts by the Anglo-Americans during the day in the first attack on Schweinfurt had a depressing effect on frightened individuals. The results of defense during the second attack on Schweinfurt were subsequently noted with all the more gratification. Many **Volksgenossen** express the view that the terror attacks are a result of the measures taken against the Jews.¹⁸ [...]

Jewish Question

Local Branch Hartershofen: The fairy tale of the “decent Jew” is emerging once again in a striking way. You can often hear people say that the Jews were treated too harshly by the Party. And that today there is retaliation for this.

People don't believe in final victory. Today they would really prefer to take precautionary measures and get on good terms with the Jews, if only that were possible. <3661>

►710►

NSDAP District Direction Weissenburg

Report on Ideological Attitudes
Weißenburg, 23 October 1943
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 85

Jewish Question

An old woman in Ellingen is telling the following story: the English dropped leaflets proclaiming that in the coming days, the former Jews' localities of Ellingen, Gunzenhausen, Treuchtlingen, and Wettelsheim¹⁹ would be destroyed by bombing raids. <3662>

►711►

SD District Office Schweinfurt

Report

Schweinfurt, 11 October 1943

StA Wü, SD Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 22

General Mood and Situation

[...] The continuing bombing raids on German cities are the object of strong interest and a focus in talks among the rural farming population. The old people, especially in Catholic [...]²⁰ constantly connect these air raids with the [...]²¹ of the Jews in 1938.²² A contact man from the district writes: In recent days in Hofheim, a rumor has been making the rounds. It says that soon the following localities will be bombed because Jews used to do business there: Burgreppach, Ermershausen, and Haßfurt. A second rumor in circulation says that the Jew Eckmann, who used to live in Lendershausen near Hofheim, stated when he was about to be deported that the Jews would return in 1944. In saying this today, people apparently want to express the idea that we are approaching the end, and in 1944 it will all be finished and over. <3656>

►712►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for October 1943

Ansbach, 8 November 1943

BayHStA, StK 106679

Jews

In the course of **evacuation** measures against Jews, a Turkish-Jewish married couple and the Jew Walter Israel Behrendt were arrested.²³ <3658>

►713►

District Governor Swabia
Report for October 1943
Augsburg, 10 November 1943
BayHStA, StK 106684

General Political Situation

[...]

Jews

On 1 October, there were 68 Jews from the Reich and 3 foreign Jews resident in the government district. <3659>

►714►

NSDAP District Direction Weissenburg
Report on the Prevailing Mood, 21 August to 20 September 1943
Weissenburg, 25 October 1943
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 85

The land (cemeteries, mortuaries, etc.) of the Jewish **Community** Treuchtlingen has been transferred by sale to the municipalities of Treuchtlingen and Pappenheim. <3663>

►715►

SD District Office Minden

Release of the Jewess Ms. Bartz, Bad Oeynhausen

Minden, 5 November 1943

StA Det, M 18 Nr. 11

A co-worker from Bad Oeynhausen reports:

"The Jewess Bartz is still confined in the police jail in Bad Oeynhausen, and residents here in town are very upset and dissatisfied about this matter. Though everything up to now has been quiet, it looks like it will not remain so for much longer. For the past two days, I have been receiving calls at home. The gist of their content is roughly as follows: "What is this Jewess still doing here in Bad Oeynhausen? Why doesn't the Party take action and intervene? Is there no longer any justice in Germany? If a poor devil opens his mouth, he goes to prison, but the Jewess is sitting nice and snug down at Police HQ. Do the Jews have some special protection now?"

We are no longer going to stand for this. If the police can't do its job, we have to take action ourselves. If things are not soon put right, we'll report this matter to Heinrich Himmler. He certainly will rectify matters. We will have to turn to Berlin if Bad Oeynhausen doesn't know what to do."

These conversations are anonymous. When I asked a few times who was on the line, they hung up. Twice my name was mentioned and then the voice said: "Don't be so soft." "If we don't get tough, in the end the Jews will devour us." I couldn't recognize anyone I know from the voice, and I don't know who phoned me. In my view, the Jewess has to disappear from here, before there are even more scenes, perhaps nasty." <3668>

◀716▶

SD Main District Office Würzburg III A 4

General Mood and Situation
Würzburg, 9 [November] 1943
BArch, R 58/1150

The bombing of the Vatican has caused a commotion, especially within the Catholic rural population and sparked indignation there, probably because people believed the enemy propaganda about the protection being accorded the Church. In Party circles, people are pleased about this “unmasking of the attitude of the Jews”²⁴ toward the Church.²⁵ <3669>

►717►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for November 1943
Ansbach, 7 December 1943
BayHStA, StK 106696

General Matters

[...]

Jews

The **RSHA** Berlin has issued an order that the Jew by religion and race, Gerhard Israel Schwarz, Nuremberg, be placed in **protective custody** and sent to a **concentration camp**. He has been in investigative custody for a long time, charged with the willful damaging of tools. In this month as well, ongoing checks were carried out on the Jews still living in the service area in regard to enforcement of the laws and ordinances enacted against them.

In 216 cases, applications were processed for assets to be forfeited to the state in accordance with the 11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law.²⁶ <3670>

►718►

Assessing the Mood and Rumors²⁷
Frankfurt/M., 4 December 1943
HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 10885

In regard to the **Jewish Problem**, we can note that the preponderant majority of the population follows our publications and propaganda slogans. The general popular expression is “The Jew has got us into this mess.” Only in certain

intellectual circles is there a tendency, now as before, to entertain reservations in this respect. <3672>

►719►

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapo)

Reporting Events of Importance for the Gestapo

Berlin, 17 December 1943

BArch, R 58/212

Opposition

In the Reich area, five-page “Circular Letters to the Relatives of Stalingrad Fighters,” typewritten with carbon copies, were sent out by regular mail in the form of three chain letters. The letters were sent to a large group of individuals and reflect the extensive inquiry conducted by the author into the fate of soldiers reported missing in action at Stalingrad. In some cases, there is also reference to current documents or statements by Wehrmacht offices or officers. In addition, Circular Letter no. 3 contains comments attacking the state, coarse attempts to undermine the trust of people in the leadership, and also engages in treasonous critique of Germany’s treatment of the Jews.²⁸ [...] <3675>

►720►

NDSAP [Party] District Head Office Erkelenz

Report on the Ideological Situation
Erkelenz, 29 December 1943
HStA Dü, RW 23/99 Bd. I

Jewish Question

As a result of the ideological training sessions on “The Jew as a World Parasite,” the Jewish Question has been clearly explained. The **Volksgenossen** now understand that the Jew generally, and thus also outside Europe, is our greatest enemy. <3677>

►721►

NSDAP District Direction Eichstätt
Report on Ideological Attitudes for October to December 1943
Eichstätt, 27 December 1943
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 76

Jewish Question

In the **Jewish Question**, our **Volk** has to be enlightened in greater detail. Today one can occasionally hear the view expressed that the Führer made the biggest mistake in allowing the Jews to leave Germany at that time, and now they are working against us. They say that in the occupied territories, the Jew is still there, and is acting against us. <3679>

►722►

SD Regional Division Koblenz

Radio Program Observation
Koblenz, 24 January 1944
Brommer, Vol. 2, pp. 471 ff.

Cultural Areas

Radio

Recently there have been ever more voices raised from all sections of the population commenting on the content of the musical programs on the radio, especially the light entertainment programs. Below is a comprehensive position statement by a leading man in the theater who heard opinions voiced on this topic: [...]

Likewise when it comes to “light music,” it is necessary to eradicate the Jewish contagion, without any concessions whatsoever. <3682>

►723►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia
Report for January 1944
Ansbach, 8 February 1944
BayHStA, StK 106696

General Matters

[...]

Jews

Arrested:

a) Isak Hirsch in Nuremberg, since over an extended period he neglected to wear the **Jews' star**.

b) [name withheld], office worker, single, resident in Sendelbach, district Hersbruck, **Mischling** of the first degree, charged with maintaining a romantic relationship with a pure-blooded German girl and engaging in sexual intercourse,²⁹ and in addition, making statements hostile to the state.

At the order of the **RSHA**, 15 Jews by race³⁰ from German-Jewish **mixed marriages** no longer in existence were resettled to **Theresienstadt**. The number of Jews still resident in the government district has thus fallen to 279.

The constant checks on the Jews and Jewish Mischlinge still living in the

service district in regard to their adherence to regulations for Jews were likewise continued in January 1944. There were no complaints of any importance in this regard. <3684>

◀724▶

SD District Office Schweinfurt

Report

Schweinfurt, n.d. 1944

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 22

The spread of rumors [...]³¹ quite extensive, especially in Catholic circles. In the following, several of these are listed: [...]

“According to statements by Catholic circles, the cities of Vienna and Munich are to be totally vacated. The English are dropping many Jews by parachute who have all [...].”³² <3692>

◀725▶

SD District Office Schweinfurt **III A 4**

Report

Schweinfurt, n.d. 1944

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 22

Impact of the Terror Attacks on Schweinfurt

[...] Among **Volksgenossen** who have been bombed out, you can hear statements saying that if we had not treated the Jews so badly,³³ we would not have to suffer so much from terror attacks. However, it is clear to the Volksgenossen that for these [...]³⁴ to blame. <3693>

◀726▶

NSDAP District Direction Erkelenz

Report on the Ideological Situation
Erkelenz, 28 February 1944
HStA Dü, RW 23/99 Bd. I

Ideological Situation

[...]

Jewish Question

As a result of ideological training, the press and radio, the **Volksgenosse** has a very clear position regarding the **Jewish Question**. Everyone is aware that the Jew is the one who started the war.³⁵ <3695>

SD Regional Division Schwerin

Report

Schwerin, 7 March 1944

BArch, NS 6/407

As a supplement, the following voices have come to our attention in regard to several points already dealt with in the telegrams from here: *Reportage in the Mecklenburgische Presse on the air raid on Rostock on 20 February 1944*

People in numerous places regarded the reportage in the *Mecklenburgische Presse* on the air raid on 20 February as lacking in objectivity and incorrect. [...] People stated that the following also had the strong odor of propaganda: "We will not let ourselves be dragged down by this infamous terror; lurking behind it is nothing but the pack of Jews." They say the residents of Rostock regard the military effect of the attack as far too grave and serious to be exploited for some sort of silly propagandistic antics. <3700>

►728►

SD Main District Office Schwerin
Reception and Effect of Propaganda Guidance in the Press and Radio
Schwerin, 28 March 1944
BArch, NS 6/407

Events in Hungary

From circles who know almost nothing about the conditions in Hungary, there are reports that as a result of news in recent days, people are “extremely surprised.”³⁶ But they say that those who are better informed politically have yearned for years to see these changes. Both views agree on one point: it was “once again high time.” [...] In any case, “restoring quiet” to Hungary is, they say, costing us dearly once again, taking a lot of troops that are badly needed in the East. So the underground subversive activities of the opponents have been successful once more in weakening us, separating off segments of our total strength. They say that in general, the *best* Hungarians ought to be taken over into the German Wehrmacht, and the rest put to work in the armaments industry. Then at least they’d be under supervision. They say that Horthy [*sic*] is personally loyal to the Führer, but that he is unable to do very much. Above all else, it is necessary to make sure the Jews in Hungary are decimated and completely weeded out from the rest. Then the country would, they say, most likely quiet down.³⁷ <3702>

►729►

The Higher SS and Police Leader in Defense District XIII
Report for 1–15 March
n.p., 15 March 1944
StA Mü, NSDAP 84

Nuremberg

[...]

Arrested:

The 23-year-old Jewish Mischling of the 1st degree Harald Adam, last resident in Sendelbach, district Hersbruck, because he has maintained a romantic relationship over a long time and engaged in sexual intercourse³⁸ with a pure-blooded German girl, and made statements of defeatism to this girl’s mother.

An application was submitted for special treatment.³⁹ [...] <3703>

►730►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for March 1944

Ansbach, 8 April 1944

BayHStA, StK 106696

General Matters

Jews

The **Geltungsjude** Kurt Israel Sahlmann was arrested in Nuremberg, since over an extended period he neglected to wear the **Jews' star**.

In the ongoing checks carried out this month as well as on the Jews still living in the service area in regard to enforcement of the laws and ordinances enacted against them, there were no particular complaints. The same was true in the case of surveillance of the Jewish **Mischlinge**.

In 22 cases, applications were submitted for the assets to be forfeited to the state in accordance with the 11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law.⁴⁰

An application was submitted to revoke the German citizenship of two Reich citizens who have been residing outside the country for a long time and do not intend to return to Germany. <3704>

►731►

Gendarmerie Burglengenfeld

Monthly Report
Burglengenfeld, 22 March 1944
StA Am, BA Burglengenfeld 18046

Political Situation

[...] There are no clear and definite enemies of the state living in the area of this post, and likewise no Jews. <3705>

►732►

NSDAP District Office for Ideological Training Eichstätt
Report on Ideological Attitudes for January to March 1944
Eichstätt, 15 March 1944
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 76

Ideological Situation

[...] In his New Year's sermon, the local bishop Dr. Rackl said something like this: the *two leaders* Adolf Hitler and Mussolini are the executors of the judgment against the Jewish people, rejected by God. I was able to learn from reliable sources that a large proportion of the local clergy was pleased with these thoughts of their bishop and agreed with him, while some, in circles of higher dignitaries of the Church, strongly rejected these statements.⁴¹ [...]

Jewish Question

The theme “The Jews as World Parasites” treated in all local branches as an ideological training topic had a lasting impact on all those in attendance.
<3706>

►733►

SD District Office [Bad Brückenau]⁴² III A 4

Report

[Bad Brückenau], [?] April 1944

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 12

Very pessimistic mood and increasingly fatalistic indifference, heavily influenced by the statements and descriptions of the numerous persons who have arrived here from Frankfurt and Schweinfurt, victims of the bombing raids.

Often voiced is the view that terror attacks especially on Frankfurt are retaliation many times over for the Jews' action 1938.⁴³ [...]

Air raid terr[...]⁴⁴

Persons returning [...] say very openly that the at [...] are retribution for the [...] Jews' action. Some say, as already heard earlier, that our whole position on the Jewish Question, but especially its solution,⁴⁵ was totally wrong, and the German people today has had to suffer the consequences. If they had let the Jews stay in the country, they say, no bombs would have fallen on Frankfurt. [...]

<3708>

◀734▶

SD District Office [Bad Brückenau]⁴⁶ III A 4

Mood and Situation

[Bad Brückena], [?] April 1944

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 12

The depressed mood is continuing. [...]

Especially among workers, people think the bombardment of the Hungarian capital is the result of the Jews' laws recently enacted there.⁴⁷ [...]

Terror attack [...]⁴⁸

[...] The recent enemy attacks on the Hungarian capital are the topic of intense discussion, especially among the men, and the hope is voiced that now as a result, the German cities would come to enjoy a period of rest and quiet. They say it will take some time until the Hungarian armaments industry is as badly damaged as the German, and for that time period the German cities will probably have their interim of quiet. In circles of workers, and among some farmers, people think that the attacks on Budapest should be attributed to the Jews' laws recently issued in Hungary.⁴⁹ [...] <3709>

SD Regional Division Schwerin

General Mood and Situation

Schwerin, 4 April 1944

BArch, NS 6/407

The new *Hungarian* government and its measures are garnering strong support. People hope that with the exclusion of the *Jews*, Hungarian efforts in the war against Bolshevism will be strengthened. But there are doubts as to whether the Hungarian army will be restored to fighting capacity so quickly.

<3712>

◀736▶

SD Regional Division Schwerin

Reception and Effect of Propaganda Guidance in the Press and Radio

Schwerin, 4 April 1944

BArch, NS 6/407

Hungary

The internal political change in Hungary is being followed with special attention.⁵⁰ [...] The general view about the exclusion of the Jews is best reflected in the remarks by a young Volksgenosse: "the SS will manage alright to spare the Jews in the appropriate way!"⁵¹ <3714>

◀737▶

RSHA, Office III (SD)

SD Reports on Domestic Questions

Berlin, 25 May 1944

Boberach, p. 6558

On the Reception of Public Means of Leadership

[...] Among the publications on the topic *Invasion*, the following articles among others are regarded as worthy of special attention: [...] and “Coming to the Crunch” by Wilhelm Posch (*Schweinfurter Zeitung*, 19 May 1944). The comment in this article upset people locally in the rural population: “Quite possibly, we are going to come to know the enemy now in as yet unfamiliar ways, in his brutality, his reckless will to destroy and annihilate, schooled in the Bolshevik example and driven by Jewish hatred.” <3715>

◀738▶

SD District Office Bad Brückenau II A 4

Mood and Situation

Bad Brückenau, 8 May 1944

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 12

Many think an invasion is hardly probable. Retaliation has been put on ice, they say. A frequent comment is that if we had solved the **Jewish Question** in the same way [...],⁵² our cities in any case [...].⁵³

[...] In the opinion of many **Volksgenossen**, retaliation has been “put on ice.” They say that after our cities have been so thoroughly destroyed, the prerequisites for retribution probably also went to the devil as a result. As proof people cite the destruction of the armaments industry in Schweinfurt. And just like in Schweinfurt, that is how it appears now in almost all fairly important industrial centers in Germany, and recently like in the French [*sic!*] and Protectorate⁵⁴ territories. In connection with these events, Hungary’s current position on the Jewish Question and its impact is also often a topic of discussion. Many Volksgenossen think that we solved the Jewish Question in the most blundering, heavy-handed manner.⁵⁵ They state quite openly that in this matter, Hungary has in any case learned from our failure. And they say our cities would doubtless not have been destroyed if back then we had also consolidated the Jews in **ghettos**. If we had, today we would have a very effective means of threat and antidote at our disposal. <3716>

◀739▶

SD District Office Würzburg III C 4

General Mood and Situation

Würzburg, 8 May 1944

StA Wü, SD-Hauptaußenstelle Würzburg Nr. 23

Among the population at the moment there is general tension in expectation of events on the horizon, more specifically the enemy invasion, though without any special perceptible nervousness. By contrast, developments on the Eastern front are receding a bit into the background. The air war continues to be of great concern and worry to the population.

[...]

Moreover, the content of the flyers dropped in large quantities has also apparently had its effect. Repeatedly, one can hear cautious references to the misguided prophecies of our leaders, with allusions to the content of the flyers, Roosevelt's warnings regarding treatment of the Jews, etc. They purportedly have been read most by the population in the rural countryside. In any event, the suspicion seems well founded that the flyers have had some effect. [...]

There has been general interest in the press reports on the **Jewish Question** in Hungary.⁵⁶ In workers' circles, it was found to be of special interest that the Jews there have been housed in the immediate vicinity of factory installations. You can hear people in these circles saying: "The Hungarians can serve as an example for us; they have correctly understood what needs to be done."

<3719>

◀740▶

SD Regional Division Frankfurt/M.

Mood and Formation of Opinion

Frankfurt/M., 6 June 1944

HStA Wi, Abt. 483 Nr. 11266

Here and there some are also saying that the way the war situation is being handled in the press in recent days has not been very encouraging for the population. They say the articles about the current war situation (Goebbels article, etc.) were marked by a notable reserve and sense of uncertainty vis-à-vis the developments in the offing. People are commenting in particular on the article by Dr. **Goebbels** “Now We’ve Had Enough” from Friday of the previous week, saying that the call there to kill the terror pilots should be regarded as nothing but a weak countermeasure against the destruction of German life and property in far greater numbers and scope. This problem is a two-edged sword, they say, and could also result in corresponding reprisal measures against German POWs. A number call the words of Dr. Goebbels quite inept. It would have been far better, they say, if Dr. Goebbels, on behalf of the government, had forbidden the German people from taking revenge on the pilots captured. People could nonetheless have done what they wanted—similar to the “**Volk** uprising against the Jews.”⁵⁷ <3721>

►741►

NSDAP District Direction Fränkische Alb

Monthly Report on the Ideological Situation

Lauf, 27 August 1944

StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 78

Ideological Situation

[...]

Jewish Question

The **Volk** say that as a consequence of a victory that is not ours, Jewry will pounce on the German Volk body and realize all its devilish and bestial plans, as described in our press. Which is why we have the slogan: Death and destruction to the Jews—the future and life are ours! <3727>

►742►

RSHA, Office IV (Gestapa)

Reporting of Events of Importance for the Gestapo
Berlin, 25 August 1944
BArch, R 58/213

Listening to Foreign Radio Stations

The **Stapostelle Halle** arrested 9 persons for listening to foreign radio stations. They are in the main former Marxists who made use of listening to foreign broadcasts to band together. The Stapoleitstelle *Berlin* arrested 5 persons for the same crime; these were Jews⁵⁸ and Jewish **Mischlinge** who had formed a solid circle of radio listeners. <3728>

►743►

Field Post Inspection Office AOK 7
Report for September 1944
n.p., n.d.
BArch/MA, RH 13/49

Report

Attitude and Mood

[...]

Examples

[...]

Reports on the prevailing mood of a general character (positive)

Brothers and sisters to their brother, Gendarmerie police sergeant in the West:

“Hitler has now been left in the lurch by many countries. He is surrounded by betrayal, and if the enemy continues in this way, we can almost predict what horrors shall befall us. If a miracle does not come to pass at the last minute, we are lost. Then probably the Jew will come in and in his manner, clean up and triumph in Germany.” <3732>

►744►

Field Post Inspection Office Army Group North
Report for September 1944
n.p., 5 October 1944
BArch-MA, RH 13/49

Inspection Report

Attitude and Mood

Correspondence Front-Home and Front-Front

[...] Fortunately, the circle of persons who regard a German victory as an almost lost cause is only very small. [...]

***Annex to Activity Report for September 1944 of the
Field Post Inspection Office Army Group North***

Excerpts from letters

[...]

Letter 15

Sender: Pvt. K. Buthut, Fp. No. 59 265

Recipient: Mrs. Alwine Buthut, (19) Dönstedt, Heldensleben-Land, Gov.
District Magdeburg *Date:* 27 August 1944

... Mom, I'd like to write you something, but please don't laugh. You know of course that everything here is touch and go, teetering on knife's edge. Now it's a question of the big decision, and I have the feeling that the knife blade is cracking. The war's approaching its end, but I don't think so for us. You know of course that the Jew is going to take his blood revenge, mainly against the Party people. Unfortunately, I was also one of those who wore the Party uniform. Matter of fact, I've already regretted it. Please get rid of that uniform, put it somewhere, anywhere, even if you burn all the stuff. I can no longer sleep well at night because of all this. <3733>

►745►

NSDAP District Direction Neustadt/Aisch

Report on Ideological Attitudes
Neustadt/Aisch, 19 September 1944
StA Nü, NS-Mischbestand Gauleitung Nr. 81

Ideological Situation

[...]

Jewish Question

The problem of the **Jewish Question** has been significantly deepened by events, especially 20 July 1944.⁵⁹ There is lively discussion and people repeatedly note that lurking behind all this misfortune is the dominance of Jewry. There is also much talk about the activity of the Jews in the occupied territories conquered from the enemy. <3735>

◀746▶

Stapostelle Cologne

Report for September and October 1944

Cologne, 9 November 1944

HStA Dü, RW 34–8

The action against Jews, Jewish **Mischlinge**, and those with Jewish kin⁶⁰ ordered by the Reichsführer SS⁶¹ had already been prepared and implemented here in the framework of the evacuation before the order was received.

<3736>

►747►

District Governor Upper and Central Franconia

Report for October 1944

Ansbach, 8 November 1944

BayHStA, StK 106996

General Matters

[...]

Jews

Arrested: the Jewess by race and religion Henryka Kessler, née Sternlieb, formerly resident in Marktredwitz, formerly a citizen of Poland, because she escaped from the Jews' ghetto in Stanislau,⁶² came for labor deployment to Germany under a false name and here once again concealed her Jewish race.

On instructions from the **RSHA** Berlin, lists were made of the names of all Jewish **Mischlinge** and persons with Jewish kin, and their names were reported to the labor offices for labor deployment in closed groups in the Organization Todt.⁶³ The action of preparing lists of persons has still not been fully completed.

In accordance with the 11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law,⁶⁴ in 9 cases during the report month applications were processed for the assets to be forfeited to the state. As per instructions, this was reported to the RSHA. An application was submitted to revoke the German citizenship of five emigrants living abroad. <3737>

►748►

II/Wehrmacht Propaganda Office

Report 20–26 November 1944 on the “Special Action Berlin”

Berlin, 29 November 1944

Berghahn, pp. 98, 100

Foreigners. In conversations with Berliners, again and again people express the view that foreigners are being treated here too well. [...]

In the streetcar, an Italian was reminded of his duty in accordance with proper decorum to offer his seat to an older German lady. After he remarked that he had also paid for a ticket, other German women sprang to the Italian's defense. They said he couldn't help the fact that he was here, he had been obliged to go to war exactly like the German men, too. They said people after all have to remain human, because we have incurred enough guilt already through the way the Jews and Poles are treated.⁶⁵ And that is guilt we are going to have to pay for some day. <3739>

◀749▶

SD [District Office Stuttgart] III C 4⁶⁶

Report on the Leadership

n.p., 6 November 1944

IWM, Aus deutschen Urkunden 1933–1945, p. 275

The examples reported from Nemmersdorf in East Prussia (*NS-Kurier*, 4 November 1944, No. 290) often achieved precisely the opposite of what was intended. The **Volksgenossen** say it is shameless to make such a big story out of all this in the German press [...]

“What is the intention of the leadership in publishing such pictures as were in the *NS-Kurier* on Saturday? The leaders should realize that any thinking individual who sees these murdered victims will immediately think of the atrocities that we committed in the enemy’s country, yes even in Germany. Didn’t we slaughter the Jews by the thousands? Don’t soldiers repeatedly tell stories that the Jews in Poland were forced to dig their own graves? And what did we do with the Jews who were in Alsace in **concentration camps**? After all, Jews are only human, too. In doing this, we gave the enemies an example of what they are allowed to do with us in the event of their victory” (numerous voices from all circles of the population).⁶⁷ <3740>

►750►

II/Wehrmacht Propaganda Office

Report for 14–20 February 1945

19th Report on the “Special Action Berlin”

Berlin, 23 February 1945

Berghahn, pp. 104,107,110

Individual Observations

[...]

34. Destruction of Files in the Municipal Administration

As the woman [name withheld] employed with the district mayor of Horst-Wessel-Stadt related, all files pertaining to the **Aryanization** of Jewish businesses are being destroyed there in order to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Russians. This is pursuant to an order from Lord Mayor Steeg, which has caused much commotion in the ranks of the municipal employees, since people have to assume from this that the Lord Mayor expects the Soviets to occupy Berlin in the near future. <3743>

◀751▶

District Governor Lower Bavaria and Upper Palatinate

Report for February 1945

Regensburg, 10 March 1945

BayHStA, StK 106696

Political Situation

[...]

Religious Communities

[...]

13 Jews and Jewesses were sent to **Theresienstadt** for the purpose of labor deployment.⁶⁸ <3742>

◀752▶

II/Wehrmacht Propaganda Office

Report for 23–29 March 1945 on the “Special Action Berlin”

Berlin, 31 March 1945

Berghahn, pp. 113,117,119

Individual Observations

Statements on the Situation

[...] On 19 March, two workers in Spandau-West, Moltkestr. are engaged in a discussion. They agree that we ourselves bear the guilt for this war, because we treated the Jews so badly. They said: we shouldn't be surprised if they do exactly the same thing now to us.—Nowadays similar remarks are often heard.

In the public air raid shelter at the Gesundbrunnen Railway Station, a worker told the story: in Aachen and Cologne, people shaved the heads of the leading Party members, and then they were paraded through the streets in a public procession. This, they say, was organized by the Jews, who wished in this way to take their revenge for the fact that they had been forced to wear the **Jews' star** as a marking in Germany. <3744>

1. See **Kristallnacht**.

2. As is evident from the present report and several others, the consciousness of guilt for the events of **Kristallnacht** was more deeply engraved in German collective memory than for the systematic mass murder of the Jews from Germany from the summer of 1941 on and the Jews in German-occupied Europe. See Chronology, 22 July and 14 October 1941, 16–17 May 1943, and ¶ 699, ¶700, ¶706, ¶707, ¶711, ¶692.

3. In the Ukrainian city of Vinnitsa, occupied by German troops on 11 July 1941, about 8,000 Jews from the city and its environs were murdered on 19 September 1941 (see “Vinnitsa” in EJL, Vol. III, 1403 f.). With the withdrawal of the Wehrmacht in July 1943, the mass graves were discovered by German troops. The German propaganda machine then tried, like in the case of **Katyn**, to launch a new campaign, though it proved abortive (for additional documents on this case, see Kulka, “Public Opinion,” 251 f. and n. 182, 183; see figure 34 a–c).

4. See Kristallnacht.

5. See Deportation of Jews.

6. See ¶695, n. 2.

7. See “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.”

8. See Physicians, Jewish.

9. See Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich.

10. See Hitler’s rhetorical distortion of the expression from the Old Testament “an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth” in reference to the “**Final Solution of the Jewish Question**,” in his speech on 30 January 1942, and its reception by the population; ¶618.

11. See “**Final Solution of the Jewish Question**.”

12. See **Kristallnacht**, and ¶695 and n. 2 there.

13. See **Kristallnacht**, and ¶695 and n. 2 there.

14. The meaning here is: spared so that Jews might return to them after the war.

15. On the inquiry of the International Red Cross directed to the German Red Cross and the Department IV B 4 in the **RSHA** under **Eichmann**’s direction, see documentation in Kulka, “Ghetto in Annihilation Camp,” and Adler, *Verheimlichte Wahrheit*, Nos. 215, 224, 304. In order to respond to inquiries regarding the mass annihilation of Jews (see “**Final Solution of the Jewish**

Question”), the International Red Cross was permitted a visit by a commission in the “model ghetto” of **Theresienstadt**. This took place on 23 June 1944. On the planned subsequent visit in “a Jewish labor camp **Birkenau** near Neu Berun” (the so-called “family camp” of the Jews from Theresienstadt), see the above-mentioned documentation in Kulka.

16. See Chronology, 13 April 1943.

17. The rumor is basically in keeping with the facts. The decision to eliminate all traces of the National Socialist mass murder was made at the beginning of 1942. Under the designation “Aktion 1005” operation, from the summer of 1942 to the summer of 1943, the corpses were dug up in the extermination camps and burned. And from the beginning of June 1943, a similar elimination of the mass graves was commenced in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, Poland, and Yugoslavia. The last phase of the operation went on until early 1944. (See “Aktion 1005” in EH, Vol. I, 11–14.) 18. Here and in the following reports, what is being referred to by these measures is the Kristallnacht pogrom and the **“Final Solution.”**

19. In these localities, the percentage of the Jews relative to the total population was relatively high before 1933.

20. One word illegible.

21. Word illegible.

22. See **Kristallnacht**.

23. See **Protective custody** and **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**.

24. The notion that the Allied conduct of the war was dominated by the Jews and their interests is a view in keeping with Nazi ideology and propaganda.

25. The text was taken almost verbatim from the report of the SD District Office Lohr of 8 November 1943, see CD <3667>.

26. See Chronology, 25 November 1941.

27. It is impossible to determine the reporting office from the document stored in the HStA Wiesbaden. The letter is addressed to the District Propaganda Office.

28. See **“Final Solution of the Jewish Question”** and 686.

29. See **Race defilement**.

30. See “Jews by race” in **Geltungsjude** and **Race legislation vs. religious**

affiliation of the Jews.

31. Several words illegible.
32. Several words illegible.
33. See ▶709▶ and n. 18 there and ▶716▶, n. 24.
34. Several words illegible.
35. See ▶716▶, n. 24.
36. See Chronology, 19 March 1944.
37. On the situation of the Jews in Hungary, which was the only large Jewish community in the countries ruled by or allied with Germany which had been spared up to that time (aside from the Jews of Bulgaria), see EH, Vol. II, 693–703 and bibliography there.
38. See Race defilement.
39. The term *Sonderbehandlung* (special treatment) designated the incarceration in a concentration camp in the case of Jewish inmates after 5 October 1942, in Auschwitz and their murder there.
40. See Chronology, 25 November 1941.
41. Regarding the ambivalent or divided view on the persecution of the Jews and their annihilation, see Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews.
42. The file has been badly damaged by fire and a large portion of the letterhead has been rendered illegible as a result.
43. See Kristallnacht.
44. The omissions mark those passages in the text that are illegible.
45. See “Final Solution of the Jewish Question.”
46. The file has been badly damaged by fire and a large portion of the letterhead has been rendered illegible as a result.
47. See ▶728▶ and footnotes there, and ▶716▶, n. 24.
48. The omissions mark those passages in the text that are illegible.
49. See ▶728▶ and footnotes there, and ▶716▶, n. 24.
50. See Chronology, 19 March 1944.
51. The reference is evidently to the mass annihilation of the Jews by the SS, the “Final Solution.”
52. The file has been badly damaged by fire. Several words illegible.

53. Several words illegible.

54. The reference is to the “Reich Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia” set up in 1939 after the German occupation of the “Czech Rump State” (“*Rest-Tschechei*”) (see Chronology, 14–16 March 1939).

55. The reference is evidently to the mass annihilation of the **“Final Solution.”**

56. See Chronology, 19 March 1944 and ▷728◁, ▷735◁, ▷736◁.

57. See **Individual actions**; on the use of language by the **SD** Department of Jewish Affairs in its recommendation for “intimidation” by utilizing the “anger of the **Volk**,” see ▷252◁.

58. These are most likely Jews living in **mixed marriages** who as a result had been protected from **deportation** up until then. See also ▷746◁.

59. See Chronology.

60. See Chronology, 13 October 1944.

61. See **Himmler**.

62. See “Stanislawow” (Stanislav), in EJL, Vol. III, 1233–1235; “Stanislau,” in EH, Vol. IV, 1408f.

63. See Chronology, 13 October 1944.

64. See Chronology, 25 November 1941.

65. See ▷695◁ and n. 2; ▷674◁.

66. The report is addressed to the SD Regional Head Division Stuttgart.

67. On the genesis of this way of thinking in the population during the war, see ▷686◁.

68. See Chronology, 13 October 1944.

Chronology of Anti-Jewish Legislation and Events

1933

- 30 January** Appointment of Hitler as Reich Chancellor.
- 1 February** Decree by Reich President von Hindenburg ordering the dissolution of the Reichstag and new parliamentary elections on 5 March.
- 4 February** Decree by the Reich President on the “Protection of the German Reich” (Enabling Law) grants the state to curtail freedom of the press and freedom of assembly. This is the first legal foundation stone for the persecution of political adversaries (so-called *enemies of the state* and numerous Jews).
- 12 February** The **Reich Representation of the German Jews** (later known as *Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden* or “Representation”), established in January 1932 by the Reich Work Councils of the German Trade Unions, creates a five-member emergency committee, empowered to represent German Jewry in negotiations with the government. It is the first Jewish organization to be registered under the Nazi regime (Blau, *Geschichte der Reichsvertretung*, 1).
- 27 February** Reichstag fire.
- 28 February** Decree “On the Protection of the People and the State,” which re-establishes the Reichstag as the sole legislative body of the Reich, including restrictions on personal freedom of the individual, freedom of the press, freedom of association and assembly. Begins the process of **protective custody** (without legal safeguards), initially against communists. Following the Reichstag elections (5 March), mass arrests also follow in the other states.
- March** Numerous excesses and violence, extending to maltreatment and torture of Jews; **(Individual actions)**; compulsory dismissal of persons from their posts; leading Jewish personalities in the spheres of culture, higher education, administration. Most important manifestations:
- 6–9.3.** Berlin-Kurfürstendamm
 - 9.3.** Chemnitz
 - 12.3.** Breslau (directed against Jewish judges and **Lawyers**)
 - 27.3.** Gleiwitz
 - 28.3.** Görlitz
 - 30.3.** Berlin
- 5 March** Reichstag elections under the Hitler government. Intimidation of voters by SA and other National Socialist fighting organizations. The NSDAP wins 43.9% of the vote.

- the vote.
- 8 March** Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm **Frick** announces the establishment of **concentration camps**. That same month, the first National Socialist concentration camps open at Dachau (20 March) and Oranienburg (12 March). Among their inmates are numerous Jews.
- 9 March** **Himmler** becomes temporary Police President in Munich; **Heydrich** is appointed to head up the Political Department.
- 13 March** **Goebbels** appointed head of the new Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.
- 17 March** Selection of Hjalmar **Schacht** as President of the Reichsbank.
- 20 March** Establishment of the Dachau **concentration camp**.
- 21 March** By means of the “Decree by the Reich President on Preventing Treason Against the Government of the National Revolution” (RGBl I, 13 March 1933), the Reich government makes it illegal to punish persons voicing critique of the regime in a private circle.
- 21 March** First confinement of prisoners transferred to the Oranienburg **concentration camp**. Followed by a rapid expansion of the concentration camp system.
- 22 March** Creation of the “Race Hygiene” department in the Reich Interior Ministry.
- 23 March** Enabling Act (“Law to Remedy the Distress of the People and the Reich”) is passed, giving the Reich government the power to issue laws changing the constitution. One of the first acts is the revocation of civil equality of Jews in Germany (see 7 April 1933).
- 28 March** German Roman Catholic bishops retract the warnings and prohibitions contained in their Pastoral Letter Against National Socialism (Pastoral Letter of 1933).
- 29 March** Establishment of the **Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid** (Zentralstelle für jüdisches Wirtschaftsleben) and the **Central Regional Association of Jewish Communities** (Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland).
- 29 March** First public declaration by the **Reich Representation** jointly with the Central Council of Jews in Berlin against the NSDAP call to **boycott** Jewish businesses. Also sent as a letter to the Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler.
- 31 March** As a consequence of violence against Jewish **lawyers** and judges, the Reich government issues a decree of protection. The Reich Commissar for the Prussian Justice Ministry, Hanns Kerrl, orders that Jewish public prosecutors, **lawyers**, and government officials in the Prussian Justice Ministry be given leave or dismissed from their posts (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht* 1–2).

- 1 April** Himmler becomes “Political Police Commander of Bavaria” and responsibility for **concentration camps**.
- 1 April** Announcement by the Reich Interior Ministry on the temporary reexit visa for German citizens going abroad (RGBl I, 160).
- 1–3 April** National **boycott** of Jewish businesses, organized by the NSDAP Ministry. **Individual actions** erupt against Jewish **physicians, lawyers, students**.
- 1 April** Telegram from the Berlin Supreme Council of the Protestant Church **Representation**:
- 4 April** Robert **Weltsch** responds to the anti-Jewish **boycott** with his article “Stolz, den gelben Fleck” (Wear it with Pride, the Yellow Badge), *Jüdische Rundschau*. This article had an enormous influence on German Jewry, especially among the educated strata, and helped to shaken Jewish identity (see http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc14.html).
- 6 April** Protest letter from Cardinal Bertram to Reich President Hindenburg against the Jewish **boycott** of 1 April (see **Churches and National Socialist**)
- 7 April** Beginning of anti-Jewish **race legislation** with the “Law for the Protection of the Professional Civil Service” and the First
- 11.4.** Implementation Ordinance of 11 April 1933. Employing this law,

- definition of the concept of “Jew” up until the **Nuremberg Laws Clause**, initially permanent civil servants of Jewish descent were retirement (RGBl I, 175, 195; for the text in English, see <http://www1.yadvashem.org/aboutholocaust/documents/part1/documents/175.htm> and http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/documents/195.htm).
- 4.5.** The Second Implementation Ordinance of 4 May 1933 deals with the employment of Jewish blue-collar workers and white-collar personnel in the civil service (RGBl I, 233–235).
- 6.5.** The Third Implementation Ordinance stipulates the categories of servants coming under the scope of the law. This included *inter alia* professors, (nontenured) lecturers at universities, and notaries who receive fees for their services (RGBl I, 245). The concept of the **Aryan Clause** is defined here. There are special regulations for former Jewish civil servants who temporarily exclude them from the provisions of this legislation.
- 7 April** Law on Admission to the Legal Profession (**Lawyers and judges**) allowing new admission to practice of “**non-Aryan**” lawyers (RGBl I, 188).
- 13 April** Establishment of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Reconstruction**.
- 15 April** In response to the anti-Jewish **boycott** and the onset of **Aryan legislation** (RGBl I, 189), Dietrich Bonhoeffer writes his protest essay “Die Kirche vor der Judenfrage” (The Church at the Question). The essay is initially written as a text for discussion, and is published until June 1933 (see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**).
- 21 April** The Law on the Slaughter of Animals and the associated ordinance (RGBl I, 202, 212) prohibit ritual slaughtering according to the rules of Jewish religious law (**ritual slaughter**). Ritual slaughter had already been prohibited in Saxony (22 March 1933) and in Baden (6 April 1933).
- 22 April** Exclusion of **non-Aryan** teachers from the Teachers’ Association (RGBl I, 216, No. 70).
- 22 April** As a result of the Ordinance on the Admission of Physicians for the Insurance Funds, the activity of **non-Aryan physicians** is brought to an end. Re-admission is declared illegal, with the exception of **combat veterans**.
- 22 April** Introduction of the **Aryan Clause** in the German Association of Lawyers (RGBl I, 222, Sonderrecht, 72, No. 72).
- 25 April** “Law Against Overcrowding in German Schools and Tertiary Education” (RGBl I, 233).

- (RGBl I, 225–226). This law seeks to limit the number of Jewish keeping with their percentage in the total population of Germany **combat veterans** and **Mischlinge**).
- 25 April** German sports and athletics associations adopt the **Aryan Clause** **combat veterans** and surviving dependents of soldiers killed in V *Sonderrecht*, 18, No. 80).
- 25–26 April** The conference of the representatives of the Catholic Church Pro a declaration of protest against the use of the **Aryan Clause** in th Church Committee of the Old Prussian Union, likewise meeting i April in Berlin, adopts the same position (**Churches and Nation the Jews**).
- 26 April** Law on the Establishment of the Secret State Police Office (**Gestapo**) is intended as a “general central bureau for collecting int Political Police for the entire territory of the Reich,” and is emplo all political activities throughout the Reich which endanger state systematic reporting by the **Gestapo**, also containing sporadic rep
- 29 April** Expansion of the representative base of the **Reich Representatio Jews**: inclusion of important Jewish organizations in the governi organization.
- 4 May** Second Implementation Ordinance to the Law for the Restoration Civil Service (see 7 April 1933).
- 6 May** Third Implementation Ordinance to the Law for the Restoration c Service (see 7 April 1933).
- 6 May** Law on the Admission of Tax Consultants; **Non-Aryans**
- 7 May** Dismissal of all Jewish workers and white-collar personnel in the decree of the Reich Economy Ministry (Adam, *Judenpolitik im E 24*).
- 10 May** Public burning of the books by “un-German” authors by the Nation in Berlin. Book burnings in university towns. The Fighting Comr Student Association ostracizes “un-German” (mainly Jewish) aut
- 17 May** The **Comité des Délégations Juives**, Paris, presents the **Bernhei**

- League of Nations.
- 29 May** First public statement by the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**, declaration published in all the important Jewish papers and magazines. The Reich Representation protests against the vilification of the Jews and the fact that they are being deprived of their civil rights in their fatherland. It declares itself to be the representative body of German Jewry vis-à-vis the new regime.
- 16 June** Establishment of the Political Committee of the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**, including participation by the three most important political organizations of German Jews: the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, Zionists in Germany, Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**; the chairman of the committee was Dr. Max Stern (see *Geschichte der Reichsvertretung*, 2).
- 17 June** Baldur von Schirach, "Youth Leader of the German Reich," is given the task of establishing youth associations (**Reich Youth Leadership**).
- 25 June** The **Reich Representation of German Jews** decides to establish a political committee. It meets for the first time on 6 July, and has its first meeting on 25 June (48).
- 6 July** Against the background of damage and losses inflicted on administration and economy by the arbitrary violent actions of the SA, Hitler declares to the State Governors that "evolution" must now replace the "revolution."
- 7 July** Rudolf Hess (since 21 April 1933, deputy of the Führer) prohibits the opening of large (Jewish) **department stores** for economic reasons, as well as for reasons of domestic and foreign policy.
- 11 July** Order by the **Gestapo**, in connection with combating "Marxist elements" in local Jewish political and "supposedly nonpolitical associations and organizations" (Klein, *Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei, Surveillance of Jewish organizations and Communism and Jewish Nationality*).
- 14 July** The Law for the Prevention of Genetically Diseased Offspring (passed on 14 July 1934) makes possible forced sterilizations.
- 14 July** Law on the Confiscation of Property Used for Purposes Inimical to the State (RGBl I, 497): it is later utilized during the **mass deportations** of Jews, confiscating the possessions of individual Jews and Jewish organizations (from October 1941, 25 November 1941).
- 14 July** Law on the Revocation of Naturalization and the Cancellation of Citizenship (RGBl I, 480).
- 26.7.** After the Implementation Ordinance of 26 July, the revoking of Citizenship

- instituted on the basis of “völkisch-national” and racial principles naturalizations (1) is applied in particular to Jews from Eastern Europe (**Jews**). The cancellation of German citizenship (2) applies to emigrants whose behavior have “violated the duty of loyalty to the Reich and **Volk Emigration**).
- 14 July** Germany officially declared a one-party state with the passing of the Law for the Formation of Parties.
- 15 July** State Commissar **Hinkel** issues permission for establishing the **K** (German Jews) in the name of the Prussian Ministry for Science, Education.
- 20 July** Conclusion of the Reich Concordat with the Vatican (ratified on 1 August). It ensures the further existence and activity of the Catholic organization. The Vatican forbids priests from engaging in any form of party politics.
- 23 July** Introduction of the **Aryan Clause** in the Reich Association of German Teachers (*Sonderrecht*, 42, No. 197).
- 26 July** Circular decree of the Reich Finance Ministry, according to which it is deemed desirable and must not be prevented. But a **Reich Fliegende Kommission** is sent to Jewish emigrants (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 42, No. 199).
- August** In numerous localities (Berlin-Wannsee, Fulda, Beuthen, Speyer, etc.) a **prohibition** is announced for Jews at beaches, in public pools, etc. (Sonderrecht, 48, No. 225).
- 8 August** According to the guidelines of the Reich Professional Civil Service, an individual to be appointed as a Reich permanent civil servant is required to prove his/her **Aryan** ancestry. Whoever later wishes to marry, must prove that he/she is of Aryan descent (RGBl I, 575).
- 28 August** Circular decree of the Reich Economy Ministry on the **Ha'vara** (Feilchenfeld, Michaelis, and Pinner, *Haavara*, 26 f.; for the text see <http://www1.yadvashem.org/aboutholocaust/documents/part1/docs/haavara.htm>)
- August–September** Jewish **cattle** dealers are no longer admitted into the Reich Federation of Cattle Trade. Those who joined the Reich Federation before the forced integration of public and cultural life (**Gleichschaltung**) remain in the Reich Federation (Sonderrecht, 49, No. 235) 
- 6 September** The General Synod of the Protestant Regional Church of the Old Believers approves the **Aryan Clause**. As a result, no **non-Aryans** can be appointed

in church administration. The prohibition also holds for the husbands' wives.

- 21.9.** But on 21 September, the founders of the oppositional **Pastors' Emergency Conference**, established on 11 September 1933 in the Protestant Church, voice the "employment of the Aryan Clause within the Space of the Church" (*Kirchenkampf in Deutschland*, 39 f.; see also **Churches and National Socialism on the Jews**).
- 13 September** "Theory of Heredity" and "Race Science" become obligatory taught subjects for all pupils (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 51, No. 244).
- 17 September** Establishment of the (new) **Reich Representation of the German Jews**: central organization of all Jewish **Communities**, regional associations and political and religious organizations; see http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/documents/reich_representation_of_the_german_jews.pdf
- 22 September** Law on the Reich Chamber of Culture: requirement for being active members in the corresponding chamber. Jews were excluded; within the framework of the **Kulturbund of the German Jews**. It was created for all sectors (RGBl I, 661).
- 27 September** Ludwig Müller is elected "Reich Bishop" by the National Synod of the Evangelical Church.
- 29 September** Reich Hereditary Farm Law: only persons who have no Jewish or non-Jewish blood in their forebears traced back to the year 1800 may be a farmer (or own a farm). This law contains the expression "Jewish blood" for the first time (RGBl I, 685).
- 30 September** The Kyffhäuser League (Reich League of Veterans) excludes non-Jews (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 54, No. 258).
- 4 October** Law on Editors: an editor must be of **Aryan** descent and cannot be an individual of non-Aryan descent (RGBl I, 713).
- 14 October** Withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations and the Conference on Disarmament (referendum on this on 12 November)
- 12.11.**
- 9 November** The Security Service (SD) of Reichsführer SS **Himmler**, established in 1931, which from July 1932 was under the command of Reinhard Heydrich, forms its own SS Office with ten Upper Divisions.
- 12 November** Reichstag elections, where the NSDAP is now the only party: turnout 87.7 percent, votes for the NSDAP United List 92.2 percent. Referendum on the League of Nations: turnout 96.3 percent, Yes 96.7 percent.

votes: 4.9 percent.

- 13 November** **Non-Aryans** cannot serve as lay judges or jurors (Walk, *Sonderrech* 61, No. 296).
- 27 November** Prohibition on listing Jewish festivals and holidays in the calendar offices (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 62, No. 297).
- 30 November** The Secret State Police (**Gestapo**) in Prussia becomes by law an internal administration.
- 14.3.1934 16 December** It is given power of control over **Stapo** offices. Circular letter of the Ministry: it stipulates that the Christmas shopping season must prevent disturbances. This order is issued due to threats against Jewish buyers (**Individual actions**), especially when they make use of Christian shopping season (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 64, No. 308).
- 19 December** Candidates for admission to the Pedagogical Colleges have to prove descent (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 65, No. 312).
- 23 December** Ordinance of the **Gestapo** to the state police offices to submit a general situation report by the fifth of every month; there are occasional reports under the rubric “Opponents of the State and the Movement.”
- November** **Himmler** becomes commander of the independent Political Police.
- 1933–January 1934** constituent German states (except in Prussia and Schaumburg-Lippe) subordinate to him issues instructions on surveillance of the “ideological regime,” sent to all SD Upper Divisions. These instructions, very detailed guidelines on reporting on the Jews, serve to help facilitate periodic situation reports by the SD (Browder, “Anfänge des SD” 1934).
- 3 December–1 January 1934** Five sermons by Cardinal **Faulhaber**, beginning on the first Sunday topic “Judaism, Christianity, Germandom.” They are published in the *Wochenspiegel*. These sermons are seen as open criticism of the rejection by Nazis of the Old Testament, and defend the importance for the history of salvation of the people of the Old Testament. Despite Faulhaber’s criticism of Nazi racial theory (see **Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews**), this is not in any way a statement of a position on the situation of the Jews in the Reich (see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**).
- 15 January** Decree initiated by the Gestapo and issued by the Prussian Prime Minister **remigration** of German emigrants returning from abroad: refugees of Germany and most of whom emigrated from Eastern Europe to the **East European Jews**) must be arrested and taken into custody. U

from Germany, they are to be interned in a **concentration camp**. opponents of the National Socialist state should be prevented (Walk, No. 326).

- 17 January** Decree by the Reich Interior Minister on the changing of family names designed to make it more difficult to change Jewish family names (*Walk, Sonderrecht*, 25, No. 43).
- 24 January** Law on the Regulation of National Labor (RGBII, 45): **Non-Aryans** were permitted to be union workplace representatives, plant managers, Labor Front (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 69, No. 332; there mistakenly listed as January 1934).
- 5 February** The Examination Regulations for **Physicians** and Dentists exclude Jews from taking these exams (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 25, No. 32).
- 27 February** Circular decree of the Reich Interior Ministry on Excusing Jewish employees from work on Major Jewish Holidays and on the **Sabbath** at the request of their employers (*Schools/School system, Jewish*).
- 28 February** By a nonpublished decree of the Reich Defense Minister, the Law on the German Civil Service of 7 April 1933 is extended to include teachers (Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 75 f.).
- 5 March** The Reich Literature Chamber prohibits Jews from distributing Nazi literature or the supplying of such literature to Jewish firms and dealers (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 73, No. 352).
- 5 March** The First Implementation Ordinance to the Law on the Reich Cultural Commissions prohibits **non-Aryans** from appearing as actors on German stages (Walk, § 353; see also **Artists' relief, Jewish**).
- 7 March** The **Reich Youth Leadership** emphasizes once again that it is forbidden for members of Jewish **youth organizations** to wear uniforms (Walk, No. 355).
- 20 March** Renewed permission for operating Jewish **youth organizations** is subject to severe restrictions (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 74, No. 361).
- 30 March** Decision by Martin **Buber**, Otto **Hirsch**, and Adolf **Leschnitzer** to establish **Adult Education** (*Kulka, Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 1).
- 18 April** The Law Against Overcrowding in German Schools (see 25 April) is extended to apply to private schools. There is no longer permission for schools (except for Jewish elementary schools); exempted from the law are schools whose purpose is preparation for **emigration** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 75, No. 362).

- see also **Schools/School system, Jewish**).
- 20 April** Prime Minister **Göring**, chief of the Prussian Secret Police, appointed Inspector of the **Gestapo**.
- 22.4.?** **Heydrich** becomes from 22 April head of the Secret State Police
- 24 April** Law on the Establishment of the People's Court for Crimes of Treason (RGBl I, 369).
- 1 May** Publication of the special issue of the *Stürmer* on **ritual murder**.
- 26.4.** On 26 April 1934, the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** informed the Reich Interior Ministry and sent a telegram to Hitler against the issue of the *Stürmer*, whose publication had been announced in leaflets (Kulka, *Deutschland 1933–1937*, p. 37).
- 2 May** The **Gestapo**, as the “Central Bureau of the Commander of the Police”, was given the task of defining the function of a body to coordinate activities, encompassing in particular the competencies of a secret police for the entire Reich.
- 17 May** **Non-Aryan physicians** and doctors with non-Aryan spouses are prohibited from using the health insurance fund schemes. Exemptions for **combat veterans** were granted (RGBl I, 399).
- 18 May** Law on the **Reich Flight Tax**: the amount that is exempt from tax is reduced from 200,000 RM to 50,000 RM (RGBl I, 392). As a result, the circle of persons obliged to pay the Reich tax (in the main Jews) is significantly enlarged. The exchange rate for the RM was about 2.50 to the U.S. dollar at this level and remained near that level to the end of 1941.
- 24 May** Order by **Heydrich** to **Stapostellen**, district governors, and government officials to submit comprehensive situation reports on the first of each month to the Reich Chancellery. These reports should contain a general overview about all the events of the previous month, suitable for characterizing the mood, the political situation, and social conditions. Jews are to be reported under a special rubric for the purpose. Systematic reporting on Jews begins.
- 29–31 May** Barmen Confessional Synod: in the sharply worded declaration on the church policy of National Socialist regime, the race policy and the position of the Aryan Christians are not mentioned (see **Churches and National Socialism** and **Anti-Semitism and the Jews**).
- 6 June** The **Zionist Association of Germany** (ZVfD) declares that members of the **League of Jewish Combat Veterans** is incompatible with membership in the party. This declaration is subsequently revoked on 26 April 1937 (CZA 1937, no. 14).

- 16 June** A circular decree of the Prussian Science Ministry excludes **non-participating** in courses of a national-political nature (Walk, *Sond*)
- 25 June** Order of the **Gestapo** prohibiting **noncombat veterans** and Jewish veterans from participating in World War I ("old-timers") from being members in **Jewish Combat Veterans** (see ▶48▶). According to another situation, a circular decree was issued on 25 July 1934 (see CD ▶687▶).
- 26 June** Circular letter by **Heydrich** as head of the **Gestapo**, against neglecting to register Jewish meetings in advance (Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*)
- 30 June–2 July** ordinance of the Gestapo, probably issued on 22 April 1934 after Heydrich's appointment to office, served to promote better **surveillance** of Jewish meetings (see ▶102▶)
- 30 June** Removal and murder of the **SA** top echelon around Ernst **Röhm** and his supporters during the operation against conservative critics of the government in the "Night of the Long Knives"; Viktor Lutze becomes the new chief of staff of the SA.
- 4 July** In the so-called "Röhm-Putsch," there is anti-Jewish violence in various locations (see ▶102▶).
- 7 July** Decree by the Reich Interior Minister **Frick** to district governors to prepare, beginning 10 August 1934, monthly situation reports, including reporting, for the Reich Interior Ministry, since it was responsible to the Reich government and Chancellor with political information. The differentiated reporting schema, which like the Gestapo reports had been developed for Jews, remains basically unchanged up until March 1936.
- 9 July** Decree by the **Gestapo** on the registering of all Jewish organizations (see ▶48▶)
- Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei**, II, 661; see also **Surveillance of Jewish organizations**.
- 18 July** According to the guidelines issued by the Reich Sports Leader, organizations **Maccabi** and **Schild** are to be granted recognition in the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**. All Jewish sports associations are to be registered (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 85, No. 41).

- 20 July** The SS becomes an independent formation of the NSDAP and is under command of the Supreme SA leadership. The **Reichsführer SS** is “personally and directly.”
- 22 July** The examination regulations for **lawyers** and judges no longer permit students to sit for examinations (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 1934).
- 25 July** On the exclusion of noncombat **veterans** and “old-timers” from the **Jewish Combat Veterans**, see above, 25 June 1934.
- 30 July** Reichsbank President Hjalmar **Schacht** takes over the Economy Ministry as Reich Economy Minister effective only from January 1935.
- 1 August** Law on the Head of State of the German Reich unites the office of the Head of State with that of the Chancellor, effective from the death of the incumbent President Hindenburg.
- 2 August** Death of Reich President Hindenburg. Hitler becomes “Führer and Commander in Chief” with immediate swearing of allegiance by the Wehrmacht to Hitler (up to that point Hitler had been Commander in Chief of the armed forces).
- 16 August** Decree of the Deputy of the Führer (**Hess**) prohibits all members of the Nazi Party from representing Jews in any way, from contacting state or other offices on behalf of Jews. It forbids Party members to accept party contributions from Jews, to provide Jews with permits of any kind, or to have social contact with Jews in restaurants, inns, and other such establishments (Walk, *Sonderrechtsblatt*, 1934).
- 19 August** Referendum on fusing the two offices of the Reich President (see above) and the Reich Chancellor: 95.7 percent turnout, 2 percent of ballots declared invalid, 89.5 percent Yes votes, 10.1 percent No votes. In various localities, the referendum was preceded by incidents against the Jews (**Individual actions**) before or during the voting process.
- 15 September** The Reich Sports Leader issues announcement: the organizations which are affiliated with the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports** are prohibited from participating in sports events organized by the Reich, the Deputy of the Führer, and the **Gestapo**. Further (local) restrictions were imposed (see 18 July 1934).
- 18 September** The Jewish **youth organizations** are prohibited from wearing uniforms, marching in processions and parades, and sports presentations. They likewise are prohibited from displaying any flags or badges (Walk, *Sonderrechtsblatt*, 92, No. 453).
- 23 September** **Non-Aryans** are excluded from the Association of Newspaper and Periodical Publishers (see above), even if they do not distribute and sell any National Socialist print publications (Walk, *Sonderrechtsblatt*, 92, No. 455).

- 16 October** According to the Law on Tax Adjustment and Harmonization (St^o 125) Jewish schools (**Schools/School system, Jewish**) have no right to tax relief. Christian organizations are recognized as organizations pursuing religious purposes entitled to tax relief (RGBl I, 925) ♦
- 1–20 October** The Dahlem Synod of the **Confessing Church** postulates a “Church against the totalitarian state and lays down the basic principles of church life. There is no mention of the persecution of the Jews (see **Churches and Judaism**, **policy on the Jews**).
- 21 October** The Police HQ in Württemberg states that the establishment of new organizations are only permissible when these are affiliated with the **(Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations)** recognized by the Führer. For the present, it is still permitted to organize sports competitions among Jewish organizations. Public sports fields and facilities are to be reserved for groups that are not needed by other groups (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 94, No. 465).
- 1 December** Law on Change of Regulations for the Profession of Law: it declares that it is now permissible to admit Jewish **lawyers** to the bar (see 7 April 1933); Jewish lawyers are still permitted to use the professional term “lawyer” (RGBl I, 1258).
- 8 December** Examination Regulations for Pharmacists: **Non-Aryans** are no longer allowed to take the examination (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 27, No. 59).
- 13 December** Reich Habilitation Regulations: habilitation (as a second advance degree) dependent on a candidate being of **Aryan** descent (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht*, No. 61).
- 20 December** The Law Against Treacherous Attacks on the State and Party and Party Uniforms (“Heimtückegesetz”) replaces the ordinance issued by the President on 21 March 1933 (see entry there). The law introduces harsher elements, including the death penalty (para. 3). It opens wide the possibility for individuals (often denunciations against Jews) to the police authorities (RGBl I, 1271).
- 26 December** A letter from the Reich Interior Ministry to **Göring** as Prussian Minister of the **Gestapo** demands that anti-Jewish **individual actions**, “which have multiplied to an exceptional extent throughout the Reich,” should be stopped. Information on this is being sent to all state government administrators as a result of a protest letter from the Reich Economy Minister **Schacht** in December 1934 in connection with the **boycott** wave, in part marked by violence against businesses and **department stores**, most in the framework of pre-Christmas shopping. Schacht refers there to the decree of the Reich Interior

	1934 (Sauer, <i>Dokumente über die Verfolgung</i> , I, 171, No. 145b).
1935	
1 January	Hjalmar Schacht officially becomes Reich Economy Minister (see CD-688).
11 January	A decree of the Gestapo , Office II 1 A (Communist and Marxist) orders the Stapostellen and the Political Police offices in the constituent states to carry out a census (retroactively from 1 October 1934) on Jewish activity in the Mainland (see CD-689).
13 January	Saar Plebiscite against the Versailles Treaty: 90.8% vote for the incorporation of the Saar territory into the German Reich. 5,000 opponents of the Nazis, including numerous Jews, emigrate from the Saar territory (see M section Saarland).
28 January	Decree by the Gestapo that all emigrants who left the Reich after assumption of power and return to Germany (after the cut-off date) must be confined in a “reeducation camp” (see Remigration).
February	First publication of the anti-Semitic journal <i>Der Judenkenner</i> in Erfurt.
February	As a result of the “generally buoyant mood” after the “Saar victory” (January 1935), the Party leadership initiates a “new wave of anti-Semitism”. This intensifies anti-Semitic propaganda and terror against Jews. It is not limited to the local organizations of the NSDAP beyond the degree intended.
16.3.	This wave is driven by the reintroduction of compulsory military service with different degrees of intensity until after the proclamation of the Nuremberg Laws .
15.9.	
April–August	The anti-Jewish acts of violence, which peak in the period April to August, lead to numerous instances to conflicts between the state and Party, and between law and Nazi ideology. Characteristic for this is the order issued by Rudolf Hess as “Deputy of the Führer”; on Hitler’s order, he prohibits Party members from engaging in individual actions against Jews .
11.9.	
February	In February, the surveillance of the Jewish population begins.

- 5 February** Change in the Professional Examination Regulations for **Physicians**: now necessary for candidates to prove they are of **Aryan** descent (see RMI, 65).
- 10 February** According to an order of the **Gestapo**, all Jewish gatherings (**Ass Jewish**) which encourage persons to stay in Germany are prohibited (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 105, No. 514). It is clear from various sources that this was not the first such ordinance. **26.2.** In a decree by the Reich on 26 February 1935, **Zionist** meetings and events are expressly excluded. The justification: "Zionist events will regularly provide no advocacy in the sense of the idea of assimilation" (Sau, *Verfolgung*, I, 272, No. 232; see **Assimilationists**). These guidelines of the regime to support the activities of the Jews for promoting the idea of assimilation.
- 12 February** A letter by the **Gestapo** Berlin to all **Stapostellen** forbidding Jews to fly the swastika flag and the black-white-and-red national flag of the Reich (see *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 118).
- 27.4.** A decree of 27 April 1935 sanctions the prohibition by the Reich (ibid.). Similar prohibitions have been issued already a few months ago through local and regional initiatives.
- 15.9.** The **Nuremberg Laws** finally ban the hoisting of the Reich national flag. The Law on the Reich Flag, the swastika flag is declared to be the official flag. Jews are only allowed to display "Jewish colors" (**Flag legislation**).
- 13 February** Third Ordinance on the Admission of Dentists to Practice with Higher Qualifications (RGBl I, 192). **Non-Aryans** are not admitted, aside from a few exceptions.
- 22 February** Ordinance on the Temporary Arrangement of Court Practice in the Saarland. This legislation on professional civil servants which discriminates against Jews (see April 1933) and the laws on **lawyers** and notaries public are extended to the Saarland (RGBl I, 246). Additional existing anti-Jewish laws will be applied in the Saarland successively.
- 27 February** Ordinance of the Reich Ministry of Food and Agriculture, according to which

- individuals who are not of the German race” are not permitted to wholesale cattle markets (RGBII, 301; see also **Cattle trade, Jews** **European Jews**).
- 1 March** Subsequent to the **Saar Plebiscite** on 13 January 1935, the **Saarland** into Germany.
- 4–5 March** Synod of the **Confessing Church** in Dahlem approves a new Pro Pulpit against National Socialist ideology and the “new paganism” (*Witnesses Were Silent*, 80, and **Churches and National Socialist**).
- 16 March** Reintroduction of general compulsory military service by means Reconstruction of the Wehrmacht (Broszat and Frei, *Das Dritte Reich* 228). On the exclusion of the Jews from military service, see 21 April.
- 24 March** Circular decree of the Reich Ministry for Science, Schooling, and Jewish religious education is eliminated from the official curriculum.
- 1 April** Incorporation of the three most important welfare organizations into the **Reich Representation of the German Jews: Central Committee of the Jews for Relief and Reconstruction, Central Office for Jewish Welfare, and Central Welfare Office of the German Jews**.
- 11 April** Order from the Deputy of the Führer **Hess** forbidding Party members any personal, private interaction with Jews. In particular, shopping prohibited, under the threat of a trial before the Party Court. (Ancient Stellvertreter des Führers, 97 ff.; see also 16 August 1934). On 11 April, Hess forbids Party members from engaging in **individual actions**.
- 24 April** Order by the Reich Press Chamber on preserving the independence of newspaper publishers are ordered to provide proof they are of “pure German blood,” extending back to the year 1800 (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 113, No. 56).
- 27–28 April** Joining together of the forty-six independently active **Kulturbund** operating according to the pattern of the Berlin Kulturbund in numerous **Communities** to create the **Reich Federation of the Jewish Communities** from the Reich Culture Chamber stipulating that all Jewish Kulturbunds must come together in the Reich Federation by the deadline of 31 May (“Kulturelles und geistiges Leben,” 109 f.). **13.8.** Tightening of the laws by a circular instruction issued by **Heydrich**, containing further regulations.
- 21 May** Defense Law (RGBI I, 609), according to which **Aryan** descent is a prerequisite for conscription to military service. The examination includes exceptions.

- 25.7** According to an ordinance of 25 July 1935 (RGBl I, 1047), all **non-Aryans** were excluded from active military service.
- 25 May** The “anti-Semitic wave” that began in the spring (see February 1 point in Munich in anti-Jewish demonstrations and violence against **actions**).
- 29 May** Service directive stipulating that **non-Aryans** obligated to serve in the military are automatically placed in the Supplementary Reserves II if they do not submit an application for active military service (RGBl I, 697).
- 21 June** Decree of the Reich and Prussian Interior Minister: the government must see to it that **signs** and stickers with the words “Jews” like are removed from “official signposts and directional signs or *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 55, No. 39 f.; see also **Individual**”
- 25 June** Decree of the Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm **Frick** on changes **non-Aryan** family names can be permitted only as an exception, Jewish names perceived to be offensive in character, which like the disagreeable names of other persons can be changed, however on applicant another Jewish name (Cohn, Levy, Isaaksohn)"; (Blau, "Juden", 28, No. 67 f.).
- 26 June** Law on the Reich Labor Service: introduction of obligatory labor Service. Only those individuals can be admitted to the Reich Labor Service who have **non-Aryan** descent or are married to a person of non-Aryan descent

- declared obliged to serve in accordance with the Defense Law (see admitted to the Labor Service (RGBl I, 769).
- July**
- 22–28.7** Serious anti-Jewish disturbances in various sections of Berlin, which reach a high point in the period 22–28 July in the so-called “riots” (see *Der Gelbe Fleck*, 56 ff.).
- 6 July** A circular decree from the Reich Minister for Science, Schooling Education makes **Aryan** descent a condition for acceptance into “Students” at German vocational colleges and universities (Walk, 598).
- 13 July** Resignation of the President of the Reich Music Chamber, composed.
- 16 July** Reich Interior Minister **Frick** orders registrars not to conclude any **marriages** between the races.” A final prohibition on “mixed marriages until the **Nuremberg Laws**.
- 23 July** “Activity that is not purely of a religious-churchly nature [...] is prohibited.” This prohibition by the police, directed against Roman Catholic youth associations in Prussia, is extended a short time later to other areas of the entire Reich as well (Zipfel, *Kirchenkampf in Deutschland*, 1933). It limits the activity of Jewish **youth organizations**.
- 25 July** According to instructions from the Reich and Prussian Minister for War and National Education, **non-Aryan**

- 26 July** Implementation regulations on the Ordinance on the Career Path
Prosecutors: candidates must present documentation on their own and that of their spouse (RGBII, 812).
- July-August** During these months, the wave of violent anti-Jewish disturbance in February 1935 (see above) reaches its high point. The uncontrollable disturbances appear to the National Socialist government to be for economic reasons and reasons of national prestige. In order to curb **individual actions**, the following orders are issued:
- 2–8.8.** Order of the Deputy of the Führer **Hess** of 2 August; order by Hitler
- 20.8.** Decree of the Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm **Frick** of 20 August: Führer Order.
- 6 August** The **Reich Representation of the German Jews** drafts a “Word” that responds to the new wave of anti-Jewish **individual actions** and **synagogues** as a public protest action (Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, 1935).
- 17 August** Dissolution of all **Freemasons’ lodges** in Germany (except for the lodges).
- 20 Aug.–4 Sept.** Nineteenth Zionist World Congress (see **Zionist congresses**) in London. A delegation of Zionists from Germany participates, along with agents of the **Gestapo**.
- 2 September** The League of National Socialist German Jurists issues a “Jews’ Card” for the German Reich Front,” according to which “every lawyer belonging to the Party if he [...] represents a Jew against a Christian” (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 84 f., No. 69).
- 6 September** Decree of the **Gestapo** on the registering of all members of Jewish organizations in Germany (see **Associational life, Jewish**) in a “Jews’ card catalog for police **surveillance** (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 1935).
- 6 September** According to an order of the President of the Reich Press Chamber, Jewish newspapers on the street (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden und der jüdischen Presse*).
- 15 September** Proclamation of the **Nuremberg Laws** on the occasion of the “Party Freedom” and the convening of the Reichstag in Nuremberg: 1) The Law, according to which “Reich citizens” can only be “subjects of the Reich” or related blood” (RGBI I, 1146). 2) The Law on the Protection of German Honor (RGBIibid.). § 1: Matrimony between Jews and Christians is prohibited.

German or related blood is forbidden. Marriages nonetheless so called are null and void (**Mixed marriages**). § 2: Extramarital intercourse between subjects of the state of German or related blood is forbidden (**Race**). Jews are not permitted to employ female subjects of the state of German or related blood below the age of forty-five in their households. § 4: Jews are prohibited from hoisting the Reich and national flag and the showing of the Reich flag is permitted to “show the Jewish colors” (**Flaglegislation**).

14.11.

First Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law (RGBl I, 1333), in which “Jewish **Mischlinge**” are defined as legal concepts (on the Reich Citizenship Law see **Nuremberg Laws**). This definition becomes the foundation for further measures in Nazi policy on the Jews up until the **Final Solution**. According to 1, all Jewish professional civil servants are to retire by 31 December 1938. Previously “privileged” Jewish **combat veterans** shall receive the same benefits until reaching the maximum age. According to 4 (3), the affairs of the **Community** must not be interfered with (see **Racial legislation and the Jews**). It states in 4 that “A Jew cannot be a Reich citizen. He cannot be involved in political matters; he cannot occupy a public office.”

14.11.

First Ordinance to the Law on the Protection of German Blood and Race (RGBl I, 1334) prohibits matrimony and extramarital sexual intercourse between Germans and **Mischlinge** (first degree and second degree), between Germans and between Mischlinge among themselves.

22 September

Changing of the name of the “**Reich Representation of the German Jews**” to “**Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**” as a reaction to the **Nuremberg Laws** (RGBl I, No. 77, fn. 2).

26 September

Implementation regulations on the Ordinance for Granting Benefits to Children. Only Reich citizens are to receive child benefits (RGBl I, 1206). § 1: According to the Reich Citizenship Law of 15 September 1935, Jews are no longer citizens.

25

September–October

The **Kol Nidre** Address of 25 September, signed by Leo **Baeck** at the end of his sermon, is sent to all Jewish **Communities**. The address, which preceded them, is sent to all Jewish **Communities**. It is often mistakenly called the “prayer of Leo Baeck”—contains the words of the Kol Nidre prayer. The address expresses the history of spiritual greatness, spiritual dignity. We turn to it when we are directed against us, when need and suffering press in upon us. Leo Baeck was arrested on 4 October, two days before **Yom Kippur** (Kulka, *Der Untergang des Judentums*, p. 79; for the full text of the address translated into English, see: <http://www.nizkor.org/ftp.py?people/e/eichmann.adolf/transcripts>

[07](#)).

- 15 October** Exclusion of the **Jewish Winter Relief** from the **Winter Relief** order.
- 17 October** According to a decree of the Württemberg State Political Police Council, all Jewish associations must determine and list all Jewish associations in the state and their members (see **Associational life, Jewish**). They are to be listed according to the “neutral view” (neutral, **Assimilationist, Zionist, Orthodox**, religious, Liberal). The decree was issued on 17 October 1935. It is likely that it was also issued in other states at this time.
- 17 October** According to an order of the Reich Cinema Chamber, Jewish movie theaters must sell their theaters to **Aryans** by 10 December 1935 (see **Aryanization**).
- 18 October** Law on the Protection of the Genetic Health of the German People (Genetic Health Law or Marital Health Law). The law contains supplements to the Law for the Protection of the Genetic Health of the German People (Law against Genetically Diseased Offspring (see 14 July 1933) and deals with marriage and matrimony in the case of certain specific diseases. The law is full of propaganda against “life not worthy of living.”
- November** According to an order of the deputy of the Reich Jurists Leader, representatives of National Socialist-German Jurists who are professionally associated with **half-Jews** must terminate this association by 1 April 1936.
- 14 November** First Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law (RGBl I, 1333); on the basis of this ordinance, see 15 September 1935.
- 14 November** According to an order of the Reich Economy Minister, officially registered employment exchange brokers are eliminated from the stock markets effective 1 January 1936.
- 14 November** Ordinance of the Reich Interior Minister on Implementing the Law on Awards and Decorations. According to 13 (6), the Long and Faithful Service Medal is given to persons who are of **Aryan** descent (RGBl I, 1341).
- 18 November** Circular decree of the Reich Finance Ministry. Child benefits for children are granted only to subjects of the German state of German or related blood (Mischlinge) (RStBl, 1443).
- 20 November** On orders from the **Gestapo**, the **Association of National-Germans** and its property confiscated (Rheins, “Deutscher Vortrupp,” 227).
- 26 November** According to a decree of the Reich Interior Minister, the concept of “non-Aryan.” The phrase “**Aryan** descent” is replaced by the concept of “related blood” (Ministerialblatt, 1429).
- 26 November** Ordinance on Implementation of the Law on Employment Exchange (RGBl I, 1334). Through this ordinance, the Jewish **employment exchange** is prohibited.

- of their legal status (RGBII, 1361). However, their actual dissolution did not occur until 1 January 1937 after prolonged negotiation.
- 3 December** Ordinance of the Reich Interior Ministry on instructions from Hitler regarding **signs** and banners in the vicinity of Garmisch-Partenkirchen should take into consideration of the approaching Winter **Olympic Games**.
- 4 December** Decree of the Reich Interior Minister on exemption from the regulation of Citizenship Law and the Law on the Protection of German Blood (see **Nuremberg Laws**). In the main, the law is concerned with the **Mischlinge** which are subject to formal permission. Exemption from the law is to be “endorsed only in very special exceptional cases” (Blau, *Aus der Juden*, 33, No. 82).
- 5 December** Decree of the Reich Interior Minister on exemption from the regulation of the **Blood Protection Law** (employment of “pure-blooded” Germans under the age of forty-five in Jewish households). “The applications are to be submitted according to the most strict criteria, and are only approved if they contain ‘no traces of German blood’” (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 143, No. 65).
- 7 December** According to a decree of the Reich Interior Minister, in reports or in the press, it should be especially emphasized if such offenses were committed by Jews (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 72, No. 59).
- 16 December** Decree of the **Gestapo**: aside from a very few exceptions, gun permits are not issued to Jews, since this constitutes a danger for the German population (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 72, No. 60).
- 19 December** Order by the Reich Justice Minister Franz Gürtner: the courts should not appoint Jews as poverty **lawyers** for non-Jews, or as guardians, counsels, bankruptcy trustees, and the like (Deutsche Justiz, 1858, 1524).
- 21 December** Second Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law: it regulates who may be a servant in relation to the regulations of the law of 15 September 1935. It deals with Jewish **physicians** at public health clinics, teachers, university professors, and lecturers in civil service employees (1524), see 15 September 1935.
- 1936**
- January** Reorganization and expansion of the Department “Jewry” in the SD. Beginning of systematic SD reporting in the form of situation reports (from local to national). Under the rubric “Jews,” the reports also include the activities of Jewish organizations and recommendations for punishment.

- 2 January** Prohibition on the public display of advertising posters for the **Jews** that is permitted only on the premises of Jewish **Communities** or *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, p. 301, No. 256).
- 31 January** Ordinance on the Recruitment of German Citizens Abroad for Armed Forces and the Reich Labor Service; persons “not of German or related blood” (RGBI I, 65).
- 2 February** Liberal and socialist German exile politicians in Paris resolve to a “Manifesto Addressed to the German People” initiated by Heinrich Mann, in protest against racism and the persecution of the Jews in Germany.
- 4 February** Wilhelm **Gustloff**, head of the Swiss branch of the Foreign Organization, is shot and killed in Davos by the Jewish student David **Frankfurter**, protesting the persecution of the Jews in Germany.
- 5 February** Instruction issued by the Reich Justice Minister to prevent individual Jews in connection with the assassination of **Gustloff**. However, the ban against the German Jews, 9.2. including a temporary ban on activism in the **Kulturbund** on 9 February 1936, revoked on 16 March.
- 6-16 February** Olympic Winter Games. In order to prevent the Olympic Games from being held out of Germany, Hitler declares in June 1933 to the International Olympic Committee that Germany will adhere strictly to the Olympic rules and also participate in the games. Despite the existing **race legislation** already in effect, the rules are actually adhered to, and Jewish athletes are even included in the Olympic team (**Olympic Games, Berlin and race policy**).
- 7 March** The German Wehrmacht occupies the demilitarized Rhineland. Hitler violates the Locarno Treaty.
- 18.3. 24 March** The League of Nations condemns the invasion by German troops.
- 24 March** Third Implementation Ordinance to the Ordinance for Granting Economic Benefits to Families (RGBII, 252): Jews are not to receive these benefits (see 1935).
- 25 March** According to the implementation order on the German Municipalities, Jews are no longer members of the municipality. This restriction is called Jewish **Mischlinge** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 158, No. 139).
- 29 March** Reichstag election and referendum: 99 percent yes votes for Hitler. In contrast with earlier referenda, the Jews are excluded from participating.
- April** Beginning of disturbances by the Arabs in **Palestine** against the Jews under the **British Mandate** government. They last to October 1936, subduing the Jews.

in June 1937 and continue until 1939. These disturbances have an **emigration** of the German Jews.

1 April

In several German states, such as Bavaria, guidelines are issued for classes for Jewish pupils in the general elementary schools (**Schule Jewish**).

2 April

In a circular order, the Reich Justice Minister orders violations against Protection of German Blood and German Honor of 15 September (**defilement**), especially in the case of Jewish defendants, to be punished (i.e., sentences for confinement in penitentiary instead of prison) (159, No. 146).

2 April

Order from **Goring** to the district governors and governors to cease practice of regular situation report preparation immediately, since a pessimistic image in the situation reports can possibly contribute to mood, especially at the lower levels of the administration. This stops reporting on Jews by district governors and governors.

14.4.

Confirmation of this order by Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick. Regular reporting (including reports on the Jews) continued by the unchanged in format until April 1945.

9 April

Order by the **Gestapo** to all **Stapostellen** to halt regular situation reports. In 1936, the Gestapo thus reports primarily on Marxism. Similar to the district governors, this spells the end of regular reporting on the Jews by the **Stapostellen**.

18 April

The People's Court (Volksgerichtshof) is elevated by law to the status and put on an equal footing with the Reich Court as the supreme court.

28 May

The Pentecost Memorandum of the **Confessing Church** to Hitler lists other things National Socialist race policy and the campaign against the church. The memorandum states: "If Christians are pressed to adopt an anti-Semitic part of the National Socialist ideology, which will incite them to do it is against the Christian commandment to love one's neighbor." The Foreign Office, Germany, reports on the content of the memorandum in the foreign press as a pretext for mass arrests among the radical leadership echelon of the church (see Matheson, *The Third Reich and the Christian Churches*, 58–60). **Anti-Semitism and National Socialist policy on the Jews**.

16 June

New version of the Defense Law: in any case, it excludes Jews from military service, and Jews fit for service are transferred to the Supplemental Service. Conscription is without consideration of racial background. How

- provided with a “certificate of exclusion” (RGBl I, 518). The **Reich Combat Veterans** in particular perceives this change in the law to be an humiliation.
- 17 June** Appointment of **Himmler** as “Reichsführer SS and Chief of the Reich Interior Ministry.” This represents the institutional linking of the SS and the state. Establishment of the Main Office of the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) and the SD (Security Service) in the Reich Interior Ministry (Sicherheitspolizeiamt) under **Heydrich**.
 - 19 June** Circular decree of the Reich Interior Ministry: It makes the granting of driving licenses dependent on proof of **Aryan** descent back to the general grandparents (MinisterialBlatt des Reichs- und Preußischen Ministeriums für Verkehr, col. 539); see **Race legislation**.
 - 13 July** Circular decree of the Reich Science Minister: it permits the establishment of vocational schools for Jews in the fields of craft and agricultural technical schools for Jews for the purpose of **Vocational Training**; Reichsvertretung, *Arbeitsbericht 1936*, 138
 - 17 July** Germany and Italy intervene together on the side of Franco in the Spanish Civil War. On 26.7. Creation of the German “Legion Condor” to support the Spanish Nationalists. By October, some 5,000 German emigrants are fighting on the side of the Nationalists, including many Jews from Germany.
 - August** Hitler’s secret memo on the Four-Year Plan: within four years, the economy and armed forces must be prepared for war. All of Jewry is to be blamed for the economic crisis and its causes. Economic sabotage is to be punished by death (DGFP, Series C, Vol. V., No. 490, pp. 853–862).
 - 1 August** Hitler opens the XI **Olympic** Summer Games in Berlin (see 6–16 August). Jewish athletes are allowed to participate despite the **race legislation**.
 - 12 August** Establishment of the **Council of the Reich Representation of German Jews** (Rückhalt) and expansion of the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee** (Kuratorium) of the **KuJudentum!**, No. 94).
 - 12 August** According to a decree of the Reich Interior Minister Franz Gürzenich, medical-scientific institutes owned by Jews or under the control of Jews must be specially marked (Ministerialblatt des RMdl, 1128).
 - 24 August** Introduction of two years of compulsory military service in the German Wehrmacht.
 - 4 September** The elimination of Jewish religious instruction in the general high schools is extended to encompass the middle schools (Walk, *Sonderrechts*, 1936).
 - 8–14 September** “Party Convention of Honor” in Nuremberg. On 9 September, Hitler announces the **Four-Year Plan**, which comes into force on 18 October (see August).

- 4 October** Circular decree of the Reich Interior Minister warns about concealment of descent by changing one's religious affiliation. The conversion of Jews was of no importance for the question of race (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 17; **Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime**).
- 9 October** Decree by **Himmler** limits the area of activity of the **Reich League of Veterans** to caring for the needs of Jewish war victims. All interr work is prohibited for the League (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Vergangenheit des Deutschen Volkes*, 19).
- 25 October** Signing of the German-Italian agreement "Axis Berlin-Rome."
- 25 November** Signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan, Soviet Union and the Communist International.
- 1 December** By Article 29 of the Law on Property Tax, Jewish welfare institutions are granted tax exemption (RGBl I, 961–978).
- 1 December** Change in the law on foreign exchange control; it makes the power to regulate foreign currency sums dependent on a special permit (RGBl I, 10). Although framed in general terms, it is in practice applied mainly against Jews.
- 19 December** An ordinance by the Reich Justice Minister prohibits the destruction of documents "important for race research." This includes documentation on the religious affiliation of Jews held by the Jewish religious **Community** by an individual (Deutsch, *Der Antisemitismus der Nazis*, 11).
- 30 December** The **Ring League of Jewish Youth** is dissolved.

1937 **1 January**The Jewish Bureau for the Unemployed is required to cease its activity as a result of an order by the Reich Institute for Labor Placement and Unemployment Insurance of 3 September 1936 (Eppstein, "Vierzig Jahre jüdische Arbeitsvermittlung"). **30 January**Extension of the Enabling Law by the Reichstag for another four years (see 23 March 1933). **13 February**Reich Notary Public Code (RGBl I, 191) prohibits appointing Jews as notaries public in accordance with regulations of the Reich Law on Civil Servants of 26 January 1937. **20 February** According to an ordinance of the Bavarian Ministry for Instruction and Culture, Jews are not permitted to be owners, directors, teachers, educators, or supervisory personnel in private, non-Jewish educational and training institutions and commercial educational enterprises (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 182, No. 262). **14 March**Pope Pius XI publishes the encyclical "Mit brennender Sorge" (With Burning Sorrow: On the Church and the German Reich). In it he sharply condemns the National Socialist persecution of the churches and the Christian religion, and the Nazi race theory and its "neo-paganism" (see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**). **15 March**Order by the Reich Justice Ministry prohibits the destruction of documents of historical value for the National Socialist movement, including all material on the influence of the Jews in society, state, and culture (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 185, No. 276). **15 March**Order by the executive director of the Reich Culture Chamber **Hinkel**: with agreement from the **Gestapo** and the Reich Interior Ministry, all baptized **full Jews** and three-quarter Jews are excluded from the **Paulusbund**; see ▲260► **18 March**Internal order by the **Gestapo** demanding the strict **surveillance** of the Jewish **assimilationists**, especially the **Central Association** and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** (see 26 June 1934; Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 185, No. 277). **5 April**Order of the **Gestapo** (as directed by the SD Main Office): in the period 10 April to 10 June 1937, all Jewish events are banned. This is a sanction for statements by Jews supposedly critical of the regime; it is intended in particular to curb the animated activity of the organizations oriented to **assimilation** in Germany. Events of a religious or cultural nature are excluded from this ban (BArch, R 58/276; see **Associate**) **nal life, Jewish**). **10 April**Dissolving of the **B'nai B'rith** lodges in Germany. **10 April**The **Gestapo** issues a two-month ban on gatherings for Jewish political groups throughout the Reich, "due to the vicious campaign by international Jewry abroad" (see ▲264►). **15 April**A decree by the Reich Minister for Education and Instruction bans

Jewish subjects of the German state from earning a doctorate in the Reich (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 38, No. 121). **26 April**The **Zionist Association of Germany** retracts its declaration of 6 March 1934, according to which its members cannot be members in the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**. **30 May**Police swoop against the Jews in the streets of Berlin (EH, Vol. I, 201). **11 June**Decree by the Reich Justice Minister revoking the exemption from taxes and fees for charitable Jewish foundations (Deutsche Justiz, 957). **12 June**Secret decree of the Security Police Chief **Heydrich**: Jews convicted of **race defilement** are to be taken into **protective custody** after having served their jail sentence, and are to be sent to a **concentration camp** (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 38). **30 June**The law on measure in the former referendum area in Upper Silesia (RGBI I, 717) subordinates the Jews there, who were under the **minority protection** of the League of Nations until 15 July 1937, to the restrictions prevailing in the territory of the Reich. **1 July**The so-called Decree on the Separation of Functions issued by **Heydrich** is intended to coordinate cooperation between the **SD** and **Gestapo**. In this way, disputes over competency between the two Jewish Affairs departments—II 112 in the SD and II B4 in the Gestapo—would be avoided. In this connection, in terms of major functions, surveillance activity lies with the SD, executive exercise of force (arrests, etc.) is the prerogative of the Gestapo (Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich* [1965], XIII f.). **2 July**Guidelines of the Reich Minister for Education and Instruction (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 194, No. 322) stipulate the extent to which Jewish pupils can still be admitted to general schools. The basis are the “Restrictions Against Overcrowding in German Schools and Tertiary Education Institutions” (see 25 April 1933). In keeping with the **Nuremberg Laws**, these ordinances are also valid for Jewish **Mischlinge**. The exclusion of the Jews from society is being advanced by the setting up of separate schools or classes. The final exclusion of Jewish children from German schools is not completed until after **Kristallnacht**, 15 November 1938 (see also **Schools/School system, Jewish**). **7 July**Publication of the recommendation for the triple partition of **Palestine** by the Royal Commission (Peel Report); see **British Mandate in Palestine**. **15 July**Order by the Reich Minister for Propaganda calls for intensifying **surveillance** of all individuals and enterprises active in the Jewish **press** media. From 1 October 1937, persons are no longer permitted to be active in the Jewish press unless they are in the possession of a certificate from the Special Representative of the Reich Minister, executive director of the Reich Culture Chamber **Hinkel**. **16 July**Establishment of the Buchenwald **concentration**

camp; after the **Anschluß** of Austria (see 12 March 1938) and subsequent to **Kristallnacht**, many Jewish prisoners are interned in the Buchenwald camp. **19 July**Opening of the exhibition “Degenerate Art” in the new “House of German Art” in Munich. The collection contains significant works of the avant-garde, to which many artists of Jewish origin belonged. The exhibition is accompanied by aggressive anti-Semitic propaganda about the “destructive effect of the Jewish race in art.” **24 July**Circular decree of the Reich Interior Minister to the state governments permits segregation of Jewish guests from the others in **spas** and therapeutic bathing facilities where there is such a possibility. The Jewish spa guests are to be accommodated in Jewish spa facilities, small hotels, and guesthouses. In the other spas and health resorts, Jews can be excluded generally or only partially from the resort facilities. The concept “Jew” according to the **Nuremberg Laws** also applies to foreign guests; see **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship** (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 98 f., No. 81). **30 July**Restrictions on Jewish book dealers and publishers (Dahm, “Kulturelles und geistiges Leben,” 220). **5 September**Hjalmar Schacht, who for pragmatic reasons set certain limits to the persecution of the Jews, is “given a leave of absence” from his office as Economy Minister. **27.11.**His official dismissal follows on 27 November 1937. The office is temporarily directed by **Göring**, until Walter Funk is appointed minister in February 1938. **13 September**Decree of the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police **Himmler**: this makes it possible to release Jews from **protective custody** if their **emigration to Palestine** or overseas is guaranteed (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 200, No. 350). **4 October**According to 4 of the Law on the Implementation of a Census of the Population, Occupations, and Firms (RGBII, 1053), in connection with the census to be prepared, respondents should also be questioned *inter alia* about their “blood descent” (see **Race legislation**). The census is carried out on 17 May 1939 and includes several questions that make it possible to determine who are **full Jews** and **Mischlinge** of the first and second degree. **21 October**Decree of the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police **Himmler** authorizing the arrest and internment in “reeducation camps” (i.e., **concentration camps**) of emigrants returning to the territory of the Reich (see **remigration**). The definition of “emigrant” is any person who left Germany after 30 January 1933. The Jews constitute a group among the emigrants to be placed under special surveillance measures (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 203, No. 363). **4 November**Decree of the Reich Justice Minister on the “Hitler salute” (Deutsche Justiz, 1760), prohibiting Jews from using this salute before the bench in court. **5**

November Hitler presents the Army Supreme Command and the foreign minister with his plans for the upcoming attack on the neighboring countries ("Hoßbach-Niederschrift"; see Hildebrand, *The Third Reich*, 28; and "The Hossbach Protocol," in *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, ser. D., L, 29 f.) **8**

November The anti-Semitic exhibition "The Wandering Jew" is opened by **Goebbels** in Munich. It is followed in 1940 by the film of the same name (see **films, anti-Semitic**) intended to make the policy of the destruction of the Jews appear plausible to the population. **16 November** Decree of the Reich Interior Minister: links the issuing of passports for Jews to travel abroad to strictly defined conditions, i.e., only: 1) for **emigration**; 2) in the interest of the German economy; 3) in the case of a severe illness or the death of relatives; 4) in the case of the individual's own serious illness; 5) for visiting children studying in educational institutions abroad (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 40, No. 135).

13 December Establishment of the **Central Office for Jewish Emigration** in the **Reich Representation** (Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 108). **29**

December Formation of a nationalistic, anti-Semitically oriented government in Romania headed by Octavian Goga and Alexandru Cuza. This regime is welcomed by Germany because of its anti-Semitic policies. But the neighboring states fear that the measures in Romania will spark a new wave of Jewish refugees from the country. As a result of the protest by the League of Nations due to violation of the **minority protection** clause, the Goga-Cuza government steps down on 10 February 1938. **1938 4 January** Regulations of the Reich Economy Ministry to prevent the "concealment of Jewish commercial firms." These regulations are evidently introduced in the framework of a radicalization in **Aryanization** policy in 1938 (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, 1,193, No. 164).

5 January Decree of the Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police **Himmler** on the expulsion of all Jews with Soviet citizenship (ca. 500) within ten days; exempted are those in the possession of diplomatic passports (DGFP D, Vol. I, No. 66). Jews who are denied a permit to return by the Soviet legation in Berlin, and who cannot obtain an entry permit for another country, are to be sent to a **concentration camp** until "their problem is resolved" (Bericht des SD-Hauptamts vom 15.2.1938, BArch, R 58/979). **1 February** A change in the law on income tax excludes Jewish children as dependents in calculating a reduction to income tax. **4 February** First concrete step by Hitler in the realization of his intentions for war (see 5 November 1937): War Minister von Blomberg is dismissed, and in place of the Reich War Ministry, a Wehrmacht High Command (OKW) is created headed by General Keitel. General von

Brauchitsch is named to replace the dismissed Supreme Commander of the Army, Fritsch. Ribbentrop replaces Neurath as foreign minister, and Hitler himself assumes supreme command of the entire Wehrmacht. These major changes in the political leadership of the Reich simultaneously mark the prelude to a process of radicalization of foreign policy and the measures for a “solution to the **Jewish Question.**”

15 February According to a report of the SD Main Office of November 1937 (►289►), Jewish organizations are obligated to dismiss all functionaries and staff with non-German citizenship by this date.

12 March Entry of German troops into Austria; on 13 March, the **Anschluß** of Austria as the “**Ostmark**”; the anti-Jewish laws valid in Germany, with the exception of the law of 28 March 1938 (see there), also come into force in Austria. A wave of persecution against opponents of National Socialism begins, proceeding in especially brutal fashion against the Austrian Jews. Anti-Jewish excesses also take place in a number of localities in the “**Altreich**” (see ►313►).

28 March With the Law on the Legal Situation of the Jewish Religious Associations (RGBI I, 338), the Jewish **Communities** are stripped effective 1 April 1938 of their status as statutory corporations under public law. It is left to them to become legal bodies once again as private associations under civil law by registration in the Register of Associations as Jewish **Communities** (*jüdische Kultusvereinigungen*). This law acts as a blow to the legal and thus also fiscal situation of the Communities, and that in turn impacts the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**, which is dependent on them. This is the prelude to an internal process of change in organization. That process ends with the establishment of the **Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany** (see 27 July 1938) and the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** in February 1939 (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 114,117,120).

29 March By an ordinance of the Reich Finance Ministry, Jewish **Communities** and their associations are no longer exempt from property tax, retroactive to 1 January 1938 (RGBI I, 360).

22 April German citizens who assist Jewish firms in eluding **Aryanization** are threatened with imprisonment in penitentiary or prison and a fine under the Ordinance Against Supporting the Concealment of Jewish Commercial Firms (RGBI I, 404; see also 4 January 1938).

26 April The Ordinance on the Registration of Jewish Assets obligates all Jews and their non-Jewish spouses to register all assets in excess of 5,000 RM. This regulation also applies to foreign citizens (see **Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship**). The Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan (**Goring**) can introduce measures to utilize the assets, which it is obligatory to register “in the interest of the German

economy” (RGBl I, 415). **13 May**Circular decree of the Reich Economy Ministry: further restrictions on the export of personal assets by **emigrants** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 225, No. 468). **20 May**General mobilization in Czechoslovakia in the face of Hitler’s aggressive declarations in regard to the Sudetenland question. The subsequent “Sudeten Crisis” sparks an outbreak of numerous anti-Jewish violent actions (see September 1938, and **Individual actions**). **25 May**After the exhibition “Degenerate Art” (see 19 July 1937), the exhibition “Degenerate Music,” with a similar anti-Semitic tendency, is opened in Munich. **31 May**Hitler orders the Wehrmacht “to smash Czechoslovakia.” **31 May**A decree of the Reich Economy Ministry excludes Jews from obtaining government tender contracts (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, iiy, No. 476). **1 June**According to a decree of the Reich Interior Minister, state recognition of schools and educational institutions attended only by Jews (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**) is revoked, and thus their tax-free status is cancelled (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 45, No. 158). **2 June**On the order of the Reich Science Minister, all Jewish foundations and associations working in the sphere of science, schooling, and national education are to be placed under **surveillance** in order to prevent an intentional reduction in their assets (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, iiy f., No. 479)◆ **9 June**A decree of the Reich Minister for Science, Schooling, and National Education bars Jews from attending lectures or classes at German universities as guest auditors (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 45, No. 159). **9 June**Razing of the Great Munich **Synagogue** on direct orders from Hitler, under the pretext that it was located too near to the House of German Art. **13–18 June**Large-scale arrest operation of Jews with a “previous criminal record,” as well as many non-Jews categorized by the authorities as “asocial.” In the course of the so-called “June action,” some 1,500 Jews are arrested and brought to a **concentration camp**. **14 June**A decree by the Reich Economy Minister revokes earlier guidelines of 11 September 1935 on the nonapplication of the **Aryan Clause** in the sphere of the economy (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 203 f., No. 169). **14 June**The Third Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law introduces the term “Jewish commercial enterprises” (RGBl I, 627). It also orders the registration of these firms. The Reich Economy Minister, Reich Interior Minister, and the Deputy of the Führer are instructed to introduce special **marking** for these businesses. A decree of the Reich Interior Minister of 14 July 1938 spells out the details of how to register these enterprises. These measures serve to prepare the way for forced liquidation or **Aryanization** (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 47, No. 166). **20 June**According to a decree of the

Reich Economy Minister, Jews are excluded from visiting the stock market (Reichsvertretung, *Informationsblätter*, Nos. 7–8 [1938], 78). **5 July** Orders, explanations, etc. by the Reich Economy Minister on implementing the ordinance of **Goring** as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan regarding the registration of Jewish assets, issued 26 April 1938. The sale of land or firms and the like belonging to Jews can only be permitted after a hearing on the matter with the **Gauleiter** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 231, No. 497). **6 July** **Evian Conference** on the international refugee problem. **13 July** The affiliation by the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany** with the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** is definitively confirmed (see also October 1933 above). **23 July** Announcement by the Reich Interior Minister on obligatory identification cards for Jews: Jews who are German citizens must apply to the competent police authorities for the issuing of an identification card by 31 December 1938. They must use this card for purposes of identification upon official request at all times. It must be shown voluntarily without special request at all times in connection with applications to government or official Party offices (RGBl I, 922). **25 July** Fourth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law: cancellation of license to practice for Jewish **physicians**. Jewish physicians can only serve as “medical practitioners” for treating Jews in exceptional cases (RGBl I, 969). **27 July** Decree by the Reich Interior Ministry stipulating that all streets named after Jews must be renamed (Ministerialblatt, 1284). **27 July** Conclusion of the process, begun 28 March 1938, of transforming the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** by establishment of the **Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany** (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 117). **8 August** The first inmates arrive at the Mauthausen **concentration camp** established shortly after the **Anschluß** of Austria. Larger numbers of Jewish prisoners arrive in 1941, and then in mass numbers after the beginning of the evacuation of the **Auschwitz** camp from May 1944 (“Mauthausen,” EH, Vol. III, 944–952). **10 August** Destruction of the Great **Synagogue** in Nuremberg and the nearby community center on the initiative of Gauleiter **Streicher** and the national authorities. Streicher portrays this action as the prelude to a new phase in the radicalization of policy on the Jews. (See ▶336▶ and ▶343▶.) **17 August** Second Implementation Ordinance to the Law on the Changing of Family and First Names (RGBl I, 1044). It obligates Jewish males and females to use an additional Jewish first name “Israel” or “Sara” effective from 1 January 1939, if they do not already possess a “Jewish given name” as defined by the Reich Interior Minister (RGBl I 1044). The complete list of these forenames,

beginning with Abel and ending with Zippora, Zirl, and Zorthel, can be found in Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, No. 174, 50 f. **26 August** Establishment of the **Central Office for Jewish Emigration** in Vienna, headed by **Eichmann** (Anderl, *Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung*; see also the circular letter by Gauleiter

Buerkel:

http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc47.html). **31 August** Dissolution of the **State Zionist Organization of Germany** by the **Gestapo** (BArch, R 58/956). **September** During the “Sudeten Crisis” (May to early October 1938), political and military tensions mount. A wave of anti-Jewish **individual actions** begins in the population, peaking in November in the Reich-wide pogrom of **Kristallnacht** unleashed by **Goebbels**. **27 September** According to the Fifth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, all Jewish **lawyers** admitted to practice at German courts are excluded from such practice. As “consultants,” they are now permitted only to represent Jews (RGBl I, 1403). **28 September** According to the First Ordinance on the Professional Practice of Nursing, Jewish nurses are permitted only to work for Jews or in Jewish institutions (RGBl I, 1310). **29–30 September** “Munich Agreement”: at the Munich conference, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and France force Czechoslovakia to relinquish the Sudeten territories. **1–10 October** Subsequent to the Munich dictate, German troops occupy the Sudeten territories. The majority of the Jewish population there flee to the “rump of Czechoslovakia,” creating a serious refugee problem. **3 October** On orders from the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, all Jewish organizations and educational institutions are instructed to submit the lecture manuscripts for planned events to the Ministry in advance for official approval. By this directive, the Propaganda Ministry joins hands in the practice of **surveillance** introduced several years earlier by the **Gestapo** (see 26 June 1934), evidently intending by this to help strengthen **Goebbels** ‘s influence on policy on the Jews (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 292, No. 250). **5 October** By an ordinance of the Reich Interior Ministry, the German passports of Jews are rendered invalid. They regain validity only after they have been officially marked by the addition of the letter “J” as identifying symbol (RGBl I, 1342). This measure is taken based on a request from the Swiss authorities, who wish to protect their borders from unwanted Jewish emigrants. **21 October** Secret order by Hitler to prepare “resolving the rest of Czechoslovakia.” **27–29 October** 15,000–17,000 Jews with Polish citizenship are expelled from Germany and transported to the Polish frontier. Since most are denied entry to Poland, they stay for months living in

limbo in the German-Polish border area, in appalling conditions (“Zbaszyn,” EH, Vol. III, 1622.). Some of them are granted a temporary permit to return to Germany to arrange their possessions there, but in June 1939 they are finally expelled from Germany too; some of them are interned in **concentration camps** (see beginning of June 1939). **7 November** Assassination attempt by the Jewish student Herschel Grynszpan against the German Legation Secretary vom Rath in Paris. **9–10 November Kristallnacht;** during the pogrom night and in subsequent days, there are mass arrests of Jews, including most of the leading personalities of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany.** These worst pogroms against Jews in Germany are followed by the total elimination of the Jews from German economic life and the extensive destruction of the internal organizational structure of German Jewry (see also **Associational life, Jewish,** and “Kristallnacht,” EH, Vol. II, 1205; see also **356** and Heydrich’s instructions to the **Gestapo** and SD, see http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc_49.html). **11 November** The Ordinance on Ownership of Weapons by Jews prohibits them from purchasing, possessing, and carrying firearms and ammunition, as well as batons and thrust weapons. The weapons and ammunition in their possession must be handed over immediately to their local police. The weapons and ammunition are forfeited to the Reich without compensation (RGBI I, 1573). **12 November** The Ordinance on the Restoration of the Appearance of the Street in the Vicinity of Jewish Commercial Enterprises obligates Jews to “eliminate immediately [...] all damage caused by the fury of the Volk on 9 and 10 November 1938. Insurance claims by Jews with German citizenship are confiscated for the benefit of the Reich” (RGBI I, 1581). **12 November** Meeting in Göring’s Aviation Ministry for the further developing of policy on the Jews after **Kristallnacht**, attended by **Heydrich, Frick,** and others. A proposal is made there *inter alia* to **mark** and **ghettoize** the German Jews (IMT, PS 1816; Reitlinger, *The Final Solution*, 16–20). But it is initially dropped on Hitler’s express orders. Instead a proposal is adopted for an “expiation fine,” i.e., an “atonement contribution by Jews who are German subjects.” An ordinance “levies the payment of a contribution of 1,000,000,000 Reichsmark to the German Reich on the totality of Jews who are German subjects” (RGBI I, 1579); see <http://www1.yadvashem.org/about-holocaust/documents/part1/doc53.html>

21.11. By the First Implementation Ordinance (RGBI I, 1638), the payment of this contribution is set by 20 percent of Jewish assets in excess of 5,000 RM (Registration of Jewish Assets, see 26 April 1938), and also extended to include

stateless Jews. **19.11.1939** The Second Implementation Ordinance (RGBI I, 2059) increases this payment from 20 to 25 percent (to a quarter of a billion RM). **12 November**Ordinance for Exclusion of the Jews from German Economic Life (RGBII, 1580), see docu ments/part1/doc52.html By the First **23.11.**Implementation Ordinance of 23 November 1938 (RGBI I, 1642). All Jewish firms are to be dissolved and **Aryanized**,without exception. **14.12.**The Second Implementation Ordinance of 14 December 1938 (RGBI I, 1902) stipulates that Jews can no longer function as deputy plant managers. According to the decree of the Reich Economy Minister that same day, the “dejudification” of **department stores**,large stores, etc., must in each instance be approved by the Minister. **12 November**Subject to an order of the President of the Reich Culture Chamber, Jews are forbidden from attending drama theaters, motion picture theaters, concerts, exhibitions, and similar places (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 54, No. 189). **15 November**According to a decree of the Reich Minister for Education and Instruction on school attendance of Jewish children, Jews are not permitted to attend German schools; they are only permitted to attend Jewish schools (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 55, No. 191; see also **Schools/School system, Jewish**). **19 November**According to an Ordinance on Public Welfare of the Jews, public welfare is to care for needy Jews only in exceptional cases (RGBII, 1649, see also Grüner, *Poverty and Persecution*). Since establishment of the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** in February 1939, it alone is responsible for the **welfare** of the Jews. **23 November**Publication of the first issue of the ***Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt***, now the only Jewish periodical in Germany, after the dissolving of the entire Jewish **press** in the wake of **Kristallnacht**. It serves unofficially as the organ of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** and its successor, the **Reich Association**. Until its closure in 1943, it publishes in the main various orders and ordinances from the authorities. **28 November**A police ordinance on the appearance of the Jews in public empowers the regional authorities throughout the Reich to restrict the freedom of movement of the Jews and to exclude them from certain districts (RGBI I, 1676). **29 November**Official resumption of the work of the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** in its office on Kantstraße, three weeks after **Kristallnacht**. **3 December**Ordinance on the Utilization of Jewish Assets: forced sale of Jewish commercial enterprises, stocks and securities, jewelry and precious stones, art objects, and Jewish real estate (RGBI I, 1709). **5 December**According to the Third Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, the retirement pensions of Jewish civil servants who have been removed from their

posts will be reduced, effective 1 January 1939 (RGBl I, 1751). **9 December**Jewish “consultants” (see **lawyers**; see 27 September 1938) must, according to an order by the Reich Justice Minister, add the following to their rubber stamps and signs: “approved only for legal consultation for Jews” (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 62, No. 202). **12 December**As stipulated by the Law on Foreign Exchange Control, Jews traveling abroad (also those with non-German citizenship) are permitted to take along only those items that are absolutely necessary for their personal use. A special permit is required for other items (RGBlI, 1734). The restrictive regulations on the export of money, stocks and securities, and jewelry are a particularly hard burden for the emigrants (see **Emigration**). **20 December**The Reich Labor Ministry orders the deployment of numerous unemployed Jews for heavy manual labor, segregated from the non-Jewish workers (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 72 f., No. 329 and **Forced labor**). **21 December**Decree of the Gestapo Berlin signed by **Heydrich** stipulating that Jewish children should be taught from now on only in segregated groups. For this purpose, the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** now being formed should set up “exclusively Jewish schools” (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, I, 243, No. 282; see 15 November 1938 and **Schools/school system, Jewish**). **23 December**Circular decree of the **Goring** Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan stating that it is necessary to avoid any independent action by Party and government offices pertaining to Jewish affairs unless this has been first authorized by the responsible authorities (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 63, No. 208). This is intended to prevent both **individual actions** initiated by Party members and also initiatives regarding Jews’ legislation on various bureaucratic levels. **28 December**Several far-reaching restrictions imposed on the Jews on orders from **Goring** on the basis of a decision by Hitler (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 63–65); among them the consolidating of Jewish tenants in so-called “**Jews’ houses**,” the prohibition on Jews using dining and sleeping cars on railroad trains, the “ban on Jews” for certain public facilities, hotels, and restaurants frequented by Party members, as well as restrictions for Jews living in “**mixed marriages**” and their children (see **Mischlinge**). **30 December**An order by the Reich Minister for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda (published on 30 December 1938 in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*) calls for dissolving all Jewish publishing houses and bookstores by 31 December 1938. **1939 1 January**Jewish men and women must use Jewish men and women must use an additional first name “Israel” or “Sara” if they do not already have a forename defined by the Reich Interior Minister as

a “Jewish first name” (see 17 August 1938). The official list of male and female given names can be found reproduced in Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, No. 174, 50 f.

17 JanuaryWith the Eighth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, the licenses to practice of Jewish dentists, pharmacists, and veterinarians expire and become void on 31 January 1939. Like the Jewish **physicians**, now the Jewish dentists, termed “practical dental assistants” (Zahnbehandler), are allowed to treat only Jewish patients and no others (RGBl I, 47).

20 JanuaryReich Bank President **Schacht** is dismissed as a result of his criticism of defense finance policy.

24 JanuaryEstablishment of the **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration** headed by the Chief of the Security Police **Heydrich** on orders from Göring, as Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan in the Reich Interior Ministry. Its main task is to press ahead with a massive **emigration** of the Jews (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 119 f. No. 365),

see

http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc57.html. That same day, Hitler gives Heydrich the task of “bringing the Jewish Question to as favorable a solution as possible, in keeping with the current situation, in the form of emigration or evacuation” (IMT, Doc. PS 710).

30 JanuaryHitler states the following in an address before the Reichstag: “Today I will once more be a prophet: If the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!” This was a statement that was repeated again and again in public and private conversation throughout the course of the war (see Kershaw, “Hitler’s Prophecy”). The filmed portion of this Reichstag speech is included at Hitler’s request in the film *Der ewige Jude*; see http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc59.html

30 JanuaryFirst Ordinance on the Implementation of the Law on the Legal Situation of the Jewish **Communities** (RGBl I, 153): after revocation of the legal status of the Jewish Communities as statutory corporations under public law on 28 March 1938 (see Chronology and Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, Doc. 14), this ordinance once again obligates all Jews to accept membership in the local Jewish Communities (see Pfundtner-Neubert, *Reichsrecht*, 1939, 8). The compulsory membership is evidently binding likewise for all the previous **Secession Communities** and for individuals who resigned from the community, but did not adopt another religion. Membership here is still defined in accordance with religious principles and not those based on race.

2

February First internal circular letter of the **Reich Representation** under the name **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**, in which it announces its establishment (Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 120). **10 February** Death of Pope Pius XI; his encyclical “Mit brennender Sorge” (see 14 March 1937) and several later statements enhanced his reputation as a courageous opponent of National Socialism and its persecution of the Jews (**Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**). **17 February** The **Reich Representation** announces in the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* the formation of the “Reich Association of the Jews in Germany.” All members of the Jewish **Communities** are automatically members of this association (see 30 January 1939). In addition, the Reich Association also feels a responsibility for those persecuted as Jews by the regime and the population who do not belong to the Jewish religious community (**converts** and **Aryan** spouses in **mixed marriages** as well as persons with no religious affiliation). According to their charters, every member of these groups thus can and should become a “direct member of the Reich Association” (Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum* I, No. 120 B, 450). The legal status of the Reich Association, as well as the compulsory membership of all those considered Jews according to the **Nuremberg Laws**, will not be laid down definitively until the Tenth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law of 4 July 1939 (RGBl I, 1097). **17 February** Change in the law on income tax, in which Jews are denied a child tax benefit in the case of all those children considered Jews under the **Nuremberg Laws**. In any case, Jews must pay the highest rate of tax, one which is binding only for unmarried taxpayers in the case of non-Jews. Several more implementation regulations follow (RGBl I, 283). **21 February** On the basis of the Ordinance on the Registration of Jewish Assets (see 26 April 1938), Jews who are subjects of the German state are ordered to hand over all objects made of precious metals and precious stones (with the exception of their wedding rings) within two weeks to the public purchasing offices (RGBl I, 282), which then arbitrarily set the prices to be paid. **22 February** Decree of the Reich Transport Ministry ordering the confiscation of the driving licenses issued to Jews. Jews with non-German citizenship and Jews with disabilities, among others, are exempted from this order (see Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 68 f.). **25 February** Circular letter of the **Reich Association** to the Jewish **Communities**, ordering (after approval by the responsible National Socialist authorities) the levying of a special (progressive) tax on emigrants between 0.5 percent and extending above 10 percent. These revenues serve for the financing of all tasks of the Reich Association, i.e., along with **emigration**, **welfare**, and

education (SKH, 1911; LBI/NY, AR 221). This is an order from the government, which was likely suggested by the Reich Association, based on an already existing procedure practiced in the Communities in Frankfurt am Main and Hamburg for taxation in order to raise funds to finance the emigration of destitute Jews, see **423» 2 March**The former Papal Nuncio in Germany and State Secretary of the Vatican, Eugenio Pacelli, is elected Pope Pius XII. **7 March**Cancellation of state subsidies for Jewish schools (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**); assistance payments from local authorities are still permitted (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 286, No. 161). **14–16 March**Smashing of the “Rump of Czechoslovakia” (after separation of the Sudeten territories as specified in the Munich Agreement, see 29–30 September 1938); declaration of independence by Slovakia, allied with Germany, on 14 March 1939; entry by Wehrmacht troops to Prague on 15 March 1939, and the setting up of the “Reich Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia.” The anti-Jewish measures according to the German pattern are also accordingly introduced here and legislation on the Jews is extended to include the “Protectorate.” **24 March**The Jewish **Communities**are ordered to clear away the ruins of Jewish **synagogues** destroyed during **Kristallnacht** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 289, No. 176). **12 April**On the basis of an accord between the German and Polish governments, the Polish Jews expelled in the period 26–29 November 1938 (see 27–28 October 1938) are permitted to return to Germany to dissolve their businesses. The returnees are granted the opportunity to make their assets fluid (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 291, No. 183). **17 April**Decree of the Reich Finance Minister on the export of household goods by Jewish emigrants. To the extent that Jews when **emigrating** are given authorization to take household goods and possessions with them (it is forbidden to take along certain objects such as valuable stamp collections, radios, typewriters, sewing machines, etc.), this is contingent on paying a tax to the Gold Discount Bank. In general, that tax is 100 percent of the value of the objects to accompany the emigrant (JNB1, 25 April 1939; Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 67, No. 232). **30 April**Law on Renting to Jews (RGBI I, 864). Among other things, it contains the revocation of legal tenant protection for Jews, and foresees the consolidating of Jewish families in **Jews' houses**. This law contains for the first time regulations on exceptions for Jews living in special conditions in **mixed marriages**. This creates the concept of the **privileged mixed marriage**, and a definition is given regarding what sorts of mixed marriages are considered an **“Aryan”** or **“non-Aryan”** household (the exact terms can be found in the Glossary under **Mixed marriages**). These terms return later on in a large number

of ordinances. **4.5.**Implementation order: preference is given for preparing Jews' apartments to buildings in Jewish ownership; however, **ghetto** formation (see 12 November 1938, meeting in Göring's Aviation Ministry) is to be prevented (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 293, No. 192). **15 May**Establishment of the **concentration camp** solely for female inmates at Ravensbrück. **17 May**The British government publishes the so-called White Paper of 1939, which revises practically all the previous British obligations vis-à-vis **Zionism** (see **Balfour Declaration**). It contains the restriction of annual Jewish immigration to **Palestine** to 15,000 persons for the subsequent five years, and renders any further immigration thereafter dependent on the agreement by the Arab population of Palestine. **Early June**Second expulsion of "Polish and such Jews who have lost their Polish citizenship" (see ▶440▶). The reference here is to those Jews with Polish citizenship who were not expelled in the framework of the extensive expulsion operation 27 to 29 October 1938 (see Chronology), or those who were permitted to return temporarily to Germany. On the fate of the Jews with Polish citizenship remaining in Germany after the outbreak of the war, see 7 September 1939. **15 June**Last preserved full report by the Jewish Affairs Department II 112 in the **SD** Main Office on "Jewry in Germany" (for the second quarter 1939, ▶439▶) before the changes in the system of reporting; see 27 September 1939. The last extant monthly report on June 1939 is dated 8 July 1939 (◀440◀). **4 July**By means of the Tenth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, the **Reich Association**, founded in February 1939 (see 2 and 17 February 1939) by the **Reich Representation** of the Jews in Germany as its successor, is officially recognized and its legal status was precisely defined. Its spheres of work accordingly are **emigration**, education (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**), and **welfare** (RGBI I, 1097). While only so-called **Jews by religion** belonged to the Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany and the Reich Association it founded, the ordinance now stipulates that all persons defined as Jews according to the **Nuremberg Laws** (i.e., also **converts** and those with no religious affiliation) must belong to the Reich Association (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 75–78, No. 242). The **Aryan** spouses living in mixed marriages can continue to be voluntary members. The most important change compared with the earlier status is, however, that the Reich Association now is under the direct supervision of the Reich Interior Minister. Supervision in practice is exercised by the Jewish Affairs Department of the **SD** under **Eichmann** (from September 1939 in the framework of the **RSHA**); see <http://www1.yadvashem.org/abouttheholocaust/documents/part1/doc62.html>.

11.7. Declaration of the Reich Association on this ordinance and publication of its charter and statutes, which are essentially based on the Statutes of the **Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany** of 27 July 1938 (see there). However, the detailed commentary on the same page of the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* makes no mention whatsoever of the most radical change in the status of the Reich Association, namely its placement under the supervision of the SD (JNB1, 11 July 1939). **14 August** Circular decree of the Reich Minister for Science, Schooling, and National Education which regulates the right and duties of the **Reich Association** in regard to private Jewish schools (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**). The Reich Association is obligated to establish elementary schools for Jewish children. It has the prerogative, if it so wishes, to set up middle, vocational, and secondary schools. The strict physical segregation of the Jewish children must be ensured in this connection. All those public and private schools which were not taken over by the Reich Association before 30 September 1939 are to be closed. The curriculum is adapted to the needs of **emigration, i.e., Hebrew** and other foreign languages can, for example, already be taught beginning in the elementary schools (Amtsblatt des RMs für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, 5 September 1939; SKH, 2530). **23 August** Signing of the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (Hitler-Stalin Pact). **25 August** Signing of the British-Polish Alliance. **1 September** Beginning of World War II with the German attack on Poland. As a result of the conquest of Poland, the largest Jewish population in Europe comes under National Socialist domination. **1 September** Order by local police authorities on the curfew time for Jews: in winter, Jews are not permitted on the streets after 8 p.m.; in summer after 9 p.m. (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 79, No. 251; see also 9 September 1939). **1 September** According to an order from Hitler retroactively dated to 1 September 1939, the systematic “**Euthanasia** Program” begins in October. Up until its official termination on 1 September 1941, tens of thousands of the handicapped, among them numerous Jews, were murdered in the German Reich within the framework of this “program.” (Klee, “*Euthanasie* im NS-Staat; Friedländer, “*Jüdische Anstaltspatienten*”). **3 September** Anglo-French declaration of war on Germany. On the immediate consequences for the Jewish population in the German-French borderlands area, see **Internal migration** after the outbreak of the war. **3 September** Secret decree by **Heydrich** on the “Principles of Internal Security During the War”: The **Gestapo** can execute opponents and saboteurs without a court judgment (Broszat and Frei, *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick*, 256). **7 September** Decree of the **Gestapo** on preventing

violent excesses and **individual actions against Jews** (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 172 f.). However, the decree was largely not adhered to at the local level; see, for example, **467. 7 September** Decree of **Heydrich** regarding the treatment of Jews with Polish citizenship still living in Germany (see Chronology, early June 1939): the men are to be taken into custody (**Protective custody**); their relatives are not allowed to leave their locality of residence without the permission of the **Gestapo**. Their assets were “confiscated,” see **463**. Most of the males were then interned in **concentration camps**. The **Reich Association** conducted long negotiations in the following months with the **RSHA** on their release and/or return to German-occupied Poland. **9 September** Decree of **Heydrich** on the curfew for Jews after 8 p.m., see **463**. This decree had been preceded by local initiatives of the police, see 1 September 1939. **9 September** Hitler’s amnesty for the civilian population; regarding its non-applicability to the Jews, see **486.** **12 September** Decree of **Heydrich**: Jews are assigned specific stores for their purchase of food. These shops are owned by trustworthy **Aryan** business people (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 304, No. 10). Later additional restrictions are introduced on the **shopping times for Jews**. **19 September** Dissolving of the **Reich Organization of Polish Jews in Germany**. **20 September** Circular decree of **Heydrich**, prohibiting Jews with German citizenship and stateless Jews from owning radios. There are exceptions for **privileged mixed marriages** (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 183, and **463**). **23.9.** The local police authorities order Jews to hand over their radios that same day, **Yom Kippur**, in person to the local police stations (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 79 f., No. 253, No. 254). **21 September** Guidelines of **Heydrich** for the **Einsatzgruppen** in occupied Poland and order to concentrate Jews in **ghettos** (IMT, Doc. PS 3363, see <http://www1.yadvashem.org/odot-pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%201984.pdf>). **27 September** Uniting of the central offices of the Security Police (**Gestapo** and Reich Criminal Police) with the Security Main Office of the Reichsführer SS (SD), to form the **Reich Security Main Office** (RSHA). With the establishment of the RSHA, both the form and intensity of situation reporting change: **23.9.** Directive to the SD Divisions on the preparation of daily reports. **9.10.** The “Reports on the Internal Political Situation” mark the beginning of regular, short-term “briefing of the **Reichsführer** SS, the state leadership and the Party direction on the political situation in the Reich and the mood in the population” (Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich*, I, 20). In contrast with the earlier situation reports of the SD, there is now no separate rubric on “Jews,” and Jews are reported on sporadically

under the rubric of “Adversaries.” On 8 December, the reports are renamed “Reports from the Reich” (Meldungen aus dem Reich). **21.12.** Adolf Eichmann takes over as head of the Jewish Affairs Department IV B 4. **29 September** Order of the **RHSA** to all **Stapostellen**: “On the basis of the Tenth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law of 4 July 1939 (see above), the Jewish associations, federations, and foundations are transferred into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**, and if there are concerns regarding state security about any organization, they are dissolved” (BArch, St 3/277). **18–27 October** First mass deportations of Jews from the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia and Austria to the Lublin area in the framework of the Nisko/ Lublin Plan. The plans to establish a “Jews’ reservation” in the Lublin area, in which all Jews living under the rule of the Third Reich are to be concentrated, are developed from September 1939, but are dropped again in March 1940 (EH II, 1011, “Nisko-und-Lublin-Plan”; see also report, Central Office for Jewish Emigration, <http://www1.yadvash.em.org/about—holocaust/documents/part1/doc63.html>). **8 November** Abortive assassination attempt by Johann Georg Elser on Hitler in the Bürgerbräukeller Munich. This triggered **individual actions** against Jews in various localities, which were quelled on the basis of the **Gestapo** decree of 7 September 1939 (see above). **1940 23 January** Decree of the Reich Economy Ministry: Jews are not entitled to the Reich clothing ration card or to coupons for cotton goods, shoes, or material for soles. The **Reich Association** is instructed to deal with the supplying of their provisions (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 316, No. 67; see also **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews**). **12–13 February** Deportation of the Jews from Stettin and Schneidemühl to Lublin (see Nisko/Lublin Plan, 18–27 October 1939); first mass deportation of Jews from the Old Reich. Due to the protests and negotiations of the **Reich Association** with the **RSHA**, some of those designated for expulsion (especially children) are permitted to remain in former **Hachshara** centers in Germany. The Reich Association is likewise successful in saving part of the assets of the deportees from confiscation by the state authorities. These negotiations, including an unsuccessful attempt to bring back the deportees, will continue until June. **11 March** Food rationing card for Jews are to be marked by the letter “J.” The basic rations for average consumers, and special allotments for children, are not reduced. However, Jews are excluded from receiving nonrationed food (chicken, fish, etc.) (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 318 f., No. 82). **19 March** Publication by the **Reich Association** in *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*: on the basis of a demand of the Reich Postal Minister, the names of Jewish telephone subscribers must be

supplemented by adding the forename “Israel” or “Sara” (regarding the Law on Names, see also 17 August 1938; on the cancellation of telephone lines for Jews, see 29 July 1940). **20 April** Secret decree of the Wehrmacht Supreme Command, according to which **Mischlinge** of the first degree and spouses of Jewish women are to be discharged from the Wehrmacht (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 82, No. 277). **24 April** Decree of the **RSHA** on the general problem of Jewish **emigration**. Jewish emigration from the territory of the German Reich must be stepped up. However, it is necessary to prevent the emigration of Jews fit for military service and fit for work to enemy countries in Europe. Due to reasons of foreign policy, expansion of emigration to **Palestine** is not desirable. There can be no emigration in the case of Jews holding Polish citizenship or those who were formerly Polish nationals (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 125 f.). **27 April** Order by **Himmler** to establish the **Auschwitz** concentration and extermination camp; the first inmates (initially primarily Poles) arrive at the beginning of June. **June-August****Madagascar Plan**: the Germany Department of the Foreign Office, in cooperation with **Heydrich**, plans to deport all European Jews to the French island of Madagascar off the east coast of Africa. The project never gets beyond the planning stage, and evidently comes to an end and is abandoned in September 1940. **14 June** German troops occupy Paris. **15 June** Occupation of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union. **22 June** German-French armistice after the defeat of France; partitioning of France into an area directly under German administration (in the north and west) and “unoccupied France,” under the Pétain government, collaborating with Germany, with its seat in the town of Vichy. **25 June** Final examinations at Jewish secondary schools (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**) are no longer valid as state exams, but rather can be conducted solely to determine whether specific knowledge has been acquired, by a Jewish examination committee that must be approved by the Ministry. The examination questions are to be set by the **Reich Association** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 323, No. 105). **4 July** Order of the Chief of Police Berlin: In Berlin, the **shopping time** for Jews is set from 4 to 5 p.m. (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 84, No. 282). **29 July** Decree by the Reich Postal Minister: the telephone lines used by Jewish subscribers are cancelled, effective 30 September 1940. Exceptions: medical practitioners and practical dental assistants (former **physicians**), consultants (former **lawyers**), Jewish organizations, and persons in **privileged mixed marriages** (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 84, No. 284). **31 July** Hitler states internally his decision to attack the Soviet Union (Operation Barbarossa). **22–23 October** Jews

from Baden and Saar-Palatinate (ca. 7,500 persons) are deported overnight to unoccupied France (Operation **Bürckel**). From there most are later transported to the extermination camps in the East. This is the largest **deportation** of Jews from Germany between the war's onset and the beginning of the systematic mass deportations in October 1941. Like in the case of the later mass deportations, numerous Jews elude transport by **suicide** (see ▶533▶, ▶534▶). Strong protests voiced by the **Reich Association** against this deportation lead to severe measures of punishment by the **RSHA** against the leading representatives of the Jews (Kulka, "Reichsvereinigung and the Fate of German Jews," 359 f; on the deportation: Wiehn, *Oktoberdeportation 1940*; on the deportation destination for the Jews in France and their fate up to the **Final Solution**, see "Gurs," EH, Vol. I, 585, and bibliography there). **15 November**Decree by **Himmler**: all members of the police are ordered to view the movie *Jud Süß* (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 85, No. 293). **9 December**Child benefits are paid only for children with "German or racially similar blood" (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 85, No. 296). **12 December**Decree by the Reich Interior Minister: all Jewish mentally ill patients are to be concentrated in the Jewish sanatorium Bendorf-Sayn (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 85, No. 297), likely in order to be murdered there in the framework of the **Euthanasia** Program. **24 December**Implementation Ordinance on the Levying of a Social Compensation Tax (Sozialausgleichsabgabe): in addition to income tax, Jews must also pay a special surtax for "social compensation" of 15 percent of their gross income (RGBI I, 1666). **1941 27 January**Decree by the Baden Interior Minister: it is necessary to prevent any renewed growth in the Jewish population "after the conclusion of the evacuation of the Jews" (see 22–23 October 1940). Jews newly moving in are to be instructed by the police authorities to depart from the state. However, Jews from Baden "who during the evacuation operation were under way on a journey, but are registered with the police in Baden, will be allowed to return" (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 262 f.). **1 March**Himmler orders construction of the **Birkenau** camp (Auschwitz II) (Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 5of.), the largest extermination camp of the Third Reich. Directly or by circuitous means, a large segment of German Jewry was deported to this camp. Construction period from October 1941 to March 1942. The mass extermination, which began on 3 September 1941, is halted in November 1944 on orders from Himmler. **3 March**Decree of the Reich Minister for Education and Instruction: the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** is ordered to concentrate its schools in large cities and to dissolve "dwarf schools." No

permits will any longer be issued for private instruction (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 336, No. 172); see also **Schools/School system, Jewish**). **7 March** Decree of the President of the Reich Institute for Labor Exchange: efforts must be accelerated to engage all able-bodied Jews in conscript labor. On the basis of this decree, Jews are deployed at conscript **forced labor** under more aggravated and discriminatory conditions (deployment in groups, segregated from the rest of the population; accommodation in camps in order to minimize contacts) (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 86, No. 305). **17–30 March** Hitler explains to assembled high-ranking officers the principles of warfare in the East: the campaign in Russia must be conducted as a “war of destruction” (*Vernichtungskrieg*) with barbaric severity (Broszat and Frei, *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick*, 263). **26 March** Establishment of the “Institute for Research on the **Jewish Question**” in Frankfurt am Main by Rosenberg in the framework of the “Hohe Schule der NSDAP,” a kind of National Socialist elite university. **29 March** The **Reich Association** is ordered to provide the **RHSA** with a complete list of all Jewish apartments in **Aryan** buildings. Among other information, it is required to specify addresses and number of rooms (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 338, No. 182; see also **Jews' houses**). **20 April** Foodstuffs which Jews receive in packages from abroad are to be subtracted from their food allocations (see also **Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions**; Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 339, No. 186). **25 April** Fifth Implementation Ordinance on the Ordinance on Utilization of Jewish Assets; the Reich Chamber for the Plastic Arts is designated as the purchasing office for cultural items. Jews are forbidden from buying or selling jewelry and art objects over 1,000 RM in value (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 341, No. 198). **30 April** As a consequence of the war, the exceptional status accorded Jews possessing foreign citizenship in regard to the exclusion of the Jews from the German economy is abrogated for citizens of enemy countries and countries occupied by German troops (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 340, No. 192). **20 May** In view of the **Final Solution** in the offing, the **emigration** of Jews to unoccupied France is prevented. Exceptions are possible only with a special permit from the **RSHA** (Benz, *Juden in Deutschland*, 749). **24 May** General directive from the Reich Justice Minister on determining the descent of Jewish **Mischlinge**, especially when it is maintained that the descent of the Mischling is from adulterous intercourse by the non-Jewish wife of a Jew with a man German by race (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 87, No. 317). In such cases, the court is instructed to reject the testimony of the mother, “since her only interest is in protecting her child from the disadvantages of his Jewish descent” (Walk,

Sonderrecht, 341 f., No. 199); however, the courts frequently did not implement this directive (see ▶652▶). **6 June** “Commissar Order” for preparing the attack on the Soviet Union; it calls for the separation and murder of the political commissars in the Soviet Union. In connection with this order, **Heydrich** declares “that East European Jewry is the reservoir of Bolshevism, and for that reason must, in the view of the Führer, be destroyed” (Krausnick, “Persecution of the Jews,” 63; “Die ‘Endlösung’ und das deutsche Ostimperium,” 145 f.). **10–17 June** Order of the National Socialist Welfare Service in Berlin: Jews are to receive their food ration cards separately from the rest of the population (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 88, No. 321). **12 June** Decree of the Reich Interior Minister: Jews who formally leave Jewish **Communities** and thus depart from the fold of the Jewish religious community, are not permitted to refer to themselves as “believers” (gottgläubig) (declaration of faith of the National Socialists who left the Church and profess allegiance to a “positive Christianity”; see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**). Rather, they must state that they are “without any religious faith” (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 88, No. 322). **22 June** German attack on the Soviet Union: beginning of the mass shootings of the Jews by the **Einsatzgruppen** and other units in the territories occupied by German troops. **20 July** Order of the Reich Interior Minister: Jews are not entitled to receive compensation for war-related damage; rather, they must themselves pay compensation to third parties who suffered concomitant damage (RGBl I.437). **23 July** At a press conference, the propaganda campaign inspired by **Goebbels** against the book by Theodore N. **Kaufman**, *Germany Must Perish*, is launched. **31 July** **Goring** assigns **Heydrich** the task of the “total solution of the **Jewish Question** in the area of German influence in Europe.” He also instructs him to present “a comprehensive draft on the organizational, factual and material preliminary measures for implementing the desired **Final Solution of the Jewish Question**” (Krausnick, “Persecution of the Jews,” 68) **2 August** Announcement of the President of the Reich Literature Chamber: Jews are no longer permitted to use the general lending libraries (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 88, No. 327). **14 August** Instruction in Hebrew or Aramaic in high schools is forbidden. Classrooms for this purpose must not be made available by the church authorities (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 346, No. 221). **1 September** Official termination of the “**Euthanasia Program**” (see 1 September 1939) ♦ **1 September** Police ordinance on the **marking** of the Jews: the Jews resident in the Reich must, from the age of six, wear the yellow star in public. **19.9.** The ordinance comes into force on 19 September 1941. (In the

Generalgouvernement, the marking of the Jews was already introduced on 23 November 1939). The same ordinance forbids Jews from leaving the area of their residential locality without the written permission of the local police, and it prohibits the wearing of medals, honorary decorations, or other badges. There are exceptions in the case of **privileged mixed marriages** (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 89, No. 329; 91 ff., No. 339).

3 September First attempt at gassing, using among others Soviet POWS in **Auschwitz** (Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 85f.).

II September Dissolving of the Jewish **Kulturbund** on orders from the **Gestapo**; this directive applies to the organization and its activities in putting on a program. The publishing house and book distribution remain in operation and are incorporated into the **Reich Association** (Dahm, "Kulturelles und geistiges Leben," 258).

18 September Order of the Reich Transport Minister: Jews are required to obtain a police permit if they wish to leave their locality of residence and for journeys in specific means of transport in their place of residence. This permit must be presented to the authorities without special request. The use of public transport is subject to a series of further restrictions, detailed in the implementation regulation of **10.10.10** October 1941 and 24 April 1942 (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 90, ?o. 333; 91 ff, No. 339; 106, No. 377; 24 April 1942 and on this, Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 368, No. 326).

1 October Order by **Himmler**, "to put a halt to the **emigration** of Jews, effective immediately." In parentheses, the following is added explicitly regarding the **mass deportations** beginning in October: "The **evacuation** measures are not affected by this order."

23.10. This order is not communicated to the Security Police and the SD until 23 October by means of a circular decree of the **Gestapo** Chief Müller (Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch*, 29 f.), see http://www1.yad-vashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc68.html. Nonetheless, a small number of Jews still managed in November 1941 to emigrate to the United States via Spain and Portugal (see ▶621▶). In the following war years as well, Jews from Germany succeeded on various paths in their attempt to escape illegally via Holland and France to neutral Spain and Portugal, and in a small number of cases into Switzerland (see ▶629▶, and Avni, *The Zionist Underground in Holland and France and the Escape to Spain*; Avni, *Spain, Franco and the Jews*; Zariz, *Officially Approved Emigration from Germany after 1941*).

3 October Ordinance on employing Jews: "Jews who are engaged at work are in an employment relation of a special kind." This employment relation is regulated by the Reich Labor Minister in agreement with the head of the Party Chancellery and the Reich Interior Ministry; the ordinance is also valid for the Eastern

territories (RGBl I, 675). **31.10.** Implementation regulations with a listing of all restrictions (RGBl I, 681). **10 October** Implementation regulation on the order of the Reich Transport Minister regarding restrictions on the use of public transport by Jews; see 18 September. **10 October** Final decision on establishing the **Theresienstadt** ghetto. **15 October** Beginning of systematic **mass deportations** from the territory of the Reich to Lodz, as well as into the occupied areas of the Soviet Union, especially the Kovno, Minsk, and Riga **ghettos**. The deportees are murdered in mass shootings, in the case of some immediately after arrival (until mid-December ca. 30,000 Jews) (see also **Ostland**). **4.11.** Express letter from the Reich Finance Ministry: the assets of the Jews scheduled to be deported are confiscated for the benefit of the Reich, with the exclusion of the sum of 100 RM and 50 kilograms of luggage (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 354, No. 261). **24 October** Decree of the **RSHA**: individuals of German blood who in public engage in friendly relations with Jews are to be taken into **protective custody** for purposes of reeducation, and/or are to be interned for a period of up to three months in a **concentration camp**. In any case, the Jewish person in such circumstances is to be taken into protective custody and interned in a concentration camp until further notice (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 215 f.). On the practical application of this decree, see ▶595▶ to ▶597▶ and ▶598▶, as well as **Jew friend**. **13 November** Electrical appliances, bicycles, typewriters, cameras, binoculars, and telescopes in the possession of Jews must be registered and handed over to the authorities (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 355, No. 263 und 264). **14 November** The **RSHA** forbids the free sale of books by Jews (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 98, No. 344). Involved here in particular is the sale of private Jewish book collections. **20 November** Directive of the Reich Justice Minister: the upcoming release from detention of Jewish prisoners must be reported to the **Gestapo** six weeks in advance, “in order for the Gestapo to have the opportunity to pick them up” (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 98, No. 346). **25 November** Eleventh Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, which strips deportees and certain German Jews of their citizenship and confiscates their assets (RGBl I, 722). **27 November** Order of the **RSHA**: Jews are permitted to have control over their movable possessions and assets only if they have a special official permit to do so. The bank accounts are also blocked, and only certain fixed amounts are made available for monthly maintenance withdrawal (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 102, No. 350). **December** Beginning of the murder of Jews in the **Chelmno** extermination camp by the use of gassing vans (EH, Vol. I, 281). **7 December** Japan attacks the

United States Pacific Fleet base at Pearl Harbor; United States enters World War II. **11 December**Germany and Italy declare war on the United States; Washington then declares war on them. **12 December**Order of the **RSHA**: Jews required to wear the **Jews' star** are prohibited from using public telephone booths (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 103, No. 360). **1942 5 January**Decree of the **RSHA**: Jews are ordered to hand over fur and woolen garments in their possession by 16 January, as well as skis and ski clothing, in the framework of the collection drive for the Eastern front (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 217 f.). **20 January**“Wannsee Conference” in Berlin: Party functionaries and ministry officials, under the direction of **Heydrich**, coordinate the “**Final Solution of the Jewish Question**” in Europe. The then head of the Jewish Affairs Department in the **RSHA**, Adolf **Eichmann**, is in charge of organizing the conference and preparing the minutes. **17 February**Order of the **RSHA**: Jews are not permitted to subscribe to newspapers, magazines, law and ordinance gazettes (JNB1, 20 February 1942). **1 March**Decree of Hitler: Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg is given the task, in cooperation with the Chief of the Wehrmacht High Command, to comb through the libraries, archives, and other cultural facilities of Jews, **Freemasons** and other “ideological adversaries,” and to confiscate the material (IMT, Doc. PS 149). Paradoxically, the consequence of this is that numerous Jewish archival materials and cultural goods are preserved. **13 March**Express letter of **Heydrich**: in order to prevent their concealment, the Jews are ordered to **mark** their apartments with a white **Jews' star** next to their name plates (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 221 f.; see also **Jews' houses**). **27 March**Jews employed in the war industry are exempted from **deportation** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 368, No. 330). **[April]**Jews are prohibited from visiting **Aryans** and individuals in **mixed marriages** in their homes (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 369, No. 334, the entry is not precisely dated). **5 April**Order of the **RSHA**: police chiefs, county commissioners, and mayors are instructed not to record the destination of the transports (see **deportations**) in the registries but only the entry “address unknown” or “emigrated” (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 369, No. 335). **24 April**Further restrictions on the use of public transportation by Jews (see also 18 September 1941): only Jews deployed in labor can obtain a permit for use of the local means of public transport if their place of work is more than 7 km from their locality of residence, or schoolchildren who must travel more than 5 km to school, as well as **physicians** (RGBI I, 722). **10 May**Order of the Reich Economy Ministry: deeds of purchase of real estate concluded with Jews “can only be approved if the competent

Stapostelle has stated that it is not likely that the property in question will soon be transferred to the ownership of the Reich. If the **State Police** states that the Jewish property owner will probably leave the territory of the Reich in the foreseeable future [see **deportations**], then the decision should be deferred, with no further comment" (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 372, No. 347). **15 May**Jews are prohibited from keeping domestic pets (JNB1). **18 May**Arson attack by the Jewish-communist **Baum Group** on the anti-Soviet exhibition "Soviet Paradise" in Berlin. This is followed by severe retaliatory measures against the leadership of German Jewry. **24 May**Change in the statutes of the **Reich Association** in regard to lapsing of membership in the Reich Association when a person leaves the territory of the Reich (see **deportations**), and the joining and departure of "voluntary members" (JNB1, 29 May 1942). "Voluntary members" evidently refers here to the **Aryan** spouses in **mixed marriages**, who according to the directive of 4 July 1939 (see there) also were not required to belong to the Reich Association, but were free to join voluntarily if they so desired (see 30 January 1939 and 17 February 1939)♦ **27 May** Heydrich is critically injured in Prague in an assassination attempt by two parachutists dispatched by the Czech government in exile in London. After his death on 4 June, severe radical reprisal measures are instituted against the Czech civilian population and the Jews. **29 May**Jews are prohibited from using the services of **Aryan** barbers and hairdressers (JNB1). **June**Beginning of mass gassings in **Auschwitz-Birkenau** (Broszat and Frei, *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick*, 271); first **deportations** from the territory of the Reich to the **Theresienstadt** ghetto: from Berlin on 2 June; from Munich on 4 June; from Cologne on 16 June (Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt*, 257 f.). **11 June**Jews receive no ration cards for smokers; exceptions for badly disabled war victims and individuals in **privileged mixed marriages**(Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 109, No. 387). **19 June**Jews are ordered to hand over electrical and optical appliances (including ovens and hot plates) to the authorities, with no compensation (JNB1). **30 June**Circular decree of the **Reich Association** on instructions from the **RSHA** regarding the so-called "purchase contracts" (Heimeinkaufverträge) for a home for the persons to be deported from Germany to **Theresienstadt**. **7 July**Gestapo decree ordering the closing of all Jewish schools (see **Schools/ School system, Jewish**): in the course of the **mass deportations**, the Jewish schools in Germany come to an end. **7 July**Jews are prohibited from using waiting rooms, restaurants, and other facilities of the public transportation companies (JNB1). **10 July**The sending of money and gifts to **deportees**is forbidden (JNB1). **13 July**Jews are forbidden

from wearing armbands for the blind and persons hard of hearing, which are meant to request assistance if needed from the population (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 110, No. 400). **30 July**Circular letter of the **Reich Association**: Jewish religious objects of precious metal (gold, silver) are to be handed over to the central office of the Reich Association (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 382, No. 399). This office is required to pass these items on to the **RSHA**. **12 August**Books from the private libraries of deported Jews (see **deportations**) are to be used for building up the central library of the **RSHA** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 384, No. 406). **21 August**Introduction of a stricter obligation for Jews to register when changing their place of residence (JNB1). **11.9.**Persons who give accommodation to Jews who are not properly registered are threatened with punitive measures by the **Gestapo (JNB1)**. **September**Large **deportation**wave from the **Altreich** with more than 12,000 deportees, of them some 10,000 sent to **Theresienstadt**. **18 September**Decree by the Reich Minister for Food and Agriculture: Jews are not to receive meat, eggs, milk, or any foodstuffs which are given only to persons on presentation of additional special food ration cards not uniform for the Reich. (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 111 f., No. 409). **5 October**Order of **Himmler** on the **deportation** of all Jewish inmates from **concentration camps** in the Reich to **Auschwitz** (Broszat and Frei, *Das Dritte Reich im Überblick*, 272; Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 249). **7 October**Jews are prohibited from having any direct or indirect contact with foreign diplomatic representatives or with non-Jewish foreigners (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 389, No. 436). **9 October**Jews are permitted to purchase books only in the Book Sales department of the **Reich Association**, but not in book stores (JNB1). **18 November**After closing of the sanatorium Bendorf-Sayn (see 12 December 1940), the remaining mentally ill Jews are transferred to the Jewish Hospital in Berlin (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 113, No. 414). **26 November**Directive of the General Plenipotentiary for the Deployment of Labor in the Office for the Four-Year Plan, Sauckel, on recommendation from the **RSHA**: Jews still deployed as workers in Germany are to be evacuated and replaced by Polish workers (Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*, II, 460). **24 December**Christmas message of Pope Pius XII, broadcast by Radio Vatican; in his message, the Pope condemns the murder of hundreds of thousands of innocent persons because of their “race.” Although he does not expressly mention the Jews in his address, the meaning of his words is understood in this sense by the **SD**, the Foreign Office, and also in the broad public, see ▶666▶. **24 December**Circular decree of the **Reich Association**: on orders from the Reich

Commissar for the Administration of Used Materials, all metal is to be removed from Jewish cemeteries (including graves, fences, and gates) and handed over to the Reich (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 357 f.) 1943 27 **January****Deportation** of the last important members of the board of the **Reich Association** (Leo Baeck, Paul Eppstein, and Philipp Kozower), as well as the most important Jewish functionaries from Vienna and Prague, to **Theresienstadt**. Eppstein is appointed there (along with Joseph Löwenherz and the former head of the Elders Council, Jakob Edelstein) as head of the Elders Council in the ghetto (Adler, *Verheimlichte Wahrheit*, 131 ff). 31 **January–2 February** Capitulation of the 6th German Army (ca. 250,000 soldiers) in Stalingrad: according to a number of situation reports, the news of this catastrophic defeat and the fact that a large number of German soldiers were taken prisoner by the Soviets not only fuel concern among the German population for their own fate, but also give rise to questions about the mass shootings of the Jews in the East (see 647 686). 27–28 **February** The Jews still living in Berlin and working in the German armaments industry are arrested by the **Gestapo** in a “Großaktion Juden” for **deportation**: on the first day of the operation, some 5,000 persons (mainly male) are seized, including about 2,000 Jews living in **mixed marriages**. This later came to be known as the “Factory Action.” 6.3. The demonstration (Rosenstraße protest) by **Aryan** spouses for the release of their Jewish partners and children lasted several days. On 6 March some 1,700 to 2,000 Jews were released from the Gestapo detention in Berlin. At the same time, 7,031 Jews were deported to **Auschwitz**, including Jews living in mixed marriages and **Mischlinge**. 21.5. As a consequence of the agreement negotiated on 18 March between **Goebbels**, **Himmler**, and the Gestapo Chief, Heinrich Müller, Himmler’s deputy Ernst Kaltenbrunner, publishes an order on 21 May, on the basis of which the Mischlinge and Jews living in mixed marriages are permitted to return from Auschwitz to Berlin (see Grüner, “Factory Action”; see <http://www.topographie.de/en/rosen.htm>). 12 **March** Protest letter of the Protestant State Bishop of Württemberg, Theophil Wurm, to the Reich Ministry for Church Affairs. As a prominent spokesperson of the **Confessing Church** (see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**), he condemns the **deportation** and murder of Jews and **Mischlinge**, and especially of those living in **mixed marriages**. Referring to the release of Jews living in mixed marriages from Gestapo detention in Berlin (see 27–28 February 1943), he calls for a legal basis to exempt from deportation all Jews living in mixed marriages throughout the territory of the Reich (Schäfer and Fischer,

Landesbischof D. Wurm, 160–167). These and similar initiatives by the church leadership did not affect the deportations of the Jews in general, although they may have contributed to the postponement of the deportation of the Jews living in mixed marriages. **8 April** Restrictions on correspondence with **Theresienstadt**; letters have to be sent via the **Reich Association** (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 397, No. 478). **13 April** Discovery of mass graves near **Katyn**. **19 April–16 May** Warsaw Ghetto Uprising: after the transport of 300,000 residents to the Treblinka **extermination camp**, the remaining approximately 40,000 Jews put up armed resistance during the final clearing of the ghetto. That uprising is ultimately crushed by SS and police units under the leadership of Jürgen Stroop. The news of the ghetto uprising and its brutal suppression and defeat also reaches Germany, especially among circles of the “conservative opposition.” There are no public reactions (see EH, Vol. IV, 1625–1632 and bibliography there). **25 April** Twelfth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law introduces two new categories of citizenship: one is the category of “state citizens, valid until revoked” (*Staatsangehörige auf Widerruf*) and the other of “protected persons” (*Schutzangehörige*). Jews cannot belong to either category (RGBl I, 268). **28 April** Order of the **RSHA**: it is necessary to report those Jews still active in conscript labor important for the war effort if they can be considered for **evacuation** to the East. In order to prevent possible escape attempts, Jews designated for **deportation** are to be housed together in closed groups (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 398, No. 481). **16–17 May** In the night of 17 May 1943, the Royal Air Force, in a special operation code-named “Chastise,” bombs the dams Mohne and Eder using so-called “Dam Busters,” inflicting huge damage on the German armaments industry in the Ruhr area. As a result of this attack, similar to after the defeat at Stalingrad (see 31 January–2 February 1943) and the discovery at **Katyn**, there is a public discussion on National Socialist policy on the Jews and the “revenge of the Jews” feared by the German population; see ▲ 684, ▲ 688, and “Bomber Command: Death by Moonlight Raids,” in: Dam_i.php. **9 June** The Reich Finance Ministry orders the commissioners of the regional tax offices to take over the assets of the **Reich Association**, soon to be dissolved (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 399, No. 487). **10 June** Dissolving of the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** by the **RSHA**. A so-called “Rump Reich Association” (Rest-Reichsver-einigung), which represents primarily Jews living in **mixed marriages** and **Mischlinge**, continues on in existence until the end of the war. **19 June 1 July** Goebbels declares Berlin to be “judenfrei.” Thirteenth Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, according to which punishable criminal

acts by Jews are no longer adjudicated before courts but are punished by the police. In the event of the death of a Jew, his or her assets fall to the Reich unless there are non-Jewish relations who can inherit (RGBl I, 372). “In the sphere of the administration of justice, this ordinance constituted the high point and culmination of a degenerate body of legislation” (Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, 353).

9 July Circular letter of the (Rump) **Reich Association**: its main areas of activity are, according to its own statements, “taking care now of the health and economic welfare of the Jews living in the **Altreich** and the Sudetengau” (SKH, 5346).

11 July Circular letter of Bormann, in which he declines in the name of Hitler the public discussion of the “future comprehensive solution” of the **Jewish Question**. Instead, the following formulation is to be used: “the Jews are being deployed in closed groups for appropriate conscript labor” (BArch, NS 6/344).

3 August Despite dissolving of the **Reich Association** on 10 June, it initially retains its assets and is under the administration of the Reich Finance Ministry. However, this administration does not apply to institutions such as Jewish hospitals and welfare institutions, which continue to be administered by the “(Rump) Reich Association” down to the end of the war (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 400, No. 495).

28 September Decree of the Reich Interior Ministry: civil servants are not permitted to marry a woman who was earlier married to a Jew (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 116, No. 426).

1944 12 January Decree by **Himmler**: Jews are not to receive any control cards for correspondence with persons abroad. Without such a card, letters cannot be sent abroad (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 116, No. 427).

10 March Circular letter by Ernst Kaltenbrunner to the highest offices in the Reich: the evacuation and isolating of Jews and Gypsies (see **deportations**) renders the publication of special orders of the earlier type meaningless. For this reason, there are to be no such publications (Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 116 f., No. 428).

19 March After an attempt by the Hungarian government to withdraw its troops from the Eastern front, German units move into Hungary. This marks the inclusion of Hungarian Jewry into the **Final Solution**.

7 April Alfred Wetzler and Rudolf Vrba, two inmates from **Auschwitz**- Birkenau, succeed in fleeing to Slovakia. They bring and pass on detailed information on the murder of the Jews in Auschwitz. Their reports reach the countries of the free world in June (including the Vatican) and are famous as the “Auschwitz Protocols” or the “Vrba-Wetzler report” (EH, Vol. 1,127, “Auschwitz-Protokolle”).

July End of systematic SD reporting on the mood in the population (see 27 September 1939). A small number of reports from the SD Regional Division areas have been

preserved up until shortly before the capitulation of the Third Reich. **20 July** Abortive assassination attempt on Hitler's life by the leaders of the "conservative opposition." Arrests and reprisals against the participants, especially in the higher echelon of the army. **24 July** The Majdanek **extermination camp** is liberated by the Red Army. This is the only extermination camp whose gas chambers were not destroyed by the Germans before capture by the Soviet forces. **Autumn 1944** Beginning of the "death marches," in which hundreds of thousands of inmates are "evacuated" to the interior of the Reich from the **concentration and forced labor camps** as the Allied front nears. On these forced marches, whose destinations are or are supposed to be other concentration camps, many thousands of prisoners perish due to the unimaginable hardships of the trek and the brutality of the guards and mass shootings. Such death marches continue on through Germany up until the capitulation of the Third Reich (EH, Vol. 1,348–354). **6–7 October** Prisoners' revolt of the "Sonderkommando" in **Auschwitz-Birkenau**: before it is quelled, the inmates succeed in destroying one of the four crematoria and its gas chamber. Most of the insurgent inmates are executed, and only a small number succeed in escaping to freedom. This insurrection by Jewish inmates was the sole effective attempt to destroy the machinery of annihilation (Greif, *Wir weinten tränenlos*; Kukla, "Aufstand der Juden in Auschwitz"; see also <http://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Oswiecim1/osw475.html>). **13 October** Jewish **Mischlinge** and Jews living in **mixed marriages** are transported for labor deployment in segregated groups (Walk, *Sonderrecht*, 405, No. 518). On their **deportation** for conscript enforced labor deployment to **Theresienstadt** in January 1945, see also ibid. 406, Nos. 523 und 524. **1 November** **Himmler** orders a halt to the gassing of Jews in **Auschwitz** and the removal of any traces. **26 November** **Himmler** orders the destruction of the gas chambers and crematoria in **Auschwitz** (Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 754). **1945 19 January** Decree of the **RSHA**: all able-bodied Jews living in **mixed marriages** (except for foreign citizens), and **Geltungsjuden** are "to be sent by 15 February 1945 in collective transports to the old-age **Theresienstadt** ghetto for closed conscript labor deployment" (Sauer, *Dokumente über die Verfolgung*, II, 383). These collective transports arrive mainly in the months February and March 1945, some also in April (for example, a transport from Hamburg which arrived on 4 April 1945). **27 January** **Auschwitz** is liberated by Soviet troops; they find some 7,000 camp inmates there, for the most part sick, who evaded being sent on death marches (see Autumn 1944) (Czech, *Auschwitz Chronicle*, 804f.). **2**

May Red Army liberates Berlin: according to estimates, some 15,000 Jews survived in Berlin, living in **mixed marriages** or hiding in the underground. 1,900 Jews return from the **extermination camps** to Berlin. **3 May** Five days before liberation by the Red Army, the **Theresienstadt** ghetto is handed over by the **SS** to a representative of the International Red Cross. Since the end of April, the SS had “evacuated” thousands of prisoners on forced death marches from **concentration camps** to Theresienstadt, including also numerous Jews who had been **deported** from Germany. Many of those who had survived until then perish after liberation as victims of the epidemics caused by overcrowding in the ghetto. **7–9 May** Germany capitulates to the Western Allies in Reims on 7 May and on 9 May in the Soviet headquarters in Berlin. According to estimates, some 20,000 Jews survived inside Germany, of these between 15,000 and 17,000 without going underground (most in **mixed marriages**), and 3,000–5,000 in hiding. About 10,000 more Jews survived in the **Theresienstadt** ghetto or in other **concentration camps** (see EH, Vol. I, 574; further: Arndt and Boberach, “Deutsches Reich”).

Historical Glossary

Selected glossary entries are followed by short lists of relevant works, organized as follows: first, monographs or specific articles dealing with the subject of the entry arranged according to their importance; second, publications dealing with a significant aspect of the entry; finally, in certain cases notable entries in encyclopedias or lexicons. Complete bibliographical information for the works listed is in the **Bibliography**.

Achduth—Association of Observant Jews in Germany (Vereinigung gesetzestreuer Juden Deutschlands)

The Achduth (Hebr.: unity), was formed in 1923 by **Orthodox** Jews who accorded the ideal of unity in Judaism a high value. They thus regarded cooperation with **Liberal Judaism** as a real possibility under certain conditions that ensured their own religious concerns. They rejected the notion of separation from the **Communities** that were largely liberal in respect to questions of religious law (**Halacha**). In this they differed fundamentally from **Secession Orthodoxy**. **Einheitsgemeinden** (United Religious Communities), with a majority of Liberal members, maintained their own **synagogues** for their Orthodox members (at the time termed “Conservative” in Germany), as well as ritual facilities, schools, and the necessary associated personnel. The **Jewish-Conservative Association** was founded in 1927 to represent the goals of Community policy. From 1933 on, the **Community Orthodoxy** organized in the Achduth was represented by the Communities in the **Reich Representation**, and likewise as an independent organization by **Rabbi Jacob Horovitz**. Here too it differed considerably from Secession Orthodoxy, which until July 1938 refused to join the Reich Representation. After November 1938, the Achduth, like almost all Jewish organizations in Germany, was dissolved and incorporated into the **Reich Association**. There Rabbi Joseph **Carlebach** represented its interests down to his **deportation** at the end of 1941. *Bibl.*: in **Orthodoxy**.

Conservativism; Orthodoxy

Adass Jeschurun

Hebr.: Community of Yeshurun (= Israel); name of the Orthodox **Secession Community** founded in 1906 in Cologne. A congregation of the same name was

established in New York City in 1939 by German refugees from the Orthodox Secession Community in Frankfurt am Main, and is still thriving. The **synagogue** which Samson Raphael **Hirsch** led in Frankfurt am Main from 1851 also had this name. Yeshurun appears four times in the Hebrew Bible as a poetic name for Israel. Hirsch named his journal for neo-**Orthodoxy** established in 1854 in Frankfurt am Main *Jeschurun. Bibl.* in **Orthodoxy**.

Hirsch, Samson Raphael; Orthodoxy

Adass Jisroel

Hebr.: Community of Israel; name of the Orthodox **Secession Community** founded in 1869 in Berlin and 1875 in Nuremberg. BibL: in **Orthodoxy**.

Achduth, Association of Observant Jews in Germany; Orthodoxy; Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany

Adler, Alexander (1884–1958)

Born in Lübeck. Zionist functionary, member of the governing board of the German **Misrachi**; member of the Executive Committee of the **Zionist Association of Germany**; work in the **Palestine Office**, Berlin; emigration to **Palestine** 1938.

Adler, Karl (1890–1973)

Opera singer and music educator, born in Buttenhausen in the Swabian Alb mountains. 1911–1914, opera singer in the Stuttgart Hoftheater; 1922–1933, director, Stuttgart Conservatory; 1926, co-founder of the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Stuttgart; 1933–1938, founder and director of the Jewish Art Society (Kunstgemeinschaft) in Stuttgart (**Kulturbund**); 1935–1939, head, Department of Music, **Center for Jewish Adult Education**. Temporarily taken into custody in November 1938; then head of the Emigration Office, **Reich Association**, Stuttgart, until his **emigration** in 1941 to the United States. In 1946, he was appointed Professor in the Music Department of Yeshiva University. After the war, Karl Adler encouraged reconciliation between Germans and Jews, and was extensively involved in his native Buttenhausen in planning monuments to the murdered Jews, and the destroyed **synagogue**.

Adult education, Jewish

Like the Jewish **schools** system that existed even before the Nazi period, Jewish adult education was expanded after 1933 in the context of the mounting

exclusion of the Jews in Germany from the society and economy, and their concomitant crisis of identity (**Lehrhaus**, Jewish and **Press**, Jewish). In this framework, other important Jewish institutions such as the **Kulturbund** of the German Jews and the **Center for Jewish Adult Education** were created. BibL: Sandt, *Martin Bubers bildnerische Tätigkeit*; Schachne, *Erziehung zum geistigen Widerstand*; Simon, “Jewish Adult Education”; Simon, *Aujbau im Untergang*; Woppowa, *Widerstand und Toleranz*.

Advisory Council of the Reich Representation of the German Jews (Beirat der Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden)

The Advisory Council was the broad parliamentary committee of the **Reich Representation**, to which representatives of all strata and groups in German Jewry belonged. Its establishment was decided on with the creation of the “new Reich Representation” on 17 September 1933, but it did not convene until February 1934. It was replaced in August 1936 by the **Council of the Reich Representation**. Its core initially consisted of the members of the “old Reich Representation.” The Advisory Council was convened at irregular intervals. Among its main powers was authorization to confirm the policies of the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee** in basic questions, acceptance of recommendations for changing the composition of the Supervisory Board Executive Committee, and the formation of new committees of the Reich Representation.

Agudas Jisroel

Hebr.: Alliance of Israel. Also: Agudas Yisrael, Agudath Israel, the world organization of **Orthodox** Judaism for the furthering and representation of its religious interests, both within Judaism and also vis-à-vis non-Jewish society. Often referred to as the Aguda, and organized today as the World Agudath Israel. It was established in 1912 in Katowice to perpetuate Torah-true Judaism. It rejects both **assimilation** and **Zionism**. From 1921, it maintained its own Palestine Central Office for the building of **Palestine** in the spirit of the **Torah** together with the fund **Keren Hayishuv**, and the fund for the support of Torah studies, **Keren HaTorah**. Distinctive for its special role within German Jewry were the close ties of the Agudas to Jewish Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe. Its dependence on the centers of Jewish learning in Poland and Lithuania in respect to questions of religious law (**Halacha**), such as the prohibition of **ritual slaughter** in Germany from 1933 on, and the controversial question of the

relocation of the Orthodox Berlin **Rabbinical Seminary to Palestine**, continued until 1939, and to a certain extent to the beginning of the **mass deportations**. In the internal Jewish dispute between **Community Orthodoxy (Achduth)** and **Secession Orthodoxy**, Agudas Jisroel increasingly supported the latter. From 1934, it was part of the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany**, which did not join the **Reich Representation** until 13 July 1938. Like most Jewish organizations in Germany, it was dissolved in November 1938 as an independent organization. *Bibl:* in **Orthodoxy**.

Orthodoxy

Agudas Noschim e.V.

Hebr.: Women's League; established 1916, also Agudath Nashim. Women's League of Jewish **Orthodoxy (Agudas Jisroel)**, not to be confused with the **Jewish Women's Alliance** and the **Jewish Women's League for Palestine Work**. *Bibl:* Kaplan, *Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany*; Thalmann, "Jüdische Frauen nach dem Pogrom."

Agudas Youth (Agudas-Jugend)

Youth movement of **Agudas Jisroel**, also called Noar Agudati, see **Esra**.

Youth organizations, Jewish

Alijah

Name of the monthly magazine issued by the **Palestine Office** of the **Jewish Agency** in Germany for emigrants to **Palestine**. It was published twice a year in Berlin from 1933 to at least 1936.

Aliyah; Press, Jewish in the Third Reich

Aliyah

Hebr.: ascent; term for the return or migration of Jews to the Land of Israel. The aliyah realizes and implements the aspiration of the Jewish people since the Babylonian Exile to return to the Land of Israel, and became in the modern period a fundamental pillar within **Zionism**. Under the **British Mandate** government, especially after the Arab Uprising of 1936, aliyah was increasingly curtailed by the restricted issuance of **certificates**, and was brought to a virtual halt in 1939. As a result of the limited legal possibilities for immigration and the rising pressure of National Socialist anti-Semitism in Germany and Eastern Europe, beginning in 1936 an illegal aliyah without certificates also sprang into

being. With the occupation of other European countries by the Third Reich, it reached substantial proportions, continuing despite the British policy of blockade into the early war years and even after the start of the **mass deportations**. Illegal aliyah began again immediately after the end of the war, and continued until the founding of the State of Israel in 1948.

Along with illegal aliyah, from 1933 on in Germany a **youth and children's aliyah** developed. It made it possible for young people to emigrate without their parents to **Palestine**, where they were absorbed mainly within **kibbutzim** and youth villages. Up to the beginning of the war, more than 5,000 youth emigrated to Palestine in this way (from 1938 likewise from Austria, and in 1939 from Czechoslovakia as well). Some 15,000 additional youths who did not have certificates were assisted to emigrate to other European countries, especially Great Britain and Holland. According to statistics of the **Reich Association** from November 1941, a total of 53,430 Jews had emigrated from Germany (in the 1937 borders, the so-called **Altreich**) to Palestine. *Bibl.*: Ofer, *Escaping the Holocaust; Sachar, Aliyah*.

Emigration; Ha'vara; Palestine Office

Aliyat Hanoar / Aliyat Noar

Hebr.: youth aliyah. Jewish nonpartisan working group for the promotion of the **emigration** of Jewish youth to **Palestine**, founded in Germany in July 1933 by Recha Freier. *Bibl.*: Gross, *Youth Aliyah in Wartime*; Freier, *Let the Children Come*; Amkraut, *Between Home and Homeland*.

Aliyah

Alterthum, Martin (1887–1976)

Lawyer, judge, functionary. Until 1933, head of the Provincial Court in Dessau (Saxony-Anhalt); from 1925, board member and vice president of the Israelitic **Community** (Israelitische Religionsgemeinde, IRG) Dessau and board member of the **Zionist Association of Germany**, Dessau branch. In 1933, ousted from the bar and banned from legal practice. From 1934 to 1938, board member and director of the Social Welfare Office, IRG Leipzig. In November 1938, he was interned in the Buchenwald **concentration camp**. In 1939, he emigrated to **Palestine**, where among other things he was active as a member in the Administrative Council of the United Restitution Organization, which represented the reparations claims of Jews persecuted by the National Socialist regime.

Altmann, Friedrich (Fritz) (1907–1985)

Born in Berlin, engineer; dismissed from his job in 1933. He was active in occupational counseling for the Jewish **Community** of Berlin and in the **Aliyat Hanoar**, and was a member of the **Werkleute**. He emigrated to **Palestine** in 1935, and became a member of **Kibbutz** Hazorea, where he took the Hebrew name of Yosef Amir.

Altreich

Old Reich. After the Annexation (**Anschluß**) of Austria (**Ostmark**), an often used term for Germany in the borders of 1937. On the concept of “Großdeutsches Reich” (“**Great German Reich**,” or sometimes translated “Greater German Reich”) and its geographical expanse, see “Old Reich” in ETR, Vol. II, 668 f. and “Great-German Reich” in ETR, Vol. I, 360 f.

Altreu—General Trust Office (Allgemeine Treuhandstelle)

Ha’vara

Altsoldaten (Senior Soldiers)

Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans

American Jewish Committee

Oldest Jewish defense organization in the United States, established in 1906 to protect the civil and religious rights of the Jews throughout the world. The establishment of the organization was a reaction to the pogroms in Russia. The AJC, founded and structured on oligarchic principles, initially had only sixty members, all prominent personalities from the German-Jewish elite in the United States. The number of its members was expanded in 1931 to 350.

In contrast with other Jewish organizations, which immediately after the Nazi takeover of power participated in public protests, especially the **boycott movement against the Third Reich**, the AJC pursued instead a policy of quiet diplomacy. It negotiated with representatives of the Roosevelt administration, the League of Nations, the Vatican, and even with the National Socialist Reich government itself. After the failure of this strategy, the AJC sought in particular to create possibilities for Jews to emigrate from Germany. When the extent of the destruction of the Jews became known in 1943, it participated in public protests by other organizations, and worked with the War Refugee Board set up

by President Roosevelt. Its rejection of efforts to establish a Jewish state in the Biltmore Declaration of 1942 also led the AJC to leave the conference under protest. It stresses today that “for one hundred years, the American Jewish Committee has led efforts to promote democratic and pluralistic societies that respect the dignity of all peoples.” It publishes the *American Jewish Year Book* (1899-), now online in full: <http://www.ajc.org/hives.org/main.php?GroupingId=40> (Accessed 26.09.2007). *Bibl:* EJ, Vol. II, 822 ff.; EH, Vol. 1,35 f.

American Jewish Congress

An association of various American-Jewish organizations founded in 1918 to provide a voice at the Paris Peace Conference in Versailles for the Jews of Europe whose lives had been disrupted by the war, and to prepare the path for an organization to represent all American Jews and their interests, through a mechanism of democratic decision-making. Under the leadership of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the congress became in 1928 one of the most important international Jewish organizations, and Rabbi Wise remained its principal spokesperson until his death in 1949. In the 1930s, the American Jewish Congress was the main driving force in the organizing of the **World Jewish Congress**. In March 1933, it organized a mass protest rally in New York’s Madison Square Garden against the National Socialist persecution of the Jews. In May 1933, it supported a protest march against the book burnings (see Chronology May 10, 1933) in Germany. It joined the boycott of German goods and ultimately became the main pillar of support for the **boycott movement against the Third Reich**. It also attempted to persuade the U.S. government to ease immigration restrictions on Jewish refugees. In July 1942, it organized mass rallies in various U.S. cities in order to point to the persecution and destruction of Jews in Europe, and to call for the Allies to come to their rescue. It defines itself today as “an association of Jewish Americans organized to defend Jewish interests at home and abroad through public policy advocacy—using diplomacy, legislation, and the courts.” *Bibl.: EH, Vol. 1,36.*

Anschluß

“Union” with Austria, “annexation” of Austria, 13 March 1938. The term is a (geopolitical neologism in German for the Austrian “incorporation” into the German Reich, and is often used in English for this specific event. With the annexation of Austria began the Nazi persecution and subsequent the annihilation of Austrian Jews. *Bibl:* Rosenkranz, *Verfolgung und Selbstbehauptung*.

Ostmark

Apt, Rudolf (1882–1978)

Metals expert and Jewish **Community** functionary; born in Dresden, head of his father's company, the Altmetallfirma; board member of the Dresden Jewish Community, and of the Saxony State Direction of the **CV**, and its national governing board. He was interned in 1938 in the Buchenwald **concentration camp**. After his release and the confiscation of his firm in 1939, he emigrated to England.

Archives of German Jewry (*Gesamtarchiv der deutschen Juden*)

The archives were established as a Jewish initiative in 1905, and collected documents and files of the Jewish **Communities**, federations, societies, associations, and foundations in Germany, as well as literary posthumous papers, family papers, and in general all documents relevant for the history of the German Jews. It also collected relevant extracts from other archives in Germany. In 1935, it was renamed the Archive of the Jews in Germany (*Gesamtarchiv der Juden in Deutschland*). After 1939, it was utilized by the National Socialist **Reich Kinship Office** for their research on proof of Aryan descent (**Aryan Clause**) and in 1943 was taken over by this office. Its last director was Dr. Jacob **Jacobson**. Its holdings still exist and are in part housed in Germany (Centrum Judaicum Berlin), and in Israel (Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem).

Arlosoroff, Haim (Victor) (1899–1933)

Born in Russia, murdered in 1933 in **Palestine**. Zionist labor leader, educated in Germany, where he helped establish the leftist party the Young Worker (*Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir*). He was later a member of Mapai, the Workers' Party of Palestine; from 1931, member of the Zionist Executive in the Foreign Affairs Department. Leading personality in the **World Zionist Organization**. During his trip through Germany after the Nazi seizure of power, he participated in negotiations on the transfer (*Ha'avara*) of the possessions and assets of Jewish emigrants from Germany to Palestine. His murder has never been solved; the Workers' Party accused the **Zionists-Revisionists** of being responsible for his death.

State Zionist Organization

Artists' Relief, Jewish (Jüdische Künstlerhilfe)

The Jewish Artists' Relief was created before 1933 as a social department in the Welfare Office of the Berlin **Community** due to the difficult situation many Jewish artists found themselves in. When the Economic Assistance Office of the Berlin Community was established (March 1933), it was incorporated into this office. In June 1933, the **Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid** was set up by the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, responsible for all of the Reich, while the Berlin Economic Assistance Office dealt with local problems and tasks. The Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid was incorporated into the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** on 1 April 1935, and artists' relief then became one of the task areas of the Reich Representation. In contrast with other Jewish welfare offices, the Artists' Relief did not view its job as welfare, but rather connected with the "productivization" of the Jews who had lost their jobs. It set up, even before the founding of the **Kulturbund of the German Jews**, a card catalogue with the names of all unemployed Jewish artists, and assisted them, later cooperating with the Kulturbund branches of the Jewish Communities and other organizations, to find employment or to emigrate. In 1939, the Artists' Relief was incorporated into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**. *Bibl.*: Dahm, "Kulturelles und geistiges Leben," 95–101,119 f.

Aryan (*Arier, arisch*)

Originally a linguistic term, this designated belonging to a certain Indo-European language family. In research on race before the Nazi period, the concept was already employed as a term for the so-called Indo-Germanic or Nordic tribes. In National Socialist race science (Rassenlehre) and race legislation, it was used as a collective concept for designating "German and similar blood," especially in contrast with "Jewish blood" and "Jewish descent." Already from the nineteenth century on, and more pronounced and foregrounded in National Socialist ideology, the contrast Aryan vs. Semitic also was used to justify tendencies to eliminate supposedly non-Aryan elements and components from culture, art, and religion. This contrast played a special role in the resistance by the **churches** to the National Socialist attempt to cleanse Christianity of its "non-Aryan" elements (especially the Old Testament and Christ's Jewish origins).

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews; Non-Aryan; Nuremberg Laws

Aryan Clause (*Arierparagraph*)

The Aryan Clause appeared for the first time in the Third Reich in the formulation of the first anti-Jewish law of 7 April 1933 and the first Implementation Ordinance of 11 April 1933 (Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, see Chronology). According to this clause, only a person of Aryan descent could be employed in the civil service, i.e., a person who had neither a “non-Aryan” parent or grandparent. The Aryan Clause was extended to apply to almost all spheres, in particular in political, cultural, and scientific-scholarly life. See “Aryan Paragraph” in ETR, Vol. I, 46 f. BibL: Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*; Walk, *Sonderrecht*.

Aryanization; Aryan legislation; Nuremberg Laws

Aryan legislation

By the instrumentality of Aryan legislation, “Aryan descent” became the most important prerequisite for according civil rights and most particularly for employment as a civil servant in government and public bodies. There were exceptions initially for civil servants, white-collar personnel, lawyers, and the like who had served in World War I at the front (**combat veterans**) or whose fathers, sons, or husbands had died in battle, or for individuals who had “been employed or exercising a profession” on 1 August 1914.

Aryan legislation began with the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service of 7 April 1933 (see Chronology), which in its so-called **Aryan Clause** defined belonging to Jewry on the basis of racial descent. It became the foundation for all further legislation. The final definition of racial affiliation was proclaimed in the **Nuremberg Laws** of 15 September 1935, and subsequently served as the basis for all measures of policy on the Jews (*Judenpolitik*) in the Third Reich, including the **mass deportations** and mass annihilation. The legal term “non-Aryan” was replaced in the First Ordinance to the Nuremberg Laws by “Jew” (see Chronology, 14 November 1935). BibL: Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*; Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*; Walk, *Sonderrecht*.

Aryanization; Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews

Aryanization and the Jewish struggle for further economic survival

Aryanization was the National Socialist term for the forced transfer of Jewish property into “Aryan” hands for the purpose of “dejudification” (*Entjudung*) of the economy. There was no formal specific law on Aryanization, but as a result of the mounting political and social pressure (especially as a result of the anti-Jewish **boycott**), and the application of **Aryan legislation** in the economic

sphere, Jews were often compelled to sell their property. Yet especially in the early years after the seizure of power, there were at times also “sham Aryanizations.” In such arrangements, the Jewish owner formally transferred ownership to his Aryan partner in order to ensure further operation of the firm. This “concealment of Jewish businesses” was heavily criticized by the **Gestapo** and the **SD**, and they sought to combat it. Despite all the measures of persecution, the Jews still had various possibilities for economic activity after their exclusion from public life in the first few years after the National Socialist takeover, especially because of certain considerations relating to economic and foreign policy. Probably the most effective measure in the Jewish struggle for continued economic survival was efforts to create a joint Jewish market. In that connection, attempts were made especially to employ Jewish employees in Jewish firms, and to appeal to Jewish consumers as potential customers in the Jewish **press**. However, during the second half of 1937, Aryanization, which was being intensified step by step, was aggravated, peaking immediately after **Kristallnacht** in the ordinance on the “Exclusion of the Jews from German Economic Life” of 12 November 1938 (see Chronology). *Bibl.*: Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*; Bajohr, “Aryanisation” in Hamburg; Wagner, “Überführung jüdischer Betriebe”; Köh-rer, *Entziehung, Beraubung, Rückerstattung*; Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 134 ff; Wojak and Hayes, “Arisierung” im Nationalsozialismus.

Ashkenaz

Designation for Germany in Rabbinical literature since the medieval period. Later, in contrast with the Jews of Spanish-Portuguese or Oriental origin (**Sephardim**), the Jews from Central and Eastern Europe were called Ashkenazim. They preserved their own rituals of prayer, and in Eastern Europe their own language, **Yiddish**, and a distinctive Ashkenazi pronunciation of **Hebrew**. In the situation reports (*Lageberichte*), various Hebrew words often appear, especially the names of traditional practices and institutions, in this Ashkenazi pronunciation (see, for example, **Agudas Jisroel**, **Agudas Noschim**) even if the orthography sometimes reproduces that pronunciation with errors.

Assimilation

In the Jewish history of various countries and eras, the term designates the intensive adoption of the dominant cultural and social patterns of living. Its opponents, especially the **Zionists** and Jewish **Orthodoxy**, feared that assimilation in its final consequence would lead to the total abandonment of

Jewish identity.

In the Third Reich, especially in the situation reports (Lageberichte) of the **Gestapo** and **SD**, the concept “assimilation” or “efforts to assimilate” were used as a term to describe the activity of those Jewish organizations which encouraged the Jews to stay on in Germany and eschew **emigration**. Since this contradicted the intentions of the regime, it restricted the activities of the **assimilationists**, while the work of the Zionists was not impeded. Insofar as their activities abetted emigration, the Zionists even garnered the support of the regime in many instances.

Assimilationists

Collective designation in the reports for individual Jews and Jewish organizations which opposed tendencies of Jewish nationalism. The most important organizations were the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith**, the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, and more radical groupings, even if numerically of less importance, such as the **German Vanguard**, the **Black Pennant**, and the **Association of National-German Jews**. Assimilationists were also frequently referred to in Nazi discourse as “Deutschjuden,” “Deutsch-jüdische Juden,” or “deutschbewußte Juden” (see **German Nationalist Jews**; on the attitude of the regime toward assimilationists, see **Assimilation**).

Association for Defense Against AntiSemitism (Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus)

The association was established in 1890 by a non-Jewish, intellectual elite in the Kaiserreich, shortly before the Committee on Defense Against Anti-Semitic Attacks (Komitee zur Abwehr antisemitischer Angriffe) was founded by Jewish notables in 1892. It in turn was the immediate predecessor of the **CV**, created in 1893. The Association for Defense Against AntiSemitism lost much of its importance in the Weimar Republic. Although its leadership remained Gentile, most of its members were from the Jewish middle class. The central direction of the organization disbanded shortly before the Nazis seized power, but some branches continued to exist and were shut down by the regime in mid-1933. BibL: Suchy, “Verein zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus”; Paucker, “Jewish Self-Defence.”

Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism (Vereinigung für das religiös-

liberale Judentum)

The association, founded in 1908, is also known in English as the Association for Liberal Judaism. Its 1933 self-declared aim was “to promote Liberal Judaism by supporting cultural and scientific efforts, and efforts in communal policy, in the spirit of Liberal Judaism, excluding all tendencies of Jewish nationalism. And by uniting all Jews who recognize the idea of evolution in the sphere of religion as well” (FJGV 1932/33, 561). They espoused a more extensive adaptation of religious law (**Halacha**) to the conditions of life, which changed with changing times. In the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, the association formed the organizational framework for the representation of the general Jewish Liberal interests in the **Communities** and in supraregional organizations. In the realm of faith, it represented the various currents within **Reform Judaism**. Several of its important board members like **Rabbi Leo Baeck** and Julius **Seligsohn** were at the same time also active on the board of the **CV**, and from 1933 in a leading position in the **Reich Representation** and later in its successor organization, the **Reich Association**. The association published the *Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung (Press, Jewish)*. The Association for Liberal Judaism was dissolved in November 1938 and incorporated into the **Reich Association**. BibL: Meyer, “Jewish Political Leadership”; Meyer, “Liberal Judaism in Nazi Germany.”

Association of Jewish Traders and Traveling Tradesmen (Verein jüdischer Händler und ambulanter Gewerbetreibender)

The association and its local branches, whose members were in the main **East European Jews**, was dissolved by ministerial decree in late 1934/early January 1935.

Association of Jewish Women for Work in Palestine

Jewish Women’s League for Palestine Work

Association of National-German Jews (Verband nationaldeutscher Juden)

The association was founded in 1921 by Max **Naumann** as an organization for all those German Jews “who in openly professing their descent, feel such an indissoluble bond to German character and culture that they cannot but feel and think except as Germans” (FJGV1932/33, 561). In its German-national attitude and ethos, it was opposed not only to **Zionism**, but also to the uniting of German Jewry in the Third Reich in the form of the **Reich Representation**, and it rigorously rejected the claim of the Reich Representation to be the exclusive

representative of German Jews. The organization published the monthly *Der Nationaldeutsche Jude*. Its efforts to promote assimilation (**Assimilationists**) even after the National Socialists ascended to state power was in contradiction with Nazi ideology and the policy of the exclusion of the Jews from German life and the economy. Consequently, the association was dissolved by the **Gestapo** in December 1935 and Naumann was arrested. *Bibl.*: Rheins, *German Jewish Patriotism*; idem, “Verband nationaldeutscher Juden”; Hambrock, *Etablierung der Außenseiter*.

Black Pennant

Association of Orthodox Rabbis of Germany (Verband orthodoxer Rabbiner Deutschlands)

Organization of the **Rabbis** in the **Secession Communities**, established in 1906 by Salomon Breuer in Frankfurt am Main, and dissolved in November 1938.

Association of Polish Citizens of the Jewish Faith (Verein polnischer Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens)

Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany

Association of the Liberal Rabbis of Germany (Vereinigung der liberalen Rabbiner Deutschlands)

The association was founded in Berlin in 1898. Since the discussion of controversial religious questions in the **General Rabbinical Association of Germany** was basically not permitted in the interest of unity, the association offered Liberal **Rabbis** the forum to explore religious questions from a Liberal vantage. In 1930, it had ninety-four members. It cooperated in the framework of the General Rabbinical Association in the **Reich Representation** and was dissolved in 1938 in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**.

Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism

Association of Traditional-Observant Rabbis of Germany (Vereinigung traditionellgesetzestreuer Rabbiner Deutschlands)

This was founded in 1897 by **Rabbi** Esriel Hildesheimer (1820–1899) as the association of the Rabbis associated with **Community Orthodoxy**. It initially had more than one hundred members, including Rabbi Isak **Unna** from Mannheim, Rabbi Jacob **Horowitz** from Frankfurt am Main, and the Chief

Rabbi of Altona, Joseph **Carlebach**. The association was dissolved like many other Jewish organizations in November 1938.

Association of Orthodox Rabbis of Germany

Associational life, Jewish

In German Jewry there were a multitude of religious, charitable, and political associations with partially traditional but more usually modern orientation and ethos, as well as numerous **youth organizations** and **sports associations**. In contrast with the forced integration of public and cultural life (**Gleichschaltung**) within the German **Volksgemeinschaft** by the Nazi regime, the racial exclusion policies toward the Jews paradoxically permitted the further existence of a rich and diverse Jewish associational life. In the Nazi period, even new associations were born, such as the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** and the **Kulturbund**. After the National Socialist takeover, the life in and through associations moved to the very center of Jewish society. The organizations intensified their work, expanded **welfare**, schools (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**), and **adult education**, and turned toward new spheres of activity such as **vocational restructuring** and **emigration** in order to cope with the new needs of the Jews in Germany under National Socialism. In the framework of this relative “freedom” of the banned and banished, German Jewry was to largely retain its previous pluralistic structure and despite the shift in focus, continue to confront and pursue the ideological and religious controversies (for example, between **Orthodoxy** and **Liberal Judaism**, between **assimilationists** and **Zionists**). These activities were constantly monitored by the eyes and ears of the regime, especially by the **Gestapo** and **SD**. The **surveillance** organs restricted **German-Jewish** groups that wished to convince and encourage Jews to remain in Germany, and promoted everything that accelerated the **emigration** of the Jews, especially the work of the Zionists. Particularly in the first few years of National Socialist rule, there were repeated bans on activity issued for Jewish associations and organizations. These prohibitions were in part limited to specific associations (such as sports associations), and a restricted regional circle. In general, they were later revoked by a superior authority. Up to November 1938, only in isolated cases were Jewish associations dissolved and banned, as in 1935 with the **Association of National-German Jews**, and the **State Zionist Organization** in August 1938. In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, most Jewish associations and organizations were forcibly dissolved, a few were incorporated in early 1939 into the **Reich Association**, which existed until July 1943. The Kulturbund continued to work on its own up to September 1941.

The reports provide a detailed picture of Jewish associational life from 1934 to 1936 at local level, and regionally especially in the SD reports from 1937 to early 1939. In the reports during the war years, there is only sporadic mention of the Jewish organizations. This was not only because by then they had been heavily decimated, but primarily because of the changed structure of the reports, in which there was no longer a separate rubric or section for reporting specifically on the Jews. *Bibl:* FJGV1932/33; Margaliot, “Dispute over the Leadership”; Meyer, “Jewish Political Leadership”; Kulka, “Deutsche Geschichtsschreibung,” 635–640; Kulka, “Major Trends and Tendencies,” 43–50; Kulka, “Jewish Society in Germany”; Mommsen, “Der nationalsozialistische Polizeistaat”; Paucker, *Juden im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland*; Benz, *Juden in Deutschland*.

Atrocity propaganda, Jewish {Greuelpropaganda}

In National Socialist discourse, a general designation for criticism and condemnation of the National Socialist regime and its excesses by world public opinion. First employed as a pretext for the anti-Jewish **boycott** of 1 April 1933. During the **Final Solution**, the sporadic news abroad about the mass annihilation of the Jews was denounced by the regime as “atrocity propaganda.”

Augapfel, Julius (1892–1944)

Rabbi, born in Poland. He studied in Vienna, and from 1914 was Rabbi in Salzburg. In World War I, he served as a field chaplain. After that, he was librarian for Oriental languages at the University of Vienna. From 1926 to 1939, he was Rabbi in Insterburg, East Prussia. He emigrated to Holland and from 1940 to 1944 was interned in the Westerbork **concentration camp**. He was deported in 1944 via **Theresienstadt** to **Auschwitz**, where he perished.

Auschwitz-Birkenau

Concentration and extermination camps

Austrian Legion of the SA (*Österreichische Legion der SA*)

Members of the Austrian Legion took part in May 1935 in violent **individual actions** against Jewish businesses in Munich. These were National Socialists, principally men of the SA, who had fled from Austria beginning in 1933 in order to avoid internment in concentration camps or prisons. They were housed in camps in northern Bavaria and wore SA uniforms. Hitler did not trust them. He

refused to allow them to participate in the victorious entry into the “liberated fatherland” (after the **Anschluß** on 13 March 1938). They were not allowed to return to Austria until 3 April 1938.

Bab, Julius (1880–1955)

Born in Berlin; writer and dramatic adviser; 1901–1933, theater critic. In 1933, co-founder of the **Kulturbund of the German Jews**. In 1940, emigration via France to the United States, where he was active as a writer, publishing several books on American literature.

Baeck, Leo (1873–1956)

Rabbi, born in 1873 in Lissa (Posen; today Leszno in Poznan). Baeck studied at the **Jewish Theological Seminary**, the University of Breslau, the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums**, and the University of Berlin. From 1897 to 1907, he was **Reform Rabbi** in Oppeln, 1907–1912 in Düsseldorf, and from 1912 in Berlin. He served in 1913–1942 as a lecturer at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin. From 1925 to 1937, he was Grand President of the Independent Order **B’nai B’rith**. From 1922 he was chair of the **Association of Rabbis** in Germany. He was a member of the board of the **Association for Liberal Judaism**. From 1932 to 1943, he was president of the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** and the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**. In the autumn of 1935, Baeck was temporarily arrested for distributing his **Kol Nidre** address for **Yom Kippur**, which the **Gestapo** viewed as a challenge to the regime (see Chronology 25 September 1935). Nonetheless, he was regarded by both the regime and the overwhelming majority of the Jews as a figure who united Jews spiritually and represented in his person all of Jewry. He was deported on 27 January 1943 to **Theresienstadt**. After his liberation he lived in London, taught at Hebrew Union College in the United States for a time, and became the President of the **World Union for Progressive Judaism**. He died in London in 1956. *Bibl:* Baker, *Days of Sorrow and Pain*; Meyer, “The Thought of Leo Baeck”; Meyer, “Jewish Political Leadership”; Barkai, *Leo Baeck*; Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I; Friedlander, *Leo Baeck*; Heuberger, *Leo Baeck*; Bamberger, “Leo Baeck.”

Baerwald, Leo (1883–1970)

Rabbi; 1911–1918, auxiliary Rabbi in Munich; 1914–1917, army chaplain in

World War I; 1918–1940, Rabbi of the **Liberal Main Synagogue** of the Jewish **Community** in Munich. In 1940, he emigrated to the United States and was Rabbi of a German-Jewish synagogue, Congregation Beth Hillel, in Washington Heights in New York City. This congregation was made up of Jewish refugees from Munich and Nuremberg. After his retirement as Rabbi in 1955 he continued to support the congregation as well as becoming involved in the work of the Leo Baeck Institute and the American Federation of Jews from Central Europe.

Balfour Declaration

The declaration on 2 November 1917 in the name of the British government by the Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour expressing that the British government looks favorably on the creation of a “Jewish national home” in **Palestine**. It was incorporated into the **British Mandate** over Palestine and thus given recognition under international law. *Bibl:* Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*.

Basle Program; Weizmann, Chaim; Zionism

Ballin, Albert (1857–1918)

Jewish shipping magnate and politician, under whose leadership Hapag (Hamburg-America Line) became an important shipping company. During World War I, he helped organize food supplies for the blocked German Reich and was an adviser to the Kaiser on economic questions. In 1918, he was assigned the task of dealing with negotiations and preparations for an armistice. When Kaiser Wilhelm I left Germany on 9 November 1918 with the outbreak of the Revolution, Ballin committed suicide. Similar to the memory of the Jewish **combat veterans** who were killed in action in World War I and the historical contributions of Walter **Rathenau**, the memory of Ballin also served in the early years of the Third Reich as a paradigm of German-Jewish identity and active patriotism. *Bibl:* Cecil, *Albert Ballin*; Zechlin, *Deutsche Politik und die Juden*.

Banners, anti-Jewish Signs, anti-Jewish

Bar Kochba

One of the oldest Jewish student and sports associations (named after the leader of the great uprising of the Jews against the Romans 132–135 C.E.). Founded in 1898 and part of the **Maccabi World Union**. In 1928, it had some 2,000

members. Under the National Socialist regime, the **Maccabi Circle** was active together with other Jewish **sports associations** in the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**, founded in 1934, up until its dissolution in 1938; Bibl: Atlasz, *Bar Kochba*.

Basel Program

The program adopted at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland (late August 1897), which contained the key first sentence: “**Zionism** seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in **Palestine** secured under public law.” The Basel Program became the common platform of all the groups organized in the **Zionist World Organization**.

Balfour Declaration; Weizmann, Chaim

Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities

Similar to local initiatives on restricting Jews from using internationally popular health resorts and **spas**, numerous local authorities issued directives, beginning in the summer of 1933, in order to prevent Jews from using public swimming pools and beaches (see Chronology August 1933). There were violent anti-Jewish incidents, in many localities anti-Jewish **signs** were put up. Here the dominant tone was racist agitation with sexual innuendo (**Race defilement**). In contrast with international spas, these initiatives were only curtailed if the regime wished to proceed against **individual actions** that were getting the upper hand. Bibl.: *Das Schwarzbuch*, 460 f., 468 ff; Borut, “Antisemitism in Tourist Facilities”; Bajohr, *Unser Hotel ist judenfrei*.

Baum, Herbert (1912–1942)

Founder of the Baum Group, a Jewish-communist resistance group. Their most important action was an arson attack on the anti-Soviet exhibition “The Soviet Paradise” organized by **Goebbels** in Berlin, on 18 May 1942, see ▶640▶. After his arrest, Baum died of the consequences of his torture at the hands of the **Gestapo**; according to the State Public Prosecutor, he supposedly committed suicide. The National Socialist regime reacted to the attack with sharp reprisals against German Jewry in general, especially the staff of the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**: 500 Jews were arrested, 250 of them executed and the rest were deported in a “penal transport” of nearly 2,000 Jews from Berlin to **Sobibor**. Of these none survived. Erroneously, the members of the group were

initially accused of having carried out the assassination of **Heydrich** on 27 May 1942 as well (see Chronology). *Bibl:* Eschwege, “Resistance of German Jews”; Pikarski, *Jugend im Berliner Widerstand*; Wippermann, *Die Berliner Gruppe Baum*; Hildesheimer, *Jüdische Selbstverwaltung*, 221–231; see also the minutes written by **Loe-wenherz**, head of the Jewish **Community**, Vienna, 1 June 1942, http://www1.yadvashem.org/abouLholocaust/documents/part1/doc71.html_20.12

Communism and Jews

Baum Group

Baum, Herbert

Bayerisches Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt

The Bavarian Israelitic Community Paper. Newspaper founded in 1924, biweekly, supplanted the previous organ of the Bavarian Association of Israelitic **Communities** and was at the same time the official communal paper of the Jewish Communities in Munich, Augsburg, and Bamberg. In the 1930s, Ludwig **Feuchtwanger** was editor. He followed a conservative middle-of-the-road political approach. In 1935, the paper had a circulation of 4,500 copies. It was banned after **Kristallnacht** in November 1938.

Press, Jewish in the Third Reich

BDM—Bund Deutscher Mädel (League of German Girls)

Hitler Youth

Behrend(t), Ernst (1884–1944)

Born 1884 in Bromberg (Posen); district secretary of the Trade Union Federation of White-Collar Employees in Upper Silesia; from 1919, member of the executive board of the German Democratic Party. From 1923, member of the main governing board of the CV; in 1937, head of the Emigration Department in the **Relief Organization of German Jews**; in 1943, **deportation** to **Theresienstadt**, and from there to **Auschwitz**, where he died in 1944.

Belzec

Concentration and extermination camps; Final Solution

Berliner, Cora (1890–1942)

Sociologist and Jewish organizational functionary; 1916, doctorate in sociology

and political science; 1916–1919, municipal deputy in Berlin-Schöneberg; 1922–1924, head of the **Association of Jewish Youth Organizations in Germany**; 1919–1933, active in the Reich Economy Ministry and the Reich Statistical Office; 1930–1933, government councilor; professor of economics, Technical University, Berlin; 1932–1937, active in the **Jewish Women's Alliance**, 1934–1937 as its vice-president; 1933–1942, board member, **Reich Representation of the German Jews**, subsequently Reich Association; deported in June 1942 in one of the penal transports “to the East” in the aftermath of the arrest of the **Baum Group**, and probably murdered in **Sobibor**. *Bibl.*: Hildesheimer, “Cora Berliner”; Maierhof, *Selbstbehauptung im Chaos*; Exler, “Cora Berliner”; see also <http://www.fembio.org/english/biography.php/woman/biography/cora-berliner> (accessed 25.09.2009).

Bernheim Petition

This petition was submitted by the **Comité des Délégations Juives** on 17 May 1933 to the League of Nations. It demanded that the German-Polish agreement on **minority protection** in Upper Silesia in 1922, which was to be violated as a result of anti-Jewish National Socialist legislation, also be applied to protect the Jews under its umbrella. This action was based on the petition authored by the Upper Silesian Jew Franz Bernheim. Hitler’s government recognized the validity of the agreement. Accordingly, the Jews in Upper Silesia were exempted from measures of discrimination against the Jews until the expiration of the agreement (after fifteen years) in May 1937. Up to that juncture, similar complaints by the Jews of Upper Silesia continued; see ▶704▶ *Bibl.*: Feinberg, “Jewish Political Activities”; Weissmann, “Durchsetzung der jüdischen Minderheitsrechte”; “Bernheim Petition” in EH, Vol. I, 206 f.

Minority protection

Betar

Hebr.: acronym for “Brith Josef **Trumpeldor**” (Covenant of Joseph Trumpeldor). Betar was founded in 1925 by **Jabotinsky** as the youth organization of the **Zionists-Revisionists**. In 1933, the Zionists-Revisionists left the **World Zionist Organization** and set up the **New Zionist Organization**. Because Jabotinsky and his movement attacked the Third Reich abroad openly and vehemently (for example, in connection with the **boycott movement against the Third Reich**), the New Zionist Organization in Germany had to assume the name “**State Zionist Organization**,” and together with its youth

organization Betar, was forced to separate from the World Organization of the Jabotinsky movement. Betar changed its name in Germany to **Jewish-National Youth Herzlia** (Jüdisch-nationale Jugend Herzlia, after Theodor Herzl). The organization was dissolved together with the State Zionist Organization of Germany on 31 August 1938. It exists today in Israel, the United States, and elsewhere.

Bialik, Haim Nachman (1873–1934)

One of the most important writers in modern Hebrew, he lived until 1921 in Odessa and later in Tel Aviv. Along with poems and folk songs (in part in Yiddish), he also wrote essays and stories. He authored scholarly studies, translations, editions, and anthologies (from biblical and Talmudic sources). His person and work took on a special significance in Jewish cultural life and schools (see **Schools/School system, Jewish**) under the Nazi regime, even outside the Zionist organizations. *Bibl.*: Aberbach, *Bialik*; Simon, *Chajjim Nachman Bialik*.

Bikkur Cholim

Hebr.: visiting the sick, caring for the sick. This is considered one of the principal duties (*mitzvot*) of altruism and charity, incumbent on every Jew. For this purpose, most **communities** had special aid organizations for the sick, or the aid and burial associations of the **Chevra Kaddisha**. In 1933, most communities had dozens of such voluntary organizations, whose importance grew in subsequent years with the increasing distress and advanced age of the Jewish population. These organizations worked in parallel with the institutions of the **Central Welfare Office of the German Jews**. *Bibl.*: FJGV1932/33, 496.

Birkenau

Concentration and extermination camps; Final Solution

Birnbaum, Max P. (1905–1990)

Merchant and Jewish organizational functionary; 1919–1922 member of **Blau-Weiß**; 1926–1938, member in the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities** Berlin; 1928–1938, work for various Jewish newspapers; member, and from 1937 on the Prussian State Executive Board of the **Zionist Association of Germany**; 1932, head of the Working Group on Economic Questions of the Jews in Germany; 1936, founder and director of the

Registration Office for **Internal Migration** and **Emigration**; 1937, member of the advisory council, **Jewish Agency**; November 1938, emigration to the U.S., and 1969 to Israel. In 1981, he published a study of the Prussian Regional Association from 1918 until its dissolution in 1938: *Staat und Synagoge 1918–1938: Eine Geschichte des Preußischen Landesverbandes jüdischer Gemeinden*.

Birobidjan

Also Birobidzhan, Biro-Bidjan. Jewish settlement area in eastern Russia on the Amur River. It was allotted to the Jews in March 1928 by the Soviet government and declared an “autonomous Jewish settlement area” (also termed “Jewish autonomous region”) in 1934. It was intended as an instrument for normalizing the national status of the Soviet Jews, and *inter alia* as an alternative to **Zionism**. The Soviet authorities encouraged Jews in the Soviet Union and throughout the world to settle there, and guaranteed them cultural autonomy in the **Yiddish** language. In the 1930s, Birobidjan appears in the situation reports as a potential land of **emigration** for Jews from Germany (see CD ▶123▶, and ▶33▶ under “Birobidjan”), but in actuality was insignificant. The number of Jews in Birobidjan before World War II never even reached 20,000. *Bibl.*: EJIV, 1044–1050.

Black Front (Schwarze Front, SF)

Founded in 1930 by Otto Strasser, who had belonged to the left wing of the NSDAP, but who had quit the party. After 1933, Strasser led the Black Front from his exile in Prague as a right-wing oppositional group in its struggle against the National Socialist regime. The members of the Black Front were subjected to surveillance and persecution in Germany. In exile, Strasser revised his anti-Jewish stance and developed his own ideas on restoring the civil rights of the Jews in Germany. In exile, the SF also had Jewish supporters and members, including the young architecture student Helmut Hirsch, who on orders from SF in 1936 prepared an attack on the Nuremberg Party Convention grounds, but was discovered, apprehended, and executed. *Bibl.*: Bankier, “Otto Strasser und die Judenfrage.”

Black Pennant (Das Schwarze Fähnlein)

The Black Pennant sprang up in 1932 from the split of the Jewish youth alliance **Kameraden**, established in 1916, a youth movement recruiting members from the **German-Jewish** upper-middle-class milieu. It initially chose the name

Schwarzes Fählein, Waldfadfinderbund (Black Pennant, Forest Scout Alliance), and from 1933 was known as the Black Pennant. While another splinter group from the Kameraden, the **Werkleute**, turned its sights after 1933 toward Zionist socialism (**kibbutz**), and the **Free German-Jewish Youth** was oriented to a universalistic socialism, the Black Pennant stressed its national-German identity and strove to gain acceptance into the German **Volksgemeinschaft** or folk community. The group was close in its thinking to the conservative, nationalistic ideology of the **German Vanguard of H.-J. Schoeps**, and was, together with it and the **Association of National-German Jews**, in struggle against the claim by the **Reich Representation** to represent all of German Jewry. Its members repudiated the idea of a separate Jewish identity and demanded the complete and total **assimilation** of the Jews. Although they represented these positions even after the Nazis came to power, the organization was from the start a member in the **Reich Committee of the Jewish Youth Leagues**. In 1934, the Black Pennant sought closer ties with the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, cooperating in its sports alliance. The Black Pennant had some 1,000 members in a number of local branches. Due to its nationalistic German-Jewish views and its propagation of **assimilation**, it was forcibly dissolved by the authorities in December 1934. But up to 1936, its members continued sporadic work illegally. *Bibl.*: Rheins, “The Schwarzes Fählein”; Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement,” Vols. I and II; Hirschberg, “Die Kameraden.”

Blau, Julius (1861–1939)

Lawyer. From 1903 to 1939, head of the Jewish **Community** Frankfurt am Main; representative of **Community Orthodoxy** and a member of the **Council of the Reich Representation**, the Council of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish communities** and on the governing board of the **Jewish Colonization Association**.

Blau-Weiß

Blue-White, the first Jewish youth association in Germany, **Zionist** in general orientation, founded in 1912. It was inspired in part by the German youth movement culture of comradeship, hiking, and appreciation of nature. It stressed an agricultural way of life; Blau-Weiß was disbanded in 1929. *Bibl.*: Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement,” Vols. I and II; Brodnitz, *Gemeinschaftsarbeit der jüdischen Jugend*.

Reich Committee of the Jewish Youth Associations

Blockwart

Usually used for the function of a block warden, the lowest functionary in the NSDAP hierarchy. He was responsible for a residential area of forty to sixty families (a block). Among his duties was the political and “racial” observation and monitoring of the residents in his block, including especially the Jews. The block wardens reported “deleterious rumors,” collected Party contributions, and organized the propaganda and campaigned for more members for the National Socialist organizations in their block. They were responsible for many instances of informing and reporting on Jews to the police, so-called “denunciations.”

Blood libel

Ritual murder

Blumenfeld, Kurt (1885–1963)

Lawyer and editor; leading figure in the Zionist movement and the **World Zionist Organization** even before World War I. Editor of the Zionist periodical *Die Welt*. From 1929 until he emigrated to Palestine in 1933, he was head of the **Zionist Association of Germany**. His autobiography is a valuable historical source on German Jewry in the first half of the twentieth century. *Bibl:* Blumenfeld, *Erlebte Judenfrage*.

B’nai B’rith / Independent Order of the B’nai B’rith (Unabhängiger Orden Bne Briss, UOBB)

Hebr.: sons of the covenant. First founded in the United States in 1843 by twelve German-Jewish immigrants as a lodge (**Freemasons**) devoid of any political orientation, with “the mission of uniting Jews in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity; developing and elevating the mental and moral character of the people of our faith” (Preamble to the constitution). A Grand Lodge was established in Germany in 1882, the first outside the United States; in 1932, it consisted of more than 103 lodges with some 13,000 members. The lodges concentrated in the main on alleviating general distress, aid for widows and orphans, and promotion of science and the arts. Its stated aim (FJGV 1932/33, 545): an “association of Israelites for the promotion of the most noble goods of humanity.”

While the lodges of Freemasons were dissolved between 1933 and 1945, and

their members persecuted, the B'nai B'rith lodges were allowed to operate until 10 April 1937. Their newsletter *Mitteilungen der Großloge für Deutschland* was published in 1935 with a printing of 10,000 copies. *Bibl:* Katz, *Jews and Freemasons*; Völker, "The B'nai B'rith Order"; Goldschmidt, *Der deutsche Distrikt des Ordens Bne Brith*.

Bnei Akiva

Hebr.: sons of Akiva; youth movement of the **Misrachi**.

Boards, anti-Jewish

Signs, anti-Jewish

Böhm, Adolf (1873–1941)

Historian of the **Zionist** movement and its activists. Born in Bohemia, active in Vienna. In 1907, he visited **Palestine**. Ten years closely associated with the **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael**. He published his main work, *Die Zionistische Bewegung*, in 1937, which was used as a source by the SD Jewish Affairs Department. Böhm was editor of the journal *Palästina*. He was deported from Vienna "to the East" in 1941 and probably died there that same year.

Boycott, anti-Jewish

The "Jews' boycott" was propagated already before 1933 by the NSDAP, and spread everywhere after Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor, sometimes involving violence. The most famous boycott action, which the NSDAP promoted after seizing power, took place on 1 April 1933. It was directed against Jewish businesses, goods, **physicians, lawyers**, and university professors. The pretext for this "defensive reaction" to "World Jewry" was the so-called **atrocities propaganda** against the Third Reich circulating abroad. This was the first systematic anti-Jewish action by the National Socialist Party controlling the new regime, launched even before the beginning of anti-Jewish legislation (see Chronology, 7 April 1933). Although terminated after one day, the 1 April boycott had a powerful impact on the collective consciousness of the German Jews. Afterward it remained a widespread measure of violent economic persecution at the local level. At the same time, the situation reports complained for several years that large segments of the population were ignoring the calls for boycott, including members of the Party.

The perhaps most effective countermeasure of the Jews in their struggle

against the boycott and for further economic survival was the creation of a “Jewish common market.” Its characteristic features included employing mainly Jewish workers in Jewish firms and targeting advertising to Jewish consumers in the Jewish **press**. This notwithstanding, the constant calls for boycott by the National Socialists increased the pressure on Jews in the economy, accelerating **Aryanization**. *Bibl:* Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation; Der gelbe Fleck; Das Schwarzbuch*; Weltsch, “First of April”; Tenenbaum,” The Anti-Nazi Boycott”; Reissner, “The American Anti-Nazi Boycott”; “Boycott, Anti-Jewish” in EH, Vol. I, 234.

Individual actions; Volksgemeinschaft

Boycott movement against the Third Reich (also: Anti-boycott movement)

After initially spontaneous boycott initiatives in various countries, Jewish organizations in Poland, France and especially in the United States issued a call on 20 March 1933, as a protest against the persecution of the Jews under the new National Socialist regime, for a boycott on importing and buying German goods. The trailblazers here were the Jewish War Veterans (19 March 1933), followed in May 1933 by the American League for the Defense of Jewish Rights (ALDJR), and finally in August 1933 by the **American Jewish Congress** (AJC). They promoted the boycott and established a Boycott Committee. In the United States, boycott activities were continued until 1941. Within the **Zionist** movement, the boycott against the Third Reich was promoted most resolutely by the **Zionists-Revisionists** (see **Ha'avara**). As is evident from reports, the boycott movement was much feared by the National Socialist regime, but had only marginal economic impact. Yet as Rabbi Stephen S. **Wise** (Honorary President, AJC) observed, the boycott effort, whatever its effect, was a moral imperative: “We must speak out. If that is unavailing, at least we shall have spoken.” *Bibl.:* “Boycott, Anti-Nazi” in EJ, Vol. 4, 1280–1282; “Boycotts, Anti-Nazi” in EH, Vol. I, 237 f.

Brith Chaluzim Datum (Bachad)

Hebr.: League of the Religious Pioneers. Also: Brith Chalutzim Dati’im. After 1928, the Zionist-religious youth was organized in Bachad. This organization was a member of the **Hechalutz** movement. It prepared its members for **aliyah** and established the Zionist-religious **kibbutz** movement.

Intriligator, David; Misrachi

Brith Hano'ar shel Ze'ire Misrachi

Hebr.: Youth League of **Misrachi** Youth. Also: Brith Hanoar shel Tzeire Mizrachi, established 1923, dissolved 1938.

Brith Haolim (Jung-Jüdischer Wanderbund Brith Haolim)

Hebr.: League of Immigrants to **Palestine**. Zionist-socialist youth league in Germany. Here originally called Young Jewish Hiking League, Brith Haolim; *Bibl*: Markel, “Brith Haolim.”

Brith Hechajal

Hebr.: League of the Soldier. Also: Brith Hechayal. State Zionist defense organization; dissolved by state decree in 1936.

State Zionist Organization

British Mandate in Palestine

In World War I, Great Britain conquered **Palestine**, until then part of the Ottoman Empire, and was awarded the Palestine Mandate in 1922 by the League of Nations. One of the guidelines was to ensure the establishment of a “Jewish national home” in accordance with the **Balfour Declaration** of 1917. From early 1933 until the final ban on Jewish emigration from the Third Reich in October 1941, Palestine was one of the most important places of refuge for Jewish **emigrants**. The Arab Revolt, which began in April 1936, raged to October (Chronology, April 1936) and flared again thereafter, a direct response to increased Jewish immigration. This led to the appointment by the Mandate government of a Royal Commission headed by Lord Robert Peel. On 7 July 1937, the commission recommended a triple division or partition of the country among Jews, Arabs, and the Mandate government. Because of the categorical rejection of the partition plan by the Arab side and the increasingly pro-Arab orientation of the British government in the face of the threat of war in Europe, the recommendations of the Peel Commission were not realized. A further accommodation to Arab demands was the “White Paper” published on 17 May 1939, which in practical terms virtually brought a halt to **aliyah**. British obligations to **Zionism** as expressed in the Balfour Declaration were significantly revised by this turn. As a result of renewed Jewish-Arab clashes after World War II and due to increased resistance against the continuation of Mandate policy, Great Britain put the decision on the future of Palestine in the hands of the United Nations. In General Assembly Resolution 181, adopted on

29 November 1947, the United Nations resolved to recommend partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state, with a “Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem.” After the end of the British Mandate on 14 May 1948, the independent State of Israel was declared and established. It proceeded to absorb hundreds of thousands of Jewish survivors of the Nazi domination of Europe who were stranded in various refugee camps across the continent. *Bibl:* Galnoor, *Partition of Palestine*; Cohen, *Palestine, Retreat from the Mandate*.

Certificates; Jewish Agency

Brodnitz, Friedrich (1899–1995)

Physician and organizational functionary; son of **Julius Brodnitz**. Executive secretary of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** and press manager of the Reich Representation. He was active in the **Central Association** and the **Jewish Agency**, and played a role in building the Jewish **Kulturbund**. In 1933–1937, president of the **Reich Committee of the Jewish Youth Associations**; 1933–1935, co-editor of the **ZAHA Informationsblätter**. He emigrated in 1939 to the United States, where he became a renowned expert on vocal rehabilitation, in part for professional singers and opera stars, as head of the voice and speech clinic at Mount Sinai Medical Center in New York.

Brodnitz, Julius (1866–1936)

Lawyer and organizational functionary; 1920–1936, head of the **CV**; co-founder of the **CV-Zeitung**, the journal *Der Morgen*, and **Philo-Verlag**, a major Jewish publishing house (1919–1938). In 1935, Philo-Verlag published the *Philo-Lexikon*, a one-volume encyclopedia on Judaism to strengthen Jewish knowledge and self-esteem in Germany.

Philo-Verlag

Buber, Martin (1878–1965)

Jewish scholar, theologian, and educator. Born in Vienna, until 1933 professor at the University of Frankfurt am Main. From 1933 to 1938, he was head of the **Center for Jewish Adult Education** which he co-founded at the **Reich Representation**. Since 1898 a member of the **Zionist** movement. Buber emigrated in 1938 to **Palestine**, where he became professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He died there in 1965. Buber was one of the most significant thinkers of the twentieth century, who also had a lasting

impact on German Jewry after 1933. The German Jews, who were largely alienated and distanced from Jewish tradition at this time, and suddenly through National Socialism were confronted with their “being Jewish,” its dilemma and promise, owe to Buber’s work insights into new aspects of their Jewish identity. He was able to show them the relevance of the ancient biblical texts for the present, and opened up the world of Hasidism, previously a virtually closed book from Eastern Europe, to many Western readers (**Lehrhaus**). *Bibl:* Simon, “Martin Buber and German Jewry”; Simon, “Jewish Adult Education”; Wehr, *Der deutsche Jude Martin Buber*; Sandt, *Martin Bubers bildnerische Tätigkeit*.

Bürckel, Josef (1895–1944)

German politician, teacher, combat veteran in World War I, since 1921 member of the NSDAP, up to 1926 **Gauleiter** of the Palatinate. From 1930, he was a member of the Reichstag, from 1935 Reich Commissar for the Reincorporation of the **Saarland**, and from 1938 responsible for the unification of Austria with the Reich after the **Anschluß**. He was founder of the **Central Office for Jewish Emigration** in Vienna. In 1939–1940, Reich Governor (Reichsstatthalter) of Austria and Gauleiter of Vienna. From August 1940, head of civilian administration in occupied Lorraine, Gauleiter of the “Westmark” (Saar territory and Saar-Palatinate). In October 1940, he ordered the “expulsion” of all Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate to the unoccupied area of France (the so-called Aktion Bürckel), where many perished in the Gurs camp or were later deported to **Auschwitz** (see **deportation**). *Bibl:* Paul, “Josef Bürckel”; on the secret instructions for the “Aktion Bürckel” see http://www1.yadvashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc64.htmL9.12.

Bund Deutscher Mädel (BDM) **Hitler Youth**

c.

In documents of the SD, code name for the Chief of the Security Police and SD, **Heydrich**.

Callmann, Rudolf (1892–1976)

Lawyer in Cologne; head of the Left-Rhine Regional Association of the CV, later a member in its executive board; 1933–1936, member in the Supervisory Board and **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich**

Representation; emigration in 1936 to the United States, where he became a well-known legal scholar and noted expert on trademark law and unfair competition.

Cantor

Hebr.: chazzan. Modern term for the prayer leader in the **synagogue**.

Capell, Hans (1908–1995)

German-Jewish functionary, 1933–1936, General Secretary of the **Zionist Association of Germany**; 1936–1938, General Secretary of the **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael (KKL)** for Germany; 1938, **emigration** to Great Britain; there Secretary General of the KKL and board member in the Association of Jewish Refugees. Emigration in 1951 to Israel.

Carlebach, Joseph (1883–1942)

Rabbi, born in Lübeck; 1905–1907, teacher at the Teachers' Seminar in Jerusalem; 1914–1920, teacher and director of the Jewish High School in Kovno (Lithuania); 1920–21, Rabbi in Lübeck; 1921–1926, Director of the **Talmud Torah school** in Hamburg; 1925–1936, Chief Rabbi of Schleswig-Holstein and Altona; from 1936, Chief Rabbi of Hamburg. At the end of 1941, he was deported together with Hamburg Jews to the Jungfernhoft (Jumpravmuria) **concentration camp** near Riga. There, until he was murdered in the mass shootings in March 1942, he sought to care for the intellectual, social, and physical survival of his fellow prisoners, and their dignified burial. *Bibl.*: Carlebach, *Joseph Carlebach and His Generation*; Gillis-Carlebach, *Jüdischer Alltag ah humaner Widerstand*.

Cattle Jew

In the National Socialist reports, the derogatory term “Viejhude” is generally used to designate the Jewish cattle dealer. In addition, the anti-Semitic stereotype of the greedy Jewish cattle dealer, who seized and impounded the farmers' animals as soon as they were unable to pay the interest they owed, played a role here. As a negative deprecating term, it was always on tap if a scapegoat was sought on which to blame some failure in a commercial deal. *Bibl.*: Brackmann and Birkenhauer, *NS-Deutsch*; Wiesemann, “Juden auf dem Lande.”

Cattle trade, Jewish

Since the expulsion of the Jews from almost all larger cities in the late medieval and early modern period (late fifteenth to early sixteenth century), the majority of the German Jews lived in the countryside, and the cattle trade was one of their most widespread sources of livelihood. Even after **Emancipation** had led to the urbanization of most Jews, in certain regions, such as Bavaria, Swabia, and Hesse, many Jews in small localities in the countryside remained faithful to their traditional occupation as meat dealers. Like other groups within rural Jewry, they retained **Hebrew** and **Yiddish** as part of the occupational language (see CD ▶283 ►, fn. 6). Despite the systematic **boycott** propaganda and the measures of the Nazi regime against the Jews, this branch of trade remained almost exclusively in Jewish hands under National Socialist rule in many regions of Germany into the second half of the 1930s, and the majority of farmers trusted them. The economic antiSemitism of the National Socialists, which generally made use of racial ideology, did not always succeed in persuading the farmers to break off their traditional ties to and relations with the Jews, even if they espoused their own brand of religiously motivated antiSemitism. This confrontation is reflected in numerous reports on the prevailing mood in the 1930s, sometimes down to the pogrom wave of **Kristallnacht**. *Bibl.*: Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent*, 224–277; Lucas, *The Sovereigns*; Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze”; Wiesemann, “Juden auf dem Lande.”

Cemetery desecrations

One of the characteristic manifestations of anti-Jewish terror. Already in the Weimar Republic, there were numerous desecrations of cemeteries and **synagogues**. Under the National Socialist regime, as is evident from the situation reports, cemetery desecrations were among the constantly recurrent **individual actions against Jews** in all parts of the Reich, and children and teenagers often participated in these actions. It was immaterial in this regard whether the cemeteries were still being used or whether Jews still lived in the locality. *Bibl.*: Centralverein, *Friedhofsschändungen in Deutschland*; Borut, “Antisemitism in Tourist Facilities”; Wildt, “The Boycott Campaign,” 181–209; Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität*.

Desecration of religious symbols of the Jews

Center for Jewish Adult Education (**Mittelstelle für jüdische Erwachsenenbildung**)

The center was established in the spring of 1934 at the initiative of Martin **Buber** as an institution associated with the **Reich Representation of the**

German Jews. As an education and advisory institution independent of all organizations and ideologically driven groups, it organized occasional so-called “study times,” working conferences in which teachers were trained for adult education practice through lectures and discussions. Buber, who directed the center, played a major role in revitalizing the idea of the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in the Third Reich. The Center developed its activities within the **communities** and beyond. Among its leading personalities there were also young scholars from **Palestine** such as Ernst Akiba **Simon**, who viewed their work under the Nazi regime as a form of internal Jewish renewal and “intellectual resistance.” In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, the center was officially dissolved, but partially continued its work within the education department of the **Reich Association** and the **Kulturbund**. *Bibl:* Mendes-Flohr, “Jewish Cultural and Spiritual Life”; Simon, “Jewish Adult education”; Simon, *Aufbau im Untergang*; Sandt, *Martin Bubers bildnerische Tätigkeit*; Cochavi, “Kultur und Bildungsarbeit der deutschen Juden”; Bühler, *Erziehung zur Tradition*; “Mittelstelle für Jüdische Erwachsenenbildung” in EH, Vol. III, 984. On the tasks of the Center, see First Circular Letter, May 1934, written by Buber, excerpt online: http://www1.yadavashem.org/about_holocaust/documents/part1/doc17.html (Accessed 25.09.2009).

Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith, CV (Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, CV)

The CV was established 26 March 1893, its intended purpose (FJGV 1932/33, 558): “To bring together the German citizens of the Jewish faith without distinction as to religious or political persuasion, in order to strengthen them in the energetic defense of their civil and social equality, and in the resolute nurturing of their German attitude, ethos and outlook.” The CV, while preserving a total impartiality in regard to religious orientation, rejected Jewish nationalism, and saw the German Jews as members of the German people (**assimilationists**). In this connection, it developed its own distinctive concept of Jewish identity, which was neither religious nor national in its emphasis or tenor. Under the National Socialist regime, it moved somewhat closer to **Zionism**, though the political disputes continued to simmer within the various joint committees. The tasks of the CV were primarily geared to the sphere of politics: guarantees for **Emancipation** and full civil rights, and the fight against anti-Semitism. One weapon in this struggle was the protection of rights, and from 1933 on, the CV also became a civil rights organization, engaged in the protection of Jewish rights. In addition, it organized economic consultation and cultural work. As a

reaction and protest against the **Nuremberg Laws**, the CV changed its name on 16 September 1935 to the Central Association of the Jews in Germany (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 77, 233, fn. 2).

The CV was by far the largest organization of German Jewry. In 1926, it had some 60,000 members organized in about 555 local branches and 21 regional associations; its central office was in Berlin. In 1935, it still numbered some 40,000 members in approximately 500 branches and 16 regional associations. The CV played a central role in the establishment of the **Reich Representation** and the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**. Its organs of publication were the *CV-Zeitung* (from 1922, formerly *Im deutschen Reich*) with a circulation of 55,000 (1933); the bimonthly magazine *Der Morgen* and *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*; it also operated the **Philo-Verlag** publishing house.

After **Kristallnacht**, the CV was dissolved in November 1938 and incorporated into the Reich Association. The National Socialist regime monitored the activity of the CV and increasingly restricted it, accusing the organization of promoting the goal for Jews to remain on in Germany. Its fearless engagement as a civil rights organization was not blocked outright by the regime. However, its **lawyers** were repeatedly arrested. *Bibl.*: Schoeps, *Wille und Weg*; Fraenkel, "Jewish Self-Defense"; Reinhartz, "Deutschstum and Judentum"; Paucker, *Jüdischer Abwehrkampf gegen Antisemitismus*; Paucker, "Jewish Self-Defence"; Reichmann, "Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens"; Barkai, "CV im Jahre 1933"; Barkai, *Wehr Dich!*; Matthäus, "Kampf ohne Verbündete."

Central Association of Jewish Craftsmen of Germany (Zentralverband jüdischer Handwerker Deutschlands)

The Central Association of Jewish Craftsmen was established in 1909 and had seventeen branches. Its stated aim (FJGV 1932/33) was: "Promotion of Small Trades and the Industrial Arts among the Jews by the training of a suitable generation of younger skilled craftsmen, struggle to combat prejudices against the Jewish craftsmen as a vocational group, spoken and written enlightenment, mutual support by the procurement of work." Its periodical was the monthly *Der jüdische Handwerker*, with a circulation in October 1935 of 3,500 copies.

Press, Jewish; Reich Association of Small and Medium-Sized Jewish Business

Central Association of the Jews in Germany (Centralverein der Juden in Deutschland)

Central Association of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV)

Central British Fund for German Jewry

Council for German Jewry

Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction (Zentralausschuß der Deutschen Juden für Hilfe und Aufbau, ZAHA)

The Central Committee is generally termed simply Central Committee for Aid and Reconstruction (Zentralausschuß für Hilfe und Aufbau). The ZAHA was founded in April 1933 as the central body for Jewish social work. Participating in it were the following: The **Central Welfare Office of the German Jews**, the **Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (CV)**, the **Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid**, Jewish **Artists' Relief**, the **Zionist Association of Germany**, the **Palestine Office**, the **Jewish Community Berlin**, the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, the **Jewish Women's Alliance**, and the **Agudas Jisroel**. Already as early as 1933, the ZAHA acted as the coordinating and implementing arm of the **Reich Representation**. On 1 April 1935, it was integrated formally as a department into the Reich Representation, and then was incorporated like many other associations into the **Reich Association** in February 1939. The periodical of the Central Committee was published as an annual from 1933 to 1935 as *Arbeitsberichte des Zentralausschusses für Hilfe und Aufbau bei der Reichsvertretung*, and from 1936 to 1939 as *Arbeitsberichte der Reichsvertretung*. Bibl: Szanto, "Economic Aid in the Nazi Era"; Lotan, "The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle"; "Zentralausschuss of the German Jews für Hilfe und Aufbau" in EH, Vol. IV, 1732; on the proclamation of the Committee in April 1933 see: [Relief.html](#) 27.11.2007.

Central Office for German Settlement (Zentralstelle für deutsche Ansiedlung)

More precisely: the Central Office for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine (Zentralstelle für die Ansiedlung deutscher Juden in Palästina) had main offices in London and Jerusalem. It maintained the settlement company Rural and Suburban Settlement Co. (Rassco). Rassco was established in 1935 for the agricultural settlement of immigrants from the commercial stratum of small and medium-size business, especially from Germany. Within the primarily collectively structured agricultural settlement movement of the Jews in Palestine,

the Rassco settlements represented a special synthesis of private initiative and cooperative principles. After World War II, the **Jewish Agency** established a construction firm called “Rassco” (Rural and Urban Settlement Ltd.), which built settlements for new immigrants.

Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid (Zentralstelle für jüdische Wirtschaftshilfe)

The Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid was set up on 29 March 1933. It was responsible for **vocational restructuring** and self-help for individual professional groups (**physicians, lawyers, and judges**); for artists, see the **Jewish Artists' Relief**). It operated within the framework of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, and on 1 April 1935 it was incorporated into the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**.

Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung)

The Central Office for Jewish Emigration was essentially two separate offices of the same name:

1) In connection with the **Reich Representation**: it was created in December 1937 by the Migration Committee of the Reich Representation, where all the migration organizations were brought together under the umbrella of the Reich Representation, in order to direct a uniform and well-planned program of promoting emigration by individuals and groups. The various emigration organizations retained their independence in this arrangement.

2) In Vienna: the office established on 26 August 1938 by Adolf **Bürckel** and directed by **Eichmann** for implementation of emigration policy for the Jews in Austria after the **Anschluß**. Its creation was an important step in ensuring the predominance of the SD in the struggle over authority and powers in the sphere of policy on the Jews between the various National Socialist authorities. The same concept was recommended by Eichmann and **Heydrich** for implementation in the **Altreich** as well immediately after **Kristallnacht**, and realized on 24 January 1939 in the creation of the 3. **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration** (Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung) in Berlin. *Bibl.*: Anderl, “Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung”; Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 108, No. 120, fn. 15; Reich Representation, *Arbeitsbericht* 1937,15; “Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung” in EH, Vol. IV, 1733.

Central Welfare Office of the German Jews (Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland)

Traditional Jewish welfare and aid work was for the most part a function of various associations within the individual **communities** (Hebr.: kehillot). In the framework of the professionalization of this voluntary mode of welfare provision at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Central Welfare Office of the German Jews was established during World War I in 1917, and received legal recognition in 1926. Its vessels were among others the middle-level and local offices of welfare provision (state and provincial associations for welfare aid). On 1 April 1935, the Central Welfare Office together with the Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction became a department inside the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**. Under the National Socialist regime, its importance grew with the mounting pauperization of the Jewish population. It supported various Jewish social institutions within and beyond the **communities**. Even after all Jewish organizations were forcibly dissolved in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, it continued its work in the framework of the Reich Representation and its successor, the **Reich Association** (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 120A and n. 26 there), working for the benefit of the Jews remaining in Germany until 1945.

From 1929 to 1938, the organization published, in conjunction with the **Main Office for Emigration Welfare**, the Organization of Jewish **Employment Exchanges** (1929–1935), and the Department for Economic Aid of the **Reich Representation** (1935–1938), a joint periodical *Jüdische Wohlfahrtspflege und Sozialpolitik* (see **Press, Jewish**). The last issue appeared in October 1938. *Bibl.*: Elkin, *Continuity and Change*; Lotan, “The Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle”; Scheller, *Die Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle*.

Certificate(s)

Measure by the **British Mandatory Government in Palestine** to restrict Jewish immigration. The following certificates entitled an individual to immigrate:

1) Worker certificates. The number of such certificates was determined by the British administration in Palestine. They were distributed by the **Jewish Agency** and the **Palestine Offices**. These set the requirement for obtaining a certificate as a sufficient level of previous training in a vocation or profession appropriate for the economic needs of Palestine and knowledge of modern Hebrew.

- 2) Youth certificates for youths between the age of fifteen and seventeen.
- 3) Craftsman certificates were issued to skilled craftsmen or artisans with a minimum of 250 pounds sterling in personal capital.
- 4) Next-of-kin certificates were issued upon the request of relatives living in Palestine.
- 5) Certificates for individuals outside the existing immigrant quotas:
 - a) capitalist visas; such a visa was issued by the British Passport Office to persons with a minimum of 1,000 pounds sterling in personal capital (many of the German emigrants with assets came to Palestine after 1933 in the framework of the **Ha'vara Agreement**);
 - b) certificates for individuals with a secure source of maintenance (for example, orphans, students, pupils, whose living expenses were cared for by a fixed arrangement);
 - c) certificates for persons in religious occupations;
 - d) certificates for specialists upon request by local business persons in Palestine.

The issuance of certificates was increasingly reduced, especially in the second half of the 1930s, regardless of the fact that the situation of the Jews in Europe was progressively worsening. This trend continued until the point where with the outbreak of World War II, the British government brought legal **aliyah** to a virtual standstill. *Bibl:* “Yishuv” in EH, Vol. IV, 1686–1694 and “White Paper of 1939” in EH, Vol. IV, 1649 f.

Chanukka

Hebr.: dedication, the eight-day Jewish Festival of Lights, beginning in the Jewish calendar on the twenty-fifth of the month of Kislev (usually falling in December). It commemorates the new dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem under Judah the Maccabee after its desecration by the Hellenistic ruler Antiochus Epiphanes in the second century B.C.E. On the eight days of the festival, eight candles are lit in a special candelabrum or menorah. Like other Jewish festivals, Chanukka after the Nazi seizure of power took on a key role in Jewish society under National Socialist oppression.

Midrash

Chelmno

Final Solution

Chevra Kaddisha

Aramaic: Sacred Society. Also Chevra Kadisha, or khevra kadisha. A voluntary brotherhood in all Jewish **communities** for care for the sick, burial arrangements, and assisting families of the deceased. Like other charitable associations, its importance grew under the Nazi regime. And like almost all other Jewish organizations, it too was officially dissolved in 1939 and absorbed into the **Reich Association**. The members of the Chevra Kaddisha care for all the Jewish dead, even the more frequent cases of **suicide** from the beginning of the **mass deportations**.

Within the general Chevra Kaddisha, the women had the task of cleansing and purifying the body of the female departed (*T'harat haMet*). In some communities, there was also since the nineteenth century a separate women's chevra, which in addition to arranging for Bikkur Cholim also helped bear the expenses for the burial of the indigent. See ▶134▶, ▶481▶.

Bikkur Cholim; Women's Chevra

Chief of the Security Police and the SD (Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD) Heydrich; in the SD documents also under the code name “C.”

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

The struggle against the Jewish foundations of Christianity, especially the Old Testament and the Jewish origin of Jesus, formed an important part of the National Socialist ideology before the seizure of power, and also played a role in the relation of the regime to the churches (see ▶401▶; ▶591▶; CD ▶3283▶). In contrast with the established churches, the National Socialists defined their religious faith as a “positive Christianity,” calling themselves “gottgläubig,” a term introduced by a decree of the Reich Interior Ministry (26 November 1936) for registration purposes to designate persons who were “believers in God” but not associated with the major established Christian churches. The split in the Protestant Church in the Third Reich into the German Christians’ Faith Movement (Glaubensbewegung der deutschen Christen) who identified with National Socialism, and the Pastors’ Emergency League (founded by Martin Niemöller) or the “**Confessing Church**” in opposition was also manifest in their differing positions on the anti-Jewish policy of the regime. Inside the Catholic Church as well, views about the National Socialist regime and its policy on the Jews were divided. But that did not lead to a split, because the German Catholics continued to view the Vatican as their only and highest authority.

The introduction of the **Aryan Clause** in 1933 and the continuation of Nazi race policy (**Race legislation vs. religious affiliation**) were a theological and practical problem for the churches, because they violated the principle of Christian universality. But also particularly because they affected Jews who had converted to Christianity (**converts**), and many Jews living in **mixed marriages** and **Mischlinge**. At the same time, the churches were faced with the problem of the attitude they should adopt toward the various forms of persecution of the Jews—from the innumerable brutal **individual actions** in daily life to **Kristallnacht**, **marking** with the **Star of David**, **deportations**, and mass annihilation.

While both the church leaderships, with the exception of an indirect condemnation of race theory (*inter alia* in the Barmen Declaration in May 1934 and the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* [With Burning Concern] by Pius XI published on 14 March 1937, see Chronology), avoided making a clear and unambiguous public statement on the persecution of the Jews, the situation reports during the entire period of the Third Reich in various areas and regions of Germany contain critical statements by pastors and from circles of the Protestant and Roman Catholic population. In the main, the protests involved criticism of the National Socialist race laws and local anti-Jewish violent incidents, which at times were also directed against the clergy and churches themselves. Though rare, there are also clear protests against and condemnations of the deportation and the mass murder of the Jews (see 605; 692). *Bibl:* Kulka/Mendes-Flohr, *Judaism and Christianity*; Kulka, “Popular Christian Attitudes” (bibl. there, pp. 251 f. in fn. 1); Scholder, *Churches and the Third Reich*; Helmreich, *German Churches under Hitler*; Friedländer, *Pius XII and the Third Reich*; Gutteridge, *Open Thy Mouth*; Gerlach, *And the witnesses were silent*; Heschel, *Transforming Jesus*; Cornwell, *Hitler’s Pope*; Bergen, *Twisted Cross*; Dierker, *Himmlers Glaubenskrieger*; Greive, *Theologie und Ideologie*; Schewick, “Katholische Kirche”; Leichsenring, *Die katholische Kirche und “ihre Juden”*; Akten deutscher Bischöfe; “Christian Churches” in EH, Vol. I, 291–299.

Cohn, Benno (1894–1975)

Lawyer, politician, born in Posen. President of the National Council of the **Blau-Weiß** organization. From 1937 to 1939, president of the **Zionist Association of Germany**, and chair of the **Palestine Office** in Berlin. **Emigration** in 1939 to Palestine, where he worked assiduously on behalf of the European immigrants.

From 1961 to 1965, member of the Knesset, the Israeli Parliament (Liberal Party). He testified at the **Eichmann** trial.

Cohn, Use (1891–1943)

German-Jewish educator, from 1911 employed in the public schools. From 1934, expert consultant in the Education Department, **Reich Representation**. In 1943 deported to **Theresienstadt** and later to **Auschwitz**.

Cohn, Kurt (1899–1987)

Studied law in Berlin and Leipzig, doctorate earned in 1925. Active in Chemnitz as a senior district court judge (Landgerichtsrat), 1925–1933. Dismissed as judge in 1933 (see **Lawyers, Jewish**). Since 1918, member of the German Democratic Party. From 1928 to 1938, member of the main governing board of the CV. From 1934 to 1938, executive director of its Regional Association for Central Germany. Cohn spent several months in the Buchenwald **concentration camp** after the November 1938 **Kristallnacht** pogrom. He emigrated in August 1939 to Great Britain. He returned to Chemnitz after the war, and died in Berlin.

Combat veterans, Jewish (*Frontkämpfer, jüdische*)

According to the **Aryan legislation**, Jewish combat veterans were Jews who in World War I had taken part in a battle, a skirmish, a fight to hold a position, or a siege, in particular those veterans who had been decorated for their wounds. According to a figure of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** published shortly before the Nazi takeover of power and much cited thereafter, some 12,000 German Jews were killed in action in World War I. The Jewish combat veterans were initially exempted in part from discrimination under the National Socialist **race legislation**. However, that situation changed gradually after the death of President von Hindenburg in August 1934, even though Jewish combat veterans did retain some privileges later in various areas. For example, they were deported to **Theresienstadt** and housed there in the so-called “ghetto of the privileged.” But due to the ensuing **deportations** to the extermination camps or the harsh living conditions in the ghetto, this only meant a postponement of their deaths.

Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans

Comité des Délégations Juives

Established in 1919 in Paris by a merging of Zionist-oriented Jewish

organizations from various European countries, North America, and **Palestine**. During negotiations at Versailles, it represented the interests of the Jews as a national and religious minority (**Minority protection**). A key focus was the legal recognition of their status as a minority in the states in Eastern and Central Europe, which had come into being after World War I. The Comité sought to achieve regular representation status with the League of Nations in Geneva. After the National Socialists took power, it also espoused the cause of the preservation of the rights of the Jews in **Upper Silesia**. After the reincorporation of the **Saarland**, it endeavored to maintain legislation in force which up to March 1936 protected Jews there from discrimination. The Comité des Délégations Juives is considered a forerunner of the **World Jewish Congress**, founded in 1936, which arose as a reaction to the growing mood of anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish legislation in Europe in the 1930s.

Communism and Jews

The connection between Judaism and Marxism, Communism, and especially Bolshevism was a central component of National Socialist ideology and propaganda. In relation to Germany, the role of Jewish activists in the Marxist revolutionary insurgency after World War I was played up by Nazi propagandists. The Jews were also made responsible for the genesis of the Weimar Republic, and were denounced as “November criminals.” A part of this propaganda was the stab-in-the back legend, the so-called *Dolchstoßlegende*, which claimed that the treason of the Jews and Marxists had led to Germany’s defeat in World War I. On the other hand, in many situation reports, violent and illegal anti-Jewish excesses were portrayed as a Communist or Marxist provocation.

The public identification of the German Jews and “world Jewry” with Marxism appears already early on in the call by the NSDAP to a **boycott** of Jewish businesses on 1 April 1933. The propaganda against the Jews and Bolshevism reached its high point after the German attack on the Soviet Union and during the following war years, with the **mass deportations** and **Final Solution**.

In the situation reports, Communists and Jews were seen as “ideological adversaries” and a constant object for **surveillance**. In addition, there were numerous orders, especially in the early years after the National Socialists came to power, to arrest Jews who were Communists. Thus, the Department II 1 A (Communist and Marxist Movement) in the **Gestapo** issued a directive on 11 January 1935 that the Gestapo offices and offices of the Political Police in the

German states should report on Marxist activity by Jews, retroactive to 1 October 1934. These reports are an important source on the actual implementation of arrests in various localities.

For their part, the Communists condemned the Nazi anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews (a special underground issue of the journal *Rote Fahne*/as dedicated to the **Kristallnacht** pogrom), but at the same time continued their socialist tradition of identifying the Jews with capitalism. Despite the especially difficult and risky conditions for them in the Third Reich, Jews also continued in the Communist underground, and participated in the antifascist struggle in exile. Among their most important actions was the attack of the Baum Group (see **Baum, Herbert**) on the anti-Soviet exhibition “The Soviet Paradise” in May 1942. As a consequence of that action, not only were almost all members of this group executed, but 250 Jews were also killed in a mass shooting, especially among the staff members and associates of the **Reich Association**. Bibl.: Paucker, *Jüdischer Widerstand*; Kwiet and Eschwege, *Selbstbehauptung und Widerstand*; Bankier, “The German Communist Party; Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*; “Baum Gruppe” in EH, Vol. 1,152–154.

Community, Jewish / Israelitic

In various states of Germany called Synagogengemeinde, Israelitische Gemeinde, Israelitische/Jüdische Religionsgemeinde or Israelitische/Jüdische Kultusgemeinde (after 1939 “Kultusvereinigung”).

While the importance of the Jewish religious Communities increasingly receded into the background in the period of advancing social integration of the Jews, under National Socialism they became centers of Jewish life and Jewish mutual aid (see **Adult education, Emigration, Schools/School system, Jewish, Welfare**). The Communities were governed internally by elected boards (governing board [Vorstand], or in the larger cities the Assembly of Representatives [Repräsentantenversammlung]), in which the various religious and political organizations were represented. This pluralism was also preserved under Nazi rule, but the **Zionists** now gained votes and greater influence in comparison with the previous period. According to figures from 1935, there were 1,355 Communities in Germany, organized in thirteen **regional associations**. In addition, there were several dozen **Orthodox Communities**, associated in the **Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities of Germany**. The Jewish Communities in Germany retained their legal status as statutory bodies under public law, which obligated members among other things to pay an annual communal tax, up to 28 March 1938 (see Chronology). After

that they were changed into private associations, and subsequently were then termed “jüdische Kultusvereinigungen” (Jewish religious associations, see Chronology, 30 January 1939). The Reich Law of 4 July 1939 (see Chronology) transformed the Communities into branches of the **Reich Association** (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 120; and Introduction, 441 f. and fas. 5–7). The Reich Association thus formed a kind of centrally administered Collective Community or Gesamtgemeinde, of which every Jew in Germany was a direct member. Yet in a very restricted framework, the Communities retained a certain autonomy, especially in religious matters, until in subsequent years they disbanded due to **emigration** and **internal migration**, or after the **deportation** of their members, were forcibly dissolved. After 1939, the National Socialist authorities made increasing use of the **Communities** for announcing anti-Jewish legislation, and at times even to transmit orders for deportation (*Evakuierungsbefehle*). *Bibl.*: Ottenheimer, “The Disappearance of Jewish Communities”; Kober, “Jewish Communities”; “Jewish Community, Germany” in UJE, Vol. VI, 105–108; “Gemeinde” in JL, Vol. II, 967–982; “Gemeindesteuern,” in ibid, 1003–1007; “Gemeindesteuern” in PhL, col. 227; “Gemeindeverbände,” in ibid., col. 228.

Regional associations of the Jewish Communities; Secession Community

Community Orthodoxy {*Gemeindeorthodoxie*}

Community Orthodoxy, a current within German **Orthodoxy**, which in contrast with **Secession Orthodoxy** preferred to remain in the **Einheitsgemeinden**, and in this framework also worked within the **Reich Representation**.

Achduth

Concentration and extermination camps

The concentration camps were a central instrument of terror used by the Nazi regime, from shortly after the Nazi takeover in Germany and later in the territories occupied by Germany. The percentage of Jews in the camps was relatively large, initially on the basis of their participation in the left and liberal parties, which were persecuted politically, but also due to their active political opposition to the regime within the Jewish organizations even before the Nazi seizure of power. In addition, Jews during these years were considered to be generally suspect. Mass arrests of Jews occurred in waves, thus for example in the framework of **race defilement** hysteria before and after the **Nuremberg Laws**, or during special “actions,’ such as in June 1938 (see Chronology, 13–18

June 1938), or in the course of the **Kristallnacht** pogrom. In the hierarchy of camp life, the Jews were on the bottom rung and thus had the worst prospects for survival.

The leading staff members in the Jewish organizations were often subjected to arrest. They lived under a constant threat of being sent to a concentration camp, where several of them also lost their lives (see Otto **Hirsch**, Julius **Seligsohn**). After the great waves of arrest in 1938, and likewise after the beginning of the war, the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany** and later the **Reich Association** made great efforts to save the lives of incarcerated Jews by providing them with emigration papers. This possibility for rescue by **emigration** existed up until the general prohibition on emigration issued in October 1941. Subsequent to a decree by **Himmler** (see Chronology, 5 October 1942), all Jewish inmates from other concentration camps in the territory of the Reich were sent to Auschwitz. In the course of the **mass deportations** and the **Final Solution**, some concentration camps such as Auschwitz and Majdanek also became extermination camps. The largest extermination camp to which Jews from all parts of Europe were deported was Auschwitz-Birkenau. *Bibl.:* Gutman, *The Nazi Concentration Camps*; Gutman and Berenbaum, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp*; Herbert, “Von der Gegnerbekämpfung zur ‘rassischen Generalprävention’”; Herbert, Orth, and Dieckmann, *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*; Kulka, “Ghetto in an Annihilation Camp”; Orth, *System der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*; Rückerl, *NSVernichtungslager*; Sofsky, *The Order of Terror*.

Confessing Church/Confessional Front (Bekennende Kirche/Bekenntnisfront)

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

**Congresses, Zionist
Zionist congresses
Conservativism**

Main current within German **Orthodoxy**, which above all in its more moderate views, particularly on questions of religious law (**Halacha**) and communal policy, differed from the more strict and radical **Secession Orthodoxy**. It should not be confused with “Conservative Judaism” in the English-speaking countries, sometimes known as Masorti Judaism in England and in Israel, which stands outside of Orthodoxy. The organizational framework of **Community Orthodoxy**

in Germany was the Jewish-Conservative Association (Jüdisch-Konservative Vereinigung), in its program close to **Achduth**. After 1933, it was a member in the **Reich Representation** and its chairperson Abraham **Horovitz** represented it on the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. *Bibl:* Meyer, *Response to Modernity*; Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity*; Wiener, *Jüdische Religion*; “Konservativismus” in JL III, 847–849.

Converts and proselytes under the Nazi Regime

The concept “proselyte” generally refers to non-Jews accepted into Judaism. However, the National Socialist reports, “proselytes” are used as a term parallel to the concept of “converts,” which designates Jews who have converted to Christianity. It is evident from various reports that individual pastors and priests during the entire period of National Socialism continued to accept Jewish converts into the Christian fold. However, the continuation of the baptizing of Jews after 1933 was controversial in both great church denominations, and conversion did not protect the converted from discrimination and **deportation**. The measures of persecution of the National Socialist regime applied in the same way to the Jews converted before or after 30 January 1933. In order to assist the converts, the **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians** and the **Grüber Office** were set up. On the contradictory attitude of the churches toward persecuted non-Aryan Christians and the regime policy of persecution toward them, see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**. *Bibl:* Honigmann, “Jewish Conversions”; Honigmann, *Austritte aus der Jüdischen Gemeinde*; Büttner, “Persecution of Christian-Jewish Families”; Düringer and Schmidt, *Kirche und ihr Umgang*; Röhm and Thierfelder, “Zwischen den Stühlen”; Rudolph and Ludwig, “*Gilt die Taufe der Juden nicht*,” Leichsenring, *Die katholische Kirche und “ihre Juden.”*

Mixed marriages

Council for German Jewry

The Jewish organization founded in 1936 in Great Britain for the support of organized Jewish **emigration** from Germany. It was the successor organization of the Central British Fund for German Jewry, founded in 1933, which was completely absorbed by the council. The council sought to cooperate with American Jewish relief organizations. As a result of the growing numbers of potential emigrants after the **Anschluß** of Austria and **Kristallnacht**, it became impossible to implement an orderly emigration and **vocational retraining**. The

council was only able to help finance people to flee. From the war's beginning, it assisted approximately 100,000 German Jews to emigrate. After the war began, it was forced to concentrate on work with refugees in Great Britain, and changed its name to Central Council for Jewish Refugees. *Bibl.*: "Council for German Jewry" in EH, Vol. 1,319 f.

Council of the Reich Representation of the German Jews (Rat der Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden)

A broad council with parliamentary power in the **Reich Representation**. It was established in August 1936 to replace the **Advisory Council** (Beirat) constituted on 17 September 1933, and was active until November 1938. In contrast with the Advisory Council, which was a loose aggregation of representatives from the various organizations of German Jewry, the Council had twenty-three members: fifteen representatives of the **Regional associations** and **Communities**, one representative from the three large political organizations (**CV, Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, and **Zionist Association of Germany**), as well as five independent Jewish personalities who were jointly elected by the council and the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee**. The council was authorized to decide on questions pertaining to the constitution, to set the budget plan, to oversee finances and to state its views on basic questions pertaining to or affecting the Reich Representation. Council sessions were held at least every three months alternately in one of the large **Communities** in the various regional associations. For the foundation document and statutes, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 94.

CV

Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith

CV-Zeitung

Weekly organ of the **Central Association** (called until 1922 *Im deutschen Reich*); place of publication was Berlin; its circulation in January 1931 was 60,000 copies. From October 1935 until its last edition, it averaged some 40,000 copies per print run. The paper was liquidated in November 1938 after **Kristallnacht**.

Press, Jewish

Danzig

On the special status of the Jews in Danzig, see **minority protection**.

Day of Atonement, Festival of Atonement

Yom Kippur

De Haas, Philipp (1884–1935)

Studied from 1902 to 1910 at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau. From 1910, **Conservative** second **Rabbi** in Posen, from 1912 in Katowice, and from 1920 State Rabbi of Oldenburg.

Department stores

The relatively large number of successful department stores founded by Jews in Germany (including Tietz, Wertheim, Schocken) was an object of anti-Semitic agitation before the Nazi takeover. After 1933, the propaganda and activities against them were intensified. Thus, they became the target of the **boycott** movement and **Aryanization**. Owners of small retail shops and “revolutionary” National Socialist circles nonetheless criticized the continuation of the activity of these department stores even after they were placed under “Aryan” control. *Bibl:* Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, 35 ff; Uhlig, *Warenhäuser im Dritten Reich*; Genschel, *Verdrängung der Juden*, 44 ff.

Deportation of Jews

The first phase in the “dejudification” (“Entjudung”) of Germany declared by the regime was marked by a mass **emigration** of Jews under the growing pressures of National Socialist policy on the Jews, extending from the seizure of power on 30 January 1933 until the official ban on emigration in late October 1941. The first **mass deportation** took place in October 1938, when 15–17,000 Jews of Polish nationality were expelled across the German-Polish frontier (see Chronology, 27–29 October 1938). Between the beginning of the war and the onset of systematic mass deportations from 15 October 1941 (see Chronology), there were three great deportation waves in which some 18,000 Jews were removed: in February 1940, 2,500 Jews from Stettin and Schneidemühl were deported to the area around Lublin; in October 1940, 7,500 Jews from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate were sent to the French internment camp Gurs (**Aktion Bürckel**); and in October 1941, some 8,000 Jews were deported from various parts of the Reich “to the East” (in the main sent to the Lodz **ghetto**). From October 1941 on, a total of some 120,500 Jews were deported to ghettos and

extermination camps (Final Solution). From mid-1943, after the end of the mass deportations, there were sporadic deportations involving smaller groups and individuals, and these continued almost to the end of the war. Since their inception in 1940, a constant accompanying phenomenon along with the deportations were the **suicides** of several thousand Jews (see ▶533▶, ▶534▶; esp. Chapters 11 and 12). From the start of the war, a total of 137,000 Jews were deported directly from Germany. To that figure must be added an estimated further 65,000 deportees who had emigrated to various countries in Europe and were seized and later deported from there. These figures were calculated based on the data of the **Reich Association** of November 1941, which defines the Jews in terms of the **Aryan legislation** (SKH 3997–3999). *Bibl:* Gottwaldt and Schulle, “*Judendeportationen*” aus dem Deutschen Reich; Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*; Milton, “The Expulsion of Polish Jews”; Adler, *Der verwaltete Mensch*; Longerich, *Politik der Vernichtung*; Meyer, “Das unausweichliche Dilemma”; Meyer and Simon, *Juden in Berlin*; Wiehn, *Oktoberdeportation 1940*; Teschner, *Deportation der badischen und saarpfälzischen Juden*; Schultheis, *Juden in Mainfranken*.

Evacuation of the Jews

Desecration of religious symbols of the Jews

While the racialist National Socialist regime did not target Jewish religious life in its anti-Semitic persecution (**Race legislation vs. religious affiliation**), a major segment of the **individual actions** were directed against the visible religious symbols of the Jews, such as **synagogues** and cemeteries (see **Cemetery desecrations**). Likewise, a portion of anti-Semitic agitation picked up on traditional Christian conceptions of the religious practice of the Jews (**Ritual murder** accusations). Paradoxically, the basically secular, politically motivated racial persecution of the Jews by National Socialism would probably have been impossible without this component of traditional Christian hatred of the Jews, but the “**Final Solution of the Jewish Question**” would have been scarcely conceivable under Christian rule.

Dienemann, Max (1875–1939)

Teacher and **Rabbi**, born in Krotoshin, Posen. Study at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau. From 1909 to 1919, **Liberal Rabbi** in Ratibor, 1919–1938 in Offenbach. In 1929, member of the commission set up for the expansion of the work of the **Jewish Agency**. In 1933, arrested for a time by the **Gestapo**, and

interned in the Buchenwald **concentration camp** in 1938. After his liberation, he emigrated to Great Britain and in 1939 to **Palestine**.

Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship

The National Socialist discrimination against Jews was not restricted to Jews with German citizenship. This led constantly to protests by those diplomatic representations whose nationals were discriminated against in Germany as Jews, whether by an arbitrary restriction on their economic activity (**boycott**), maltreatment and humiliation, or the application of anti-Jewish laws and ordinances. These protests reached their high point in 1938, when in the pogrom of **Kristallnacht** many foreign Jews were also subjected to maltreatment, violence, and indignities, seized and interned in **concentration camps**, and their possessions and property partially destroyed or confiscated. The reaction of the Nazi regime was not uniform, and depended on the respective political situation. However, the reaction of the National Socialist authorities was clear and unambiguous in the case of those foreign Jews who had important functions in Jewish organizations, and who had more freedom of movement as a result of their foreign passports. In 1937, the **SD** and **Gestapo** began a systematic registering of the names and whereabouts of these functionaries, and forbade them to have any further activity in the Reich. *Bibl.*: Browning, "Referat Deutschland"; Ben-Elissar, *La Diplomatie du IIP Reich*; Maurer, "Ausländische Juden in Deutschland."

Dubnow, Simon (1860–1941)

Jewish historian and ideologist, born in Belarus. Self-educated, he settled after extensive travels in St. Petersburg, where he taught Jewish history. The **Jewish People's Party** established there was inspired by his concept of Jewish Autonomism. In 1922, he went into exile in Berlin. There the **Jüdischer Verlag** issued his monumental world history of the Jewish people, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* in 10 volumes (1925–1929) in German, and a shorter version (1937–38). After the Nazis seized power in 1933, Dubnow fled to Riga in Latvia. German troops occupied Riga in July 1941, and he was murdered in the ghetto there in December 1941. He believed that the future survival of the Jews as a nation depended on their spiritual and cultural strength, and self-rule in the Diaspora as a transnational, transterritorial minority. *Bibl.*: Pinson, *Nationalism and History*; Hillbrenner, *Diaspora-Nationalismus*.

East European Jews (*Ostjuden*)

Term for the Yiddish-speaking Jews from East European countries (Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Romania, etc.). From the mid-nineteenth century on, a powerful migration movement arose flowing from Eastern Europe primarily to North and South America, Western Europe, and **Palestine**. In the countries of immigration, especially in Western Europe, the indigenous Jews often distanced themselves from the new arrivals from the East. Separate institutions arose, separate prayer halls, **synagogues**, and associations were principally established by East European Jews. The social and cultural tensions between the two groups led in some cases to massive discrimination against the East European Jews. For example, in the struggle to democratize the franchise in the Jewish **Communities**, it was often necessary to fight for the right to vote to first be established for the East European Jews. In the twentieth century, the Jews from Eastern Europe developed a diverse array of political and cultural activities in Germany which then impacted especially after World War I likewise on the assimilated Jews in Germany, as reflected in the life and thought of Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) and the **Lehrhaus** movement he helped found. In the sphere of politics, the influence of the Ostjuden in Germany was especially important within the **Zionist** movement and in **Orthodoxy**. The negative stereotype of the East European Jew was also a significant component in the ideology of modern anti-Semitism. In National Socialist propaganda (***Stürmer***), the stereotype was further radicalized after the outbreak of the war and the occupation of Poland (see **Films, anti-Semitic**). After the expulsion of 500 Soviet Jews (see Chronology, 5 January 1938), the Jews with Polish citizenship formed the first large group to suffer a brutal mass expulsion well before the beginning of the **mass deportations** (see Chronology, 27–29 October 1938, early June 1939, and 7 September 1939). The term Ostjuden in German, as it arose in the nineteenth century and was abusively applied by the National Socialists, generally had a more negative connotation than the neutral designator “East European Jews” in English. *Bibl:* Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers*; Haumann, *History of East European Jews*; Adler-Rudel, *Ostjuden in Deutschland*; Maurer, *Ostjuden in Deutschland*; Weiss, *Deutsche und polnische Juden*; Weiss, “Ostjuden’ in Deutschland als Freiwild.”

Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany

Economic Aid, Jewish

Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction;
Central Welfare Office of the German Jews

Education, Jewish

Adult education, Jewish; Schools/school system, Jewish

Ehape

Abbreviation of Einheitspreis Handelsgesellschaft mbh, originally a fixed-price outlet established in 1926 in Cologne by the Jewish department store entrepreneur Alfred Tietz. Ehape was a term used for a so-called “one-price store,” generally **department stores** that sold common commodities at unified “discounted” low prices. Already in the Weimar Republic, such “one-price stores,” often owned by Jews, had been a target for anti-Jewish agitation and attacks. The National Socialists organized a boycott against them as early as 1927. On 23 December 1932, a ban was issued on opening “Ehape” stores throughout the German Reich. After the National Socialist ascension to power, this ban was declared to be indefinite. *Bibl.*: “One-price Store,” in ETR, Vol. II, 672.

Ehrmann, Salomon (1885–1965)

Dentist and **Rabbi**, born in Trier. In 1912, co-founder of **Agudas Jisroel**. In 1921, founder of the Palestine Central Office of Agudas Jisroel in Frankfurt am Main. From 1929 to 1937, editor of *Nachalath Zwi*, “a monthly for Judaism, Teaching and Action.” Member of the board of the **Free Association for the Interests of Orthodox Jewry** in Frankfurt am Main and member of the Kant Society. In 1938, representative of the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy in Germany** in the Supervisory Board Executive Committee and the **Council of the Reich Representation**. Later that same year **emigration** to France, Rabbi in Paris and in French internment camps. In 1943, escape to Switzerland.

Eichmann, Adolf (1906–1962)

Born in Solingen, raised in Austria. In 1932, joins the Austrian NSDAP, later coming in 1933 to Germany and joining the **SS**. In 1934, active in the SD Main Office (as Scharführer), where in the Jewish Affairs Department (II 112) he was active in **surveillance** of the activities of Jewish organizations and involved among other things in practical draft plans for policy on the Jews. He was active in the regular reporting of the Jewish Affairs Department, himself wrote numerous situation reports, and his special focus of expertise was **Zionism**. After the **Anschluß** of Austria, he took over direction on 28 August 1938 of the

Central Office for Jewish Emigration established by Adolf **Bürckel**, and was responsible for the mass forced **emigration** of the Austrian Jews. The system of forced emigration which he developed was later introduced into Germany in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, and also in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. From 1939, he headed the **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration** in Berlin. Beginning in December 1939, he was responsible in the **RSHA** for “emigration and clearance operations” and later in Department IV B4 for “Jewish affairs and clearance operations.” He played a major role there in the **deportation** of more than three million Jews from the area of German control to the **concentration and extermination camps**. As the main figure responsible for the implementation of the **Final Solution**, he was kidnapped from Argentina in 1960, where he had been living in hiding, and tried before a court in Israel, which in 1961 sentenced him to death; he was executed in 1962. *Bibl:* The Trial of Adolf Eichmann; Wojak, *Eichmanns Memoiren*; Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. **Emigration; Final Solution**

Einheitsgemeinde (United Religious Community) **Achduth; Secession Community**

Einsatzgruppen

In the attack on the Soviet Union, the German Wehrmacht was followed by four **Einsatzgruppen** (Special Task Forces) of the **Security Police** and Security Service of the SS (SD), whose most important task was the killing of Communist functionaries and mass executions of Jews, Gypsies, and other “undesirable elements.” The Wehrmacht and numerous units of the police also took part in the mass shootings of the Jews. *Bibl:* Streim, “Tasks of the Einsatzgruppen”; Krausnick and Wilhelm, *Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges*; “Einsatzgruppen” in EH, Vol. II, 433–439.

Elbogen, Ismar (1874–1943)

Important researcher on Jewish studies, born in Schildberg, Posen. He studied at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau and the University of Breslau. From 1919, Professor at the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin. As chair of the education committee of the **Reich Representation** 1933–1938, he had a decisive impact on Jewish **schools** in the National Socialist period. In 1935, he published *Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, a one-volume survey of the history of German Jewry. In 1938, he **emigrated** to the United States, where he was a professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary,

Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion, and Dropsie College. In 1944 his *A Century of Jewish Life*, in which he covered Jewish history since 1848, was published. *Bibl:* Meyer, *Without Wissenschaft There Is No Judaism*.

Elk, Max (1898–1984)

Rabbi and educator. Study at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau and the University of Gießen. In 1925, **Liberal Rabbi** in Munich. From 1926 to 1935, Rabbi in Stettin. In 1934, he founded the Jewish elementary school in Stettin. In 1935, **emigration to Palestine**, founder and director of the Leo Baeck School in Haifa and the German-Jewish Reform Community Beth El there.

Emancipation of the Jews

Civil equality for the Jews. With the French Revolution, in 1791, for the first time, full civil equality for the Jews was proclaimed. In Prussia, the Emancipation Edict of 11 March 1812, which recognized the Jews as citizens, was later restricted once again in legal and practical terms. Complete civil equality in Germany was not implemented until 1869 in the North German Federation and in 1871 in the Kaiserreich. Beginning in 1933, civil equality was once again increasingly curtailed by means of **Aryan legislation**. Revocation of Emancipation was the express aim of the anti-Semitic parties from 1871 on and the first consistently implemented aim of National Socialism. The **Nuremberg Laws** finally stripped the Jews of their status as “Reich citizens,” and the thirteen implementation ordinances to the Reich Citizenship law deprived them step-by-step of all their rights (see Chronology, 1 July 1943), until the remaining Jews in Germany after the **mass deportations** were ultimately placed directly under police law.

During the early years of the National Socialist regime, the **Central Association** in particular sought to achieve a so-called “group Emancipation” (*Gruppenemanzipation*) or intellectual Emancipation (*geistige Emanzipation*). During these initial years under National Socialist rule, these concepts were used, especially in the Jewish **press**, to describe efforts to build and secure a form of Emancipation drastically curtailed by **Aryan legislation**. Its goal was a certain degree of autonomy in the cultural and organizational sphere, and economic activity as unrestricted as possible; it also focused on constructing a system of Jewish **schools**, cultural life (**Kulturbund**), and **adult education** in keeping with the exigencies of the new situation.

Emigration

Until the beginning of the **mass deportations** and the **Final Solution**, alongside social, cultural, and economic exclusion of the Jews, their emigration or expulsion from Germany was the primary goal of National Socialist policy on the Jews.

According to statistics of the **Reich Association** of November 1941 (see SKH Nos. 3997–3999) some 363,000 Jews emigrated from Germany between the seizure of power and the official ban on emigration at the end of October 1941 (see Chronology, 1 and 23 October 1941). Of these, 153,767 emigrated to countries in Europe (their numbers also include the 17,000 deportees to France and the ghettos in Poland between the beginning of the war and the start of systematic **deportations** in the autumn of 1941). Jews who emigrated to European countries which were later conquered by the Third Reich largely became victims of the “**Final Solution**.¹” In all 57,189 Jews emigrated to North America, 53,472 to South America, 53,430 to **Palestine**, 16,374 to other Asian countries, 14,760 to Africa, 9,728 to Central America, and 4,015 to Australia. The same source of the Reich Association gives the following statistics for the total number of emigrants: 1933: 63,400, 1934: 45,000, 1935: 35,500, 1936: 34,000, 1937: 23,500, 1938: 49,000, 1939: 68,000, 1940: 20,996, 1941 (to 1 October): 5,787 Jews.

The first great wave of emigration occurred in 1933 after the seizure of power by the National Socialists. In the second half of the 1930s, the immigration restrictions were aggravated initially in the most important land of immigration, **Palestine** (see **certificates**), and then in almost all the countries in Europe and in the United States. In the wake of **Kristallnacht** and the drastic worsening of the situation of the Jews, several Western countries eased the immigration restrictions, opening their gates especially to children and youth from Germany (so-called “children’s transports” to Great Britain and Holland). They also facilitated the second wave of emigration in 1938–39. In a number of cases, it proved possible for older family members to emigrate to the country and be reunited with their loved ones who had preceded them abroad. Yet many were condemned to remain in Germany. For the wealthier, there were more options for emigration as individuals, such as in the framework of the **Ha’avara**, than for those less well off, who were dependent on the support of the Jewish **emigration organizations**. The overwhelming majority of those emigrating were between twenty and forty-five years of age. Emigration of the youth to Palestine was in the framework of the **Youth aliyah**. Jewish emigration to countries other than Palestine was assisted by the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. The

Palestine Office assisted in connection with **aliyah**, and for remigration, the competent organization offering aid was the **Main Office for Jewish Emigration Welfare** in the **Reich Representation**. *Bibl.*: Strauss, “Jewish Emigration from Germany”; Adler-Rudel, “Auswanderungsproblem”; Freeden, “Bleiben oder gehen”; Margalioth, “Emigration—Planung und Wirklichkeit”; Zariz, *Escape before the Holocaust*; Zariz, “Officially Approved Emigration”; Wetzel, “Auswanderung aus Deutschland”; Aronson. *Hitler, the Allies and the Jews*; on the emigration policy of the National Socialist regime: Burrin, *Hitler and the Jews*; Heim, “Deutschland muß ihnen ein Land ohne Zukunft sein”; Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*; for the statistics of the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** see Kulka, “*Jewish Question*” in the *Third Reich*, Vol. II, Docs. 56–59; see also “Exil und Emigration aus Deutschland nach 1933”, Ehd, Vol. I, 427–431 and “Refugees” in EH, Vol. III, 1234–1240.

Emigration organizations

Central Office for Jewish Emigration; Main Office for Jewish Emigration Welfare in the **Reich Representation**; **Palestine Office**; **Relief Organization of German Jews**

Employment exchanges, Jewish (*Arbeitsnachweis, jüdischer*)

The organized Jewish employment exchange or employment office came into being in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century. It developed based on the concept that to provide work for destitute and needy individuals was the best and most effective aid. Thus, in 1895, the **B’nai B’rith** established in Berlin the first Association for Employment Exchanges, which was supported by the Jewish **Community**. The original goal was the vocational integration of **East European Jewish** emigrants and Jewish workers with physical handicaps, and the provision of jobs where the “Sabbath was not a working day.” Over the course of time, the associations worked together with Jewish women’s and youth organizations. This led in 1925 to the establishment of the supraregional United Central Office for Jewish Employment Exchanges (Vereinigte Zentrale für jüdische Arbeitsnachweise), which also turned to the problems of **vocational restructuring** and the supplying of apprenticeship posts.

As a consequence of the progressive vocational-professional exclusion of the Jews since the Nazi takeover of power, the Jewish employment offices extended their work, previously concentrated on the socially underprivileged groups, to the entirety of the Jewish community. On 1 July 1934, the United Central Office

for Jewish Employment Exchanges, headed by Paul **Eppstein**, was integrated into the **Reich Representation**. One of the most significant initiatives of the employment exchanges in the new situation was the attempt to create a “common Jewish labor market” by registering all industrial, crafts, and commercial enterprises in Jewish ownership. In the framework of the general centralization of labor exchanges, the independent Jewish employment agencies were abolished on 1 July 1937. After that, their tasks were taken over by other departments in the Reich Representation in connection with preparation for **emigration**, despite the step-up in **Aryanization** that same year. *Bibl:* Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*; Eppstein, “Vierzig Jahre jüdische Arbeitsvermittlung”; Prochownik, “Jüdische Arbeitsvermittlung in Berlin”; Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 129–133; “Arbeitsnachweise” in JL, Vol. I, col. 442–445.

Ephraim, Menachem (1898–1942)

Rabbi, 1928–1932 **Orthodox** District Rabbi in Burgpreppach; 1932–1938, in Bad Kissingen. In 1933, temporarily taken into custody. A few days before **Kristallnacht**, he was warned about his possible arrest and was able to flee from Germany.

Eppstein, Paul (1902–1944)

One of the central key personalities in the leadership of German Jewry under the National Socialist regime. Sociologist, from 1926 lecturer at the Mannheim Commercial University; there he founded and directed the Adult Education Center (Volkshochschule). After the National Socialists seized power and the Volkshochschule was shut down, he relocated in 1933 to Berlin, where he was initially appointed within the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** to work in the Center for Jewish **Employment Exchanges**. At the same time, he was active in the Regional Association of Jewish Communities in Prussia, the largest of the **regional associations**. From June 1933, on staff in the **Reich Representation**, where he was active especially in the areas of **economic relief**, occupational training, and **vocational restructuring**, as well as **emigration**. He was a member of the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee**. As a leading member on the governing board of the **Reich Association**, he had responsibility from 1939 particularly for administration and finances, and up to the summer of 1940 for emigration. Together with Otto **Hirsch**, he represented the Reich Association vis-à-vis the

“supervision authority” (the Aufsichtsbehörde, namely the **RSHA**) and was their own representative from the time after Hirsch’s last arrest in February 1941 up until the period of the **mass deportations**. Eppstein was also arrested several times by the **Gestapo**, and shortly before the liquidation of the Reich Association in June 1943, was **deported** on 27 January 1943 together with Leo **Baeck** to **Theresienstadt**. He was appointed there by the **SS** as one of the heads of the Council of Elders (Ältestenrat) of the ghetto. His activity up to his arrest and murder in October 1944 remain a matter of controversy in the memoirs of contemporaries and in a segment of historical research. *Bibl:* Eppstein, “Geschichtliche Tragik”; Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–45*.

Erez Israel

Hebr.: the Land of Israel. Also Erez Jisroel, Eretz Israel, Eretz Yisrael, auch Ha’aretz.

Palestine

Eschelbacher, Max (1880–1964)

Rabbi, 1906–1911 Rabbi in Bruchsal. From 1911, in Freiburg, and from 1913 to 1938 the successor to Leo **Baeck** in Düsseldorf. Before 1933, expert and *amicus curiae* in the **Talmud** trials against Julius **Streicher** in Nuremberg; member of the **Jewish Agency**; 1938, **emigration** to Great Britain. A description of **Kristallnacht** in Düsseldorf by Eschelbacher *Der zehnte November* was published posthumously.

Esra

Also Ezra. Youth movement of the Orthodox **Agudas Jisroel**. Founded in 1918 and named after the Biblical Ezra, a key figure in the religious and spiritual renewal after the return from Babylonian Exile. Stated aim of the organization (FJGV 1932/33): “Esra seeks to educate its members to be conscious Jews, equally distant from a mechanical fulfillment of the form of the Law and a nonbinding recognition of the values of tradition, who live with passion the Judaism of the **Torah**.” The youth association was dissolved in 1938. *Bibl:* Adler, *Esra*.

Esras Noschim

Hebr.: Women’s help. Also *Ezrat Nashim*. Women’s group of the **Agudas Jisroel**.

Euthanasia

Mass killing of the ill and handicapped (“life unworthy of living,” so-called *lebensunwertes Leben*) in the Third Reich. However, the Jews murdered within the framework of the Euthanasia Program are not given any special mention there. The Archive of the **Reich Association** contains documentation on the killing of Jewish mental patients from the Jewish sanatorium Bendorf-Sayn near Koblenz, where all Jewish mental patients were brought in 1940 according to a decree of the Reich Interior Ministry of 12 December 1940. Officially, the Euthanasia Program (also known as “Aktion T4”), based on Hitler’s decree of October 1939 (retroactively dated to 1 September 1939) was terminated in August 1941 after vehement protest by the Church leadership (see **Galen**) and growing alarm in the population. It remains an open question in the research whether similar protests against the mass murder of Jews, Roma, and Sinti would have had the same success. But “random” euthanasia continued to be practiced up until 1945. Based on the estimates of the Nuremberg Tribunal, the number of euthanasia victims in Germany and the occupied territories was some 275,000.

It is noteworthy in regard to National Socialist reporting on this topic that there are a number of concrete reports at local and regional level, but that SD reports at the national level never directly mention euthanasia. Euthanasia was touched on indirectly in the SD report of 15 January 1942 on the reactions in the population to the movie *Ich klage an*, which dealt with the problem of suicide assisted by **physicians**. Bibl.: Steinert, *Hitler’s War and the Germans*, 82 f.; Müller-Hill, *Murderous Science*; Burleigh, *Death and Deliverance*; Friedländer, “Jüdische Anstaltspatienten in NS-Deutschland”; Klee, “Euthanasie” im NS-Staat; “Euthanasia Program” in EH, Vol. II, 451–454.

Evacuation of the Jews

Term used in National Socialist reports from October 1941 and already earlier, in February and October 1940 as a euphemism for **deportation** of the Jews (see Chronology, 14 October 1941; 12–13 February 1940 and 22–23 October 1940). The deportation orders, which Jews received, were often officially termed “evacuation order” (Evakuierungsbefehl).

Evian Conference

The conference took place on 3 July 1938 at the initiative of President Franklin

Roosevelt in the French resort of Evian-les-Bains on Lake Geneva, and dealt with solutions for the problems of refugees and emigrants caused primarily by the National Socialist persecution of the Jews. Thirty-two countries took part, but from the beginning it was agreed that the existing immigration laws of the various countries would not be part of the agenda of deliberation and discussion. All delegates declared that their governments could not accept any refugees. Various Jewish organizations also put forward suggestions. Thus, the **Jewish Agency** called for opening the gates of **Palestine** to the Jewish refugees. The **Reich Representation** presented its own memorandum in which it encouraged uniting of families in the case of emigrants who had settled elsewhere, and an expansion of transfer options within the program of **Ha'avarah**. The Evian Conference resolved to set up an office for the further treatment of refugee problems. This was the first time that the United States together with the European countries had joined hands and minds in seeking a solution to the refugee question, though without any appreciable success. *Bibl.*: Adler-Rudel, "Evian Conference"; Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 115.

Extermination camps

Concentration and extermination camps

Faulhaber, Michael von (1869–1952)

Catholic theologian and Cardinal. Professor of Old Testament Studies, from 1917 Archbishop of Munich-Freising, from 1921 Cardinal. With his conservative views, he was an erratic and fluctuating set of positions vis-à-vis the National Socialist government: in 1933, he supported the conclusion of the Concordat, but in his Advent sermons that year criticized the "neo-paganism" of the National Socialists. He defended the Old Testament and the Jewish origins of Christianity. These sermons caused a considerable stir both within Germany and abroad, and were published the following spring in Munich in book form as *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum*. Although Faulhaber was emphatic in declaring that his criticism had nothing to do with contemporary persecution of the Jews in Germany, his sermons were perceived by the German Jews as moral encouragement, and were widely quoted. In early 1935, the **Gestapo** arrested a group of Jews who had distributed an allegedly forged speech by Faulhaber (see ▶93▶). Faulhaber himself sought until 1945 to maintain a *modus vivendi* with the regime, but participated in some protests, such the preparation of the papal encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* (*With Burning Concern*) in March 1937, where

there was a sharp condemnation of the racial policies of the Nazi government, and later took part in protests against **euthanasia**, but never against the **deportation** and annihilation of the Jews. At the end of 1938, following the events of **Kristallnacht**, Faulhaber appealed to the South American countries to accept Roman Catholic refugees of Jewish descent (**Raphael Association**). Brazil reacted positively and declared it was prepared to accept some 3,000 such refugees, while Argentina closed its borders to the refugees. *Bibl:* Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*; Repgen, “German Catholicism and the Jews”; Scholder, “Judaism and Christianity”; Ben-Dror, *Catholic Church and the Jews*; Volk, “Kardinal Faulhabers Stellung.”

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

Federation of the Jewish Youth Associations of Germany (Verband der jüdischen Jugendvereine Deutschlands)

The federation was founded in 1909 and did not belong to any of the existing political currents, although membership in the federation did not proscribe a political orientation. With 12,000 members, it was among the largest Jewish youth organizations in Germany before the Nazis took power. Its self-declared aim (FJGV 1932/33, 537) stated: “The Federation of the Jewish Youth Associations of Germany educates the youth united within it on the basis of a comprehensive neutrality to a conscious sense of Jewishness in the framework of an all-embracing Jewish thought and desire, and in the spirit of a high-minded civic ethos.” Its president from 1922 was Julius **Herzfeld**. Like most Jewish **youth organizations**, it continued its work during the Third Reich, and was dissolved after **Kristallnacht**.

Festival of Tabernacles

Sukkot

Festival of Weeks

Shavuot

Feuchtwanger, Ludwig (1885–1947)

Jewish **lawyer**, until 1933 executive director of the publishing house Duncker und Humblot; 1930–1938, editor of the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (see **Press, Jewish**). In 1935, excluded from the Reich Literature Chamber. From 1936 to 1939, director of the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in

Munich. After **Kristallnacht** confined temporarily in the Dachau **concentration camp**. He emigrated in 1939 to Great Britain, later returning to Germany as an American officer. Younger brother of the famous novelist and playwright Lion Feuchtwanger. *Bibl:* Gruenewald, “Critic of German Jewry”; Rieß, *Ludwig Feuchtwanger*; Specht, *Die Feuchtwangers*.

Feuchtwanger, Sigbert (1886–1956)

Since 1914 **lawyer** in Munich; co-worker in the team of the *Jüdisches Lexikon*. **Zionist**; for several years Vice-President of the Jewish **Community** Munich. **Emigration to Palestine**. Cousin of Lion Feuchtwanger, he wrote a book *Die Judenfrage* in 1916.

Films, anti-Semitic in the Third Reich

The most important anti-Semitic films, *Die Rothschilds*, *Jud Süß*, and *Der ewige Jude*, were made at **Goebbels's** initiative after **Kristallnacht** in 1939–40. They appeared in the German motion picture houses in the period of the first improvised **deportations** in 1940 and prior to the onset of the first wave of systematic deportations and the **Final Solution** in 1941–42. From the outbreak of the war, the very popular weekly newsreel *Wochenschau* contained numerous anti-Jewish, defamatory film reports from the occupied territories, especially Eastern Europe. How the population reacted is reflected in the reports on the prevailing mood of the SD from this period. See ▲523▲; ▲531▲; ▲535▲ ▲555▲ ▲559▲ ▲592▲ *Bibl:* Welch, *Nazi Propaganda and the German Cinema*; see also: Schoeps, *Literature and Film*; Bartels, *Die Wochenschau im Dritten Reich*; Hollstein, “*Jud Süß*” und die Deutschen; Hornshoj-Moller, ‘*Der ewige Jude*;’ Mannes, *Antisemitismus im nationalsozialistischen Propagandafilm*; “Films, Nazi Anti-semitic” in EH, Vol. II, 484 f.

“Final Solution of the Jewish Question”

Already in anti-Semitic discussions and discourse around the turn of the century, calls were raised for a “solution” to the **“Jewish Question”** along the lines of a special legal status (foreigner laws) or the expulsion of the Jews. The National Socialist process of radicalization toward a “Final Solution” initially did not extend much beyond this, but took on more concrete and brutal forms in the direction of “resettlement” (i.e., forced expulsion) in the **Madagascar Plan** and the idea of “reservations” for Jews in the East.

From 1941, the term “Final Solution” (Endlösung) served in National

Socialist discourse as a designation for the systematic mass murder of the European Jews with the goal of their total annihilation. The concept of the Final Solution implied over and beyond this an end to the historical existence of the Jewish people and “Jewish ideas” in Western civilization.

There are differing views in the research literature on when precisely the Final Solution became the binding guideline for all National Socialist policy on the Jews in the Nazi areas of domination. Most scholars argue for the period between the summer of 1941 and early 1942. The implementation of the Final Solution—in whose framework, with the destruction of almost six million European Jews, roughly a third of world Jewry was annihilated—occurred in various countries in different ways: in the occupied territories of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, mainly in the form of mass shootings, in Germany and the remaining areas of occupied Europe, by means of deportations to **concentration and extermination camps**. The largest of the extermination camps, of which some also served as concentration camps (such as Auschwitz, Majdanek), were Auschwitz-Birkenau, Belzec, Chelmno, Majdanek, Sobibor, and Treblinka. The systematic **mass deportation** of the Jews in the framework of the “Final Solution” began in October 1941. That deportation took the lives of some 200,000 Jews from Germany (according to the definition of the **Nuremberg Laws**). Among them were those Jews from Germany who had found refuge in other countries in Europe, which subsequently were overrun and occupied by the German forces. *Bibl:* Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination*; Hilberg, *Destruction of the European Jews*; Kershaw, *Hitler*; Kershaw, *Hitler, the Germans, and the Final Solution*; Herbert, *National Socialist extermination policies*; Broszat, “Hitler and the Genesis of the ‘Final Solution’”; Burrin, *Hitler and the Jews*; Mommsen, “The Realization of the Unthinkable”; Aly, *Final Solution*; Benz, *Dimensionen des Völkermords*; Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*; Jäckel and Rohwer, *Der Mord an den Juden*; Longerich, *Politik der Vernichtung. Verfolgung und Ermordung*; Hillgruber, “Die Endlösung und das deutsche Ostimperium”; Hillgruber, “Der Krieg im Osten”; Aly and Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung*.

Flag legislation

The mass hoisting of flags was a characteristic feature of the National Socialist movement during its “years of struggle,” and also remained after the ascension to state power in January 1933 an important component of the style of rule in the Third Reich. Up until September 1935, at all public functions, along with the swastika flag, the black-white-and-red flag of the Reich was also hoisted and

displayed. In the Reichstag law of 15 September 1935, the swastika flag was declared to be the sole national flag, and that same day it was decided in the **Nuremberg Laws** that it was forbidden for the Jews to display the national flag. However, the Jews were permitted to fly the “Jewish colors.” Up to this point in time, there was an array of local and regional decrees and orders on this question, and little uniformity: several situation reports state that the hoisting and display of the Reich flag and even more so of the swastika flag on Jewish homes and businesses was regarded as a provocation, which often triggered disturbances and **individual actions against the Jews**. In several instances, by contrast, there was a readiness to allow the Jews to display the flags of their religious and political organizations, so as to underscore “their special, alien racial character.” (On the wearing and display in formation of uniforms by organized Jewish youth, see **Youth organizations, Jewish.**)

The **Gestapo** had banned Jews from hoisting the Reich and swastika flags in an order issued on 12 February 1935 (see Chronology), yet between February and September 1935 there was repeated lack of clarity and conflict over competence between various Party and government offices in regard to this question, both at the level of the regional state and the national level. The Nuremberg Laws ended this confusion with a clear prohibition on Jews to display the national flag, responding at the same time to an already existing popular “pressure from below.” *Bibl:* Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze,” 619 and n. 127; Mommsen, “Der nationalsozialistische Polizeistaat,” 84 f.; Klein, *Lageberichte der Geheimen Staatspolizei*, 710; Gruchmann, “Blutschutzgesetz und Justiz.”

Forced labor

The German Jews were conscripted and deployed from 1939 on in a variety of modes for forced labor, segregated from non-Jewish workers. Initially, at the express order of Hitler, there were no Jews among the millions of conscript (slave) laborers brought to Germany from the occupied countries during the war. Only during the war’s final years did the Economic and Administrative Main Office of the SS (Wirtschafts-und Verwaltungsaamt der SS, WVHA) also send Jews from the **concentration camps** to Germany, where they were deployed at slave labor in the German war industry, agriculture, excavation work, and rubble clearance operations in bombed cities (see also Chronology, 7 March 1941). *Bibl.:* Grüner, *Jewish Forced Labor*; Herbert, *Hitler’s Foreign Workers*; Kwiet, “Forced Labour of German Jews.” In “Forced Labor” in EH, Vol. IV, 497–502, the deployment of the German Jews for conscript labor in Germany is not

mentioned.

Fraenkel, Ernst (1891–1971)

German-Jewish historian and politician, officer in World War I, 1929–1931, deputy of the German State Party (formerly German Democratic Party) in the Provincial State Parliament in Silesia. 1932–1933, lawyer of the **Central Association** in Lower Silesia (Breslau). From 1933 to 1935, one of the executive directors of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** in Berlin. Temporarily arrested in 1939, **emigration** to Great Britain. In 1947, return to Germany. From 1956 to 1959, Professor of Economic History at the University of Frankfurt and Main. Not to be confused with the political scientist and law expert Ernst Fraenkel (1898–1975), the author of the important analysis of the structure of the National Socialist system rule: *The Dual State* (1941), who taught from 1953 at the Free University of Berlin. *Bibl.*: Wildt, “Political Order of the Volksgemeinschaft.”

Frankfurter, David (1909–1982)

Born in Daruvar, Croatia, Jewish student of medicine in Switzerland. On 4 February 1936, in an act of protest against the persecution of the Jews in Germany, he shot and killed the head of the Swiss branch of the NSDAP, Wilhelm Gustloff, and was sentenced to eighteen years behind bars. He was pardoned on 1 June 1945 and settled in **Palestine**, where he was later active in the Israeli Defense Ministry. *Bibl.*: Ludwig, *Davos Murder*.

Free Association for the Interests of Orthodox Jewry (Freie Vereinigung für die Interessen des Orthodoxen Judentums)

The association was founded in 1885 by Rabbi Samson Raphael **Hirsch** in Frankfurt, am Main, predecessor of the Orthodox world organization **Agudas Jisroel**. From 1934, a part of the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany**. It was dissolved in November 1938 in the wake of **Kristallnacht**.

Free German-Jewish Youth (Freie deutsch-jüdische Jugend)

Black Pennant; Kameraden

Freemasons (*Freimaurer*)

International, universalistic movement with humanitarian aims, established in

the eighteenth century in England on the basis of tolerance and a living bond of fraternity. The Freemasons are organized in temples, lodges, and grand lodges. In England, France, and Holland, the Jews were admitted as members since the eighteenth century, while in Germany this was not the case, and only a few lodges had Jewish members. In Prussia, where the lodges were under state control, no Jew could become a member until 1871. After an initial easing of restrictions in the Second Empire, anti-Semitism from 1876 on also impacted on the Freemasons. As a reaction to this upsurge, the German Grand Lodge of the B'nai B'rith was founded in Berlin in 1883. Yet a portion of the Jews continued to remain members of the general Freemason lodges. Already in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Freemasons and the Jews were accused, especially in Germany and France, of undermining traditional society and its institutions.

Theories of conspiracy sprouted in speculations about the supranational “secret society” aspects of the organization. After the Nazi Socialist regime took power in Germany, this led to the institutionalizing of their persecution as “ideological adversaries” by the surveillance and terror organizations of the regime (especially the **Gestapo** and **SD**). From February 1933 on, the lodges were subject to numerous forms of harassment and restrictions, and this led to most lodges disbanding of their own accord by mid-1935. However, several former lodge members organized in social societies. According to the Gestapo, numerous members of such “camouflaged lodges” were Jews. These societies (such as the “Freundesbund Einigkeit,” Friends’ Alliance Unity), which had earlier belonged to the Hamburg Freemasons’ Grand Lodge, were dissolved by the **Gestapo** in the autumn of 1934. The remainder of Freemason associations were forcibly dissolved on 6 September 1935, and their property was confiscated. By contrast, paradoxically, the purely Jewish lodges organized in the **B'nai B'rith** were able to continue functioning until 1937. *Bibl.: Katz, Jews and Freemasons; Hoffmann, “Brothers or Strangers?”; Zipfel, Gestapo und Sicherheitsdienst; idem, Kirchenkampf in Deutschland, 137–173.*

Freier, Recha (1892–1984)

Educator and Jewish organizational functionary, founded in 1933 the **Youth Aliyah**, and worked from 1933–1940 in the Jewish Youth Aid. In her work for illegal **aliyah** and her own **emigration**, she came into sharp confrontation with the **Reich Representation** and the **Zionist Association of Germany**. She emigrated in 1940 via Yugoslavia and Greece, reaching **Palestine** in 1941, where she became active in work with children and youth.

Frick, Wilhelm (1877–1946)

Lawyer, National Socialist politician. In 1904, he entered the Bavarian administration, and developed an early identification with the NSDAP. He took part in the Hitler Beer Hall Putsch of 9 November 1923, and was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment. Already in May 1924, he was sent as a deputy to the Reichstag by the "National Socialist Freedom Movement," the legal front organization of the illegal NSDAP. From 1928, he was leader of the NSDAP group in the Reichstag. From 1933 until 1943, he was Reich Interior Minister, and thus responsible for the implementation of the process and policy of **Gleichschaltung** and the anti-Jewish legislation.

In August 1934, he ordered the district governors and governors throughout the Reich to prepare monthly situation reports and reports on the prevailing public mood. These reports also contained material on the systematic surveillance of the associational activity of the Jews, the mood prevailing among them, and the attitudes in the broader population toward the Jews. This reporting was terminated in March 1936.

Paradoxically, due to his responsibility to uphold and safeguard the public order, Frick occasionally was instrumental in curbing and prohibiting **individual actions against Jews**. In 1946, he was convicted by the Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, sentenced to death, and executed.

Friedenthal, Hans (1900–1989)

Physician and **Zionist** functionary. He was a member in the Cartel of Jewish-Zionist Student Associations and in **Blau-Weiß**. He emigrated in 1920 to **Palestine**, returning to Germany in 1928. From 1934 to 1936, he was President of the German **Maccabi Circle**. He served as a member of the executive board of the Maccabi World Union. In 1935, head of the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**; in 1936, executive director of the **Zionist Association of Germany**. In 1938, he returned to Palestine.

Front soldiers (*Frontkämpfer*)

Combat veterans, Jewish

Fuchs, Hermann Richard (1886–1970)

Lawyer and ministerial official, up to 1917 judge in Berlin. From 1919, active in the Economy Ministry, from 1922, Division Head in the Reich Finance Ministry. In 1933, dismissed from service (**Lawyers, Jewish**). Advisor of the **Reich**

Representation and from 1936 member of the **Council of the Reich Representation**. From 1936 to 1938, member of the Board of Trustees of the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin. In 1939, **emigration** to Great Britain.

Fürst, Paula (1894–1942)

Jewish Montessori educator and director of an elementary school in Berlin. From 1933, director of the private Theodor Herzl School there. After **Kristallnacht**, head of the Department of Schools in the **Reich Association**. She returned to the Reich in 1939 from a children's transport to Great Britain, which she had accompanied. In June 1942, together with other staff members of the Reich Association, she was deported as a reprisal for the attack of the **Baum Group**, in a penal transport to Eastern Europe where she was probably murdered in **Sobibor**. *Bibl:* Maierhof, *Selbstbehauptung im Chaos*, 195–99; Ehlert, *Paula Fürst*.

Galen, Clemens August Graf von (1878–1946)

Catholic theologian and priest, from 1933 Bishop of Münster, after World War II Cardinal. His courageous protest sermons in the summer of 1941 and the following pastoral letters against **euthanasia** (see ▶580▶) led to the official termination of the Euthanasia Program on orders from Hitler, though this practice was continued in an unorganized form until 1945. There was no similar protest by Galen against the mass murder of the Jews between 1941 and 1945 (see **Deportations** and **Final Solution**). *Bibl:* "Galen" in EH, Vol. II, 537.

Galut(h)

Hebr.: exile, dispersion, Diaspora

Gau

Highest level of structural unit of the NSDAP below the level of the Reich. This historically evolved term was used to designate differing units, from large cities (Essen), geographical regions (Cologne-Aachen for the Rhenish plain), to provinces (East Prussia), to states (Saxony).

Each Gau was headed by a Gauleiter, who was directly responsible to Hitler, and could only be appointed or dismissed by him alone. After the seizure of power by the National Socialists, they additionally were appointed to serve in state administrative offices such as minister or chief minister of a regional state,

thus creating a unity of state and party. The forty-three Gau units were further divided into district, local branch, cell, and block, each headed by a leader (district leader, branch leader, cell leader, **block warden**).

The Gauleiter best known as a result of their radical anti-Jewish animus and practice were **Goebbels** (Berlin) and **Streicher** (Franconia).

Other Gauleiter also contributed to the radicalization of anti-Jewish policy in its various phases. Thus, for example, Adolf **Wagner** (Bavaria) instigated the wave of anti-Jewish violence in May 1935. The Hamburg Gauleiter Karl Kaufmann urged Hitler personally to launch a mass **deportation** of the Jews even before this was initiated as a massive operation across the Reich. *Bibl:* Noakes, ““Viceroy of the Reich””; Hüttenberger, *Gauleiter*.

Gauleiter

Gau

Geltungsjude

Literally: “person deemed to be Jewish.” A German citizen of the Reich who had only two Jewish grandparents, and thus actually came under the category of **Mischling**, was classified as a Geltungsjude if at the time of the promulgation of the **Nuremberg Laws**, he or she belonged to the Jewish religious community (i.e., was “Jew by religion,” a Glaubensjude) or was married to a Jew.

By contrast, the so-called “Rassejuden” (Jews by race), who had left the Jewish **Community** or converted to Christianity, were nonetheless classified under the category of “**Volljuden**” (full Jews). The distinction between Volljuden and Geltungsjuden was “solely meant to point up the difference of the two groups in respect to race biology, but had no legal importance.” *Bibl.:* Seidler/Rett, *Reichssippenamt*, 114 f.; Meyer, “Mixed Marriage”; Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge*, 101 f.

Converts; Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews

Gemeindeblatt der israelitischen Gemeinde zu Frankfurt

The periodical of the Frankfurt **Community**. Biweekly paper founded in 1922. Its circulation sank from 8,000 in 1934 to 6,000 in 1938, and it was dissolved after **Kristallnacht**.

Press, Jewish

Gemeindeblatt der israelitischen Religionsgemeinde Dresden

The periodical of the Dresden **Community**. Established in 1925; in 1935, it had a circulation of 2,200 copies. It was banned after **Kristallnacht**.

Press, Jewish

Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin

The periodical of the Berlin **Community**. A Jewish weekly, established in 1911. It was the largest Jewish local paper, and was distributed free of charge to all registered members of the Berlin Community. Its circulation declined from 90,000 in 1931 to 52,000 in 1935 and 50,000 at the end of 1936. Its circulation before it was banned after **Kristallnacht** had dropped to 39,000.

Press, Jewish

General Rabbinical Association of Germany (Allgemeiner Rabbinerverband in Deutschland)

Founded in 1896; its principal declared aim (FJGV 1932/33, 552) stated: “Lifting up of religious outlook and religious life within Jewry, preservation of the honor of Judaism and the dignity and standing of the Rabbinical profession, promotion of its members in their scholarly and official activities.” In order for a “general” union of Rabbis to be able to work together with **Rabbis** of the various religious currents, it avoided the controversial topics in religion and religious law (**Halacha**), shifting that responsibility onto other organizations, such as the **Association of the Liberal Rabbis**, the **Association of Orthodox Rabbis of Germany**, or the Association of Observant Jews in Germany (**Achduth**). Nonetheless, the representation of the **Secession Community** did not join the General Union of Rabbis. The General Association worked together with the **Reich Representation**, and its head in the Nazi period was Leo **Baeck**. Like almost all Jewish organizations, it was dissolved in the wake of **Kristallnacht** 1938.

General Zionists (Allgemeine Zionisten)

Hebr.: Zionim Klali'im. Political party, founded 1931 in the framework of the **World Zionist Organization** in the Diaspora and in **Palestine**. It saw itself as the party of the Zionist-oriented bourgeois liberal middle class, endorsed the principles of economic liberalism, and an educational system above and beyond the parties, in contrast with the existing, ideologically oriented currents in

education in Mandatory Palestine. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the General Zionists played an important role in the 1951 Israeli Parliament, the Knesset. In 1961, it helped form the Liberal Party, and later split, some of its members forming a party which eventually developed into the right-wing party Likud. From 1977, Likud had a central role in several government coalitions.

German Christians (*Deutsche Christen*)

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

German Christians' Faith Movement (Glaubensbewegung der Deutschen Christen)

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

German-Israelitic Community Alliance (Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund, DIGB)

The first successful attempt to establish an umbrella organization of the Jewish **Communities** in Germany. It was founded in 1869 by M. Kohner in Leipzig, with the aim of promoting Jewish common concerns in the organization of the community, education, and charity throughout Germany, while excluding cultural, political, and ritual questions. In 1882, its head office was transferred to Berlin. After the **regional associations** were created, the focus of its work was primarily on social welfare, in particular the administration of welfare facilities and foundations. From 1933, it was active in the framework of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** at the Reich Representation.

German-Jewish (*Deutsch-jüdisch*)

Concept used by the **Central Association** and organizations closely affiliated with it for designating the desired “symbiosis” of Jewish existence in the post-**Emancipation** era. In the situation reports, it is used in various contexts as a modifier, such as “German-Jewish” members, organizations, or federations, to stress an **assimilationist** outlook.

German-Jewish Working Group (Deutsch-jüdische Arbeitsgemeinschaft)

The German-Jewish Working Group was an organization of young Jewish women affiliated with the **League of German-Jewish Youth**. It was one of the Jewish organizations that had been established under the National Socialist

regime and began its activity in July 1934 in Trier. It is not clear whether it existed only on a local level and until when it continued to be active.

German-Jewish Youth Society (Deutsch-jüdische Jugendgemeinschaft, DJJG)

Together with other non-Zionist youth organizations, the Society joined the **League of German-Jewish Youth** at the beginning of 1933. It was later renamed **Ring League of Jewish Youth**.

German-Jews (Deutschjuden) German Nationalistic Jews

German Nationalistic Jews {Deutschjuden/Deutschjudentum}

In the situation reports, the term is often used to designate Jews with a German-nationalist outlook. The most important **German-Jewish** associations after 1933 were: **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans; Association of National-German Jews; German Vanguard; Black Pennant, League of German-Jewish Youth**. In a number of situation reports, the **CV** is also considered a German-Jewish organization in this sense.

Assimilationists; German-Jewish

German Vanguard, German-Jewish Followers (Deutscher Vortrupp, Gefolgschaft deutscher Juden)

The German Vanguard was established on 26 February 1933 by Hans Joachim **Schoeps**. The statutes of the organization from August 1933 state: “The aim of the German Vanguard is to bring together young German Jews in a unified organization for nurturing a German-national ethos on the foundation of the German youth movement [*nationaler Gesinnung auf bündischer Grundlage*] and the strengthening of Jewish religious life.” The German Vanguard, with its German-national, conservative, and authoritarian views, was opposed to the democratic-pluralistic principles prevalent among the majority of German Jews, and rejected the **Reich Representation**. Its publication, *Der Deutsche Vortrupp*, was banned already in April 1935 by the National Socialist regime. In December 1935 that was followed by the dissolution of the entire organization. The publishing house of the German Vanguard (Vortrupp Verlag) was allowed to continue operating until 1938. *Bibl.*: Rheins, “Deutscher Vortrupp”; Schoeps, *Wille und Weg*, 46–56; Hahn, “Der Vortrupp.”

Gestapa (Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt)

Gestapo

Gestapo, Jewish Affairs Department (Referat Judentum)

Due to the special importance which the Nazi regime accorded the struggle against the Jews, the tasks of the Gestapo (the Secret State Police) included **surveillance** of the life and activity of the Jews and their organizations. To that end, a special Jewish Affairs Department (Referat Judentum II 1 B 2) was set up in the central Secret State Police Office (Geheimes Staatspolizeiamt, Gestapa) in Berlin. It worked in parallel with the Jewish Affairs Department of the **SD**, although during their cooperative work, repeated friction and disputes arose over who had what authority and formal competency (see Chronology 4 July 1934 and 1 July 1937). After the establishment of the **RSHA** in September 1939, the Jewish Affairs Departments of the SD and Gestapo were combined into a single department.

Unlike the SD, the Gestapo also had “executive powers,” including authority to arrest Jews and take them into custody (**Protective custody**), and to ban or allow anti-Jewish rallies and demonstrations (**Individual actions**). The Gestapo developed its own line in policy on the Jews (Judenpolitik). The most important lower-level offices for the drafting and writing of situation reports and reports on the prevailing mood (Stimmungsberichte) were the Stabstellen for the districts and the Stapoleitstellen, which from 1936 on reported in place of the earlier regional Gestapo offices for the various states and for Berlin. The Gestapo Berlin continued to report using its original name, with reports covering the entire Reich. *Bibl:* Johnson, *Nazi Terror*; Gellately, *Gestapo and German Society*; Mallmann and Paul, *Die Gestapo*, Vols. I—II; Drobisch, “Judenreferate des Geheimen Staatspolizeiamtes”; Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*; Wildt, *Generation des Unbedingten*; Zipfel, *Gestapo und Sicherheitsdienst*; Zipfel, “Gestapo und SD in Berlin”; Aronson, *Reinhard Heydrich*; Rürup, *Topography of Terror*; “Gestapo” in EH, Vol. II, 576 ff.

Ghettos for Jews in the National Socialist Period

These were set up as closed Jewish residential areas primarily in the occupied territories in Eastern Europe. In Germany, there were, on explicit orders from Hitler, no ghettos, since Germany was supposed to be the first country “cleansed of Jews” (“judenfrei”). But in actuality the exclusion of the Jews from German

society and culture on the one hand, and the development of independent segregated Jewish life in Germany within the spheres of culture and education on the other, led to a situation where one could speak, even before the outbreak of the war, of an “invisible ghetto,” see **294**. Until their deportation, the Jews were concentrated in so-called **Jews’ houses**. From October 1941, they were deported to various ghettos beyond the borders of Germany, especially to **Theresienstadt**, Lodz (Litzmannstadt), Lublin, Warsaw, Riga, Minsk, and Kovno (Kaunas). Within a very short period, many perished there due to the appalling conditions. The rest were liquidated in local murder operations or were deported onward to **extermination camps**. The life of the German Jews in the ghettos was, in addition, further complicated and rendered more burdensome as a result of the social tensions that arose with the indigenous Jews in different places who were already living in these ghettos. Nonetheless, the German Jews took part in the social and cultural life in the ghettos, and work in education (in the Theresienstadt ghetto, they were also in leading positions in ghetto administration). *Bibl.*: Barkai, “German Speaking Jews”; “Ghetto” in EH, Vol. II, 579–582; “Theresienstadt” in EH, Vol. IV, 1460–1463.

Glaserfeld, Bruno (1881–1949)

Jewish **physician** in Berlin. He was for many years the chair of the CV Regional Association Greater Berlin. Deputy of the German Democratic Party Berlin-Schöneberg, In 1939, he emigrated via France to La Paz, Bolivia, where he died in 1949.

Gleichschaltung

Concept used in National Socialist discourse and propaganda for the reorienting of organizations, associations, parties, and cultural life, in particular the press and radio, to National Socialist ideology, with the aim of reaching every individual **Volksgenosse**. Since the German **Volksgemeinschaft** was now built up on the basis of racial criteria, belonging to the **Aryan** race, German Jewry after its exclusion from German life remained internally shielded, as it were, from Gleichschaltung. Paradoxically, as a result, in Jewish society and the Jewish organizations down to 1938 and in part even down to the **Final Solution**, there was an extensive political and cultural pluralism. *Bibl.*: Kulka, “Jewish Society in Germany.”

Goebbels, Joseph (1897–1945)

As Gauleiter of the NSDAP in Berlin (since 1926) and especially since 1933 as Reich Minister for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, he was the person primarily responsible for the aggressive anti-Semitic hate propaganda and agitation in the Third Reich. The Reich Culture Chamber set up in 1933 in his ministry systematically “cleansed” the Jews from the media and public cultural life in Germany. Through his “Special Representative for the **Surveillance** of the Non-Aryans,” Hans **Hinkel**, he controlled wide areas of Jewish life, especially **adult education** and the Jewish **press**. He played a decisive role in unleashing the violence of the **Kristallnacht** pogrom. After banning the Jewish press and the liquidation of most Jewish organizations in November 1938, his powers in the **Jewish Question** were restricted to anti-Jewish propaganda, and up to September 1941, the control of the **Kulturbund** and the sole Jewish print medium, the **Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt**. Among other things, Goebbels helped instigate the **marking of the Jews** by the **Yellow Star** introduced across the Reich in September 1941. He was one of the most vehement opponents of the SD secret reporting, especially in wartime, and tried in vain to have those reports stopped, since he feared they would have a deleterious demoralizing effect. His journals are an important historical source for, among other things, Hitler’s policy on the Jews and the **Final Solution**. *Bibl:* Bramsted, *Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda*; Barth, *Goebbels und die Juden*; Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher*; see also http://www.calvin.edu/academic/cas/gpa/goebmain.htm_8.1.2008.

Goetz, Georg (1892–1968)

German-Jewish Journalist, born in Copenhagen, 1917–1925 merchant in **Danzig** and member of the board of the Jewish **Community** there. From 1925 to 1934, General Secretary of the **Association for Religious Liberal Judaism**. From 1926 to 1938, lay preacher in Berlin and editor-in-chief of the *Mitteilungsblatt der jüdischen Reformgemeinde* and the *Gemeindeblatt für die Jüdische Gemeinde Preußens* (**press, Jewish**). In 1933–1938, arrested several times; he was able by a circuitous route to flee to Denmark.

Goldmann, Nahum (1895–1982)

German-Jewish organizational functionary and politician. Member in the governing board of the **Zionist Association of Germany**, from 1926 member in the Actions Committee of the **World Zionist Organization**; 1932–1936, active in founding the **World Jewish Congress** (1936). In 1933, expulsion to

Switzerland, in 1935, stripped of his German citizenship. 1934–1940, representative of the **Jewish Agency** at the League of Nations in Geneva. **Emigration** to the United States in 1940, and to Israel in 1962. Goldmann was for many years president of the World Zionist Organization. He made the first steps to initiate reparations negotiations with the West German government under Adenauer. He launched the project of a German Jewish encyclopedia in the 1920s, of which twelve volumes appeared, and was a key figure later behind the creation of the English language *Encyclopedia Judaica*.

Göring, Hermann (1893–1946)

As the first National Socialist Prussian Interior Minister, from 1933 responsible for the development and organization of the **Gestapo** and its Jewish Affairs Department. From 1936, he was Plenipotentiary for the Four-Year Plan and also largely responsible for policy on the Jews, especially in connection with the economy. After **Kristallnacht**, he levied a “Kontribution” of one billion RM on the whole of German Jewry as a penalty and was responsible for the complete “elimination of the Jews from German economic life.” In January 1939, he set up the **Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration**. Goring signed the letter of 31 July 1941 to **Heydrich** which is considered one of the most important documents for the beginning of the **Final Solution** (see Chronology). After being sentenced to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal, he committed suicide shortly before his execution. *Bibl.*: Kube, *Pour le mérite und Hakenkreuz*; Aly and Heim, “Staatliche Ordnung und organische Lösung.”

Gottschalk, Julius (1898–1943)

Teacher in Aurich, East Frisia, from 1941 also director of the Home for the Aged and **111** in Hamburg. He was deported in 1943 to **Theresienstadt**, where he perished.

Grau, Wilhelm (1910–2000)

Head of the Research Department on Jews in the Reich Institute for the History of the New Germany, founded in 1935. The department Grau headed was engaged in “scientific” anti-Jewish research. First director of the Institute for Research on the **Jewish Question** established in 1939 by Alfred Rosenberg. Among his various books and publications is *Die Judenfrage als Aufgabe geschichtlicher Forschung*, Munich 1943.

Great German Reich {Großdeutsches Reich}

Also known as Greater German Reich. The term was used after the **Anschluß** of Austria (after 1938 the “Ostmark” in Nazi terminology) to refer to the expanded territory beyond the borders of 1937 (**Altreich**), and later included the Sudetenland (annexed from Czechoslovakia in October 1938), the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (after March 1939), and various territories in the East that were incorporated into the Reich in the course of the war (parts of occupied Poland, annexed in October 1939; Alsace-Lorraine, in 1940, after the defeat of France).

Grohé, Josef (1902–1988)

National Socialist politician, 1922 co-founder of the NSDAP branch in Cologne. After the reestablishment of the party in 1925, executive director for the **Gau** Rhineland-South. Editor-in-chief of the *Westdeutscher Beobachter*. In 1931, **Gauleiter** of Cologne. From 1933, Prussian state counselor and deputy in the Reichstag. In 1942, Reich Defense Commissar and Reich Commissar for the Occupied Territories Belgium and Northern France. After a de-Nazification trial, he served a prison sentence of four years.

Gronemann, Sammy (1875–1952)

Lawyer and writer. Trained in Rabbinical seminary in Berlin, he was a delegate at the **Zionist congresses** from 1901 on. From 1906, legal practice in Berlin and in-house lawyer of the Association of German Writers. Gronemann emigrated in 1933 to France, in 1936 to **Palestine**, and died in 1952 in Tel Aviv. *Bibl.*: Mittelmann, *Sammy Gronemann*.

Group Emancipation

Emancipation

Grüber, Heinrich (1891–1975)

Protestant theologian, active as a pastor and in Christian social service. In 1937, he founded the **Grüber Office**, which assisted persecuted Christians of Jewish descent. In 1940–1943, interned in the Sachsenhausen **concentration camp**, he began his social service work immediately after release. In 1960, he was one of the witnesses for the prosecution in the **Eichmann** trial in Jerusalem.

Grüber Office

Grüber Office (*Büro Grüber*)

This office was established by Provost Heinrich **Grüber** for the **Confessing Church** in Berlin in order to assist the Jewish **converts** to the Protestant Church (and later to the Catholic Church as well) who had been persecuted for racial reasons. The Grüber Office assisted them in **emigration** and in finding employment, and took care of the children of prison and camp inmates. It was in a constant struggle with the Jewish Affairs departments of the **Gestapo** and the **SD** (from 1939, **Eichmann** 's Jewish Affairs Department in the **RSHA**). Shortly after Grüber's arrest in December 1940, the Grüber Office was finally closed. *Bibl:* Cohn, "Bearers of a Common Fate?"; Büttner, "Persecution of Christian-Jewish Families"; Grüber, *Erinnerungen aus sieben Jahrzehnten. Quaker Office; Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians*

Grün, Iwan Jacob (1901–1981)

From 1925 to 1927 **Liberal Rabbi** in Frankfurt an der Oder, 1928–1939 in **Danzig**; 1935–1938, President of the **B'nai-B'rith** Borussia Lodge in Danzig. He was a member of the board of the (Reform) **World Union for Progressive Judaism**. In 1939, **emigration** to the United States.

Grünewald, Max (1899–1992)

From 1925 to 1937 **Rabbi** in Mannheim and initiator of the Jewish **Lehrhaus**. From May 1936, member of the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee** of the **Reich Representation**. **Emigrated** in 1938 to **Palestine** and in 1939 to the United States at the invitation of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Grünewald was Rabbi of the Conservative Congregation B'nai Israel, Millburn, N.J., until 1970, and international president of the Leo Baeck Institute. His book of essays and sermons *Here, There and Above* was published in New York in 1979.

Grynszpan, Herschel (1921-?)

Born in Hanover into a Jewish family that had emigrated from Poland to Germany in 1911. Grynszpan was staying with relatives in Paris when he got news of the **deportation** of some 15,000–17,000 Jews with Polish citizenship (see Chronology, 27–29 October 1938), including his family. Grynszpan evidently intended to assassinate the German ambassador in Paris on 7 November 1938 in a demonstrative protest shooting, but instead shot the Legation Secretary vom Rath. The Nazi regime used the attack as a pretext for

the **Kristallnacht** pogrom. Grynszpan was extradited from France to Germany in 1940 and interned in the Sachsenhausen **concentration camp**, and later in prison in Berlin-Moabit. He disappeared in 1942. *Bibl.*: Marrus, “Strange Story of Herschel Grynszpan”; Heiber, “Der Fall Grünspan”; Kaul, *Der Fall Herschel Grynszpan*; Steinweis, “The Trials of Herschel Grynszpan.”

Gustloff, Wilhelm (1895–1936)

National Socialist functionary, born in Schwerin, lived from 1917 on in Davos, Switzerland. In 1929, he joined the NSDAP, and from 1932 was the leader of the national branch in Switzerland of the Foreign Organization of the NSDAP. He was shot on 4 February 1936 by the Jewish student David **Frankfurter**. German propaganda portrayed this act as a plot by “world Jewry.” Hitler initiated work on exact plans for worldwide reprisals against German Jewry. Due to the imminent occupation of the Rhineland, however, Hitler behaved with great reserve at the state funeral for Gustloff, prohibited **individual actions**, and abandoned the notion of implementing the planned reprisals. *Bibl.*: Domarus, *Speeches and Proclamations*, II, 748–752.

Guthmann, Georg (1907-?)

Lawyer and notary public. Assistant judge at the court in Frankfurt am Main. Active **Zionist**, member of the Supervisory Board of the **Zionist Association of Germany** and its secretary for southern and western Germany. Secretary of the **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael**. Guthmann emigrated in 1937 to **Palestine**.

Ha’vara (Agreement)

Hebr.: Transfer. Agreement between the Reich Economy Ministry, the **Zionist Association of Germany**, and the Anglo-Palestine Bank on the transfer of Jewish capital (foreign currency in limited amounts and export goods) from Germany to **Palestine**, so that German Jews with a “capitalist visa” (see **certificates**) could emigrate to Palestine. In 1933, the Palästina Treuhandstelle (Paltreu), the Palestine Trustee Office, was created as a consultation center and a financial instrument for implementing the Ha’vara Agreement. The interest of the National Socialist regime at this time in the agreement was to press ahead, utilizing all means available, with the **emigration** of Jews from Germany; the Jewish interest was to rescue as many Jews as possible by emigration, along with a portion of their assets. In addition, the **Reich Representation** was able to use a

certain part of the capital remaining in Germany of private individuals (due to restrictions on asset transfer) in order to help finance the emigration of destitute Jews. Within the international Jewish public, the agreement with the Nazi regime sparked a vehement controversy and led to a split in the **Zionist** movement (see **Zionists-Revisionists**). The Ha'avara Agreement was operational from August 1933 until shortly after the beginning of the war in 1939. It enabled thousands of German Jews to emigrate and build a new life for themselves in Palestine with at least a portion of their assets. A similar agreement with the regime for the transfer of assets to other countries of emigration was reached in May 1937, leading to the establishment of the General Trustee Office for Jewish Emigration (Allgemeine Treuhandstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung, Altreu) in Berlin. *Bibl.*: Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, chaps. 6 and 10; Barkai, "German Interests in the Haavara-Transfer"; Yisraeli, "Third Reich and Transfer Agreement"; Feilchenfeld, Michaelis, and Pinner, *Haavara-Transfer nach Palästina*; Pinner, "Vermögenstransfer nach Palästina"; "Haavara Agreement" in EH, Vol. II, 639 f.

Habonim—Noar Chaluzi

Hebr.: The Builders—Pioneer Youth. Also Noar Halutzi. Zionist-socialist pioneer youth group, which organized in 1925 as the Young Jewish Youth Alliance **Brith Haolim**. It was liquidated in 1938 as an independent organization in the Reich. The group was active in World War II in part in **Hachshara** centers and in part in the underground. *Bibl.*: "Ihud Habonim, Germany" in EJ, Vol. 8, 1241.

Hachshara

Hebr.: preparation. Also Hachschara. Occupational training and **vocational retraining** of young Jews for **emigration** to **Palestine (aliyah)**; especially inside the **Hechalutz** movement. After initial resistance among the German population, which led to the dissolving of hachshara centers in a number of cases, the National Socialist government later supported hachshara in order to further emigration. The preparation training was organized on agricultural farms in various areas of the German countryside, and especially after the National Socialist takeover of power, became an important instrument for preparing for life in the collective settlements in Palestine (**kibbutz**). **Misrachi**, **Agudas Jisroel**, and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** had their own preparation centers. In the second half of the 1930s, the number of such hachshara centers increased. A number continued their work even during the

war, until they were liquidated and their members **deported** to the **extermination camps** in 1942–43. *Bibl:* BenGershom, *David*; Schwersenz and Wolff, “Jüdische Jugend im Untergrund”; Unna, “Anfänge der religiösen Kibbuzbewegung”; Vollnhals, “Jüdische Selbsthilfe bis 1938,” 379–391; Angress, “Auswandererlehrhof Gross-Breesen”; Michaeli, *Gut Winkel*.

Hakoach

Hebr.: strength. **Zionist** sports association, founded in Vienna, active in Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Maccabi Circle

Halacha

Hebr.: way of life. Jewish religious law, religious practice, precise normative commandments for all spheres of everyday life, which made concrete general ethical and religious duties. Halacha is based on Biblical law (**Torah**), which over many generations was interpreted in normative terms and commented upon in the **Talmud** and the later Rabbinical literature. According to the halachic definition, whether a person is a “Jew” depends on descent from a Jewish mother or formal conversion to Judaism. Such a person who converts to a different religion is, according to halacha, no longer considered to be a “Jew.” The religious currents within Judaism (**Orthodoxy** and **Reform Judaism**) differ most especially in the understanding and interpretation of halacha.

Half-Jew

Mischlinge

Hapo’el Hamisrachi

Misrachi

Harvest Festival (*Erntedankfest*)

Declared a national holiday by the National Socialists in 1933 in order to integrate the farmers ideologically and politically in the new order. Jews were excluded from the preparations at school and from the public festivities.

Volksgemeinschaft

Harvest Festival, Jewish

Sukkot

Hashomer Hatza'ir (Shomer)

Hebr.: Youth Guard. **Zionist**-socialist Labor youth movement with a radical, left-socialist collectivist orientation. Founded in 1913 in Galicia, it spread in various countries, mainly in Eastern Europe. In 1924, a world organization was established in **Danzig**. In 1927, Hashomer Hatza'ir founded the **Kibbutz** Artzi in **Palestine**. Before the outbreak of World War II, it had some 70,000 members, most in **hachshara** centers and kibbutzim. The movement began its activity in Germany in 1923–24 as the “Jüdischer Pfadfinderbund Haschomer Haza’ir” (Jewish Scouts Alliance Hashomer Hatza’ir). Here it was a relatively small elitist group, whose members largely emigrated to Palestine as founders and members of kibbutzim. After 1933, the German-Jewish youth movement **Werkleute** joined Hashomer Hatza’ir, which existed on the ground in Palestine with its kibbutzim. In Germany, the organization was officially dissolved in 1938 in the wake of the **Kristallnacht** pogrom. In Palestine, the movement espoused Jewish-Arab understanding and the creation of a binational state; it established a political party in Mandatory Palestine (see **British Mandate in Palestine**) and adhered to this line down to the formation of the State of Israel. *Bibl.*: Reinhartz, “Hashomer Hazair in Nazi Germany.”

Hebrew (*Ivrit*)

In National Socialist Germany, and more generally in the modern period, Hebrew played a role on two levels: (1) as a sacred language, the language of prayer in the **synagogues** and in religious education, both in traditional institutions (**Torah** study) and in religion classes in secular schools. (2) as a modern vernacular language and language of literature in educational work in the **Zionist** movement with an orientation to **aliyah**. The teaching of modern Hebrew was explicitly furthered by the Nazi regime, since it served the purposes of **emigration**. For that reasons, courses for English and Hebrew were often included in the curricula for **adult education** and **vocational restructuring**. These instructional programs were also continued in the framework of the **Reich Association** and the **hachshara** centers even at a time when most institutions of education and association had in the wake of **Kristallnacht** been already destroyed or dissolved. Hebrew teaching was maintained down to the **mass deportations**.

The use of Hebrew or **Yiddish** expressions posed an ever greater problem for

the monitoring and **surveillance** of Jewish gatherings. In this connection, the situation reports often mention the demand for a ban on this “secret language.” However, we are not aware of any such ban ever issued in the Third Reich. *Bibl:* Walk, *Jüdische Schule und Erziehung*; Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 89; Schwersenz and Wolff, “Jüdische Jugend im Untergrund”; Borinski, *Erinnerung 1940–43*.

Hechalutz

Hebr.: the Pioneer. Also Hechaluz, in Germany. World Association of the Chalutz movement, whose goal was the preparing of young Jews for a life work in **Palestine**, especially in the **kibbutzim**. The basic idea of the chalutz movement was the program to revolutionize and renew Jewish life through work, a renewed link with the land of Palestine and the “productivization” of the Jews. Members in Palestine belonged to the socialist trade union **Histadruth**. It was started in 1904 in Russia, and formed a branch in 1905 in the United States. The World Association of Hechalutz was created in 1921, with a central office in Warsaw. In 1922, the German regional association was established, and had some 500 members in 1933, burgeoning then in 1935 to a membership of approximately 14,000. It was dissolved as an independent organization in November 1938 in the wake of **Kristallnacht**. Thousands of members of Hechalutz emigrated from 1933 to 1941 from Germany to Palestine, legally and illegally, and made a substantial contribution to the building of the kibbutz movement. They also founded their own kibbutzim, where the traditions of German Jewry were kept alive. Its journal was *Blätter des Hechaluz*. *Bibl.:* BenGershom, *David*; Borinski, *Erinnerungen 1940–43*; Schwersenz and Wolff, “Jüdische Jugend im Untergrund.”

Hachshara

Herzfeld, Ernst Salomon (1875–1948)

Legal expert, Jewish functionary. In 1902–1903, **lawyer** in Posen, 1903–1936 in Essen. From 1903, chair of the **CV Regional Association Rhineland**, 1936–1938 last president of the CV, board member and vice president of the Jewish **Community** Essen. 1933–1938, co-founder and member of the Advisory Council of the **Reich Representation**. He emigrated in 1939 to **Palestine**.

Herzfeld, Julius Ernst (1905–1961)

Lawyer, Jewish youth leader. Son of Ernst Salomon **Herzfeld**, from 1922

president of the **Federation of the Jewish Youth Associations of Germany**, and later in the national direction of the federation. Active in the Council of the Prussian **Regional Association**, in the **CV**, and in **Esra**; 1931–1933, lawyer in the law office of his father in Essen. He was involved in the initiative to create the “new” **Reich Representation**. From 1933 to 1938, after being ousted from the bar and banned from legal practice, active as an insurance agent in Essen. He emigrated in 1938 to Argentina.

Herzl, Theodor (Benjamin Zeev) (1860–1904)

Journalist and writer in Vienna; 1891–1995, Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Influenced by the first Dreyfus trial, he wrote *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State, 1906), giving rise to the genesis of political Zionism. At the First **Zionist Congress** in Basel in 1897 (**Basel Program**), he founded the **World Zionist Organization**, as whose president he served until his early death. In the historical consciousness of the Zionist movement and beyond, under National Socialism he was also a central figure embodying the idea of the Jewish state for many German Jews. In 1902, he published a Utopian novel *Altneuland* (Old-New Land), which envisions a Jewish state in Palestine projected into the 1920s. *Bibl:* Bein, *Theodor Herzl*; Pawel, *Labyrinth of Exile*; Friedmann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*.

Herzlia, National Youth

Youth group of the **State Zionist Organization in Germany**, named after Theodor **Herzl**.

Betar

Hess, Rudolf (1894–1988)

Deputy of Hitler as Party leader. Joined the NSDAP in 1920, participated in the Hitler coup in 1923, sentenced to eighteen months behind bars. In 1924, Hitler dictated *Mein Kampf* to him, and he served from that time as Hitler’s private secretary. From 1933, Hitler’s Deputy as Party leader. In this capacity, he was among other things responsible for the formulation, passing on, and implementation of Hitler’s orders and directives on the **Jewish Question** (up to 1937 published as: Hess, *Anordnungen des Stellvertreters des Führers*). In the Nuremberg Tribunal, he was sentenced to life imprisonment, and until his death was long held a solitary prisoner in Spandau Prison in Berlin under the administration of the Allied Powers.

Heydrich, Reinhard (1904–1942)

As the closest associate of **Himmler** and Chief of the **Gestapo** and SD, he was responsible among other things for the **surveillance** and fight against the “ideological adversaries” such as “Marxism, Social Democracy, political churches and Jewry,” and in this connection for the preparation of the SD situation reports. In the SD reports, his name appears encoded as “C” (Chief).

In the second half of the 1930s, he had a decisive role in the radicalizing of the measures for the “dejudification of Germany.” After the outbreak of the war, he participated in a key capacity in all phases of National Socialist policy on the Jews, down to the **Final Solution of the Jewish Question**. On 27 May 1942 (see Chronology), Heydrich was critically wounded in Prague in an attack on his car by two resistance fighters sent by the Czech government in exile in London, and he died the following week. The extensive reprisals which followed his assassination included the execution of Jews and special penal transports “to the East.” *Bibl.*: Whiting, *Heydrich*; Aronson, *Reinhard Heydrich*.

SD

HIAS

Abbreviation for Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, founded 1888 in New York for the aid of immigrants, initially only Jews from Eastern Europe. From 1933 to 1941, HIAS supported and organized the **emigration** of German Jews abroad to everywhere but **Palestine**, in the framework of **HICEM** and in cooperation with the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. Emigration to Palestine was organized by the **Palestine Office**. After the war, HIAS was instrumental in evacuating displaced persons camps and resettling some 150,000 persons in numerous countries.

HICEM

HICEM, a Jewish emigration aid society, was formed in 1927 in Paris from the merger of three Jewish migration associations, **HIAS**, the **Jewish Colonization Association (ICA)**, based in Paris, and Emigdirect, based in Berlin. It was active in New York from 1940 until its disbandment in 1945, when its operations were transferred to HIAS. With European headquarters in Lisbon, it helped some 90,000 Jews escape Europe during the war.

High Holidays

This includes the Jewish festivals in the autumn **Rosh ha-Shana** (New Year), **Yom Kippur**, and in the parlance of the National Socialist reports, the festival of Tabernacles (**Sukkot**) as well. Even those Jews who were no longer observant and had distanced themselves from the traditional way of life attended services at the **synagogue** on the High Holidays. After the synagogues had become once again key centers of Jewish life in the Nazi period, these festivals took on a central importance beyond the narrow religious circles, and were accordingly placed under **surveillance**. That is described and commented on in detail in the National Socialist reports. These large gatherings were often the target of anti-Jewish violence (**individual actions**).

Himmler, Heinrich (1900–1945)

Given by Hitler the task of the **Final Solution of the Jewish Question**. As Reichsführer SS and Chief of the German Police, and through **Heydrich**, directly subordinate to him, he commanded the **Gestapo**, **SD**, and the **concentration and extermination camps**. He was involved in the ideological development of National Socialist race theory (Rassenlehre), which formed the basis for the race policy of the Third Reich, both toward peoples “of alien race,” and also in connection with the various experiments to better “breed the **Aryan** race.” The secret SD reports from 1934 up until almost the end of the war were written on his orders, despite the constant attacks on him by **Goebbels** and others. After the war’s end, he was captured attempting to escape disguised, and he subsequently committed suicide in Allied custody. *Bibl.*: Breitman, *Architect of Genocide*; Worth, *Heinrich Himmler*; Ackermann, *Heinrich Himmler als Ideologe*; Buchheim, “The SS.”

Hinkel, Hans (1901–1960)

Journalist and editor of several National Socialist newspapers and magazines, among others, Berlin editor-in-chief 1930–32 of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. In 1930 deputy of the Reichstag. He was appointed head of the Department for Special Cultural Tasks in the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda, and then named by **Goebbels** as executive director of the Reich Culture Chamber. As Special Commissioner for the Surveillance of the Non-Aryans in the sphere of culture, he was responsible for monitoring the **Kulturbund of the German Jews** until its liquidation in 1941. He also played a central role in control over the National Socialist German film industry, and was its last Reich Film Director. *Bibl.*: Steinweis, “Hans Hinkel and German Jewry”;

Geisel, "Das Büro Hinkel."

Hirsch, Otto (1885–1941)

Jewish politician, Director General of the **Reich Representation**, 1933–1939, and the later **Reich Association**, 1939–1941. From 1911, **lawyer**, and from 1920 ministerial counselor in the Württemberg Interior Ministry. From 1919, active in Jewish organizations. He represented Württemberg in the Weimar National Assembly and was a member of the German delegation at the Peace Conference in Paris. Hirsch was a leading member in the CV and supported Jewish settlement in **Palestine**. He was board chairman of the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Stuttgart. In September 1933, he was called to Berlin to take over as Director General of the (new) Reich Representation. Along with the President Leo **Baeck**, Hirsch was the major leading figure of the Reich Representation and the later **Reich Association**, and he was arrested several times as its special representative to the regime, the last time on 16 February 1941. Several months later he was sent to the Mauthausen **concentration camp**, where he died on 19 June 1941. *Bibl.*: Baeck, "In Memory of Two of Our Dead"; Marx, "Otto Hirsch"; Sauer, "Otto Hirsch"; Zelzer, *Weg und Schicksal*.

Hirsch, Samson Raphael (1808–1888)

Rabbi, born in Hamburg, died in Frankfurt am Main. Founder and spiritual leader of **Neo-Orthodoxy**, which combined observant Orthodox Judaism with modern education and a contemporary way of life, known as "**Torah im derekh eretz**," Torah and the "way of the land." Rabbi of the Israelitic **Community** (Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft, founded 1851) in Frankfurt am Main, which separated from the general Community (**Secession Community**) in the 1870s. His numerous writings also had great importance in the Third Reich, both within and beyond the Neo-Orthodox movement. His followers Joseph Breuer (1882–1980) and Shimon Schwab (1908–1993), immigrants from Nazi Germany, helped transplant Hirsch's neo-Orthodoxy from Frankfurt to the United States after **Kristallnacht** (Khal Adath Jeshurun congregation, founded 1939 in New York City). *Bibl.*: Grunfeld, *Three Generations*.

Adass Jeschurun

Hirschberg, Alfred (1901–1971)

German-Jewish organizational functionary. **Lawyer**, 1920–1938 active in the direction of the CV, initially in charge of the Youth Department, from 1929 as in-

house attorney. In 1933, editor-in-chief of the *CV-Zeitung*. He was a member of the **B'nai B'rith**, and a non-Zionist member of the **Jewish Agency**. In 1933, work in the **Reich Representation**. He emigrated in 1939 to Great Britain, and in 1940 to Brazil.

Histadruth

Largest trade union association in **Palestine**. Founded in 1920, the Histadruth Labor Federation encompassed Jewish workers both in the agricultural collective settlements (see **kibbutzim**) and most of the urban workers. It established the first and largest general sick fund, Kupat Holim, and was a major force in the expansion of cultural activities. The union played a significant role in absorption of immigrants from Germany after 1933.

Hitler Youth (**Hitlerjugend, HJ**)

National Socialist youth organization, founded in 1922. It encompassed various youth groups: the National Socialist League of School Pupils, the Deutsches Jungvolk (German Youngfolk) for boys aged ten to fourteen, and from 1928 a separate group for girls aged ten to eighteen, called from 1930 the League of German Girls (Bund deutscher Mädel, BDM), containing an organization for girls ten to fourteen called the Jungmädelbund (League of Young Girls). The main wing, the Hitler Youth was comprised of male youth aged fourteen and above (on the general structure and development of the organization see "Hitlerjugend" in EH, Vol. II, 677 ff., and "Hitler Youth" in ETR, Vol. I, 431–435).

On the basis of and as a product of the ideological instruction in anti-Semitism, there was violence and bullying and humiliation of Jewish pupils and youths in everyday life and at school. Often the racial ideology taught in the Hitler Youth and the BDM clashed with the attitude toward the Jews and Judaism emphasized in church religious instruction (see **Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews**).

The Hitler Youth took part in many **individual actions**, especially **cemetery desecrations**, as well as violent excesses in connection with **Kristallnacht**. Toward the end of the war, Hitler Youth members were used as guards on the death marches during the evacuation of the surviving inmates from the **concentration camps**. *Bibl:* Kater, *Hitler Youth*; Maschmann, *Account Rendered*; on the BDM, see Reese, *Growing Up Female*; Rempel, *Hitlers Children*; Klönne, *Jugend im Dritten Reich*; on Hitler Youth and the death

marches, see Kossert, “Endlösung on the ‘Amber Shore’”; Buddrus, “Wir fahren zum Juden.”

HJ

Hitler Youth

Hochschule (Lehranstalt) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums Rabbinical seminaries

Hoffmann, Jacob (1881–1956)

Rabbi, initially in Austria, Moravia, and the Bukovina. From 1922, **Orthodox Rabbi** of the **Community** in Frankfurt am Main. He established and directed a yeshiva there (**Talmud academy, Rabbinical seminaries**), and was active in **Misrachi**. Member of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities**, and from 1933 member of the Supervisory Board of the **Reich Representation**. He was arrested in 1937, and emigrated to the United States in 1938. In 1955, he emigrated to Israel.

Homosexuality

In Germany, between women free of any potential penalty, between men not a criminal offense until 1871, then threat of possible prison sentence under Paragraph 175 (known formally as 175 StGB) in the German Criminal Code from 15 May 1871. This law was made substantially harsher under the National Socialist regime with the statute of 28 June 1935, stipulating severe penalties for “lewdness” between consenting adult males. Homosexuals were usually sent to **concentration camps**. In addition to the accusation of **race defilement**, Jews were also repeatedly accused of homosexuality, and for that reason taken into **protective custody**. The renowned Jewish sexologist Magnus Hirschfeld (1868–1935) was denounced in Goebbels’s magazine *Der Angriff* in 1933 for his research on homosexuality and advocacy of gay rights. His Institute for Sexual Research in Berlin was set ablaze on 6 May 1933 and its library totally burned, four days before the public burning of books by “un-German” authors (see Chronology, 10 May 1933). He remained in exile in France, where he died in 1935. *Bibl.*: Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany*; Plant, *The Pink Triangle*; Grau, *Hidden Holocaust?* Lautmann, *Seminar Gesellschaft und Homosexualität*; Jellonnek, *Homosexuelle unter dem Hakenkreuz*; Schoppmann, *Nationalsozialistische Sexualpolitik*.

Horovitz, Abraham (1880–1953)

Legal expert, **lawyer**, and notary public in Frankfurt am Main. Son of the **Orthodox** Rabbi, scholar, and communal leader Markus Horovitz (1844–1919). Chairman of the **Jewish-Conservative Association**, member of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities**. From May 1936, member of the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. He was very involved in assisting Jews in leaving Germany. In 1937, **emigration** to Great Britain, where he was active in the Association of Jewish Refugees.

Horovitz, Jacob (1873–1939)

Rabbi in the German **Conservative Jewish** movement, director of the religious school of the Frankfurt am Main **Community**. Oldest son of Frankfurt Rabbi Markus Horovitz, and brother of Abraham. Vice president of the General German **Rabbinical Association** and board member of the **Achduth**. Representative of the Conservatives in the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** and in the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**. In 1938, he was arrested in early October and held at Frankfurt Police Headquarters, where he was tortured. After having been released, he emigrated to Holland in 1939, where he soon died of the consequences of his imprisonment.

ICA

Jewish Colonization Association (JCA)

Independent Order of the B'nai B'rith

B'nai B'rith (UOBB)

Individual actions against Jews (*Einzelaktionen*)

Anti-Jewish excesses, **boycott** of Jewish businesses, **cemetery desecrations**, and other acts of violence, generally carried out or instigated by activists or local branches of the National Socialist Party organizations (especially the **SA**, but also the **SS** and **Hitler Youth**). This was often done at their own initiative, but partially also in reaction to intensified anti-Semitic hate propaganda of the Party and government leadership, especially from **Streicher** and **Goebbels**. Most severe initially was the wave of violence and arbitrary arrests by the SA and SS

in the first several months after the National Socialist ascension to power (see Chronology, March 1933, and ▶1▶, ▶4▶, ▶18▶). From the seizure of power into the war years, there were often disputes over authority between various government and Party offices regarding the role of individual actions.

However, in certain situations individual actions were curtailed and criticized by the government, both because the leadership was mindful of possible repercussions from abroad, especially in the face of the mounting **boycott movement against the Third Reich**, and out of considerations for domestic policy, when there were fears that these actions posed a threat to public order. Thus, the new wave of violence in the summer of 1935 led to a situation where Hitler's deputy Rudolf **Hess**, Reich Interior Minister Wilhelm **Frick**, and at the urging of Hjalmar **Schacht**, ultimately Hitler himself, issued a prohibition on such individual actions (see Chronology, July-August).

The “pressure from below” initiated and stoked by the Party and generally also by the government, and then once again braked and curtailed by them, led to the officially directed boycott of 1 April 1933 and the subsequent legislation in its wake (see Chronology, 1–3 and 7 April 1933). On the “new wave of anti-Semitism” in the spring and summer of 1935, see February 1935, July 1935, July-August 1935, and the subsequent **Nuremberg Laws**. The following renewed wave of violence unleashed in the spring and summer of 1938 (see Chronology, 12 March 1938 and ▶313▶, ▶320▶; 20 May, September 1938 and ▶353▶, CD ▶2530▶) peaked in the **Kristallnacht**.

In a similar manner, anti-Jewish violent incidents erupted in a number of localities in the first few months of the war, despite the explicit ban on this by the **Gestapo** of 7 September 1939 (see Chronology and ▶462▶; ▶471▶). Throughout the course of the war, there were more isolated incidents of violence by individuals, especially cemetery desecrations. These continued even after the officially announced complete “dejudification” of Germany in the summer of 1943. *Bibl.:* Bankier, *Germans and the Final Solution*, chap. 2 and 4; Wildt, “Violence against Jews in Germany 1933–1939”; Kershaw, *Popular Opinion and Political Dissent*, 234 f.; *Das Schwarzbuch*; Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*; idem, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*; Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze,” 608–621; Borut, “Gewalttätiger Antisemitismus”; Bergmann, Hoffmann, and Walser Smith, *Exclusionary Violence*.

Informationsblätter der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland
Newsletter of the **Reich Representation** established in 1933 as

Informationsblätter des Zentralausschusses der deutschen Juden für Hilfe und Aufbau (**Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**). From 1935 and up to the closing down of the Central Committee after **Kristallnacht** in November 1938, the periodical appeared monthly as the *Informationsblätter der Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland*.

Press, Jewish

Internal migration

Along with increased **emigration**, there was since the National Socialist seizure of power also an intense internal migration evident among the Jewish population, especially from smaller communities and localities into the larger cities (and more rarely, also in the opposite direction). In the cities, Jews found the various social and aid institutions of the Jewish **Communities** more readily at their disposal, institutions they were ever more dependent on as their social exclusion mounted. Moreover, the anonymity of the large urban areas offered a temporary respite from the social pressure of anti-Semitism in everyday life, until introduction of **marking** by the **Jews' star** in September 1941. More rarely, there was internal migration in the opposite direction from the city to certain rural areas where the Jews felt less harassed; see ▶296◀, ▶260◀. Yet internal Jewish migration did not begin in the Third Reich, but rather intensified there under new conditions. It was a process that had emerged among the Jewish population with **Emancipation** in the course of increasing urbanization, and even before 1933 had led to the pauperization and even dissolution of many smaller Communities.

Internal migration after the outbreak of the war:

A mixed or hybrid form of internal migration and **deportation** was the forced evacuation of the civilian population to the countryside after the outbreak of the war in the western front zone (the so-called “red zone” of the *Westwall* [Siegfried Line] and the main combat front). Some 602,000 persons were affected, including an indeterminate number of Jews. The Jewish refugees were taken in by the Jewish Communities in the core area and given support. The **Reich Association** was centrally involved in the organizing of all relief measures. See ▶456◀ and ▶478◀

Internal migration during the war:

In the following years up until the **Final Solution**, internal migration continued in two directions. The Jews from the large cities sought refuge and protection from the Allied air raids in small Communities, see ▶558◀.; by

contrast, the migration from the countryside into the cities continued unabated, as in the years prior to the war. *Bibl.*: Kober, “Jewish Communities”; Bennathan, “Demographische und wirtschaftliche Struktur der Juden”; Fusser, *Der Wirbel um den Westwall*. On individual Communities, see *Pinkas Hakehillot, Germania* (Hebr.) or EJL (EngL).

Intriligator, David (n.d.)

Co-founder of the **Brith Chaluzim Datum**. He emigrated to **Palestine** and was a member of the religious **kibbutz** Yavne.

Israel, Wilfried (1899–1943)

Merchant, from 1922 to 1935 manager and until 1939 partner owner of the N. Israel **Department Store** in Berlin. He helped promote various Jewish projects in Germany and **Palestine**. From 1933, co-founder of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** and the **Reich Representation**, he worked on behalf of **Youth aliyah** and questions of **emigration**. In 1939 he emigrated to Great Britain, and was active in refugee relief there. In 1943, while on a flight from Lisbon to London, he was killed when the plane was shot down by a German military aircraft.

Der Israelit

Weekly paper of German **Orthodoxy** founded in Mainz in 1860. In 1906, purchased by Jacob **Rosenheim**, one of the early leaders of **Agudas Jisroel** and **Secession Orthodoxy**, and relocated to Frankfurt am Main. The engaged paper, often with a stance of moral outrage, always ready for a fight, threatened to split Orthodoxy from within German Jewry. Before and during the National Socialist period, it had a far greater influence than its relatively modest circulation of 4,000 copies in 1935 might suggest. Like the rest of the Jewish **press**, it was banned from publishing after **Kristallnacht** in November 1938.

Israelitic Community Community, Jewish

Israelitic Women’s Association (Israelitischer Frauenverein)

The local women’s associations existed in almost all German Jewish **Communities**. They devoted themselves to the traditional tasks of support for the needy, care of the sick, aid for families and burial. On the modern Jewish

women's movement, see **Jewish Women's Alliance**.

Israelitische Kultusgemeinde

Community, Jewish

Israelitisches Familiennblatt Hamburg

The Israelite Family Paper. Weekly founded in 1898 by Max Lessmann. The only private Jewish newspaper in Germany. Due to its numerous want ads, reports on **Community** affairs, and a decidedly conservative viewpoint on political questions, it was the most widely read and at the same time most profitable Jewish newspaper in the Weimar Republic. Its circulation rose from 24,000 in 1926 to 33,000 in 1931 and 35,000 in 1935. That year it relocated to Berlin, and was published as a general edition with local sections for Berlin, Hamburg, and Frankfurt am Main. The paper's circulation had declined to 26,500 copies when it was banned after **Kristallnacht** in November 1938.

Press, Jewish

Jabotinsky, Vladimir Zeev (1880–1940)

Zionist politician. As a member of the Zionist Executive, he opposed its general direction under the existing leadership. He resigned in 1923 and founded the Revisionist Party (**Zionists-Revisionists**). In 1933, he set up the New Zionist Organization, which split from the **World Zionist Organization**. Due to the active participation by Jabotinsky and his party in the anti-German boycott (**Boycott movement against the Third Reich**) from 1933 on, his party in Germany operated under the changed name of **State Zionist Organization** and its youth group **Betar** under the name of **Herzlia**. Both were forcibly disbanded in 1938, even before the November pogroms. He warned about the danger of anti-Semitism for the Jews of Europe with the slogan "evacuation of the European Jews" to **Palestine**. *Bibl:* Shavit, *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement*.

Jacobson, Jacob (1888–1968)

Archivist, from 1920 to 1939 director of the **Archives** of German Jewry established in Berlin. From 1943, confined in the **Theresienstadt** ghetto. In 1945, **emigration** to London. Later, one of the founders of the Leo Baeck Institute in London and a member of its board. *Bibl.:* Jersch-Wenzel and Jersch, "Jacob Jacobson."

Jew friend (*Judenfreund*)

Nazi term for non-Jews who had friendly relations with Jews, despite the regime's policies of exclusion and persecution, and who also gave them material assistance in their distress (see Chronology, 24 October 1941). The term "Jews' lackey" (*Judenknecht*) and "white Jew" (*weißer Jude*) were also used in this same sense (as in [648](#)).

Jewish Action (Jüdische Aktion)

Evidently a short-lived merger in early 1934 within the **Zionist** movement in Germany. In the Gestapo and SD reports of 1934, the Jüdische Aktion is mentioned as a rival and Zionist alternative to the **Reich Representation**. The association had its own apparently more radical views on **emigration** and **vocational retraining**. It was probably an initiative of the **Zionists-Revisionists**.

Jewish Agency

Jewish Agency for Palestine. An organization legitimated by the Palestine Mandate (see **British Mandate in Palestine**) of the League of Nations and in Great Britain recognized as a statutory body under public law authorized to represent Jewish interests. It was to cooperate with the Mandatory government, advising it on economic and social problems, and in all matters pertaining to the Jewish population in Palestine and the creation of a Jewish national home there. The functions of the Jewish Agency were exercised in the main by the **Zionist** Palestine Executive in Jerusalem, and political matters were dealt with by the Zionist Executive in London. In 1929, representatives of non-Zionist organizations in the Diaspora were also accepted into the leadership of the Jewish Agency. Until the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, the Jewish Agency served as the political leadership of the Jewish community (yishuv) in Palestine. It represented them to the British Mandatory power and to Jews throughout the world. Its importance for the Jews in Germany under the Nazi regime lay in the organizing of **aliyah** by the **Palestine Office** and the Central Office for the Settlement of German Jews in Palestine (see **Central Office for German Settlement; Martin Michael Rosenblüth**) created especially for that purpose. Of special importance for this aliyah was the **Ha'avara Agreement** on the transfer of Jewish assets to Palestine and the possibility of aliyah by children and youth created in 1933 for young people in the Jewish population in Germany (see **Aliyat Hanoar**).

Zionism

Jewish Book Association (Jüdische Buchvereinigung)

It was established in 1933–34 by leading Jewish organs, including the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**, on a noncommercial basis, patterned after the model of the Jewish **Kulturbund**, with the expressed aim to “disseminate and deepen Jewish culture and its heritage” in Germany. The association was active in the framework of the Kulturbund until 1941.

Jewish Central Association (Jüdisch-Konservative Vereinigung)

Central Association of German Citizens of Jewish Faith (CV)

Jewish Colonization Association (JCA, in Yiddish ICA)

Large **emigration** assistance organization. It was established in 1891 by Baron Moritz de Hirsch in the form of a stock company under British law, with its main office in London and administration in Paris. The ICA created agricultural colonies in Argentina, the United States, Canada, Brazil, Russia, Bessarabia, and Poland. Between 1933 and 1941, together with other Jewish relief organizations, it supported groups of settlers particularly in South America, including several groups of German Jews.

HICEM

Jewish Commerce Bank “Ivria” Ltd.

Founded by Georg **Kareski** in Berlin in 1927. Other Ivria banks established in Chemnitz, Breslau, Leipzig, Stettin, and Saarbrücken. The bank focused in particular on credit for Jewish medium-size businesses (Mittelstand) and went bankrupt in 1937.

Jewish-Conservative Association Conservatism

Jewish Emergency Aid (Jüdische Nothilfe)

Welfare, Jewish

Jewish Gymnastics and Sports Association (Jüdischer Turn-und Sportverein)

Sports associations, Jewish

Jewish League of Scouts of Germany (*Jüdischer Pfadfinderbund Deutschlands, JPD*)

Established in 1928 as the “League of Youth Groups” (Bund der Jugendgruppen), renamed in 1931 “Jewish League of Scouts.” Over and beyond the customary activities of the scouts, the Jewish League of Scouts had the following aims (FJGV 1932/33, 540): it regarded “the nonpartisan building of the Jewish home in **Palestine** as one of the most important tasks of Jewry. It is thus the absolute obligation of the individual to actively engage in this task.” Even before 1933, one of its goals in communal policy was the “creation of a Reich Association of the German Jews,” which then came into being as the organization for all Jews in the Third Reich in the form of the **Reich Representation**. The Jewish League of Scouts was a youth umbrella organization, and general Jewish as well as **Zionist** youth associations belonged to it. It was a member in the **Reich Committee of the Jewish Youth Associations**. *Bibl.*: Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement” I &II.

Jewish Lehrhaus

Lehrhaus, Jewish

Jewish National Fund

Keren Kayemeth Le Israel (KKL)

Jewish People’s Party (Jüdische Volkspartei, JVP)

The Jewish People’s Party was established in St. Petersburg in 1906 based on the principles of autonomism as conceived by Simon **Dubnow**. In Germany, the JVP brought together all nation-Jewish groups into a joint body representing their interests within the Jewish **Communities** and the associations of Communities. Initially this was done in the autumn of 1919 for Berlin, and then also in various large Communities such as Königsberg, Breslau, Cologne, Munich, Leipzig, Dresden, and Elberfeld. Within the political spectrum of German Jewry, that is generally viewed in terms of a polarity between largely assimilated “liberal” Jews and the **Zionists**, the People’s Party formed a third force or camp, which despite its Jewish national consciousness believed the future of the German Jews lay in Germany. Among the ranks of its supporters were **East European Jews**, Zionists, **Orthodox**, and voters from the lower middle classes. After the democratizing of the franchise in the Jewish Communities in Germany, which among other things accorded the East European Jewish immigrants a right to vote, the JVP chalked up substantial gains in the Community elections in Saxony, in several large cities, and in 1928–30 even in Berlin. In May 1933, the

State Zionist Organization under the direction of Georg **Kareski** split from the JVP. The JVP continued its activity in the Jewish Communities even under National Socialism, especially the advancement of the Jewish **schools** and **vocational restructuring**. Although it had not joined the **Reich Representation** in 1933 as a political organization, its leading members, especially Alfred **Klee**, had been members since 1932 of the leadership bodies of the (old) Reich Representation. *Bibl.*: Brenner, “The Jüdische Volkspartei”; see also CD ▶304▶.

Jewish Question (*Judenfrage*)

The concept of the Jewish Question was frequently broached and employed in discourse and discussion on **Emancipation** of the Jews in Germany in the nineteenth century (for example, Karl Marx vs. Bruno Bauer, 1843–44) and later in anti-Semitic literature and propaganda as a collective concept for problems of all kinds arising supposedly from the existence of the Jews as a minority in a non-Jewish environment, for example by Theodor **Herzl** or later Kurt **Blumenfeld** (*Erlebte Judenfrage*, 1962). In the Third Reich, the Jewish Question was dealt with in instruction in the schools as a “race question.” It was a central theme in National Socialist ideology and propaganda. In the situation reports, it was used as a comprehensive concept for the anti-Jewish policies of the regime, and the attitude of the population to the various phases and individual measures (for example, the “new anti-Semitic wave,” in the months prior to the **Nuremberg Laws, Kristallnacht**). Ultimately the concept of “Jewish Question” became fused in National Socialist discourse and parlance with the phrase “Final Solution of the Jewish Question,” signifying the total destruction of the Jews in Europe. *Bibl.*: Toury, “The Jewish Question”; Niewyk, “Solving the ‘Jewish Problem’”; Bein, *Jewish Question*; Rürup, *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus*.

Jewish Representative Council for the Boycott of German Goods and Services

International organization of Jews and non-Jews, founded in early 1933 to struggle against National Socialist policy on the Jews after the first so-called “spontaneous” persecutions and boycott actions against Jews (**boycott, anti-Jewish**). The German Jews protested openly for obvious reasons against the Jewish **boycott movement against the Third Reich**. The president of the Council was the British Jew Sir Robert Ludwig **Mond** (1867–1938).

Pfadfinderbund Makkabi-Hazair-Brith-Hazofim)
Jewish League of Scouts (of Germany); Maccabi Hazair

Jewish School Association (Jüdischer Schulverein)

The parents' associations that existed in Germany already before 1933 for furthering Jewish schools stepped up their work after the National Socialist takeover of state power. New Jewish schools had to be opened. Up to 1938, an extended network of Jewish elementary, middle, and high schools came into being under the leadership of the Education Committee of the **Reich Representation**. In 1935, some 140 Jewish public and private schools were attended by approximately 20,000 pupils. As a result of the decree of 15 November 1938 on removal of Jewish children from German schools (see Chronology), in 1939 the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** assumed sole responsibility for the education of all Jewish pupils down to the dissolving of the Jewish schools by the decree of 20 June 1942.

Jewish Teachers' Associations in Germany (Jüdische Lehrervereine in Deutschland)

There were two Jewish teachers' associations in Germany from the end of the nineteenth century. The first was the Reich Federation of Jewish Teachers' Associations (Reichsverband der jüdischen Lehrervereine), founded in 1895, which had seven affiliated state and provincial associations; the other the **League of Observant Jewish Teachers of Germany**. As the Jewish schools were expanded from 1933 on, the number of Jewish teachers soared. The two associations operated independently of one another, until after **Kristallnacht** they were incorporated into the Education Department of the **Reich Association**.

Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA)

Established in 1917 in The Hague in the final weeks of World War I by Jacob Landau under the name Jewish Correspondence Bureau as a telegraphic agency for collecting and disseminating news from the Jewish world. The JCB was reorganized in London in 1919 and renamed the JTA. In 1922, its main office was transferred to New York. Before World War II, the JTA maintained telegraph offices in New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Prague, and Warsaw for all of Eastern Europe, and **Palestine**. During the Third Reich, it was the only press agency that provided German Jews and the Jewish **press** in Germany with independent news. Even after the closing of its Berlin office on 10 November

1937, it served as an important and reliable source of news on the situation of the Jews under the National Socialist regime. Along with its telegraphic services, the central office of the JTA issued the *Jewish Daily Bulletin*. It continues reporting today online, as the Global News Service of the Jewish People, see <http://www.jta.org>. *Bibl:* Herzberg, “Last Days of the German Jewish Press”; Herzberg, “Jewish Press under the Nazi Regime.”

Jewish Theological Seminary (Jüdisch-Theologisches Seminar, Breslau) Rabbinical Seminaries

Jewish Winter Relief (Jüdisches Winterhilfswerk, JWH)

Until autumn 1935, the Jews participated actively and passively in the general **Winter Relief (WHW)**. Through the **Nuremberg Laws**, they were excluded from the WHW on 15 October 1935 as part of the policy of social exclusion of the Jews. As a consequence, the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** associated with the **Reich Representation** established an independent Jewish Winter Relief. The aim and work of the Jewish Winter Relief differed in some basic features from the totalitarian methods and aims of the general WHW. Following the dissolution of most Jewish associations and organizations in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, the Jewish Winter Relief was also incorporated into the **Reich Association**. It was active in the framework of the individual **Communities**. Just as before 1939, it successfully organized voluntary fund drives and served particularly to help alleviate and overcome the ever worsening economic and psychological distress of the Jews (see “Spiritual Winter Relief” in 1941, ▶537▶). In this, the Jewish Winter Relief was also an expression of solidarity with the Jewish community. *Bibl:* Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*, 161–165; Vollnhals, “Jüdische Selbsthilfe bis 1938,” 399–406; Reichsvertretung, *Jüdische Winterhilfe*; Reichsvertretung, *Rechenschaftsbericht der jüdischen Winterhilfe*; Schwarz, “Tschaikowsky für die Seele.”

Jewish Women’s Alliance (Jüdischer Frauenbund)

This was founded in the framework of the Jewish women’s movement that began in 1893 in the United States with the establishment of the Council of Jewish Women. In 1904, the Jewish Women’s Alliance was founded in Berlin, on the occasion there of the International Women’s Congress organized by Bertha Pappenheim and Sidonie Werner. In the mid-1930s, it encompassed 450

associations, 12 state and provincial federations, and 40 local branches, with a total of some 50,000 members. In a few large cities, the members who were working in some job or profession were in a special group of their own. The main activities of the Jewish Women's Alliance were in the areas of social work, and protection of women, young people, and children, education, vocational advancement for girls and women, female franchise in the Jewish **Communities** (in 1931 in Germany, there were eighty-three women serving on Community boards), and the struggle against anti-Semitism. In June 1933, the Jewish Women's Alliance separated from the general Alliance of German Women (Bund deutscher Frauen) even before the latter was dissolved in the framework of National Socialist **Gleichschaltung**. The alliance was active in the Third Reich within the **Reich Representation** principally in the sphere of **vocational restructuring** for Jewish girls and women in order to overcome the consequences of excluding women from professional life. After the **Nuremberg Laws** had declared the employment of **Aryan** domestic servants in Jewish homes to be illegal, Jewish girls were trained for such jobs. The alliance encompassed the various currents within Judaism, including the **Women's Auxiliary** of the B'nai B'rith Lodge. Even after it was officially dissolved in November 1938 in the wake of **Kristallnacht**, the Jewish Women's Alliance continued its intensive work, especially in the areas of social work and vocational restructuring within and outside the Reich Representation and **Reich Association**, until the **mass deportations** and the "Final Solution." The journal of the Alliance, established in 1924, *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* (circulation 1935: 4,100 copies) continued publication until 1938. Additional women's associations: **Israelitic Women's Association, Jewish Women's League for Palestine Work.** Bibl.: Kaplan, *Jewish Feminist Movement in Germany*; Bridenthal, Grossmann, and Kaplan, *When Biology Became Destiny*; Maierhof, *Selbstbehauptung im Chaos*.

Jewish Women's League for Palestine Work (Jüdischer Frauenbund (-verein) für Palästinaarbeit)

This was a special organization in the framework of the **Jewish Women's Alliance**, established in 1935 with the aim of stimulating interest in the various organizations of the League for work on Palestine, mainly for social and economic purposes. It was forcibly dissolved in 1938.

Jewish Youth League (Jüdischer Jugendbund)

In several National Socialist reports, the name “Jewish Youth League” is erroneously used for Zionist organizations. But what is meant is the **League of German-Jewish Youth**.

Jews by religion (*Glaubensjude*)
Geltungsjuden

Jews' houses (*Judenhaus, pl. Judenhäuser*)

Houses and apartment buildings owned by Jews in Nazi Germany, where from 1939 Jewish tenants were forcibly assigned and relocated. The Jews were gradually concentrated in such structures, until their **deportation** from 1941 on.

Unlike in most of the countries conquered by Germany, in Germany, on explicit orders from the Führer, no **ghettos** were set up, because it was supposed to be the first “judenfrei” country in Europe, “free of Jews” (i.e., “cleansed” of their presence). *De facto*, these “Judenhäuser” were a form of physical and social ghettoization of the Jews in Germany (see Chronology, 28 December 1938, 30 April 1939, and 13 March 1942). *Bibl:* Buchholz, *Die hannoverschen Judenhäuser*; “Jewish Houses” in ETR, Vol. I, 473.

Jews' lackey
Jew friend
Jews' star
Marking of the Jews

Joint Distribution Committee

The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, generally known as “the Joint,” was established in 1914 as a charitable organization and the central collection and relief aid organization of American Jewry for Jews in distress throughout the world, especially in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. After the National Socialists came to power, it used most of its funding for financing social work among the German Jews and their **emigration**, though not to **Palestine (HIAS)**. From 1934 to 1937, a third of the budget of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** stemmed from allocations by the Joint. From the outbreak of the war until 1941, the Joint was the only organization able to send financial support to the Jews in Germany and the occupied countries in Europe. After the entry of the United States into the war, the Joint succeeded, working through indirect and circuitous channels,

especially via Switzerland, in maintaining its relief aid also for the deportees in the **ghettos**, particularly the **Theresienstadt** ghetto. It also helped Jews survive in the Shanghai ghetto, including over 8,000 from Germany and Austria who had fled there. *Bibl.*: Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust*.

Josephthal, Georg (Giora) (1912–1962)

Legal expert and **Zionist** politician. From 1933, youth leader in Nuremberg, and staff member in social work for the Munich **Community**, setting up agricultural training camps and workshops for jobless Jewish youth in Bavaria. From 1934 to 1938, director of the **Youth Aliyah** and **Hechalutz** in Berlin. Representative of the Zionists in the Tripartite Council (Zionists, Liberals, Orthodox) of the umbrella organization of the Jewish youth associations in Bavaria. Member of the Executive Board of the **Zionist Association of Germany**, from May 1936 member of the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee** of the **Reich Representation**. He emigrated in 1938 to **Palestine** and helped found a **kibbutz** in 1945 largely for German Jewish immigrants, Kibbutz Gal-Ed. He built up the Absorption Department of the **Jewish Agency** in the early years of the Israeli state, and later served as Labor Minister under Ben-Gurion. *Bibl:* Halpern and Wurm, *The Responsible Attitude*.

Jospe, Alfred (1909–1994)

Rabbi; born in Berlin. He studied 1928–1932 at the University of Breslau, and to 1935 at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** there. From 1934 to 1936, **Liberal** district Rabbi in Schneidemühl. Until 1939 **Reform** Rabbi in Berlin. Member of the **Zionist Association of Germany** and in the Cartel of Jewish Fraternities. In 1939, he emigrated via Great Britain to the United States, where he had a distinguished career as a scholar in Jewish Studies and was active in the Hillel Foundation for over thirty-five years, and served 1971–75 as its national executive director.

Judenboykott

Boycott, anti-Jewish

Der Judenkenner

Anti-Semitic journal, published from February 1935 in Berlin.

Jüdisch-liberale Zeitung

Weekly of the **Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism** established in 1921 in Berlin. The paper had a number of editors, changed its name several times, and in its final form was published as the *Jüdische Allgemeine Zeitung*. Circulation figures sank from 4,600 in 1934 to 3,000 in 1936, the year it was closed down.

Press, Jewish

Jüdische Rundschau

The paper was founded in 1896, initially as the monthly main publication of the **Zionist Association of Germany**. From 1920, it was headed by Robert **Weltsch** as editor-in-chief. Until January 1933, it had a relatively small circulation but enjoyed considerable influence. After 1933, it appeared eight times a month. Its circulation in October 1935 was 38,000 copies, dropping to 25,000 by 1938. It was forcibly closed down and liquidated in November 1938 after **Kristallnacht**. *Bibl.*: Freedon, *Jewish Press in the Third Reich*; Weltsch, “A Goebbels Speech and a Goebbels Letter”; Weltsch, *Ja-Sagen zum Judentum*.

Press, Jewish

Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin

The Jüdischer Verlag was founded in 1902 by Martin **Buber**, the Jewish graphic artist and illustrator Ephraim Moses Lilien, and other Zionist-oriented personalities. Of especial importance for Jewish life in Germany were the five-volume *Jüdisches Lexikon*, the ten-volume *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* by Simon **Dubnow**, and the twelve-volume German translation of the Babylonian Talmud by Lazarus Goldschmidt (the final volumes appeared in the Third Reich). Under the National Socialist regime, the publishing house continued its activity until 1938. Among its publications were Theodor **Herzl's** *Gesammelte Zionistische Werke* in five volumes (1934–35) and the three-volume shorter version of Dubnow's *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes* (1937–38). The publishing house was since the 1920s owned by the publisher Siegmund **Kaznelson**. In 1950, the Jüdischer Verlag renewed its activity in Germany. *Bibl.*: Schenker, *Der jüdische Verlag*.

Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt (JNBL)

After the prohibition of the entire Jewish **press** in Germany in the wake of **Kristallnacht**, it was from 23 November 1938 to July 1943 the only remaining Jewish paper. The JNBL was published until September 1942 by the Jewish

Kulturbund and served as the semi-official organ of the **Reich Representation** of the Jews in Germany, and from February 1939 of the **Reich Association**. Its main function was to publish the laws and ordinances of the Nazi regime pertaining to the Jews, which in part were only announced in this paper. Parallel to this there was a similar paper of the same name for the Jews of Austria in Vienna and for the Jews in the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia in Prague. *Bibl:* Maier, “Das Jüdische Nachrichtenblatt”; Burger, *Von Goebbels Gnaden*.

Press, Jewish

Kahn, Bernhard (1876–1955)

Born in Oscarshamn (Sweden). From 1904 to 1921, secretary general of the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. In this function, he attempted to bring some order into the unplanned emigration of the Jews (especially **East European Jews**). He himself emigrated to Paris in 1933. From 1924 to 1933, director of the European office of the American **Joint Distribution Committee**. From 1924 to 1939, Director General of the American Joint Reconstruction Fund. In this connection and capacity, he undertook repeated trips into the settlement areas of the East European Jews, especially to the Soviet Union. From his student days, he was a member of the **Zionist Association**. In 1939, he emigrated to the United States. He was active there as honorary head of the European Executive of the Joint.

Kameraden

German: Comrades. The German-Jewish Hiking League (Wanderbund) was established in Breslau as the General German-Jewish Youth League. After disbanding on 15 May 1932, three new German-Jewish youth associations came into being: 1) **Werkleute**, 2) Free German-Jewish Youth (Freie deutsch-jüdische Jugend), which rejected Jewish identity as their ethnic identity, and were dissolved by the National Socialist regime, and 3) the **Black Pennant**. *Bibl.:* Maoz, “50 Jahre Kameraden-Bewegung”; Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement,” Vol. I and II.

Kannowitz (Kanowitz), Siegfried (1900–1961)

German-Jewish politician, pediatrician, secretary of the **Zionist Association of Germany**, orator and propagandist for **Zionism**, and on the staff of the **Jüdische Rundschau**. In 1933, he emigrated to **Palestine** and was later a deputy in the Israeli Parliament, the Knesset.

Kantorowicz, Ernst (1892–1944)

Legal expert and researcher in social pedagogy. From 1928 to 1930, lecturer in Kiel, 1930–1933, Professor of Civics and the Social Sciences, State Institute for Teacher Training, Frankfurt am Main. After 1933, active in Jewish cultural work (**Kulturbund**) and **adult education**. After Martin **Buber** emigrated to **Palestine** in 1938, he took over as director of the **Center for Jewish Adult Education**. Subsequent to **Kristallnacht** and detention in the Buchenwald **concentration camp**, he emigrated to Holland. In 1943, deported to the Westerbork camp, and from there in 1944 to **Theresienstadt**. Shortly thereafter transported to **Auschwitz**, and murdered there. *Bibl:* Simon, “Jewish Adult Education,” 76, 84.

Kareski, Georg (1878–1947)

Industrialist and Jewish organizational functionary. From 1925, member of the board of the Jewish **Community**, Berlin, and 1929–1930 its chairman. Co-founder of the **Jewish People’s Party**. Revisionist (see **Zionists-Revisionists**). Co-founder of the Jewish State Party (see **State Zionist Organization**) and its representative in the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**. In 1927, he founded the Jewish Commerce Bank “Ivria” and was its director from 1933 to 1937. Kareski opposed federalism inside the Reich Representation and strove for the hegemony of the Berlin Community there. He fought against the pluralistic political leadership of the Reich Representation with a rhetoric that was very similar to the style of the fascists. In Jewish historiography, his person and political activity are highly controversial: among other reasons, because he tried in 1935 to become director of the **Kulturbund** with assistance from the regime. In 1937, he endeavored, using similar tactics, to gain a powerful position in the Reich Representation (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 103). That same year, he emigrated to **Palestine**, where he had to defend himself against the charge of collaborating with the **Gestapo** before a court of honor. Despite his acquittal, his name in the memory of his contemporaries and in historiography remains associated with this charge. *Bibl.:* Nicosia, “Revisionist Zionism in Germany ?”; Levine, “Jewish Collaborator”; Cochavi, “The Hostile Alliance”; Fraenkel, *On the Edge of the Abyss*.

Katyn

On 13 April 1943, the German army during retreat discovered mass graves containing the remains of several thousand Polish officers in the forest near

Katyn in the vicinity of the White Russian city of Smolensk. The massacre was perpetrated by the Soviet Secret Police on orders from Stalin in the spring of 1940. This discovery was seized upon by **Goebbels** and used for a broad propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union and the “atrocities” of “Jewish Bolshevism.” In this connection, the first intensive discussion arose in the German public of the National Socialist **mass annihilation** of the Jews. *Bibl:* Kulka, “German Population and the Jews,” 275 ff, and *Bibl.* in fns. 2 and 3 there.

Katzenstein, Salli (1890–1944)

Teacher and preacher, from 1920 to 1935 in Soest, Westphalia, then in Minden, Westphalia. In 1943, deported to **Theresienstadt** and murdered in **Auschwitz** in 1944.

Katzenstein, Willy (1874–1951)

Legal expert (Lawyers, **Jewish**). Head of the Essen Jewish **Community** for many years, and chair of the CV Regional Association Westphalia-Lippe. From 1925, member of the Council of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities**. Centrally involved in the initiatives leading to establishment in September 1933 of the **Reich Representation**. He emigrated in 1939 to Great Britain.

Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!*

On 23 July 1941 (see Chronology), a month prior to the attack on the Soviet Union and the beginning of the systematic murder of the Jews by the **Einsatzgruppen**, the Wehrmacht and units of the German police, **Goebbels** unleashed a broad propaganda campaign against the book self-published in the United States in March 1941 by Theodore N. Kaufman, *Germany Must Perish!* (Newark, N.J.: Argyle Press). In the 104-page book, Kaufman recommended the sterilization of all German men. In German propaganda, the politically insignificant author, a seller of theater tickets, was portrayed as a close “Jewish” advisor of Roosevelt, who was providing a voice through his book to the supposed intentions to destroy Germany by the American and British plutocracy dominated by the Jews, and Soviet Bolshevism, under the leadership of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin (the German propaganda exploited the case of **Katyn** two years later in a similar propagandistic vein). *Bibl:* Benz, “Judenvernichtung aus Notwehr?”

Kaufmann, Jehuda (Karmon, Jehuda) (1912-)

Geographer and pedagogue. From 1929 to 1933, study of history at the University of Breslau and study at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** there. In 1933, briefly arrested for political reasons. Active in the **Hechalutz** and **Habonim**. From 1935 to 1937, director of the Hechalutz in the Rhineland and in Westphalia. In 1937–38, teacher and in the direction of the **Youth Aliyah** School in Berlin. In 1938, **emigration to Palestine**.

Kaznelson, Siegmund (1893–1959)

German-Jewish publisher. **Zionist**; 1913–1917 editor of the Zionist weekly *Selbstwehr* in Prague. On the staff of *Die Welt*, organ of the **World Zionist Organization**. In 1918, co-founder of the Jewish National Council of Czechoslovakia. In 1920, executive director of the publishing house **Jüdischer Verlag**, Berlin, and in 1923, editor of the magazine *Der Jude*. In 1937, he was ordered to stop publishing, and then emigrated to **Palestine**. He was also active with the Jüdischer Verlag after it was reestablished in Berlin in 1950.

Keren Hatora(h)

Hebr.: Fund for the **Torah**. It was founded in 1923 by the **Agudas Jisroel** for promoting the study of the Torah and religious Orthodox education. In 1935, it had offices in about sixty countries, including Germany.

Keren Hayesod

Hebr.: Foundation Fund. Also: Keren Hajessod. The Palestine Foundation Fund Keren Hayesod was established at the **Zionist** Annual Conference in London in July 1920. Since 1926, its central office has been in Jerusalem. It was the primary source for funding the work of Jewish construction in **Palestine**, a fund supported purely by contributions, involved in particular in the establishment of agricultural centers, while the **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael** concentrated on the purchase of land. By resolution of their congress, the Zionists were required to tithe, giving 10 percent of their annual earnings, as a contribution to Keren Hayesod. In Germany, the Keren Hayesod intensified its activities under the Nazi regime, continuing them until the end of Zionist work in the Third Reich. It operates today as the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal worldwide.

Keren Hayishuv

Hebr. Settlement Fund (in Palestine). Also: Keren Hajischuw. Financing

instrument of **Agudas Jisroel** for all its activities, such as help for intensive study of the **Torah**, spending a year at a yeshiva (Talmudic academy), training for **Palestine**. It assisted with organizing and promoting the Agudas workers' organization Poale Agudas Jisroel. Purchase of land for settlement in Palestine, see also **Keren Hatora(h)**.

Keren Kayemeth Le Israel (KKL)

The Jewish National Fund was established in 1901 at the **Zionist Congress** in Basel with the aim of raising voluntary contributions in order to purchase land in **Palestine** and transfer it to common Jewish ownership, and to make possible the settlement of indigent working Jews. The land purchased was provided on lease. The main administrative office was located in Jerusalem. In 1935, the KKL had offices in thirty-five countries, including Germany. In the course of the spread of Zionism after the Nazi takeover in Germany, ever broader Jewish circles participated in the collection drives for the KKL, since they also viewed this as an investment in the own future.

Keren Hayesod; Zionism

Kibbutz

An agricultural settlement form created by the Jewish workers' movement in **Palestine**. It was based on the idea of collectivism without private ownership of socialized means of production. There was a strict division of labor and communal education of the children. The first kibbutz (kvutza) was established in Degania on the Sea of Galilee in 1909. Even before 1933, members of the **Zionist** movement in Germany participated in the founding of numerous kibbutzim. With the great upsurge in emigrants (**aliyah**) after the Nazi seizure of power, the number of German Jews in the kibbutzim rose substantially. They also established new kibbutzim of their own, and their influence in the larger movement, especially in the cultural sphere, was considerable. *Bibl.*: Gelber, *New Homeland*.

Kirchenkampf (Church struggle)

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

Klee, Alfred (1875–1943)

Legal expert, Jewish organizational functionary. Until 1933, active as a **lawyer**. For many years, member of the governing board of the **Zionist Association of**

Germany. In 1919, co-founder of the **Jewish People's Party**, from 1920 member of the council of representatives and later of the board of the Jewish **Community** in Berlin. From 1925, vice president of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities**. Until September 1933, member of the Supervisory Board of the old **Reich Representation**, thereafter member of the advisory board of the new Reich Representation. From May 1936 until his emigration to Holland in 1938, member of its **Supervisory Board Executive Committee**. In 1943, he was deported to the Westerbork internment camp, where he perished.

Kober, Adolf (1879–1958)

Rabbi and historian. Liberal assistant Rabbi in Cologne, 1906–1908. District Rabbi in Wiesbaden, 1908–1918. Rabbi of the Cologne Jewish **Community**, 1918–1939. In 1922, founder of a treasury for the poor. From 1925 to 1939, delegate of the Prussian **Regional Association of Jewish Communities**. He founded the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Cologne in 1928, and later edited the historical journal *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*. Among other publications, he wrote *Grundbuch des Kölner Judenviertels 1135–1235*, on the early history of the Jews in Cologne. He emigrated in 1939 to the United States, where he served as a Rabbi.

Kol Nidre

Aramaic: All vows. The prayer beginning services on the first evening of **Yom Kippur**.

Koppel, Louis (1881–1973)

Legal expert, from 1925 **lawyer** and notary public in Dortmund; longtime chair of the Assembly of Representatives of the Dortmund Jewish **Community**. From 1929 to 1938, chair of the Dortmund branch of the CV, and until 1933 head of the Dortmund Lawyers Association. Active in the Jewish **Kulturbund** Rhine-Ruhr, he was repeatedly arrested by the **Gestapo**. He emigrated to the United States.

Kosher

A term for items permissible for use according to the regulations of Jewish religious law (**Halacha**). In the National Socialist reports, it refers mainly to foods and their preparation.

Ritual slaughter

Kristallnacht

Reichskristallnacht, November pogrom, in the National Socialist reports generally Judenaktion. National pogrom on the night 9–10 November 1938, in which the population also took part. Apparently instigated by Hitler (see *Bibl.*: Kley) and **Goebbels**, supposedly as a reprisal for the **Grynszpan** assassination of vom Rath in Paris. Staged by the NSDAP and implemented by the **SS**, **SA**, **Hitler Youth**, and other Party organizations (see regionally, for example 411 and nationally 356). The contemporaneous euphemistic term “Kristallnacht,” which tends to belittle the horror of the events, refers to the fragments of glass (i.e., crystal) strewn everywhere in front of the destroyed homes, shops, offices, and **synagogues**, and public Jewish institutions. During Kristallnacht, Jews across the Reich were humiliated, manhandled, and in a number of cases murdered. After the mass arrests of Jewish males immediately in the wake of Kristallnacht, more than 30,000 were interned in **concentration camps**. Following Kristallnacht, almost all Jewish organizations were forcibly dissolved and the Jewish **press** was banned from further activity. Although the November pogrom was triggered suddenly on the night of 9–10 November, it was reflected or prefigured already in previous months in numerous “actions against the Jewish population” that “at times took on the character of a pogrom” (see 353, and **Individual actions**). As is evident from many National Socialist reports, especially at the local level, the German population also recalled later on during the war again and again the events of Kristallnacht, which were certainly associated with feelings of guilt. In the collective consciousness of the German Jews and their memory, it was *the* drastic and dramatic event, and even before the beginning of the **Final Solution**, spelled the end of the history of the Jews in Germany (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 119). *Bibl.*: Pehle, *November 1938*; Bajohr, “November Pogrom of 1938”; Kley, “Hitler and the Pogrom of November 9–10, 1938”;

Wildt, “Violence against Jews in Germany 1933–1939”; Maurer, “The Background for Kristallnacht”; Ball-Kaduri, “The Central Jewish Organizations”; Döscher, *Reichskristallnacht*; Graml, *Reichskristallnacht*; Obst, *Reichskristallnacht*, “Kristallnacht” in EH, Vol. II, 836–840.

Desecration of religious symbols

Kulturbund of the German Jews

The Kulturbund of the German Jews was founded in June 1933 initially in Berlin, and then in other cities. Its aim was to bring together the Jews who were culturally active and creative, and had been excluded from cultural life in Germany, in order to promote an independent Jewish cultural life. That went beyond the work of the existing organization **Artists' relief**. An ideological dispute flared as to whether “Jewish culture” (such as the translation of Yiddish and Hebrew books) or the “culture of the Jews” (i.e., general culture for a Jewish public) should be primarily promoted. The compromise between the two extreme poles of opinion was often the performance of works from universal culture which had Jewish content (such as Lessing's classic drama *Nathan der Weise*). The Berlin Kulturbund had its own theater, own symphony orchestra and opera ensembles; from 1933 to 1938, it published the monthly newsletter *Monatsblatt des jüdischen Kulturbundes* and put on concerts, organized lectures, film showings, and other such events through branches throughout the Reich. The Kulturbund branches were brought together in April 1935 (see Chronology, 27_28 April 1935) in the Reich Federation of the Jewish **Kulturbund**. Its activity was subordinate to the supervision of the Special Commissioner for the Surveillance of the Non-Aryans Hans **Hinkel** in the Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda. In August 1935, the head of the **Gestapo Heydrich**, in consultation with State Commissar Hinkel, issued a directive stipulating that the events of the Kulturbund could only be attended by members, which by excluding the non-Jewish public significantly increased the social isolation of the Jews. According to the data contained in the *Philo-Lexikon (Philo-Verlag)* for 1936, the Reich Federation of the Jewish Kulturbund in November 1935 had a membership of 80,000–90,000. Aside from the **Palestine Office**, the Kulturbund was the only Jewish organization which after 1938 was not incorporated into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**. But on 1 January 1939, it was changed into a more centralized organization called Jewish Kulturbund in Germany. It continued its activity as an independent association until its dissolution and incorporation in the Reich Association in September 1941, and after that within its framework. Its sphere of activity at this juncture

also included tasks of the earlier **adult education**, such as **vocational restructuring** and language classes (especially **Hebrew** and English), which were seen as preparation for **emigration**. Immediately after the dissolving of the entire Jewish **press** in November 1938, the Kulturbund was made responsible for the publication of the sole Jewish serial publication still appearing in Germany, *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, which became the semi-official organ of the **Reich Representation** and its successor, the Reich Association. *Bibl.*: Schorsch, “German Judaism”; Steinweis, “Hans Hinkel and German Jewry”; Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*; Dahm, “Kulturelles und geistiges Leben”; Cochavi, Kultur- und Bildungsarbeit der deutschen Juden”; Akademie der Künste, *Geschlossene Vorstellung*; “Kulturbund Deutscher Juden” in EH, Vol. II, 843–846.

KZ

Concentration camp

Land der Verheissung

The “Country of Promise” was the “first” Palestine sound film, produced under the auspices of the **Keren Hayesod Lelsrael**. It premiered 26 May 1935 in Berlin and then was shown across the Reich. The film presented an attractive picture of **Zionist** construction in **Palestine** and life in the **kibbutz**. This optimistic picture, presented as the alternative to the situation of the Jews in Germany, often viewed as hopeless, had an especially positive impact on Jewish young people in Germany. *Bibl.*: Benz, *Juden in Deutschland*, 154 f.

Landauer, Georg (1895–1954)

Jewish organizational functionary, 1919–1923 active **Zionist** in the Rhineland. Co-founder of the German branch of Hapo’el Hatza’ir and active in the Zionist youth association **Blau-Weiß**. 1924–1925, head of the **Palestine Office** in Berlin, 1926–1927 secretary of the Executive of the **World Zionist Organization** in Jerusalem. From 1929 to 1933, executive director of the **Zionist Association of Germany** and once again head of the Palestine Office. In 1933, co-founder of the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** and involved in the **Ha’avara Agreement**. After his emigration to Palestine in 1934, he was active in politics, in **Youth Aliyah**, and in absorption matters. He served twenty years (1934–1954) as a managing director of the **Jewish Agency Central**

Office for the Settlement of German Jews. He emigrated to the United States in 1953 and died in New York City in 1954.

Landenberger, Leopold (1888–1967)

Legal expert, Jewish organizational functionary. From 1918 to 1938, **lawyer** in Nuremberg. From 1922 to 1938, member and executive director of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** and its president in Bavaria. From 1933, for the Liberals in the Supervisory Board and later on in the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. Also a member of the governing board of the Nuremberg Jewish **Community**. He emigrated in 1938 to Great Britain, and in 1940 to the United States, where he was active as a lawyer in New York.

Laupheimer, Friedrich Elias (1890–1965)

Economist and Orthodox **Rabbi**, born in Breslau. From 1931 to 1939, District Rabbi in Bad Ems. Member of **Misrachi**, responsible for the **Keren Hatorah Va'avoda** in Germany. Member of the **Council of the Reich Representation**; in November 1938 interned in the Dachau **concentration camp**. In 1939, he emigrated via Holland and France to **Palestine**.

Law on the Protection of Blood

Nuremberg Laws

Lawyers and judges, Jewish

Lawyers and legal experts were the constant target of anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda and constituted an important motif in Hitler's speeches since his appearances on the political stage. Immediately after the seizure of power, in March 1933 (see Chronology), they were physically attacked by activists of the NSDAP in many localities and dragged from the courts. The first legislative act of the new regime, in anticipation of further uncontrolled violence in the framework of the "defensive boycott" announced for 1 April, was the order of 31 March (see Chronology) on the removal of Jewish lawyers and judges in order to ensure the "maintenance of the authority of the administration of justice" (see **Individual actions**). On 7 April 1933 (see Chronology), in rapid succession, there followed the Law on the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, which contained certain exemption clauses, for example for former Jewish **combat veterans**. These were then annulled on 31 December 1935 subsequent

to the **Nuremberg Laws** (see Chronology, 15 September and 14 November there). Even earlier, on 7 April 1933 (see Chronology), the licensing of new Jewish lawyers was prohibited. According to an ordinance of 27 September 1938, the licenses to practice of all Jewish lawyers admitted before German courts were annulled, they were excluded from the German Bar, and they were only allowed to represent Jewish clients as “legal consultants” (Rechtskonsulenten).

In the framework of these diverse and sometimes contradictory restrictions on the practice of their profession, Jewish lawyers fought up to 1938 to protect and retain at least those rights which were allowed to the Jews under existing valid legislation. That struggle was waged in an especially effective manner by the legal counseling offices of the CV. Even after the final exclusion from practice in September 1938 and the dissolution of the CV in November, Jewish “legal consultants” advised the Jews on the ever more harsh anti-Jewish legislation, especially as regards salvaging a portion of their assets in Germany and in connection with **emigration**. After the outbreak of the war and until the final closing of the door on emigration and its prohibition in October 1941, it became ever more difficult and rarer for them to do such consultation. *Bibl.*: Jarausch, “Jewish Lawyers in Germany”; Göppinger, *Juristen jüdischer Abstammung*; Krach, *Jüdische Rechtsanwälte in Preußen*; Morisse, *Jüdische Rechtsanwälte in Hamburg*.

Lazarus, Paul Pinchas (1888–1951)

Rabbi, studied at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau. From 1918 to 1938, Liberal Rabbi (see **Reform Judaism**) for the city and district of Wiesbaden. From 1921 to 1938, co-founder of and lecturer at the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Wiesbaden. Board member of the **Association of the Liberal Rabbis of Germany**. He emigrated in 1939 to **Palestine**.

League of German-Jewish Youth (Bund deutsch-jüdischer Jugend, BDJJ)

In a number of situation reports, also called “Jewish Youth League” (jüdischer Jugendbund) or simply the “Bund,” though it should not be confused with the East European Jewish-Socialist political movement Labor Bund. It was established in 1925 as a German-Jewish youth organization in the spirit of the **Central Association**. In 1933, the following German-Jewish youth organizations joined together to form the BDJJ: CV-Youth Jewish Youth and Children’s Groups, Jewish Liberal Youth Alliances, and the **German-Jewish**

Youth Society. In 1934, a segment of the **Black Pennant** (Blue Group) also joined the ranks of the BDJJ. There was close cooperation with the CV and the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, which was responsible for physical training for defense. The league also retained a patriotic German orientation even under the National Socialist regime, and regarded its future as being in Germany. On 10 April 1936, it was renamed the “Ring League of Jewish Youth” (Ring-Bund jüdischer Jugend), which was then dissolved by the **Gestapo** eight months later, on 30 December 1936. Before its dissolution, the BDJJ had some 6,000 members. *Bibl:* Rheins, *German Jewish Patriotism*; Rheins, “The Schwarzes Fähnlein”; Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement,” Vols. I and II.

Assimilationists; Youth organizations, Jewish

League of Observant Jewish Communities in Germany, Halberstadt Association (Bund gesetzestreuer jüdischer Gemeinden Deutschlands, Halberstädter Verband)

Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities of Germany

League of Observant Jewish Teachers of Germany (Bund gesetzestreuer jüdischer Lehrer Deutschlands)

Established 1905 in Frankfurt am Main. Its organ of publication was *Erziehung und Lehre*, a supplement to the weekly of German Orthodoxy, *Der Israelit*.

Jewish teachers' associations in Germany

Lehranstalt (Hochschule) für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Institute for the Science of Judaism)

Rabbinical seminaries

Lehrhaus, Jewish

After World War I, Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929) established a new kind of institution, the Jewish Lehrhaus in Frankfurt and also in other large **Communities** in Germany, the House of Jewish Learning. It was a kind of Jewish adult and popular education school or free Jewish academy. These Lehrhaus schools offered Jewish adults who had grown distant from traditional Judaism a possibility to recover and rediscover their Jewish identity by a joint program of study. The idea of the Lehrhaus and its practice were grounded on the foundations of the scholarly discipline that had developed in Germany since the early nineteenth century, the science of Judaism {*Wissenschaft des*

Judentums), whose findings were now to be made accessible to a larger public. In the identity crisis that German Jewry, largely assimilated, found itself in after 1933, the idea of the Lehrhaus became a kind of intellectual anchor for broad segments of the Jewish community. The Frankfurt Lehrhaus resumed its activity, reopened by Martin **Buber** in 1933, who remained its director until 1938. In 1934 there were also Lehrhaus institutes in Berlin, Cologne, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Wiesbaden, Freiburg, and later in Hamburg, Stettin, Munich, Dresden, Breslau, and Karlsruhe. After 1938, the Jewish Lehrhaus institutes were dissolved as such, but continued a portion of their activity within the **Kulturbund of the German Jews.** Bibl.: Mendes-Flohr, "Jewish Cultural and Spiritual Life"; Simon, *Aujbau im Untergang*; abr. Engl. version: Simon, "Jewish Adult Education"; Cochavi, "Kultur-und Bildungsarbeit der deutschen Juden"; Dahm, "Kulturelles und geistiges Leben"; Schachne, *Erziehung zum geistigen Widerstand*.

Center for Jewish Adult Education

Levant Fair (Tel Aviv)

Hebrew: Yerid HaMizrah, Fair of the East. Large trade and commerce fair, held in Tel Aviv from the 1930s (last fair, 30 April–30 May, 1936) as a contribution to the modernization of the economic relations of the Jewish population in **Palestine** (yishuv) in the Near East. The purpose of the fair was to boost the developing industry and trade of the Jewish yishuv community and encourage immigration to Palestine.

Levinger, Heinrich (1901-)

Music critic, theater director. From 1925 to 1931, dramatic advisor of the Deutsches Theater in Prague, 1933–1934 director of the Ensemble Dramatique en Langue Allemande Strasbourg. From 1934 to 1939, director of the Jewish **Kulturbund** Rhine-Ruhr, for a time member of the **Reich Association** of the Jewish Kulturbund. In 1938–39, he was also director of the Jewish Kulturbund Rhine-Main. In 1939, emigration to Great Britain, and in 1940 to the United States. There, under the name Henry Levinger, he was active as a music critic into the 1950s, writing for the weekly *Musical Courier* and elsewhere.

Lewin, Reinhold (1888–1943)

Rabbi, born in Magdeburg. He studied 1906–1912 at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau. From 1912, Liberal Rabbi (see **Reform Judaism**) in

Leipzig, 1921–1938 in Königsberg; from 1938 Rabbi in Breslau. In 1943, deported.

Liberal Judaism

Until 1945 in Germany, a collective term for non-Orthodox currents within Jewish religion and society. *Bibl:* “Reform Judaism” in EJ, Vol. 14, 23–28 (on differences between “Reform” in the American tradition and German Liberal Judaism).

Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism; Reform Judaism

Liebermann, Max (1847–1935)

Important German-Jewish painter and graphic artist. He was educated in Paris, Holland, and Munich, and lived from 1884 in Berlin, one of the leading exponents of German Impressionism and the founder of the Berlin Secession (1898) alternative art association. In 1920–1923 president of the Prussian Academy of the Arts. Awarded honorary citizenship of Berlin. In 1927, Reich President von Hindenburg awarded him the Eagle Shield of the German Reich, a new national award for excellence. Liebermann was a conscious Jew, even if his paintings have few Jewish motifs. After the National Socialists came to power, Liebermann was demonstratively dismissed from his post in the Academy due to his Jewish background. He was considered in Nazi propaganda as an exponent of so-called “degenerate art.” His works were presented as “examples” of such art in the exhibition of the same name (“Entartete Kunst”) organized by the National Socialist regime in 1937.

Lodges, Jewish

B’nai B’rith (UOBB)

Löwenherz, Josef (1884–1960)

Lawyer, from 1936 Director General of the Israelitic **Community** Vienna. Under the Nazi regime, head of the Community, which functioned as the representative body for all of Austrian Jewry. He was an important partner of the **Reich Representation** and the **Reich Association** in Germany in helping to organize illegal **emigration** and **aliyah** from 1938 to 1941. Löwenherz, Leo **Baeck**, and the General Secretary of the Prague Community Frantisek Weidmann were regarded by the **RSHA** as the leaders responsible for the entire Jewish population in the **Great German Reich** during especially critical

situations, such as in the face of the planned evacuation of the European Jews to **Madagascar**, and the attack by the **Baum Group** in 1942. Löwenherz stayed in Vienna until the city was liberated by the Soviet army in 1945, and then emigrated to the United States, where he died. He wrote a report in 1945 used as an important document at the Eichmann Trial in Jerusalem. *Bibl.*: "Löwenherz" in EH, Vol. III, 913 f.

Löwenstein, Karl (1883–1965)

Lawyer, active in the Jewish youth movement, until 1938 **lawyer** in Aachen, President of the **B'nai B'rith Lodge** there. Member of the Assembly of Representatives of the Jewish **Community** Aachen, and its last director. Chairman of the local branch of the **CV** and member of the Main Executive Committee of the CV in Berlin. He emigrated in 1939 to Belgium, in 1940 to France and then to the United States. He should not be confused with the famous political scientist by the same name, who also emigrated to the United States.

Löwenstein, Leo (1876–1956)

Physicist, chemist, German-Jewish organizational functionary, and army officer in World War I. From 1918, department head in the Prussian War Ministry. In 1919, founder and head (to 1938) of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**. In 1933, head of the Sports Alliance of the Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans and member of the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**. In 1940, forced labor in Berlin, 1943 deported to **Theresienstadt**. In 1946, emigration to Sweden, later to Switzerland.

Lubinski, Georg (1902–1974, Hebr.: Giora Lotan)

Lawyer, Jewish organizational functionary, co-founder and first general secretary of the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**. From 1933 to 1938, head of the Department for **Vocational Training** in the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**. Member in **Hechalutz** and **Habonim**. He emigrated in 1938 to **Palestine** and established the system of Israeli National Insurance (Bituach Leumi) in 1953, and was a longtime director of the National Insurance Institute. He served as Social Affairs Minister and in 1960, Minister of Labor.

Ludendorff, Erich (1865–1937)

German general. His victory over the Russians at Tannenberg and the Masurian

Lakes in World War I provided the foundation for the myth surrounding his persona, and his meteoric career. Dismissed on 26 October 1918, Ludendorff fought against the Republic after the war, exploiting his popularity as a hero. He stoked the stabbed-in-the-back legend and participated in the Hitler Beer Hall Putsch of 9 November 1923. Unlike the leaders of the NSDAP, he was acquitted. He entered the Reichstag in 1924 as an NSDAP deputy, and was an unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1925. In 1928, he broke with National Socialism and left the Reichstag. In 1925, he and his wife Mathilde (1877–1966) founded the anti-Semitic **Tannenberg League**, to whose “German knowledge of God” he then devoted himself totally. In 1937, he founded the Society for German Knowledge of God, an anti-Semitic association which still exists today. Although he publicly opposed Hitler, he was given a pompous state funeral in 1937.

Lustig, Walter (1891–1945)

Jewish **physician**, from 1941 director of the Jewish Hospital in Berlin. From late 1942, board member in the **Reich Association**. From 10 June 1943 (see Chronology) to the war’s end, sole director of the Rest Reich Association or the New Reich Association. Protected from **deportation** by dint of his **mixed marriage** and **Aryan** spouse. At the end of the war, arrested by the Red Army on suspicion of collaboration with the Nazi regime and presumably executed. BibL: Meyer, “Gratwanderung zwischen Verantwortung und Verstrickung,” 325 ff, Nadav and Stürzbecher, “Walter Lustig”; Elkin, *Das Jüdische Krankenhaus in Berlin*; Silver, *Refuge in Hell*.

Maccabi

The first Jewish sports association was founded in 1895, the Israelitischer Turnverein (Israelitic Gymnastics Association) in Constantinople, established by German and Austrian Jews there who were unwelcome at the German gymnastic societies in the city, which excluded Jews. Sports societies were then established in various countries as the **Zionist** movement grew. Their aim was to further the physical and spiritual renewal of the Jewish people, especially among Jewish youth, within a Jewish-national ethos. Jewish sports clubs developed rapidly and the **Maccabi World Union** was founded at the Twelfth **Zionist Congress** in Karlsbad, Czechoslovakia, in 1921. In the 1930s, the Maccabi World Union encompassed some forty-five circles (countries, territorial organizations) with approximately 200,000 members. The German Maccabi Circle was founded in 1898, and in 1935 had 133 associations and 22,000 members, including the

Maccabi Hatsa'ir youth. Like almost all independent Jewish organizations, it too was dissolved after November 1938. The German Maccabi Circle was part of the Maccabi World Union and included, along with the Maccabi associations, **Bar Kochba** and **Hakoach** associations as well. *BibL*: Skrentny, “Blütezeit des jüdischen Sports.”

Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations; Sports associations, Jewish

Maccabiah, Maccabiada

Sports competition of the **Maccabi World Union** like the Olympic Games. The first Maccabiah was in 1932 on the occasion of the 1800th anniversary of the **Bar Kochba** Revolt (ce. 132–135). It was supposed to take place every three years in **Palestine**. The impressive 1935 Maccabiah in Tel Aviv was also a demonstrative act of Jewish solidarity against the humiliation and discrimination against the Jews throughout the world, and strengthened in particular the self-esteem of the Jews in Germany. Some of the participants from Germany used the opportunity and stayed on as illegal immigrants (**Aliyah**) in Palestine. During World War II, the games were suspended. After creation of the State of Israel, the Third Maccabiah was held in 1950.

Maccabi Circle

Maccabi

Maccabi Hatza'ir

Hebr.: the young Maccabi. Youth organization of the **Maccabi World Union**.

Maccabi World Union

Maccabi

Machsikei Hadas

Hebr.: upholders of the faith. Jewish **Orthodox** association in Halle for the promotion of **Torah** study and observance of religious law.

Machsikei HaTorah

Hebr.: upholders of the Torah. Jewish **Orthodox** association, in Düsseldorf, Dresden, and elsewhere, for the promotion of **Torah** study and observance of

religious law (**Halacha**).

Madagascar Plan

Like in the case of **Birobidjan**, when the SD explored in 1934 whether Jewish emigrants from Germany could also be settled there, a similar situation arose when Poland received permission from the French government in 1937 to investigate the possibilities for settlement for Polish Jews on the island of Madagascar off the southeastern coast of Africa (see ▶306▶). In the Polish findings, the SD saw a relevant option likewise for the **emigration** of the Jews from Germany, and initially began to explore this further. In July 1940, after the French defeat, the Madagascar Plan was reviewed by the German Foreign Office and the Jewish Affairs Department in the **RSHA** as a serious possibility for “evacuating” the nearly 4 million European Jews at the time under German rule in Europe. On 15 August 1940, Adolf **Eichmann** released a draft entitled “Reichssicherheitshauptamt: Madagaskar Projekt,” calling for the resettlement of one million Jews per year over four years. He emphasized that the RSHA would control all aspects of the program. Similar to the plan for establishing a reservation for Jews in the Lublin area in November 1939 (see Chronology, 18–27 October) and the later alternative idea of a “territorial solution” on Soviet territory, the Madagascar Plan ultimately likewise did not represent an alternative for the Nazi regime to the **Final Solution**, and was soon dropped and abandoned. *Bibl.*: Yahil, “Madagascar”; Brechtken, *Madagaskar für die Juden*; Jansen, *Madagaskar-Plan*; “Madagascar Plan” in EH, Vol. III, 935 ff.

Maimonides, Moses (1135–1204)

Most important Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, codifier and teacher of the Law, and physician. He was born in Cordoba and died in Fostat in Egypt, wrote in Hebrew and Arabic. The Rambam taught the identity of religion and philosophy, describing Judaism using Aristotelian conceptions. His codifications in religious law (**Halacha**) remain binding for observant Jews up until the present.

The eight hundredth anniversary of his birth was for the Jews in Germany a year of especial distress and humiliation (see Chronology, February 1935, July–August 1935 and the proclamation of the **Nuremberg Laws** on 15 September 1935). It was, as the National Socialist reports describe, celebrated with special festiveness by the German Jews in their ordeal. The fact that Maimonides was also recognized as an important philosopher beyond Judaism served to strengthen the German Jews in their self-esteem and consciousness of history.

All the currents within German Jewry were able to identify with his teachings and achievements: for the **assimilationists**, he was an example of cultural symbiosis in the heyday of Spanish Jewry; **Orthodoxy** saw him as a binding authority for Halacha, and even the **Zionists** regarded the Rambam as one of the most significant figures in Jewish history. It is thus not surprising that precisely in Germany, in the year 1935, Abraham Heschel, who was a fellow at the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin and later taught at the Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Frankfurt am Main before emigrating to England and the United States, published his study *Maimonides: A Biography*.

Main Office for Jewish Emigration Welfare (Hauptstelle für jüdische Wanderfürsorge)

The Main Office was founded in 1925 for refugees from the ravages of World War I, it worked from 1933 in the framework of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction** and was incorporated with it in 1935 into the **Reich Representation**. As Main Office for Emigration Welfare at the Reich Representation (Hauptstelle für Wanderungsfürsorge bei der Reichsvertretung), it assisted Jews with foreign citizenship who returned to their native countries. In 1937, it gave assistance to 587 **remigrants**, in 1938 (until October) to 1,060. After the forced expulsion of some 15,000–17,000 Jews of Polish nationality on 27–29 October 1938 (see Chronology) and the subsequent **Kristallnacht** pogrom, the work of the office was discontinued for a time. It was fully absorbed along with the Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction into the **Reich Association** on 17 February 1939 (see Chronology). Bibl: Reichsvertretung, *Arbeitsberichte* 10 (1937): 37–42.

Majdanek

Concentration and extermination camps; Final Solution

Mandate government, Mandatory government

British Mandate in Palestine

Marking of the Jews (and their possessions)

The demand to mark Jewish property and possessions, and later to mark the Jews themselves, was voiced repeatedly immediately after the Nazi seizure of power. In numerous **individual actions**, the **Star of David (Jews' Star)**, or graffiti such as “Jew” or “Jewish store” were scrawled on Jewish shop display windows and

houses. Nonetheless, marking was only introduced officially step-by-step from 1938. It began on 14 June 1938 with the Order for the Marking of Commercial Enterprises (see Chronology). Finally, on 1 September 1941, a badge was introduced for all Jews in Germany from the age of six and above to mark the person, right before the beginning of the **mass deportations** and the **Final Solution** (see Chronology). This was called Jews' Star (Judenstern) and is also known as the **Yellow Star** (because of its traditional color), or the Yellow Badge (*gelber Fleck*). During the deportations, **Heydrich** on 13 March 1942 issued a further order on the marking of Jewish homes and dwellings (see Chronology and Jews' houses) in order to prevent Jews from concealing their places of residence. Marking of the Jews themselves as persons was experienced in a powerful way as the most visible sign of their social exclusion and humiliation. The obligation for Jews to be distinguished by visible marking was valid law in all areas of the **Great German Reich** (including Austria and the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia) and later on in all European countries that were occupied by Germany. That obligation had first been introduced in 1939 in the German-occupied areas in Poland. *Bibl.*: Blau, *Ausnahmerecht der Juden*, 89; "Badge, Jewish" in EH, Vol. 1, 138–143.

Marley, Lord (1884–1952)

Dudley Leigh Aman Marley, Baron in the House of Lords, who in cooperation with Felix M. **Warburg** was active in helping to settle Soviet Jews in the planned Jewish autonomous region in **Birobidjan**, and participated in the **Evian Conference**.

Marranos

Span.: pigs. Marrano is the term introduced in the sixteenth century in Christian Spain and Portugal under the Inquisition for the Jews forcibly baptized in previous centuries (Hebr: anusim), who nonetheless were concealing components of their Jewish identity and Jewish tradition which they secretly preserved (living as crypto-Jews). Many of them who emigrated to non-Catholic countries in Europe and to the colonies in Central and Southern America openly returned there to their Judaism, establishing their own Sephardic (**Sephardim**) communities. Their **Communities** also existed in Germany under the National Socialist regime (the most important in Hamburg). When options for immigration were increasingly restricted (**emigration**) toward the end of the 1930s, Sephardic Communities founded by Marranos in the last remaining countries of refugees in Central and South America also took in Jews from

Germany. *Bibl.*: Prinz, *The Secret Jews*.

Marum, Ludwig (1882–1934)

German politician of Jewish descent, since 1913 with no official religious affiliation. A **lawyer**, he was Justice Minister in the state of Baden, 1918–1919. From 1919 to 1929, State Councilor in Baden. From 1914 to 1928, deputy in the Baden state parliament, and from 1928 to 1933, a deputy of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the Reichstag. On 16 May 1933, he was interned together with other members of the SPD in the Kislau **concentration camp**, where on 29 March 1934, he was strangled in his sleep. Official reports state that he committed suicide by hanging. His letters from the camp were published in 1984 by the Municipal Archives in Mannheim and Karlsruhe in book form. *Bibl*: Hamburger, "Jüdische Parlamentarier."

Marxism

Communism and Jews

Mass emigration

Emigration

Mass deportations

Deportations

Maybaum, Ignaz (1897–1976)

Rabbi, teacher, born in Vienna. Study at the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin; 1926–1928, **Liberal Rabbi** in Bingen; 1926–1936, Rabbi in Frankfurt an der Oder. From 1936 to 1939, lecturer at the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin (see **Rabbinical seminaries, Jewish**). In 1939, **emigration** to Great Britain. There after the war he became a major Jewish post-Holocaust theologian. *Bibl*: de Lange, *Ignaz Maybaum*.

Mendelssohn, Moses (1729–1786)

Jewish-German philosopher, who in his lifetime was considered one of the most important philosophers of the Enlightenment. He is regarded as an intellectual trailblazer of Jewish **Emancipation** due to his unique combination of a broad universal education and traditional Judaism, which he united in his own person and intellect. He was a friend of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, who patterned the

character of Nathan in his drama *Nathan the Wise* in part after the philosopher Mendelssohn. The great influence radiated by Mendelssohn, also as a symbolic figure with whom modern German Jewry largely was able to identify, remained a force long after his era, and was also in evidence in the critical dark period of Nazi rule. It was a mark of his influence that the first drama performed (1 October 1933) by the **Kulturbund** in Berlin was Lessing's *Nathan der Weise*. His ideas served repeatedly as a classic point of departure in discussions on the limits of assimilation and Emancipation and their reformation as concepts during the early years of the National Socialist regime, and more generally as stimulus for reexamining anew German-Jewish identity. *Bibl:* Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn*.

Meyer, Franz (Elieser) (1897–1972)

Merchant, Jewish organizational functionary, and member of the board of the Jewish **Community** Breslau. From 1933, member of the Supervisory Board and later the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. From June 1936 until his **emigration** in 1939, he served as the deputy executive director of the Reich Representation, in a post similar to that of Otto **Hirsch**. From 1937 to 1939, executive director and chair, **Zionist Association of Germany**. Especially active in assistance to emigrants. He emigrated in 1939 to **Palestine**.

Meyer, Senta (1905–1991)

Social worker, born 1905 in Hamburg. Worked as a social worker in the Hamburg Jewish **Community** and on the staff of the paper *Israelitisches Familiienblatt* in Hamburg. Emigrated in May 1939 to the United States, where she later was active in community social work.

Midrash

Term for the Rabbinical interpretation of the Bible (**Torah**) from the third century ce. down into the Middle Ages. Many midrashim can be dated because they provide indications in form and content of the time of their origin. The old form of the Midrash also served in later ages as a mode of encoded, subversive criticism of the respective contemporary conditions, *inter alia*, criticism of organized power rule that was hostile to the Jews.

In the Third Reich as well, in sermons, lectures, and articles in the Jewish **press**, historical events in Jewish history, and the festivals and holidays, often

specifically associated with distress, persecution, and the overcoming of oppression, were related to the contemporary situation of Jewish persecution under the Nazi regime. These events included the bondage in Egypt (**Pesach**), the threat to and rescue of the Jews in the Persian Diaspora (**Purim**), the religious persecution in the Hellenic and Roman eras (**Chanukka**), and the Day of Remembrance and fasting (Tishab'Av) for the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem after the Great Revolt against Roman rule. Another form of “intellectual resistance” which generally escaped censorship was the encoded referencing of traditional texts to the current situation. This was easy for Jewish readers to recognize and helped to strengthen Jewish identity and self-esteem (see the chapter “Der neue Midrasch” and the definition of the concept “intellectual resistance” in Simon, “Jewish Adult Education,” 92 ff). In this spirit, numerous statements were written by the **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**, such as on **Yom Kippur** 1935 (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, Nos. 73 and 79) and the Jewish **New Year** in September 1938 (see *Jüdische Rundschau*, 30 September 1938; ▶347▶).

Minority protection

When after World War I minority protection clauses guaranteed by the League of Nations were included in the peace treaties with the “successor states,” autonomy-oriented efforts and demands for guarantees of minority rights protection also were put forward by Jews in Central and Eastern Europe. By contrast, most Jews in Germany, in a broad sense of identification with the German people, rejected demands for such guarantees as irrelevant for their own situation.

Even in 1933, after anti-Jewish persecution had erupted and the beginnings of **race legislation** were in clear evidence, the Jews rejected suggestions they seek the protection of the League of Nations. Exceptions were the Jewish population in **Upper Silesia**, the **Saarland**, and **Danzig**.

In Upper Silesia, the Jews succeeded in preserving their full civil rights until 15 May 1937. This was done with the help of the German-Polish Agreement on Minority Protection of 15 May 1922, guaranteed by the League of Nations for a period of fifteen years. However, the period of two months’ transition under protection of rights contained in the agreement (see ▶265▶) was already violated on 30 June 1937, six weeks later, by the legislation on measures in the former Upper Silesia referendum area (see Chronology, 30 June 1937, and **Bernheim Petition**).

In the Saarland, the Rome Agreement of November 1934 stipulated that

during the first year after reincorporation of the Saarland into the Reich (**Saar plebiscite**), no laws could be promulgated that discriminated against persons on the basis of their language, race, or religion. For that reason, the **Nuremberg Laws** could not be applied in the Saarland until 1 March 1936.

After World War I, Danzig had been placed under the supervision of the League of Nations as a so-called Freistadt, but the Jews of the Free City of Danzig, after the victory of the National Socialists in May 1933 in elections for the City Senate, also found themselves the target of anti-Jewish measures that had been gradually introduced since the Nazi victory in May at the polls. The struggle of the Jewish Community against discrimination in Danzig had only limited success. However, the Nuremberg Laws were not officially introduced there until after **Kristallnacht**, on 21 November 1938.

Up to the end of the 1930s, the German Jews generally rejected any proposal that they be placed under minority protection. On the attitude of the National Socialist regime to the extension of minority protection to the Jews in Germany, see **Zionism**, last paragraph of entry. *Bibl.*: Janowsky, *Jews and Minority Rights*; Toury, “Organizational Problems of German Jewry”; Stillschweig, “Zur neuen Geschichte der jüdischen Autonomie”; On Upper Silesia, *bibl.* in **Bernheim Petition**; on the Saarland, see Hermann, “Schicksal der Juden im Saarland”; DGFP, Serie C, Vol. III, see documents on “Saar Territory,” lxi-lxiv; Jacoby, *Nationalsozialistische Herrschaftsübernahme an der Saar*, 155; on Danzig, see Levine, *Hitler’s Free City*; Lichtenstein, *Juden der Freien Stadt Danzig*; “Danzig” in EH, Vol. 1,344–347.

Comité des Délégations Juives

Mischlinge

The concept was precisely defined for the first time in the First Ordinance to the **Nuremberg Laws** (see Chronology, 15 September 1935): a Jewish Mischling of the second degree is anyone with only one grandparent that is “fully Jewish in terms of race” (“quarter-Jew”). A Jewish Mischling of the first degree has two such grandparents (“half-Jew”), insofar as he or she did not come under the category of **Geltungsjude**. Persons with three “full-blooded” Jewish grandparents were in effect equivalent to “full Jews.” From September 1935, **Aryans** were permitted to wed Mischlinge of the first degree only in rare exceptional cases, and with the express permission of the Interior Ministry. The concept of “Jewish” or “Aryan household” also depended on the religious (“Mosaic”) education of the children (see **Mixed marriages** and Chronology, 30

April 1939) ♀

The anti-Jewish legislation affected the Mischlinge in various areas. From October 1944, Mischlinge of the first degree were deployed on conscripted **forced labor**, and between January and April 1945, they were deported to the **Theresienstadt** ghetto for “labor deployment in segregated groups.” According to the 1939 census, there were 72,000 Mischlinge of the first degree and 39,000 of the second degree in Germany. *Bibl.*: Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy”; Noakes, “Wohin gehören die Judenmischlinge?” Grenville, “Endlösung und die Judenmischlinge”; Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge*.

Misrachi

More commonly internationally: Mizrahi. Association of religious **Orthodoxy** within the Zionist movement. Established in Vilna in 1902 by Rabbi Yitzchak Yaakov Reines in order to preserve the place and viewpoint of observant Torah-true Jews inside **Zionism** vis-à-vis a secular cultural Judaism. Mizrahi had its bases of activity initially in Eastern Europe, then also in Western Europe, the United States, and **Palestine**. In 1921, its main office was relocated to Jerusalem. The important centers of the movement in Germany were Frankfurt am Main, Berlin (national central office), and Altona. In its various affiliated organizations (workers' movement Hapoel HaMizrahi, the women's organization Omen, youth associations **Brit Chaluzim Datum** and **Bnei Akiva**), it made an important contribution to education, cultural work in the Diaspora, and the settlement of **Palestine** (also in the religious **kibbutzim**). Like most Jewish organizations in Germany, it intensified its work from 1933 in all areas of activity. It was dissolved at the end of 1938. *Zion*, the monthly magazine of Misrachi in Germany, founded in Berlin in 1928, was published until November 1938; in 1935, it had a circulation of 2,000 copies (see **Press, Jewish**).

Mixed marriages

The assimilation and integration of the German Jews during the Weimar Republic was reflected among other things in a significant demographic fact: the high percentage of marriages between Jews and non-Jews. In 1927, some 21 percent of all marriages by Jews were with non-Jewish partners (Jews who formally left their religion in order to marry a non-Jew are not included in these figures). After the National Socialist takeover of power, the racial agitation of the Nazis under the pretext of “**race defilement**” often led to violence from the population.

From 1933 on, the authorities made it more difficult to apply for a mixed marriage by introducing an array of local laws and ordinances. A general prohibition on mixed marriage was issued in 1935 in the framework of the **Nuremberg Laws** as the Law on the Protection of German Blood and German Honor, the Blood Protection Law. But the legislation was not retroactive, and those marriages already existent remained valid unions of matrimony. The Jewish spouse in these marriages was protected from a portion of the anti-Jewish discriminatory ordinances and directives, and as a result also from later **deportation to the extermination camps**. At the end of 1938, Hitler ordered relief in certain cases in connection with the legislation on mixed marriages. This led to what was called in the parlance of the bureaucrats “privileged mixed marriage,” though this was never clearly defined as a status in its own right by a specific law. This category included select couples where the non-Jewish spouse had a high-ranking social or economic position, and whose children according to the Nuremberg race laws were not “full Jews,” or childless couples, along with couples whose only son had been killed in action. In the Law on Renting to Jews of 30 April 1939 (see Chronology), four categories of mixed marriages were described for the first time. Two of these were classified as Aryan households, and thus had a status similar to that of privileged mixed marriages. It stated there:

- “1) If the head of the household is an Aryan, and his wife Jewish, and if there are no children, then the household is considered Aryan.
- 2) If the head of the household is a Jew, his wife Aryan, and there are no children, the household is considered to be Jewish.
- 3) If one of the parents is Jewish and the other Aryan, and there are children who are Germans, **Mischlinge** of the first degree (i.e., not raised in the Mosaic faith), then the household is considered Aryan.
- 4) If one of the parents is a Jew, the other an Aryan, and there are children who are being brought up in the Mosaic faith, then the household is considered Jewish, even if the man is Aryan. [...]” (see ▶475▶).

Jews in privileged mixed marriages were exempted from **marking by the Jews' star** and from having to live in **Jews' houses**, and were not subject to the special rationing restrictions for Jews (see ▶475▶). But the situation reports mention protests from the population against such forms of relief and easing of restrictions (see ▶568▶).

Children from mixed marriages were, correspondingly, subject in differing degrees to the racial discrimination, according to the proportion and origin of the “Jewish blood in their veins” and their Jewish education.

Although, in general, Jewish spouses were protected from **deportation** due to the status of mixed marriages until the last months before the end of the war, there were various attempts to deport also the Jews who were married to non-Jews. The best known case is the “Fabrikaktion” in February 1943 in Berlin, where over several days non-Jewish wives demonstrated successfully against the “illegal” arrest of their Jewish husbands (see Grüner, “Factory Action and the Events at the Rosenstrasse in Berlin”). This led also to protest letters by some church leaders (see Chronology 27–28 February 1943 and 12 March 1943). For the **Church**, the persecution of persons in mixed marriages and Mischlinge was an especially knotty problem, since many Jewish spouses had converted to Christianity when they married non-Jews (**Converts, Race legislation vs. religious affiliation**), and their children had been born Christian and baptized.

Thanks to their non-Jewish spouses, more than 10,000 Jews survived in Germany under the protection of (privileged and nonprivileged) mixed marriages. *Bibl.*: Büttner, “Persecution of Christian-Jewish Families”; Grüner, “Factory Action”; Tent, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust*; Meyer, *Jüdische Mischlinge*; Meyer, “Mixed Marriages”; Meiring, *Christlich-jüdische Mischehe*; Stolzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*.

Der Morgen

German-Jewish periodical, published from 1925 in Berlin as a bimonthly, from 1933 as a monthly. In October 1935, it had a circulation of 1,400 copies, and was closed down in November 1938. It targeted in particular an intellectual elite readership, was close to the CV, but opened up its pages and columns especially during the Third Reich to other, in particular **Zionist**, ideas and positions.

Press, Jewish

Munk, Esra (1867–1940)

Rabbi, studied at the **Orthodox** Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin (see **Rabbinical seminaries**), and at the universities of Berlin and Königsberg. From 1893 to 1900 in Königsberg, where he founded a **Secession Community**. From 1900 to 1938, Chief Rabbi of the Orthodox Community **Adass Jisroel** in Berlin. He co-founded the **Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities of Germany**, and in 1934 the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany**. From 1933, director of the **Reich Central Office for Ritual Slaughter**. In 1938, emigration to **Palestine**. *Bibl.*: Munk, “Austrittsbewegung.”

Munk, Michael (1905–1984)

Rabbi, son of Esra Munk. He studied 1923–1925 at the **Orthodox** Rabbinical Seminary (see **Rabbinical seminaries**) and at the University of Berlin. In 1925, at the Yeshiva in Tirnau, Slovakia. From 1926 to 1929, at the Yeshiva Slobodka in Lithuania. 1928–1930, studied in Berlin and Würzburg, staff worker at **Esra**. From 1930 to 1938, Rabbi at **Adass Jisroel** in Berlin. Senior staff member in the **Reich Central Office for Ritual Slaughter**. After the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany** joined the **Reich Representation** on 13 July 1938, he represented it on the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee**. After **Kristallnacht**, **emigration** via Holland to Great Britain, and in 1941 to the United States. In London, he founded the Adath Yisrael Synagogue. In America he was the founding principal of a large Orthodox girls school in Boston, Beth Jacob, and he campaigned in defense of Jewish **ritual slaughter**. He also worked after the war with displaced persons in Europe. His most famous book is *The Wisdom in the Hebrew Alphabet*. He later emigrated to Israel, where he died.

National Socialist Women's League (NS-Frauenschaft, NSF)

The NSF was founded in 1931 and incorporated into the NSDAP in 1935. From 1936, it only admitted as members women who had already proved their ideological commitment to the work of the Party. The Women's League conducted political-ideological training workshops and courses. Its activities also included issuing reports on the prevailing mood in the population with a decidedly anti-Semitic slant. See for example [513](#). Of the 4 million women organized in associations in the Third Reich, some 2.3 million were members of the NSF.

National Youth Day (Staatsjugendtag)

The National Youth Day introduced in September 1934 gave pupils in the public schools Saturday free from classes so that the members of the **Hitler Youth** in the age bracket ten to fourteen years old (Jungvolk) could take part in the planned events of their movement. This made it possible for Jewish children to take part in **Sabbath** services and in special events organized for them by the Jewish **Communities** and associations; see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 56.

NS-Hago, NS-Handwerks-, Handels-und Gewerbeorganisation

The National Socialist Crafts, Commercial and Trade Organization was founded in 1933. An organization of the NSDAP, it was active primarily in the sphere of propaganda and ideological indoctrination and training for members of the stratum of small and medium-size commercial enterprises and workshops. It was centrally involved in anti-Jewish actions, including rallies (see **Individual actions**), the **boycott** of businesses, and the **Aryanization** of commercial enterprises.

Naumann, Max (1875–1939)

Lawyer and **German-Jewish** politician in Berlin. In 1921, he founded the **Association of National-German Jews**. Despite the Nazi takeover and the clear rejection of his ideas by the regime, he continued to espouse his unconditional German patriotism. His association was dissolved in 1935 by the **Gestapo**. Naumann was arrested and later emigrated in 1939 to the United States. *Bibl.*: Rheins, “Verband nationaldeutscher Juden.”

Neuberger, Josef (1902–1977)

Lawyer in Düsseldorf; **Zionist**, member of **Blau-Weiß**. In 1938, **emigration** to Holland, in 1939 to **Palestine**. In 1950, return to Germany. There he was active as a lawyer once again and in politics with the Social Democratic Party, rising to a post of Justice Minister in the state government of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Die Neue Welt

Zionist weekly in Vienna (1928–1938), which belonged to the Revisionist current, and later to the State Zionist current (**Zionists-Revisionists**). It was established in 1928 by Dr. Robert Strieker. The paper was shut down in March 1938 with the **Anschluß** of Austria.

Neufeld, Siegbert Izchak (1891–1971)

Rabbi, studied at the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums**. From 1915 to 1920, Rabbi in Briesen, 1920–1925 in Insterburg, 1925–1939 in Elbing. Contributor to the *Jüdisches Lexikon* and the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. In 1939, **emigration to Palestine**, in 1952 return to Germany, until 1953 State Rabbi in Württemberg.

Neumark, Manass (1875–1942)

Rabbi, born in Posen. He studied at the **Rabbinical Seminary** in Berlin and at

Berlin University. From 1905 to 1942, **Liberal** Rabbi in Duisburg, active in youth and social work, and in assisting **emigrants**. Member of the **B'nai B'rith**. Neumark was deported in 1942 to **Theresienstadt** and perished there.

Neumeyer, Alfred (1867–1944)

Legal expert, Jewish **Community** functionary. Born in Munich, active up to 1933 as a **lawyer** and judge. In 1920, he founded the Association of Bavarian Israelitic Communities (see **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**), as whose president he served until its dissolution and incorporation into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**. For many years, president of the Munich Israeli tic **Community** and member of the board of the CV. From 1933, member of the board and later of the **Council of the Reich Representation of the German Jews**. In 1941, he emigrated via France and Spain to Argentina, where he died three years later.

New Zionist Organization Zionists-Revisionists

New Year festival Rosh ha-Shana

Noar Agudati

Youth organization of **Agudas Jisroel**, also called “Agudas Youth.”

Esra

Non-Aryan (*Nichtarier*)

The customary race definition in National Socialist ideology and legislation for Jews and persons of Jewish descent. This also included Jews who had converted to Christianity. See **Non-Aryan Christians**, **Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians** and Chronology, 26 November 1935.

Aryan

Non-Aryan Christians under the National Socialist Regime Converts and proselytes; Paulusbund; Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians

November pogrom Kristallnacht

NSBO, Nationalsozialistische Betriebszellenorganisation

National Socialist Shop Cell Organization, founded in 1928 as a political organization in workplaces, and redesignated as the NSBO in March 1931. Its role even after the Nazi takeover and the destruction of the trade unions remained restricted to political propaganda and indoctrination in the factories and their workplaces. The NSBO participated on the one hand in anti-Jewish **boycott** actions, but criticized such actions in some cases as well if they had a negative effect on the interest of the “Aryan” workers in a Jewish shop or factory (See CD ▶933▶). Many functions of the NSBO were taken over by the German Labor Front in the summer of 1933.

Nuremberg Laws

Comprehensive term for the two race laws adopted at the Reich Party Convention of the NSDAP on 15 September 1935 in Nuremberg: Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor (“Blood Protection Law”) and the Reich Citizenship Law. The Blood Protection Law prohibited marriages and extramarital intercourse between Jews and “full-blooded Germans,” and became the legal foundation for the court trials on charges of so-called **race defilement**. In this way, the social exclusion of the Jews was anchored in legislation. They revived an ancient church prohibition and prohibited “full-blooded German women” under the age of forty-five from working as domestics in Jewish households (this regulation under 3 did not go into effect until 1 January 1936). Numerous situation reports provide a composite picture, suggesting that already from 30 January 1933 and National Socialist rule, and especially from early 1935, there was a constant “pressure from below” calling for the anti-Jewish rhetoric of the Party to finally be made concrete and binding in the form of legislation. Parallel with this, large segments of the population and organs of the state were demanding a clear body of legislation in respect to the Jews in order to gain control over rowdy uncontrolled anti-Jewish violence (**Individual actions**) and to eliminate disputes over which state authority or Party office was responsible for what. The main points of dispute in this regard were conflicts surrounding **race defilement** and the **Flag legislation**, which prohibited Jews from displaying the swastika and national Reich flag.

With the Reich Citizenship Law, the Jews were stripped of their political rights. The First Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law of 14 November 1935

(see Chronology) became the foundation for the final definition of the concept of “Jew” in anti-Jewish legislation and the policy for the Third Reich up until the **Final Solution**. According to this, a “Jew” was a person with at least three grandparents who were “full Jews in terms of race” or whoever had two Jewish grandparents (Mischling second degree) and belonged to the Jewish community of faith or was married to a “full Jew” (**Geltungsjude**). This law also served to define “half-Jews” and “quarter-Jews” (i.e. “**Mischlinge** of the first and second degree”). *Bibl:* Newman, *The Nuremberg Laws*; Gruchmann, “Blutschutzgesetz”; Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze”; Pzyrembel, *Rassenschande*; Essner, *Die Nürnberger Gesetze*.

Race legislation vs. religious affiliation fo the Jews

Nussbaum, Leo (1910–1979)

Teacher, born in Gelsenkirchen. Studied at the Pedagogical Academy in Frankfurt am Main. In 1932–1935, teacher at the Jewish grammar school in Gelsenkirchen. From 1935 to 1939, teacher at the Jewish grammar school in Königsberg. In 1939, **emigration to Palestine**, where he was likewise active as a teacher.

Olympic Games, Berlin and race policy

Since the National Socialist race policy was contradictory to the basic principles and values of the Olympic Games, the planned holding of the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936 was initially controversial. However, the National Socialist regime regarded the staging of the games as a contribution to consolidating the international image of Germany. For that reason, it avoided conspicuous anti-Jewish measures of persecution in 1936 and also endeavored to curtail and stop **individual actions**. In addition, it accepted the obligation not to discriminate against any athletes on racial grounds. *Bibl:* Killanin and Rhoda, *The Olympic Games*; Mayer, “Equality—Equality: Jews and Sports,” 233–238; Ben-Elissar, *La Diplomatie du IIIème Reich*, 163–184; *Der gelbe Fleck*, 187–195; Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936*; Krüger, “Verhältnis der Juden zu den Olympischen Spielen”; Atlasz, *Der jüdische Sport in Deutschland*; Boch, *Berlin 1936*.

One-price store {Einheitspreisgeschäft}

Generally, **department stores** that sold common commodities at unified “discounted” low prices. In German, shape, abbreviation of Einheitspreis Handelsgesellschaft mbh, was originally a fixed-price outlet established in 1926

in Cologne by the Jewish department store entrepreneur Alfred Tietz. Already in the Weimar Republic, such “one-price stores,” often owned by Jews, had been a target for anti-Jewish agitation and attacks. The National Socialists organized a **boycott** against them as early as 1927. On 23 December 1932, a ban was issued on opening Ehape stores throughout the German Reich. After the National Socialist ascension to power, this ban was declared to be indefinite. *Bibl.*: “One-Price Store,” in ETR, Vol. **II**, 672.

ORT—Society for the Promotion of Work

Russ. abbreviation for Obshestvo Raspostranenie Truda. ORT is often expanded into the name: Obshestvo Remeslenogo zemledelcheskogo Truda (Society for Trades and Agricultural Labor) among the Jews. It was established in 1880 in Russia, on the very eve of the great pogroms of 1881, marking a period of upheaval and uncertainty for Jews in czarist Russia, where ORT would contribute in providing stability and essential skills. From 1920, there were ORT national organizations in Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Germany, Great Britain, France, the United States, and Canada. The areas ORT concentrated its activity in were in the main vocational training, supplying Jewish craftsmen with machines, tools, and raw materials, and assistance to agricultural settlements. After 1933, the activity of the organization in Germany was in the framework of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, and it was intensified, especially in the area of **vocational restructuring** of the German Jews as preparation for **emigration**. The ORT School in Berlin taught teenage boys engineering. After British ORT petitioned the Nazi government, it was granted permission to relocate to England with a hundred students and some Jewish staff in the late summer of 1939, just days before the outbreak of World War II, and was reestablished in Leeds.

Orthodoxy, Jewish

Jewish Orthodoxy demands strict observance of the biblical and Rabbinical commandments as interpreted and handed down in Jewish tradition (**Halacha**). With the onset of the European Enlightenment and **Emancipation**, Orthodoxy felt threatened in its way of life and worldview, and reacted to this challenge in various ways: in Germany, there arose the so-called “Neo-Orthodoxy” of Rabbi **Samson Raphael Hirsch** (1817–1894), which sought a synthesis of modern education and “way of life of the land” (Hebr.: *derekh eretz*) with the binding norms of Orthodoxy. Later the American stream of Modern Orthodoxy developed in part from this initially German-Jewish current. If the Orthodox

groups were unable to prevail over the Liberal majority in a **Community**, in some cases they founded separate Orthodox Communities (**Secession Communities**), known in German as Austrittsgemeinden. In 1873, Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer (1820–1899) established the Orthodox **Rabbinical Seminary**. After World War I, the relations between German Orthodoxy and the centers of Jewish erudition in Poland and Lithuania (**Agudas Jisroel**) deepened, and they continued under the National Socialist regime. Zionist-oriented Orthodoxy was represented in **Misrachi** and by the **Zionist** Association in the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**. While **Community Orthodoxy** affiliated with the Reich Representation, **Secession Orthodoxy**, in contrast with the overwhelming majority of the Jewish organizations, kept its distance from the Reich Representation, not affiliating until June 1938. *Bibl:* Breuer, *Modernity within Tradition*; Carlebach, “Orthodox Jewry in Germany”; Carlebach, “Foundations of German-Jewish Orthodoxy”; Auerbach, *Geschichte des “Bundes gesetzestreuer jüdischer Gemeinden”*; Hildesheimer, *Jüdische Selbstverwaltung*; Munk, “Austrittsbewegung”; Wiener, *Jüdische Religion*; Offenberg, *Adass Jisroel*.

Conservatism; Hirsch, Samson Raphael; Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities of Germany; Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy

Osborn, Max (1870–1946)

German-Jewish critic of art and literature. From 1914 to 1933, art critic of the *Vossische Zeitung*. Author of numerous books on art history. In 1933, co-founder of the **Kulturbund of the German Jews**, Berlin. In 1934 he emigrated to **Palestine**, later to France and then the United States.

Ostland

Eastland, the official term for the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia occupied by Germany 1941–1944, as well as parts of White Russia and the district around Minsk. *Bibl:* “Reichskommissariat Ostland” in EH, Vol. III, 1243–1244.

Ostmark

Official National Socialist term for Austria after the **Anschluß**. See Chronology, 12 March 1938; *Bibl:* “Austria” in EH, Vol. 1,126–132; Weinzierl and Kulka, *Vertreibung und Neubeginn*.

Palestine

Greek-Latin name for the biblical land of Canaan or Judea. In the modern Jewish national movement, which pursued the vision of creating a national Jewish home for Jews dispersed in the Diaspora, Palestine prevailed as the sole realizable territorial goal for such a national home. With the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, it became a new historical reality. For many German Jews under the Nazi regime, **Zionism** came to appear as the only alternative to the humiliation, exclusion, and persecution they were experiencing in National Socialist Germany. During the Nazi period, Palestine became a place of refuge for more than 50,000 Jews from Germany. *Bibl:* Hurewitz, *The Struggle for Palestine*.

British Mandate in Palestine; Emigration; Ha'vara

Palestine Mandate

British Mandate in Palestine

Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency in Germany

The first Palestine Office was established in 1918 in Vienna. The Palestine Office in Germany had its main office in Berlin. In 1935, there were twelve branches in twenty-two cities, and consultation and notification offices (Vertrauensstellen) in 350 towns and cities. The principal areas of activity were the preparation and implementation of **aliyah** and the distribution of **certificates** for immigration. The **Relief Organization of German Jews** was responsible for arranging for **emigration** to other countries. The Palestine Office was one of the few Jewish organizations able to continue functioning on its own after **Kristallnacht**. It was not liquidated until April 1941 and absorbed into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**.

Paltreu (Palestine Trustee Office)

Ha'vara

Passover festival

Pessach

Pastors' Emergency League

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews

Paulusbund

Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians

Pessach

One of the three Jewish pilgrimage festivals, it often comes in close proximity to the Christian Easter Sunday (which in Christian tradition is celebrated after the full moon in late March or April that marks the first day of Pessach in the Hebrew calendar). It commemorates the liberation of the ancient Hebrews from Egyptian bondage. On the first evening, the festival celebrated in the family circle centers on the reading of the Haggada (“The Tale”) of the exodus from Egypt, and various customs of celebration. In the week of Pessach, unleavened bread, *matzah*, is eaten, since leavened bread is traditionally forbidden during the festival. Since the Christian Middle Ages, the Jews were repeatedly accused of using Christian blood for the baking of matzot (**ritual murder**). These accusations of “blood libel” were leveled down into the twentieth century, and were also seized upon by anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda, especially in the *Stürmer*. They resurfaced in Poland in the Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946.

Midrash

Philipp, Heinrich (1896–1940)

Teacher, born in Hamburg. From 1929 to 1938, educator at the Philanthropin, the famous liberal Jewish high school in Frankfurt am Main. Incarcerated in the Buchenwald **concentration camp**, he later died of the consequences of detention there.

Philo-Verlag

A major Jewish **publishing house**, founded by Julius Brodnitz in 1919. It was shut down after **Kristallnacht** in November 1938. The *Philo-Lexikon* it published under National Socialism in 1936 was very popular, and stressed individual Jews' contribution to the social, scientific, and cultural life in Germany, and also even dealt with anti-Semitic legislation. In 1938, it published the *PHILO-Atlas: Handbuch für die jüdische Auswanderung*, edited by Ernst Lowenthal, which was the last book issued by the Philo-Verlag and any other Jewish publishing house under National Socialism, with articles on all aspects of **emigration**. *Bibl.*: Urban-Fahr, *Der Philo-Verlag 1919–1938*.

Brodnitz, Julius; Publishers, Jewish

Physicians, Jewish

Discrimination against Jewish physicians began in April 1933. On the basis of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (see Chronology, 7 April 1933), the activity of **non-Aryan** doctors in health insurance funds was terminated, and licenses for re-admission were declared invalid (see Chronology, 22 April 1933). As in the case of civil servants, there were exceptions, initially for **combat veterans**. Despite intensive propaganda for the **boycott** of Jewish physicians, numerous situation reports and several ordinances in the subsequent years (see, for example Chronology, 17 May 1934, 13 February 1935) suggest that the situation until the **Nuremberg Laws** (Second Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, 21 December 1935, see Chronology) had not produced a satisfactory solution for the authorities. On 13 December 1935, the Reich Physicians Code ordered that physicians be denied a license to practice if the applicant or his or her spouse was of such racial descent that they could not become a professional civil servant. This would be valid for as long as the percentage of non-German-blooded physicians exceeded the percentage of non-German-blooded persons in the total German population. The Second Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law on 21 December 1935 stipulated that Jewish physicians in public hospitals and clinics and medical examiners had to leave their posts by 31 March 1936. The Fourth Ordinance to the same law on 25 July 1938 (see Chronology) finally stipulated that licenses for Jewish physicians would become invalid on 30 September 1938, and that such doctors, now termed “medical practitioners” (*Krankenbehandler*) now were only allowed to treat their closest family members, and Jewish patients. *Bibl:* Kudlien, *Ärzte im Nationalsozialismus*; Ostrowski, “Vom Schicksal jüdischer Ärzte”; Leibfried, “Stationen der Abwehr.”

Plaut, Max (1901–1974)

Lawyer, organizational functionary. In 1925, President of the **League of German-Jewish Youth** Hamburg-Northwest Germany; 1930, member of the Assembly of Representatives of the Hamburg Jewish **Community**, later its in-house lawyer. Member of the **Zionist** movement, active in the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**. From 1939 to 1943, director of the northwestern district office of the **Reich Association**. After 1933, arrested a number of times, interned in France, sent in 1944 on an exchange transport to **Palestine**. He returned to Germany in 1950.

Posters, anti-Jewish Signs, anti-Jewish

Press, Jewish Press, Jewish in the Third Reich

Press, Jewish in the Third Reich

The Jewish press reflected the changing identity of the Jews in modernity. It served, especially in the increasingly secularized Jewish society, which was losing its traditional cohesion, as an important agent of linkage by providing its readers with information on Jewish life throughout the world. In Germany, the Jewish press developed with particular intensity from the mid-nineteenth century. It encompassed a broad spectrum of religiously and politically oriented newspapers, communal newsletters, and periodicals on the Science of Judaism. In the Third Reich, in spite of **surveillance** and very strict censorship, it expanded its scope and outreach, increasing circulation figures. Many papers upgraded to appear more frequently. Thus, in October 1935, the *CV-Zeitung* had a circulation of 40,000 copies, the *Jüdische Rundschau* was close behind with a print run of 38,000 copies, the *Israelitisches Familiienblatt* had a circulation of 35,000, and *Der Schild* a print run of 17,200. The paper *Der Israelit* had a circulation of 4,050, and the *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde Berlin* topped the circulation list with 55,000 copies. Among others, the *Monatsblatt des jüdischen Kulturbundes Berlin* had a circulation of 18,000, *Blätter des jüdischen Frauenbundes* 4,100, *Der Morgen* 1,400 copies, and the scholarly monthly *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* had a substantial print run of 1,800 copies. The monthly total circulation of all Jewish papers and periodicals in Germany at this juncture had reached 1,135,000. On 6 September 1935 (see Chronology), a directive prohibited the sale of Jewish papers and periodicals on the street. Before the prohibition of the total Jewish press in November 1938, sixty-five newspapers and magazines were still being published, and the four largest had a total circulation of 108,488 copies; there were forty-two mimeographed periodicals appearing at this time as well. The **Reich Representation of the German Jews** issued its own *Informationsblätter* and annual, mimeographed work reports (*Arbeitsberichte*) of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, but published its important announcements in the general Jewish press. After the entire press was shut down by decree in the wake of **Kristallnacht**, aside from some

sporadically published newsletters of a few **Communities**, there was only one Jewish paper in Nazi Germany, ***Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt***, a semi-official organ of the Reich Representation and its successor organization, the Reich Association, until that paper was ordered to cease publication in 1943. A separate story is the newspaper of German-Jewish refugees established in New York in 1934, *Aufbau*, initially as a monthly and later as a weekly, which continued to be published until 2004. Its circulation in 1944 reached more than 30,000, and many emigré writers contributed to its pages. It was edited for many years by Manfred George (1893–1965), a journalist born in Berlin who fled to New York in 1939. *Bibl:* Edelheim-Muehsam, “Jewish Press in Germany”; Freedman, *Jewish Press in the Third Reich*; Herzberg, “Last Days of the German Jewish Press”; Weltsch, “Goebbels Speech and a Goebbels Letter”; Diehl, *Jüdische Presse im Dritten Reich*; Lowenthal, “Das war das Ende der jüdischen Presse in Deutschland”; Lamm, “Über die innere und äußere Entwicklung,” 199; Burger, *Von Goebbels Gnaden*; “Press” (section “In Germany and Austria”) in EJ, Vol. 13, 1032–1034; “Presse” in PhL, cols. 573–582; “Jewish Press and Literature” in SD Report, 13 January 1939 (see ▶408▶); see also Compact Memory, the Portal for Jewish Studies, <http://www.compactmemory.de/> (accessed 25 September 2009).

Jewish Telegraphic Agency

Prinz, Joachim (1902–1988)

Rabbi, Zionist; member of **Blau-Weiß**. He was arrested a number of times after 1933 due to his sermons against the National Socialist regime. He was a **Liberal Rabbi** in Berlin 1926–1937, and emigrated in 1937 to the United States, where Stephen S. Wise sponsored a lecture tour by Rabbi Prinz speaking on the plight of German Jewry. In July 1939, he became Rabbi of Temple B'nai Abraham in Newark, N.J., where he remained for thirty-eight years. He held top leadership positions in the **World Jewish Congress**, was a director of the Conference of Jewish Material Claims Against Germany, and also served as Chairman of the World Conference of Jewish Organizations, and as a chair (1965–67) of the Conference of Presidents of American Jewish Organizations. Rabbi Prinz was also active in the civil rights movement in the United States, speaking at the 1963 March on Washington. *Bibl.:* Meyer, *Joachim Prinz*.

Privileged mixed marriages

Mixed marriages

Proselytes

Converts and proselytes under the Nazi regime

Protected Jews (*Schutzjuden*)

Jews who were privileged and who in return for special payments enjoyed the protection of their sovereign prince in Germany in the age of Absolutism. The National Socialist parlance, the term was used for Jews who were still temporarily tolerated for economic reasons, or who on the basis of protection by higher-ranking police leaders were to an extent safe from threat.

Protective custody (*Schutzhhaft*)

A measure in criminal law created before World War I in Prussia for detention of persons by the police. On the basis of a further regulation in Prussia, made possible by the Police Administration Law of 1 July 1931, individuals could be taken into protective custody if this was necessary for their own protection, or to eliminate a disruption of public safety or law and order that had occurred, and could not be effected in any other way. After the Nazis seized power, the possibility of protective custody was significantly expanded (Ordinance on the Protection of the German People, 4 February 1933, see Chronology), but was limited to three months maximum. The decree of the Ordinance on the Reichstag Fire of 28 February 1933 cancelled any time limits for protective custody, and the detainee no longer had any legal remedies at his or her disposal. Originally designed to target Communists, it was also used against all others who were disagreeable to the regime. Thus, in the early months after Hitler assumed state power on 30 January 1933, there were massive arbitrary arrests of Jews by members of the SS and SA using protective custody under various political pretexts, frequently the result of having been denounced by someone and reported to the authorities for alleged **race defilement**. In the beginning, the Jewish detainees arrested on the charge of race defilement were incarcerated in police prisons, and after the secret decree of **Heydrich** of 12 June 1937 (see Chronology), subsequent to having served their sentences, were placed in **concentration camps**. The more than 30,000 Jews “taken into protective custody” during the **Kristallnacht** pogroms, the majority of whom were interned in concentration camps, were in some cases released on the condition that they agreed to **emigrate** immediately. From 1937, almost all Jews detained in protective custody were interned in concentration camps, and ultimately, after 5 October 1942 (see Chronology) were transferred from all the concentration

camps in the territory of the Reich to **Auschwitz**. *Bibl:* Johnson, *Nazi Terror*; Gellately, “Gestapo and German Society”; Sofsky, *Order of Terror*; Herbert, “Von der Gegnerbekämpfung”; Pingel, *Häftlinge unter NS-Herrschaft*.

Concentration and extermination camps

Protocols of the Elders of Zion

An anti-Semitic forgery which intended to prove the existence of a “Jewish plot to dominate the world.” Around the end of the nineteenth century, this was compiled by the czarist police from many of its early forms into a supposedly “documentary report.” Pyotr Ivanovich Rachkovsky, head of the foreign branch of the Russian secret police in Paris, may have been responsible for forging a version of the *Protocols* during the Dreyfus Affair of 1894. Since that time, the *Protocols* have been published in millions of copies in many countries, initially in czarist Russia to justify the anti-Jewish policies implemented there. They played a fateful role likewise in the 1918–20 pogroms in the Ukraine and eastern Poland, especially during the Polish-Soviet War. In the United States, Henry Ford published a diatribe against Judaism, incorporating substantial comment on the *Protocols*, in his newspaper series entitled “The International Jew” (1920), which was later widely read in Germany. There the *Protocols* enjoyed great popularity and a broad readership after translation in 1919 and then propagated in a classic edition by the anti-Semitic Hammer Verlag of Theodor Fritsch, which went through scores of printings, and was used by the Nazis for anti-Semitic propaganda (especially in the *Stürmer*). As early as 1920, a correspondent of the *Times* proved the *Protocols* a gross forgery. Segel (1924) published a thorough critique of the *Protocols* in the **Philo-Verlag** in Berlin, widely read by Jews in the Weimar Republic. Before World War II, there were two trials that proved the document a forgery, in 1934 in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, and in 1934–35 in Berne. This did not deter the National Socialists and other anti-Semites from continuing to exploit the *Protocols* as a propaganda instrument. *Bibl:* Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide*; Segel, *Protokolle der Weisen von Zion*; Barth, *Dolchstoßlegende und politische Desintegration*; “Protocols of the Elders of Zion” in EH, Vol. III, 1197–1199.

Publishers, Jewish

The most important Jewish publishing houses in the Weimar period such as **Schocken Verlag**, **Jüdischer Verlag**, and **Philo-Verlag** continued to function until their dissolution after **Kristallnacht**. Like in the case of so many Jewish

organizations, their importance grew after the Nazi takeover, and they expanded their sphere of activity in order to be able to address the new needs of the Jewish public. Thus, for example, they published Jewish schoolbooks that had been drafted and written by the Education Committee of the **Reich Representation (Schools/school system, Jewish)**, and brought out a series of reprints of German-Jewish literature and translations of classic and contemporary Jewish books from **Hebrew** and **Yiddish**. Characteristic for this time was the *Almanack des Schocken Verlags* (1933–1939), which had a broad influence on the Jewish elite in and beyond Germany, containing essays and fiction by outstanding Jewish writers. For example, the *Almanack des Schocken Verlags auf das Jahr 5695* (1934) contains the first publication of certain passages from Franz Kafka's diaries, and texts by Leo Baeck, Max Brod, Ludwig Strauss, Richard Beer-Hofmann, Franz Rosenzweig, and others. *Bibl.*: Schorsch, "German Judaism"; Dahm, "Kulturelles und geistiges Leben"; Dahm, *Jüdisches Buch im Dritten Reich*; Dahm, "Jüdische Verleger."

Purim

Festival of joy commemorating the rescue of the Jews in the Persian Diaspora from plans of annihilation concocted by Haman, as described in the biblical Book of Esther. The festival is celebrated with a carnival-like atmosphere, with masquerade and Purim skits, where for generations contemporary events have been portrayed with satire (on the recasting of traditional texts to comment on current political events during the Third Reich, see **Midrash**). The bloody retribution against Haman, his ten sons, and many followers taken by the Jews at the end of the Book of Esther ([chaps. 8 and 9](#)) served in anti-Semitic literature, sometimes with accusations of blood libel (**Ritual murder**), as documentary "proof" of the dangerous and vindictive character of the Jews.

Quaker Office

The small German community of Quakers was organized in what the Quakers call their Yearly Meeting (from 1925) and later an International Center in Berlin, in part using the premises of the **Grüber Office**. While most of the **converts** were assisted by the **Paulusbund** (Protestants) and the **Raphael Society** (Catholics), the Quakers supported **non-Aryans** of all other denominations. Since 1939 they provided for the education of their children, who were no longer allowed to attend German schools. Moreover, German Quakers helped hide Jews, aided Jews in their misery after **Kristallnacht**, sent packages to

Theresienstadt, and gave warm clothing to deportees as they were sent off during the **mass deportations**. From 1935 to 1941, the Berlin Secretariat is believed to have directly helped 1,135 persons, including many Jews, to **emigrate**. Some prominent American Quakers came to Germany in a Quaker delegation from the United States in late 1938 to assist in emigration and relief after **Kristallnacht**. German Quakers were instrumental in assisting Jewish displaced persons after the war. *Bibl.*: Schmitt, *Quakers and Nazis*.

Grüber Office; Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians; Reich Association of the Jews in Germany

Quarter Jew

Mischlinge

Rabbi

The Rabbi is not analogous to a priest, with sacramental authority, but rather principally a spiritual leader of the **Community**, teacher and interpreter of the **Torah**, and a judge to decide questions on religious law (**Halacha**). Since the nineteenth century, Rabbis in Germany were required to have both Rabbinical training and an academic education, which they acquired principally in the newly found **Rabbinical seminaries**, the majority of which were close in ideology and practice to **Reform Judaism**. In many Communities, they were also expected to deliver sermons in the national language. In Germany, the Rabbis were gathered together in a professional association, the **General Rabbinical Association**, and in three ideological associations, the **Association of Orthodox Rabbis of Germany**, the **Association of the Liberal Rabbis of Germany** and the **Association of Traditional-Observant Rabbis of Germany**. The Rabbis, and Judaism as a religion, were not a direct target of Nazi persecution and legislation. The reason for this was that National Socialism waged a war against the Jews primarily as a “race” (**Race legislation**) and not a religion, even though another impression was often generated due to the use of traditional stereotypes in Nazi propaganda, for example in the **Stürmer** (see **Desecration of religious symbols**). *Bibl.*: Altmann, “German Rabbis 1910–1939.”

Rabbi Hirsch Society

It was established in 1930 in order to disseminate the spiritual and intellectual heritage of Rabbi Samson Raphael **Hirsch**. The periodical of the society was

Nachlat Zwi, Monatsschrift für Judentum, Lehre und Tat.

Rabbinical associations

Rabbi

Rabbinical seminaries

In Germany, three Rabbinical seminaries were established as a counterpart or supplement to the traditional education and training of **Rabbis** in the Talmudic academies (*yeshivot*). In Breslau, the **Jewish Theological Seminary** was founded in 1854. It represented the moderate **Reform Judaism** of the “positive historical” school of its first director, Zacharias Frankel (1801–1875). Later from this current the Conservative movement sprang, developing especially in the United States. In 1872, the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** was founded, headed by Abraham Geiger (1810–1874). This seminary operated from 1883 to 1922, and again under National Socialism from 1934, renamed the Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums (Institute for the Science of Judaism). It represented a more radical current within German **Reform Judaism** than the seminary in Breslau. In the following year, likewise in Berlin, Rabbi Esriel Hildesheimer (1820–1899) established a Rabbinical seminary for **Orthodox Judaism**, the only modern academic Rabbinical seminary of German Orthodoxy.

These three Rabbinical seminaries continued to function after the Nazi takeover and even intensified their work. In 1933, there was an attempt to relocate the Orthodox seminary with its teachers and students from Berlin to **Palestine**, though this proved abortive due to opposition from the Orthodox authorities in Lithuania and Palestine. Like most of the Jewish organizations and institutions, it was shut down in November 1938. The Rabbinical seminary in Breslau was also closed down in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**. The Hochschule (or Lehranstalt) expanded its sphere of work after 1935 by accepting Jewish academic teachers onto its staff who had been ousted from the German universities. From 1938, negotiations were launched to shift the Hochschule and its staff and library to Cambridge, but the outbreak of the war in 1939 rendered this relocation to England impossible. Like the **Kulturbund** and the Jewish **schools**, the Hochschule also continued to work during the war years. It was closed in July 1942; among its last teachers was Rabbi Leo **Baeck**. *Bibl.*: Hoffmann and Schwarz, “Early but Opposed”; Seidel, *Women Pioneers in Jewish Learning*; Fuchs, “Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums”;

Munk, “Austrittsbewegung.”

Liberal Judaism; Orthodoxy, Jewish; Reform Judaism; Teachers' colleges, Jewish

Rabin, Israel (1882–1951)

Rabbi, born in Prokurow (Ukraine), from 1909 to 1911 teacher at the **Esra** Teachers’ College in Jerusalem. From 1911 to 1914, he was director of the Rabbinical seminary in Odessa. He was lecturer 1918–21 at the University of Gießen, and from 1921 lecturer at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau. Rabin was a member of **Misrachi** and a delegate at Zionist congresses. In 1935, he emigrated to **Palestine**.

Race defilement

A criminal offense since issuance of the “Blood Protection Law” on 15 September 1935 (**Nuremberg Laws**). It prohibited marriages or “extramarital intercourse” between Jews and German citizens “of German or related blood.” The concept was created for relations between Jews and non-Jews, but also was valid for “aliens,” so-called “Artfremde” (see CD 1231►). Since the seizure of power in January 1933, “race-defiling” relations served the National Socialists as a pretext to initiate “spontaneous” violence and to publicly denounce Jews and **Aryans** with whom they had intimate relations (**Individual actions**). Thus, even before 15 September 1935, individuals were taken into **protective custody** on this charge and criminal proceedings were staged in which Jews were charged with offenses against public morality. As the most frequent object of anti-Jewish denunciation, the accusation of race defilement was often utilized as an excuse or device for settling a personal score with someone. The detailed descriptions of race defilement cases in the German press, especially in the *Stürmer*, and the details likewise partially given in the situation reports, and cases there, thus generally belong in the realm of sexual fantasy, and in some Gestapo reports this is expressly mentioned as “race defilement psychosis” (see 150►). *Bibl:* Burleigh and Wippermann, *The Racial State*; Wickert, “Popular Attitudes”; Pzyrembel, *Rassenschande*; Essner, *Die Nürnberger Gesetze*; Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*.

Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews

Racial anti-Semitism anchored centrally in National Socialist ideology served as the basis for the systematic anti-Jewish legislation and policy on the Jews in the

Third Reich. It began with the inclusion of the **Aryan Clause** in the Law on the Restoration of the German Civil Service on 7 April 1933 (see Chronology), found its final legal formulation in the **Nuremberg Laws**, and the same definition was applied during the **Final Solution**. Following the race legislation, the legal status of the Jews, which up until then had been grounded on belonging to a religion (according to the National Socialist terminology of *Glaubensjuden*) was fundamentally altered. According to Jewish religious law (**Halacha**), a Jew is someone with a Jewish mother or a person who has **converted** to Judaism. Whoever leaves the Jewish religious community by formally dissociating from the **Community** remains a Jew as long as he or she does not convert formally to another religion. In the Third Reich, Jews were defined primarily according to their “racial descent” (**Mixed marriages**). Even those who had formally left the fold of Judaism or had converted to Christianity or another religion were defined as “Jews by race” (*Rassejuden*) and were persecuted, just like **Mischlinge** who fell under the category of **Geltungsjuden**.

Aryan legislation; Desecration of religious symbols; Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians

Raphael Society (*Raphaelsverein*)
Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians

Rassco
Central Office for German Settlement

Rathenau, Walter (1867–1922)

German statesman and industrialist of Jewish descent. In World War I, Rathenau was responsible for the introduction and direction of the controlled economy, and negotiated after the war as economic advisor on the war reparations. In February 1922, he became foreign minister, and in April signed the Treaty of Rapallo with Soviet Russia. Germany accorded the USSR *de jure* recognition (the first such recognition extended to the Soviet government), and the two signatories mutually canceled all prewar debts and renounced war claims. For years, Rathenau was the target of anti-Semitic attacks. He was murdered on 24 June 1922 by right-wing extremists. He was the first and only Jewish foreign minister Germany ever had. *Bibl:* Berglar, *Walter Rathenau*; Schulin, *Walter Rathenau*; Sabrow, *Rathenaumord*.

Reform Judaism

The religious Reform movement began among German Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century and soon became the dominant force in the majority of Jewish **Communities** in Germany. Unlike **Orthodoxy**, its position was that religious law (**Halacha**) had essentially to develop and adapt to changing circumstances of life. To investigate and underpin their principles of development, the Reform movement applied findings and insights of the Science of Judaism (Wissenschaft des Judentums). Among its educational and training institutions were the **Rabbinical Seminary** in Breslau and the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin. The periodical of the largest Reform Community was the *Mitteilungen der jüdischen Reformgemeinde Berlin*. It was founded in 1918 and in 1935 had a circulation of 3,000 copies. In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, it was forced to shut down operations in November 1938. The Reform movement spread principally in the United States and Western Europe. The concepts of “Reform” and “Liberalism” customary in Germany developed independently in the English-speaking countries, especially in the United States. The Union for Reform Judaism is the largest Jewish religious movement in North America today. In 1953, under the influence of Leo Baeck, the **World Union for Progressive Judaism** was established, and today encompasses some 1,200 congregations worldwide. *Bibl.*: Meyer, *Response to Modernity*; Meyer, “Jewish Political Leadership”; Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity*; Hamburger, “Reactions of Reform Jews”; Wiener, *Jüdische Religion*.

Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism; Prinz, Joachim

Regional Associations of Jewish Communities

Despite various attempts and efforts, before 1932 there was in Germany no comprehensive organization for all Jewish **Communities**. Instead, independent one from the other, there were regional associations of Communities in most of the German states. In 1928, the regional associations joined together into a Reich Working Group and in January 1932 formed the **Reich Representation of the Jewish Regional Associations**. This so-called “old” Reich Representation existed until the founding of the “new” **Reich Representation of the German Jews** in September 1933, an umbrella organization including almost all the Jewish political and religious organizations in Germany. In the National Socialist period, the following regional associations were in existence (figures are for 1935):

- Preußischer Landesverband jüdischer Gemeinden (Prussian Regional

Association of Jewish Communities, founded 1922). It encompassed some 700 Communities with about 80 Community **Rabbis** and 12 district Rabbis. There were nine provincial associations subordinate to the regional association.

- Verband Bayerischer Israelitischer Gemeinden (Bavarian Association of Israelitic Communities, founded 1920). It included 264 Communities (67 of these in the Palatinate) with 19 Community Rabbis (four in the Palatinate).
- Oberrat der Israelitischen Religionsgemeinschaft Württembergs (Supreme Council of the Israelitic Religious Communities of Württemberg, founded 1828). It encompassed 45 Communities with eight district Rabbis and one municipal Rabbi.
- Oberrat der Israeliten Badens (Supreme Council of the Israelites in Baden, founded 1809). It embraced 124 Communities with nine Rabbis.
- Sächsischer Israelitischer Gemeindeverband (Israelitic Community Association of Saxony). It encompassed eight Communities with three Rabbis.
- Thüringischer Landesverband Israelitischer Gemeinden (Regional Association of Israelitic Communities in Thuringia). It included 17 Communities with two Rabbis.
- Landesverband der Israelitischen Gemeinden Hessens (Regional Association of Israelitic Communities in Hesse). It encompassed 137 Communities with seven Rabbis.
- Landesverband Anhaltischer Israelitischer Kultusgemeinden (Regional Association of Israelitic Communities in Anhalt). It encompassed 12 Communities with two Rabbis.
- Israelitsche Landesgemeinde Mecklenburgs (Israelitic State Community of Mecklenburg). It included 17 Communities with one Rabbi.
- Jüdischer Gemeinderat der Landesteile Oldenburg und Birkenfeld (Jewish Community Council of Oldenburg and Birkenfeld). It encompassed 15 Communities with two Rabbis.
- Landesverband der Lippischen Synagogengemeinden Detmold (Regional Association of the Lippe Communities Detmold). It encompassed 13 Communities.
- Vorstand der Deutsch-Israelitischen Gemeinde Hamburg (Governing Board of the German-Israelitic Community Hamburg).
- Vorstand der Israelitischen Gemeinde Bremen (Governing Board of the Israelitic Community Bremen).

- Vorstand der Israelitischen Gemeinde Lübeck (Governing Board of the Israelitic Community Lübeck).

In addition, in Prussia, Hesse, and Bavaria, there were observant (**Orthodox**) regional associations, which had come together in 1920 in the **Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities of Germany**.

All these regional associations were forcibly joined together by order on 27 July 1938 (see Chronology) and were officially incorporated into the newly formed **Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany**, under the name of the **Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany**. In actuality, they continued to function as its district offices, likewise in its successor organization, the **Reich Association** (on the restructuring processes between March 1938 and February 1939, see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, Nos. 117 and 120). *Bibl.*: Birnbaum, *Staat und Synagoge*; Schüler-Springorum, *Jüdische Minderheit in Königsberg*. “Landesverbände jüdischer Gemeinden” in PhL, 410 f; “Gesamtorganisation der deutschen Juden” in JL, Vol. II, col. 1045–1050.

Registration of Jewish meetings

Surveillance of Jewish organizations

Reich Association of Christian-German Citizens of Non-Aryan or Not Purely Aryan Descent (Reichsverband christlich-deutscher Staatsbürger nichtarischer oder nicht rein arischer Abstammung)

Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians

Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany (Reichsverband ostjüdischer Organisationen in Deutschland)

Founded in 1919 as the Association of East European Jews in Germany for the purpose of “preserving the political, social, and cultural interests of the East European Jews living in Germany,” with the support of the **Zionist Association of Germany**. At the end of 1923 and in early 1924, it was reorganized and renamed the Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany (Verband ostjüdischer Organisationen in Deutschland). In 1930, it encompassed some 100 associations with a total membership of approximately 20,000. In 1932, it changed its name to the Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany. The Reich Association espoused a systematic education of Jewish youth and the elimination from education of what it

regarded as **assimilationist** institutions. Together with the Zionists, it was among the co-founders of the **Jewish People's Party**, which fought for gaining the franchise for East European Jewish immigrants in the Jewish communal elections.

In July 1935, there were initiatives afloat to found an “Association of Polish Citizens of the Jewish Faith,” which—probably analogous to the core concept of the CV—put special stress on Polish citizenship. Its working official language was Polish, although most of its members did not know Polish, and for the protection of the interests of the Polish Jews in Germany, it maintained contact with the diplomatic representatives from Poland (see CD ▶1027▶). It is not clear whether this was a nationwide initiative or only a local phenomenon in **Communities** with a large population of East European Jews, such as Dresden. It is likewise not clear how long this organization remained in existence. Its last mention in **Gestapo** reports is in October 1935.

In this period, the Reich Association was renamed, probably on its own initiative, the “Reich Organization of Polish Jews in Germany,” and was reorganized.

It is noteworthy that this renaming was introduced at the same time the names of the CV and the **Reich Representation** were changed, as a direct reaction to the **Nuremberg Laws**. While these two large associations dropped the formulation “German Jews” from their name after the exclusion of the Jews from citizenship in the German Reich, the Reich Organization stressed the words “of Polish Jews.”

In October 1938, after the deportation of Polish Jews, the Reich Organization participated in efforts to arrange the temporary return to Germany of at least some of the deportees (see Chronology, 27–29 October 1938), and after the second expulsion (see Chronology, early June 1939 and 7 September 1939), it endeavored together with the **Reich Association** to have the Polish Jews in detention in Germany released from the **concentration camps** and to make it possible for them to **emigrate**. Different from most other Jewish organizations in Germany, the Reich Organization was not forcibly disbanded after the **Kristallnacht**, but only until shortly after the outbreak of the war, on 19 September 1939. *Bibl:* see **East European Jews**.

Reich Association of Small and Medium-Sized Jewish Businesses (Reichsverband des jüdischen Mittelstands)

Established in 1933 as an association for representing economic interests. Its

periodical was *Der jüdische Mittelstand*, published as a supplement to the monthly journal *Der jüdische Handwerker*.

Central Association of Jewish Craftsmen of Germany

Reich Association of the Jews in Germany (Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland)

Successor organization to the **Reich Representation of the German Jews** from February 1939 (RVe and also RV).

Reich Association of Non-Aryan Christians (*Reichsverband der nichtarischen Christen, e. V. Paulusbund*)

This was established on 20 July 1933 as the Reich Association of Christian-German Citizens of **Non-Aryan** or Not Purely Aryan Descent as a registered association. Its members were regarded as Jews on the basis of their racial descent under National Socialist **race legislation** despite their Christian faith. The organization, supported by the church opponents of the National Socialist regime, sought to ease the consequences of legal and social discrimination and disadvantage, among other things through material assistance, education, and even **emigration**. The Reich Association issued a newsletter *Mitteilungsblatt des Reichsverbandes der nichtarischen Christen*. From 1937, those Jews who were considered “full Jews” under the **Nuremberg Laws** were barred from membership, and the Paulusbund was allowed only to care for the needs of so-called **Mischlinge**. The Christian “full Jews” were given support from the relief organization **Grüber Office** founded that same year by the Protestant pastor **Grüber**. Likewise in early 1937, the Roman Catholic Church provided special assistance through the **Raphael Society**, which had been founded in the nineteenth century. Its main areas of activity were **vocational restructuring** as preparation for emigration and the creation of concrete possibilities for emigration. Non-Aryans of other denominations were assisted by the international charitable organization of the **Quakers**, through the Berlin Secretariat of the Quakers and their international Service Committee. The Reich Association/Paulusbund was official dissolved on 10 August 1939. *Bibl.*: Büttner, “Persecution of Christian-Jewish Families”; Cohn, “Bearers of a Common Fate?”; Noakes, “Development of Nazi Policy”; Rudolph and Ludwig, “*Gilt die Taufe der Juden nicht?*”; Leichsenring, *Die katholische Kirche und ihre Juden.*”

Churches and National Socialist policy on the Jews; Converts;

Mischlinge; Mixed marriages

Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration (Reichszentrale für jüdische Auswanderung)

This was proposed by **Eichmann** and **Heydrich** immediately after **Kristallnacht**, approved by Hitler, and officially established on 24 January 1939 in Berlin with the aim to apply the Austria model of forced **emigration** in the **Altreich** as well and later in the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 120,444, fn. 15). Though Heydrich intended to establish branch offices in Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main, and Breslau, this apparently did not occur.

The Reich Central Office was supposed to transform the **Reich Representation** exclusively into an instrument for forced emigration. Yet ultimately its establishment did not basically change the previous areas of activity of the Reich Representation (and later the Reich Association). The Reich Central Office was initially headed by the chief of Section II in the **Gestapo**, Heinrich Müller, and Eichmann then took charge of executive functions in Berlin from October 1939. Under his management, the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration was merged with the Department IV B 4 Jewish Affairs in the **RSHA**. *Bibl.*: Anderl, “Zentralstellen für jüdische Auswanderung”; “Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung” in EH, Vol. IV, 1733.

Central Office for Jewish Emigration (2); Emigration

Reich Central Office for Ritual Slaughter (Reichsszentrale für Schächtangelegenheiten)

It was established in 1917 by Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer and directed from 1933 by Esra **Munk**. Specialists and representatives of Jewish organizations of all persuasions worked together on its staff in order to confront the propaganda of the opponents of Jewish **ritual slaughter** who wished to outlaw the ritual slaughter of animals prescribed in Jewish **religious law**. On April 21, 1933 (see Chronology) ritual slaughter was prohibited in the whole Reich and after that the main task of the Reich Central Office was to take care of the import of **kosher** meat (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, 98 f; CD 24). The Reich Central Office was closed down in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**. Rabbi Michael **Munk** later campaigned in the United States on the issue of ritual slaughter. *Bibl.*: Munk, “Austrittsbewegung.”

Reich Citizenship Law

Nuremberg Laws

Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations (Reichsausschuß jüdischer Sportverbände)

This was a fusion of the German **Maccabi Circle**, the sports alliance of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, and the **Schild** organization. It was recognized in 1934 by the **Reich Youth Leadership** as the sole representative body of Jewish sports organizations, and was dissolved in 1938.

Sports associations, Jewish

Reich Committee of the Jewish Youth Associations (Reichsausschuß der jüdischen Jugendverbände)

This was established in 1924 at the initiative of the **Central Welfare Office of the German Jews** by Ludwig **Tietz** and others. Tietz served until his death in November 1933 as its chairman. The committee did not begin its real work until 1927. Established as the umbrella organization for joint interest representation of the Jewish **youth organizations** in Germany, at the beginning of the 1930s it encompassed almost all the youth groupings and associations, with a total membership of more than 50,000. On 2 November 1933, the Reich Committee was recognized by a declaration of the **Reich Youth Leadership** as the “sole responsible central organization of Jewish youth.” It was dissolved in 1938. *Bibl:* Hackeschmidt, *Von Blumenfeld zu Norbert Elias*; PhL, col. 606 f.

Reich Federation of the Jewish “Kulturbund” (*Reichsverband der jüdischen Kulturbünde*)

Kulturbund

Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany (Reichsverband der Juden in Deutschland)

This was the name of the organization formed on 27 July 1938 subsequent to the law of 28 March 1938 (see Chronology), marking the transition from the **Reich Representation** to the **Reich Association**.

Reich flight tax (*Reichsfluchtsteuer*)

This was a special emigration tax amounting to 25 percent of the total assets for

citizens of the German Reich who relocated their residence abroad after 31 March 1931. Failure to comply led to confiscation of the entire assets of an individual inside the Reich. The law, originally introduced during the economic crisis (Great Depression) in the late Weimar Republic, was used in the Third Reich against the Jews who were forced to emigrate (see **Emigration**).

Reich Kinship Office (Reichssippenamt)

This was founded in 1933 as part of the Reich Interior Ministry. In uncertain cases, it was supposed to issue certificates of heredity on the racial descent of an individual. It served in particular for implementing **Aryan legislation**. *Bibl.*: Schulle, *Reichssippenamt*.

Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans (Reichsbund jüdischer Frontkämpfer, RjF)

The Reich League was founded in 1919 by **Leo Löwenstein**. Also known in English as the Reich Union of Jewish Front Veterans, and the Alliance of Jewish Front Soldiers, the Reich Union of Jewish War Veterans, and the National Union of Jewish War Veterans. It was a patriotic **German-Jewish** organization whose aim was maintaining military tradition, the struggle against anti-Semitism, the nurturance of comradeship, care for the Jewish war victims, the physical toughening and fitness of its members (with its own Sports Alliance), and the establishment of separate agricultural settlements in Germany (estate Gross-Gaglow near Kottbus, established in 1930, dissolved by the regime in 1937). The RjF in the mid-1930s had some 30,000 members organized in 16 state federations and more than 350 branches (according to figures from the director Loewenstein, the league on 1 July 1934 had a membership between 45,000 and 50,000). Under National Socialism, the RjF intensified its activities, especially among Jewish youth, but was subjected to restrictions by the **Gestapo** and **SD** due to its tendencies toward assimilationism (see **Assimilation**). For the same reasons, an order from the Gestapo on 25 July 1934 prohibited soldiers who had not been in combat and Jewish soldiers who had not taken part in World War I (so-called “senior soldiers” [*Altsoldaten*]) from being members in the Reich League. In its public statements and publications, the RjF emphasized more than any other Jewish organization, and in contrast to the tendentious published figures of the so-called “Jews census” of 1916, that the percentage of Jews serving at the front in World War I was quite in keeping with the percentage of Jews in the total population of the Reich at the time, and that some 12,000 Jews had fallen in battle (see Loewenstein, “Linie des Reichsbundes jüdischer

Frontsoldaten"; Segal, *Deutsche Juden als Soldaten*). Its ideology put the RjF in strong opposition to the **Zionist Association of Germany** (ZVfD), and this conflict was waged on various levels. It reached a high point in June 1934 when the Zionist Association forbade its members from holding joint membership in the RjF (see Chronology, 6 June 1934). In the early years of the Third Reich, the Reich League achieved certain exemptions for some specific categories of its membership from the anti-Jewish laws; these exemptions stayed in some cases in effect up until the time of the **mass deportations**. To this end, the RjF made use of its relations with the Stahlhelm, the general German League of Combat Veterans, and to Reich President General von Hindenburg. In 1933, it broadened the range of activities of its sports association, the **Schild**, in order to make it possible for Jewish athletes who had been ousted from German sports to remain active in their respective sports and keep in shape. The Schild soon grew into one of the largest Jewish sports federations, and in 1935 encompassed 185 associations with some 20,000 members. Its journal *Die Kraft* appeared as a supplement to the periodical *Der Schild*, the organ of the RjE

After 1935, it developed for the first time a positive view of **emigration** to countries other than **Palestine**. But a decree of 9 October 1936 (see Chronology) curtailed its sphere of activity to providing care and assistance for Jewish war victims, and prohibited the organization from engaging in any internal Jewish political activity or statements. The Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans was dissolved after November 1938 and incorporated in 1939 into the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**. Bibl.: Angress, "The German Army's Judenzählung"; Pierson, "Embattled Veterans"; Rheins, *German Jewish Patriotism*; Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*; Rosenthal, "Ehre des jüdischen Soldaten"; Loewenstein, "Linie des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten."

Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities of Germany (Halberstadt Association) (Reichsbund gesetzestreuer jüdischer Gemeinden Deutschlands, Halberstädter Verband)

This was founded in 1920 as the inclusive organization of the **Orthodox** Communities.

Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany

Reich Organization of Polish Jews in Germany (Reichsorganisation polnischer Juden in Deutschland)

Reich Association of East European Jewish Organizations in Germany

Reich Representation of the German Jews After 1939: Reich Association of the Jews in Germany (*Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland, RVt, also RV* Reichsvereinigung der Juden in Deutschland, *Rve, also RV*)

In the face of the threat of the rise of the National Socialists to popularity, the Reich Representation was founded in January 1932 by bringing together all **regional associations of the Jewish Communities** and the large political and religious organizations of German Jewry (the “old” Reich Representation). In September 1933, this “old Reich Representation,” in which the Berlin Community played a leading role, was reorganized, with leadership functions now distributed among the constituent organizations and **Communities** (“new” Reich Representation). With but few exceptions, such as **Secession Orthodoxy** and the **Association of National-German Jews**, it represented German Jewry in its entirety to the National Socialist regime and to the Jewish organizations abroad, and served as the shaping and coordinating leadership of the Jews in Germany. It saw its chief task in guaranteeing the material and spiritual existence of the Jews in Germany under the newly created and constantly worsening conditions marked by deprivation of civil rights, disfranchisement, and persecution. The genesis of the Reich Representation and its pluralistic-democratic character preserved German Jewry in the Third Reich from two dangers threatening its existence after 30 January 1933: the disintegration of Jewish society under the impact of anti-Jewish violence and terror on the one hand, and concerted attempts to subordinate all of German Jewry to the new authoritative pattern, the so-called Führer Principle, on the other. The Reich Representation was led by its President Rabbi Leo **Baeck**, after September 1933 the Executive Director Otto **Hirsch** and a **Supervisory Board Executive Committee**, along with a broader parliamentary body set up in 1935, the **Council of the Reich Representation**. Its instrument of economic and social implementation was the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, which from 1933 to 1939 also issued the annual Work Reports (Arbeitsberichte) of the Reich Representation. The Reich Representation newsletter, **Informationsblätter** (1933–1938), was, like the entire Jewish **press**, banned after **Kristallnacht**. From November 1938 to 1943, the **Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt** was published as the semi-official organ of the Reich Representation and later the Reich Association. The chief areas of activity of the Reich Representation were: **education**, occupational and **vocational training**, social and economic aid (see **welfare, Jewish**) and promotion of **emigration**. In

September 1935, in reaction to the **Nuremberg Laws**, the Reich Representation of German Jews changed its official name to the “Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany.”

After revocation of the status of the Jewish Communities as statutory bodies under public law by the law of 28 March 1938 (see Chronology), a process of transformation began moving toward greater centralization. Its aim was the creation of a **Reich Federation** (Reichsverband) of the Jews in Germany (formed on 27 July 1938) as the sole organization which would encompass all individual Jews, Communities, and organizations. A few months after **Kristallnacht**, this was achieved, though under significantly altered frame conditions: in February 1939, the Reich Representation (Reichsverband) was changed to the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany** (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 120). Under this dispensation, the individual **Communities**, now termed “religious associations,” lost their independence and became branches of the Reich Association. The regional associations became their district offices. Other organizations as well, which had been independent up to this juncture, were also now compelled to continue their activity in the framework of the Reich Association.

The Reich Association established by the Reich Representation in February was formally recognized by the National Socialist government on 4 July 1939 (see Chronology) by a new law. This law subordinated the Reich Association to the Interior Ministry and thus to the security organs of the regime (from September 1939, the **RSHA**). Instead of anchorage in a religious basis, individual Jews now belonged to the Reich Association on the basis of the definitions of the **Nuremberg Laws**. Instead of the Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation, which had been headed by Leo Baeck and Otto Hirsch, the Reich Association was directed by a governing board consisting solely of old experienced members; Leo Baeck remained chairman of the board up until its dissolution. The officially recognized approved areas of activity were now emigration, education (see **Schools/school system, Jewish**), and welfare. Despite the worsening conditions, the Reich Association continued the work of its predecessor in all essential areas even after the ban on emigration in October 1941 and during the **mass deportations**. In that period, several board members, among them Julius **Seligsohn** and Otto Hirsch, were arrested and killed; others were deported.

The Reich Association was dissolved on 10 June 1943 (see Chronology). But the name Reich Association was, even after its official liquidation, also used for the rump organization that continued until 1945, the “Rest-Reich Association” or

“New Reich Association.” From 1943 to the war’s end, its sole director was the Jewish **physician** and director of the Jewish Hospital in Berlin, Walter **Lustig**. The main task of the Rest-Reich Association was caring for the needs of the Jews still tolerated in Germany and mainly living under the shield of **mixed marriages**. Jews who had converted to Christianity (**Converts**) were assisted, particularly in regard to questions of emigration and education, by the following voluntary Christian aid organizations: Protestants by the **Grüber Office**, Catholics by the **Raphael Society**, other denominations by the **Quaker Office**. *Bibl:* Meyer, “Jewish Political Leadership”; Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, Reichsvertretung; Kulka, “Reichsvereinigung and the Fate of German Jews”; Hildesheimer, *Jüdische Selbstverwaltung*; Meyer, “Das unausweichbare Dilemma”; Meyer and Simon, *Juden in Berlin*; Miron, Borut, and Elkin, *Aspects of Jewish Welfare*; Grüner, “Poverty and Persecution”; Maierhof, *Selbstbehauptung im Chaos*; Elkin, *Das Jüdische Krankenhaus in Berlin*; Reichsvertretung, *Arbeitsberichte*; “Reich Representation of the German Jews” in EH, Vol. III, 1247–1249.

Reich Representation of the Jewish Regional Associations {Reichsvertretung der jüdischen Landesverbände}

Reich Representation of the German Jews

Reich Representation of the Jews in Germany (Reichsvertretung der Juden in Deutschland)

Reich Representation of the German Jews

Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA)

This was established on 27 September 1939 as the central office of the Security Police and Security Service (SD) of the SS. Reinhard **Heydrich** was appointed by **Himmler** as its chief. In the RSHA, the two Jewish Affairs Departments, previously working separately in the **Gestapo** and the SD, were brought together in a Jewish Affairs Department (Judenreferat) as Section IV D 4, and then Referat IV B 4 under the direction of Adolf **Eichmann**. The SD had already achieved its predominant position in policy on the Jews (Judenpolitik), which made it the most important factor in the surveillance of the “ideological adversary” Jewry, in the shaping of further phases of Judenpolitik, and ultimately the responsible body for the implementation of the **Final Solution of the Jewish Question**. The Jewish Affairs Department of the RSHA was the Supervisory Office in the Interior Ministry to oversee the **Reich Association of the Jews in Germany**, as specified in the law of 4 July 1939 (see Chronology). *Bibl:* see **Gestapo; SD;** Wildt, *Generation of the Unbound*; idem, *Generation der Unbedingten*; Paul and Mallmann, *Die Gestapo*, Vol. II; Paul, “Kämpfende Verwaltung”; “Reichssicherheitshauptamt” in EH, Vol. III, 1245–1247. http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/holopre_lude/RSHA/rsha.html (8.2.2008)

Reich Working Group of the Jewish Regional Associations (Reichssarbeitsgemeinschaft der jüdischen Landesverbände)

Founded in September 1928 as a loose umbrella organization of the **Regional Association of the Jewish Communities**. On 31 January 1932, it in turn established the **Reich Representation** of the Jewish Regional Associations, which from 12 February 1933 as the “old” Reich Representation represented the interests of German Jewry to the National Socialist regime.

Reich Youth Leadership (Reichsjugendführung)

This was set up on 30 October 1931 as an office under Baldur von Schirach in the Reich Direction of the NSDAR It controlled the National Socialist Alliance of Pupils (Nationalsozialistischer Schülerbund), the National Socialist Alliance of Students (Nationalsozialistischer Studentenbund), and the **Hitler Youth**. On 18 June 1934, it was given state status as a federation of all German youth organizations by the appointment of Schirach as Youth Leader of the German Reich. As a state organization, on 17 September 1934 it renewed the recognition of the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**, granted on 2 November 1933, as the central organization of Jewish youth.

Reichmann, Hans (1900–1964)

Legal expert and communal functionary. From 1922 to 1926, in-house **lawyer** and later director of the CV, contributor to the *CV-Zeitung*, actively involved in the founding of the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**. He was interned in the Sachsenhausen **concentration camp** in 1938 and emigrated in 1939 to Great Britain with his wife Eva Reichmann, the sociologist and historian of German Jewry. *Bibl.*: Reichmann, *Deutscher Bürger und verfolgter Jude*.

Reichsführer SS

Himmler, Heinrich

Reichskristallnacht

Kristallnacht

Relief Association for the Sick Mish'enes Chaulim (Krankenhilfsverein Misch'enes Chaulim)

One of the numerous traditional Jewish welfare assistance associations (**Welfare, Jewish**), which gained increasing importance under National Socialism. “Misch’enes Chaulim” is the **Ashkenazic** pronunciation of the Hebrew “Mish’enet Cholim,” support of the sick.

Bikkur Cholim

Relief Organization of German Jews (Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden)

The Relief Organization of German Jews was one of the largest Jewish welfare societies at the beginning of the twentieth century, established in 1901 in Berlin. Its stated aim was to “promote the moral, intellectual, and economic development of fellow Jews, especially those in Eastern Europe and Asia.” The

activity of the Hilfsverein was centered on providing assistance and relief during pogroms, war, natural disasters, the promotion of Jewish schools in the Orient (including **Palestine**) and Eastern Europe, and aid for emigrants. Under Nazi rule, the Relief Organization became in the framework of the **Central Committee for Aid and Reconstruction** at the **Reich Representation** the central organization recognized by the National Socialist authorities for providing assistance for the **emigration** of the Jews from Germany to countries other than Palestine (**Palestine Office**). After promulgation of the **Nuremberg Laws**, it changed its name, like the **CV** and Reich Representation, to the Relief Organization of Jews in Germany. It retained its central office in Berlin, and established eighteen consultation offices across Germany until 1938. In 1939, it was absorbed into the Migration Department of the **Reich Association**. *Bibl.*: see **Welfare, Jewish**.

Religious law, Jewish

Halacha

Remigration (*Rückwanderung*)

The term designates (1) the return of emigrated German Jews (see **emigration**) to Germany after their emigration abroad proved unsuccessful and they chose to return to Germany, or (2) the **return emigration** of Jews with foreign nationality to their original homelands. Many of the first category, including also the Jewish refugees from the Spanish Civil War which broke out in July 1936, were arrested after their return (see **Protective custody**) and interned in **concentration camps** (see Chronology, 15 January 1934) ♦?

Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy of Germany (Vertretung der Unabhängigen Jüdischen Orthodoxie Deutschlands, VUOD)

The organization, also called Representation of Independent Orthodoxy (Vertretung der unabhängigen Orthodoxie), was founded in early 1934 as a merger of **Agudas Jisroel**, the **Reich League of Observant Jewish Communities** of Germany, and the **Free Association for the Interests of Orthodox Jewry**. It represented the concerns of **Secession Orthodoxy**. Despite the extended negotiations on the conditions for its entry into the **Reich Representation**, it remained outside this organization until July 1938. At the same time, it worked together with the Reich representation in certain areas,

especially in questions pertaining to education. *Bibl:* See **Orthodoxy**.

Return emigration (*Rückauswanderung*)

Term for **emigration** by Jews with foreign citizenship back to their original home countries, especially in Eastern Europe (mainly to Poland). The remigrants were cared for by the **Main Office for Emigration Welfare in the Reich Representation**. From 1 February 1933 to 1 April 1936, the Reich Representation noted some 18,000 remigrants. The best-known case of “return emigration” was the forcible expulsion of the Polish Jews with Polish citizenship living in Germany on 27–29 October 1938 (see *Chronology*). On return emigration after the outbreak of the war, see *Chronology*, 7 September 1939.

Revisionists

State Zionist Association; Zionists-Revisionists

Ring League of Jewish Youth (*Ring-Bund jüdischer Jugend*)

League of German-Jewish Youth (BDJJ)

Ritual murder

The charge of using Christian blood for ritual purposes was first brought against the Jews in 1144 ce. in the English city of Norwich. Unexplained murders, especially of children and shortly before **Pessach**, were repeatedly claimed to be ritual murders and led to bloody persecution of the Jews. (Jews were accused of using Christian blood to prepare *matzot* for the Pessach festival.) So-called blood libel was also a characteristic motif in modern anti-Semitism. Ritual murder trials took place in several countries in Central and Eastern Europe around the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth century, including a sensational trial in Xanten in Germany in 1892. In National Socialist propaganda, the *Stürmerin* particular featured the “blood accusation” in word and image, presenting it in an especially crude form (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 37). Aside from this propaganda, during the Nazi period there were reports from various localities about new charges of ritual murder.

Desecration of religious symbols

Ritual slaughter

The slaughter of permitted animals and fowl according to Jewish religious law (**Halacha**), known as *shechita* (in German: *Schächten*), prescribing a quick, deep

stroke across the throat with a perfectly sharp blade with no nicks or unevenness. The animals must be fully conscious at the time of slaughter, i.e., animals are not stunned. The man who performs the slaughter, the shochet, must be a specially trained and certified expert, particularly versed in the laws of kashrut, permitted foods and their preparation. In 1930, the Criminal Law Committee of the Reichstag decided on the basics of submitted expert opinions that Jewish ritual slaughter was not cruelty to animals. But the opponents of *shechita* were able, in some cases even before January 1933, to push through bans on Jewish ritual slaughter in a number of German states (Bavaria, Thuringia, Brunswick, Oldenburg, Anhalt, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse). The prohibition on shechita published on 21 April 1933 in the *Reichsgesetzblatt* (RGBl) (see Chronology) was one of the first anti-Jewish ordinances of the Nazi regime. But since National Socialist ideology was directed primarily against the Jews as a race, and not so much as a religion, the ban on ritual slaughter remained the only legal restriction on observing the Jewish **religious law** in the Third Reich. The import from abroad of kosher meat, i.e., slaughtered in accordance with criteria of shechita, was not forbidden. *Bibl.*: Weiss, *Deutsche und polnische Juden*, 56–77.

Munk, Michael; Race legislation vs. religious affiliation of the Jews; Reich Central Office for Ritual Slaughter

RjF

Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans

Röhm, Ernst (1887–1934)

SA

“Röhm Putsch” (Röhm Affair, Röhm Revolt)

SA

Rösel, Isak (1883–1957)

Born in Rawitsch, Posen, he studied at the **Rabbinical Seminary** in Berlin. Later **Orthodox Rabbi** in Tilsit. He emigrated in 1939 to the United States.

Rosenblüth, Martin Michael (1886–1963)

Jewish organizational functionary; Zionist at an early age; among other things, 1913–1919 editor of the **Blau-Weiß-Blätter**; 1921–1923, director of the

Palestine Center in Vienna; 1923–1925, representative, 1929–1933, executive director of the **Keren Hayesod**; 1925–1929, vice president of the **Zionist Association of Germany** in Berlin; 1933, **emigration** to England; there representative of the Zionist Association of Germany at the **Jewish Agency**. At this time, he was an important liaison for confidential exchange of information between the **Reich Representation** and abroad (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 119 A, 434 f; and Introduction, 433); 1940, head of the **Central Office for German Settlement in Palestine** within the Jewish Agency; 1941, emigration to the United States; there likewise active as a Zionist functionary; he later lived in Israel.

Rosenheim, Jakob (1870–1965)

Publisher, **Orthodox** organizational functionary. From 1895 to 1935, founder and executive director of the Hermon-Verlag in Frankfurt am Main; 1905–1935, publisher and editor of the paper **Der Israelit**. From 1906 to 1935, member of the board of the Jewish **Community** Frankfurt am Main. From 1912, President of **Agudas Jisroel**, which he founded. He emigrated in 1935 to Great Britain, in 1941 to the United States, and in 1950 to Israel.

Agudas Jisroel

Rosh ha-Shana

Jewish New Year festival. It comes on the first and second day of the Hebrew month of Tishrei (generally in September) and is the beginning of a period of ten days of penitence, the Days of Awe, which end with the Day of Atonement, **Yom Kippur**. It is celebrated as a day commemorating the creation of the world and the Day of Judgment. According to the Jewish calendar, the years are counted from creation, so the New Year festival in 1933 was Rosh ha-Shana 5633.

High Holidays

RSHA

Reich Security Main Office

SA (Sturmabteilung)

The Storm Battalion of the NSDAP, in 1920 originally created as an internal party discipline unit for the protection of party gatherings from disruptions. The SA was the source of most anti-Jewish violence at the local level, and in addition exerted constant political pressure for intensifying the Nazi regime's policy on

the Jews. Immediately after the ascension to state power by the NSDAP, it was heavily involved in violent **boycott** actions against Jewish businesses and **department stores**, and was especially assiduous in denouncing individuals for alleged acts of **race defilement**.

Under Ernst Röhm's (1932–1934) brutal leadership, the Sturmabteilung became the largest and most feared paramilitary force of National Socialist terror and intimidation. After the January 1933 seizure of power, he rejected the notion of an initial stabilization of the new system, pressing instead for the consistent implementation of National Socialist ideals of struggle in a kind of "second revolution." Röhm demanded the status of a kind of people's army for his SA. On 30 June 1934, he was arrested in the framework of an extensive purge operation against members of the SA, approved by Hitler, on the pretext of suspicions that the SA leadership was plotting a coup, and executed on July 2 (Röhm Putsch). Connected with the suppression of the alleged Röhm Putsch, there were local violent incidents against the Jews.

Reduced in strength but still powerful, the SA was the driving force behind the great "anti-Semitic wave" of 1935 (see Chronology, February 1935), which had crested in the months prior to the promulgation of the **Nuremberg Laws**. It was similarly dominant in the outbreak of anti-Jewish violence (see **individual actions**) in various localities during the Sudeten crisis (May–October 1938) and in the Reich-wide pogroms of **Kristallnacht**. After that it only took part sporadically in violent actions against the Jews. *Bibl.:* Bessel, *Political Violence*; Merkl, *Political Violence*; Longerich, *Die braunen Bataillone*.

Saar plebiscite and anti-Jewish violent disturbances

In accordance with the Versailles Treaty, the plebiscite on the political status of the Saarland was held after fifteen years, on 13 January 1935. In this referendum on their future, 90.8 percent of the population endorsed the reincorporation of the Saar territory into the German Reich, and the Saarland thus came under German control. Some 5,000 opponents of the National Socialist regime, including many Jews, then left the Saar territory, most **emigrating** to France. In a number of reports at the end of 1934, a tendency emerges, especially in the ranks of the **SA**, to postpone a radical violent solution of the **Jewish Question** to the period after the Saar referendum, and this for political reasons. The efforts by various Reich ministries demanding a halt to anti-Jewish **individual actions** (see Chronology, 26 December 1934) should be seen in this framework. However, as a result of the "generally buoyant mood" after the referendum victory, the Party leadership initiated a new anti-Semitic propaganda wave (see Chronology,

February 1935), which continued until the promulgation of the **Nuremberg Laws** in mid-September. *Bibl.*: Bankier, *Germans and the Final Solution*.

Saarland

On the special status of the Jews in the Saarland, see **Minority protection**.

Sabatzky, Kurt (1892–1955)

German-Jewish journalist, member of the group **Kameraden**. From 1922, in-house **lawyer** of the **CV**, Regional Association Leipzig. From 1923 to 1932, work with the CV Königsberg. From 1933 to 1938, in-house lawyer of the CV Saxony and Anhalt. In 1939, executive director of the Jewish **Community** Essen. Member of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** and the **B'nai B'rith** Königsberg and Leipzig. He was arrested and imprisoned in the Buchenwald **concentration camp** following **Kristallnacht**. In 1939, he emigrated to Great Britain. From 1943 he was active there in various Jewish organizations, and worked at the Wiener Library after the end of the war, dying in London in 1955.

Sabbath

Hebr.: day of rest. Seventh day of the week, a day of rest and sanctification in memory of the Divine Creation of the Cosmos and the liberation of Israel from bondage in Egypt. According to Jewish religious law (**Halacha**), every form of work (thirty-nine categories in the **Talmud**) is forbidden. From the nineteenth century in Germany, this prohibition on work as a commandment was only still strictly observed by **Orthodox** Jews as secularization grew ever stronger. The Sabbath begins traditionally on Friday after sundown and ends on Saturday after sundown, with the visible sighting of the first three stars. Although the National Socialist regime did not principally persecute the Jews on behalf of their religion but on behalf of their “race” (see **Desecration of religious symbols of the Jews**), in forced labor or in **concentration camps** the Jews were compelled to work on Sabbath.

Salomon, Adolf (1901–1944)

Government advisor in Cologne. From 1937 to 1942, active in the **Relief Organization of German Jews. Deportation to Theresienstadt**, and in 1944 to **Auschwitz**.

Samuel, Clara (1879–1962)

Social worker, from 1905 publicly active in the women's movement in Germany. Founder of the German Women's Service (Deutscher Frauendienst) in World War I. Co-founder of the **Jewish Women's Alliance** and member of its regional governing board in Elberfeld. In 1926, she founded the Jewish Adoption Bureau. Member of the local branch of the **Zionist Association of Germany** and its representative in the Assembly of Representatives of the Jewish **Community**. She emigrated in 1939 to Great Britain, in 1945 to **Palestine**, but later returned to West Germany.

Schachnowitz, Selig (1874–1952)

Journalist; born in Jurborg, Lithuania. He studied at the yeshiva of Rav Yechezkel Lipschitz in Lithuania, where he was ordained as **Rabbi**, and at the University of Frankfurt am Main. In 1901, he became a teacher, cantor, and preacher in Endingen, Baden, and began writing historical tales and novels, a kind of ghetto literature for which he became renowned. From 1908 to 1938, he was editor-in-chief of the **Orthodox** weekly *Der Israelit* in Frankfurt am Main. In the paper, Schachnowitz first published many of his literary works, in weekly installments. Among his many novels are the tale *Luftmenschen* (1912) and *Messiasbraut* (1925). In 1938, he fled to Switzerland. In Zurich, he continued writing, and was active in welfare work for Jewish refugees.

Schacht, Hjalmar (1877–1970)

National-conservative German finance politician. As president of the Reichsbank (1933–1939), Reich Economy Minister (1935–1937), and General Plenipotentiary for the War Economy (1935–1937), he was the central figure for National Socialist rearmament. Disputes with **Goring** over areas of authority and competence, especially because of his critique of the Four-Year Plan suggested and promoted by Hitler in 1936, led in 1939 to his dismissal as Reichsbank president, though he remained minister without portfolio until 1943.

As a conservative politician, he regarded the “spontaneous” terror actions against the Jews (**Individual actions**) as a danger for law and public order, and for that reason came into conflict with the Party and the government. His evidently nonconformist attitude regarding policy on the Jews led many Jewish associations and personalities to regard him as a “protective hand,” and Jews petitioned his ministry or him personally with various requests. However, what Schacht feared primarily were potential international economic consequences

arising from the anti-Jewish violence and anti-Jewish measures (see **Boycott movement against the Third Reich**). The attempt dubbed the “Schacht plan,” a scheme in 1938 to solve the **Jewish Question** in Germany by emigration, with assistance from Jews abroad, led to no concrete results. Schacht never criticized the National Socialist policy on the Jews for moral or ideological reasons. Schacht was arrested on 23 July 1944, accused of having conspired in the 20 July 1944 plot to assassinate Hitler, and was interned in several **concentration camps**. He was arrested by the Allies in April 1945 and accused of war crimes. Acquitted in 1946 at the Nuremberg Tribunal, he was later sentenced to eight years in a work camp by a Stuttgart de-Nazification court, released in 1948, and then in 1950 acquitted of all charges in connection with his activities in the Third Reich. He later formed a commercial bank and became an economic advisor for developing countries. *Bibl:* Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*; Peterson, *Hjalmar Schacht*; Fischer, *Hjalmar Schacht*; Schacht, *76 fahre meines Lebens*.

Der Schild

(1) Publication of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans (RjF)**, appearing monthly since its establishment as a journal in 1921 by Leo **Loewenstein**; it then was brought out biweekly, and finally as a weekly magazine from 1934. *Der Schild* was more radically patriotic and German-national than the **CV-Zeitung**, espousing “German values” and love for the fatherland. In 1932, it published a memorial book with a list of the names of the 12,000 Jewish soldiers killed in action in World War I and formally presented this volume to President Hindenburg. The circulation of *Der Schild* rose from 12,000 in 1931 to 19,000 in 1934; when it was finally banned in 1938, it was still at 15,000 copies. From 8 June 1933, it was published with the supplement *Die Kraft* (Strength). The subtitle of the supplement was “Paper for **Vocational Restructuring**, Settlement, Labor Service, Youth Fitness, and Sports.” *Die Kraft* was expanded in June 1934 as the organ of the Sports Alliance of the RjF to the *Blatt für Sport und Jugendertüchtigung* (Paper for Sports and Youth Fitness). After **Kristallnacht**, as part of the general ban on the entire Jewish **press**, its publication also ceased. *Bibl.:* Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*.

(2) Sports association of the RjF, founded in 1925. However, it entered few competitions or public events before 1933. After 1933, it was the federation for sports that attracted most non-Zionist athletes. In 1935, it had 185 affiliated associations with a membership of some 20,000. After it merged with the **Maccabi Circle** on 18 July 1934, it was the sole recognized representative of all

Jewish sports organizations under the name **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations**. It was dissolved in 1938. *Bibl.*: Bennett, "Jüdische Turn-und Sportbewegung."

Press, Jewish in the Third Reich; Sports associations, Jewish; Wollenberg, Hans Heinrich

Schmeidler, Joseph (1894–1952)

Pharmacist; 1920–21, druggist in Berlin, from 1921 on, director of the *AG für medizinische Produkte* (Corporation for Medical Products, Berlin); chairman of the boards of various industrial firms; member of the Syndicate of Jewish-Zionist Student Fraternities; from 1937 on, member of the board of the Jewish **Community Berlin**; from July 1937, representative of the **State Zionist Organization** in the **Council of the Reich Representation**; 1939, **emigration to Great Britain**.

Schocken Department Store

Department stores, Jewish; Schocken, Salman

Schocken, Firm

Department stores, Jewish; Schocken, Salman

Schocken, Hermann (1869–1957)

Brother of Salman **Schocken**, partner in the Schocken Department Store, Dresden; **Zionist**. In 1938, **emigration to the U.S.**

Schocken, Salman (1877–1959)

German-Jewish businessman, patron of the arts, philanthropist, publisher, collector. Together with Simon Schocken, he was a co-founder of the Schocken Firm and founder of the Schocken Publishing House, which played a significant role in the cultural life of the German Jews until it was forcibly shut down at the end of 1938; it was reestablished in Jerusalem and as Schocken Books in New York in 1945. Of recognized excellence was its economical series "Schocken Library" (Schocken-Bücherei), thanks to which important Jewish texts were made accessible to a broad readership. Salman Schocken was active in Poland, **Palestine**, and the United States, among other places. He was a leading **Zionist** and from 1921 a member of the Board of Directors of **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael**. He also promoted Jewish scholars and scientists, and in 1929 founded

the Schocken Institute for Research on Hebrew Poetry, which has existed in Jerusalem since 1934. He emigrated to **Palestine** in 1933 and from 1935 was chair of the Administrative Council of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In 1935, he purchased the important Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*, which is still published. *Bibl.*: David, *The Patron*; Dahm, *Jüdisches Buch im Dritten Reich*; Dahm, "Kulturelles und geistiges Leben."

Department stores, Jewish

Schoeps, Hans-Joachim (1909–1980)

Historian and German-Jewish functionary; established in 1933 the organization and publishing house Deutscher Vortrupp (**German Vanguard**). In 1937–1938, teacher at the Jewish High School (Jüdisches Gymnasium) in Berlin. In 1938, he emigrated to Sweden and returned to Germany in 1946. His father had been deported to **Theresienstadt**, where he died, and his mother was murdered in **Auschwitz**. He became a professor at the University of Erlangen in comparative religion and a major conservative figure in West German intellectual life, writing extensively on Jewish philosophy and the history of religions. In 1948, he founded the *Zeitschrift für Religions-und Geistesgeschichte*. His son Julius (1942-) is a well-known historian in Germany.

Schools/School system, Jewish

After the **Emancipation** and with the increasing integration of Jewish schools into the general school system, the number of Jewish schools in Germany was in steady decline. On the eve of the National Socialist takeover, there were only a small number of schools, mainly **Orthodox (Talmud Torah school)**. Starting in 1933, due to the mounting pressure of the anti-Jewish mood and legislation, but also because of a felt need among Jewish pupils to preserve their own identity and self-esteem, numerous new schools were established, and the existing ones were substantially expanded. Despite the drain of **emigration**, the number of pupils in these schools rose from 15,000 in 1933 to 23,670 in 1937–38. Along with the impact from the Law Against Overcrowding of the German Schools and Universities of 25 April 1933 (see Chronology), a kind of anti-Jewish quota system, the mounting number of pupils in the Jewish schools must be seen in connection with the constant debasement, humiliation, and isolation of Jewish pupils in the German public schools. For example, Jewish children were paraded before the class during biology lessons as "proof of the degenerate Jewish race." This led many parents to get their children excused from certain classes in certain subjects. The attractiveness of Jewish schools also increased, driven by

their ability to speak to the needs of pupils for a positive Jewish identity. The **Reich Representation** regarded the development of the Jewish school system as one of its central tasks, one of its departments was exclusively dedicated to develop the Jewish education (*Erziehungsausschuß*) and they invested considerable amounts of their budget in this field. In the direct aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, the law of 15 November 1938 (see Chronology) finally forbade Jewish children from attending German schools. In February 1939, the **Reich Association** was empowered as the sole authority for Jewish schooling, which was then anchored in law on 4 July 1939. The activity of the schools was partially expanded as a result, and was continued even during the early years of the war and the **mass deportations**, which commenced from the autumn of 1941. The Jewish schools were not dissolved and forced to shut down until the Gestapo decree of 7 July 1942 (see Chronology). *Bibl.*: Gaertner, "Problems of Jewish Schools"; Colodner, "Jewish Education under National Socialism"; Wegner, *Anti-Semitism and Schooling*; Walk, *Jüdische Schule und Erziehung*; Walk, "Jüdische Erziehung"; Walk, "Exemption of Jewish pupils"; Röcher, *Jüdische Schule im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland*; Weiss, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft im Wandel*; Schmidt, *Judenfeindschaft und Schule*.

Center for Jewish Adult Education; Jewish School Association; Teachers' seminars, Jewish

Schorsch, Emil (1899–1982)

Rabbi, studied 1922–1925 at the universities in Breslau and Tübingen, 1922–1928 at the **Jewish Theological Seminary** in Breslau. From 1927 to 1938, **Liberal Rabbi** in Hanover. In 1927, founder of the Hanover Jewish **Lehrhaus** and a home for youth. President of the Hanover **B'nai B'rith**. In November 1938, confined in the Buchenwald **concentration camp**, then **emigration** to Great Britain, and in 1940 to the United States, where he served as a Rabbi in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, from 1940 until 1964.

Das Schwarze Korps

SS weekly paper subtitled *Zeitung der Schutzstaffeln der NSDAP, Organ der Reichsführung-SS* (Paper of the Guard Units of the NSDAP, Organ of the Reich Direction SS). It was published from March 1935 to April 1945 and had a circulation in 1935 of 200,000 and in 1944 of 750,000. Its editor-in-chief was Gunter d'Alquen. The paper espoused a radical "empirical-logical" anti-Semitism, and distanced itself from the vulgar anti-Semitic propaganda and

agitation of the journal *Der Stürmer*. *Das Schwarze Korps* was able to make regular use of the secret situation reports and reports on the prevailing mood of the **SD**, and based on this, present the most recent tendencies and even upcoming measures in the regime's policy on the Jews. This often included suggestions and ideas from the Jewish Affairs Department of the SD on the "solution of the **Jewish Question**." In the crudest form, these were laid out in the article after **Kristallnacht** entitled "Jews, what now?" (24 November 1938), and were perceived in their full implication by Jews within and outside Germany; see quotations from contemporaneous Jewish reports, Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 119 D, 434–441; and Introduction, 433. *Bibl*: Kershaw, *Hitler*, Vol. 2, 151f.; Friedlaender, *Years of Extermination*, 312f.; D'Alquen, *Die SS*.

SD, Jewish Affairs Department

The SD (Security Service of the Reichsführer-SS) was founded in 1931 by **Himmler** as the intelligence service of the NSDAP, headed by **Heydrich**. The principal tasks of the SD in the Third Reich included the surveillance of "ideological adversaries," such as Marxists, Social Democrats, politically oriented churches, Freemasons, and Jews. The Jewish Affairs Department IV/2 established in November 1933 in the Security Office of the Reichsführer-SS was renamed J 1/6 in January 1935, and at the end of 1935 reorganized as Department II/112 in the Security Main Office. As a result of this restructuring and the systematic expansion of the department, it now sought to achieve a position of dominance for the SD in policy on the Jews in the Third Reich. Among the initiatives of the Jewish Affairs Department, for example, was the summoning of leading personalities from the Jewish organizations for interrogation at the offices of the **Gestapo** in Berlin. In this connection, externally the SD appeared ever more like the Gestapo. This led to persons referring to SD men as Gestapo agents in numerous historical testimonies and memoirs. This "executive" activity, which went beyond the framework of surveillance and reporting, sparked constant wrangling over authority and competency with the Jewish Affairs Department of the **Gestapo** (see Chronology, 4 July 1934 and 1 July 1937).

The Jewish Affairs Department II/112 dealt with the systematic surveillance of all activities of the Jewish organizations and the evaluation of the Jewish **press** and printed media within and outside Germany. In keeping with this, its staff workers specialized in surveillance of various sub-areas, such as Reich associations (112 0), **assimilationists** (112 1), **Orthodox** Jews (112 2), and **Zionists** (112 3). The preparation of detailed, periodic situation reports by the

SD, instituted in 1934, was systematized beginning in 1936 and became the most important source on the topic of Jews in Germany. The reporting system was organized for full coverage, and structured hierarchically. The reports from the lowest level or rung of the 519 SD district offices had to be passed on regularly via the main district offices, the regional divisions, regional head division, and finally the seven SD upper divisions to the main office of the SD in Berlin. In the main office, they were aggregated on a quarterly basis into series of reports and distributed to the leadership echelon in the government and the Party. In keeping with its superior knowledge of the “adversary Jewry,” the Jewish Affairs Department of the SD increasingly moved to the fore from this juncture on in the drafting of conceptions for a “solution of the **Jewish Question**” and its concrete implementation (see ▶252▶).

In 1938, the SD achieved the position of power it desired initially in regard to the Jews of Austria, and later also when it came to the Jews of Germany and Jews in the occupied territories. After the setting up of the **Reich Security Main Office** in September 1939, the Jewish Affairs Departments of the SD and the Gestapo were combined into a single Jewish Affairs Department (initially IV D 4, then IV B 4), under the direction of **Eichmann**. Here the SD became the determining factor for the further phases of policy on the Jews and the implementation of the **Final Solution**. However, preparation of situation reports was now made the designated task of Office III, which reported on all “areas of life,” including “Jews” (but not in a separate chapter or subsection by itself). *The official hierarchy of the SD:*

SD-Hauptamt	SD Main Office
SD-Oberabschnitt	SD Upper Division
Leitabschnitt	SD Regional Head Division
Abschnitt	SD Regional Division
Unterabschnitt	SD Lower Division
Hauptaußenstelle	SD Main District Office
Außenstelle	SD District Office

Bibl.: Browder, *Foundations of the Nazi police state*; Browder, “Anfänge des SD”; Höhne, *Order of the Death’s Head*; Wildt, *Judenpolitik des SD*; Wildt, *Generation of the unbound*; Wildt, *Generation des Unbedingten*; Zipfel, *Gestapo und Sicherheitsdienst*; Zipfel, “Gestapo und SD in Berlin”; Boberach, *Meldungen aus dem Reich (1984)*, Vol. I, Introduction; Herbert, *Best*; Banach, *Heydrichs Elite*; Hachmeister, *Der Gegnerforscher*; Paul, “Von

Judenangelegenheiten”; Steur, *Theodor Dannecker*; D’Alquen, *Die SS*; **Gestapo** and **RSHA**; see also rsha.html (8.2.08).

Secession Community {Austrittsgemeinde}

Especially strict **Orthodox secession** from the general Jewish Community in Germany, also called in German “Trennungsorthodoxie” or “Separatorthodoxie.” According to the Prussian law of 1847, Jews in a locality were only permitted to establish a single Jewish **Community** (Gemeinde), in which all Jews in the locality had perforce to be members. As a consequence of the spread of the **Reform** movement in the nineteenth century, the **Orthodox** struggled for many years for the right to form independent Orthodox Communities. They were granted permission for this in 1876 in Prussia. In 1933, there were Secession Communities in Berlin under the name **Adass Jisroel**, in Frankfurt am Main and Wiesbaden as Israelitic Community (Israelitische Religionsgesellschaft), and in Cologne as **Adass Jeschurun**. After 1933 as well, the Secession Communities remained outside the **Reich Representation**. Their association came together in 1934 to form the **Representation of the Independent Jewish Orthodoxy in Germany**, and did not join the Reich Representation until 13 July 1938. They retained their legally guaranteed separate status until the revocation of the legal status of Jewish Communities as statutory corporations under public law on 28 March 1938 (see Chronology). With the revision of the legal situation of the Jewish Communities on 30 January 1939 (see Chronology), which forced all Jews once more to become members of their respective local Community, the Secession Communities, like all Jewish Communities and organizations, joined the **Reich Association** established in early February 1939 (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 120 A). *Bibl.*: see **Orthodoxy**.

Community

Secession Orthodoxy

Secession Community

Security Service of the SS

SD

Seligsohn, Julius (1890–1941)

Legal expert and Jewish organizational functionary. He was a first lieutenant in World War I, and worked until 1933 as a **lawyer** practicing in Berlin. Member of

the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**. From 1924, representative of the **Liberal** faction in the board of the Jewish **Community Berlin**, and from 1933 Supervisory Board member of the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. From 1933, member on the Supervisory Board and later the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. He returned from Holland after **Kristallnacht**, when most of the board members of the Reich Representation had been imprisoned, in order to continue its work. From the establishment of the **Reich Association** in 1939, he was one of its board members. In November 1940, he was identified by the **Gestapo** as the initiator of public protests by the Reich Association against the **mass deportation** of Jews from Baden and the Palatinate (see Chronology), and was arrested. The exact date of his death in the Oranienburg **concentration camp** in 1941 is not known. *Bibl:* Baeck, "In Memory of Two of Our Dead"; Kulka, "Reichsvereinigung and the Fate of German Jews," 359 f; Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, 43.

Senior Soldiers {Altsoldaten}

Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans (RjF)

Sephardim

In contrast with **Ashkenazim**, the Sephardim are the Jews and their descendants stemming from Spain and Portugal who fled or were expelled from there in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and were subsequently dispersed throughout Europe, North Africa, Latin America, and the Orient. The Sephardim preserved their own synagogue rites and liturgy, their own Judeo-Español language (Ladino), and their own pronunciation of **Hebrew**, which was adopted by the **Zionist** movement and shaped the dominant standard pronunciation of modern Hebrew in the State of Israel. While the German Jews retained the Ashkenazi pronunciation in liturgy and religious instruction, the Sephardic pronunciation was widely taught in the National Socialist period in the schools and training courses geared to practical preparation for **emigration**. That sparked certain internal Jewish conflicts at the time.

Shavuot

Hebr.: weeks, the Festival of Weeks. The middle pilgrimage festival of traditional Judaism, known commonly also as Pentecost, celebrated fifty days after **Pessach**. It commemorates the revelation of the **Torah** on Mount Sinai, and

is additionally a harvest festival from the ancient biblical period. The Book of Ruth is read in the **synagogue**.

Shekel

Hebr.: weight measure. (1) Ancient silver coin of the Hebrews, minted since the time of the Maccabees. Half a shekel was the required Temple contribution. (2) Annual dues to be paid by all members of the **Zionist** movement, and which served as a requirement for the right to vote at **Zionist congresses**. (3) The current official monetary unit in the State of Israel, introduced in February 1980.

Shopping times and restrictions on basic provisions for Jews

After the beginning of the war, the Jews were not only restricted in their freedom of movement by the fixing of set times for going out in public (curfew, see Chronology, 1 September 1939), but also by restricting their shopping times and limitations on their ration cards for purchasing basic essentials. Already on 12 September 1939 (see Chronology), the Jews were assigned specific stores ("Jews' stores") for shopping; only there were they allowed to purchase their necessities. This was instituted in order to restrict their contact with the non-Jewish population to a minimum. Since contacts between Jews and non-Jews could not be completely avoided during shopping despite this measure, there were continuing complaints from the population. This subsequently led in October 1939 to restrictions on the shopping times for Jews. However, these ordinances and directives, which were instituted large due to popular "pressure from below," were not uniform. The set times for Jews to shop, which were partially fixed by the stores themselves, ranged between thirty and ninety minutes per day, and were normally at unfavorable hours when the **Aryan** population generally did not frequent the shop. In addition, there were several ordinances to cut food rations for Jews and to exclude them from certain categories of foodstuffs, such as meat, eggs, and milk. On this type of discrimination, see Chronology 11 March 1940; 20 April 1941; 18 September 1942. *Bibl.*: Kwiet, "Nach dem Pogrom," 605–609.

Siddur

The Jewish prayer book with prayers for weekdays and the **Sabbath**; this should be distinguished from the Machzor, the prayer book for the **High Holidays**.

Signs, anti-Jewish

In the wake of the Nazi takeover of power, especially after July 1934, anti-Jewish signs and abusive slogans of agitation appeared on walls everywhere in the Reich. These signs and slogans were put up or painted, as in the case of most anti-Jewish violence and abuse, organized by local activists. But in some cases, the local authorities were behind the mounting of such signs. These initiatives were sometimes tolerated by government authorities higher up in the hierarchy, and sometimes were prevented due to considerations of domestic or foreign policy, economic interests, and the image of Germany abroad. There was no uniform and fixed ruling on this question or the frequent anti-Jewish slogans and graffiti. On the conflicting interests within the Party and government, and disputes over authority and competency, see **individual actions**. *Bibl:* Bankier, *Germans and the Final Solution*, [chap. 2](#). On contemporary reports, see *Das Schwarzbuch*.

Simchat Torah

Hebr.: joy in the Law, the **Torah**. Joyous festival to end and begin the cycle of the year in which the Five Books of Moses are read in the **synagogues**. It is celebrated directly after Tabernacles (**Sukkot**), with dancing and processions in the synagogues in which the Torah scrolls are carried.

Simon, Ernst Akiba (1899–1988)

Educator, from 1918 active **Zionist**. Active from 1923 to 1928 at the Free Jewish **Lehrhaus** in Frankfurt am Main. In 1928, **emigration to Palestine**. In 1933, at **Buber's** request, return to Germany. Co-founder and leading member of the **Center for Jewish Adult Education**. In 1935, return to Palestine. From 1938, professor of education at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. *Bibl.:* Simon, "Jewish Adult Education"; Woppowa, *Widerstand und Toleranz*; Kraft, *Ernst Simon und die deutsche Kultur*; Bühler, *Erziehung zur Tradition*.

Singer, Kurt (1885–1944)

Neurologist, music critic, and conductor. In 1923, lecturer at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin. From 1927 to 1931, artistic director at the Municipal Opera, Berlin. From 1933, co-founder and head of the **Kulturbund of the German Jews**, 1935–1938, musical director of the Reich Federation of the Jewish Kulturbund. In 1938, he traveled to the United States, and from there **emigrated** to the Netherlands. He was interned in 1940 and later deported to **Theresienstadt**, where he perished in 1944.

Sobibor

Final Solution

Spas

Traditionally, many Jews also frequented internationally popular spas and health resorts. Already in the Weimar Republic, Jews there for treatment and recuperation were often the target of anti-Semitic agitation, especially by various National Socialist groups. After the National Socialist takeover of power, anti-Jewish **individual actions** surged, and led to constant conflicts with the local economic interests and the general considerations of Germany in the sphere of foreign policy and Germany's "image" abroad. Nonetheless, these health resorts and spas continued to be frequented by numerous Jewish guests. In many places, there were Jewish hotels, where Jews regularly congregated even after the worsening of local anti-Semitic pressures.

By contrast, early on some individual municipalities issued a ban on Jews staying in the town. In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, the exclusion of Jews from public bathing facilities and health resorts was made official and anchored in law for the entire territory of the Reich. *Bibl.:* Borut, "Antisemitism in Tourist Facilities"; Bajohr, "Social Antisemitism in Comparative Perspective"; Bajohr, *Unser Hotel ist judenfrei; Das Schwarzbuch*, 470–473; Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*; Walter, *Antisemitische Kriminalität*.

Bathing prohibitions in public bathing facilities; Discrimination against Jews with non-German citizenship

Sports associations, Jewish

Beginning with the Nazi ascent to power, Jewish athletes were increasingly ousted from German sporting and gymnastic associations. By introduction of the **Aryan Clause** to German sporting and gymnastic associations on 25 April 1933 (see Chronology), Jewish athletes were excluded throughout the Reich. This led to a massive expansion and reorganization of the Jewish sports associations in consequence. This bore similarities to the establishment of the **Kulturbund** as a consequence of Jewish artists and writers being excluded from German cultural life after the Nazi takeover, and comparable to the expansion of Jewish **schools** as a reaction to the discrimination against Jewish pupils in the German public schools. **Zionist** or Jewish national gymnastics and sports associations, mainly the German **Maccabi Circle**, a federation that from 1898 had included several of

these groups, significantly stepped up their work after the Nazis came to power. In addition, an organization that had existed since 1925, the **German-Jewish** nationally oriented Sports Alliance of the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans**, the **Schild**, organized itself anew. The two organizations, like the **youth organizations**, were of great importance for Jewish society, and the **press** had extensive coverage of them. Initially, the policy of the new regime toward the sports associations was unclear and rife with contradictions, but in the summer of 1934 (see Chronology 18 July and 15 September 1934) they were both included in the framework of the **Reich Committee of Jewish Sports Associations** and given official recognition. Now all the local associations and societies had to join one of the two large associations. In 1935, the Maccabi Circle had some 22,000 members, organized in 133 associations; the Schild had a membership of about 20,000, registered in 125 associations. In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, the Jewish sports associations were forcibly dissolved. *Bibl.*: Mayer, “Equality—Egality: Jews and Sport”; Reuveni and Brenner, *Emancipation Through Muscles*; Bennett, *Der jüdische Sport im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland*; Bennett, “Jüdische Turn-und Sportbewegung”; Skrentny, “Blütezeit des jüdischen Sports”; Bergmann Lambert, *By Leaps and Bounds*.

Associational life, Jewish

SS (Schutzstaffel)

The SS (Shield Squadron) was initially set up in 1925 as a force for the personal protection of the Führer of the NSDAP, Hitler, and later became the elite guard of the National Socialist regime. Under **Himmler’s** leadership, the SS continuously strengthened and expanded its base of power, ultimately becoming the strongest single force in the Third Reich. From 1939, the Security Service of the Reichsführer SS, the SD, became the central factor in shaping and implementing regime policy on the Jews and the **Final Solution**.

Like the **SA**, though to a lesser extent, members of the SS also participated in numerous **individual actions**. The SS was also responsible for the administration and surveillance of the **concentration and extermination camps**, and for the mass shootings of the Jews in Eastern Europe by its **Einsatzgruppen**. *Bibl.*: Buchheim, *The SS*; Höhne, *Order of the Death’s Head*; Koehl, *The SS*; D’Alquen, *Die SS*.

Staatspolizei

Gestapo

Stahl, Heinrich (1886–1942)

Jewish **Community** functionary and insurance executive, born in Berlin-Rudow. From 1931 board member, and from 1933 to 1940 chairman of the board and president of the Berlin Jewish Community. From 1933, **Liberal** representative on the Supervisory Board and later in the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. From the end of 1939 to mid-1940, he was active along with Leo **Baeck** as the deputy director of the **Reich Association**. Deported in 1942 to **Theresienstadt**, where he died in November of that year. *Bibl.*: Meyer and Simon, *Juden in Berlin*; Simon, *Heinrich Stahl*.

Stahlhelm (Stahlhelm—Bund der Frontsoldaten)

The organization Stahlhelm (Steel Helmet—League of Combat Soldiers), founded in 1918 as a right-wing and anti-Republican veterans' association, had sought ties already in the Weimar Republic with the National Socialists. Initially, many Jewish **combat veterans** also belonged to this powerful association, but already in 1919, the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** was established as a reaction to the anti-Semitism in the Stahlhelm. In 1934, the organization was integrated into the Nazi formations and was renamed the National Socialist German League of Combat Veterans (Nationalsozialistischer Deutscher Frontkämpferbund); it was dissolved the following year. *Bibl.*: Rosenthal, “Ehre des jüdischen Soldaten.”

Stapo, Stapostelle {[Geheime] Staatspolizei, Staatspolizeistelle}

Gestapo

Star of David

Jews' Star

State and Provincial Associations for Jewish Welfare

Central Welfare Office of the German Jews

State Jewry

The concept of “Staatsjudentum” in the discourse of the situation report encompasses Jewish organizations with an **assimilationist** orientation, which

before the Nazi takeover, and to a certain extent also thereafter, put great emphasis on their identity as Germans and their attachment to the German state. This does not mean that they denied their Jewish identity in a religious sense. See CD <575>, <595>.

State Police Gestapo

Der Staatszionist

Newspaper of the **State Zionist Organization**; biweekly, from 10 January 1934. It soon shifted to a monthly format, and continued until December 1935.

Press, Jewish

State Zionist Association State Zionist Organization

State Zionist Organization (Staatszionistische Organisation, Vereinigte Revisionisten Deutschland)

This was founded in May 1933 as a splinter group of the **Jewish People's Party** in Germany. Its full name was the State Zionist Organization (United Revisionists Germany). It was a specific formation in Germany and encompassed the **Zionists-Revisionists** (established 1925) and the Jewish State Party (Judenstaatspartei). The Zionists-Revisionists of Germany decided after the Nazi ascent to power to form this organization because their movement, unlike the **Zionist Association of Germany**, was heavily involved in efforts to build the international **boycott movement against the Third Reich**, and also fought against the **Ha'avara Agreement**. Under its former name of "Revisionists," it would have risked being banned and dissolved by the regime. For this reason, the worldwide Revisionist youth organization **Betar** changed its name in Germany to National Youth Herzlia.

In 1937, it was briefly supported by the **Gestapo** in its bid to gain in the power struggle for dominance in the **Reich Representation** to have its candidate Georg **Kareski** elected. This support from the Gestapo was due to the radical propagation by the Revisionists of **emigration to Palestine** (using **Jabotinsky's** slogan: "evacuate the Jews from Europe") (see Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 103 A and K; and Introduction, 321 f.).

The Gestapo dissolved the State Zionist Organization on 31 August 1938, on the charge that it had been in contact with the New Zionist Organization, which was hostile to the regime. Its organ was initially *Der Staatszionist* founded by Georg Kareski, and later *Das Jüdische Volk. Bibl:* Nicosia, “Revisionist Zionism in Germany (II).”

Stern, Gerson (1874–1956)

Businessman and poet-novelist, raised in Elberfeld. His historical novel *Weg ohne Ende: Ein jüdischer Roman* (1934), set in the eighteenth century in the Jewish communities in Frankfurt am Main and Prague, was a bestseller among German Jews. He emigrated in 1939 to **Palestine**, settled in Jerusalem, and was active in a circle of German-Jewish writers, intellectuals, and journalists that included Robert **Weltsch** and the poet Else Lasker-Schüler, who dedicated the first edition of her *Mein blaues Klavier* to Stern, her “friend from back home.”

Stern, Harry (1894?–1968)

Lawyer in Erfurt. Board member, Erfurt Jewish **Community**, also on the board of the **B’nai B’rith**. He was arrested after **Kristallnacht** and interned in the Buchenwald **concentration camp**. He emigrated to Great Britain.

Stern, Heinrich (1883–1951)

Lawyer in Berlin. From 1917, chair of the **Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism** and board member of the CV. Since 1924 or 1930, board member of the Berlin Jewish **Community**. In addition, he belonged to the governing board of the **Regional Association of Jewish Communities** in Prussia and in 1938 was a representative of the **Liberals** in the **Council of the Reich Representation of the German Jews**. He was active in the **World Union for Progressive Judaism** and emigrated in 1938 to Great Britain, where he remained active in Jewish life.

Streicher, Julius (1885–1946)

National Socialist politician and publisher, editor and owner of the notorious anti-Semitic magazine **Der Stürmer**. In 1919, co-founder of the anti-Semitic-völkisch Deutschsoziale Partei (German Social Party), with which he then joined the NSDAP in 1921. He participated in the Hitler Beer Hall Putsch in Munich on 9 November 1923, a failed *coup d'état*. From 1928, Gauleiter in Franconia (“Frankenführer”); from 12 January 1933, NSDAP deputy in the Reichstag. As a

result of his brutal, often somewhat obscene public anti-Semitic agitation, his rhetoric became in Germany and abroad the epitome of vulgar Nazi anti-Semitism. According to National Socialist reports, his agitation and speeches in the public arena stoked the anti-Semitic mood in the broader population, and often led to **individual actions** inspired by his anti-Jewish animus. Even months before **Kristallnacht**, the main **synagogue** in Nuremberg was torn down due to Streicher's initiative (see Chronology, 10 August 1938; see figures 21 and 22). Streicher had numerous enemies inside the Party leadership, but was shielded by Hitler. In contrast with his widespread image, he had no decisive role in the planning and implementation of National Socialist policy on the Jews, especially in its decisive phases after 1939. He was sentenced to death at the Nuremberg Tribunal on 1 October 1946 on the charge of crimes against humanity, and executed on 16 October 1946. Unlike many of the other co-defendants, Streicher remained adamant in his virulent anti-Semitism down to his last words before being hanged. *Bibl:* Bytwerk, *Julius Stretcher*.

Der Stürmer

Vulgar anti-Semitic magazine of the National Socialist propaganda press with the subtitle "German Weekly in the Battle for Truth." It was founded in 1923 by Julius **Streicher** in Nuremberg to mobilize the broader masses politically for National Socialism. The magazine's exclusive preoccupation was agitation against the Jews. The cartoonist Philipp "Fips" Rupprecht, who joined the magazine's staff in 1924, created the notorious visual stereotype of the "*Stürmer* Jew." From 1927, every page carried the footer of a Treitschke quote: "The Jews are our misfortune" (*Die Juden sind unser Unglück*). This was also on the "**Stürmer**" **display cases** where the paper was publicly posted to read in all German cities and villages from 1933 on. One of its favorite topics was the denouncing of the crime of **race defilement**. The articles and illustrations of the magazine on the topic of **ritual murder** were also notorious. The special issue of 1 May 1934 was devoted exclusively to that theme. The paper, and especially the fact that it was put up to be read in cases on display for the general public, was rejected by various segments of the population due to the obscene character of the paper's content. In particular, religious circles and **churches** protested against cartoons where anti-Semitic propagandizing went hand in hand with reviling attacks on the representatives of the church. *Bibl:* Bytwerk, *Julius Stretcher*, chap. 3.

***Stürmer* display cases (*Stürmerkasten*)**

Der Stürmer

Suicides by Jews in the Third Reich

One of the reactions to the severe crisis and the hopeless situation in which the Jews of Germany found themselves after the Nazi takeover was the decision to commit suicide. In the first wave of suicides in April-May 1933, as a consequence of the **boycott**, the anti-Jewish violence (**individual actions**), and the beginnings of anti-Jewish legislation and its onslaught, some 300 to 400 Jews in Germany took their own lives.

In many farewell letters from the year 1933, the choice of suicide is described as the only exit from a severe identity crisis for those who were unable to cope with the loss of their sense of belonging to the German people, the degradation and humiliation of being excluded from its society and culture. Similar farewell letters have also been preserved from subsequent years. The next waves of suicide came in 1935 in the wake of the **Nuremberg Laws** and in November 1938 during and after **Kristallnacht** and its ravages. The number of suicides peaked during the **mass deportations**, when in particular older persons decided to commit suicide in order to avoid the fate awaiting the deportees.

As a consequence of the first **deportations** of the Jews on 12–13 February 1940 from Stettin and Schneidemühl, and on 22–23 October 1940 from Baden and the Saar-Palatinate (see Chronology), and then during the systematic mass deportations and the **Final Solution** between October 1941 and mid-1943, Kwiet estimates that between 3,000 and 4,000 Jews took their own life after receiving deportation notices, some 2 percent of all those affected. In Berlin, this amounted to 4 percent of those slated to be deported. Kwiet has devoted several studies to this most extreme form of refusal by Jews to accede to the dictates of Nazi rule. *Bibl:* Kwiet, "The Ultimate Refuge"; Hartig, "Conversations about Taking Our Own Lives"; Goeschel, "Suicides of German Jews in the Third Reich"; Baumann, "Suizid im Dritten Reich"; Fischer, *Erzwungener Freitod*.

Evacuation of the Jews

Sukkot

Festival of Tabernacles. Harvest festival at the full moon two weeks after Jewish New Year (**Rosh ha-Shana**), commemorating the protection the Lord granted his people in their exodus from Egypt. Observant Jews do not sleep in their homes during the eight days of Sukkot but eat and spend the night in a

tabernacle, a *sukkamade* of traditional organic materials and with a traditional canopy. The festival ends culminating in the festival of joy in the **Torah (Simchat Tora)**.

High Holidays

Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation of the German Jews (Präsidialausschuß der Reichsvertretung)

The executive direction body of the **Reich Representation**. The Supervisory Board was established in April 1935 to replace the Präsidium or Supervisory Board which had existed since 1933, and in August 1936 it was expanded to thirteen members (eight original members of the Supervisory Board, plus four representatives of the **Zionist Association of Germany** and a representative of the **Community Orthodoxy**). In a resolution on founding the **Reich Federation of the Jews in Germany** of 27 July 1938 (see Chronology), the Supervisory Board Executive Committee was transformed into the fifteen-member governing board (Vorstand) of the new comprehensive organization. After **Kristallnacht** 1938, six of the members from 1936 continued to remain active as the leadership echelon of German Jewry, and from February 1939 formed the core of the governing board of the **Reich Association**.

Surveillance of Jewish organizations and gatherings

Keeping tabs on Jewish organizations and engaging in surveillance of their meetings was among the routine tasks of the **Gestapo** and the **SD**. They constituted an important basis for producing situation reports and reports on the prevailing mood. On the especially strict obligation for Jewish meetings to be registered, see **Heydrich's** directive of 26 June 1934 (see Chronology). From this circular letter, it is clear that the Jewish organizations were trying to avoid being monitored. Surveillance was subsequently stepped up, among other things by an order requiring that the text of lectures be submitted to the authorities prior to the scheduled event (see Chronology, 11 July 1933, 9 July 1934, February 1935, and ▶102▶). On 10 February 1935, the **Gestapo** issued an ordinance prohibiting any meetings by organizations which were encouraging Jews to stay on in Germany and not to emigrate. The observers complained that they could not understand certain **Hebrew** or **Yiddish** expressions used in the gatherings, see ▶26▶ and “that surveillance [...] is rendered more difficult by the fact that it is not possible to recruit liaison contacts among the Jews themselves” (see ▶90▶). On the inability of the authorities to monitor the large number of Jewish

gatherings, and on the various ways the Jews tried to avoid surveillance, see ▶139 ►, fn. 10. *Bibl.*: Kulka, *Deutsches Judentum*, Vol. I, No. 43; Mommsen, “Der nationalsozialistische Polizeistaat.”

Associational life, Jewish

Swarsensky, Bernhard (Hardi) (1908–1968)

German-Jewish youth leader and **lawyer**. Member in **Blau-Weiß**, Kadimah, and the **Jewish League of Scouts**. From 1938, president of **Maccabi Hatza’ir**, board member of the German **Maccabi Circle**, and director of the **Maccabi World Union**. He emigrated in 1939 to Argentina. In 1940, he founded the paper there *Die jüdische Wochenschau*, a weekly for German-Jewish emigrants, and later published a history (in Spanish) of **Kristallnacht**.

Swarsensky, Manfred Erich (1906–1981)

Rabbi. From 1932 to 1939, **Liberal Rabbi** in Berlin. In 1936–1938, board member of the CV. In 1937, delegate to the **World Union for Progressive Judaism**. He emigrated in 1939 to the U.S., and settled in Madison, Wisconsin, where he became a prominent community leader, Rabbi at Temple Beth-El, and also a spiritual leader of congregation Emanu-El in Waukesha. Among his books is a history of the Madison Jewish community, *From Generation to Generation: The Story of the Madison Jewish Community* (1955). His memory is honored by the Manfred E. Swarsensky Humanitarian Service Award given by the Rotary Club in Madison.

Synagogue

Jewish house of learning and prayer. The entire life of the Jewish **Community** is concentrated here. After the National Socialist takeover of power, the synagogues were more than before not just houses of prayer but functioned as centers of Jewish public life (**Associational life, Jewish**), especially in the realm of culture and Jewish **adult education**. During **Kristallnacht**, almost all synagogues in Germany, Austria, and the Sudetenland were set afire and many burned down, or were destroyed, desecrated, or ransacked.

Desecration of religious symbols

Talmud

Along with the Bible (written teaching, **Torah**), the main work of post-biblical Judaism, which arose as a commentary to the legal codex of the Mishnah from a

centuries-old tradition of oral transmission. In the anti-Jewish currents within Christian tradition, and likewise later in modern anti-Semitism, the Talmud came to be seen as the veritable epitome of “the lack of humanity of the Jewish religion.” This gave rise to the invidious mocking term “Talmud Jew” in anti-Semitic discourse and propaganda, which in the Third Reich was especially cultivated in the pages of the *Stürmer*. During **Kristallnacht**, many copies of the Talmud were burned, desecrated, and destroyed, including valuable rare editions from the late medieval and early modern period.

Desecration of religious symbols

Talmud Torah Association

Association responsible for the establishing and maintenance of **Talmud Torah schools** in the various **Communities**.

Talmud Torah school

School for the study of the **Torah**. Jewish **Orthodox** elementary school, sometimes also a middle and secondary school, which in contrast to the cheder, the private Orthodox primary school, was maintained by the **Communities**. Like all Jewish **schools**, the Talmud Torah schools also expanded and intensified their work from 1933 on in order to take in the Jewish children suffering under the National Socialist ideology and practice in the German schools, and to bolster their Jewish identity and self-esteem. After the decree of 15 November 1938, ordering all Jewish pupils to be removed from the German schools, and after the **Reich Association** assumed control of all of Jewish education in Germany at the beginning of 1939, the Talmud Torah schools were also integrated into the organization of the Reich Association that encompassed Jewish pedagogical activity in its entirety. Thus, some of these institutions continued functioning until they were shut down during the **mass deportations** by the **Gestapo** decree of 30 June 1942 dissolving all Jewish schools. *Bibl.*: Walk, “Jüdische Erziehung.”

Tannenberg League

Umbrella organization of **völkisch** defense and youth leagues, founded by Erich **Ludendorff** and his wife Mathilde. Its stated aim was to struggle against the “secret supranational forces,” meaning in particular the Jews, Freemasons (supposedly closely allied with them), Marxists, and even Jesuits. The league after 1931 also became the vehicle for the anti-Christian, German-Germanic

worldview of Mathilde Ludendorff. In 1931, it had a membership of some 30,000. Its activities were officially banned after 1933, despite its anti-Semitic, anti-democratic, and völkisch character. Its official prohibition notwithstanding, the National Socialist reports often contain material on the continuation of the work of the Tannenberg League, including its anti-Jewish “pedagogical activity.”

Teachers' seminars, Jewish (Teachers' colleges)

The first Jewish college for the training of **Rabbis** and teachers was established under the influence of the Enlightenment in 1810 in Kassel by the Westphalian Consistorium of the Israelites. In the course of the nineteenth century, a number of Jewish colleges for teacher training, termed seminars, were established. But by 1933, only two were still in existence: the Teachers' Training Institute in Würzburg established in 1864 and the Teachers' Seminar in Cologne. The latter had lost its state recognition in 1932–1933 and only served for training Jewish teachers of religion. By contrast, elementary school teachers were now being trained likewise at the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin. While the institute in Würzburg was **Orthodox** in orientation, in Berlin students from Liberal (**Reform**) circles were studying. From 1934 to 1938, the Würzburg seminary trained a total of 119 teachers, and the Berlin Hochschule graduated 60. The **Rabbinical seminaries** also took on a portion of the training of teachers. After 1938, teacher training was continued only in the framework of the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, which was closed down in 1942.

But it was not possible to meet the special needs of Jewish education in the Third Reich (see **Schools, Jewish**) in the framework of the existing teachers' seminars. In order to ease the shortage of teachers, the **Reich Representation of the German Jews**, in cooperation with the **regional associations** and the teachers' associations, but most especially with the **Center for Jewish Adult Education**, organized courses for teacher retraining for those teachers who had been excluded from the general public school system, and also conducted courses to train young educators and teachers for new subjects such as Hebrew and English, Jewish studies, and Jewish literature. *Bibl:* Walk, *Jüdische Schule und Erziehung*, 194–198.

Teutsch, Hans

German-Jewish functionary and **lawyer**. Director of the consultation office of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**

and chairman of the Tripartite Council, which headed the Bavarian office of the **Reich Committee of the Jewish Youth Associations**. He represented there the **Association for Religious-Liberal Judaism**, while Dr. Georg Josephthal represented the **Zionist Association of Germany** and Adolf Kohn represented the **Orthodox**.

Theresienstadt

The “**ghetto** of the privileged.” Located northwest of Prague, some 140,000 Jews from Central and Western Europe were interned there (including 42,000 from Germany) from 1941 to 1945. Of these, approximately 33,000 died in the ghetto, and 88,000 were deported to the **extermination camps** and murdered. Some 19,000 (including 5,000 German Jews) survived to experience the liberation of the ghetto. In the framework of the **Final Solution**, the task of this ghetto was to deceive world opinion and the International Red Cross about the situation of the deported Jews, especially well-known personalities, whose disappearance had caused a stir worldwide. When delegations came to “visit” and see the ghetto for themselves, the authorities staged the appearance of “humane” living conditions. Besides other reasons, to avoid the visibility of the constant overcrowding of the ghetto, there were **mass deportations** to the **Auschwitz** extermination camp from October 1942 onward.

Independently of this, the inmates were able, during the entire period, and even under the most appalling living conditions, to develop their own cultural life and events, and own system of social assistance and education, where the diverse gifts and dedication of the potential deportees were richly manifest. *Bibl:* Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–45*; “Ghetto” in EH, Vol. II, 579–582; “Theresienstadt” in EH, Vol. IV, 1460–1463.

Thon, Helene Hanna (1886–1953)

German-Jewish social worker. She worked in the **Palestine Office** in Berlin. In 1919, board member of the Women’s International Zionist Organization (WIZO) in Germany. She emigrated to **Palestine** in 1921.

Thora

Torah

Tietz Department Store

In 1882, Hermann Tietz and his nephew Oscar Tietz opened a linen goods shop

in Gera, Thuringia, and in 1889 a department store in Munich, then branches in southern Germany and Hamburg, and in 1906 in Berlin. In the Third Reich, the firm, like many other Jewish businesses of this kind, became the target of **boycott** actions and was finally **Aryanized**.

Aryanization; Boycott, anti-Jewish

Torah

Hebr.: teaching. Refers in the narrow sense to the Five Books of Moses, known in Hebrew as chumash, but in the broader sense to the entire canon of the Hebrew Bible, called in Hebrew Tanakh, and in the broadest sense to the entirety of the oral and written teaching of Judaism. For religious services, Torah scrolls, written on parchment, are used. They are embellished with decorated Torah cases, crowns, signs, and Torah pointers, and are kept in the Holy Ark, the Aron ha-kodesh, in the **synagogue**. It is the holiest space in the synagogue. During various religious services, there are readings from the Torah scrolls.

Like the synagogues and their contents, the Torah scrolls were often likewise the targets of destructive anti-Semitic fury in **individual actions** under National Socialism. During the pogroms during **Kristallnacht**, hundreds of Torah scrolls kept in the synagogues, including many magnificent and rare specimens of the Torah in older **Communities** in Germany, were desecrated, destroyed, and burned. Nonetheless, Jews in various Communities also succeeded, before Kristallnacht, during the war, and even in the course of the **deportations**, to salvage damaged and even fully preserved Torah scrolls by burying them in Jewish cemeteries in protective vessels in accordance with ancient Jewish custom (e.g., in the Jewish Cemetery in Berlin Weissensee).

Desecration of religious symbols

Transfer of assets

Ha'vara

Treblinka

Final Solution

Trennungsothodoxie

Secession Community

Trumpeldor, Josef (1880–1920)

Trumpeldor was born in Russia, and was a co-founder of Jewish self-defense units in Russia and **Palestine**. In 1912, he emigrated to Palestine and worked there as an agricultural pioneer. In World War I, he established together with Vladimir **Jabotinsky** the Jewish Legion in the framework of the British Army. He helped form the Zion Mules Corps in 1915, the first all-Jewish military unit in nearly 2,000 years. After the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, he created an association of **Hechalutz** in Russia for **aliyah**. In 1919, he returned to Palestine as an agriculturalist and pioneer. He was killed in 1919 in the defense of the Jewish settlement Tel-Chai in Upper Galilee. After his death, Trumpeldor became an almost legendary figure and a role model especially for the Zionist-socialist, General Zionist and radical-national youth movement.

Betar

Tshertok, David (1904–1992)

Jewish organizational functionary, from 1933 to 1936 General Secretary of the **Zionist Association of Germany**. He founded and directed the Jüdische Lehrstätte Chaim N. Bialik. In 1936, he emigrated to **Palestine** and was active there working for the **Keren Kayemeth Lelsrael**.

Upper Silesia

On the special status of the Jews in the Upper Silesian referendum area, see **Minority protection**.

Vocational Retraining

Hachshara; Vocational Restructuring

Vocational Restructuring

After Nazis came to power, the possibilities for Jews to learn a living were increasingly curtailed. Already in April 1933, Jews were excluded from government jobs and the civil service by the Law on the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service, which introduced the anti-Jewish race legislation (**Aryan legislation**). There were similar restrictions in the sphere of culture. The Jewish commercial and manufacturing enterprises also suffered from severe obstacles and disadvantages, and the **boycott** measures. Especially hard hit were Jewish young adults, for whom the doors of many professions and vocations were closed. Thus, a number of Jewish organizations developed intensive activity for vocational restructuring in order to improve chances for employment

of the Jews in Germany and in the countries of **emigration**, and to facilitate obtaining a visa for certain countries. Under the mounting political and economic pressure, the activities associated with vocational restructuring increased during the second half of the 1930s, and were continued even after the outbreak of the war.

There had been attempts already since the era of the Enlightenment to transform the economy of the Jewish population in the sense of “productivization,” and this was stepped up particularly after the launching of the **Zionist** movement (**Hachshara**). Since the time of the Weimar Republic, the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** (RjF) had been developing a similar initiative in the sphere of agriculture. Because the efforts by the RjF initially had been focused on Jews remaining in Germany, they were viewed with great suspicion by the Nazi regime. However, in the mid-1930s, the RjF changed its politics, recognizing the practical importance of vocational restructuring for emigration.

Even after the dissolution of most Jewish organizations in the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, and during the early years of the war, the National Socialist regime tolerated activities geared to vocational restructuring, and in this framework also allowed language courses in **Hebrew** and English that were designed to help prepare learners for emigration. *Bibl.*: Stahl, “Vocational Retraining”; Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, [chap. II](#); Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, 88–90; Adler-Rudel, *Jüdische Selbsthilfe*; Benz, *Juden in Deutschland*, 379–391.

Vocational Training

Vocational Restructuring

Völkisch

Volksgemeinschaft

Volk

Volksgemeinschaft

Volksgemeinschaft

The concept “Volksgemeinschaft” (folk community) was increasingly used across the entire political spectrum from World War I on. While among left groups it was understood as an inclusive concept, the usage in right-wing

parlance and most especially in National Socialist ideology was shaped by notions of exclusion. There the Volksgemeinschaft was defined on the basis of biological, social, and cultural categories by distancing the folk community from those regarded as aliens, especially the Jews. Correspondingly, the “removal” of the Jews from all spheres of life was an express aim, whether from economic life (**Aryanization**), social life together (**race defilement, mixed marriages, Winter Relief**), or cultural life (**Kulturbund**) and education (**Schools/School system, Jewish**).

In this complex, the Volksgemeinschaft was not just an ideological term of struggle used to justify these measures. Rather, it was manifested in practical embodiment in everyday matters, extending to the total isolation of the Jews in **Jews' houses**, their **marking** by the **Jews' star**, and finally their “total removal” by **deportation**. The declaring of Germany as “cleansed of Jews” (*judenrein*) marked in 1943 the declaration of the realization of the aim ideologically aspired to, namely a homogeneous Volksgemeinschaft. The reports on the prevailing mood document the development of the process of exclusion, especially in its violent forms in everyday life (**individual actions**), in numerous activities and initiatives both by the authorities and the German population, in the various phases from 1933 down to the end.

The concept “Volksgenosse” can have two general references in the reports, depending on usage. One is a synonym for the Aryan “population” as a whole (see ▶126▶, 141) or for segments of the population who think in accordance with Party ideology (see ▶603▶, ▶608▶ or more generally for Aryan German individuals (▶618▶, ▶619▶, ▶622▶, ▶636▶). In both modes of usage, it excludes the Jewish segments of the population and Jews as individuals (who racially can never be Volksgenossen), and it defines itself as Volksgemeinschaft by exclusion.

The adjective “völkisch” does not occur in the documents translated here but is a standard term in scholarship to refer to right-wing, nationalist-racist populist movement and thinking, often in the term “völkisch movement.” *Bibl.*: Bajohr, “Folk Community”; Nolzen, “Simulation of Popular Anger”; Heim, “Anti-Jewish Policy”; Barkai, “Volksgemeinschaft, ‘Aryanization’ and the Holocaust”; Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung*; Walser Smith, “A National Socialist People?”; Stöver, *Volksgemeinschaft im Dritten Reich*.

Volksgenosse

Volksgemeinschaft

Volljude **Mischlinge**

Wagner, Adolf (1890–1944)

The most powerful **Gauleiter** in the Third Reich; from 1933 Interior Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Bavaria, and in 1936 also Cultural Minister. Gauleiter of Munich (and later Munich-Upper Bavaria) from 1 November 1929 to his death on 12 April 1944. He was an Obergruppenführer (General) in the **SA**. Wagner had special access to Hitler, to whom he often turned when he got into some conflict with the Berlin ministries. He was a fanatic in driving forward the persecution of the Jews and process of **Aryanization**. In 1935, he was actively involved in stoking and unleashing the new wave of anti-Semitic violence (see Chronology, July-August 1935). But as that violence escalated and began to endanger the authority of the Party and the state, he endeavored to halt the mass rallies and upsurge in **individual actions**, and played a significant role in laying the groundwork for the **Nuremberg Laws**. These responded to and absorbed the “pressure from below” to radicalize the anti-Jewish battery of policies, legitimating it, thus contributing to the preservation of the state’s authority. *Bibl.*: Kulka, “Nürnberger Rassengesetze,” 615–621.

Waldmann, Moses (1885–1954)

Journalist; member of the staff of the **Jüdische Rundschau**, active in the **Zionist Association of Germany**. He emigrated to France.

Wallenberg, Heinrich Hans (1907–1977)

German-Jewish journalist, editor at the Ullstein Verlag, and editor of several papers, including the *Vossische Zeitung*, *Berliner Morgenpost*, and **Der Schild** (1932–1935). From 1935 to 1937, employee in a printing house in Berlin. He emigrated in 1938 to the United States.

Warburg, Felix M. (1871–1937)

Banker and philanthropist, born in Hamburg. He emigrated in 1894 to the United States. Warburg was a joint owner of the bank Kuhn, Loeb & Company, and co-founder of the **Joint Distribution Committee** (1914). He served as its chairman until 1932. Warburg was an important member of the **American Jewish Committee** and played an active role in its policies against the Nazi regime. He promoted Jewish settlement in **Palestine**, and the efforts aimed at settling Jews

in **Birobidjan**. In 1924, he founded the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation, which provided significant capital in Soviet Russia to transplant hundreds of thousands of Jews to 215 farming colonies on two and a half million acres. Four hundred trade schools were established to train Jews in metal, woodworking, printing, and other skills, in the Ukraine, Crimea, and elsewhere.
Bibl: Chernow, *The Warburgs*.

Warburg, Max (1869–1949)

Banker and Jewish organizational functionary in Germany, older brother of Felix. Partner in the international banking house of Warburg, and himself based in Hamburg, where from 1910 to 1938 he was director of the private investment bank M. M. Warburg, (founded 1898). In 1919, delegate to the Versailles peace conference in the German finance delegation. From 1919 to 1933, member of various bodies in the Reichsbank. When the National Socialists seized power in 1933, he was probably the most important Jewish banker in Germany. In 1933, co-founder of the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, and later chairman of the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. He was chair of the budget committee of the **Reich Representation**. The **Ha'vara Agreement** was handled in part through the Warburg Bank. In 1938, after the M. M. Warburg & Co. Bank was **Aryanized**, he was on a trip to the United States during **Kristallnacht** and chose to stay on there as an emigrant. The bank was restituted to the Warburg family in 1949, and still exists today.
Bibl: Chernow, *The Warburgs*.

Weiler, Otto (?-1965)

Civil servant, merchant, and **lawyer**; councilor in Ludwigshafen and civil servant there until 1933. In-house lawyer of the Bavarian Association of Israelitic **Communities (Regional associations of Jewish Communities)** and member of the **Council of the Reich Representation**. Weiler emigrated to the United States.

Weinberg, Arthur (1860–1943) and Carl (1861–1943) von

Brothers, and partners in their father's firm Leopold Cassella-Farbenwerke, Frankfurt, around 1900 the largest producer of synthetic dyes in the world. The Weinberg brothers were pioneers in the chemical industry in Germany and were given a title of nobility (von Weinberg) in 1908. Arthur established a foundation in 1909 that gave generously to help found Frankfurt University. The merger

with other German dye factories in late 1925 led to the formation of IG Farben AG, which until the end of 1932 was the object of vehement attacks by the NSDAP, due to its many Jewish partners, including directorate members Carl and Arthur von Weinberg and Max **Warburg**. Arthur von Weinberg was arrested in 1942 and deported to **Theresienstadt**. His brother Carl emigrated to Italy in 1937, and died in March 1943, six days before his brother Arthur perished in Theresienstadt.

Weizmann, Chaim (1874–1952)

Chemist, Jewish politician, first president of Israel. Born in Russia, studied in Germany and at the universities in Geneva and Manchester. He was an associate of Theodor **Herzl** and espoused “practical **Zionism**” in contrast to Herzl’s “Political Zionism.” He played an important role in the drafting and publication of the **Balfour Declaration** in 1917. Weizmann led the Zionist delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference, which confirmed the **British Mandate for Palestine**. In 1920, he took part in the San Remo Conference, which gave the Mandate to Great Britain. From 1920 to 1931 and 1935 to 1946, he was president of the **World Zionist Organization**; head of the **Jewish Agency** since its creation in 1929. From 1948 to 1952, first president of the State of Israel.
Bibl: Weizmann, *Trial and Error*.

Welfare, Jewish

On the history of the modern Jewish institution of welfare aid in Germany, see the **Relief Organization of German Jews** and the **Central Welfare Office of the German Jews**. Beyond these major modern organizations, there were in the Jewish **Communities** hundreds of traditional welfare associations such as **Bikkur Cholim**, **Chevra Kaddisha**, and the **Relief Association Mish'enes Chaulim**, most of which remained functioning down to the **Final Solution**. After 1933, several institutions were established that operated across the Third Reich: the **Central Committee of the German Jews for Relief and Reconstruction**, the **Central Office for Jewish Economic Aid**, and the Jewish **Winter Relief**. In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, all Jewish welfare organizations in the Reich were dissolved and incorporated into the **Reich Association**, which came into being in February 1939. From its inception to its dissolution in July 1943, it was the sole legally recognized representative body for Jewish welfare in the National Socialist state. *Bibl.:* FJGV, 435–524; Miron, Borut, and Elkin, *Aspects of Jewish Welfare*; Elkin, *Continuity and Change*;

Grüner, “Poverty and Persecution”; Grüner, *Öffentliche Wohlfahrt und Judenverfolgung*; Adler-Rudel, “Fürsorge für das Volk.”

Weltsch, Robert (1891–1982)

Zionist thinker and Journalist. From 1919, editor-in-chief of the *Jüdische Rundschau* up until its forcible closure in November 1938. His most famous article there was the demonstrative protest in response to the anti-Jewish **boycott** of 1 April 1933: “Wear It with Pride, the Yellow Badge” (see Chronology, 4 April 1933). Because of the courage of his statements, **Goebbels** on a number of occasions temporarily banned publication of the *Rundschau*. Weltsch was relatively safe from arrest as a Czech citizen in Germany and could act more freely than others. In 1938, he emigrated to **Palestine**. He became a correspondent for the paper *Haaretz* and wrote for it from England, where he relocated (1946–1978). He was on the governing board of the Leo Baeck Institute in London from 1955 to 1975. From 1956, first editor of the *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*. He spent his final years in Jerusalem. *Bibl.*: Freeden, *Jewish Press in the Third Reich*.

Werkleute, League of Jewish Youth (Werkleute, Bund Jüdischer Jugend)

Youth movement formed on 15 May 1932 after the disbandment of the youth association **Kameraden**. It drew its membership primarily from the more wealthy social strata. It was the largest of the three youth associations that were created from the disbanded Kameraden. The other two were the **Free German-Jewish Youth** (soon banned and dissolved shortly thereafter by the National Socialist regime) and the **Black Pennant**. In 1933, the association changed its name Werkleute, Bund deutsch-jüdischer Jugend to Werkleute, Bund Jüdischer Jugend. This at the same time marked its own ideological shift to **Zionism**. Its members participated in **Hachshara** and **Aliyah** in the framework of the **Hechalutz**, and they established Zionist **kibbutzim** in **Palestine**, such as Hazorea in the Jordan Valley, and transferred the main office to Palestine. In 1938, they dissolved their organization in Germany. *Bibl.*: Maoz, “The Werkleute”; Rheins, *German Jewish Patriotism*; Rheins, “The Schwarzes Fähnlein”; Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement,” Vols. I and II.

White Jew

Jew friend

Wiener, Max (1882–1950)

Rabbi, religious philosopher, born in Oppeln, **Upper Silesia**. Studied at the **Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums** in Berlin. From 1925 to 1939, lecturer there. From 1909 to 1912, assistant Rabbi under Leo **Baeck** in Düsseldorf, 1912–1926 in Stettin, 1926–1939 in Berlin. From 1927 to 1930, co-editor of the encyclopedia *Jüdisches Lexikon*. From 1929, delegate to the **World Union for Progressive Judaism**. In 1929, member of the **Jewish Agency**. From 1933, member on the Supervisory Board of the **Kulturbund**. That same year, he published his fundamental study on the development of the Jewish religion in the modern era (*Jüdische Religion im Zeitalter der Emanzipation*). Wiener emigrated in 1939 to the United States, where he initially taught at Hebrew Union College and later became a Special Rabbi with the German-Jewish immigrant congregation Habonim in New York City. *Bibl.*: Schine, *Jewish Thought Adrift*.

Winter Relief, Jewish Jewish Winter Relief

Winter Relief of the German People (Winterhilfswerk, WHW)

In the worsened crisis that accompanied the Great Depression, organizations arose in the winter of 1931–1932 to support the unemployed and needy with money, basic foodstuffs, clothing, and heating material. Already before 1933, the NSDAP had organized its own competing measures for providing winter relief. The first National Socialist Winterhilfswerk des deutschen Volkes (WHW) was founded on 13 September 1933, with calls by Hitler and **Goebbels**, to assist in alleviating the suffering. It was supported by private charitable organizations such as the German Red Cross, the Paritetic Welfare Association (Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband), the **German-Israelitic Community Alliance**, Workers' Welfare, and government welfare bureaus. The WHW was subordinate to the National Socialist Public Welfare Organization (Volkswohlfahrt), the head umbrella organization of social welfare, with a monopoly on collection drives in the Reich, established on 3 May 1933. The organizations which had not yet been integrated into National Socialism played only a subordinate role in the Volkswohlfahrt. The WHW was a core component of National Socialist social policy, serving to maintain and stabilize the regime. Government pressure and surveillance measures forced the entire population to take an active part in the WHW. From the autumn of 1935, Jews were barred from contributing to as well

as from receiving any benefits from the WHW. *Bibl.*: Vorländer, *Die NSV*.

Winter Relief, Jewish

Wischnitzer, Mark (1882–1955)

Historian, taught at various scientific institutions within Germany and abroad. From 1922 to 1927, general secretary of the **Relief Organization of German Jews**. In 1938, emigration via Spain, Portugal, and the Dominican Republic to the United States. There he became active at various scholarly institutes and institutions of higher learning, among them Yeshiva University in New York. In 1948, he published a study of Jewish migrants, *To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration Since 1800* (Jewish Publication Society of America).

Wise, Stephen S. (1874–1949)

Reform **Rabbi** and key **Zionist** functionary in the United States; a leading figure in American Jewry in the first half of the twentieth century. Born in Budapest, he emigrated to the United States and was educated in New York. Co-founder of the Zionist Organization of America. Associate of Theodor **Herzl** and later of Chaim **Weizmann**. In 1919, member of the **Comité des Délégations Juives** at the Versailles Peace Conference. Co-founder of the **American Jewish Committee** (1906) and for many years its president and honorary president. He founded the Jewish Institute of Religion (1922) in New York City to train Reform Rabbis (merged a year after his death with Hebrew Union College). He worked in the **Jewish Agency** and after the National Socialist takeover of power in the **boycott movement against the Third Reich**. In March 1933, the American Jewish Congress organized a mass meeting in New York City's Madison Square Garden, where Wise called for an immediate end to the anti-Semitism of the Third Reich (see **Atrocity propaganda, Jewish**). He was engaged in the founding of the **World Jewish Congress** and was its president until his death. Within this framework he fought internationally for the rights of the Jews, especially against their persecution under the Nazi regime. During World War II, he struggled energetically against the passive stance of the Roosevelt administration and the Allies in the face of the **Final Solution**. *Bibl.*: Urofsky, *A Voice that Spoke for Justice*; "Wise" in EH, Vol. IV, 1655–1656.

Wolff, Leo (Leopold) (1882–1955)

Lawyer and Jewish communal functionary. In 1910, district court judge in Bochum, from 1910 to 1922, judge of First Instance (Amtsgerichtsrat) in Berlin.

Member of the governing board of the CV. From 1924 to 1927, director of the Berlin Jewish **Community** (as representative of the **Liberals**). In 1922, he helped found the Prussian Regional Association of Jewish Communities (see **Regional Associations of Jewish Communities**), and served as its chair down to 1938. From 1933 to 1938, member of the Supervisory Board and the **Supervisory Board Executive Committee of the Reich Representation**. He emigrated to Great Britain in 1939.

Wollenberg, Hans Heinrich (1893–1952)

Editor, cinema journalist, and film critic; director of the first film archive in Germany. From 1934 to 1938, editor of ***Der Schild***. In 1938, **emigration** to Czechoslovakia, in 1939 to Great Britain. In 1948, he published his study in London *Fifty Years of German Film*.

Women's Alliance, Jewish Jewish Women's Alliance

Women's Auxiliary of the B'nai B'rith Lodges (Schwesternverband der Bne Brith-Logen)

Lodge Women's Auxiliaries existed in Germany from 1888. The main office was in Frankfurt am Main. Its stated aim in 1933 (FJGV, 547) was to “raise up the Jewish world of women brought together in the lodges in their Jewish ethos and in a Jewish spirit, and to allow them to take part in all the ethical and cultural efforts engaged in by the men in the lodges.” At this time, there were seventy-nine such women's auxiliaries in Germany.

Jewish Women's Alliance

Women's chevra Chevra Kaddisha

Working Group of Jewish Liberal Youth Associations (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der jüdisch liberalen Jugendvereine)

It was established in 1917 when various groups of the Youth Movement—Liberal Youth Leagues (Jugendbewegung—liberale Jugendbünde), founded in 1910, merged. Its stated aim (FJGV 1932/33, 533) was to “advocate a vital and living development of the Jewish religious heritage, in keeping with modern cultural sensibilities. [...] It affirms that German Jews are part of the German

cultural and **Volksgemeinschaft**. It therefore is resolute in rejecting efforts to promote Jewish nationalism of any kind.” As a religious youth association of **Liberal Judaism**, the association sought to encourage young people to explore in depth the sources and history of Judaism. To this end, it also organized its own religious festivities and youth religious services. Main seat: Frankfurt am Main. In 1932–33, it had some 800 members. Like almost all Jewish youth organizations, it continued to function under the Nazi regime, and was presumably dissolved in November 1938. *Bibl:* PhL, col. 351; FJGV 1932/33, 533 f.; JL, Vol. III, 482.

World Jewish Congress

Established in 1936 as the successor organization to the **Comité des Délégations Juives** in order to ensure the existence and unity of the Jewish people. The WJC encompassed Zionist and non-Zionist Jewish organizations. There were preparatory conferences in August 1932, 1933, and 1934 in Geneva. The Foundational Meeting (First Congress) was on 8–14 August 1936 in Geneva, with 280 delegates from 33 countries. Stephen **Wise** was elected as head of the board of directors and Nahum **Goldmann** as chair of the executive committee. The World Congress opened a political office in Geneva, the seat of the League of Nations, and worked against the persecution of the Jews in Germany. In World War II, the direction of the WJC, which sought to rescue the Jews through the intervention of the Allies, was based in London and New York. Meanwhile, the office in Geneva headed by Gerhard Riegner continued to play an important role. *Bibl:* World Jewish Congress, *Unity in Dispersion*.

World Union for Progressive Judaism

Reform Judaism

World Zionist Organization

Zionism

Wurm, Theophil (1868–1953)

From 1933, State Bishop of Württemberg, leading spokesman of the **Confessing Church**, and in church opposition to the regime in the Third Reich. Well-known for his resolute opposition to the **Euthanasia** Program. Unlike Archbishop von **Galen**, Wurm was courageous in a determined effort to protest the **mass deportations** and the annihilation of the Jews, sending letters from 1941 to 1944

to state and national ministers, and directly to Hitler. As a result, in 1944 he was banned from speaking and publishing. *Bibl.*: Schäfer and Fischer, *Landesbischof D. Wurm*.

Yellow Star

Marking of the Jews

Yiddish

The language used in Germany in the Nazi period primarily by Jews who had emigrated from Eastern Europe (**East European Jews**) and employed in their organizations as a vernacular and language of negotiation and daily affairs. This circumstance and even the use of individual Yiddish expressions represented a mounting problem for the **surveillance** by the regime of Jewish gatherings. In this connection, the situation reports often mention the demand to prohibit this “secret language.” However, to our knowledge no official ban was ever issued.

Yom Kippur

Hebr.: day of atonement. Celebrated on the tenth day of the Hebrew month Tishrei in early autumn, a strict day of rest, penance, and fasting, the most sacred holiday of the Jewish calendar. Yom Kippur and the Jewish New Year **Rosh Ha-Shana** on the first of Tishrei were for many largely assimilated German Jews the only days on which they formally identified with their Jewishness and the Jewish community by attending the **synagogue** services. In the National Socialist period, the services on these **High Holidays** were attended by far more German Jews than in previous years. Like other Jewish social activities, they were also under **surveillance**, though that did not prevent **individual actions** against the synagogues and those praying within.

High Holidays

Youth Aliyah

Aliyat Hanoar

Youth organizations, Jewish

As part of Jewish **associational life**, the diverse Jewish youth movements and organizations experienced an upsurge after the National Socialists came to power. Their membership increased by leaps and bounds, and they intensified their work. They were of central importance within Jewish society, because they

sought to impart to Jewish young people, isolated and discriminated against by their environment, a distinctive Jewish consciousness of their own, and also to prepare them in practical terms for a future, in the main outside of Germany. For this reason, there was an especially strong influx into the Zionist-oriented groups.

In the early months after the seizure of power, the policy toward the Jewish youth and **sports associations** was extremely lacking in coordination. Already in early 1934, the **Reich Youth Leadership** had forbidden them from wearing uniforms, and spending the night together or living in tents or private rooms, the carrying or display of flags, banners, pennants, and army flags of any kind, marching in group formation, exercise in the open field and training in the defensive sports. But these prohibitions were not monitored consistently. In this initial phase, prohibitions were issued, followed by their revocation (see Chronology, 25 April 1933; 17 June 1933; 7 March 1934; 20 March 1934; 18 July 1934; 15 and 18 September 1934; 21 October 1934). From the end of 1934, the centralized policy of the regime toward the youth organizations and other Jewish associations stabilized. In the aftermath of **Kristallnacht**, all Jewish youth organizations were dissolved, but the **Hechalutz** continued its work illegally, especially in the **Hachshara** centers in Germany, until these were closed down in 1942–1943 in the course of the **mass deportations**. *Bibl:* Schatzker, “Jewish Youth Movement,” Vols. I and II; Rinott, “Major Trends in Jewish Youth Movements”; Meier-Cronemeyer, “Jüdische Jugendbewegung”; Brodnitz, *Gemeinschaftsarbeit der jüdischen Jugend*; Angress, *Generation zwischen Furcht und Hoffnung*; Mommsen, “Der nationalsozialistische Polizeistaat,” Doc. 5, 80; Thévos, Branig, and Lowenthal-Hensel, *Geheime Staatspolizei in den preussischen Ostprovinzen*, Vol. 1, 44, fn. 11; The following youth organizations are mentioned in the situation reports:

Agudas Jisroel Girls' Group; Agudas Youth; Betar; Black Pennant; Bnei Akiva; Brith Chaluzim Datum; Esra; Esras Noschim Girls' Group; Federation of the Jewish Youth Associations of Germany; Free German-Jewish Youth; German-Jewish Youth Society; Habonim; Hechalutz; Jewish League of Scouts; Kameraden; League of German-Jewish Youth (Jewish Youth League); Werkleute; Ze'ire Misrachi

Ze'ire Misrachi

Or: Tzeire Mizrachi; Hebr.: Misrachi Youth, “Young Mizrachi.” Youth movement of the religious Zionist **Misrachi** movement.

Brith Chaluzim Datum (Bachad); Brith Hano'ar schel Ze'ire Misrachi

Zionism

The national movement of the Jewish people with the aim of the return of the Jews from the Diaspora to the Land of Israel (Eretz Israel, **Palestine**). Zionism regards the Jews dispersed across the world as a people, and thus views the **“Jewish Question”** primarily as a national and political question. For that reason, it was argued that only by the creation of a national territory for the people of its own could the tensions with the surrounding society in the Diaspora be effectively addressed. Grounded on this understanding, Palestine was to be (re) constructed as the historical land of origin of the Jews. The **World Zionist Organization** (WZO) was created in 1897 by Theodor Herzl at the First **Zionist Congress** in Basle, and still exists today. Important stations on the path to the national home for the Jewish people in Palestine were: in 1917, the **Balfour Declaration**, the **British Mandate** from 1920, and subsequent to the U.N. Security Council Resolution on the partition of Palestine in a sovereign Jewish and Arab State of 29 November 1947, the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel on 15 May 1948. Along with the general Zionist national associations, the WZO also had special associations with a particular religious, social, or political orientation.

In Germany, in its initial period, Zionism was a small, well organized minority of Jews, vehemently opposed by its adversaries within German Jewry, but respected for its convictions and dedication. After 1933, the **Zionist Association of Germany** experienced a significant upsurge and gained ever greater influence, especially in the ranks of Jewish youth. The Zionist idea and Zionist practice now appeared, both within and beyond Germany, to offer a genuine alternative for the future of the Jews. That was manifest likewise in the growing number of Zionist representatives in the **Communities** and the political committees of the **Reich Representation** and the **Reich Association**. The antagonism of the Jewish adversaries lost some of its edge and softened in the second half of the 1930s.

The National Socialist regime (especially the **Gestapo** and **SD**) preferred, for fully pragmatic reasons, the Zionist activities geared to stressing national Jewish identity and preparation for **emigration** to Palestine, over the agendas and activities of the so-called **assimilationist** movements (see **Associational life, Jewish**), this despite the basic rejection of the political aims of Zionism by the regime. This attitude led in the late 1930s and early 1940s even to practical

support by the National Socialists for the organizing of illegal **aliyah** to Palestine. Notwithstanding its unrestricted promotion of emigration, the National Socialist regime categorically rejected the creation of a sovereign Jewish state. It feared that once such a state was accepted into the international community of nations, it could demand protected minority status for the Jews of other countries, especially the Jews of Germany (**Minority protection**). *Bibl:* Laqueur, *History of Zionism*; Vital, *Origins of Zionism*; Böhm, *Zionistische Bewegung*.

Zionist Association of Germany (Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland, ZVfD)

Association of the **World Zionist Organization** established in 1897 as a branch for Germany with its seat in Berlin. This organization is referred to in English as the Zionist Association of Germany here, but moreover is also called the Zionist Federation of Germany, the Zionist Association of Germany, the German Zionist Organization, and the Zionist Association for Germany in the English-language literature. It was divided into group associations, local branches, and working groups. Its areas of activity included: Zionist politics, Hebrew cultural work, work with women, youth, and communities, and **Palestine** work. Its periodical was the **Jüdische Rundschau**, with a circulation of 37,200 copies in 1935. The antagonism existing from the beginning between the ZVfD and **assimilationist** groups, such as the **CV** and especially the **Reich League of Jewish Combat Veterans** (RjF), tended to intensify in the early years of the National Socialist regime concomitant with the upsurge in the Zionist movement. The conflict was waged on various levels, reaching its high point in June 1934 with the ban issued by the ZVfD on its members holding joint membership in the RjF (see Chronology, 6 June 1934). But after the **Nuremberg Laws** were promulgated in 1935, the internal Jewish antagonisms increasingly lost their importance. The ZVfD was dissolved as an independent movement after November 1938. Yet it continued its work promoting **emigration** in the framework of the **Palestine Office** in connection with the **Reich Association**. On the special character of the ZVfD within the Zionist movement and its importance for German Jewry under the National Socialist regime, see **Zionism**. *Bibl:* Lichtheim, *Geschichte des deutschen Zionismus*; Weltsch, “Deutscher Zionismus”; Cohn, “Einige Bemerkungen über deutschen Zionismus.” Eloni, *Zionismus in Deutschland*.

Zionist congresses

The highest decision-making body of the **World Zionist Organization** (WZO) is elected by the aggregate of all dues-paying members (**Shekel**) of the national organizations in a general, secret, and direct ballot. It in turn selects the Actions Committee and the Executive of the WZO. The First Zionist Congress, with which the movement was launched, took place in Basel, Switzerland in 1897. During the National Socialist period, the following Zionist congresses were held:

18th Congress: 21 August–4 September 1933 in Prague

19th Congress: 20 August–4 September 1935 in Lucerne

20th Congress: 3 August–16 August 1937 in Zurich

21st Congress: 16 August–25 August 1939 in Geneva.

No congresses were held during the war. The first congress after World War II took place in Basel, 9 December–24 December 1946.

Zionists

Zionism; Zionist Association of Germany (ZVfD)

Zionists-Revisionists

The Union of Zionists-Revisionists was established in 1925 by Ze'ev **Jabotinsky** in the framework of the **World Zionist Organization** (WZO) as an opposition party opposed to the Executive. It sought to achieve a Jewish state in the historical boundaries of **Palestine**, on both sides of the Jordan River, and fought against the Mandatory power Great Britain (**British Mandate**), also with the help of allied underground organizations, using terror as an instrument, in order to bring the British to the point of leaving Palestine. The Zionists-Revisionists espoused Jewish self-defense, especially in their own youth organization **Betar**, and fought for “economic peace” and against “class warfare.”

The **Ha'avara Agreement** arranged in 1933 between the **Jewish Agency** and the National Socialist regime was vehemently rejected by the Revisionists, because they viewed this as a weakening of the international **boycott movement against the Third Reich**. The aggravation of the conflicts with the WZO led in 1935 to the creation of a separate independent world organization, the New Zionist Organization, and **Jabotinsky** was elected its president. After the establishment of the State of Israel, the New Zionist Organization returned to the fold of the WZO. On the activity of the Zionists-Revisionists in the Third Reich, see **State Zionist Organization**. *Bibl.*: Kaplan, *Jewish Radical Right*; Shavit, *Jabotinsky and the Revisionist Movement*.

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